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**Folder Title:**  
Hatfield for Senate Fundraiser 11/7/89 [OA 6270]

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<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>

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HATFIELD FUNDRAISER / RONALD REAGAN REPUBLICAN CENTER  
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1989 / 6:15 P.M. *peggy*

SENATOR HATFIELD, TONI AND YOUR GREAT FAMILY  
THERESA AND MARK. SECRETARY WATKINS, SENATOR PACKWOOD,  
CONGRESSMEN LES AU COIN [AUH-COIN], DENNY SMITH, BOB  
SMITH, PETE DI FAZIO. AND DISTINGUISHED SENATORS AND  
CONGRESSMEN. THANK YOU FOR THAT KIND INTRODUCTION, AND  
LET ME SAY WHAT A DELIGHT IT IS TO BE WITH YOU TO HONOR  
MY GOOD FRIEND AND COLLEAGUE FROM THE GREAT STATE OF  
OREGON, SENATOR MARK HATFIELD.

- 2 -

((YOU KNOW, I'D LIKE TO GO OUT TO OREGON WITH MARK  
ONE OF THESE DAYS TO GO FISHING, BUT RIGHT NOW I DON'T  
HAVE THREE WEEKS TO SPARE.))

I JUST CAME BY TONIGHT TO LET MARK KNOW HOW EXCITED  
WE ARE THAT HE'LL BE JOINING US FOR A FIFTH TERM IN THE  
SENATE. I DON'T HAVE TO THANK HIM FOR HIS DECISION TO  
RUN; WITH MARK YOU CONGRATULATE HIM ON HIS DECISION TO  
WIN.

THAT'S BECAUSE MARK HATFIELD HAS NEVER LOST AN ELECTION. A FORMER GOVERNOR, HE NOW SERVES AS SENIOR SENATOR FROM THE STATE AND SECOND RANKING REPUBLICAN IN THE U.S. SENATE. AND HIS FIFTH TERM MARKS HIS 40TH YEAR IN ELECTED OFFICE. THE PEOPLE OF OREGON KNOW A GOOD THING WHEN THEY SEE IT.

THEY SEE THAT THEY'VE GOT A POWERFUL VOICE IN WASHINGTON, PART OF A SOLID REPUBLICAN TEAM FOR OREGON.

THEY SEE A WISE LEADER WHO HAS BEEN ABLE TO BROADEN THE STATE'S ECONOMIC BASE WHILE PRESERVING ITS BEAUTIFUL NATURAL RESOURCES.

BUT LET ME TELL YOU WHAT I SEE -- AND WHAT I'VE SEEN SINCE MARK HATFIELD AND I ARRIVED THE SAME DAY TO SERVE TOGETHER BACK IN THE 90TH CONGRESS -- A DECENT, HONEST MAN OF HIS WORD. THAT'S THE MARK HATFIELD I KNOW, AND THE ONE I'M PROUD TO HAVE IN THE SENATE WORKING WITH US.

WE'RE HERE TONIGHT IN THE NEW RONALD REAGAN REPUBLICAN CENTER -- AND I HEAR PRESIDENT REAGAN HIMSELF WILL BE HERE TO DEDICATE IT. YOU KNOW, I REMEMBER THAT GREAT DAY WHEN THE VOTERS OF AMERICA SWEEPED PRESIDENT REAGAN AND A REPUBLICAN SENATE MAJORITY INTO POWER.

THAT ELECTION BEGAN SENATOR HATFIELD'S CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE -- THE SECOND LONGEST TENURE OF THAT CHAIRMANSHIP IN U.S. HISTORY.

---

CONTROL OF THE SENATE IS NO LONGER IN OUR HANDS, YET MARK HATFIELD REMAINS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT AND INFLUENTIAL BUDGET POLICYMAKERS IN THE SENATE. I KNOW WE CAN COUNT ON HIM TO STAND FAST AGAINST THE TIDE OF DEFICIT SPENDING. AND WE CAN COUNT ON HIM TO REMAIN "THE CONSCIENCE OF THE SENATE." AND BOY, ARE WE GLAD HE'S RUNNING AGAIN.

