

## Bill Campbell Interview on Governor Vic Atiyeh

An interview of Bill Campbell regarding Oregon's Governor Victor Atiyeh, recorded on April 9, 2015. Campbell was an attorney in international law. The interviewer, James Moore, was as professor of political science at Pacific University and was Atiyeh's biographer.

Note on the text: This transcript was made through AI in 2025, with some manual corrections. It has been provided in order to facilitate research, but the text does contain errors and inaccuracies. Users should check the transcript against the recording before quoting the speakers.

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James Moore 0:00

There's, there's a lot of that, yeah,

where, you know, we got the photos, or people referred to by last name, yes, or first name, yeah. And, like, when you get to all the Chinese, you know, oftentimes, like, on one of the documents that I sent you, yeah, there's just a Chinese signature. There's, it's not typed out who it is, yeah, and sometimes it doesn't say, So, what are they right? Who do they represent? Right? But you know, you may do with what you have, well,

Bill Campbell 0:31

I may be able to put you in touch with one of the people who had been a young man at the time, about my same age, then, been 30 years old, something like that, who was helping run the Chinese delegation. He might be able to identify those people he's living here in the United States now. Okay, actually applied for asylum several years after the first blush of Fujian Yeah, Oregon, sister state province.

James Moore 0:59

Did he apply like after Tiananmen? Because that's that would be five years after.

Bill Campbell 1:05

I think it was before. Okay, he was, he was a part of the, the first exchange program, yes, at PSU. His name is Huang Chi Hua,

and calls himself

Alan Wong, but I have his address and contact information. He lives down in the Los Angeles. Oh, that'd be a great good man. Yeah, good man. But he have a very interesting perspective on that from the Chinese side, exactly.

James Moore 1:34

Very valuable. I've been looking up for some of the government people. So the main Fujian guy was who, yeah, and he's not really listed, yeah, so, well, well, good. But it's like, if you go to go to their stuff, they list, here's this ex Governor doing this, and this has never doing this. And his is one of those brief things that says that he might have taken a bad political step in this in the intervening 30 years,

Bill Campbell 2:03

right? Certainly quite possible. Yeah, that's maybe why it's interesting. If you want to talk to Jim Huang, yeah, he's a, he's a really good man, yeah, and would have a very straightforward and very clear eyed perspective on what was happening with the Chinese at that time, yeah, we formed our own perception here, you know, for better or worse, as we went through it, right?

James Moore 2:29

Yeah, yeah, no, it's, it's fascinating, and it's so interesting to find out, you know, we know Vic as the guy who was doing

20 trade missions, right? All this stuff, but finding out he was the first governor to do it in the country, and so by the time 84 ish, he was beginning to bump into the Bill Clinton's of the world, right? And we're saying, hey, everywhere I go, you've been already several times. Yeah. That's right. That's

Bill Campbell 2:59

right. I think we crossed paths with several other state delegations in Tokyo. Yeah, yeah, but that was a remarkable trip for several different reasons. Actually, the Chinese part of it was only half of it, the Japanese

James Moore 3:12

exactly, was

Bill Campbell 3:15

the more triumphal part, the Japanese part came about on the heels of the unitary tax

rearrangements,

the Japanese investors who wanted to bring semiconductor facilities and others into the United States, were looking for a kind of a tax structure that allowed them to invest in ways that made sense. And Atiyeh and the Oregon legislature had actually been quite responsive to that. So Atiyeh had pulled together a one day session of the legislature to repeal a unitary tax, or whatever it was at the time. And the consequence was that the Japanese industrial sector felt respected. Fundamentally about that wasn't so much about the economics. The economics mattered, of course, yeah. But what they felt was respected and listened to, yeah. And the consequence was that when we got to Tokyo, the delegation was treated quite royally. I have no reason to think that we were the only delegation ever treated royally, right? But they made it feel that way, yeah, and I do believe that we were the first state delegation that was ever invited to address the kidandren, the industrial coalition right at the top of the Japanese management of their Yeah, of their economy. And it was also around the time that show de sono had pulled together the from Oregon with love, exactly, right, yeah. And it. Sono is highly respected in Japan, and of course, his father in law, George, as a mano, has been the recipient of advanced awards from the Government of Japan, the Emperor and so on. So that didn't hurt, yeah, but it meant that the that the delegation was was truly welcomed with doors open lot of different places in Japan. And the sort of piggybacking of the second half of the trip over to China involved a shift of personnel. Some people came in the China half and Japanese half and vice versa.

I wound up going on both halves of that trip,

having spent a lot of time doing Portland, China sister city work before then, and some work on the on the Oregon Fujian sister state stuff, yeah, mostly on the sister on the sister city stuff, yeah. My practice at the time was international law. I was a young lawyer with a lot of ambition

that may be redundant,

and my my goal was to build an international trade practice in Oregon. Yeah. And it was an unusual goal at the time, because the perception was, well, there was a lot of commerce flowing through Oregon. The actual contractual work was done somewhere else. It was done in San Francisco or Washington, DC or New York or somewhere else. Never made any sense to me why that should be so, and I wound up jumping into it in this way, China had only just been opened, of course, it was coming out of the 70s, and you'd start with ping pong diplomacy with Nixon, and wound up with formal recognition of the People's Republic of China under Carter, leading to sort of a rediscovery of the awareness and historical almost love affair between America and China goes back and of course, there was a lot of hope at the time and a lot of probably blinder Ness both the Chinese and the American sides, about who they really were, and so on. I think

James Moore 7:25

we're gonna be seeing the same thing with Cuba in the next couple of years. Probably will, probably will.

