Jim Weaver px plopped down in a seat beside me on the floor and asked if I still felt we ought to introduce the wilderness bill in the lame duck session.

"Definitely." Kaxehameexkexkemewexkhisxheadachexbekekkhe budgekxbkawkingx98khx&engkessxeannekxbexpassedxupx Jim

## Tuesday, November 30, 1982

I called Seiberling to verify because this unexpectedly accelerated everything and collided badly with my other work. John confirmed it. I instructed Steve Evered to begin the bill drafting with Greg Skillman of Weaver's staff.

In Crane's absense, I was met with each member of the D.C. staff to discuss staffing for the next term. I let Nichole go and abolished the position of assistant prepress aide. I MAXKENDEMARK promoted Denise over Suzanne to No. 3 legislative assistant. k I persuaded Michelle to stay for another two years as No. 2 LA. I moved Sue Kirkoff into a junior LA role and uncategorized mail repondent. I offered office jobs to Marci Proutt, my campaign office manager, and legislative portfolio to make it more closely mirror my legislative portfolio to make it more closely mirror my of the time. I made John's job solely that of press aide. I gave raises to go along with new duties, announced the advent of a new personnel evaluation system and by the end

in the end seemed to successfully negotiate the kxig tricky parkagexed waters of staff anxieties, ambitions and egos. I went home utterly drained. But it had to be done before the legislative battles mm began; elections are always minme a time of staff adjustments, people knew it, and irresolution was makingxparkayaxaxxxxx beginning to create uncertainty and tension. If Crane had not been in Seattle for his father's funeral, it he m could have sholdered more of the load.

## Wednesday, November 31, 1982

Joe McCracken and Dan Goldy, two timber spokesmen who had become friends over the kmm years, came by for a 2 p.m. meeting to discuss their travail over the stalled timber kmkim sales relief bill in the Senate. They talked through several senarios for Senate passage man that were completely farfetched; they talked through the various people in the Northwest delegation who might help on the floor if the issue came back as a Senate amendment mm in a conference report.

They surprised me with the announcement that they had to leave to talk to Max Baucus about the timber kix bill, preventing in me from breaking the news to them. I told them it was essential to finish our meeting, that there "had been a development on the wildersess issue" and that I wakmwmmm wanted to see them at 4:30 to discuss it.

McCracken made it back on time. It was just as well that he was alone for he didn't have to posture for anothermian industry spokesman. Surprisingly, he told me he was amazed that I had got Weaver known to agree to one million acres. I was the even violent on California release language. He predicted a firestorm of criticism however and seemed unsure I was understood how tough it might be. I assured him I knowniant did. He said: "I admire your courage."

I then called Hatfield and filled him in on the amount of acerage and the inclusion of California release language. \*\*

\*\*EXMANNAMENTAL REMAINS He was surprised at the acerage. When he asked about release, I told him for the first time that California release was the only kind I could support and that without it no wilderness bill \*\*EXECT COULD PASS the House. I \*\*EXECT COULD PASS to merely allow wilderness to be considered at the end of each planning cycle. He responded, "You know, I really don't think California release language is so man bad."

An hour or so before the House adjourned, Evered and Skillman brought the bill to the floor. My office did the final draft but I noticed that Weaver's name had been inked in as the principal sponsor (there can only be one). Skillman had sheepishly asked Steve if it could be done and that mmm

Weaver had asked him to ask. I x stood there with them at the East Door off the House xxx floor and considered what was being asked of me. The bill was the product of as much my work as Weaver's. If it were to pass, I would have to use my prestige with moderates and conservates to pass it. By not being listed as principal sponsor, on paper at least I would be a co-sponsor along with Ron Wyden who had done no work at all. From Weaver's standpoint, kinxxxiix as a member of the committee that would handle mm the bill and as a longtime wilderness advocate, his pride wouldn't allow me to be the principal co-sponsor.