**((WELL, TODAY IS NOVEMBER 7, ELECTION DAY. YOU MAY HAVE HEARD THAT LAST WEEK I ASKED VOTERS TO VOTE ON ELECTION DAY, DECEMBER 7. I DID THAT ON PURPOSE. I WAS JUST TRYING TO GIVE THE DEMOCRATS A LITTLE MORE TIME TO CATCH UP WITH OUR REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES.))**

**((YOU KNOW, WHEN FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT SAID DECEMBER 7TH WAS A DATE THAT WOULD LIVE ON IN INFAMY, HE WASN'T KIDDING.))**

**IT'S BEEN A PLEASURE TO BE HERE TONIGHT, TO JOIN WITH YOU IN HONORING MARK HATFIELD -- A GOOD FRIEND, AN HONEST MAN, AND GREAT SENATOR. THANK YOU, GOD BLESS YOU, AND GOD BLESS AMERICA.**

**# # #**

Salem: (503) 399-5731  
Portland: (503) 326-3386

Jim Hemphill  
224-3753  
675-6000 x 5002

Grant/Dooley  
October 31, 1989  
Draft two  
A:hatfield

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HATFIELD FUNDRAISER  
RONALD REAGAN REPUBLICAN CENTER  
(NEW NRSC HQ)  
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1989  
6:15 P.M.

Hatfield will intro.  
the Pres. ✓  
P.A. - B.C.

Toni Hatfield Political Affairs - Burt Coleman

x 6573  
((Acknowledgements)) Senator Hatfield, Ladies and  
Gentlemen, Friends. <sup>who is introducing the Pres.</sup> Thank you for that kind introduction, and  
let me say what a delight it is to be with you to honor my good  
friend and colleague from the great state of Oregon, Senator Mark  
Hatfield.

((You know, I'd like to go out to Oregon with Mark one of  
these days to go fishing, but right now I don't have three weeks  
to spare.))

I just came by tonight to let Mark know how excited we are  
that he'll be joining us for a <sup>Hatfield's office running for 5th ✓</sup> fifth term in the Senate. I don't  
have to thank him for his decision to run; with Mark you  
congratulate him on his decision to win.

That's because <sup>Hatfield's office, true ✓</sup> Mark Hatfield has never lost an election.  
His fifth term in the Senate marks his 40th year in elected  
office. The people of Oregon know a good thing when they see it:  
and their former Governor, now senior Senator from the state --  
" X and second ranking Republican in the U.S. Senate -- is the best  
thing they've seen for years.

Hatfield's office.

} yes ✓

1st two term  
Gov. of  
Oregon  
no has held  
state office  
longer than  
he.

They see that they've got a powerful voice in Washington,  
part of a solid Republican team for Oregon. They see a wise  
✓ for Republicans in the House + Senate.

✓ Almanac of Amer. Politics. 1990

Hatfield's

✓yes

diversification

leader who has been able to broaden the state's economic base while preserving its beautiful natural resources.

increase # of protected acreage

But let me tell you what I see -- and what I've seen since

see if arrived same day

Mark Hatfield and I arrived the same day to serve together back

see it House + Senate convened on the same day

in the 90th Congress -- a decent, honest man of his word. That's the Mark Hatfield I know, and the one I'm proud to have in the Senate working with us.

in R.P. Repub. Ctr?

We're here tonight in the new Ronald Reagan Republican P.A.

Yes ✓ P.A. Yes ✓

Center -- and I hear President Reagan himself will be here in two weeks to dedicate it. You know, I remember that great day when the voters of America swept President Reagan and a Republican Senate majority into power.

Not correct

same election

did he become Chairman right away?

That day began Senator Hatfield's chairmanship of the Appropriations Committee -- the second longest tenure of that

Hatfield Kennedy

chairmanship in U.S. history. Control of the Senate is no longer

recent memory

in our hands, yet Mark Hatfield remains one of the most important

his office Kennedy

and influential economic policymakers in the Senate. I know we can count on him to stand fast against the tide of deficit

annual budget appropriations

Legislative Affairs

spending. And we can count on him to remain "the conscience of the Senate." And boy, are we glad he's running again.

