

Pat Amedeo Interview on Governor Vic Atiyeh

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Interviewer: James Moore, Pacific University Professor

Note on the text: This transcript was made through AI in 2025 with some manual corrections. We recommend checking this text against the audio recording before quoting the speakers, as it may contain errors.

Pat Amedeo 0:00

And then I emailed Gerry, and Denny and I said, "Huh?" He said, "Oh, they met." So, the woman... [Moore: Yeah.] So I don't have that, but Tom's printed out the hard copy, so.

James Moore 0:10

Fantastic. Great. Yeah, that'll... anything like that is good...

Pat Amedeo 0:14

And I've got my questions, which I'll give you a copy of, that I used to interview him with, but, you know, he kind of strayed.

James Moore 0:22

Oh, exactly. So he did this oral history, which is 65 tapes. [Amedeo: Oh my God!] It's thousands of pages, and I've read every single one of them. I've annotated them. And just in the past week and a half, because I'm doing all this other stuff -- my sabbatical just started at the end of January -- I now... I put it into a single document, just by the notes. So it's single lines of things, just saying, here's this, here's the footnote about where it is. It's 54 pages. And so just this past week before I came here, I sorted that out into big chapter headings. So much of what we're going to talk about is the natural resources stuff, boom. And I've got all these things from that and some other things to really go at [Amedeo: Great]. And so I've got a good sense of how the book's going to work. [Amedeo: Oh, good.] And I'm now at a stage where I can begin to actually write stuff. And as things come in, added in. So it's moving along. [Amedeo: Great.] Yeah, it's really moving along.

Pat Amedeo 1:24

Good. Well, I had to kind of brush my... you know. [Moore: Of course!] It's like, how many years ago, you know? So, oh man, okay. So I'll do the best I can.

James Moore 1:37

No, yeah, exactly. Talking to people, you know, talking to Tony Van Vliet was just a hoot, because he didn't know it, but he knew my grandmother, who was the archivist at Oregon State. And the person who trained Denny on PR, the person who trained him is an old family friend of mine, and so... who, also, Tony knew really well. And so there's all these things. And then it's just so funny to come here where my grandmother is just, you know... and grandfather kind of around the corner. [Amedeo: Yeah, it's really odd.] Yeah. Very, very funny.

Pat Amedeo 2:14

Did they go to Santa Rosa High School?

James Moore 2:16

No, they... my grandfather grew up in San Francisco. He was in the earthquake.

Pat Amedeo 2:23

So were my grandparents. And they were Italian, and they first went to Fairfax -- this is my dad's side -- first went to Fairfax, and there's a huge Italian community there. And then they moved to Rincon Valley.

James Moore 2:37

Yeah. And so our family friends, like of that era, who are maybe a little bit younger... like were in... they did stuff 100 years ago at the Pan-American Exposition. We have pictures of them as butterflies, dancing and stuff. But my grandfather... my grandmother actually grew up and was born and raised right outside of Corvallis, and they met, and I'm not sure exactly how they met, but they met. My grandfather's great-grandfather was one of the founders of the Bohemian Club.

Pat Amedeo 3:12

You know, Tom, who I'm sure will emerge, you know, has his fascination with the Bohemian Club, you know.

James Moore 3:19

So I actually have on my... I have a Google book, and I ordered it, and I have the hard cover. This guy wrote his autobiography, and it's just fascinating. He was all these things. And I went to graduate school, I did my master's degree at the Monterey Institute. And lo and behold, this guy was offered by Leland Stanford, he was offered the manager job of the new Hotel Del Monte, which is... I went to meetings in that place. So it's just very strange how it comes together. My grandfather, however, as we get back to that, he was a real jerk, and he tried to horn in on San Francisco society, and they told him to take a [unintelligible]. [Amedeo laughs.] So he and my grandmother got married, and they moved to Honolulu, where they lived for 40 years. So my mother was born and raised in Honolulu, and then when they retired, and I just was asking my wife, why did they pick Santa Rosa? But they came back here in like, '54, '55.

Pat Amedeo 4:14

It was a small town then.

James Moore 4:15

Yeah. We lived here just for a single year. My dad was in the military. He was in Vietnam. So while he was there, we lived here, and we left here in '67, and moved to Medford. And at that point, they were exactly the same size. And within five years, this 28,000 had turned into 75,000, and Medford had gone to 28,500. And Medford is now a big place of, you know, 75,000 and this is... [Moore makes an explosion sound effect].

Pat Amedeo 4:43

It's still big, but it's a funny town. It's a small... [Moore: Oh yeah.] I mean, it's the least... it's the hard working town in Sonoma County. You know, it's not the cheat sheet town. Except I love the area that you're staying in, because I'm a big Railroad Square fan. Because I kept thinking, "Oh, I wonder what you're... you know, Jim's wife's gonna do this morning. But I'm sure she can walk over to Railroad Square..."

James Moore 5:10

Yeah. She's actually gonna find real coffee first. [Moore laughs.]

Pat Amedeo 5:12

Yeah, there's a Flying Goat.

James Moore 5:14

Yes, that's exactly where she's staying.

Pat Amedeo 5:16

Yeah, that my other -- my cousin's grandfather built that building.

James Moore 5:21

Oh, great! Yeah, we had dinner last night [Amedeo: Yeah, where did you go?] on Fourth at... what's it called? It's like La Rosa Santa Rosa. We discovered, when we came back six years ago. I remember, this is a bland restaurant place. There's some really amazing Mexican food. And there's some really good food. [Amedeo: Yeah, there is.] And so we to La Rosa, Santa Rosa, it's a tequileria and Mexican place. It was fantastic. Right across the street from one of Guy Fieri's.

Pat Amedeo 5:54

Which we never go to. We've been to, we went once with some friends from Portland, but Tom and I wondered if you guys had plans tonight, if you'd like to go to...?

James Moore 6:04

Actually, a college friend lives here, and so we're gonna go see her.

Pat Amedeo 6:07

I said to Tom, you know, I haven't been very hospitable. I should have, you know, made some plans.

James Moore 6:13

And it turns out, a good high school friend lives in Sebastopol, and so we were gonna have lunch with her, but it fell through. But that's fine. We're gonna go find more good Mexican food for lunch.

Pat Amedeo 6:24

food. Oh, yeah, well, I have to say where we go. There's a taco truck on 12th street, down on 12th. So if you go -- if you pick -- I don't know if you want to go back this far. Oh, I can -- my favorite one is in Sebastopol. It's La Texanita. It's off of Sebastopol Road. Superb. But there's a taco truck right down the street.

James Moore 6:46

That's actually -- Guy Fieri put that one on the show.

Pat Amedeo 6:48

Yeah, but it's still good. The taco truck down the road here is great.

James Moore 6:54

Fantastic. Yeah, because last night was upscale, and really rich, but, yeah, we'll probably do La Texanita or something. [Amedeo: Good.] Yeah, absolutely.

Pat Amedeo 7:05

So what do you need to know?

James Moore 7:07

Well, first, let me tell you this. This is all recorded archival style, so it's going to go eventually into the archives. And yeah, we just go. So first thing before I get into this, in terms of natural resources, were you involved with the energy stuff? Was that part of your portfolio? [Amedeo: Yes, yes it was.] Okay, fantastic, because I had a feeling, but I couldn't nail it down.

Pat Amedeo 7:31

That and, interestingly enough, light rail.

James Moore 7:34

Oh, okay, fantastic. Yeah, because that all wrapped into that. In fact, I was talking to one of the Oregonian reporters, a guy named Wayne Thompson.

Pat Amedeo 7:44

I know Wayne very well.

James Moore 7:45

And Wayne, when I talked to him... he's really ill right now. [Amedeo: Oh, he is?] Yeah. And he's had long term problems, but he just had a lung problem he's just getting over. But he just kept talking. I talked to him on the phone several times, and he gave me all his articles. [Amedeo: Oh, great.] So I have those at home. I'm kind of going through all these things, but he just kept talking about how well he knew all the staff.

Pat Amedeo 8:08

Oh, yes, very well. We were good friends. You should talk to Dick Feeney on light rail, because he can kind of give you the role that Vic played.

James Moore 8:18

Yeah, because I really want to nail down light rail in the whole Mount Hood... Denny has hinted at the dust up with Neil Goldschmidt and, you know, all those kinds of things.

Pat Amedeo 8:30

And so I'm not sure that was as traumatic as Denny [unintelligible.] [Moore: Well, exactly, exactly.] I don't think it was at all, frankly. [Both laugh.]

James Moore 8:39

Yeah, Denny is fun to play with, but, whoo! So one of the things in one of the Wayne Thompson is it, has all of you guys been hired. So there's a picture of you in the governor's office, and there you are. You're 29 years old. [Amedeo: I was really young.] So start out and tell me, how did you become the Natural Resources Maven at age 29?

Pat Amedeo 9:03

I had spent four years in Capitol Hill. I worked for Bob Duncan, and I had a natural resource portfolio there, which also included the interior and related agencies, appropriations committee work. And at some point, Bob had me going back and forth between DC and Portland, and it just was difficult. But during that period, I worked closely with timber interests. Stub Stewart and John Hampton, and wonder why it was lobbying timber interests at that time, but I also because it was... Bob was a Democrat, had a good relationship with Ted Halleck, who did his PR... so I had a good cross section. And when that job came up, I had three or four

people -- I had four people write letters of recommendation. I had John Hampton and Stub Stewart... well, five; Wendell Wyatt, Ted Halleck and Neil Goldschmidt. And so I got an interview. And I just didn't... I mean, Lynn Newbury interviewed me actually. [Moore: Transition guy, yeah.] Yeah, and I thought, "Oh, he was tough." You know, I think his first question was, "The last time I saw you, your hair was a different color." [Both laugh.] And then I had one meeting with the governor elect. And I said, "You know, I'm a registered Democrat, and I'm really... I'm not comfortable changing my views, but I don't think that natural resource issues have to be or should be partisan." And he hired me, which was really unusual, because I was so young, and I remember Tom McCall was not that pleased that he hired someone so young, and I think had some comments about it at the time, but I have to say, I think I grew into the job because, you know, sometimes ignorance is power, you know?

James Moore 11:32

Yeah, absolutely. You look at the issues rather than who's involved. [Amedeo: Absolutely.] Fantastic. So just give me your overall impressions about what it was like being on the staff. I mean, because you were there basically the whole time. So, you know, Lee Johnson to Gerry, you know, those kinds of things. Just overall impressions of the staff and the way that it worked.

Pat Amedeo 12:02

We all had our individual relationships with the governor, and at least in my area, my word was certainly more significant to him than Lee's, who did want to get involved in my issues, and especially on energy, and I'll talk about that a little bit. Gerry, not so much. She had other big issues that she was dealing with, and by the time she got there, I think she realized that he trusted me. So Gerry really didn't particularly weigh in. My job... I was trying to think about it last night on how to describe it. I was a broker and a facilitator amongst the agency heads, who were all men at the time, and older than me. And so I think the first thing I did was say, I know you're older, I know you're more experienced, but I'm going to be the governor when we meet, and my job is to try to resolve conflicts amongst experts, because you guys are. So I think that I had a really good relationship with him. So that was part... the second part, obviously, was carrying his legislation through. But then, because it was natural resources, a lot of it was federal, and that was probably another reason I was hired, because I had had experience in the federal arena a little bit. How can I describe it? I think there were several strong staff members and some staff members who weren't quite as strong. Jim Russell, heck of a nice guy, and Bob Oliver, who was the legal counsel, but also kind of squirrely, so that... the governor was, he was the antithesis of Bob Duncan, who was... Bob treaded the line between brilliance and insanity. He was completely disorganized. Vic was organized to a fault. And I'm sure you've heard this story, he'd get a pack of papers, if there was a staple in it, he would take it out [unintelligible] and then put it in just parallel on one side. [Amedeo laughs.] And I'm thinking, and so he was, like a dream to work for, versus Bob, who was just kind of a fascinating, hilarious character, but difficult.

James Moore 14:47

In watching Vic as a manager, for instance, with Lee Johnson talking to Vic, it became clear to him fairly quickly that this was the wrong pick. But he couldn't figure out, or bring himself to say, this has got to end. So, I mean, you're talking it's not just Lee Johnson, but with the others. How did that kind of... Vic's personality work with those kinds of managerial issues?

Pat Amedeo 15:19

Well, I can tell you that Lee, without a doubt, was the wrong person, because Lee tried to... Tom, have you met my husband, Tom Mason?