Just then Weaver came off the floor. With our two aides standing beside us, I showed him the bill with the names of pox sponsors interchanged. I said, "I understand you have asked to have it done this way."

as if it to say "of course." He held
"Oh, sure," he said, holding the bill in hand, failing to
look up at me. Rokhywidesywexexkee Our aides heard it all
and were looking variously at the floor and the ceiling.

Moments later, Wyden joined us in signing his mim name and we dropped the bill in the hopper. In fun, all three of us held it where above the hopper and it had accidentally dropped on the floor.

"Hot potatoe," I said. Wyden gigled in a way that reminded me of a boy whistling past a graveyard at night.

## Thursday, December 1, 1982

Press KNR conference day for the wilderness bill. It had to be knr scheduled for 1 p.m. because the Oregon press was covering the Republican Senate Caucus elections in the morning and Packwood's ass was on the kn line against Dick Lugar, a Reaganaut, as Chairman of the Senate GOP Campaign Committee.

I learned later that Weaver had put out a press release the night before, arrived at the news conference 20 minutes early to insure himself the center mike, publicly questioned where Wyden and I were.

WEAVEXXMXMADE It would have taken so Wyden and I let him.

Despite that pettiness, it was in the words of Steve Evered and John Atkins, an outstanding press conference m with me delievering the most cogent and compared thoughtful statement. The next day's press was Weaver's show. It wasn't until later that I learned all the preliminary moves he made to insure that result.

I had to swing my attention back to the Interior Appropriations bill which was up the same day in full committee with the Defense Appropriations Bill. My calls to Charlie Wilson, Lindy Boggs, and Tom Loeffler paid off: oil industry opposition to my offshore oil leasing rider melted away and when no one could be found to offer an admendment to strike it from the kim bill. The full committee also left intact my ban on Xxx drilling and minining in existing wilderness areas, plus by funds for buying out U.S. Pumice Company's claim to the priceless Rock Mesa area in the Three Sisters Wixkexxxx Wilderness and funds from acquiring the Bandon Marsh Wildlife Refuge, khexx additions to the Cascade Head Scenic Research Area, and the Bear Valley Eagle Wildlife Refuge. Nor did any timber industry lackey try to monkey with my xexx redistribution of funds away from the current timber sales program into khe several long-term programs designed to protect the long-term health wor and productivity of the national forests.

## Friday, December 2, 1982

Our wildersess story appeared in The Oregonian with a parallel \*\*x\*\* report from the Governor's office. Atiyeh blistered the bill, charged that \*\*x\*\* it "locked up one million acres of prime (emphasis added) timberland when the industry was on the ropes and jeapordized passage of the timber sales relief bill." He released it to the Salem press corps before allowing it to be delievered the the delegation first.

I had made four or five calls to timber industry moderates on Wednesday night who I didn't want to learn of the bill in the the papers. (Each of them was amazingly pragmatic about exchanging wilderness acres for the release of 2 million others locked up by an injunction of Ninth Circuit Court — except Arnie Ewing, who I reached at 11:15 p.m. and hung up on after a shouting match.) I k made two or three other calls before leaving for the airport for a makek two-night stay in Portland.

I stayed with Helen and Norm Stoll that night, finally MKKWWAXWXX bowing to Helen's repeated invitations. I'm quite sure that Helen has never forgiven herself for not supporting me when I first ran despite the forthright requests of Kathy Swearingen, her old Democratic friend and Dick Newberger compatriot, who wind died of cancer within a year

of my election.

### Saturday, December 3, 1982

A day filled with meetings prior to an evening address to the Oregon Sierra Club. To a group of anti-MXM missile and Nuclear Freeze activists, I outlined a lobbying campaign with designed to win the vote on Monday and win over Denny Smith, who had supported the MX every time it came up in the 97th Congress. It was simple: flood his switchboard with phone calls and in D.C. and Salem and inundate him with telegrams. I said it was important to win on the MX to give the Freeze movement a concrete achievement and encouragement to go forward into a maxe durable political force and that winning Denny Smith's vote would be a parks seperate trophy for the Oregon Freeze forces. I knew from a floor comment knak he made two days earlier mham that he was weakening but I chose not to xaxak reveal that lest knak they let up on their efforts.