Bill Campbell 7:30

But all of that's probably necessary, yeah, for a process of rediscovery. And it was fine, yeah, Victor Attia had lived through a lot of that history. So he he'd been alive, you know, when the Chinese Communist Revolution had happened. He remembered the fall of the of the Republic of China government on the mainland and exile to Taiwan. He'd been very politically aware of that transition and the difficulty of it. And he was not unaware of the pain and suffering on the mainland under Mao's regime and the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution rest of that. And I think that politically, he was uncomfortable with the entire affair, which made the sequence of events kind of interesting, because he also knew that he was the governor of Oregon and not the Secretary of State of the United States, yeah. And he was very careful in all of these dealings to know what his role was and was not so he wanted to make a statement about his own and in his view, Oregon's respect for the

free market system and The politics of

a more open side of China, as he understood it. At the same time, he knew that he could only do so much in that right. And one of the legislators in the 1984 the 84 legislature was, may he right? So may he belong on this trip? Yeah, it was a long trip. What may he was represented Albany and Steve. We Steve, he's longtime wife, and her family had come from Fujian Province. Then May was kind of a remarkable figure in her own right, very unusual thought that, you know, a Chinese lady would wind up representing the Albany district in Oregon Senate, but she led a push rooted in that sort of blush of hope and confidence to pass a. A law or a resolution of the Oregon legislature that Oregon and Fujian should be sister state provinces, okay? And that resolution was one that the governor couldn't very well veto. It wasn't his preference, though, would have been that Oregon was a sister state province with Taiwan, right? And so what he did was, by executive order, declare that that's what he wanted to do. And so the fascinating thing about that October delegation to Fujian is that it succeeded a June 84 delegation that Atiyeh led to Taiwan. And the you perhaps have already gathered the story of that trip. I was not on it, so my understanding of it is secondhand, but I understand that what Atiyeh wanted to do was, in his own sort of quiet, non confrontational way, establish that the acceptance of the Fujian relationship, which he intended to do, was not a rejection of a historical relationship with Taiwan very important to him, part of his sort of sense of sense of personal loyalty and standing for the things that mattered long term. And so his delegation of Taiwan was was about that it's very important the Taiwanese and well, to the Republic of China officials on Taiwan in particular, right, a TIA very carefully supervised the negotiation of the sister state protocol and took guidance from the Department of State about that in such a way that the that the offending language with respect to the Shanghai communicating, that is to say we, we could deal with Taiwan all we wanted, but we were not allowed to call the Republic of China, right, right? So that the sister province protocol with Taiwan was not it did not contain those offending words, yeah, my understanding. And again, I was not there. So check this with people who were. Doug Frenkel might be a good source. I think he might have been there at the time.

Dave Lucian, if you can track

James Moore 12:23

Yeah, he's definitely on my list. Yeah.

Bill Campbell 12:27

Is that

at the banquet for signing

with all of the cameras, flashing the lights, flashing and beaming it around and so on and so on. A tea was presented with a version of the protocol that had one small change, and that was that Taiwan was identified as Taiwan Republic of China, right? Not just Taiwan China, Taiwan, and certainly not Taiwan People's Republic of China, but just Taiwan Republic of China. And Atiyeh under the lights and under the cameras said, Ah, there's one small change. We'll just have to defer. I'll sign it privately tomorrow, but let's drink toast to each other about this. He refused to sign it with that language. That language has enormous symbolic importance. That's why the folks on Taiwan put it back in. It has enormous symbolic importance on the other side of the Taiwan Straits, which is why the People's Republic of China noticed what Atiyeh had done. I believe that one of the reasons we were treated so royally when we got to Fujian was that we'd become our delegation, and certainly at Tia's just being who he was had become a bit of an important move in the game between Taiwan and China. At the time, it was just fascinating to watch. So when we got to Beijing, the plane

landed at the old Beijing Airport. Nobody even conceived that just 30 years ago. It looked like that. Yeah, we drove into Tiananmen Square on two lane roads where we were, you know, moving around, you know, Warren Buffalo and so on, and where there's now a multi Lane super highway. We were one of very few cars in the entire city where, now it's one of the most choked, automobile filled cities on the planet. Bicycles everywhere. You don't see that many bicycles in Beijing anymore, and everybody was wearing the gray suits. That's just, that was just the garb, yeah, and we were staying the old section of the Beijing Hotel, and we were treated beautifully by everybody. We were kept fairly isolated, in some sense. We were allowed to, you know, shop at particular places near Tiananmen Square. So, but at the same time. Time, we were being interviewed by the very senior leadership in the government of China, and one of the highlights of the trip was going to what I think is called the room of purple lights. And it was one of the most beautiful rooms I've ever been in my life, where Atiyeh and Zhao Ziyang, then the premiere of China, if I don't remember if I have the title right, held in an audience back and forth, yeah, I was, you know, one of the most junior members of the delegation, and was sort of behind a pillar watching the thing, but we were all there and watching that interchange and T is just basic steadiness, holding his own and saying the sort of platitudes you say in that sort of a setting back and forth, knowing that in some sense he was,

he was being

a pawn in a Game bigger than himself, yeah, knowing that his job was just to be who he was. Yeah, the consequences of this he couldn't entirely control, right, but the way he played it were in his control. It was really a very powerful performance. He was never shaken. He was never troubled by it. He just knew his job was to be who he was through and through, and he did a beautiful job with it. I thought there were various tours and whatnot, and I didn't go on all of them, right? I would have exhausted anybody to do we after touring different businesses and Beijing and so on, and the whole delegation flew down to Fujian and we, I think some of the photos in your archive, by the way, are of initial receptions, the one with the orange chairs, for some reason, I think may be in the very first let's all sit together and have a cup of tea reception when we got to the Beijing Airport, okay? And then we got off the plane, and all of our luggage was independently checked and, no doubt, searched and so on and collected independently. And it seemed to take hours to get us from the plane into transport into the central city and but every time something like that happened, there was some formal thing going on that you could connect up to.

