

An Oral History of
GEORGE MANDLER and STANLEY CHODOROW
On March 11, 1999

1 **CHODOROW:** Tell you what we've been doing. The purpose of this is to get your
2 reminiscents [sic] of the founding of the department. The questions we have been asking are
3 consistent from one to another. They are basically, what was happening in your discipline at the
4 time? What was your vision and the vision of your colleagues as you came here in the early
5 days? With respect to that, your read of what was happening in the discipline and where things
6 were going? And as you began to recruit and succeeded and failed, and succeeded and failed,
7 how did the early recruitments up to, say, the early '70s, affect the original vision and interact
8 with this interdisciplinary evolution? That's the way—

9 **MANDLER:** Let me answer that.

10 **CHODOROW:** —the interviews are done. Go.

11 **MANDLER:** You mean you want me to ask the questions?

12 **CHODOROW:** No, I want you to answer that set of questions I just [*laughs*]—

13 **MANDLER:** In 1960, I went to [University of] Toronto from the Stanford Center for the Study
14 of Behavioral Sciences with an opportunity to move into the department that was peopled by
15 either people who were very old and/or whose grandmothers lived around the corner. Toronto
16 then was very much an establishment university of the Toronto establishment. And surprisingly,
17 they had a new chairman who had just come in '58, '59 who came from that environment but
18 decided things had to change. And he brought in two young associate professors: myself and
19 Abe [Abram] Amsel. Amsel was in behaviorist animal [sciences] and very elevated to what I was
20 doing, and [he] changed the department. In the process of which, in the first five years,
21 practically all the old people died. I mean, there was something very mysterious going on
22 [*mutual laughter*]. Anyway, it gave me an opportunity to see what it was like to make a
23 department, or at least to make a department over in a good, established university. That
24 happened in the '60-'65 period just as psychology was going through the early stages of a
25 major, major, major change generally called the "cognitive revolution". Misnamed the cognitive
26 revolution I think, and I've said so several times in print, it doesn't—nobody pays any attention.

27 It was a return to the psychology that was around in the 1910s and '20s, a very much human-
28 oriented, thought-oriented theoretical psychology, which had most of its roots in Europe—in
29 France and Germany; primarily France but also in England—and that was simply stopped cold
30 in the nineteen-teens by the behaviorists. And there was this behaviorist wave that swept over
31 America. And there's a whole story about this to the extent to which the behaviorists in the early
32 20th century were a reflection of the "New America" movement—blah, blah, blah. That's beside
33 the point. But anyway, between 1920 and certainly 1950 that was the way psychology was done
34 in America. Now there were significant variations within behaviorism, from Fred [Burrhus
35 Frederic] Skinner on the one side and the dominant deadly school of [G. Stanley] Hall and
36 people like that at Yale [University] and [Neal Elgar] Miller. But, I mean, I remember in the '70s
37 and '80s talking with friends and remembering how we couldn't get our stuff published in the
38 '50s and early '60s, simply because the behaviorists were running the show. Now it so happens
39 that I came with a Ph.D. from one of the behaviorist strongholds, namely Yale, where I got my
40 Ph.D. in '53. Including a man who foresaw all of this—never talked about it but certainly
41 motivated a lot of us—by the name of Carl Hovland. So, I was all ready to be a rebel, but then
42 by 1955 everybody was a rebel. And in any case, here was the cognitive revolution. I was very
43 much one of the young Turks that was part of it. And there were some meetings in the late '50s
44 in New York State at Gould House on new approaches to memory. See, the word memory
45 wasn't even permitted; it had to be verbal learning. It was very interesting. I talked to the
46 Europeans as if this was sort of like a crypto-Soviet state where certain things were permitted
47 and not. And in fact, it was, except, you know, nobody punished you for doing these things. You
48 just were outside the establishment.

49 **CHODOROW:** It was hard to get published.

50 **MANDLER:** It was hard to get published. I mean, words like "consciousness" for example,
51 were totally not permitted because Watson [John B. Watson] had said that consciousness was
52 not scientific and therefore could not be talked about. Then interesting things happened; people
53 worked on "attention" and used the word attention as a cover name for "consciousness". It all
54 sounds very mysterious and conspiratorial—which it wasn't—but in retrospect one can sort of
55 put that picture on it. The European emigrants who had come, particularly from Germany in the
56 '30s, didn't come to the establishment universities. Jean [M. Mandler] and I wrote a chapter for
57 Bud [Bernard] Baily on the psychological emigration in which we pointed out that, you know,
58 people like Kurt Lewin went to [University of] Iowa and Wolfgang Kohler went to Swarthmore

59 [College]. They all went to very good places, but none of them went to Harvard [University] or
60 Yale [University] or [University of] Chicago.

61 **CHODOROW:** Where they were training the great graduate students.

62 **MANDLER:** Exactly. So, their influence was, again, *sub rosa*. New School, of course, was
63 one of the great depositories of the European—and particularly the German—immigrants at that
64 time I was there. [Franz] Kafka went to Vassar [College]. I mean, it's very funny: they went to
65 very good places, they just didn't go to where the establishment was sitting—who just wouldn't
66 have them, partly because of anti-Semitism. Bud and I had great arguments about that, whether
67 it was or wasn't. But still, I think it was in part that one of the aspects of behaviorism was the
68 suspicion of "fancy European theory". It was puritan as against fancy European—

69 **CHODOROW:** Continental.

70 **MANDLER:** —continental "stuff".

71 **CHODOROW:** Yeah.

72 **MANDLER:** And anyway, by the 1950s behaviorism ran out of steam. It was quite clear they
73 weren't going to say anything significant about human beings, and the promissory note that they
74 published yearly that "Once we understand the rat completely, we'll understand the rest of the
75 mammals" that just never got cashed. So that what a lot of people started doing was different
76 kinds of things, started citing different kinds of things and so on. And I had arrived in Toronto
77 just when that cog[nitive] movement was gaining power. So, when I had the offer from UCSD
78 [University of California, San Diego], it was quite clear what I had to do. I mean, this was an
79 opportunity to build a new department that was new in the sense of devoted to or committed to
80 what we then called the human information processing approach. Interestingly, the human
81 information processing term sort of vied with cognitive psychology as to which way it was going
82 to be called— I would say, through the early '60s. And then Ulric Neisser published the definitive
83 book on defining the new cognitive psychology called Cognitive Psychology, and that then
84 decided it.

85 **CHODOROW:** But you hung on in your institute?

86 **MANDLER:** Well, because we did it before Neisser's book had really become important. See,
87 we created—Neisser's book came out in '67. We created this, at least on paper, the sets of

88 human information processing in '65 when I came here. So, actually, cognitive was around— [It]
89 was 1965 when I came here; I was supposed to go to Harvard for a year with George Miller and
90 Jerry [Jerome] Bruner who had the Center for Cognitive Studies. So, the name "cognitive" was
91 suddenly being used. There was another problem with cognitive: cognitive psychology had a
92 weird reputation as being soft and sort of clinic-y. It got rid of it very quickly, but there was some
93 reluctance to do that. Anyway, I was— Well, let me now backtrack to— I was very happy in
94 Toronto. I was very sad at leaving it. I liked Toronto very much. It's, I think, promised to be then
95 and since then has become one of the great North American cities, certainly. Although I didn't
96 say anything I was going to say—what is its magnitude over San Diego, but—San Diego is such
97 a disaster, but—Anyway, you want to know that? [mutual laughter]

98 **CHODOROW:** It's okay; throwaway lines are fine.

99 **MANDLER:** And you know, we made very good friends there. I liked the department. I had
100 good colleagues. But here was an opportunity to do it all—to really start afresh. I was recruited
101 fundamentally—you want to know what? Should I get into that?

102 **CHODOROW:** Yeah. Because it will be relevant to your intentions as well.

103 **WESTBROOK:** Yeah, yeah.