James Moore 15:31

Hi!

Tom Mason 15:31

It's probably been a while.

Pat Amedeo 15:33
Jim Moore. Have you met?

Tom Mason 15:34
Yeah.

James Moore 15:35
I don't know if we have or not.

Pat Amedeo 15:36
Tom was a former legislator.

James Moore 15:39
Okay. Long ago and far away. [Amedeo: 18 years.]

Tom Mason 15:42
Long ago and far away. Yeah, that's where we met.

Pat Amedeo 15:44
That's where we met. I was in the midst of telling him about Lee and...

James Moore 15:51
Lee Johnson, exciting things.

Tom Mason 15:53
Oh, good heavens, yeah. So, you got the interview there?

Pat Amedeo 15:57
No, I had the interview over there, which I'll give to him.

Tom Mason 16:02
So she did a great job.

James Moore 16:03
Yeah, that's fantastic.

Tom Mason 16:07
I'll let you guys go. How big is your book going to be?

James Moore 16:11
Well, the idea is it's going to be a huge website, and then the book will be 300 pages out of that. [Mason:

Wow.] And I was just telling her I got to the stage about two weeks ago. Vic did an oral history about 22 years ago, and I had 54 pages of single-lined notes that all take me to bigger things. So I don't think it's going to be a problem getting length [Moore laughs], but it'll be an Oregon State University Press -- Vic really wanted an actual book, like the McCall biography. And if I were doing it without... [Mason interjects and says something unintelligible] yeah, yeah, exactly. If I were doing it without Vic really wanting that it might go a slightly different direction, but he asked me to do this, and I will certainly...

Tom Mason 17:04
300 pages is a lot of book.

James Moore 17:06
It's a lot of book.

Tom Mason 17:07
I'm a fledgling author, and I'm perhaps 300 pages...

James Moore 17:12
Well, remember, I wrote a dissertation which is either good or 300 pages, and mine was 350.

Pat Amedeo 17:17
The difference between leaving there and [unintelligible] is market. The first couple of weeks we were there, you know, we had to get a legislative plan out right away. And so, which said to both, said to me, you know, I'd like you to look at energy and see what you wanted to do. So I talked to the department, the Energy Department staff, Lynn Frank was the director at the time, and made a bunch of contact. I mean, you know, did some research, and put together an alternate energy development commission that looked at first, what can we do? So let's have a commission. Lee's option was to abolish the Department of Energy. So before we were, the governor was going to have us both come in, and I remember Lee saying to me, "I don't want you to bring your position forward." I said, "I don't work for you." But I mean, Gerry never would have done that. And the governor went with the position that I had put forward, and I have to assume that during Lee's tenure, there were those kinds of problems. However, Lee was very influential in helping to create LUBA [the Land Use Board of Appeals] and I give him credit for that. I lobbied it through, but it really was his concept, and I think a good one. Vic, there's no question, in my view, he made some bad choices and lived with them, and those choices were choices made from the heart. Fred Heard comes to mind. He was an easy person to work for. I don't ever remember him yelling at me or saying, "Boy, you really messed up." Although there was an incident which he and I have laughed about for years, in which, if we were going to do it over again, we would, and that was our recommendation to the senators on the level of wilderness that we thought we should have, and we had some really ridiculously small amount. They ended up with a million, and he and I have laughed about that, to this -- well, to his dying day.

James Moore 19:44
Yeah, he talks about that several times. And you asked for this, the Fed said this, and it ended up here. It's like, "Okay, how did that happen?"

Pat Amedeo 19:53
And you know what? And we learned from that, how to stay in the game.

James Moore 19:58
Yeah. What happened to that game? Did it just become a congressional thing, or did wilderness interest groups kind of hit hard?

Pat Amedeo 20:06

Wilderness groups hit hard, and an individual environmental interest had specific areas they were interested in, so we lost control of it. Unlike the Columbia -- and I'm not sure that that was a bad thing, unlike the Columbia Gorge scenic area, which we were in the game the entire time. [Moore: Right.] The issue on the wilderness issue that was the most difficult for Vic was Opal Creek.

James Moore 20:37

Yes, I had very specific questions about that, yeah, so let's save those. So let's go into energy, kind of your first big thing. So talk to me about, what were the issues with energy, and then what were the proposals? And Wayne Thompson, for instance, was very impressed that Vic switched cars, so that he had one that got better gas mileage. He told me, whatever the new one was, he told me, and I said, "You're kidding me?" He said, "compared to the Crown Vic or whatever, it was much better."

Pat Amedeo 21:11

Well, this was during the era of serious shortages.

James Moore 21:18

Yeah, the Iranian crisis had just happened in the middle of it.

Pat Amedeo 21:20

The Iranian Crisis had just happened, we were invited back to Washington to meet with the president... Carter at the time, and got a full briefing on the extent of the problem. And so the home front, you know, the question is, what can one state like Oregon do? And so the governor said, "You know, let's see what we can do with alternate energy." I mean, we were looking at Trojan, which was up and running, the whoops debacle had just, you know, occurred. So we were looking at what kind of small, unique things could we do. We were looking at the Energy Facilities Citing Council, and so we put together an alternate energy development commission that had wind and solar and geothermal. We looked at all the this... the possibilities. And the next session, we came up with the small scale energy loan program, which during the interim, we got it, we went to the ballot, got it passed, and that program is still up and running to this day. So I have to say, I think that was the major thing that we did and could do in that area. We also played a significant role in the Northwest Power Planning Act. And you should talk, if you can, to Roy Hemmingway. Roy had been working for Bob Straub on that issue, initially on [DERPA/DARPA?], which was the predecessor. Vic met with them, and that's when I first met Roy, and he is a dear friend to this day. And Vic decided, you know, we need to stay in the game. This guy's the most knowledgeable. He was at the PUC at the time. And Vic put in, oh God, John Lobdell, who wasn't that fond of Roy, and he had a deputy position open, which Roy was filling, and he wanted to get rid of them, and Vic said, "No, we're going to double fill that position, and Roy's going to continue to work on the Power Planning Act," which he did. And I think we played a significant role on how that shaped up. And I think the federal state partnership on those big issues as a result, Roy and Herb Schwab were the first appointments, and Roy tells a funny story, because we had to authorize those. We had to get a bill passed to authorize that. And Halleck, who was a character, I don't know if you knew Ted, was completely... was a senator at the time, and said to Roy, "I'm going to go into Vic and say, 'Listen, this has to be bipartisan. There has to be both the Republican and a Democrat, you know, representing Oregon, because we have two positions.'" And Roy said, "Well, that would be a mistake, because he's planning on appointing two Democrats." And Ted said, "Well, maybe I won't make that [unintelligible] after all!" [Amedeo laughs] So we played a significant role in shaping that and getting the federal state partnership that's reflected in the Northwest Power Planning Act.

James Moore 24:52

Were you involved in the negotiations with other governors and other states?

Pat Amedeo 24:56

Yes, primarily Washington, Dixie Lee Ray, and you should talk to Roy, because he was involved in the specific meeting. But she was not... I mean, she was pro-Nuke, obviously. And she was very hesitant about that issue. The other two, Montana and Idaho, not so much. But Vic met with all of them, and the story about his meeting with Dixie is probably the most, I think fun, because he went to Olympia, and Roy said, you know, he said, "I kept briefing him on the way up." And Vic said, you know, "I've got this," you know, "I've got this." And came out, and she was, I don't know what the hell he said to her, but she was on board. So yes, I think he, personally made a big difference in that outcome.

James Moore 25:52

They had a fascinating relationship, because after he was elected, she actually sought him out. She was in Vancouver, and just, you know, said, "Hey, I'm there. Why don't you come over?" They spent -- it wasn't long, 10, 15 minutes, but whatever it was, they bonded, just almost immediately.

Pat Amedeo 26:09

Absolutely. You know what? He was non-threatening. I remember the very first day we were in office, this little girl came up and was before the swearing in, and she said, "Oh, I'm so excited to meet you. You're the governor of Oregon." And he said, "You know, I'm the current governor..." but you know, you're excited to meet somebody in this position, but I'm just a person, you know, just really, very endearing.

James Moore 26:39

With the Northwest Power Planning, Vic says that fish were involved from the beginning.

Pat Amedeo 26:44

They were involved from the beginning, and the salmon plan was a key component of it. In some measure, I think because Vic was more environmental than some people like to give him credit for. He was a great fisherman, but he was also, as you I'm sure, know, a great supporter of Native Americans, and I think all of that played in a role in his thought process, but fisheries were in it from the get go.

James Moore 27:18

Now, how were they supposed to...was there a negotiation? Or did you guys have an original idea that they should just be a part, or?

Pat Amedeo 27:24

I can't really remember. From my view, they were always a part, and we assumed and supported them, always.

James Moore 27:37

Did the working with the Feds and the states... then when Columbia Gorge came up, did that...? We've already done this kind of thing, does this make it easier? Because I know there was a huge selling job with Spellman on the Columbia Gorge.

Pat Amedeo 27:51

There was a huge selling job with Spellman on the Columbia Gorge. And, you know, it made it easier because we negotiated our Northwest Power Bill. We had a state-federal relationship that we were able to put in motion, and so we kept pointing to that. We also pointed -- although I'm not sure that they were that enthused with our land use planning process -- and tried to do some things to comfort him, like saying, here's who we're going to put in charge, which was Stafford Hansell, who was one of the most respected statesmen in the state at the time. But I was involved in those meetings, and we met constantly, the

senators, staff and the two governors for months, an Spellman was difficult, Booth Gardner less so, but the prospect... it reminded me, which I had forgotten... [unintelligible] Bob Packwood who wants to reinvent history on his role.

James Moore 29:07

Oh yeah, no, he was very clear. I haven't been able to talk to him yet, but yes. [Both laugh.]

Pat Amedeo 29:13

He wanted it to be a national park. That was his view. You know, he wanted a national park.

So, in some ways he was a straw man, because he said, "Okay, you can have the Bob Packwood view, or you can work with us on this partnership."

James Moore 29:32

I'm sure. Yeah, that's great with the Reagan administration, to do that. So what were the dynamics of that, because there's the Washington DC angle, Mark Hatfield in the middle of that, the Reagan administration, buying, selling all those kinds of things, and you guys... so was what you described, is the state coming together, which is tough. What was the connection here, going to DC?

The connection was a personal connection, really at the staff level. I had known Tom Imeson for a long time. We were good friends. We both had natural resource backgrounds. He was working for Hatfield when I was working for Duncan, so I knew him for a long time, and then... I'm trying to think, I can't even remember who was the Packwood representative, but traditionally, Packwood's office never really rolled up their sleeves and did much work. On most issues, one person went to one state, one individual or elected official would take the lead. So we just kept as individuals working on it until we built up trust. Joe Mentor represented the Washington interests, and I think he worked for either Spellman or Booth Gardner, and he was the thorniest one, and we eventually won him over. And so once we were able to win the staff guy over and work out the details, that just kind of flowed. But we had outside interests who were just pushing us, Nancy Russell and Friends of the Gorge. And it was helpful and not helpful at the same time.

Vic tells a story that he saved it because it was going to be vetoed.

Pat Amedeo 31:37

Yeah, and I didn't know that story but Denny tells it, and I have no doubt that it was true that Andy Carter called and said, "Oh, by the way, we're going to veto this." And we really had never asked the Reagan administration for anything. Nothing.

James Moore 31:58

Right, but there's a very interesting relationship between Vic and the Reagan administration. He was writing pointed letters to David Stockman and just all sorts of things, which is going to be fun to really explore, and talking with Gerry as well. This then reflected back into Oregon, where there were Reagan partisans who were wondering why Vic was not wholly on the Reagan bandwagon.

Pat Amedeo 32:24

He never was.

James Moore 32:24

Oh, no, no. He was a Bush One... Ford was his favorite. Bush One was pretty good. Reagan never gelled there. But Reagan let him onto Air Force One, so.

Pat Amedeo 32:39

He was very moderate. But I also think that having our land use plan and process underway was really helpful. The timber interests in the area were the Stevensons... and I knew Bruce, who's since died, and his dad, and Tom knew them so, and they knew that we were... and had a strong background, a pro tempore background, so didn't really have any interest in, you know, screwing them over.

James Moore 33:14

More energy stuff, as we kind of go in all sorts of directions here... Vic talks about energy in terms of not just a unified policy, but there were issues of the aluminum plants. There were issues of pollution, you know, the Tom McCall stuff that had become big. Were you involved in any of those kinds of particular details?