And when we got to Fujian,

we were taken to, I

think it was called West Lake

Village, or West Lake Resort, or something like that. It was, they wouldn't call it a resort, but it was, it was essentially a conference center, and probably a safe place you could put foreign dignitaries where they didn't interfere too much with what was going on. We weren't kept locked up there, by any means. So Sam Anderson and I used to go out jogging in the morning, and we'd run down the local streets, and we got these delighted, incredulous stares from Chinese who clearly were as surprised as we were to find ourselves, you know, in their midst. And they were very friendly and just delightful people. And obviously we didn't speak very much Chinese and speak very much English, but it was, you could see from how they were reacting that what was going on was momentous, not because we were Oregon or anything like that, but just because we were there. We were foreigners jogging through their neighborhoods thinking this was a routine thing. Yeah, it was like, whoa. The world has just changed. I don't know what's going to happen next, yeah, but you could, you could feel it being a lightness in their lives. So that was fun. We obviously did a lot of the industrial tours, those sorts of things for Jen. We, we sat down mostly then to negotiate the sister state city protocol. I remember that the Fujian delegation was particularly interested in reaching industrial agreement on something that they called Radio pre process equipment. That means semiconductors, yeah, okay, and what they really would have liked would be, would have been to acquire an operating semiconductor plant. Well, that was probably not in the cards. We didn't, I think, have any intel executives along on the trip. We had two up hill executives who were in the business of building semiconductor plants between people around the world. So they certainly understood something of that side of things. I think we had Nike folks. We certainly had a lot of Portland, port of Portland people. Blake Herring was, was a sort of a co leader, the delegation from the port of Portland side. We had a lot of lumber folks. Alan Struthers is in your archive. Mark. This man we had, obviously, Vic's son was along, was doing some sort of trading in the family business.

And

then reporters and whatnot. It was a pretty fascinating group. And then some of us hanging around trying to figure out what the heck was going on. But in the course of these negotiations, what became fairly apparent was that Governor Hu ping had the authority as the head of Fujian province to direct what would happen in the industrial sector, as you would expect in the state controlled economy. What also became apparent was that our Chinese counterparts understood us to be a polity comparable to Fujian, which meant that their going in assumption about us was that we had the same sort of mass that Fujian had. So Fujian is a province of 10s of millions of people. The concept that Oregon was really only 3 million people hadn't really entered their consciousness. Yeah, they can see us on a map. It's big. Yeah,

James Moore 21:09

big events. They know. America's a big Yeah, one of the news stories actually has a picture of the maps, right? So they're comparable sizes and comparable mountains. It's neat, yes, those sorts of

Bill Campbell 21:21

things, but the comparative size, when it really sunk in that actually, by comparison with them, we were tiny. That was an interesting moment. The second interesting moment was when they finally confronted what we were saying to them. No, Governor Tia doesn't actually have the authority to tell intel that they must deal with you with respect to radio, pre process equipment, right? Nor anyone else. That's not how we work, right? It's a we're delighted to set up exchanges at the university level, and some of those kinds of things we can help do. And for that, you'll want to deal with this person who's associated with that institution. Governor Tia can exercise a lot of sort of moral and bully pulpit leadership, but doesn't have the capacity to order anybody in the state what to do except those who report to him directly in the governor's

James Moore 22:15

office, and both of them are here doing

Bill Campbell 22:19

Denny miles, and actually the staff of what was in the International Trade Division of the Oregon Economic Development Department, yeah, those were, I guess, formally, directly on the governor's staff. So it was their sort of daunting realization that this amazing event had taken place, and that they weren't dealing with people who could deliver what they thought they could deliver. It was a very interesting set of occurrences. We ultimately did get these protocols negotiated. I think they are now framed and hanging on the wall at Business Oregon, over at the World Trade Center. I've been told that days is trying to track them down, yeah, and somebody sent me a nice faxed copy of them. So

James Moore 23:07

yeah, I sent you the thing from the archives. Yeah, and the pages are out of order, yeah, as I divided them up, is that the oh nine should go with 10, right? Yeah. So

Bill Campbell 23:18

then we had this fascinating thing, because we sort of drafted these things back and forth. And of course, they needed to be formalized before signature. Chinese formalization involved the creation of the Chinese character version of it, and the English formalization involved somebody needing to type it. So this was the bill story. My primary contribution to this whole exercise. People may or may not have thought I was at all useful in some of the negotiations, but, but at the end of the day, there was a typewriter. It was a monster old manual typewriter where they'd got it, you know. But it had an English keyboard, yeah. And there was paper, and they needed someone who could type it. Well, I said, Well, I I can muddle through. I, you know, I know how to type. I've always typed my term papers kind of thing, right? So I actually typed the signature version of the protocol on the English side. And I remembered that we were all going to get ready to go down for the banquet, and the and I finished up half an hour before that or something, and said, Here it is. And they said, but we need two copies. And I said, Surely you have a copy machine, right? Well, let me make some calls. So they call around. Well, it turns out there is one copy machine. This is 1984 right? There is one copy machine in fujo, the capital of Fujian province, and it is all the way across town at the at fujo University. And it. Locked and inaccessible unless you have the right security clearance, which tells you something about where China had just come from. Now

today, obviously there's copy machines in every corner in China. That kind of information control doesn't exist. It's hard to understand how recently that was the consciousness of China. But this story may help illustrate it that at that moment, the only way to get the second signature copy was for me to type it again, which I did, and as a consequence, I missed the signing banquet because I was busy typing the second copy, which is fine, there are a there are a lot of those banquets, and you can only eat so many slugs before you're really done.

James Moore 25:46

Without us talking to Vic about those banquets was actually hilarious. He's a beaten potatoes guy. Oh, his wife was always frustrated, because she's adventurous, and he just won't eat it well. But he, you know, he just stuck to his guns. He didn't drink much. He didn't.