104 **MANDLER:** Well, I was—it was interesting because I was here, I think it was, in the summer
105 of '63—yes. At Lake Arrowhead there was a bi-annual conference on memory and verbalization
106 and stuff like that arranged by friends of ours—by friends of mine—at Berkeley. But people from
107 all over—about a dozen of us came there every two years. And I had a friend at UCSD from my
108 Yale days and continuing since, namely, Bob [Robert N.] Hamburger. I had known Bob when I
109 was a graduate student with—it was complicated—with Elaine Graham Bell. Elaine Graham Bell
110 was Danny [Daniel] Bell's wife, the daughter of the great Wall Street guru, Graham. And
111 "Lainey" and I were good friends in graduate school; we were graduate students together. And
112 she was very friendly with Hamburger and particularly with his wife. So that's how I got to know
113 Sonny [Sonia Hamburger] and Bob; partly through them, partly through [Irving] Janis who was a
114 faculty member. And I think [Irving] Janis' wife was Lainey's assistant. Anyway, it was all very
115 complicated and very involved. And these were good friends whom I stayed friends with. So,
116 when I was at Lake Arrowhead in '63, I called Bob [Hamburger] and Sonny [Sonia Hamburger]
117 and I said, "Why don't I come down and visit for a couple of days?" and they said fine.
118 Unbeknownst to me, UCSD at that point had not really gotten into the social sciences except for

119 linguistics. And so, when I arrived Bob arranged a party with Dave [David] Bonner and Jon
120 [Jonathan S.] Singer and a couple of other people. Just to pick my brain as to what should we
121 quote, what should we do in psychology? And I gave them some names. I told them to talk to
122 George Miller, talk to Neal Miller at Yale, Kauffman at—and so on. Now, I haven't been able to
123 get those records, but the story as I know it is the following: when I was there in '63 there was
124 an offer out to Skinner to come here in psychology. I'm fairly sure that story is correct, because
125 Skinner said to Harvard, "I won't leave if you give [Richard] Herrnstein a full professorship. And
126 that's how Dick [Richard] Herrnstein got to be tenured at Harvard. Now, the other people that
127 presumably were either offered the psychology chair or not—were simply talked to were Irv
128 [Irving] Janis—again because of Bob Hamburger's connection at Yale—Charlie Osgood I'm
129 sure—Charles Osgood at [University of] Illinois, which I think Skinner would have been a greater
130 appointment. I think Osgood would have been a disaster because he got Alzheimer's [disease]
131 within five years and that was very sad. And that was about it.

132 **CHODOROW:** Miller? George?

133 **MANDLER:** I don't think so. I'm fairly sure George Miller was not offered, because I was—
134 George and I were good friends, and he would have told me.

135 **CHODOROW:** But he was connected, apparently, with Roman Jakobson and Noam—

136 **MANDLER:** Through Noam, yeah.

137 **CHODOROW:** —Noam Chomsky, and from the linguistics side, there was apparently an
138 attempt to create a big package that would have included Noam Chomsky, Miller and Jakobson.

139 **MANDLER:** Yeah, that's possible but it never happened.

140 **CHODOROW:** It never happened, and it may have never gotten to—

141 **MANDLER:** That level—that's right.

142 **CHODOROW:** [George] Miller, right. Right.

143 **MANDLER:** I mean, that's a reasonable package. Anyway, so that was it. You know, and I
144 had a good time here. I do not respond to environment and weather, so I thought, you know, it
145 was always fine when I came back. In contrast to Jean [Mandler], who sort of fell over
146 backwards [Chodorow laughs]. A year later in sixty—I still haven't gotten the dates right,

147 although I have fairly good ones. Leonard [D.] Newmark called me some time, I would say, in
148 the fall of '63 it must have been. Because I got—my appointment came through on my birthday
149 in '64. So, all of this what I'm about to tell you must have happened before then. And Leonard
150 said, you know, could I come and meet him in New York to talk about UCSD. And I didn't know
151 Leonard at all. And I said fine, and we met in New York. He was visiting a friend of his at the
152 Rockefeller Institute and we talked. And he was quite persuasive, and I said, "Yes, I'm
153 interested." But that was essentially sort of the level of the discussion. And the next thing, the
154 real sell came from Keith [A.] Brueckner. Keith, who is the real saint of UCSD who did more to
155 build this university than anybody else and has been a "no name" more than anybody else.
156 Every bloody fucking sidewalk is named after somebody, every building is named after
157 somebody, and where is Keith Brueckner? Nowhere. Talk about conspiracies. Anyway. And I
158 picked up Keith at the airport. I remember it distinctly, because he—

159 **CHODOROW:** Yeah, he came up to—

160 **MANDLER:** —came up to Toronto. That's Keith [Brueckner]: he was traveling all over the
161 bloody country recruiting people. The first thing I did to demonstrate my administrative brilliance
162 was to lose my way to the airport while I was driving. [mutual laughter] And I spent the day
163 with—Jean and I spent the day with Keith sitting on the floor of our living room in Toronto, and
164 Keith sold UCSD. And by the time he left there wasn't any question. I said, you know, "Take me,
165 I'm yours." He was great. And you know, the spiel was the usual spiel: that "Graduate students
166 will be colleagues, undergraduate students will be graduate students—" You know, "We're going
167 to build from the top down. Full professors first; graduate students first" etcetera, etcetera. And I
168 said fine. And so that was the BS of July 1, '65. So, I spent '64, '65 recruiting. And the
169 interesting thing is I did not recruit cognitive psychologists primarily. I wanted to recruit people
170 who were sympathetic to this new movement. I even recruited somebody who was an
171 enlightened behaviorist, George Reynolds, who died, oh, about ten years ago.

172 **CHODOROW:** Yeah. I knew George.

173 **MANDLER:** But what I wanted was a new look, a new way of doing this without any of the
174 leftover sins or even virtues of the past.

175 **CHODOROW:** So, you didn't really want to create a uni-dimensional department? You
176 wanted much more than that.

177 **MANDLER:** No. I wanted a department that was sympathetic to what was happening in
178 psychiatry.

179 **CHODOROW:** Right.

180 **MANDLER:** And broad enough without being a Midwestern department, which is what we
181 have left now.

182 **CHODOROW:** A Midwestern department?

183 **MANDLER:** Yeah.

184 **CHODOROW:** That is, we're too spread out.

185 **MANDLER:** By midwestern department I mean, it covers the waterfront. It says a Midwest
186 department can be good or bad, but it's always spread across the whole range of psychology.
187 And I don't know whether that's possible unless you're a "Big Ten" department, in which case
188 you've got fifty, sixty or seventy faculty.

189 **CHODOROW:** Right.

190 **MANDLER:** I mean, [University of] Michigan [, Ann Arbor] is a great Midwestern department
191 and [University of] Nebraska is a not very great division. But that's what I'm trying to say; it says
192 nothing about quality.

193 **CHODOROW:** Right.

194 **MANDLER:** So, I start to recruit. The first person I called was [Robert] Duncan Luce, who was
195 at [University of] Penn [sylvania] at the time. And Penn had been trying to get me to come there
196 for years. And in fact, I nearly went there for graduate school in 1949 rather than to Yale. And
197 Duncan was an old friend from Yale; Duncan and I were assistant professors at Yale. When I
198 was assistant professor in social relations at Yale in '53 to '59—because in '59 we went to the
199 Center—we had an organization called "Kahonta", which were all the non-tenured assistant
200 professors. All of them knew they weren't going to get tenure, right? It was a great group of
201 people, all of whom, you know, made it one way or another afterwards. And then some of them
202 actually came back, of course, because that was the general attitude: that "We won't promote
203 you, but if you're really good we'll call you back." And Duncan [Luce] came back to Harvard and
204 went to Penn. Anyway, Duncan went off and I talked to his then-wife—they were divorced

205 shortly afterwards—and Gaye said, "Sure, we'll come." And then Duncan got on the phone that
206 night and said, "Look, I can't. I'm committed to building Penn," which they were doing something
207 very similar to what I had done in Toronto. I said, "But, you know, I've got a good suggestion:
208 how about Bill [William] McGill?" I'd known Bill from various organizations and so-on over the
209 years and he was at Columbia [University]. And I called him, and he became interested. And
210 only one funny story about this: when finally, the offer came through, Bill called me and said,
211 "Columbia finally made a counter-offer." And I said, "Yeah, what?" He said, "They offered me a
212 deanship." And then he said, "But who the hell wants to be an administrator at Columbia?" [both
213 laugh]

214 **CHODOROW:** I wish we had that on tape, right?