Well, it's election night, and I know many of you are waiting to hear the latest information from the state races.

I've come from the White House and I have some news. The Political Office has just learned that [New Jersey] exit polls show a majority of voters really do think ((PAUSE))

NY

"a voice for peace, humanitarianism" isn't afraid to be lone voice.

Keith Kennedy 224-7339 re: by Jim Hemphill.

It's been a pleasure to be here tonight, to join with you in honoring Mark Hatfield -- a good friend, an honest man, and great Senator. Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

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I just came by tonight to let Mark know how excited we are that he'll be joining us for a fifth term in the Senate. I don't have to thank him for his decision to run; with Mark you congratulate him on his decision to win.

That's because Mark Hatfield has never lost an election. A former Governor, he now serves as senior Senator from the state and second ranking Republican in the U.S. Senate. And his fifth term marks his 40th year in elected office. The people of Oregon know a good thing when they see it.

They see that they've got a powerful voice in Washington, part of a solid Republican team for Oregon. They see a wise leader who has been able to broaden the state's economic base while preserving its beautiful natural resources.

But let me tell you what I see -- and what I've seen since Mark Hatfield and I arrived the same day to serve together back in the 90th Congress -- a decent, honest man of his word. That's the Mark Hatfield I know, and the one I'm proud to have in the Senate working with us.

We're here tonight in the new Ronald Reagan Republican Center -- and I hear President Reagan himself will be here to dedicate it. You know, I remember that great day when the voters of America swept President Reagan and a Republican Senate majority into power.

That election began Senator Hatfield's chairmanship of the Appropriations Committee -- the second longest tenure of that chairmanship in U.S. history. Control of the Senate is no longer in our hands, yet Mark Hatfield remains one of the most important and influential budget policymakers in the Senate. I know we can count on him to stand fast against the tide of deficit spending. And we can count on him to remain "the conscience of the Senate." And boy, are we glad he's running again.

((Well, today is November 7, Election Day. You may have heard that last week I asked voters to vote on Election Day, December 7, I did that on purpose. I was just trying to give the Democrats a little more time to catch up with our Republican candidates.))

((You know, when Franklin Roosevelt said December 7th was a date that would live on in infamy, he wasn't kidding.))

It's been a pleasure to be here tonight, to join with you in honoring Mark Hatfield -- a good friend, an honest man, and great Senator. Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

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# # #

car to car 10 min

Tony = wife

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

5-7

NRSC - 6:15 pm

RR Repub ctr - first time  
dedication on 11/14 w/RR + Mrs.

PAC fundraiser / Wash  
crowd  
indiv contributions

~~150~~ 200 maybe

party at DQ's house that  
day - Sen. Inust

Jim Hemphill - contact  
Hetzfield's  
office  
224-3753

Congreso de la Paz - 90th Club  
~~Buenos~~ Aires - Nov. 1954  
Hartford - Jan.

Indice report for under  
behind the breeze in note  
5th Term  
Treat family, man of this word

39th yr of post office

1st 2 - turn you in DR 2076  
cent

never met election

Chair Synop term  
and reviewing Reports after  
strong Shumard

2 month ago - dinner at house  
w/ Ben. + Yma + the three

October 27, 1989

MEMORANDUM TO MARY KATE GRANT

FROM: PEGGY DOOLEY

SUBJECT: MARK HATFIELD FUNDRAISER

I. EVENT

Tuesday, November 7, 6:15 p.m.

Ronald Reagan Republican Center; building where NRSC is; this is the first time the President will be at the Center. Former President Reagan and Mrs. Reagan will dedicate the building November 14.

About 200 people expected. PAC types, Washington crowd with Oregon tilt. They're not aiming at their big Oregon donators for this.

Party at Vice President's house that afternoon is a Senatorial Trust event -- some people from the Trust may be there, not sure.