Pat Amedeo 33:46

I don't think... if I was, I just can't remember them. I do know that the aluminum industry tried to be hugely influential in the Northwest Power Planning Act. Brett Wilcox, for example.

James Moore 34:03

Were you involved in the BPA fight over preferential stuff for Washington over Oregon because of public versus private? [Amedeo: No.] Okay. There's all sorts of very interesting things here. Things like that, actually, I mean, they go back to the 1920s, before BPA. Nuclear: so there's issues with Hanford, there's issues with Trojan and what's going to go on there. So talking about the nuclear...

Pat Amedeo 34:33

The nuclear issue is pretty interesting. Vic I don't think was particularly pro-nuke.

I think he saw it as a necessary evil, but I remember the day that he called me in and there was a confidential letter that the security guards at Trojan were smoking dope. [Both laugh.] And I think that probably cemented any view that he had of the ability to run those plants without a problem, right?

James Moore 35:16

It's hilarious.

Pat Amedeo 35:17

It was, really.

James Moore 35:18

But it's also... that's the same time when all of a sudden we're hearing that all our troops in Europe are doing [unintelligible]. There's a culture.

Pat Amedeo 35:29

I think he believed that the Northwest Power Planning Act's function was to try to mesh need versus supply. And there had been those in the past who thought, we just need to get as much supply, energy supply as possible, and that'll... the need, obviously, will be there. And I think as we became much more sophisticated and saw, no, you really don't need to have an unending... there's a downside with an unending supply of some of this stuff, right? So the effort was to get more sophisticated.

James Moore 36:16

Were you involved with the ideas about exploratory drilling off the coast?

Pat Amedeo 36:21

Yeah, I was the Outer Continental Shelf Advisory Committee representative. And we took a particularly dim view of it, because of the fisheries interests, which didn't really like us, because, you know, I remember one time Vic was burned in effigy, and I think I was too by the fishermen, because ODFW was forced to limit salmon seasons. So that was a burden. The fishing industry was a [unintelligible] again, we didn't want to lose it. We were, of course, in the backdrop of horrible recession, so we had to do what we could and make decisions that we thought were reasonable to try to keep as many jobs as we could.

James Moore 37:09

Vic describes the drilling as eventually, he came to the decision that... let them do exploratory drilling, because they're not going to find anything, and then they'll just shut up about it.

Pat Amedeo 37:19

We never really got to that point.

James Moore 37:22

Okay, but that's that jives with what you remember as well. Okay, a couple of other personnel things on this energy thing, and then we'll move on. Don Hodel, Jim Watt, you got interesting personalities there. The basically BPA, Oregonian guy, and then this crazy guy from Colorado. Did that make any difference in your dealing with the feds on this is energy, and...?

Pat Amedeo 37:51

We really tried to avoid the crazies. We tried to avoid Jim Watt, and [unintelligible], he was there who was great, he very smart. So we just tried to steer clear of those types. Because Jim Watts' group was... I mean, would have hated LCDC and everything they stood for. We knew that, and we were in the midst of trying to get, you know, these plans approved. So we just did as best we could to steer clear of those at the same time. There were things that we did do. I went back a number of times and sat on interior committees, like to hire the head of BLM. So we tried to kind of take it down to the the next level, which really would make an on the ground difference to to what happened in Oregon.

James Moore 38:48

Interesting that you get to be a part of that. That's great.

Pat Amedeo 38:52

And it was, and I probably did too, because I had overseen their budget when I worked on the Interior, so I had the natural connection.

James Moore 39:01

So you know what the feds are doing? Yeah, exactly. See, Columbia Gorge we've done, that's good. Timber. Let's do timber now. So you guys come in, it's '79, the economy is beginning to squeak a lot. The legislature passes the budget, everybody I've talked to was involved in that '79 session is... and Gerry, who wasn't involved, she was on the sidelines, said, you know, that was the apogee. We had taxes coming in, we had programs, and that's when they do the kicker law. That's when they give back \$600 million or whatever, just tons of money back to the taxpayers. By the end of the year, Paul Volcker has said interest rates have got to

go through the ceiling, and all of a sudden, housing just stops. The timber industry begins. It's moved towards the two when the bottom falls out. So talk about what the timber industry meant to you in the office. Economic player, natural resources, stewardship... I mean, how did that change? And look over time as all those things hit it at the same time, and remember, this is all this is still six years before the spotted owl.

Pat Amedeo 40:26

Our biggest initial issue was -- and we had several -- but there are two types of timber interests in the state, those big private landowners and those small companies who were reliant on public timber, and they were reliant both on federal public timber and on state public timber in Elliott. And of course, any decisions that we made on state public timber issues had to be done through the land board. And Norma was on, and I think Clay Myers was on, and we put together a timber contract relief bill that would take another look at the price associated with those contracts to try to give them some relief, and Norma was dead set against it, and we had gotten advice from Peter Herman, who was the AG at the time, that said, well, they could take us to court, and it's probably about a 60-40 chance that we'd win, but maybe it's 50-50. Well, Norma went to Vic and said, Pat's given that information to Stub Stewart. And Vic called me in and he said, Norma wants you fired because she said she's done that. You've done that. I said that was confidential information. I didn't do it. He said, didn't think you did, just want to give you a heads up. We were at the next land board meeting, and Peter's there, and that was a public meeting. And he said, You know, there's about a 60-40 chance that... [Moore laughs] Vic just kind of winked at me. But we got that passed, and I think it helped a little bit. We tried to do whatever we could to keep that industry afloat. We were supportive of the federal timber contract relief bill, and probably sent letters in support of it. We understood the kind of the growing concern about environmental interests, but at the same time, we had so many timber dependent communities that it was important that we try to keep that industry afloat. And we liked the diversification of small companies versus big, not just the private interests, but it played a huge role in the entire time that I was there. And I remember one day I went into him and I said, I have really bad news. I just got a call from Publishers Paper, and they're closing their plant. 5000 jobs were lost, and Vic I thought was gonna be turned white as a sheet. I mean, it was horrible. [Moore: It's just stunning.] And towards the end of our term, the middle, you know, the spotted owl issue reared its head. And, you know, we know what happened. But I think it was not only the spotted owl, it was the change in federal land management policy in which there was more public participation and citizen participation in the decision making, which helped to change the views.

James Moore 44:07

It's so fascinating, not just for this project, but for other projects, getting into how that all works. Both sides, the industry and the environmentalist side industry, more now accuse each other of filing lawsuits and slowing things up. The legislation is written that you have to file a lawsuit. There is no enforcement mechanism except lawsuits. [Amedeo: Exactly, yeah. I know.] [Moore laughs] It's like, guys! If you don't like that, then have Congress say, here's a panel or something.

Pat Amedeo 44:08

But also the public participation component changed dramatically.

James Moore 44:08

Do you think that was more organized environmental groups, or is it just the rules themselves invite the change? I mean,

Pat Amedeo 44:18

I think the rules made it possible. But I think that the environmentalists have a single job, and when you're running a company, that's a sidebar interest. It grew in importance, but it wasn't your primary, you know, reason for existence.

James Moore 45:25

There was a regional rivalry going on, same time that we're hitting all this, the South's forests are coming back. So how did that dynamic work? I mean, eventually it means that, you know, LP goes back to L.

Pat Amedeo 45:37

LP goes back to L, GP goes back to G, and it made a huge difference in the structure of the industry. We ended up -- and I think it was after Vic left -- you know, banning log exports at the same level. And after I left Vic, the industry hired me to get that bill passed and get the the ballot measure passed, but you do what you can.

James Moore 46:09

Exactly. And they're still having that argument.

Pat Amedeo 46:11

Well, I'm fascinated by... because I really haven't kept in touch with that. I still have two really good friends, Jim Geisinger, if you're... you obviously should meet with if you're doing anything on the timber thing, and Ralph Saperstein, and I'm having lunch with him in a couple weeks. And I can't believe that John had the ability to hire Tom Tuckman on a \$600,000 contract.

James Moore 46:40

I know... you know, Sylvia did whatever, but that's the story! [Moore laughs.]

Pat Amedeo 46:46

That is the story! He has an incredible conflict of interest. One, how the hell did he ever get that kind of money? Because, I mean, I looked at the growth after I left that natural resource position, because it was me and my secretary. Period. And then now, God knows.

James Moore 47:08

When that story broke, the thing I kept looking for in the Oregonian story is, this in effect, makes this person the third highest paid after this coach, this coach, you know, something like that. Because it's stunning.

Pat Amedeo 47:21

It was stunning to me, and the guy kept a business on the side in which his business was exactly...

James Moore 47:28

... trying to get the LA forest!

Pat Amedeo 47:30

Trying to get the LA forest! So I am thinking, what am I missing in this story?

James Moore 47:38

Just amazing. It's also come up with the port, because Hanjin, our biggest... it has pulled out. And people keep saying it's because of the labor. Well, it's because of the labor a little bit, but it's because Portland doesn't have a port!

Pat Amedeo 47:54

Yeah, we don't have a port.

James Moore 47:55

We ship hay. I mean, [unintelligible] hay, and a total of... it's 1.2% of the West Coast. Why would you even do this? But that's not part of the conversation. [Amedeo: I know. I don't get it either.] It's just amazing. But all that, the raw logs thing just plays back at that, because, you know, we ship potash and hay out of there. At one point I was talking to Gerry, and I said -- because she was deeply involved in all the international trips -- and just saying to her, you know, then and now, it seems to me like we're asking Japan and Taiwan and all those people to come and build a plant and hire lots of people and pay them good money in exchange for which you're going to get strawberry jam. How is this a deal? And she just laughed, but I'm really going to try to nail that down, because that's basically what it is.

Pat Amedeo 48:54

Well, the other dynamic which I noticed -- and I was probably more sensitive than other people in the office -- was when I first started there, the timber industry was the economic driver of the state. [Moore: You betcha.] And by the time I left, you know, I mean, I viewed what I was doing is really important in balancing timber interests and environmental interests and water interests. But over time, in that office, it became international.

James Moore 49:31

Which is a good segue into something that you've referred to, but I'll put it in Vic's terms and see how you respond to that. He looked at the international stuff is kind of the, in effect, the third wave of diversification strategy. Before that came... the first part was land use. We've got the land use laws, we support them, but we gotta do it so that it's sane, and we have to get these counties and cities to finish their plans. So there's that. And then in the middle is tax stuff, which is kind of symbolized by the unitary tax. Did you see that continuity? Or were you just buried in?

Pat Amedeo 50:13

I did, because my portfolio also included land use. And that meant trying to figure out what was right and what was wrong, and was what we're doing, giving these people to do, too onerous, too hard to achieve? And sitting in -- and I mean, I sat in and was on the steering committee of the '82 ballot measure in which we drug out Tom McCall for his last gasp. But then that next session, I just think that was a testament to bipartisanship, because Darlene Hooley in the House chaired the committee, and we worked months to get a legislation that both the House and the Senate, Republicans and Democrats would agree to. And we did. We changed the exceptions law, we reviewed marginal lands, we looked at periodic review. We really tried to do some things to make it a little easier. And the Republicans, thank you, Larry Campbell, who I never was very fond of, went to Vic midway through that -- and Andy Anderson, who I think has passed away, was the co-chair of that committee, was the Republican on the committee, but I don't think Larry thought he was very strong. So he went to Vic and said, we really don't trust Pat. We want her to meet in my office with anybody from any House Republican who wants to be there every Friday until this bill was passed, which I did! You know, and just rolled his eyes. And he said, think of it as a free lunch, but we really did, and I think that made a big difference. The land use issue was very important to him. And he I ran into Earl Blumenauer, who you should also talk to.

James Moore 52:22

In fact, Earl... what did Earl do? Earl called me at home. He's done it several times now, and my wife answers the phone and now recognizes his voice, and she's saying, you know, I don't know anybody else who... a member of Congress just calls at home. Oh, it's like, who's Earl? We wear bow ties.

Pat Amedeo 52:41

Earl and I had been good friends for a long time. He was close to Bob Duncan, and he caught me after the

memorial service, and he said, "Vic did a tremendous amount to stabilize the produce planning process, by his appointments and by the work he has done," he did, and I don't think Vic ever got... Vic really didn't seek out credit.