215 **MANDLER:** I've got it in my book. Anyway, what happened was that I had— Talk about
216 money flowing, I had about half-a-dozen people I wanted to talk to about plans for the
217 department. I called Keith [Brueckner] and I said, "I want to get these people to New York," and
218 he said "Sure. Get a suite at the Algonquin [Hotel] for the weekend." Money was no object.
219 There were—I'm trying to remember who there was. There was McGill, there was Stanley
220 Schachter, there was John Layson, there was Bill [William] Kessen and I, and we met for a
221 weekend ordering sandwiches and all sorts of stuff. The only problem with that is all four of
222 them other than me are dead. My oldest friend, Bill Kessen, who I desperately tried to get here,
223 just died over the weekend—ten days ago. But anyway— You know, you get this old, all your
224 friends die. Then Jean said to me, you don't want your friends to die before you do? There's
225 only one solution: die first." [laughter] If you don't want to do that, you're gonna have your
226 friends die.

227 **CHODOROW:** But Bill was a good deal older than you.

228 **MANDLER:** No. Bill was two years older than me.

229 **CHODOROW:** Is that all?

230 **MANDLER:** Yeah. Anyway, where was I? So that was the first—

231 **CHODOROW:** So, you had this meeting in New York with these—

232 **MANDLER:** We had this meeting, and of all these people—

233 **CHODOROW:** Five people.

234 **MANDLER:** —only McGill actually came. But Norman Anderson, who didn't come to the
235 meeting, but I had already talked to over at UCLA [University of California, Los Angeles]. In
236 those days trying to hire somebody from another campus was a huge deal. You had to get
237 permission from his father, his mother, the doctor— [Chodorow laughs] Proposing—anyway, so
238 we got Norman Anderson to come down from UCLA and that was fine. And then that first year,
239 '65-'66, there were three of us here and we had to do everything. We had no—we not only had
240 to start—we even had to teach an undergraduate course, because the first time the graduates
241 came in '68—

242 **CHODOROW:** In sixty-four they first—

243 **MANDLER:** That's right, the undergraduates here—

244 **CHODOROW:** They graduated in '68, which was the year I came.

245 **MANDLER:** Our first year there were undergraduates here, and so we said they had to know
246 the psychology course. So, the three of us taught Psychology 1. It was a disaster. But you
247 know, it was okay. And then we were recruiting, and we had to design space in [Harold C.] Urey
248 Hall, which is where we started off. Actually, on the fourth and fifth floor in Urey Hall.

249 **CHODOROW:** The protean building.

250 **MANDLER:** It was—again, money—completely gutted and psychology labs were established,
251 including animal labs. And at the same time, we had to start designing the new building, the
252 psychology and linguistics building—

253 **CHODOROW:** Right.

254 **MANDLER:** —which went up by 1970. I mean, the speed with which things happened— And I
255 had to go to Washington [D.C.] because we had to raise national defense—NDEA: National
256 Defense Education Act money for one-third of the building. And the reason why psychology has
257 this funny look—a big building and a little one—is the little one is the federal money. The
258 architect said they could only design—they couldn't design an either-or building where all of it
259 was done. So, they only designed two-thirds of the building if we only got state money, and one-
260 third if we get the federal money. In fact, of course, when we got the money, it was all

261 intermingled, but the design was occasioned by the fact that we had to wait for the federal
262 money. Then we got—in the first year we recruited. We were very good. We got practically
263 everybody we wanted. We got David Green from Penn, who brought along Don [Donald A.]
264 Norman—whom I wanted, because he was going to be the other cognitive psychologist—and
265 we hired an assistant professor from Toronto, Peter Lindsey, whom I wanted here—who quit
266 psychology within five years because he had a brain embolism; it was a very sad story. I mean
267 quit doing it here; he's in Toronto. He has a job but he's not in very good shape. But anyway, so
268 we had some cognitive psychologists. And we hired in '67 Bill [William] McGuire from Columbia
269 who left years later because, quote, "Yale needs me more than you do." And Bill McGuire was
270 weird, though. I'm still looking for a letter he wrote to me in which he said, "The things you're
271 doing to me are really out of place because I'm the greatest man since Jesus Christ." Well, he
272 was complaining about something—he was always complaining. It was irrelevant. He was
273 perfectly fine when he was in good mental shape. But I'd been warned about him. At Columbia
274 he had thrown a typewriter at a secretary, so when we hired him, I was warned. And then when
275 he went to Yale, the Yale president—what the hell was his name?

276 **CHODOROW:** Kingman Brewster

277 **MANDLER:** Kingman Brewster called me and said, "I understand there were some problems
278 with McGuire." And I said, "Look. You want him, fine. We'd like to keep him because we think
279 he's a fine psychologist, but I've got to warn you, I was warned about him by Stanley Schachter
280 at Columbia. I hired him anyway, and you know, we get into these episodes." And a month later
281 he was hired at Yale where he—I'm sorry. This has nothing to do with this; I've got to tell you
282 this story. Bill complained within six months of arriving at Yale about two things: one of them
283 was there was a dearth of faculty whose names ended in a vowel at Yale. [Chodorow laughs]
284 What was the problem? Catholics, Irish and Italian names tend to end in vowels, and the lack of
285 vowels in the Yale faculty indicates an anti-Catholic bias. Secondly, undergraduates had a
286 shop—sort of all-purpose shop—at Yale called "Hocus Pocus". And he complained to the
287 administration that this shop should not be allowed and at least the name should be changed.
288 You've got to understand something about Bill McGuire: he was a brilliant scholar. Why?
289 Because the name "Hocus Pocus" originates with Protestants making fun of the Communion:
290 *Horcus Corpus* is the origin of the name "Hocus Pocus". Those Catholics were doing *hocus*
291 *pocus*.

292 **CHODOROW:** Right.

293 **MANDLER:** And *hocus pocus*—

294 **CHODOROW:** Magic.

295 **MANDLER:** —in its origin was a deadly anti-Catholic term. Nobody who had started the shop
296 who used it had the faintest idea. Well, as far as I knew. [*laughs*] I'm sorry. End of my McGuire
297 story. [*laughs*]

298 **CHODOROW:** That's very good. Let me take you back just a second and ask a little bit
299 about these first folks. You said that Don [Donald A.] Norman was your—

300 **MANDLER:** Don Norman was a young assistant professor at Penn.

301 **CHODOROW:** More recently, yeah.

302 **MANDLER:** He had been with [George] Miller and— Yeah, he had been with Miller and
303 [Jerome] Bruner for a year or two at Harvard in the research slot—not in the ladders job. Well,
304 there are no ladders. Well, there are ladders, but we only have two.

305 **CHODOROW:** That's right. [*laughs*]

306 **MANDLER:** —in a non-ladder job. And so, I think it was Duncan [Luce], who had been his
307 professor at Penn where he got his Ph.D., who hired him back at Penn.

308 **CHODOROW:** But then—what I'm trying to establish is that Don [Norman] was your direct
309 colleague in cognitive [psychology]. And in what—what was McGill working on and Anderson
310 and those fellows?

311 **MANDLER:** The notion with McGill was to build up the basis of what we call "psychophysics
312 sensation". Bill's primary interest was in audition—in hearing. And we built up a really first-rate
313 hearing lab, because Dave Green was one of the great catches in the field. So, with McGill and
314 Green and some very good postdocs—this was exactly the sort of thing I wanted: people who
315 worked on basic phenomena that would feed into our view of human informational processing
316 approach. So that was—

317 **CHODOROW:** That was what Bill and Green were doing.

318 **MANDLER:** [Donald] Norman already then—Don already then was somewhat of a gadfly, but,
319 you know, clearly moving in the right direction. Of course, what happened eventually was that
320 [Donald] Norman built the whole cognitive science bit, but it started off with a group called LNR:
321 [Peter H.] Lindsey, Norman and [David E.] Rumelhart.