II. BACKGROUND

Bush and Hatfield arrived to serve in Congress at the same time: Bush to serve in the House, Hatfield in the Senate. They are members of the 90th Club (90th Congress -- meets once a year).

Respect for the individual = main thrust of Hatfield's politics. Plays major behind-the-scenes role. Treats people fairly, man of his word.

Running for his fifth term in the Senate. 39th year in political office. He was the first Oregon governor in the 20th century elected to two terms. Has never lost an election.

Was Chairman of the Appropriations Committee when Republicans held the majority. Is now the 2nd ranking Republican in the Senate, behind Strom Thurmond.

About a month ago, the President and Mrs. Bush had dinner at the Hatfields, with Senator and Mrs. McClure.

# # #

United States Senate  
WASHINGTON, DC

TELEFAX TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET

TO: Peggy Dooley  
FAX: 456-6218

FROM: Jim Hemphill  
Sen. Hatfield's Office

TELEFAX NUMBER: ~~202-224-3337~~

Number of pages (including this sheet): 4

Notes:

IF TRANSMISSION IS UNREADABLE  
PLEASE PHONE (202) 224-3753

Biographical Background Material  
or  
Possible Introductory Remarks

Date: 1988

#62

Referred to as "the conscience" of the Senate and "a global visionary" U.S. Senator Mark O. Hatfield rose through a 36-year career in politics to hold one of the most influential positions in government as Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee from 1980 through 1986, the second longest tenure as chairman in U.S. history. When the Senate leadership shifted in 1987, Senator Hatfield became the ranking minority Senator on the committee. Few elected officials exercise more responsibility over federal spending priorities and few Senators play a more critical leadership role in shaping economic and policy priorities than Senator Mark Hatfield. Not a single dollar flows through the Federal Treasury at the discretion of Congress without first passing through the Senate Appropriations Committee.

As a Lieutenant J.G. in the Navy, he commanded landing craft in some of the bloodiest battles of World War II. He was one of the first U.S. military personnel to enter Hiroshima after the atomic bomb was dropped in 1945. These experiences, coupled with a deep Christian faith and a steadfast belief in the progressive principles upon which the Republican party was first established, have made Senator Hatfield one of the most widely known and respected critics of U.S. foreign policy. Despite warnings of political suicide, as Oregon's Governor, Mark Hatfield cast the only vote at the 1965 National Governors Conference in opposition to a resolution supporting President Johnson's Vietnam war policy. In 1981, Senator Hatfield cast the lone vote in the Senate against enormous increases in the Department of Defense budget.

Known as the father of the Nuclear Freeze, Senator Hatfield joined with Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA) to force a halt to the nuclear arms race. In 1981, he sponsored the first prohibition against U.S. combat troop involvement in El Salvador and in 1984 authored the amendment which successfully deleted funds to conduct the so-called "secret war" in Nicaragua. In 1984, he was credited with singlehandedly preventing renewed production of nerve gas weapons.

Biographical Background Material  
OR  
Possible Introductory Remarks

1988

Senator Hatfield is also widely known as a champion of fiscal responsibility, human rights and individual freedom. He opposes centralization and excessive power whether it stems from big government, big business or big labor. No Senator has done more than he to curb the tidal wave of deficit spending which threatens to wash away the nation's economic strength and stability. As both Chairman and ranking member of the Senate Appropriations Committee he has stood firm in support of necessary humanitarian, health and social programs, while demanding that the Department of Defense and other sacred cows of the federal government bear their fair share in deficit reduction.

As Oregon's Governor and as United States Senator, Mark Hatfield has worked to broaden and strengthen Oregon's economic base through wise stewardship of its human and natural resources. Governor Hatfield's program of "payrolls and playgrounds" brought new industry to Oregon while developing one of the nation's finest state park systems. He expanded Oregon's community college system and led the effort to create the Oregon Graduate Center, now a leading research institution and a key to Oregon's place at the cutting edge of high technology.