James Moore 53:05

No. I did the first, the first written thing that I did was more than a year ago, there's an Oregon Encyclopedia Project. It's online now through the Oregon Historical Society, and they gave me a list of people that they wanted biographies on. I said, "Well, I'm doing the Vic Atiyeh biography. "Oh!" So I did Vics, and it's a peer reviewed thing, so I did a draft, sent it in -- took a long time for them to respond -- but one of the responses was an anonymous respondent. One of the things they said is, Vic was against land use. It's like, no, they're just absolutely wrong. [Amedeo: Absolutely wrong.] Yeah, and Vic's reason for that was fascinating, because at his house, he watched Canyon Road and TV highway turn into four lane places with strip malls. And he said, "That's stupid. We gotta put stuff in place to stop that." It was very personal.

Pat Amedeo 54:02

Yeah, it was very personal for him. And I wish they'd do something here. And, you know, there's only one statewide goal, housing. But, yeah, very personal. But Earl's got a very good sense of it, yeah?

James Moore 54:21

Earl's also very proud, because he thinks that -- and I think he's absolutely right -- he's the only person still serving who was a legislator with Vic. A legislator with Vic, not Governor, like Peter Courtney, but legislator with Vic who served with Vic. That's what happens when you start when you're two years old. Other timber things... there was a fascinating thing with the gypsy moths. Jerry Brown didn't want to spray, and Vic was saying gypsy moths. What was it... because you're doing regional stuff, looking at the Northwest, but here's a regional that goes to California. What was it like to work with California?

Pat Amedeo 55:09

It was impossible. [Amedeo laughs.] We had a good relationship with, I think, everybody else, but we didn't have a particularly good relationship with California. I mean, we were just a gnat in the back of an elephant to them.

James Moore 55:25

So they just view themselves... and Vic's stories about Jerry Brown meeting him personally are exactly...

Pat Amedeo 55:32

Oh god, we were at... this is funny, I don't know if Vic told you this one, but it was a Western Governor's conference, and they were seated next to each other, and Vic says there was a water pitcher right in front of Jerry, and the cameras were starting to roll, and Jerry said to Vic, can I get you a glass of water and fill this water glass? And then he moved the picture to right in front of Vic, so he would be blocked. But yeah, I think Vic didn't really have any regard for him. My guess is he'd think differently of him now.

James Moore 56:10

Yeah, well, it's just like Jerry Brown thinks differently of the world. [Amedeo: Yeah, he does.] It's fascinating looking at the election with Brown and Kitzhaber both going up for a fourth term. Amazing stuff, and Kitzhaber just... [unintelligible]. The polls showed it. People just didn't buy into a fourth term. They didn't have any alternative to vote for, but they just didn't buy into it. So for Jerry Brown, that was not part of the conversation.

Pat Amedeo 56:39

It wasn't part of the conversation, because he's a different person.

James Moore 56:42

Yeah, and there's 30 years between.

Pat Amedeo 56:44

There's 30 years between. Yeah, I'd just like to get your sense -- I'm sure Tom would on John. I mean, what a tragedy.

James Moore 56:53

When I last talked to Jerry was February 12, because everything was breaking, and I had told her the day before, the day before was the day Kate Brown came back unexpectedly, and so I called her up when I found that was happening, like at 8:30 in the morning, I called her up and said, "This is going on. If this stuff breaks, I can't come and talk to you tomorrow, so we'll work it out." Nothing happened, so I went and interviewed her, and she told me that just the week before, she'd been in a fundraiser or something in Salem and seen Kitzhaber, and they realized they'd known each other since 1976 or '77, and had never had a picture taken together. [Amedeo: Oh, really?] And they had a picture taken, and it was great, of Kitzhaber. She showed it to me, she showed people, she's fantastic. And then she said, "I turned to him and said, 'John, I'm mad and I'm sad.'" And he got just a hangdog look on his face. And then the next day, everything hit, and the next day is the day he announced his resignation.

Pat Amedeo 57:52

Well, I've known him since '74, and then when I went to work for Vic, we had a softball... I don't know if you know this, but the legislators and the press... and I got to play on the legislative team, much to the... I think Denny and the rest of the staff were pissed off, because it was primarily a democratic team, and they knew I was a Democrat, so I got to play. So I got to know John really well, and Stephanie Fowler and I were good friends, and Sandy McDonough and so I've known him for a long time.

James Moore 58:31

And yeah, it's just... did you see the Oregonian story? The back behind the scenes thing? It was not last Sunday, but it was published on Friday.

Pat Amedeo 58:45

Is that the one where there's a correspondence between he and Sylvia on, I'll do whatever I can to make you... you know, where he obviously had some thoughts. [Moore: Yeah.] I couldn't finish reading it, it just was so...

James Moore 59:00

Well, a lot of is a lot of detail in there, but...

Pat Amedeo 59:03

What happened to him?

James Moore 59:04

Yeah, and I'm struck, he sat down with his advisors earlier than I thought they had met. I didn't think they met until the weekend before he resigned, but this is the weekend before that, and he met with them, and they were all basically saying you're toast.

Pat Amedeo 59:21
Who did he meet with?

James Moore 59:22
He met with Patricia McCaig... [Amedeo: Tom Imeson.] Tom Imeson... [unintelligible] Yeah, can't remember who else was there, but those were kind of the three main ones, and they said he was toast. And I'm thinking to myself, I don't know what information you guys had. But for those with me outside, he was not touched.

Pat Amedeo 59:43
Correct, that was my view, too.

James Moore 59:45
So he's weak. Great. [Amedeo: They must have known more.] Yet they must have known more, or his personality... it seems like he just deflated. So maybe they saw that or something, but if I'd been in that meeting, I would have stood up and said, "These guys are nuts! Yes, you're weak. Yes, it's gonna take a while to get through, and if you get indicted, you're gonna have to resign. But..."

Pat Amedeo 1:00:09
But don't go yet. Yeah, I know, I was shocked.

James Moore 1:00:13
Yeah. Just amazing. Uh... timber relief. Specific mention of Roseburg Lumber and timber relief. So what was the timber relief idea, and did it work?

Pat Amedeo 1:00:28
Well, I think it worked for a while. The timber relief idea, there were two, a federal bill, which they're much more land. They got contract relief there. So the state tried to mirror that, and Roseburg was a big purchaser of Elliott Forest and [unintelligible] was, and some of the other smaller ones were. It worked, for a while! I mean...

James Moore 1:00:54
Until the floor falls out.

Pat Amedeo 1:00:55
Till the floor fell out, yeah.

James Moore 1:00:56
The Reagan administration, federal timber management issues.

Pat Amedeo 1:01:04
You know, when the timber... I remember, it used to be 11 billion board feet a year, then it went down to five and three and two, and I don't think the Reagan administration knew how to deal with the changing dynamic, and we weren't in a position to do much. We supported the efforts of primarily Mark Hatfield, who took the lead on that, and that's really all we could do, but it was hard slogging when the owl came in.

James Moore 1:01:46

Yeah, I'm struck by when people do the national conversation about this, Oregon really isn't part of that national conversation. They do the high profile ones, especially the redwoods, which when all this hit, the buyouts happen, and all of a sudden we're logging to pay off debt, rather than sustainably, and all those kinds of things. But it's amazing how Oregon isn't part of that story, even though at one point, Douglas County was like the number five logging place in the world.

Pat Amedeo 1:02:18

It's because the purchasers in Douglas County, or small timber purchasers, Roseburg being the biggest private landowners. Weyerhaeuser was mostly the coast. It's Douglas County, I mean, it wasn't only Forest Service, it was BLM overseeing lands. It's a tragedy, because we never... everyone kept saying, well, we will retrain these people... to do what? We don't have transportation networks there.

James Moore 1:02:59

In the '90s, they decided to make it high speed internet to Burns. [Amedeo: To Burns, yeah.] And, you know, great. So there's a call center.

Pat Amedeo 1:03:08

I think it was after Vic's term when, and I was doing work at the time when Clinton was president, and Al Gore took a real interest in this issue, and they had... kind of the God Squad. But, you know, now, I mean, I look at what's happening now, and I just don't have any idea what the future is. The notion that we would be thinking about selling a state asset like the Elliott is hard to me.

James Moore 1:03:41

Yeah, it is... just because I'm doing this book, I've been picking up all sorts of things about governors, and I read a really awful biography of Os West [i.e. Oswald West]. But in it, it has things that I had forgotten. You know, the Elliott and the Tillamook are just the remnants of fraudulent selling of state lands for decades. And it's like, oh yeah. So it makes sense... but the fraud was just stunning.

Pat Amedeo 1:04:12

I remembered that at one point, Vic said, "Oh, you know, why don't you go look through some previous governors, you know, the states." And I looked at Os West, and I said, "I can't believe we've named a state park after this guy!"

James Moore 1:04:26

He was quite a character... [Amedeo interjects : Oh, my God!] to solve problems. It seems like he would go and threaten to invoke bringing in the National Guard. That was his way of solving problems. [Amedeo: Incredible.] But, you know, he gave us the beaches, and there we go.

Pat Amedeo 1:04:43

Well, the timber industry, I have to say, I think they focused more on federal issues than they did on state and wilderness was a huge issue to them. The changing Forest Management Practices Act and how to deal with public participation was a huge issue. How to deal with them with the owl [i.e. the spotted owl], and it was a new game, and they just weren't prepared for it.

James Moore 1:05:17

Well, let's segue into wilderness. To tell you, one of the people I interviewed was Bob Atiyeh, who drove Vic during the '78 primary and then was very happy when this young Paul Phillips was available, who was a [unintelligible]. But one of the things that struck Bob -- who told me fascinating things about the Atiyeh

family -- Ed Atiyeh voted for Obama twice. [Amedeo: I'm not surprised.] Never told Vic, of course, because Vic was Mr. Republican. [Amedeo: Yes and no.] Oh yeah, yeah, exactly, but Vic was a faithful Republican.

Pat Amedeo 1:05:53

He was a faithful Republican to the end.

James Moore 1:05:54

Yeah, his observations about the change in the Republican Party are very, very pertinent. That's why I'm hoping I can get this to be a 2016 book. I think it'll say really important things about the 10 cruises of the world. [Amedeo: It's very important.] But one thing Bob was saying was, you know, I wish I would have talked to him more about wilderness. And so then later, the last time I talked to Gerry, because she knew I was coming down here, she gave me several memos that you had written that she had. And one of them that you gave her -- in fact, I've got it on here is a great memo. It was the parts of the timber industry were wanting to talk about wilderness stuff. And so you gave a great memo that summarizes, here's what we think about wilderness, which is...

Pat Amedeo 1:06:25

What did I say?

James Moore 1:06:39

It was basically the standard. I could just call it up, you can look at it here. The basic thing for Vic appeared to be that wilderness is great, but wilderness is forever, and so we've got to figure out if that's what we want. Let's see here... I think it's a timber contract. Oh, here we go. Associated Oregon Loggers' wilderness proposal. So you can look at that.

Pat Amedeo 1:06:44

Yeah, I mean, I don't have any of these letters.

James Moore 1:06:44

But I sent that off to Bob. I said, Bob, this, this seems to summarize what I know from talking to your uncle and other things, is his feelings of wilderness. And Bob's response was great. He said, "You know, actually, in '78, a lot of this was just coming together." It wasn't, he's thinking as if it's all decided, but in '78, that was way too early for that.

Pat Amedeo 1:07:58

Oh yeah, I remember this. Yeah, I don't think the intermediate category makes sense. It's so funny.

James Moore 1:08:29

It's when he was talking to Wayne Thompson, because he didn't realize he had all his articles when he left the Oregonian he said, "Can I have my clippings?" They gave him all the originals. [Amedeo interjects: Good for him.] And so he's got a box of -- well, not boxes, but he's got a box that's crammed full of these. And so he had gone through and looked at somebody, gave you the whole box. And he said, "You know, you don't think about this, but looking back, some of this is damn good." [Moore laughs] Well, there you go, Wayne. That's great.

Pat Amedeo 1:09:05

Well, he, Vic, and I laughed about the wilderness issue, you know, I mean, but the the issue that was the most difficult... in retrospect, he wasn't honest with me about his view on Opal Creek.

James Moore 1:09:24
So tell me about that.

Pat Amedeo 1:09:25
Yeah, he really wasn't. And I wish he would have been. Opal Creek had personal, you know, family ties to him. [Moore interjects: But not on the Atiyeh side.] No, but yeah, not on the Atiyeh side. But it also didn't meet the normal criteria of a wilderness, because man had been in there, you know, there was a mining operation there, there were buildings there. And so I said to him, "Do you want to support Opal Creek or not?" "Well, it doesn't really meet the qualifications." But then there was George who -- bless his heart, I hope he's doing better...