Bill Campbell 26:02

No, you absolutely didn't. But I'll tell you another story about nicotine drinking. Because, of course, both in Japan and in China, you're supposed to drink these kanpai toasts, or, I forget what the Chinese phrase is. Off the top my head. I should remember COVID or something, there's a and they always give you this horrible firing and you're always suspecting that they're actually drinking water, because it's always just a clear thing, not a shot glass. And you have these sort of almost Russian knock it back contests and toasts, and so I actually, in that year, had not been drinking at all. I'd sworn off having anything to drink from just as an experiment my own life from January 1 on, and that lasted through about the first seven days of the trip in Japan, when Doug Frenkel had brought us to a fish house in in Tokyo, run by the ogashi fish house, run by a lady who was opening a similar fish house in northwest Portland, and she subsequently did. It was delicious place, and so on. And they treated us like long lost family, which means that they gave us all of the greatest delicacies of the Chinese cuisine of the sea, Japanese cuisine of the sea, which means it was all stuff that we would throw away. It was just you couldn't not eat it, yeah, because you were being honored, yeah, at the same time, I just thought it would probably go down better if I had

James Moore 27:49

some of that psyche. So kill off some of the bacteria.

Bill Campbell 27:53

I thought, you know, nine months, that's pretty good. I guess that's the demonstration

James Moore 27:57

for an international cause. It was

it was fine.

Bill Campbell 28:01

So I had, I had been

sort of a companion with Governor Tia in my own quiet way about this, not necessarily participating in Eva until that moment. And then after that, I realized that my principle had been violated. So I probably couldn't get away with that much more. So

I was also

young, kind of an enthusiast on the trip, and had leapt in with great enthusiasm, probably ahead of my station a time or two when I perhaps should not have and he was very understanding about all of that. He's a gracious man. And I was, I hope, sensitive enough to understand that after the first time or two when I'd done it, that that was not my place without him having to sort of formally discipline me. Yeah, and backed off from it and And nonetheless, I he became aware that my role in doing things like typing the things up was useful to the delegation that I was always willing to sort of pick up those kinds of jobs. And when we flew out of Fujian. We flew through. We went stopped in Guangzhou. We had a brief sort of trade luncheon with some folks in Guangzhou, and then took the hop over into Hong Kong. Entering Hong Kong was a psychologically fascinating experience, because we had just come from the experience of landing in Beijing and having it take, having being the only airplane on the tarmac, yeah, and coming through a sort of a customs reception

process that took an hour and a half, and it involved a. Us needing to meet with all sorts of high officials, and having every move being constrained by a lot of people around us and protecting us and keeping us from too much contact with the locals. In case pollution should go either way, same kind of experience in fujo graciously hosted no question, but very closely controlled set of interactions with, with everything, being, being frugal. It's very frugal, okay, so, yes, it was gracious. So there was a table of fruit, right? But it's not like you could go down to the corner and buy something at the shop. Right? It was right. So we, when we left fujo, went out through Guangzhou and into Hong Kong, landing in Hong Kong, stepping off the plane, which was a CAAC flight. And stepping into, effectively, the modern world, was a truly remarkable experience, because we walked into the customs area and what we saw was in place at the sort of one booth through which we'd all come in, Beijing, major capital, one of the major countries on Earth, one booth. We saw 25 or 30 booths, and as our delegation walked off the plane towards those booths, we saw the Hong Kong customs officials lining up to fill them, the lights coming on, all of us flowing through. It took about four minutes to process the entire plate and what it was through into Hong Kong. And the most miraculous and amazing thing about it was that that openness, that directness, that competence, that flow through, that immediacy, that just get things done quality had nothing to do with our official status. Yeah, it has everything to do with that's just how it can be done. That's how that's how a society that actually is focused on getting things done and openness and not worrying about all the rest of

James Moore 32:15

it, their whole reason for being there is to connect to the world. So we

Bill Campbell 32:19

wound up staying at

on the Kowloon side of the bay, at a big, beautiful hotel regions, Regency or something, where I stayed a time or two cents. This is just a beautiful place, and we had a final delegation banquet, all of us. So this was just the Oregon began, and at that banquet, Governor Tia finally broke his vow of abstinence, and he came around, and he tapped me on the shoulder, and he had a glass of some of that horrible Chinese, you know, fire water. And he said, Time and toast. I stood up, but he downed it, and then he went around, did it with three or four other people. And the only discernible effect of all of this alcohol flowing through the Atiyeh constitution was

that his ears got redder. Yeah.

It was really very gracious and

letting his hair down. Yeah, a bit, yeah. But it was really a remarkable, a remarkable tour.

James Moore 33:31

Yeah, fascinating. So how do you get to be part of a delegation? Did you, as a young lawyer, get contacted by the development people. Or did you hear about it and say, Ooh, that's what I do. Or

Bill Campbell 33:45

I had heard that they were planning it, and so you could apply to be a part of it. I had been very active in the sister state, province stuff. And I'd been very active in pulling together the Oregon China. I forget what we called it. It was a business association into business with China. I'd been studying Chinese. I'd been working on Chinese legal things and writing some articles and so on. So at the time, there wasn't anyone in the United States who knew anything about Chinese law. That's not quite true. There were maybe one or two people. There was somebody at a firm in Washington, DC, and somebody to affirm in San Francisco. But when you looked into it, what you also realized was, at the time, there was no Chinese law, right? Literally, no Chinese law. It was all what the communist party wanted to do. So one of the things that was going on was China was busy writing laws. They were writing their joint venture statute in there, this, that and the other thing. And you could kind of keep up with development of Chinese commercial law in those early days. It's very, very interesting. So I was in the process of doing that, which meant that I was actually a genuine expert in Chinese law, because Chinese law was only as big as a tea cup you could do. That if you set your mind to it, partly as a consequence of that trip, I became aware that it was going to be a long time before my fascination with China, Chinese trade, was going to be able to turn into a practice that could actually support a family. And I wound up doing much more work on the Japanese side context. We put together there, and we wound up opening an office in