In the mid-afternoon, I met with three of the five-member political advisory committee, staffed by Julie Williamson and Mark Gaede. It was to let them discuss with me what they discussed with Crane over dinama a post-election bon-voyage dinner. They felt my opposition to the Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment cost me 5 to 8 percentage points in the election by given giving Myshofsky a dramatic unifying xxx core issue in his one-issue campaign: Les Atk AuCoin is a Tip O'Neill big spender. They were very complimentary of the organization and its plan and its ability to manage crises. It was agreed that never again would in we go into a campaign without weekly pollint & built into the budget and the abilitymk to make late-breaking TV and radio spots. Finally, they unanimously fakk told me I was ready for a Senate race as a candidate if Hatfield should retire. They were anxious to know if I wow was leaning toward a run. I told them that I wouldn't know until January and that the kx toll in time it would take out of what xxxxxx remained of Stacy and Kelly's high school years wowkdxke mm was an important issue I had not yet resolved. meeting p brought out, though, that Sue and Stacy and Kelly each seemed to strongly favor an "up or out" decision. Some discussion was given to xxx possible Senate primary opponents and probablican Republican challengers. The consensus: Weaver was a possibility but that \*xxxxxx he would be creamed; on the GOP side it was Fronmeyer or Paulus with Paulus the greater liklihood and greater threat. I allowed that Hatfield, if did retire, wouldn't announce it until the eleventh hour; in the meantime my House Appropriations Committee seat, WXX the only one for Oregon, was a \* liscense to travel the state for 1983 without having to decide anything. The advisors left satisfied. It was a good meeting. Mr I'm proud of how loyal they are, how smart they are and how much they're contributing to my success.

Next was cocktails for an hour with Jim Nolan and Xim XHAXXIMAX of the Joint Council of Teamsters and Jim Harding, editor of THE TEAMSTER. Their minds were also on the Senate seat. Don't do it if

Don't do it, they said, if Hatfield runs. If he doen't?

Jim Harding jumped in his chair and knx clapped his hands with glee. Nolan laughed and said they would replecate Wyden's lawnsign and canvass campagin knx statewide and put all their resources into the fight. As we knxxxx the Portland Hilton, Harding xxxxx said Wyden and I could alternate personal columns from Capitol Hill in the weekly TEAMSTER for the next year.

Last stop was the Sierra Club dinner. I got a tremendous introduction from Ron Eber, the President. Thex group seemed taken aback with the list of accomplishments in Ron used from this year's Interior Appropriations Bill; maybe it was my imagination but they seemed unaccustomed to dealing with someone allied with them who xxxx could produce a string of successes.

Arrived at the Stoll's at 11:30 p.m. xxkxx but they both wanted to visit. We talked until 3 a.m. about Dick Newberger, the Newberger era D<sub>e</sub>mocratic takeover of state politics, all the old xxxx party names and even though their ancient dog would not remove his old head from my lap all night, I enjoyed it.

## Sunday, December 4, 1982

I caught the 7:55 a.m. flight back, through Chicago. Too tired to read or write.

## Monday, December 5, 1982

I wa gave leadoff m testimony on the wike wilderness bill and max laid mmmm out a good record, pulling some of the wind out of the timber industry's sails in advance of their testimony and destroyed the absurdidies in the Governor's letter without going after the Governor personally at this time. There is a time for everything.

As the hearing proceded, I made calls to fx subcommittee mank and full committee members to win the votes and get their proxies.

Later, in full appropriations committee, the MX & momon missible pxx production funds were kept in the & bill as Nxx Joe Adabbo's amendment failed by an astonding 26-26 vote. It set the stage for real fireworks on the floor and Charlie Wilson of Xx Texas, a pro-MX member told me on the floor that afternoon xx that it was the first time in his ten years in Congress that he had seen Bill Natcher take a walk. Natcher has been in Congress for mxx some 30 years and has never missed a recorded floor vote. This day, he was speaking at an orientation for freshmen Democrats when the kxx MX vote occurred in committee. I am not aware of Bill ever addressing an orientation. Jim Wright, the Majority Leader, is in charge of the orientation. Was the cover arranged by the leadership or was it sought?