James Moore 1:10:13
Yeah, when I talked to Bob, he seemed to be moving better.

Pat Amedeo 1:10:18
Good. But George, who is charismatic and, you know, sincere advocate, was just on it, yeah, and he would meet with Vic and tell me, "Well, the Governor's changed his mind. You know, Vic changed his mind on this, Pat, you know, he's pro-wilderness." I said, "I need to hear it from him." Well, I never did, and at one point, Vic was in China, and a letter was sent indicating that he supported Opal Creek. And so I don't know who was with him, but I said, "Is this true?" No, George and I talked, but, you know, I think the letter was signed by George, but he kind of said, "I've talked to the governor, and, you know, he's okay with it now." I think that Vic told him one thing probably, and told you something else he probably modulated his conversations on both ways, because I think he felt that it would be a conflict of interest if he basically was pro-wilderness for Opal Creek. So I'm sure he was happy with how it turned out, and I think he wrestled with it, because I do think he thought his position was a conflict of interest.

James Moore 1:11:42
Yeah, the conflict of interest really dominated. Which, you know, there's so many things that come up from the 92-, 93-year-old history. In my talking to him way before Kitzhaber, where, boy, ethics was a real important thing.

Pat Amedeo 1:11:58
A stickler. I mean, absolutely and so I know he was tortured on Opal Creek. And I do believe that it was the conflict of interest. His personal views, even though he knew it didn't meet any of the basic qualifications for a wilderness area, I still think he thought it should be preserved, wanted it to be preserved, but he just felt he had a horrible conflict of interest.

James Moore 1:12:21
Just another conflict of interest thing: when I was talking to Ed Atiyeh, they made a decision when he was elected governor. Atiyeh Brothers had no business at all with the state, period. [Amedeo: I believe that.] None of it. I have no idea if they had any business with them before. I'll look, try to see if I can nail that down. I don't know if they gave up a huge amount or anything, but they just said, that's it. There's a line. Boom.

Pat Amedeo 1:12:52
Oh, incredibly ethical.

James Moore 1:12:54

Yeah, absolutely. Were you involved in the Deschutes River Purchase?

Pat Amedeo 1:13:01

Oh, yeah, absolutely.

James Moore 1:13:03

Tell me that story.

Pat Amedeo 1:13:04

Well, this is interesting. The governor, you know, was a member of the Deschutes Club, and used to fly fish in that area. And he knew that area was private, [Amedeo laughs] but he really wanted an area that the public could... so he went to some members of the board at the time of the Fish and Wildlife Commission, and said, you know, let's see if we can put together a nonprofit, and then we publicized it, and people could buy a tiny bit of the Deschutes, and we raised the money for the 17 miles.

James Moore 1:13:49

Was he out front in that fundraising?

Pat Amedeo 1:13:52

Absolutely out front. He really was.

James Moore 1:13:55

Yeah, that's great. Did you work on tribe stuff?

Pat Amedeo 1:14:02

No, Bob Oliver did.

James Moore 1:14:04

Okay, because I know there's some natural resource stuff, some overlay.

Pat Amedeo 1:14:07

Yeah, Bob Oliver did. Bob and I would talk if there was a natural resource overlay. But Bob did.

James Moore 1:14:12

Because the big natural resources actually needed for that when, were... Warm Springs and Klamath had lots of timber, which they didn't at that point. Fisheries, let's end up with some fish. I love fish. When I teach my classes on intro to international relations, I give them... we do some things, and then I divide up into little groups and give them little research projects. They have to tackle the library and come back, and I inevitably throw in the Salmon War between British Columbia states, because 10 years ago, that meant that the fishermen up in British Columbia actually held Alaska ferries hostage, which is cool, but, you know, throw the [unintelligible] in, it makes their their little heads say, "Oh my gosh, you know, this is, this is a much [unintelligible] thing, because the fish go where the fish go." And you read this overlay of political stuff, has got to figure out how to work... so what were the top fishery issues that you saw?

Pat Amedeo 1:15:17

Well, I'm trying to think of the beneficial uses... as a water right. It was a huge issue. Water Rights became a huge issue, and water management as it related to fisheries and certainly the Ag interests, but that was a huge issue, certainly salmon and how they were treated in the... Northwest Power Planning Act was a big issue. When we were there, the salmon weren't returning in droves. And so the limitation of the salmon seasons was also a big issue.

Was that a state decision totally, or did the Feds become a part of that?

The feds were part of it. They're a part of it in the Pacific Management Council. But when they left the ocean, three miles in, it was ours. And so that was a fairly significant issue, but handled primarily by the Fish and Wildlife Department and Commission, but we looked at it fairly closely because of the ramifications. But we did not second guess them, which Vic also would never do. He wouldn't say, "Well, I don't like the decision of this commission, so I'm gonna get rid of them."

James Moore 1:16:44

Sidelight on that answer: when Vic came in, he kept a lot of strong people, he said. And Straub gave him a list, this is what a governor does, and then when Vic left, he tried to do the same thing for Neil, who fired everybody and threw out the list. So does this trust that Vic had in people -- like the Fish and Wildlife people -- is that something that was for the people he'd appointed, or was it for kind of people in that position, respecting their expertise?

Pat Amedeo 1:17:14

He had a great trust of state employees. And really, you know, he understood that sometimes the agencies would have conflicts between themselves, and that's the role I played to try to resolve those conflicts. But he had a tremendous trust in state employees, generally. In terms of the people that he put on commissions, that was a very serious undertaking, and I made recommendations to Edie Schmidt, who was our... I don't know if you've talked to Edie about the agencies that I worked with, if I knew somebody that I thought would be particularly good, I would recommend them. Vic, he more often than not, he would keep holdovers every so often.

James Moore 1:17:17

Yeah, got the opportunity...

Pat Amedeo 1:17:17

His relationship with Neil was fascinating.

James Moore 1:17:17

Oh, yeah. Well, because he's one of your recommenders.

Pat Amedeo 1:17:17

Yes, he was.

James Moore 1:17:17

So why was he one of your recommenders?

Pat Amedeo 1:17:17

Because when I worked for Bob, we were dealing with light rail issues, Mount Hood freeway issues.

James Moore 1:17:17
So is this... Neil as mayor or?

Pat Amedeo 1:18:03
Neil as mayor, he was mayor. And I just got to know him, and I was supportive of him, and so he was the first person who -- I'll never forget this -- after, when I got the call, I was in talking to Bob, and I said, "You know, I've applied for this job." And he said, "You know, I don't think you're going to get it. You're a Democrat." And right then, I was sitting in his office, and he got a call, and the Secretary said, "Governor elect Atiyeh is on the phone for you, Bob." And then to me, "Lee Johnson's on the phone for you, Pat." And then the second call I got was from Neil. Minutes later, I knew. But I think Vic was jealous of Neil in some ways, he was jealous of the relationship he had with the Portland Business Community. Yeah, I don't know if you knew that.

James Moore 1:19:47
No, the very first time I interviewed Vic, he would talk about that relationship.

Pat Amedeo 1:19:51
And Vic felt it was because he was a Syrian.

James Moore 1:19:55
Yeah, and eventually it got down to, why do the, you know, [unintelligible] people get streets named natal Parkway and things like that, where my brothers did this, that and the other.

Pat Amedeo 1:20:08
I think he felt that he was being prejudiced against because he was a Syrian American. Which is interesting. [Moore: Fascinating, yeah.] And once, you know, Neil's situation came to light, he would never use his name again.

James Moore 1:20:26
So fascinating reading the '92, '93 because he'll be talking about Goldschmidt. But when I knew him, it was, you know, my successor was the closest.

Pat Amedeo 1:20:38
But it was interesting, because I do think he was jealous and frustrated.

James Moore 1:20:47
Yeah, and Neil would accuse him of not being knowledgeable about Metro kinds of issues, like a senator from Beaverton, you know... [Amedeo: Yeah, I know.] Amazing stuff. How much did economic consideration of the fisheries play into the way that you were thinking about them? You know, the timber industry is collapsing on the coast, fisheries where it's at but the salmon are going away. I mean, was it the same emphasis is with the timber industry trying to save jobs, or?

Pat Amedeo 1:21:25
It was the same, you know, we always had to do... I remember we were looking at Elk Creek Dam, always trying to... not looking at the cost benefit analysis. And so it was... [Moore: I watched that grow up.] Yeah, it was economic and emotional because of the role the salmon played in Oregon. So it was both.

James Moore 1:21:50

The Elk Creek Dam went in when I was... they had the fishery, the hatchery in first, and the dam may have been finished a little after that. It was like right about when I was finishing high school, and so we knew the Rogue River, we played in the Rogue River. We knew all the Illinois, the Bear Creek, all that was our place. And I came back from my 10 year high school reunion, and we went and had a picnic out on the Rogue River. And it was the middle of August, and the river was deep and cold. "Oh, there's a dam now." It's different, and the Applegate dam had just been finished, and so the Applegate was a very different beast as well. Because of that, it's like, huh. I can see why fish would be more happy in this, but it's cold. Yeah, all those big changes. There were changes in the role of fishery management over time. So fishery management, when they first started saying fishery management needed to be there, it's basically allocating who gets a shot at this huge thing. A funny story that Vic tells is when he was a Sea Scout, going down the Columbia River on one of the Sea Scout trips, all of a sudden he smelled horses and hay. It's because there was a sand island that had the horses, and they would hook the giant nets to the back of them, and the horses were the ones that hauled the nets, and so it was just a very different beast. And then it's managing shortage, we're looking at different species, you know, all those kinds of things. Did you see change in management of fisheries during your time? Spotted Owl, for instance, it's timber, you see that change. Did you see that evolution?

Pat Amedeo 1:23:39

It did, because initially it was a managing shortage, and then it was more proactive. If we do this, if we get a designation of a beneficial use, including fish, then we can get a water right. So you began to see the agency take a more proactive role in in doing things rather than just reacting to the fish, you know, the availability.

James Moore 1:24:12

Water rights. You know, clearly with droughts, all of a sudden, people are thinking about them again. Was there ever any effort to try to loop water rights into land use? Because there's, you know, tremendously senior they have their own system and things like that.

Pat Amedeo 1:24:32

There wasn't. Towards the end of our term, we had the water management act, Water Management Planning Act. And I assume, because we were just in the infantiles and infant stage, that ultimately there would be, and there should have been an effort to do that. There sure should have been here. I think that we thought that it was a consideration in those acknowledged plans, but it wasn't as sophisticated as it probably should have been.

James Moore 1:25:12

Yeah. All the water rights stuff is like the federal mining laws. Dates were about the same time, and it's like, the 1860s are over guys.

Pat Amedeo 1:25:23

And getting those adjusted, you know, because Mike Thorne shared the committee. He was a tough operator to deal with, and Vic had this one session. He said, I don't want anybody who's... I don't want any state agency who's testifying on a bill before ways and means to say when asked how much do you really need to give a figure other than the figure that is listed on the bucket, and I had to go in on the water management planning act because I was assigned that budget, I was assigned to chair that committee, and Mike Thorne kept me in the chair for about seven hours. No, but it was on land, so Vic could see that I wasn't, you know, how much do you really need? Because the ag interests, at that point -- I don't know if they are now -- really continued to to ensure their water interest was protected.

James Moore 1:26:22

Yeah, and I mean, it's still the case, but the Klamath is where all the work has been in the past decade, but still the same kinds of things. It's stunning to me looking at what's happening in California, which is now finally surpassed... when I lived here before the big drought of the '70s, but just watching it, you know, still 90% of the water is going to ag. And so what that ought to mean is it doesn't matter if you water your lawn, it's irrelevant. But because of all the little fracturing, it's totally relevant. And it's just amazing to me that it's not a state thing, it's all these teeny, tiny pieces.

Pat Amedeo 1:27:02

In St. Helena, they're already bringing in their... busing in water. I mean, I know that Barbara Roberts thought that water would be a huge issue. She was right. Vic did have a good relationship with her, Patricia was the land board assistant when I was, and so I've known her for a long time. What's gonna happen there?