In the United States Senate, Mark Hatfield has continued these efforts. They include the creation of a Marine Science Center at Newport and the Institute for Advanced Biomedical Research at the Oregon Health Sciences University. Recognizing the need for a formidable transportation network to move people and products, Mark Hatfield has injected new life and federal dollars into coastal ports, the Columbia-Snake waterway, local roads and highways and the Portland light rail project. Mark Hatfield's leadership role in enhancing forestry and agricultural research programs has been essential to the survival as well as the potential of these core industries of the state. He led the fight in Congress to bring contract relief to small and medium sized timber companies. He has led efforts to improve forest management through reforestation, while preserving Oregon's unparalleled beauty for future generations.

**SENATE SERVICE** -- Elected, 1966; reelected 1972, 1978, and 1984.

**COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS** -- Senator Hatfield is Ranking Minority Member of the Senate Appropriations Committee and the Energy and Water Resources Appropriations Subcommittee. He serves on the Commerce, Justice, State, the Judiciary and Related Agencies; Foreign Operations; Labor, Health and Human Services, Education and Related Agencies; and The Legislative Branch Appropriations Subcommittees. He is a Member of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources with Subcommittee assignments on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests; Energy Regulation and Conservation; and Water and Power. Senator Hatfield is also a member of the Committee on Rules and Administration; The Joint Committee on the Library; The Joint Committee on Printing; The U.S. Senate Commission on The Bicentennial of the Constitution; The National Historical Publications and Records Commission; The Pacific Northwest Trade Taskforce; The Republican Policy Committee; and serves as Chairman of the Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus.

**SENIORITY** -- Senator Hatfield is the 2nd ranking Republican and 10th in seniority out of 100 in the full Senate.

**PRIOR PUBLIC SERVICE** -- State Representative, Oregon State Legislature, 1951-1955; State Senator, Oregon State Legislature, 1955-1957; Oregon Secretary of State, 1957-1959; Oregon Governor, 1959-1967; Delegate to the Republican National Convention 1952, 1956, 1960, 1964, 1968, and 1976; Temporary Chairman and Keynote Speaker, 1964 GOP National Convention.

**MILITARY SERVICE** -- U.S. Navy, 1943-1945. Earned rank of Lieutenant J.G. Commanded landing craft Iwo Jima and Okinawa. Duty during occupation of Japan and China Civil War.

**EDUCATION** -- Graduated Salem High School, Salem, Oregon, 1940; Bachelor of Arts, Willamette University, Salem, Oregon, 1943; Master of Arts, Stanford University, Stanford, California, 1948; Numerous Honorary Doctorate degrees.

**PROFESSIONAL** -- Associate Professor of Political Science, Dean of Students, Willamette University, Salem, Oregon, 1949-1957.

Author of three books: Not Quite So Simple, 1967; Conflict and Conscience, 1971; and Between a Rock and a Hard Place, 1976. Coauthor: Amnesty: The Unsettled Question of Vietnam, 1973; The Causes of World Hunger, 1982; Freeze! How You Can Help Prevent Nuclear War, 1982; and What About the Russians, 1984.

**PERSONAL** -- Born July 12, 1922, in Dallas, Oregon, the son of D.C. Hatfield, a railroad construction blacksmith, and Dovie Odom Hatfield, a school teacher. Married Antoinette Kuzmanich, former high school teacher, Counselor for Women at Portland State University, and author of several cookbooks. The Senator and Mrs. Hatfield are the parents of four children: Elizabeth, Mark O., Jr., Theresa, and Charles Vincent (Visko). When not attending to senatorial responsibilities, Senator Hatfield enjoys gardening and studying presidential history.