322 **CHODOROW:** Right.

323 **MANDLER:** Lindsey was Peter Lindsey, whom I told you about—

324 **CHODOROW:** Right.

325 **MANDLER:** —who had the brain injury. And [David E.] Rumelhart we hired in 1968. In fact, I
326 remember going—he was a Stanford [University] Ph.D. And I remember I met him and
327 essentially offered him a job at the San Francisco airport in 1968. Rumelhart by the way, now is
328 severely ill.

329 **CHODOROW:** Is he really?

330 **MANDLER:** He had—about five years ago—had a benign tumor removed from the pituitary.
331 And apparently what happened is low reversal, and they have assumed that the operation made
332 some fundamental personality changes. When he divorced his wife, alienated his sons, took up
333 with a graduate student, started talking gibberish—within one, two, three years all these things
334 happened. He's now in Michigan in the care of one of his sons. It's a terribly sad story, because
335 he was probably the great product, sort of, from the Ph.D. arm of UCSD. He left.

336 **CHODOROW:** He went back to Stanford.

337 **MANDLER:** He went back to Stanford. Anyway. And [Donald] Norman had LNR, which then
338 became CSL: Cognitive Science Lab, which then became the Institute of Cognitive Science,
339 which then became the department. So, Don's whole career was pointing in that direction from
340 the beginning, and it went very well. Now he's in private business. He went—

341 **CHODOROW:** He was in—he was at Mac, at the Apple Company.

342 **MANDLER:** He went to Apple, and then went to Hewlett-Packard, and then went somewhere
343 else. Now he's set up in his own business. And just last week I saw him doing an ad for Schwab
344 [Investment Company] on television. [mutual laughter] But anyway, Don's been a good old

345 friend. He's retired—he's emeritus. Anyway, who else? We hired Tony [J. Anthony] Deutsch in
346 1966.

347 **CHODOROW:** And he was in perception?

348 **MANDLER:** No, he was in physiological.

349 **CHODOROW:** Physiological.

350 **MANDLER:** And George [S.] Reynolds, who was doing animal work in behaviorism, but very
351 interested in other things and had ties to other places without the sort of uptight prejudices. Oh,
352 what else—

353 **CHODOROW:** You brought in some young people; when did [Edmund J.] Fantino and
354 [Benjamin A.] Williams come?

355 **MANDLER:** Oh yes, Fantino. Fantino. We brought in as George Reynolds's playmate, as the
356 second appointment. Then Williams came as George Reynolds's replacement. Or no, he
357 became—no, he was before then. But Ben Williams came already much later than that. Who
358 else? We had a couple of young— Actually, the interesting thing is that our beginning assistant
359 professor appointments were not that successful. The two first ones I remember were [J.
360 Edward] Russo and—

361 I don't remember the other guy's name. He was in social [psychology]. He just didn't make it. In
362 fact, I would say that UCSD in the late '60s, early '70s period was much tougher on assistant
363 professors getting tenure than it is now. But I think that's to be expected. I love the [University
364 of] California system. I think it's a great system compared with systems where you have to beg,
365 borrow and steal appointments and promotions. But the promotion system—particularly to
366 tenure—is much more likely to produce false positives than false negatives.

367 **CHODOROW:** Right.

368 **MANDLER:** And that—that just happens. That's the way it works. But anyway, we didn't—
369 Who else? I think that's about it for the early appointments. Now, then there was the— In 1970,
370 '71, one of the problems— Now let me just backtrack. By the time I came in the fall of '65
371 Putnam was gone. He had been moved out in a power play by Carl Eckart, who was the vice-
372 chancellor—something like that.

373 **MANDLER:** Well, he would have been—well, in '65 York was still—

374 **CHODOROW:** [John S.] Galbraith. Galbraith had just stepped down. Galbraith had come
375 here as vice-chancellor and replaced [Keith] Brueckner.

376 **MANDLER:** No. [Keith] Brueckner was never vice-chancellor; he was a provost.

377 **CHODOROW:** Well, he was Dean—they called him "dean."

378 **MANDLER:** Dean, right. Dean of Los Angeles. Yeah.

379 **CHODOROW:** But he was still functioning as the chief academic officer—

380 **MANDLER:** But not— By the time I arrived I had a memo from Keith [Brueckner] saying that
381 he was resigning because the situation had become untenable or something. Or he had been
382 asked to resign. Well, whatever it was. But Carl Eckart was one of the really unimpressive
383 people during those early days. And I think that John Galbraith just didn't have the energy or
384 vision to run this place properly. But it didn't make any difference by then—

385 **CHODOROW:** By then you had the leadership in the department.

386 **MANDLER:** —because the leadership was in the faculty. Then there was this very funny
387 succession of chairs of the social science search committee. There was Gabe [Gabriel]
388 Jackson; I took over from Gabe and stayed on for two years. But what happened was a lot of
389 movement in the membership. We had Herbert Marcuse as a member for a year. And here's the
390 thing about Marcuse is, he couldn't have cared less. He was really disinterested. I mean, he had
391 programmatic ideas on what we should do, but when it came to what people— When I came in
392 there was an offer out in anthropology to—it doesn't matter—and that fell through. Mel [Melford
393 E.] Spiro had been an old friend of mine who was on the list when I got to the social science
394 search committee, and I immediately called him and said, "Okay, are you interested?" And we
395 got him. Then we got Joe [Joseph] Gusfield, who was—that was very funny, because nobody
396 knew what to do in sociology. So, I don't know who it was, somebody on our committee said,
397 "Let's call [Harvey] Greisman." We called Greisman, he said "Get Joe [Joseph] Gusfield." So
398 that's how we got Joe Gusfield. The worst part was political science, actually. I have notes
399 saying the committee once again postponed the political science decision for another year. By
400 the time I left the committee—I have a copy of a memo to, it must have been [John] Galbraith—

401 saying, you know, we've done everything except political science, which we'd gladly leave to our
402 successor committee.

403 **CHODOROW:** And I was on that successor committee, and we went through one candidate
404 after another, and one was more ridiculous than the next. Until we finally arrived at the
405 combination of Martin Shapiro and Sandy [Sanford A.] Lakoff.

406 **MANDLER:** You see, economics was already here when we came. And linguistics, of course,
407 was here.

408 **CHODOROW:** Would you talk about the relationship between—I know that the linguistics
409 and psychology were close enough to be able to plan a building together, which is not a trivial
410 matter, especially when there was money to build buildings. You made that choice—

411 **MANDLER:** Yeah.

412 **CHODOROW:** How did it look from your point of view?

413 **MANDLER:** I didn't make that choice.

414 **CHODOROW:** You didn't make that choice. Who made that?

415 **MANDLER:** Who knows? By the time I arrived, I was told to plan with Lenny [Newmark] a
416 psychology-linguistics building.

417 **CHODOROW:** So, somebody else had decided you two—

418 **MANDLER:** So, I said, "Sure, why not?" Now, Leonard [Newmark] must know what had
419 happened because he was here—

420 **CHODOROW:** He was here before.

421 **MANDLER:** But, I mean, I was given a *fait accompli*, which I didn't even think was a policy
422 problem. We were, you know, close enough to linguistics. I mean, if they'd put us together with
423 P[hysical] E[ducation] I would have said, "Well, you know, that really wouldn't work." But, you
424 know, we were close enough to linguistics, had enough—some common interests, so that was
425 no problem. And Lenny was perfectly happy to have me run my ass off trying to get the building
426 off. [Chodorow laughs] Well, you know, we had two-thirds of the building—

427 **CHODOROW:** Right.

428 **MANDLER:** And we had, except for the language labs, very specific needs: audition labs,
429 animal labs, and so on. So, you know, it was reasonable for us to sort of take over. The
430 interesting thing— One interesting thing happened: I've always been interested in graft,
431 because I was always interested in why people do things when there is graft and when there
432 isn't graft. And I remember one thing that happened, one example of graft: the architect who
433 built the psychology and linguistics gave me a bottle of scotch. That was the only graft that I
434 ever even could sniff at. Because I was always worried—wondering—that with all this money
435 going around, who's making the money? Now, there were people who were making money, but
436 they were making it in the periphery of the university.