James Moore 1:27:38

Patricia has overstepped the balance a lot, but the way the laws are set up, it's not clear she's violating it. In fact, I have it on here. I learned more about... who knew the Oregon constitution, you can't impeach. It's in the original Constitution, you shall not impeach. So until the recall, there was no way to get rid of an elected official, none. So things like that... but I have the ethics rules. I have them all here, and it's from when Kate Brown was the majority leader, so she hadn't been elected Secretary of State, so she was involved in putting them together and all these things, and the loopholes in that thing are big, huge. Whole thing with Cylvia Hayes, is she a state, you know, official employee or whatever? Yeah, she absolutely is, except that there's one part it says, "If any one of these things..." And so it's x, so are you elected? Are you appointed? Do you have these characteristics? Except it doesn't say, is it each of these characteristics on the third part, or is it any one of those characteristics? So the ambivalence is like that. And on three of them, absolutely she is, but on the fourth one, maybe not. And so there's stuff like that. And it's typical with all these it's at the federal level too, the legislature exempts itself from all the stuff they're going on. For very good reason, the legislators aren't paid anything, so they hire their spouses to be their staff, so they can afford to live in Salem right. But that that's exactly what we're taking off after Sylvia for...

Pat Amedeo 1:29:25

Will the state be responsible for her legal fees?

James Moore 1:29:30

Yeah, that's a given, unless her attorneys can successfully argue that she's not a state person. [Amedeo: Oh, I meant Patricia's.] Oh, for Patricia's, yeah, she will, I think, under the same category, because she's an advisor, too. You don't have to be on the payroll, really, you just have to be advisor. She may not want to go that way, but... especially when you get into these things, they can be so long, that's gonna bankrupt you. It's like people, you know, kidding the Clintons, because he said they were broke when they left the White House, it's like, yeah, they were broke on, you know, \$300,000 a year. But they were broke! They had, you know, annual legal fees of, like, \$1.5 million. Give me a break!

Pat Amedeo 1:30:20

Will it cover Mark Wiener's because... was he an advisor?

James Moore 1:30:23

No, I don't think... no, he's always been outside with his [unintelligible]. But Patricia McCaig... see, the definitions are going to be really important if this, for instance, begins to focus in on the governor of Oregon, which I think it might the accusation is, and it looks pretty accurate, is that Kitzhaber's campaign staff led by Patricia is making the calls on what happens, not with policy, but just on what happens with the organization. She's playing two roles, so I think she's gonna be covered, but all of a sudden it puts Cylvia into, you know, this is minor league stuff. This is petty grift.

Pat Amedeo 1:31:14

My view was that she was a grifter.

James Moore 1:31:16

In the Oregonian story about the behind the scenes stuff, which you always take with a grain of salt, but when all this stuff is happening, when he had the press conference at the end of January, it looked awful. She was off in Europe at conferences, and what happened in the interim, while she was gone, the First Lady's page was taken off the governor's page. She disappeared from having support staff, she came back and she was ticked off about it, and said, you put those back in. It's like, you tone-deaf son of.... no, it's done. That part is done. You don't get to do that.

Pat Amedeo 1:31:54

What happened to him? I mean, was he so enamored by her that...?

James Moore 1:32:00

It's mysterious. Four years ago, when he was governor again, he was a completely different person than he was in his first two terms. He was outgoing, campaigned for other Democrats. People said, wow, he's got this great person at his side. And it's Shakespearean, like that is what happened to him. Now, if he's not indicted, he eventually goes and he's the head of the think tank on health care stuff. If he is indicted.

Pat Amedeo 1:32:35

But Tom... I will still say that \$600,000... you know, I just couldn't understand it.

James Moore 1:32:43

Yeah I don't understand how the...

Pat Amedeo 1:32:45

People are completely horrified and [unintelligible] doing something about it. I have to say...

James Moore 1:32:50

I don't understand why it didn't come out until just now.

Pat Amedeo 1:32:53

And I read that his firing was the first thing that Kate Brown did. And I say, good for you.

James Moore 1:33:00

Yeah. Looked at all those contracts and said that one's done.

Pat Amedeo 1:33:08

Well, what else do you need for me? I mean, I have to say, I'm amazed that Gerry has all these memos and papers and... I don't have squat!

James Moore 1:33:17

She's got stuff.

Pat Amedeo 1:33:19

Does Danny have stuff too? I didn't take stuff!

James Moore 1:33:21

Danny has stuff too, and it's fascinating, because we have stuff because he gave his archive to us. And I'm just now to the stage where I know what's in our archive well enough. I've hired a research assistant, he's going through and doing a lot of that. I'm about ready to head off to the Oregon State Archive just to look at their stuff, because some of the things like that Gerry has, it's like, I don't think you should have this. I think it should be in the state archives.

Pat Amedeo 1:33:49

I didn't keep anything because I assumed none of it was mine to keep,

James Moore 1:33:55

And some of its photocopies, but like the one that I showed you, that's a red stamp on there. That's it.

Pat Amedeo 1:34:02

Yeah, why does she have that?

James Moore 1:34:04

Yeah, exactly. So, who knows. The big thing with Gerry...

Pat Amedeo 1:34:10

Do you have her book, her diary of the Rajneesh?

James Moore 1:34:16

No, I don't. And that's the big thing. She's got the diary, she's got boxes, and that has never been told and the reason that I think I'm gonna crack her -- she's talking about it -- but I need those boxes. The reason I think I'm gonna crack her is because I have this... let me see if I can get this here. Is this gonna work? Edward, no, I had the... this is actually a funny one here.

Pat Amedeo 1:34:48

Did they tell you about Duane Samples?

James Moore 1:34:52

Yeah, I've got stuff, and Gerry gave me the transcript of the Mike Wallace interview. And Denny had asked her, and she didn't even tell him that she had it, and now I've got it. So, yeah, we're set on Duane Samples.

Unknown 1:35:09

Her husband is a senator. I know very well he was very well known, what a nice guy. She went to work for her and to work for my successor a few months after I saw her, she said, this job is tougher than you made it look.

James Moore 1:35:35

That might be the title of the book right there. That's a very telling and wonderful... but I've got another one

of him... he bookends his governorship. He said the recession and the Rajneeshees and... [Amedeo: Unintended consequences.] Yeah, and, you know, it's like man, both of them together. And Gerry sometimes is talkative and sometimes not. And she started... she worked with [unintelligible] at the Oregonian, who did a long series of articles, but there's stuff she didn't tell him or show him.

Pat Amedeo 1:36:15
She kept a diary every day.

James Moore 1:36:18
Yeah, which Dave Frohnmayer told her to get rid of. [Amedeo: Did he?] Yeah, because it could be subpoenaed.

Pat Amedeo 1:36:24
She needs to give that to you at this point. I don't know what else she's gonna do with it. Is she going to write a book?

James Moore 1:36:33
Talking to people, at some point, you say to them, no one else is gonna be writing a Vic Atiyeh book. I gotta tell you, if you want this to live at all, it's got to go to me, and it may go in the book or not, but it's going to go in the archives, so it'll be there for people to get. But that side of the story has got to be told. Last week, literally, on Tuesday, I had things going... I had an interview on Wednesday, Thursday, I was going to call Bob Packwood and Dave Frohnmayer, and Dave's death was announced Tuesday.

Pat Amedeo 1:37:09
Is Norma around the bend at this point?

James Moore 1:37:12
She's around the bend. I've talked to her daughter, and her daughter-in-law's working with her on her memoir, kind of things?

Pat Amedeo 1:37:18
Wasn't Russ Sadler gonna write it?

James Moore 1:37:20
Yeah. And then he eventually said... no [Amedeo: She's far gone.] Well, not too far gone, too egotistical, and the facts disagree.

Pat Amedeo 1:37:28
I'm sorry, she was the meanest person! [Both laugh.] Tom Anderson and I used to say, if she gets elected governor, east of the Cascades is jail and we're in it.

James Moore 1:37:38
There you go. [Amedeo: She was mean.] I've talked to a couple people, though, who say that her long term memory is still pretty good. What I've decided to do, after talking with her daughter-in-law, is... she did an oral history as well, and if I come with specific things there. But like I've talked to... Vern Duncan is a good friend, and so Vern on the Rajneeshees was great, because Norma was kind of the main point person that people saw, not that was doing things, but people saw... Vern some things because of the schools, but it was

basically Bob Oliver and the Attorney General's office doing all this stuff. But we just don't... you know, the story about this whole thing was coordinated by Gerry. [Amedeo: It was coordinated by Gerry.] And why this is important is after 9/11, we found out that none of our government can or will talk to each other. She forced everybody to talk to each other every day. And successfully, as far as we can tell. One of the things with Frohnmayer's service this last weekend, people were talking about him as the one who chased the Rajneeshees out of Oregon. And it's like, yeah, I think I know who did that. But it's a story that hasn't been told.

Pat Amedeo 1:38:54

Hasn't been told, and, you know, it's so fascinating to me on who takes credit for things Gail Achterman followed me, and Gail took credit for the Columbia Gorge. She didn't do [unintelligible], wasn't involved in anything. No one ever talked to her about anything. And I'm thinking, "huh," I'm fascinated. Well, I think you should talk to Dick Feeney on light rail because he can tell you Vic's role, or Bob van Brocklin, who was the lobbyist for the city during the light rail times, but Dick's got it all. Do you know him? He's a character.

James Moore 1:39:38

I don't know him, but I know who he is.

Pat Amedeo 1:39:39

Yeah, that's who you should talk to, because I know he's got it all. And you should talk to Roy about the details, the power planning, because he was in the meeting with Vic and [unintelligible]. What else do you need? I have just been. vague here to you, I just feel like I haven't...

James Moore 1:40:02

Everybody is. Impressions are great. You sometimes remember details, which is good, but it gives me then, as I'm looking and reading documents, it gives me context, because, you know, it's like that memo, great. But what's the context around that? That's the real story. So this kind of stuff is just fantastic. Did you stay in contact with Vic after he left the office?

Pat Amedeo 1:40:33

Yes, I did. In fact, I saw him even after we moved once. About every six weeks, I'd have lunch with him, and I have something that I need to give to the Atiyeh archives, scrimshaw tusks. I'm sure you've heard this story.

James Moore 1:40:33

I've heard about them, yeah.

Pat Amedeo 1:40:33

Well, I have them. I don't know if I can give them to you to have you give them...

James Moore 1:40:56

How big are they?

Pat Amedeo 1:40:57

Are you driving?

James Moore 1:41:01

No, we're flying, but a direct flight, I discovered that and said, you got to be kidding me. Yeah, I've got room in my suitcase because I'm having my port shipped back by mail.

Pat Amedeo 1:41:26

So the funny story is that after I've left and well, you know, Vic and I would have lunch every six weeks. And so he, at some point, he brings his bag. He says, Oh, I have something for you. And I opened it, and it was the scrimshaw tusks And then, he brings me the second -- God it was so funny -- but good sense of humor. I saw him all the time, we always stayed in touch. And I had lunch with him in May, and he came to the Arlington Club, and I said the next time, and he, you know, he always would say, well, how important I was to him, and how much he, you know, loved me, and how it made his job so much... I mean, always, just never didn't tell you exactly how much he cared about you.

But the last time we had lunch, he held my knee the entire lunch. And I thought... we used to talk about Dolores, because my dad had Alzheimer's, and I took care of him. And I said, at some point you're gonna have to move her. And he said, "I've signed up for life." [Moore: Which was him.] How's she doing?

James Moore 1:43:01

They got her, maybe six or seven weeks ago, into a place that everybody's happy with. [Amedeo: Good.] You know, we have places that can be really grand. And she was in some place where the money for it ran out and, you know, saw something.

Pat Amedeo 1:43:15

Because they never, they didn't have a lot of money.

James Moore 1:43:18

No, no. It's striking. He said it to me, and he said it in the oral history, we had to go to work when he left, because his brothers were able to earn money, and he was not doing that.

Pat Amedeo 1:43:34

I know, and I used to go visit him in his office. But no, I saw him about every six weeks, every two months till the end, absolutely. Always kept up with him, and you go someplace and walk down the street, and people would always stop and talk to him.

James Moore 1:43:56

Yeah, when Suzanne was talking about him as being the grandpa of Oregon, everybody was like, "yeah!"

Pat Amedeo 1:44:02

She did a really nice job. And, you know, when she was growing up, you know, she was at those years where she was so rebellious, and Dolores used to just wring her hands, you know, God.

James Moore 1:44:19

Yeah, talking to Bob, Dolores was a bit of a... [Moore laughs].

Pat Amedeo 1:44:23

She was, yeah, she was. But, you know, then, I mean, she had to do all the cooking. They'd have receptions, and, you know, in this house, and she did all the cooking. It's not like it is now. And I remember when... the governor's mansion just shook his head. I mean, I think that he really felt as though the Syrian American

thing was a problem.