Tokyo as a consequence of that. And that's a whole different set. A whole different set of stories, but the formation of the delegation to go to China was something and I thought that I was probably sufficiently proven and I'd worked enough with the International Trade Division that they kind of knew who I was, a bit that was logical for me to suggest that maybe this would be a good thing to do. What I remember is that I asked to be a member of the delegation to China, and it was Dave Legion, or Doug Franklin, or one of those guys who sent me a note saying, congratulations, you've been accepted as a member of the delegation to Japan as well. That's kind of nice, but China was interested in going to took a little longer they plugged me into that. Yeah, I think that for the purposes of the delegation to Japan at the time, what what was needed was a large enough delegation to constitute mass Right, right that that was part of the respect for the Japanese that we needed to show was To bring, was to bring enough people, yeah, that that we could be talking about just visually, almost just as a matter of human mass, opening big pipe, yeah, to this Japanese industry that we were connecting up with. Enough of that. So part of that was just, you know, having enough bodies. I was a sufficiently qualified body that I was unlikely to embarrass anyone. And in fact, of course, I didn't embarrass anybody. But I think that that was about a 30 person delegation, if I remember something on that border, and there was a lot of advanced work that was done by the guys to make sure all that went off very, very well. And it was done quite nicely. The Chinese side was a little more complicated, because there was this trade back and forth of we'll pick up your expenses once you're in China, and then it's how much people is that? And how many is it? And some of those kinds of things. And you pick up your hotel, but you don't pick up this other piece. And so the size of the delegation was limited, and the they ultimately wound up realizing they had a spot that I could fit into. And actually there were two of us out of the legal profession on that, Sam Anderson and I actually tried to

remember whether what was his name?

There was a fellow who had been head of the Japan American society and so on, who was on the Japanese side, but I don't think he came on the Chinese side, if I remember, right. Anyway, he so that's more or less how I got to be a part of that. Yeah,

James Moore 38:21

when you're on one of these and you're looking at, you know, especially that big Japan delegation, but then it's also, you see this with the Chinese one. Is it lean and mean? Everybody's there because there's some business connection, or are there political hangers on? Who are part of it? I'm thinking Blake Harry, who could play both of those roles? Well, he's the president of the port of Portland,

Bill Campbell 38:45

so yeah, he was, he was pursuing port of Portland. Yes, he was focused on his job as that. Yeah, there were a couple of reporters. There were a lot of people who were just figuring things out. People were there to see what business could be done. There were a couple of business meetings that I'd lined up ahead of time to see if it was possible to do some things in China, I took a side trip up to Xian warriors are on a dark subpoena. But I think that while there was some advance work done in the hope that you could develop some business, the real purpose of being there was to see if you could make connections that would establish business right over the period, that was the excuse you gave yourself for spending your company's money to go have Just an amazing experience anyway, yeah. And I think that, you know, people were doing that. So our friends from ch two and Hill were certainly looking at the opportunity to to do the modernization of Chinese infrastructure, which is something that would have been super bad civil engineers, right? And I imagine that they probably picked up some of that along the way, and at the very least, learned. Did a lot what the real needs were and how they needed to think about it. Yeah, so it's not so much I want to make a deal, as the potential for deals here is vast. I need to understand a little more about how this place works, and then you come away from it with some direct human contacts. Deals are always made between, you know, one human being and another human being. They're not made between organizations at all. Right, so those direct human contacts become really important, yeah.

James Moore 40:31

So did you get a sense? I mean, you were talking about the realization of the Chinese that Oregon doesn't have anybody living in it. Did you get a sense that from the Chinese side, this was the same kind of thing, or was it more of diplomatic than economic? I mean, what was your sense?

Bill Campbell 40:55

I think that.

I think the Chinese expected it to be more economic, more quickly, okay, that would be my sense. They were pushing for that. Yeah, what deal can we buy some of this? Can we Yeah, and actually, there were some structural deals entered into to buy, like, advanced sawmill equipment. How much Struthers brokered a deal, right? That that he put together and and ultimately, there were connections made that allowed them to get into some, some not on the restricted list, semiconductor processing, yeah, so it actually did lead to things. Yeah, it wasn't. It wasn't foolish in that regard that they should think that. But I think they were very focused on the expectation that business wouldn't come out of it. Okay? There was a reciprocal delegation, which, of course, you've also studied Hu ping coming back, which was fascinating in its own way. Les weerson from ch two of Hill chaired the host committee, and the first thing we did was to put together a budget to host a like number of people from Fujian coming over here, and then we doubled it, and we had to go raise that money, because it wasn't like COVID data. Had a slush fund of state money that could be used for such things. So everybody contributed, and it was a 40,000 or \$60,000 budget or something. And then I remember that we they reminded us that they had hosted us from touchdown in Beijing to take off in Guangzhou, and that they expected to be hosted in the same way in the United States. And we were fine with that land in San Francisco. We're going to tour them around San Francisco a little bit and then bring them up to Portland. They said, Well, what about that trip Disneyland? As I remember, we had to arrange for Bucha, who ping and his trip to go to Disneyland. I didn't participate, yeah, part of the trip. But we set up a pretty good, a pretty good tour for them over here, industrially, by comparison with what China was looking like at the time. Oregon holds its own against Fujian Province, no question about it. That was that was an interesting exchange back and forth. They realized that it was sort of the reciprocal of suddenly realizing that Oregon has very few people in it is getting here and realizing that maybe very few people, but there's an amazing industrial economy right here. We don't think of that as Oregonians. We're aware of our of our relatively small population status, by comparison with the countries of Asia, where there are so many people, yeah, that are organized in a much more rural economy, the density of the industrial capacity even of Oregon, which is a fairly Agricultural and Natural Resources state. It's really quite astounding. Yeah, so you were seeing that

James Moore 43:50

one of the things that I'm really looking at and seeing how it worked, Vic saw cleaning up the land use to international trade as part of a single, seamless economic development, yes. And the what you just said is, fits in with the land use. Yeah, arguments from the early 70s on, oh, I've said he was implementing and getting people to clean up and yeah, absolutely, that kind of thing. Absolutely, yeah. And

Bill Campbell 44:15

we tend to forget that in the in the in the 70s and flowing into the 80s. The the commonality between the political parties of those goals is pretty strong. You know, you're talking about the era of, you know, Tom McCall and Mark Hatfield is as state officials and Clay Myers and the cotivid was very much part of that. Yeah, so in at the time, in the Oregon political process, when, when clay and Vic were running against each other for the Republican nomination, or must have been the next 7040 74 Yeah, for the for governor, yeah? Okay, yeah.