437 **CHODOROW:** They were buying land.

438 **MANDLER:** They were buying land all the way around, when they were building hotels and so
439 on.

440 **CHODOROW:** Right.

441 **MANDLER:** But none of the money in the university as far as I could tell, you know, and I was
442 delighted to see that.

443 **CHODOROW:** Yeah. That was a shock to me when I went to Penn and saw the prices on,
444 per square foot on buildings, and I thought, "There are a lot of cousins in this city."

445 **MANDLER:** That's right. Oh, yes.

446 **CHODOROW:** It was a very different experience. And it was complicated in many ways.
447 Building on a UC campus, of course, a lot is without permits. I mean, you have to get state
448 approvals and building approvals and meet their standards, but you don't have to go through the
449 county and city process which you do have to do in a private university, for example, which
450 holds things up.

451 **MANDLER:** Anyway, a bottle of scotch is what I got for a two-million-dollar building.
452 [Chodorow laughs]

453 **CHODOROW:** It was a two-million-dollar building? Come on, it has to have been more than
454 that.

455 **MANDLER:** No, I think it was one— One-point-three-million sticks— I think \$1.3 [million] must
456 have been the federal—

457 **CHODOROW:** Oh, the federal part?

458 **MANDLER:** —contribution, so it was three times that. Yeah, three times that—about four
459 million, yeah.

460 **CHODOROW:** Three times that. A four-million-dollar building. Amazing.

461 **MANDLER:** I should have gotten two bottles of scotch. *[laughs]*

462 **CHODOROW:** Absolutely. And good scotch. In the early days of the department, how did the
463 work— As you established your labs and got these people at work in that first, say, seven or
464 eight years, what was being produced here? How did people interact and—?

465 **MANDLER:** Well, the amazing thing is that—I looked at the numbers the other day; when we
466 had thirteen faculty—it must have been about '69 or something like that—we had fifty-seven
467 graduate students. We have now twenty-four faculty and I think we have less than forty—

468 **CHODOROW:** Graduate students.

[END OF PART ONE, BEGIN PART TWO]

469 **MANDLER:** —because the different labs lived with each other in an intellectual sense.

470 **CHODOROW:** Right.

471 **MANDLER:** And the whole atmosphere was just—

472 **CHODOROW:** Was it organized—? Did you organize the intellectual life of the department in
473 a formal way? Were there colloquia series and stuff like that?

474 **MANDLER:** The only thing I started was a weekly brown bag lunch, which was organized by
475 CHP [Community Health Project], but really sort of spread out through the whole department.
476 But apart from that, labs were able to sort of exist by themselves. Psychology, in that sense, is
477 very much like the natural sciences where labs are self-contained. They talk to each other, but
478 they're organization is their own operation.

479 **CHODOROW:** —their own operation and their own production. What happened in regard—in
480 that period, because you have— It's a period of change and evolution in the whole field, the
481 whole discipline. What was happening to the publication venues? Were folks in cognitive
482 [psychology] taking over?

483 **MANDLER:** That was changing very rapidly.

484 **CHODOROW:** Or the new journals?

485 **MANDLER:** No, we were taking over.

486 **CHODOROW:** No, the old traditional journals

487 **MANDLER:** By the end of the '60s the revolution was over—

488 **CHODOROW:** Right.

489 **MANDLER:** —and all the aristocrats had been shot in the back [Chodorow laughs] Actually,
490 it's interesting: there are people who still resent what happened then. And Abe [Abram] Amsel,
491 the young man who went with me to Toronto in 1959, who has become an unreconstructed [J.
492 L.] Holland behaviorist, who still is, is terribly angry. I mean, he's angry the way it happened.
493 He's angry. He says, "You've sold out the field," and so on. I mean, you know, as if this were
494 really important. [mutual laughter] But that was all over.

495 **CHODOROW:** Did you—? Did the leadership in the department play a role as editors of
496 some of these journals during the fall?

497 **MANDLER:** I became editor of the premiere theoretical journal, the Psychological Review, in
498 1965. See, I took the chairmanship for five years, and I meant that seriously. And I quit after five
499 years and I said, "That's it." But that made it possible for me to do things like take over the
500 editorship.

501 **CHODOROW:** Right. And who succeeded you? Was it George?

502 **MANDLER:** It was either George [S. Reynolds] or Don [Donald A. Norman], but I think it was
503 George. I think it was Reynolds-Norman-Reynolds.

504 **CHODOROW:** Right. Because I dealt with Reynolds as chair, but I believe it was the second
505 time he was chair.

506 **MANDLER:** Yeah, I think so. Yeah. Yeah, he would have been chair from '65-'70. And then
507 Don in the early '70s—

508 **CHODOROW:** Right, right.

509 **MANDLER:** —and then Reynolds again. Sorry, what were you asking?

510 **CHODOROW:** I was asking—

511 **MANDLER:** Oh, yes. The leadership, yeah. The journals. I think that there is relatively little— I
512 used to preach that: that editors have relatively little influence on what gets published or not.
513 Obviously, that is in contrast to what I just said before about the behaviorists. But you see, what
514 happened then was that was the way psychology was. It wasn't individual people. So, you
515 know, "We can't publish that; nobody would read it," you know? But my experience as an editor
516 of the Psych[ological] Review and then sort of editorial board for lots of other journals is that
517 eighty percent of what you publish is what comes in over the transit. And you don't have that
518 much choice as an editor.

519 **CHODOROW:** That's right.

520 **MANDLER:** So, no, I think we— Look, we became within— We started in '65; I think by '69
521 we were in the top half-dozen experimental departments in the country. And this is all by dint of
522 productivity and production rather than position. And some of this was rather obscure. I
523 remember Duncan Luce eventually ended up at [University of California,] Irvine. And he had
524 been an excellent collaborator. At one point I published one of their papers in the
525 Psych[ological] Review and Duncan warned me. He said there were only about a dozen people
526 in the country who understand this paper. I said, "That's all right; it's important enough." And he
527 came to see me later and then he says, "You wouldn't believe this: David and I have had five-
528 hundred reprint requests. What has happened is that people have decided that [David] Green
529 and Luce are so important they have to have it lying around in their lab even though they
530 couldn't understand it."

531 **CHODOROW:** Understand it. [mutual laughter]

532 **MANDLER:** I don't understand this he says, "These people don't understand what this is
533 about. If they do understand it, they're really not interested in the field," and so on.

534 **CHODOROW:** What was the import of that paper?

535 **MANDLER:** It was a theoretical-mathematical model of hearing, of transduction in the ear and
536 so on. And it made it quite important. It had the proper successes but, you know, only for people
537 interested in that rather narrow area.

538 **CHODOROW:** One of the things you said earlier suggests another topic, and that is when
539 you were talking about Don and Don's move—quite naturally—into the foundation of the
540 cognitive science department and so on. What happened in the long run to this group of people
541 that you put together? I mean, as the work continued to evolve, did things break apart in a
542 certain way? Or—

543 **MANDLER:** Well, they didn't break apart. You know, we made the terrible mistake of hiring
544 very good people, and very good people get hired away from you. S.S. [Stanley Smith] Stevens
545 was the great man in Audition at Harvard [University]. And Smitty [S.S.] Stevens was over-the-
546 hill; by the time he died it must have been in the late '70s, early '80s. And they offered [David]
547 Green, Smitty Stevens's chair. And David came in to see me—you know, I wasn't chairman
548 anymore, but I'd sort of, I'd hired him originally—and he says, "I've got to take the Stevens chair.
549 I can't not do that." And [William] McGuire went back to Yale [University], because that's where
550 he got his degree. And [William] McGill— Well, you know— *[laughs]*

551 **CHODOROW:** McGill did the unimaginable.