James Moore 1:44:56

Yeah, and I was able to get him to really talk about that. But I got some great stuff, including academic articles written about his village.

Pat Amedeo 1:45:08

You know, did Denny talk to you about the time they went back? [Moore: Oh, yeah.] That was a highlight.

James Moore 1:45:13

In fact, we just had digitized all the... everything that we have. So we've got campaign commercials and stuff. But one of the funnest is Denny actually had his camera out. There's a giant party in Omar, and Denny is just doing this, and so we've got it all digitized.

Pat Amedeo 1:45:14

Have you talked to Carol Whitney, who ran his campaign?

James Moore 1:45:24

No, I have not done that yet. [Amedeo: She's in Bend]. She's in Bend. I'm going to take kind of a loop, Bob Smith in Medford, and there's a couple of Roseburg people. It was gonna start out with Dave Omar in Eugene, but not anymore.

Pat Amedeo 1:45:46

Well, he sure kept it quiet.

James Moore 1:45:47

He sure did.

Pat Amedeo 1:45:48

I bet there was a big turnout there.

Yeah, 3000 people showed up.

He was quite a guy. He was a good guy. You know, he was that breed... I mean, he should have been governor.

James Moore 1:46:01

Yeah he would have been, you know, the continuation of those moderate Republicans, but...

Pat Amedeo 1:46:06

Tom, we're at a stage now where you can join us. [Mason: What?] We're at a stage now where you can join us.

Tom Mason 1:46:13

Oh, okay.

Pat Amedeo 1:46:14

We were talking, there were 3000 people at Dave's Memorial.

Tom Mason 1:46:19

Really? Wow, that's incredible. That's, you know, where they fill up the [unintelligible] or something.

James Moore 1:46:25

No, they did the Matthew Knight arena. Well, it's the new basketball... replaces the [Amedeo: Oh, Matt Court?] Yeah, replaces Matt Court.

Oh God, I remember when I was at U of O, you'd go to Matt Court to register classes, and you'd get a number and someone was killed. I mean, you'd be in these stands and they call your number and you'd have to, oh, geez, it was a nightmare. And you'd go down to these tables, and someone was killed trying to register for a class. This was long before you could register online. We were talking about... well, you saw Vic the last time I had lunch with him. [Mason: Yeah.] He was frail.

He just kept getting frailer...

Pat Amedeo 1:47:16

And frailer and frailer. And I said, the next time, I said, I'll drive out to Raleigh Hills. Forget it.

James Moore 1:47:23

I saw him at the beginning of June last time I saw him. And my wife and I celebrated our 25th anniversary. And so we were gonna go with a big thing we did in Italy and I said, wow, it's gonna be your 70th. So we'll talk anniversary stories when we get back. And we got back and he was dead two days later. His grandma, used to live off of [unintelligible.] Yeah, and I went to Village Elementary School there.

Tom Mason 1:47:56

So you're at Pacific? [Moore: Yeah.] Poli Sci or history? [Moore: Poli Sci.]

Pat Amedeo 1:48:03

The other person who, you know, he and Vic, did a campaign, you know, fundraising campaign for Pacific is Les.

James Moore 1:48:10

Yeah, and Les and Pacific are very interesting. It's gone down. [Amedeo: Really?] Yeah, and I don't know if it's because of Pacific feeling because Russ Dondero... did you know Russ? [Amedeo: Yeah.] Russ was just so darn persistent. Well, people almost yelled at Russ at the... were you there for the archive thing that we did?

Pat Amedeo 1:48:35

No, we were in Europe, and I was so sorry. [Moore: Yeah, which was great.] Tom... Atiyeh sent me the link, and he said, "Oh, you would have known everybody there."

James Moore 1:48:43
Yeah, it was a class reunion.

Pat Amedeo 1:48:45
Oh, I really was sorry I couldn't go.

Tom Mason 1:48:47
Is Dondero still around?

James Moore 1:48:49
He's Emeritus, but he got in trouble there because he was introduced to somebody who was the head of Intel in Oregon. And we just had found out that Intel has been releasing 13 tons of [unintelligible] into the atmosphere. And so Russ just was doing this kind of stuff. It's like Russ, not the time or the Yeah, exactly. And Russ would do that with Les as well. And so I was feeling... Les just kind of backed off. Well,

Pat Amedeo 1:49:14
So, he and Vic ran a charity fundraising drive there one year.

James Moore 1:49:19
Oh, yeah. It took a while to figure out why Vick gave all his stuff to our archive. So what's your hypothesis?

Pat Amedeo 1:49:30
Because you would take all of his stuff, not only the papers, but all the ephemera, and he was a collector of everything [Moore: Stuff.] He was a collector of stuff! Unbelievable, collector of this. Denny kept saying you got to get rid of that, you got to turn those tusks in. Pat, you have to turn those tusks in. I said, I will, I will.

James Moore 1:49:54
But another major reason is, we had multiple member districts up until 1970, so he represented Pacific.

Pat Amedeo 1:50:02
Oh, I didn't know that.

James Moore 1:50:03
From 1959 until '72. It was in his district. He did all of Washington County.

Tom Mason 1:50:11
That was really the old days in the legislature. I remember stories from the Roberts about those, you know, people running as teams. I remember one elect, ABC, they played up on the TV network when the [unintelligible], of course, was alive. [Amedeo: He was a piece of work.] You know, the other thing that strikes me about so much of the old politics, is that Betty's done a book. [Amedeo: Barbara did one.] Barbara did one. Norma theoretically has got one in the works.

James Moore 1:50:58
Yeah, it may end up being just for family.

Tom Mason 1:51:03

And I've had my role in all this. Well, I'm the chairman of the [unintelligible] history committee. And that's why we have... We're doing a series of interviews with our senior members, and it's proving to be quite a project, we're trying to do 10 people a year. We did get Vic, and we've got Jerry Frank and the Schnitzers. I'm now in the process of systematizing it, and also we're gonna see that each transcript is bound. We're gonna get one copy to both Portland State and one to the historical society, and to keep in our own library.

Pat Amedeo 1:52:12

Here's his interview, and here's the front... my questions. It's not been edited.

Tom Mason 1:52:27

Anyway, it's very interesting, though, the whole history phenomenon, and trying to preserve history, one of the saddest things, I think, is that when people destroy history, I find it kind of a crime.

Pat Amedeo 1:52:47

Oh, ISIS, I can hardly stand to see what they're doing...

Tom Mason 1:52:51

It goes beyond that. I've done some writing and doing some writing, but you just, you just [unintelligible] when somebody says, I burned the letters, you know, and then they're burning the patrimony of the...

James Moore 1:53:14

Yeah, Ted Kulongoski got caught up in that. Because the big question is, did he know about Neil, at x, y or z? Which I haven't told him, but I don't care. It's not part of my conversation with you. [Amedeo: Yeah, exactly.] Not at all. But he at one point, because he kept all his stuff too, he did not turn it over to the archives. [Amedeo: Really?] There were laws in place, but they were vaguer, and so he didn't turn stuff over to the archives. [Amedeo: I wonder why.] And so he had it in a giant storage place. And when he was asked about it, he said, Oh, I've gone through and I'm just getting rid of all of it. And it turns out that...

Pat Amedeo 1:53:57

It isn't his to get rid of.

James Moore 1:53:59

He probably didn't do that. He might have just said that to get people off his back. But, you know, it's like, great. So if you got problems with it, put it in there, like Packwood and say, don't get to look at this. You know, these two boxes until 10 years after my death or something. But, you know, Packwood, all this stuff is there, you just can't look at it. Oregon Historical Society.

Tom Mason 1:54:26

Well, you know, the Packwood thing is an interesting example of... everybody I knew, including Pat and I had heard all the rumors...

Pat Amedeo 1:54:36

I was one of the only women that he never made a pass at. I mean, Ginny Burdick and I used to laugh. We were part of a very small club.

Tom Mason 1:54:43

But it was so ironic that that story came out, and people were like the political insiders... [Amedeo: Everybody knew.] Everybody knew that.

Pat Amedeo 1:54:53

The tragedy is for Les, because if it had come out when it should have come out, if the Oregonian hadn't withheld it...

Tom Mason 1:54:58

Well, the Oregonian, as far as I'm concerned, has been one of those irresponsible papers about so many issues.

James Moore 1:55:08

Because of the Packwood thing, somebody I worked with -- at University of Portland at that point -- had a bumper sticker made that says, "If it matters to Oregonians," in the Oregonian typeface, "it's in the Washington Post."

Tom Mason 1:55:21

The only issue they were right on, I think, was slavery. [Moore laughs.]

Pat Amedeo 1:55:27

So poor -- is Wayne okay now?

James Moore 1:55:30

Yeah, he's fine. I mean, he's had health issues for a long time. [Mason: Wayne Thompson?] Yeah, but he had a lung thing. And I saw him a week ago yesterday. I got the box from him, and he was doing fine. He just keeps telling me stories and things. It's like, Wayne, no, I have to be here with my recorder.

Pat Amedeo 1:55:49

Oh, no, he has a lot of good ones. You know, and that's too bad, because... does the Oregonian have anybody in Salem anymore?

James Moore 1:56:00

Yeah, they do, they just hired a new guy. They've got two people who are down there for the session, and then Jeff Mapes parachutes it down. But you know, what we saw, it didn't show up in this last election, because the election just didn't play out like that. We no longer have a statewide newspaper. [Amedeo: I know. It's just incredible.] And what is the impact of that going to be on how people understand politics, how people run campaigns? Doing all that is an unknown at this point. And in effect, we don't have a paper of record anymore.

Pat Amedeo 1:56:44

You know, the Press Democrat here was purchased by a handful of local... it's doing fine. It's a far better newspaper than the Oregonian.

Tom Mason 1:56:55

It really is. We have a good friend whose friend, one of the owners, Doug Bosco, a former congressman, and he's done very, very well. And it's a lack of the Oregonian. I go up there and it's just...

Pat Amedeo 1:57:24
Just sad. It's really sad.

James Moore 1:57:27
Except, you know, I can't, I mean, my job, I have to read everything.

Tom Mason 1:57:33
What is your field of specialty?

James Moore 1:57:36
I'm a weird political scientist. I equally do international and American. So my American stuff is Congress and parties.

Oh, tell me what you do international.

I do international economics. I do the Mediterranean. I speak the languages around the Mediterranean, and I do US foreign policy. Are my big issues, big, big ones.

Tom Mason 1:57:57
I'll tell you what I do.

Pat Amedeo 1:57:58
No, Tom, you were not part of this discussion, my love. No.

Tom Mason 1:58:03
Okay, anyway, I have probably the world's most interesting law practice. I represent private organizations to the UN. [Mason: Oh, cool.] And I've been doing it now for going on 20 years, and I represent all the hunting and sport shooting groups in the world, and most of the -- sort of -- most of the farms.

James Moore 1:58:25
So do your groups get caught up in going to the NGO things that happened before big UN meetings?

Tom Mason 1:58:33
Absolutely. In fact, my group is an NGO. Like, one of the things I do for groups from the side is get them NGO status.

James Moore 1:58:42
Oh, great. So they can play the game.

Tom Mason 1:58:44
Yeah, most Americans don't realize that you can't just walk into the UN. And if you want, if you have a class sometime, I have a set piece speech I do called an inside look at the UN.

Pat Amedeo 1:58:52
He's on sabbatical. How long are you going to be on sabbatical?

James Moore 1:59:00
It's just a semester, but so basically through August.

Tom Mason 1:59:04
Yeah, the UN's a fascinating process, and it's funny to go from state politics to international. When Pat and I first got married, part of the dowry was that she got to travel with me.

Pat Amedeo 1:59:21
Depends on where you go now.

Tom Mason 1:59:22
Yeah, exactly. I had to drag her on trips we just got back from...

Pat Amedeo 1:59:25
Nuremberg, Germany.

James Moore 1:59:26
That's where my wife was born. [Amedeo: Really?] Yeah.

Tom Mason 1:59:35
We had the infamous John Bolton...

Pat Amedeo 1:59:36
We were there a couple weeks ago.

James Moore 1:59:38
Oh, John Bolton? [Mason: Yeah.]

Pat Amedeo 1:59:40
I did not go near. No, he's an ass, pardon me.

James Moore 1:59:45
We used to... at Pacific, we had the Tom McCall forum, and it's now gone. I run the Tom McCall Center. Basically, it was Russ Dondero. And it priced itself out, maybe 15, 20, years ago. But John Bolton was one of the last ones we had. And we had him, and Lee... I can't remember his name, but in any case.