I returned to khaxwikdaxaax the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee where Mo Udall had immediately gone into mark-up on the Oregon xaxika wilderness bill and one franki for Missouri. Environmentalists and industry lobbyists alike were flabbergasted when, during the roll call, I personally walked up to John Seiberling and handed him the proxies of Jim Santini, Beverly Byron, Abe Kazen and when Austin Murphey and Jerry & Huckaby -- Weaver adversaries all -- voted for kkama the bill.

Steve reported to me that Tom Winn of Hatfield's staff had called him film Friday night to set up a confidential meeting on Saturday. They talked through the details of accomplishing something Mark Hatfield and I discussed in a private meeting in the Dirkson Senate Office Building Friday before I left for Oregon — the Senator's agreement to California release language, the possibility of settling film for an acerage figure somewhere between the House bill's one million acres and Makkinkdin a 650,000 acre figure Hatfield k put into his 1980 Senate-passed bill, the Kanaka Senator winning Jim McClure's agreement to hold the House-passed bill at the desk, Madifixkhanaddxkha and add an amendment juggling some of the acerage numbers around and including the timber sales relief package.

## Tuesday, December 6, 1982

Financed by a 5-cent a gallon gas tax, the bill raised some \$5 billion to fix aging bridges, roads and freeways. I made the mistake of reading the bill. It seized jurisdiction from my Transportation Approxpirations Subcommittee by making \*\*Transportation\*\* Transfer highway- and transit-funding programs subject to a \*\*Transfer highway- and transit-funding get 5 percent of the nation's Insterstate Transfer funds

under the formula; left to appropriations, I had been able to steer 26% of the national total to Oregon this year. formulax was dax designed to give tha "stability, predictability, and certainty" to funding. But it favored New York and Chicago, it interrupted financing schedules elaborately worked out by Mxwkka Porthand metropolitan area governments and it included shamelessky pork formembers of the Public mmxxWorks Committee which wrote the bill:

#### **QXX**

- o Two loans of an unknown amount forgiven up to "80 percentum" to the Massachuttes Transit Authority. Twenty percentum of the remainder authorized for a grant from the Secretary of Transportation.
- A "feasibility study" for a high speed ferryboat service between St. Croix and St. Shomas in the Virgin Islands.
- o A \$34 million transit grant to Los Angeles. A subsequent subsection spelled out the matching arrangment: 100%

## Wednesday, December 7, 1982

KXNXXX The MX fight is joined on the House floor as the NXXX Defense Appropriations Bill is scheduled amid massive White House lobbying. I spoke early in general debate -- hours before the vote on the Adabbo amendment to cut procurement funds. So Bill Young of Florida, whose pomadour and double knit suits make him look like a TV evangalist, gave a stars and strips forever speech alluding to the anniversary of Peal Harbor as I sat listening. His "Remember Pearl Harbor" theme echoed a Reagan pitch for the MX.

the Members mm to remember the lesson of Pearl Harbor. Do my colleagues remember what happened at Pearl Harbor 41 years Some military MENION genius decided that the best way to make our planes safe would be to cluster them in the middle of the runways. Thakxwasxkhexexiganakxdensexpackx Thisxisxkhexkakeskx The Japanese blew them to smithereens. That was the original "dense pack." This is the latest. It ought to be defeated.

The staff and Freeze and activists were elated that my remarks hit kkm all three networks, the AP national wire, and Public Radio's "All Things Considered."

The wilderness bill passed the full Interior Committee and after a m brief sequential referral kwakxkxxxx to Agriculture, was scheduled as one of 26 votes on the suspension mxxxxx gad calendar on Monday.

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I decided to invite Joe McCracken, Paul Egger (sp?) and Arnie mm Ewing into my office for end-of-the-day cocktails at 6:15 p.m.