552 **MANDLER:** Right. There were a lot of very good people who we just— [David E.] Rumelhart
553 went to Stanford and [Donald] Norman eventually got his own department. So, you know, here
554 are half a dozen of the bright, shining lights of the department who left. One of the reasons
555 cognitive science appeared is because— I think—we started this movement toward the mid-
556 western department. And Don wanted something that was much more tightly defined. In fact, I
557 would say that—I don't even—he probably agrees with it, and I think he said something very
558 similar—that cognitive science's creation was the shadow that I left in 1965 out of creating a
559 human information processing center at the department. But by the time Don wanted cognitive
560 science, the department decided to spread out—and it's now spreading out even more. Now,
561 that is in the context of the fact that cognitive psychology is in the down-period. They've sort of

562 run out of ideas. On top of which, you know, the brain has become— People have discovered
563 that, "Yes, Virginia, there is a brain," and you know, that's going to last another five or ten years.
564 So, we're hiring a lot of neuroscientist people, and so is everybody.

565 **CHODOROW:** That's the sort of— Yeah. That was a question that I asked colleagues at
566 [University of] Penn[sylvania], because I noted that the departments seemed to be pulled apart
567 with neuroscience on one side and cognitive science on the other. And cognitive science, again,
568 was heavily invested in computer science and linguistics.

569 **MANDLER:** No, I know Penn very well. Some of my—

570 **CHODOROW:** And you know, I said to the department—

571 **MANDLER:** The cognitive [scientist]s are some of my closest friends.

572 **CHODOROW:** Is that right? They— I asked once where the future of the discipline was,
573 given what was happening. Was there, in fact, one field of psychology? Or was it going to break
574 up in some way? Their response—which was predictable and not very interesting—was, "We're
575 okay, lad. We're one discipline and we're very happy with this, thank you very much." But I
576 wasn't entirely convinced.

577 **MANDLER:** Yeah, I think— We are getting this slide into the brain and so on. But, you know,
578 I'm a great believer in Hegelian spirals and cycles. And I've seen it; I'm old enough to have seen
579 some of them. And it'll last for another five or ten years. The problem with all this imagery
580 business—I'm sorry, imaging business—is you got to know what it is you're looking for. And
581 those ideas come from the non-neurosciences level. And they're going to run out of "What are
582 we looking for?" and there's going to be a movement back toward doing experimental
583 psychology, which is sort of a little iffy.

584 **CHODOROW:** Yeah. That's why— I became very friendly with Bob [Robert] Rescorla

585 **MANDLER:** Oh, yeah.

586 **CHODOROW:** —who was a friend of Ben [Benjamin A.] Williams and so on. And Bob was
587 an unreconstructed experimentalist.

588 **MANDLER:** Right.

589 **CHODOROW:** And it seemed to me that he was plugging along, doing his work, but that
590 nobody else seemed to care very much.

591 **MANDLER:** Yeah. But that varies from department to department. That department lost—had
592 a lot of problems. When they lost— I'm sorry. You know, my work is in memory. [Chodorow
593 laughs] The most fascinating problem in memory is why, with age, names go first as opposed to
594 everything else. I'm terrible with names. I don't have any problem with anything else. And there
595 are about half a dozen theories around, and nobody has ever come up with a good idea what it
596 is about names that is so peculiar. There are perfectly fine ideas around and they don't all just
597 work out. Anyway, Michelle Gelman and Randy Galveston left—that was a big blow to them—
598 who, by the way, are now probably going back east to Rutgers [University]. And Penn just asked
599 them whether they'd be interested.

600 **CHODOROW:** Right.

601 **MANDLER:** But I think it'll gel again. Some of the cognitive science departments are now
602 called "cognitive science and psychology". Brown [University] is called that, MIT [Massachusetts
603 Institute of Technology] is called that, and—

604 **CHODOROW:** So, there's a reintegration.

605 **MANDLER:** They might. It doesn't seem like it here, because as I said, psychology is moving
606 away from cognitive science and becoming more Midwestern. One thing I meant to start and
607 never got to talk about before, the one problem we had before I could take the job here was
608 what to do about Jean [M. Mandler]. See, Jean and I were married at the time in the '50s when
609 there was still the thought that women Ph.D.'s married male Ph.D.'s, and then go with the male
610 Ph.D.'s wherever they get the job. And the women Ph.D.'s get some sort of secondary job,
611 research job and so on, and nobody pays any attention. Jean got her Ph.D. at Harvard when I
612 was an assistant professor with Jerry [Jerome] Bruner. And it was fascinating: Jerry Bruner
613 asked all his graduate students one time what they wanted to do as far as the job search was
614 concerned, and never asked Jean—one of his best students. He couldn't care less. That's not
615 true— It never entered his mind that that's what he should be doing. So, when I got the job offer
616 at [University of] Toronto, the question was, what could Jean do in Toronto? And Toronto was
617 very good. They said, you know, she could have a lab—in those days she was doing animal
618 work—and she could raise money, but you know, no job. So, when I got the job offer at UCSD

619 [University of California, San Diego], I said, "What can we do for Jean?" "Well, she can't be in
620 psychology."

621 **CHODOROW:** Right. That was a rule. You couldn't—

622 **MANDLER:** It was nepotism. Nepotism. It was absolutely no way out.

623 **CHODOROW:** It's why Margaret [E.] Burbidge was in chemistry.

624 **MANDLER:** That's right, yeah. So, Jean got—she was appointed on a research appointment.
625 It was a weird thing. The university said, "We'll pay her two thousand for a salary on a research
626 series in biology. Herb [Herbert] Stern was Jean's chair for many years [laughter], you know. But
627 that was unsatisfactory because, you know, Jean wanted to get a regular job. And it wasn't until
628 1970 when I left the chairmanship, at that point it appeared that nepotism had changed. She
629 could have a job in the same department as I [sic] as long as I wasn't chair anymore.

630 **CHODOROW:** That's right.

631 **MANDLER:** And Herb [Herbert F.] York—I think that was Herb York's second—

632 **CHODOROW:** So, it was the momentary second between—

633 **MANDLER:** That's right.

634 **CHODOROW:**— [John] Galbraith and—

635 **MANDLER:** [William] McElroy

636 **CHODOROW:** Between [William] McGill and [William] McElroy

637 **MANDLER:** McElroy, yeah.

638 **CHODOROW:** Between McGill and McElroy.

639 **MANDLER:** And Herb [York] said, "Look, we've got to regularize the appointment." And we
640 were on sabbatical in England in '71, '72—I mean, the whole thing is so weird—and here was
641 McGill at Columbia [University]. And the Columbia department wrote to me and said, "Look, we
642 understand you're having trouble at UCSD. We have a deal for you: how would you come as
643 chair to Columbia and Jean would take the chair at Harvard?" And I wrote back and said, "No

644 way, I don't want a chairmanship." They said, "All right." So, we told [George S.] Reynolds
645 that—he was chairman here. And at the last moment an FTE was created and so on, and Jean
646 got a regular appointment in psychology. But it wasn't possible up until 1970. And then after that
647 there were these negotiations about what to do about that. But again, UCSD behaved very well
648 by giving her this research series—that's all they could do.

649 **CHODOROW:** Right.

650 **MANDLER:** Again, money didn't matter.

651 **CHODOROW:** Right. They were able actually to pay her salary—

652 **MANDLER:** They were able to create—

653 **CHODOROW:** Pay part of her salary.

654 **MANDLER:** —a salary without any problem. The whole— The amount of money available for
655 recruiting in those days— I mean, forget about the Algonquin [Hotel]. We were just traveling all
656 over the place—dinners and lunches and so forth. All I had to do was send my bills to Keith [A.
657 Brueckner] and he'd take care of them.

658 **CHODOROW:** And he'd take care of them.

659 **MANDLER:** By the way, did you talk to Keith [Brueckner]?

660 **CHODOROW:** Yes.

661 **MANDLER:** And what—?

662 **CHODOROW:** Well, it was interesting because we talked to Keith [Brueckner] in the context
663 of a conversation about the origins of physics.

664 **MANDLER:** Yeah.