James Moore 44:57

He knocks off clay then, and he knocks off. McCall in 78 Yes,

Bill Campbell 45:02

okay, well, let's see, did clay run again in 78

James Moore 45:06

No, no, that was Roger Martin and Tom McCall. Okay, that's right, yeah, but clay continued to be Secretary of State,

Bill Campbell 45:15

so, but

if, if Atiyeh was governor in 84 is obviously, was

James Moore 45:19

he was elected in 78 he'd been re elected in 82 writing, cooling, Gucci, right? So, that's right, that's right, right. So, and it's international stuff. He'd done some, well, I think so what I can tell six trips, but then he does 14 of them in his second term.

Bill Campbell 45:33

So wasn't it 78 when he knocked off clay in the Republican gubernatorial primary? No, that's 74 Oh, I see, okay, yeah. And then Oh, I see, of course. And he lost to,

James Moore 45:44

he lost the Straw, straw

Bill Campbell 45:45

in that election, right? Yeah. I remember talking with clay years ago about Vic and he said, you know, at the time, people saw me play as, as sort of progressive Republican in the way Morris mold and all that sort of thing. And Vic as the as the highly conservative, you know. And he said, I never saw the man that way. That's why I, I worked for him after he beat me. He saw him as a as quieter, but he saw him as just a fundamental amount of principle. He was a great admirer Vicki as and somebody considered a friend, yeah? So,

James Moore 46:32

a complex guy, yeah, yeah, it's going back and looking at it. And a TIA did in the early 90s. He did an oral history with the Oregon Historical Society. 65 tapes, 1000s of pages, every single book I'm here. It's given me the framework for the book. But he was in the early 90s. At times it seemed bitter that the media kept calling him in 7478 again, the Conservative candidate. Yeah, and I was talking with Ted Kulongowski, yeah, last week and and talking about that, because Ted lost a bit by the biggest number yes, up to that point, Ted is so happy Bill Sizemore ran in 98 because Ted says, when you're second place in politics, no one pays attention anymore. That's right, but Ted was from his point of view, and it's my memory as well. It wasn't that a TIA was conservative. It's that the McCall's and the Packwood's, these were truly liberals. Yeah, they were true liberals because social or fiscal conservatives, but truly liberals to the left of Democrats on a number of issues. Oh, no question, and then Jake was more in the middle, and that's where he stayed forever. Yeah,

Bill Campbell 47:46

I think that's, I think that's a good characterization, yeah. I think that if we, if we look at the labels applied at the time through the lens of today's politics, we will completely misunderstand, yeah. Vic Atiyeh, yeah, the same thing's true of other politicians, right? I mean, there's, I've heard it said that, you know, Nixon was the last liberal president. There's a lot of truth to that, the EPA and some other kinds of things that came out. Well at the time, no one who voted in the Democratic primary could see Nixon as anything other than the scourge of the right wing and all sort of things. But politics have really moved, you know, and they've, they've shifted rightward in general. And it's a it's a pity, because the pragmatic politics of accomplishment at the at the center of the Democratic and Republican parties did a lot of good for the state for many decades. Yeah, and Vic was absolutely a part of that. Yeah,

James Moore 48:49

yeah. In Oregon, it's just, it's kind of settled in. It's like the county commissioners, because they have to actually pave a road, yeah, that's right, you know, it doesn't matter what party they are, they have got to pave the road, right? But when you get above that, it

Bill Campbell 49:02

just looks so hard, yeah, of course, in any election, polarization is what has to happen so that you get people excited enough to go, oh, exactly so, yeah, any election, it gets described in apocalyptic terms. My perception is it actually is more apocalyptic now than it was, but perhaps not

James Moore 49:24

well even Bob Straub, thin skin, apparently never really forgave Vic for the 78 election. Oh, really,

Unknown Speaker 49:35

yeah

James Moore 49:36  
and Ted coolingoski

and Vic never really dealt with each other until Ted became governor, and then he'd get on the phone and call him, and they ended up for the last 10 years of Vic's life, Vic just treasured his relationship with Ted.

Bill Campbell 49:53  
I don't, I don't perceive that

Vic has a bone in his body or. Had a boneless body, was capable of harboring resentment if someone was reaching out to him, yeah, it's just not who the man was. Yeah, I understand why he would feel bitter. Because it was like, don't they understand? Yeah, it's more like that. It wouldn't be, I'm angry at them, and I'm gonna, you know, it wouldn't be vindictive in any sense. Yeah, yeah,

James Moore 50:23  
yeah, those who work closely with him talk about being able to go in a different direction and having arguments with him, and then you come in the next day, you just go back to work, yeah? Because, you know, he just does that. We're done. That's right. We made collective decision.

Off we go, yeah, yeah, yeah.

Bill Campbell 50:41  
I'll be obviously enjoyed the contact I had with him.