Tom Mason 2:00:11
Lee something's a congressman?

James Moore 2:00:13
Yeah, he did the 9/11 commission... Hamilton. And both of them, kind of third tier, but each of them cost

\$40,000.

Pat Amedeo 2:00:24
He charged you 40,000 bucks?

James Moore 2:00:26
We paid 40,000... well, we paid \$80,000! And so this thing, clearly... and so I now do the Tom McCall Center, which is bringing Ron Wyden to campus, Earl Blumenauer to campus, interact... [Amedeo: Free?] Yeah, get the students and them to interact and do that. But Bolton, what a nut case.

Tom Mason 2:00:48
He was very hard to work with. He cost us.

Pat Amedeo 2:00:51
This is so funny. Tell him. Here you could tell him.

Tom Mason 2:00:54
\$10,000, I thought, that's okay. But the other part of the agreement was, you know, hotel and all that, and first class air ticket. So I had to handle all this The international [unintelligible] is... anyway, one day I get this email, it's got that his people have made the reservations for the first class air ticket, and I printed it out, and the first page is \$12,000 I go, Jesus Christ, \$12,000 and then I looked at the next page, and that was just one leg. The next was another \$9700 so it was \$22,000 and I just, of course, that reverberated all... well, most of my members are in Europe, it's an organization of organizations. So anyway, we eventually got it cut down to \$11,000, and so Pat was just outraged.

Pat Amedeo 2:01:54
Yeah, I wouldn't walk across the street to see him.

Tom Mason 2:01:58
All this is... the easiest thing to do is just run it on my credit card and have my organization reimburse me.

Pat Amedeo 2:02:07
But she was, I don't want a lot of miles.

Tom Mason 2:02:10
So anyways, I actually know Bolton, because he's involved with the NRA, and he and Steve [unintelligible] was member of their international affairs committee, which I report to everyone. And I find Bolton very interesting. He's very, very sharp.

James Moore 2:02:33
Very sharp. He's just very sure of himself.

Pat Amedeo 2:02:36
It must be nice, huh? And I want to find out. I want to ask some gossipy questions before Jim goes. I'm sure is your wife just sitting over? [Moore: No, no.] What was I going to ask? Now, my mind has gone blank. What's happening to Neil Goldschmidt? Have you heard?

James Moore 2:02:55

Well, he spent six months in France, where apparently they don't care about those things. This is Vic's business cards. [Amedeo: Oh, wow.] Where'd they go? I just lost them. These darn things. They start flipping... there we go. Oh, good. So here's, here's Vic right there. So he did that, and blah, blah, blah. But then... this is Eric. So I'm the first one who actually was able to read this and tell him, yes, it does say what you think it does.

Pat Amedeo 2:03:33

Oh, because you can read Arabic.

James Moore 2:03:34

It's one of my languages.

Pat Amedeo 2:03:36

Oh, my goodness. So that's fantastic.

James Moore 2:03:39

It was fun to do that kind of stuff with him

Tom Mason 2:03:41

You read it right to left?

Pat Amedeo 2:03:41

Yeah. They're going back and forth.

James Moore 2:03:43

He just faded so quickly, it seemed to me.

Yeah, because he asked me in October, right after we had that thing at the archives. So October 2013 he asked me, and I interviewed him four times, and basically when there were vacations. So there's Christmas beginning, Christmas end, spring break, summer, and his voice just goes... each one.

Pat Amedeo 2:04:13

Yeah, as I noticed when I was seeing him, I was amazed at how he really was declining.

James Moore 2:04:23

So, I mean, if you're going to go... except for an instantaneous death. [Amedeo: It was not too bad.] He wasn't too bad. Most poignant one is... between when he fell and when he died, was the anniversary of his brother Richard's death, and so his nephew, Bob, who's Ed's son, drove Ed and Vic out to the site, and Vic was looking saying, you know, someday, I'm going to be here. And it was two weeks later.

Pat Amedeo 2:04:55

Where is he buried?

James Moore 2:04:56

Don't know. Someplace where they bought plots.

Pat Amedeo 2:05:04

Does Tom have... is he a pretty good interview?

James Moore 2:05:08

I don't know yet. I haven't talked to him or Suzanne. I talked to Suzanne at the memorial, but not to Tom. Apparently, Denny had dinner with Tom and Tom's wife, maybe four weeks or so ago, and they looked me up on the web.

Pat Amedeo 2:05:30

To make sure you were...?

James Moore 2:05:34

Well, just trying to figure it out, and his wife speaks Chinese. So Tom is not with Atiyeh Brothers. And it's because she speaks Chinese, so they got a Chinese carpet thing. And so they were intrigued by that. And with my political science stuff, this is a wonderful project because there's so much international in it. Just, I'm not going to his parents' home village, because it's one of the places that's bombed flat.

Pat Amedeo 2:06:04

Did he talk to you about his meeting with Assad?

James Moore 2:06:08

Yeah, got details of that. Fascinating on that... kind of the first major trip when he went to Saudi Arabia. Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, then Israel.

Pat Amedeo 2:06:19

I joined him in Israel.

James Moore 2:06:21

Yeah, that leg. And then I talked to Mike Donahue, who was a reporter who was on the first part and didn't go to Israel, but, you know, he came back and was saying that Shamir is the one who doesn't want to talk peace. So when we first got the archive stuff, I do a parties in elections class, and the first time I taught it after the archives was the last presidential election. So class starts, and we immediately have the Republicans and the Democrats have their conventions. So we went and got Vic's stuff from when he was a delegate. And the thing that the students were most fascinated by is two handwritten pages on going to the Republican platform committee to say we shouldn't be supporting Israel wholeheartedly. And it clearly didn't go anywhere, but just opens their mindset, saying, you know, Republicans aren't a block people. There's all sorts of pieces going on.

Pat Amedeo 2:07:18

It was very interesting being in Israel with him. Because, you know...

James Moore 2:07:23

So were you with him the whole time?

Pat Amedeo 2:07:25
Just the Israel...

James Moore 2:07:27
So he went up to the Golan Heights and looked, he had just been. [Amedeo: Absolutely Like, you know, we can have before...

Pat Amedeo 2:07:36
He had a very different view than, you know, and I think his view is probably accurate. Now, we've got an Israeli family member -- a cousin -- and, you know, my husband, I said, Oh, you're going to end the relationship completely. You know, on Facebook, sending her all these news articles. She knows you [unintelligible], you know, she knows this and that, I said, you just don't say anything anymore. But it's really sad that that's becoming a partisan issue in...

James Moore 2:08:06
In fascinating ways.

Pat Amedeo 2:08:08
You know, if I were John Boehner and I heard the news today that they, you know, BB only gave you part of the information that he heard from his spying on the US. I'd cancel my trip. He won't, but he should, because he wants that Sheldon Adelson money. Vic was very interesting. At the end, I asked him, I think the last time I saw him, you know, if his views on Assad had changed, and what he thought the US should do. And he said, Oh, I just think we need to stay out of it.

James Moore 2:08:43
Yeah, he was pretty consistent. It's their concern, not our.

Pat Amedeo 2:08:47
Yeah. Just stay out of it. But he was amazed at how little the US government wanted to hear about that meeting.

James Moore 2:08:58
And I got to figure out if that's something I can get at. It may involve, if it does, it'll be going, like to the Reagan Library or something, but I need to talk to Andrew [unintelligible] and a couple of other people as well, just to see what it was. And after he left office, Vic thought he could be a backdoor conduit, and that went nowhere. So I don't know if I'll be able to get at this. Was this just Vic thinking he was a bigger player than he was? Was this... I mean, who knows?

Pat Amedeo 2:09:35
Who knows. Well, I mean, he never was a Reagan loyalist.

James Moore 2:09:43
No, no. So he didn't have the entry card.

Pat Amedeo 2:09:48
He liked George Bush senior, and I don't know what he thought of junior, but you know, it was interesting

because, you know. I never changed my affiliation. And after, you know, I left office, we'd have these discussions, and, you know, I'd say, I can't believe you're supporting that person. But sometimes he did it unwillingly. He kind of just thought he had to be a good soldier.

James Moore 2:10:16

The partisan thing is fascinating, because talking to Vic when he was in the legislature, when Bob Smith became speaker, Bob Smith got rid of all the Democrats, so it was just Republicans. And that had a weird resonance to me, because when Bob Smith was in Congress, when the West Cooley thing... so he's in back, when he left and Greg Walden came in, Greg Walden got rid of all the Democrats. So Bob Smith had hired Democrats, especially back here in the district. [Amedeo: Yes, he did.] But then Greg comes in and gets rid of all these... like so did Bob Smith see the light?

Pat Amedeo 2:10:57

No, I don't know, I think Greg just drunk the Kool-Aid, you know, and he really has and, and I saw the old Greg, you know, when he spoke at Vicks Memorial. And what happened to you? [Moore: Who are you?] Yeah, that's the Greg I remember. And then I see this stuff, and I think, Oh, my God, he's drunk the Kool-Aid. He's made himself unelectable as a statewide figure, [Moore: senator or governor.] and that was too bad, because I think he could have been...

James Moore 2:11:30

In many ways, you know, vaguely Eastern Oregon, even though Hood River is basically [unintelligible]. But yeah, all sorts of things.

Pat Amedeo 2:11:39

So, how's Gerry spending her time?

James Moore 2:11:41

Oh, well, she's involved in the capital foundation and, you know, a billion things going on there. I don't think she's on the board of her community anymore. But she does all sorts of stuff like that. She's actually in the desert right now to get away from all of that, because she's doing some family history things to just escape. So, yeah, she's always very, very busy.

Pat Amedeo 2:12:08

Good. She needs to stay busy. So where do you think you're gonna head for lunch, some Mexican restaurant?

James Moore 2:12:19

Yeah, I think we might try that Texanita.

Pat Amedeo 2:12:24

Oh, the Texanita is good. The one on Sebastopol road? [Mason: Oh, yeah.] That's a good one. [Mason: Absolutely.]

James Moore 2:12:31

I was just saying when we came back for the first time for a vacation six years ago, I hadn't been here since... see, my grandmother died in '89, I think the last time I was here was in '88. And I barely visited then, but Santa Rosa, which had been a boring food place, all of a sudden there's all this great ethnic stuff. There's Mexican restaurants everywhere. It's like this, this didn't exist when I was here! This is great.

Pat Amedeo 2:12:59

I know, and Healdsburg is so chi-chi, my God, you can hardly... It's incredible.

Tom Mason 2:13:08

We had a great lunch over in Napa.

Pat Amedeo 2:13:10

We went to Mustard's, which was really good. But we don't get over there that often. We don't go to the city that often.

Speaker 1 2:13:18

Rarely, we spend a lot of time in New York and such.

Pat Amedeo 2:13:25

We love that direct flight now out of the Charles Schulz Airport. It's a great little airport. When we say, we'll meet you at the gate to our friends, we literally mean, the gate!

James Moore 2:13:39

Exactly, yeah, coming off of there... because I hadn't been there since they kind of gussied it up. But, you know, walking through there saying, hey, so where's the rental car? Oh, rental cars, right there. Okay, Why are those people standing... oh, because that's where the luggage is, right there, exactly.

Pat Amedeo 2:13:57

Well, the fact that the luggage is indoors now. I mean, that was a big move. No, we love that airport and the direct flights, fantastic. It's really good, yeah. Oh, what are the little gossipy things you want to know about, Tom?

Tom Mason 2:14:12

Well, Neil, one, and then the other...

James Moore 2:14:18

Neil then spends six months -- we're not sure how long he spends in Portland, but he's sighted in the Northwest periodically.

Pat Amedeo 2:14:23

Somebody said he had a stroke, or something.

James Moore 2:14:27

That I don't know. The person who did the Bob Straub book interviewed Neil, and so I'm going to have lunch with that biographer. Because I'd love to talk to Neil, I just don't know if he's... talkable, but this guy interviewed him in 2007, so it was after everything.

Pat Amedeo 2:14:45

He should be.

Tom Mason 2:14:46

The other gossip stuff is the suit against McCaig.

Pat Amedeo 2:14:46

He thinks that the state will pay McCaig's legal fees, but not Mark Wiener's.

Tom Mason 2:14:57

Really?

James Moore 2:14:58

Yeah. I mean, because she was an advisor, and looking at the way this is defined, I think she's going to get into [unintelligible].

Pat Amedeo 2:15:10

Okay, this is personal. Is she still...?