665 **CHODOROW:** And it was not arranged directly by us; it was arranged by Jim [James R.]
666 Arnold. Jim had started a series, and when it was—

667 **MANDLER:** Jim was another person, by the way, who was at that party at the [Robert N.]
668 Hamburgers' in '63.

669 **CHODOROW:** And Jim [Arnold] wanted to talk about the beginnings of chemistry and also
670 physics. And so, he brought— That's how I got involved, because he called me and said, "I've
671 arranged this. You're a historian; would you come and make certain that we stay on topic and
672 ask the right questions?" So— And I said "Sure." And when we had done it— And it was
673 fascinating, because the two approaches to developing those two departments about the same
674 time were very, very different, and by two men who were roughly the same age—both about
675 thirty-five [years-old] when they did it. I found that so fascinating—and it's something I've been
676 interested in for a long, long time anyway—that we started this series. Brad [Bradley D.
677 Westbrook] is the university archivist, so on top of this series he's also collecting papers—you
678 know, faculty papers—which will be the basis for something much broader. But this period from
679 roughly 1960—from '59, '60—to about 1975 is what I would regard as the first period. And
680 remember that just around 1975 was when the state [of California] revised its demographic
681 projections—incorrectly, of course—and said, "UCSD won't get larger than about fourteen-
682 thousand [persons]." About half the size of its original, right?

683 **MANDLER:** Yeah.

684 **CHODOROW:** And it essentially stopped us all in our tracks. The other thing that fascinated
685 me is, I was a junior faculty member watching all this, sitting on committees like the political
686 science committee, and I saw it from a very different angle being brought up by people like
687 Warren [L.] Butler and other senior people—

688 **MANDLER:** Yes.

689 **CHODOROW:** —who were the heads of the committees on which I was placed and who
690 taught me how to be an academic. [*laughs*] So I've been interested in this. Do you have any
691 other things that you—?

692 **MANDLER:** But Keith [Brueckner] didn't say anything about—

693 **CHODOROW:** He didn't say anything about being dean. And that's another subject, because
694 that's a—

695 **MANDLER:** Is he around at all?

696 **CHODOROW:** Yeah. Yeah. I see him. I think he might be willing to come back and talk about
697 those things. He's reticent, you know.

698 **MANDLER:** Oh, yes.

699 **CHODOROW:** One of the reasons why he suffered the fate he did politically was that he
700 wouldn't put himself forward or he wouldn't play the game that—

701 **MANDLER:** Well, I don't— If they don't want to play—fine.

702 **CHODOROW:** Right. "If they want me to go do something else, I'll go do something else."
703 Yeah. So—

704 **MANDLER:** Archivist: I've got a whole bunch of stuff. Like for example, the minutes of the
705 social science committee.

706 **CHODOROW:** Oh! It's a gold mine. *[laughs]*

707 **WESTBROOK:** We should get together and talk. I presume this is all—

708 **MANDLER:** It's all in my office.

709 **WESTBROOK:** It's in your office.

710 **MANDLER:** Or the minutes of the first five years of the psychology department.

711 **WESTBROOK:** Okay. What about your personal papers, though? Your—

712 **MANDLER:** My personal papers I have— There's something called "The Archives of the
713 History of Psychology" at the University of Akron, [Ohio], of all places.

714 **CHODOROW:** Oh, my God.

715 **MANDLER:** Yes. *[laughs]*

716 **WESTBROOK:** And you've placed them there already?

717 **MANDLER:** No, but I've promised them there—my personal papers.

718 **WESTBROOK:** Oh. That's unfortunate.

719 **MANDLER:** But they don't have to have all of them.

720 **CHODOROW:** That's a fascinating place; I wonder what happened? Somebody—

721 **WESTBROOK:** And has your wife also promised them her papers?

722 **MANDLER:** No, she hasn't yet.

723 **CHODOROW:** Jean is another person whose papers would be interesting

724 **MANDLER:** Yeah. But I will— I've got boxes and boxes of university stuff. And there are two
725 ways of doing this: one of them, you and I will have a good time going through them. The other
726 one is, if I get really lazy, I take those boxes of university stuff and ship them to you and say,
727 "You deal with it." [laughter] Now we may do something in between.

728 **WESTBROOK:** We're much more accustomed to the latter; that would be good. I'd like to talk
729 to you more about bringing them over. We have some part of your research collection as well.

730 **MANDLER:** I think my correspondence with people like Skinner, Piaget, and so on is more
731 appropriate for Akron than for UCSD, because they have a lot of that stuff.

732 **WESTBROOK:** Okay.

733 **MANDLER:** For example, they already have my six years of files as editor of the
734 Psychological Review.

735 **WESTBROOK:** Right.

736 **MANDLER:** But the other stuff— For example, the research stuff might be more appropriate
737 here, so I have no problem with that. I don't know. It depends on what you guys want.

738 **WESTBROOK:** Yeah, yeah. I'm a little uncomfortable about losing that correspondence.

739 **MANDLER:** Well, the correspondence—

740 **WESTBROOK:** It seems as though the correspondence would also have some relationship to
741 your research.

742 **MANDLER:** Yeah, but less than you might think.

743 **WESTBROOK:** Oh. At any rate, let's talk some more—

744 **MANDLER:** Anyway. This, by the way, is something entirely different. This is a twelve-chapter
745 autobiography and memoirs that I'm now talking with potential publishers for—

746 **WESTBROOK:** Wow.

747 **MANDLER:** —only two-and-a-half chapters of which have anything to do with UCSD. I've had
748 a very varied life. The first half of the book up to graduate school has nothing to do with UCSD,
749 but has to do with growing up in Vienna, the Holocaust, emigre life—school and emigre life in
750 New York—school in England, and then military intelligence in Germany and so on. And so, all
751 of that—

752 **CHODOROW:** After the war you were sent back?

753 **MANDLER:** No, no. I was in military intelligence during the war—in the war. That's an
754 interesting story, because after years of looking through the literature that is available nobody
755 has ever really described what I've described in there, which is very simple. The role of the
756 German-speaking refugee population, working in military intelligence and doing interrogations
757 and stuff like that through military intelligence—it doesn't exist. And I wrote this all up and I
758 suddenly said, gee, nobody else has done this. It's— There's a reference to it in some obscure
759 military documents, but nobody's ever— Anyway. So, half of it is that, right? And then there's a
760 chapter on Toronto. There's a chapter on Harvard and my great contribution to post-war history:
761 I am responsible, personally, for the drug craze coming out of Harvard.

762 **CHODOROW:** For Timothy Leary? [*laughs*]

763 **MANDLER:** In 1959-60, I was a lecturer at Harvard. In those days, Harvard did this
764 wonderful— You know, now what they do is—they did this to one of our sons—after three years
765 as an assistant professor you become an associate professor without tenure, and then they kick
766 you out.

767 **WESTBROOK:** Oh, my God.

768 **CHODOROW:** Right. That's— You were a lecturer.

769 **MANDLER:** In my day after three years as an assistant professor, they made you a lecturer,
770 and then you could stay forever if you really got this Harvard sickness, right? So, I was a
771 lecturer, and I said—I had this invitation to go to the Center [for the Study of Behavioral

772 Sciences] at Stanford—"I'm going in '59, '60." And James McClelland, who was head of the
773 Center for Research on Personality, wrote a letter—which I have— and he says, "I've just met
774 this brilliant young man. He rolled in from Florence, he has a fantastic background, broadly
775 educated. Why don't we get him to come to Harvard on the money that Mandler will release
776 when he goes to the Center?" And I had nothing to do with that. You know, the powers that be
777 said, "Fine" and I left in the fall of '59. And Tim Leary—the brilliant young man from Florence—
778 arrived and met my old friend Ram Dass [Richard Alpert], as he's called now— Come on—
779 [snaps fingers impatiently]

780 **CHODOROW:** Oh, that's right. The man who became Ram Dass [Richard Alpert]—

781 **MANDLER:** Anyway, it'll come to me. Who was one of members of the Kahonta, who had
782 organized a stock group club where each of us put in fifty bucks, and he bought stocks for us. I
783 mean, he was the classic 1959 yuppie, you know. And he and Ram—not Ram Dass—he and
784 [Timothy] Leary became the center of the whole acid thing. And if I had not left that year, Tim
785 Leary would not have come to Harvard. So, without me—

786 **CHODOROW:** Right. [*laughs*]

787 **MANDLER:** —no Sixties! [*laughter*]

788 **CHODOROW:** That's great.