Some idiot had taken over the Washington Monument with 1,000 pounds of dynamite earlier in the the day, protesting the growth of nuclear weapons. I told Ewing my first thought was that it had been him. It was a jovial session — battlefield adversaries who kikedxgekkingxæikædxand found pæxxæxækæaxæxæ innxæxkigkæxxækæaxæxæx rare pleasure in stepping outsæde their roles and laughing over drinks at moves and kan countermoves. I wondered wh how much they would have laughed if they had known there was a \*\*pææix\*\* specific plan \*\*fæxxæxæxæ\*\* to keep it in from being blocked in the Senate.

Evered backgrounded Steve Forrester on the work going into the wilderxkiness bill earlier in the day. John &k Atkins did the same fox with Jim Flannigan of THE OREGONIAN, chewing him out for the exlusive Weaver tilt to the story.

## Thursday, December 8, 1982

The automobile "domestic content" bill kx rule was approved tonight, with general debate and a final vote scheduled tomorrow. The UAW was all over me for a favorable vote; it must be close. I talked with Dick Warden, the legislative director in Washington and Tom Arp, thex young business agent in Washington County who has been strongly supportive, politically. The Port of Portland is the chief port-of-entry for Toyotas and Hondas and 3,000 Teamster and Longshoremen Union & jobs depend wf on that activity. The Electronics industry is afraid the lost XXXXXXXXX U.S. market will lower the value of the yen, causing the Japanese to marshall their considerable resources and devalued currency to undercut their sector of the domestic U.S. economy. Oregon agriculture and business m in general fear retaliation from protectionist legislation of xxx this high order. And yet I know the Japanese, who protect their domestric markets from foreign competition, must be sent an unmistakable message that trade is a two-way street. Would House passage of this bill scare the Japanese? Would it put starch in the spine of the laisse-faire Administration? Our would it blow up in our faces? And would it undermine my credibility as a new-thinking, independent, Am "Atari Democrat"? Warden and Arp plead with me to vote with them at kk least once, kkix on this xixx first vote, to send the "message." I make a few calls to @xxxxx knowledgeable Oregonians on both sides of the issue. I take my Washington political staff and am stunned with a rare unanamous de recommendation -- vote with my friends who have been politically kee loyal since the bill won't pass the Senate anyway and since the other groups are notorious for bolting politically when I need them most.

The House by voice vote approves research and development funds for the MX basing mode, keeping the missile ax alive 24 hours after the celebrated defeat of the funds for actual building and procurement of the missile. Then the House passed the MMM Defiense Appropriations Bill and sent it to the Senate on a 340-37 (?) vote a day after crowing that it was getting tough on military xx spending. It was the largest peacetime defense bill in history and left almost all of the Reagan program in tact. I xxx was one of those few who voted against it. Les Aspin of Wisconcin said the vote showed that whenever Congress can vote on both sides of an issue, it will.

### Friday, December 9, 1982

I met with representatives of the Sierra Club, Wilderness Society, and kx Audoban Society to plan lobbying for the Monday vote on the Oregon wilderness bill. Weaver was late so I started the meeting without him. The intra-mural competition between the groups is a pain in the butt. They're all a bit breathless with the suddenness of the bill's introduction and the pace it is moving. They know it can't be this easy and they're fearful of a defeat on Monday in a parlimentary situation which xxxxxxx requires two-thirds to pass the bill. Still, they not the support of natural adversaries that I  $^{\circ}$  ve brought along in the  $\mathbf{x}$  committee and they kwpm dare to hope for passage. Each group is jockeying to take credit if the bill kxxxxxxxx flys and pass the blame if it fails. I tell them this is the last xk chance to pass a million-acre bill through the House; Bob Smith's arrival next year means he has to be negotiated with and he's not likely to go for anything close mkw to a million acrems. Max My pitch is that we have no alternative to putting on a full court press for passage on Monday's suspension calendar, that their job is to collectively xxxxxxx get out the message that this vote is a km "top national priority" in the px political rating system and that we'll pull the bill from the calendar only at the last moment it it looks like we are running a major risk.