James Moore 50:48  
That's great. So anything else on on these trade delegations? Did you do any others besides this

Bill Campbell 50:53  
one? No, not with Nick. I think he did a couple others as they as they went along. Yeah, I wound up being on some boards and commissions for news org and China Commission, or something like that that I served on for a while. Yeah, there were, I remember,

I mentioned Alan Huang earlier. So

Huang Ji, Huang Ali Wong and Ren, what His full name was, were the two sort of primary managers and handlers of the of our delegation to Fujian in Beijing, Fujian and Guangzhou, and then the return delegation for being here, and they became the, the first Chinese exchange duo at PSU, the exchange program. And at the end of and there was some family issues and some other kinds of things that made Alan very uneasy about the prospects of returning to China at the end of his stay, and I remember that the sort of blush of filled with hope and everything's rosy period that I associate with all of that, not that there weren't threads earlier of unease about how Mr. Ren was doing some things and so on, he sort of came to a formal bright line, and it's something I was respected Vic for in his own just straightforward way. It wasn't that he put up a brick wall he wanted people to run into. He just didn't move, and one of them was Huang, decided he really couldn't go back. It was risky for him to go back to China at the time. And Hu ping, looking at this whole relationship, basically said, your job is to put that boy on a plane and get them home. And a TIA said, you know, that's not really how we do things here. And that probably created some strain and led to at least an extended period of time in which things didn't happen quite so, you know, whatever you could follow up on but no doubt someone else might have found a way to put all kinds of pressure and make life miserable in such a way that the that would have had to get on the plane. Yeah, a TIA did nothing of the sort from and it's just kind of a part of who he was. Yeah, no, the price of whatever it is you think we're buying cannot be the that this young man gets turned into a slave. He gets his own choice. Yeah, I may approve or not approve his choice, but it's not up to me. Right? My authority is in this frame, and I can exercise that authority, but it doesn't include telling this young man that he has to get back on the plane whether he's

making a good choice or a bad choice. I don't judge. I'm just telling you that it's not my job to do that for you. That's not who I am, and I always respected. It had an odd echo somewhat later, when Huang was applying for asylum. And there's an ongoing investigation that has to happen, because obviously you've been an official in this process, right? So if you are the FBI, worrying about an asylum and one of the things you want to know is, know is, who is this guy really? Yeah, and so I got interviewed about who this guy is really, and I hope I've helped that process a little bit. But then the asylum process itself is a decision by a judge, and so that's a that's a court process in the United States. Is, and I think it was taking place in Los Angeles, if I remember right. But Huang Zhi Hua asked me if I would write an affidavit for him about this, because my persona as lawyer, he'd been consulting me a lot about this process. I didn't represent him in the assistant process itself. It was not an area I participated and that was a part of my decision about whether I wanted to pursue this business development with China or whether I had my own lines. Absolutely. And I just realized that, you know, I couldn't ever buy my career on the back of, you know, a friend and I wrote an affidavit from the court that basically said, Look, this is what really goes on and how it really is, and we're all enthusiastic and great friends now and patting each other on the back and drinking toasts, but this is still real, and I Don't know what impact my contribution had to guja was asylum, but I quit thinking I had a major career in Fujian Oregon trade, or China US trade, or, you know, representing Chinese interest the United States as a lawyer, anything like that. After that affidavit, I just didn't pursue it. Yeah, because those guys are not stupid, they would know that I did that absolutely,

James Moore 56:20

absolutely. So, yeah, it's fascinating, as you're saying that, because right about the same time, Vic makes his kind of triumphal trip back to Syria, yes, and so there's, there's lots of things going on. He talks to Assad, right? You know, all these kinds of things. And he knows he's been briefed. He has a debriefing when he comes back with the State Department. He talked to the CIA. I mean, just all this kind of stuff, right? But there were also the personal things. There's the family things I discovered. And this is he told me to write warts and all, which I told him is the only condition under which I would write this, yeah. And his archive is the only archive I know of. It's completely open from day one. There are no restrictions whatsoever, wow. But it turns out he was smuggling money in an interesting way, which may or may not have been illegal. There was a guy in Syria, a wealthy man in, I think it was his hometown. It might have been in Damascus. He said, I want you to go to the bazaar and I want you to buy anything you want, souvenirs, stuff you want, anything you want. It's I'll pay for all of it. And the deal is, when you get back to the United States, you send the equivalent amount of money to his daughter, because the currency can't cross. And Vic, as Vic said,

Yeah, that's fine. We'll do that.

But I'll pay I'll be looking back and saying, okay, 1984 currency regulations. Was he stepping over a line? It sounds to me kind of like blue jeans to the Soviet Union. Well, kind of thing in the 70s, but

Bill Campbell 57:54

it's an interesting thing. And I'll put that a little bit broader context. In that time period, much less than today. There's still some places where it's true today, but in that time period, particularly, there were a lot of places where you couldn't do currency exchange. Okay? Now, some of them you couldn't do currency exchange because of US Treasury regulations. And Syria may have been one of those at the time. Yeah, okay. So you couldn't send money in or get money out of those countries, okay? But many others were like India, where they had, they controlled their own right foreign exchange. And in those countries, it was not uncommon for a buyer of technology from the United States who had permission to use foreign exchange to buy that technology with to ask a US supplier to over invoice them for the for the technology, and to provide them with a commission in the form of a deposit to a bank in New York, right? And what they were doing was getting tech, was getting currency out of the country, yeah, and if you I don't think there was anything illegal in the United States about that, as long as you weren't dealing with a regime like Syria or anything like that, right? But it was illegal, that sort of manipulation of the currency regulations was illegal in India, for India, right? So if you wanted to do that, if you participated in that, what you had to recognize is you had to be really careful when you went to India, right? Because it didn't matter in the United States, you can overpay for things and pay, yeah, and if the guy wanted to be paid in New York, as opposed to Bombay. It's fine. You can pay him wherever he wants to be paid. That's just a commercial issue. It has nothing to do with you, yeah? Has a lot to do with with what's happening back in India, yeah. So those sorts of arrangements were not uncommon on the fringes in the commercial world.

James Moore 59:56

Fascinating, because I'll then look and see. Did Tia brothers do that with their imports?