789 **WESTBROOK:** It sounds very genuine. I mean, that dovetails with the literature because
790 that's—

791 **MANDLER:** Alpert—Dick Alpert.

792 **WESTBROOK:** —you know, Charles Olson and Robert Creeley come into—have contact
793 with Timothy Leary at that point and it informs their poetry—

794 **MANDLER:** But you know the funny thing about all this? I never met Tim. I knew about Tim, I
795 corresponded with him because he was a psychologist at the University of Washington [at
796 Seattle] —oh, by the way, of mediocre reputation at that time, except for the fact that he was
797 this brilliant young man. And I left before he arrived, and subsequently with no other occasion I
798 never met him. And I don't think Tim ever knew how important I was in his life. [*laughs*]

799 **CHODOROW:** Going back a little bit to your memoirs, which sound like they're going to be
800 fascinating; you must be roughly of the same generation and background as Walter Cohen?

801 **MANDLER:** [Nineteen] twenty-four.

802 **CHODOROW:** You were born in '24.

803 **MANDLER:** Yeah.

804 **CHODOROW:** He was—

805 **MANDLER:** He's older, isn't he?

806 **CHODOROW:** He's just a little bit older, yeah. Maybe '21 or something like that?

807 **MANDLER:** Probably something like that. Yeah, I think McGill was '22.

808 **CHODOROW:** His life was changed by the fact that penicillin arrived the year before he got
809 meningitis.

810 **MANDLER:** Oh, really?

811 **CHODOROW:** It cured him and saved his life—because that's what people died of. I had an
812 uncle—my mother's brother, for whom I'm named—died at thirteen. That was— And Walter got
813 meningitis at thirteen, but it was just a few years later and there was penicillin and he's alive.

814 **WESTBROOK:** He was thirteen and he was where? He was in Germany?

815 **CHODOROW:** He was in Vienna; he's a Viennese.

816 **WESTBROOK:** Okay. He was interned for a period of time, I think.

817 **CHODOROW:** Was he?

818 **WESTBROOK:** He was interned in a camp for a period of time, wasn't he?

819 **MANDLER:** Well, I'm not sure that Walter—

820 **WESTBROOK:** He seemed to suggest that on Flashbacks last Thursday-

821 **MANDLER:** I don't—

822 **WESTBROOK:** that he spent two years in internment. And that was during that period he
823 learned to communicate— He came across another prisoner who taught him Euclidean
824 geometry.

825 **MANDLER:** But that doesn't sound like a German—

826 **CHODOROW:** No, that sounds like Switzerland.

827 **MANDLER:** In the Swiss camps—in the Blitzer camps too—for refugees. So, it could have
828 been one of—it likely would have been one of those.

829 **WESTBROOK:** Right.

830 **CHODOROW:** There were many people—

831 **MANDLER:** You didn't go into the camps in Germany in those days and came out with
832 Euclidean geometry. That reminds me of the story—

833 **CHODOROW:** Well, if you learned Euclidean geometry, you didn't come out to reveal the
834 fact.

835 **MANDLER:** That's right. I was— I had some business with the Austrian consulate, and one of
836 the pieces of documentation they wanted— They said, "We want proof when you left and that
837 you left Vienna." And I said, "That I left Vienna, the proof is the fact that I'm here." [mutual
838 laughter]

839 **CHODOROW:** Exactly.

840 **MANDLER:** That stopped them. [mutual laughter]

841 **CHODOROW:** Yes. Yes. And of course— Now, Harold Ticho—who's Czech—

842 **MANDLER:** Yeah.

843 **CHODOROW:** —came out in '39.

844 **MANDLER:** Yeah, that's right.

845 **CHODOROW:** Went to England and passed the exams for Cambridge [University], and then
846 came here and entered Chicago instead.

847 **MANDLER:** Yeah, I left Vienna in '38 when I was fourteen and I went to England for two years
848 and then came to the [United] States.

849 **CHODOROW:** Yeah. Well, it was—

850 **MANDLER:** It's interesting, these stories now. There's a whole bunch of books now, of people
851 of my generation writing about their youth and so on. Peter Gage just did a book.

852 **CHODOROW:** Right.

853 **MANDLER:** Walter [Werner Michael] Blumenthal, who was secretary of the treasury in
854 [Jimmy] Carter's presidency—

855 **CHODOROW:** Oh, yes. Right, right. He's another one.

856 **MANDLER:** —he's another one out of Germany who just published a book about his youth.
857 There was a man by the name of George Claire, who's a little older than I was, who published
858 his about three or four years earlier. It's very funny why—at this age, right? We suddenly are
859 writing this stuff, because it didn't exist. That's not a literature that existed before.

860 **CHODOROW:** What is also interesting about your generation is that while there have been
861 several books, important works on the much older generation, the generation that were born
862 around 1905 for example or 1900, who came here as adults as emigre scholars and settled—as
863 your psychologist generation did. And you'd find them in history, and you'd find them in political
864 theory; you'd find them everywhere. Your generation came out as students, as young people—

865 **MANDLER:** Right.

866 **CHODOROW:** —and therefore have a multicultural, you might say, upbringing and education
867 which is very different. Right?

868 **MANDLER:** Yes.

869 **CHODOROW:** Stephan Kuttner, who was born in 1907, was fully educated in Germany in
870 Berlin prior to leaving. He was a formed man.

871 **MANDLER:** I had a friend who was about ten years older than I was, who I met on the boat
872 coming from England to the United States. And we spent the first year or two in a very close
873 friendship. We played bridge and we played chess every Sunday. He introduced me to
874 Schoenberg and so on. But he had been a journalist in Vienna before he left and had written his
875 impressions and done nothing with them. And then in the '80s he sent the manuscript to Otto—
876 to Stefan Zweig. Zweig said, "No—" I'm sorry; he had sent the manuscript to Zweig in the '40s—

877 **CHODOROW:** In the '40s, because—

878 **MANDLER:** —and Zweig said, "This is no time to publish this."

879 **CHODOROW:** Right.

880 **MANDLER:** In the '80s Zweig said, "Now is the time to publish it," and he recently published
881 it— It's a very different kind of a document than what I would write.

882 **CHODOROW:** Right.

883 **MANDLER:** No, this started off very simply. My older son [Peter Mandler] is a historian, and
884 he said, "I want to do an oral history about your life. You've done all these fascinating things."
885 And about two or three years ago I said, "The hell with that. I can do this much better just writing
886 down and writing about it. And Peter has been reading this manuscript and he thought I was
887 doing all right. So, we'll see.

888 **CHODOROW:** Good. Wonderful. Thank you, George.

889 **MANDLER:** Thank you. It was fun doing this. And [to Westbrook] we'll be in touch.

890 **WESTBROOK:** Here's my card now. If you—

891 **MANDLER:** Good. Let me ask you this, because I'm in the process of throwing things out—

892 **CHODOROW:** *[laughs]*

893 **MANDLER:** Yes. Oh, yes. For example, one of the things one does in this business is review
894 grant applications by the hundreds. Can I throw them all out?

895 **WESTBROOK:** Yes.

896 **MANDLER:** Thank you. The other thing one does is review manuscripts for journals by the
897 hundreds. Can I throw them out?

898 **WESTBROOK:** Yes.

899 **MANDLER:** Thank you. That'll do it. I may ask you another question right—

900 **WESTBROOK:** Yes. Those things we will not take and another thing we won't take, if you
901 haven't thrown them out already, is we will not take all your recommendations for colleagues
902 and students—

903 **MANDLER:** Yes. That's the one. Very good. I'll throw those out. [laughter] Oh, I'm so
904 delighted. I'm a packrat. I couldn't have written this thing without being a packrat.

[END OF PART TWO, END OF INTERVIEW]