ARXINE The Sierra Clubs are agrees to use its computer list of 100 swing votes for personal tem contacts to be to divided up between the groups and for use by Wyden, Weaver and me. Weaver arrived just as everyone was walking out of the room. If He said, "Just a minute, we've got to talk for two minutes before this breaks up." But everyone had their assignments and little time to work with and filed out the door.

The leadership pulled domestic content from the floor and rescheduled it for a final vote on Wednesday. With 28 amendments pending and no two new legislative days to file more, ix I know how the Republicans could prevent a final vote.

As I leave for home, Steve told me about a "glitch" with Hatfield. Tom Winn of the Senator's staff passed the word that Hatfield has starting taking about the 650,000 acre level of his 1980 bill. That would make California release language his only concession and probably kill the whole package.

I passed word to the Senator's secretary that I needed to talk to him, then called Winn myself to advise him of the message in order for him to birddog it. Hatfield's last appointment ran late and he km had to rush to an evening mamman event. But his secretary, then Winn, called Steve to give the Senator's xxxidem unlisted, closely guarded residential number for me m to use on Sunday.

### Saturday, December 10, 1982

A day of sleeping in, reading newspapers, watching footfall on TV and puttering around the house after three to four hours of Christmas shopping with Sue -- a productive minus first venture of the season. Two hot buttered rums over lunch were about one too many for other of us, though, and it was fuzzy, tiring day. I was shattered when Sue took a short call from my w mother xxxxxxxxxxxxx to wish her "Happy Birthday." Stacy and Kelly and I had totally forgotten and it deeply affected each of us. I cursed this goddamned job for robbing me of time to pause and think like a whole person. I had xxxxxxxxxx made a mental note to remember this day last Monday, but with phones ringing, staffers coming in an other, bills and amendments cascading through the "process", jumping from one thing to the next minute after minute, my mind just turned to mush. I was pissed at the kids that they at least couldn't have backstopped me.

### Sunday, December 11, 1983

The season's first snowfall xxxxx brought Christmas home to me and Stacy put xxxour Christmas carols on the living room stereo. Sue and I showered early and took our coffee and XX Sunday WASHINGTON POST in the living room. I puttered around in my briefcase, watched the Redskins beat the Cardinals, 12-7, shovelled clear the sidewalk, put a xxx plastic cover over our young camellia because of a zero-degree forecast, joined Stacy in fixing dinner.

Only two items of business on the eve of the wilderness votexxx -- a call to Bob Smith in Burns to brief him wx on the lay of the land politically and to persuade him to get Denny Smith to low-key his wxxx opposition tomorrow (I am worried about a straight party line vote). Friendly call and Bob km rung off more educated. But he said he doesn't communicate with Denny Smith very well and doesn't even agree with Hatfield's acreage level, although he hopes the issue can be solved before he's sworn in.

Then in a xxxxx call to Hatfield, in which Mark seemed very stiff, I said I x didn't think it took a genious to figure out that a number can be found acceptable to everyone somewhere between his 650,000 acres and the House bill's one million. He xx very soberly said the only way he thoutht he xx could hom get McClure's support was mix if the bill was gently it wouldn't fly if he wanted environmental support for a package that after all would have timber sales relief in it --

At the end, he seemed to knakek show some flexibility. I have learned k not to force Hatfield when his mind is running away from the direction you want. Instead, you try to bring him back to the starting point and leave him room to come your wx way by x making it his own x idea. We agreed that we would have our staff aides meet to try to pinpoint some acreage numbers that would serve our purposes. He mak made Makex a point to have Steve Evered talk with Tom Imeson who is k stationed in Oregon, not Tom Winn. Imeson is the more experienced of the two on the wilderness issue, having staffed the Senator's 1980 effort. It is hard to know what to make of today's conversation; the beginning of the end of a hopeful strategy, a doublecross that could force the House delegation to accept a lousy wilderness bill because we could not reject timber sales relief, or just the m grousing around of a very burned out Senate liberal Senate committee chairman. None of it may matter if things fall apart on the House floor tomorrow anyway.