Because they were getting

their import? Vic's uncle did some fascinating things, the rugs that we think of as oriental rugs. Yeah, it seems he basically invented the bright colors, the patterns they're based on traditional stuff, but the American market wanted stuff, yep. So he actually built a rug factory in Iran. Oh, 19 teens, 1920s maybe even before then. But so, so that Iranian thing is going some form until the revolution, yep. And so they, you know, there's all sorts of stuff going on and sourcing their rugs, so I don't know anything about Yeah, I'm going to talk to his older brother again next week. I think

Bill Campbell 1:00:49

they would have been pretty careful about that. Yeah, and what you're describing in the bazaar is Vic

would have thought it was a family courtesy.

James Moore 1:00:59

Oh yeah, yeah, exactly. You know, it's to him. It's totally a family thing, yeah, it's a personal thing. Absolutely, yeah,

Bill Campbell 1:01:05

absolutely. And he wouldn't. It's just like nine, yeah, and, and I don't. I very much doubt that, you know, anybody in the Treasury Department would give a no rep about any of that. But it is kind of interesting, yeah, effectively, you know, this is where it happens, and the boundary between family and official, yeah, can sometimes be a little fluid. Yeah, it's dangerous. You're a public official at that boundary to know how you have to do it. And sometimes it can be very destructive, obviously, just watch this with Governor Kitzhaber and the former First Lady, right? Yeah, there was a complete breakdown of boundaries, and the missing voice in all of that is

Governor Kitzhaber is knowing where the line needed to be

James Moore 1:01:57

right when does not even where it legally is, but where should where it needed, right? Yeah, and

Bill Campbell 1:02:03

that's not, I don't in all the mess that I've seen. I've just seen, you know, a very bushy person and someone who is very fond of her and not getting in her way and wanting it all to work, right, and stuff like that. I haven't seen anything sort of genuinely malicious, but I have seen a lot that an objective person would say, No, you got to draw the line here.

James Moore 1:02:23

Yeah, right. And clearly we were finding out from the emails his staff was saying that fairly, his staff

Bill Campbell 1:02:27

was trying to say, Yo, yeah. So we're, you know, Chris Robin, hold, I see his name pop up and some of these kinds of things. And you just look at that, you just wonder

if it would have been nice if they had a little more support from

James Moore 1:02:40

the government. Yeah. In talking to older brother Ed last fall, when a TIA was elected governor, the TIA brothers had no business with the state of Oregon. Period. They just cut it off. I have no idea. I couldn't figure out if they had any business before, yeah, but they just said, No, use governor, nothing. Well,

Bill Campbell 1:03:02

that's how, that's how you should do it. Yeah, it's hard sometimes, because there, if there was business before, you're sacrificing a source of revenue, but that's the right thing to do. Yes, it makes perfect sense to me that they can do that. My my own family, my parents, when I was young, bought beautiful carpet from Atiyeh brothers spoke highly of the

firm and how they dealt. They just knew they could trust the guys, yeah, and that's how everybody was, yeah,

James Moore 1:03:29

yeah. So I found out when Vic was governor, occasionally random guys, never women. Random guys would come to the office. His office door was basically open anything and they'd asked to see the governor, and they were rug sales guys, and they'd come in, and Vic would invite them in, and they roll stuff out on the floor and look at thread counts and talk about sourcing.

That's so great. It is great. Yeah, it's great,

Bill Campbell 1:03:56

you know. And Oregon, I hope, is still small enough that that stuff can go on.

James Moore 1:04:00

Yeah, yeah. Talking to Kulongowski, he was saying, you know, everybody, since Vic starts out trying to be like Vic, yeah. So you meet with your department heads once a week. You have an open door policy. But it's just, there's just so much stuff going on. Well,

Bill Campbell 1:04:19

going on what? I think one of the reasons that

that Vic could do that is that he was a quiet man, right? So he didn't actually feel the need to have his voice at the center of everything that went down in the state

James Moore 1:04:35

any miles to consternation, sure. Yeah, that's right, and

Bill Campbell 1:04:41

it meant that, you know, when

you're talking about the rug sales guy, which came to mind was the Lincoln White House. There were people wandering in and out of the Lincoln white house all the time, and they'd bump into Lincoln, and they'd ask him about something, and he'd say, go talk to somebody or something. But that, that quality of. Letting the letting the government operate, setting it up, put the right people in the right places, trust them to do their jobs, stepping in to keep it on course when it need to be on course and on a few major things, seizing the leadership and driving it right then, but not spending your whole day thinking that you were at the center of everything in the be all and end all, and it all had to flow through you. Yeah? That's a, that's a that's a personal quality, yeah. And it was probably frustrating for some people who think that the governor can exercise a kind of leadership that forces things to happen. Sometimes the governor can, but you got to kind of pick your battles. Yeah, exactly. And you don't always know when you walk in which battles you really ought to be right picking

James Moore 1:05:48

when he based his he based his prioritization system on his principles. Yeah, I did it with why he would veto something. He did it on what policies he'd pursue. Yeah, it basically had a set of principles. And if it's up here, we've got to do it if it's here and down here, whatever everybody else decides is fine, yeah,

Bill Campbell 1:06:06

that's right, that's right.

That gave him in, in a way, more freedom of action, yeah, perception. Because, you know, I've been down the governor's office trying to think was his. His may have been the first governor's office I was ever in, so probably been in the governor's office for probably each of the subsequent governors. At some point I haven't been down to visit

Kate, but the sense of

of frenetic energy governor says very different, different governors. Yeah, but

the relaxed quality around Atiyeh

was notable, and so the kind of thing that you're talking about that makes that makes perfect sense, yeah, people would not have felt that they needed Atiyeh's support or permission to do something that mattered unless it was an issue that was fundamental to him, right? And that meant that it could just kind of work, yeah, so yeah.

James Moore 1:07:07

So any last things,

wonderful thing for Yeah, just wonderful,

Bill Campbell 1:07:13

good. Well, look forward to seeing what you come up with. Yeah, so blind

James Moore 1:07:19

doing this, the Atiyeh family. Oh, yeah.