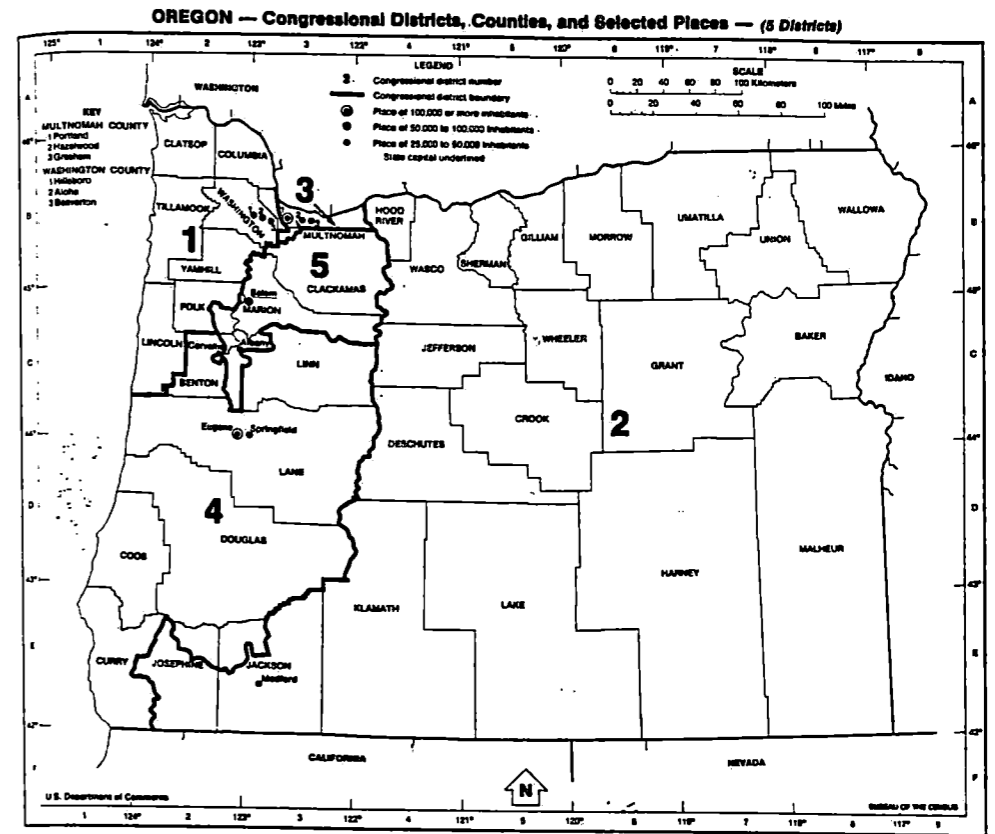
# OREGON

"Pictorially, Oregon is this," the *WPA Guide* explained 50 years ago, "tidy white houses and church spires of the Willamette Valley settlements, like transplanted New England towns, among pastoral scenery warm and graceful as the landscapes of Innes; the Alice-through-the-looking-glass effect of a swift incredible geographic change that lifts motorists out of lush green forests and over the wind-scoured ridgepole of the Cascades, and plummets them into a grim never-never land of broken rim-rock and bare-boned plains beyond the range; the lamplit frontier towns of eastern Oregon, the rolling, golden wheatlands, great ranches where booted and spurred men still ride. Or if the bird's eye view is toward the west coast, a humid, forested, mountainous region, fronting the Pacific, to which it presents, abruptly, a precipitous escarpment, relieved here and there by long stretches of sand beaches, an occasional lumber port or fishing village, or a river mouth." This Oregon was known to Americans since Lewis and Clark spent the winter of 1805-06 at the mouth of the Columbia. John Jacob Astor's fur traders set up Astoria in 1811 and settlers came up the Oregon Trail, through the rapids of the Columbia Gorge to the fertile, well-watered Willamette Valley. Oregon was a hot political issue then: James K. Polk won the 1844 election on the cry of "54°40' or Fight!" although in 1846 he settled with the British for the 49th parallel instead.

In this remote land, nearly 2,000 miles and weeks of travel away from the Mississippi River frontier and at least 700 miles from the equally small settlements in California, was established the orderly, productive society of Oregon. It grew steadily over the years, with only a few booms—in 1900-10 as the timber industry was growing, and in the 1940s when war workers raised the state's population by 40%. Culturally, it is quintessentially American, but geographically it is remote from most of the United States and looks out across the Pacific Rim to the Orient: most of the Japanese cars sold in the United States are unloaded in Portland, and this is one state which resolutely backs free trade. Its major product for many years was—and in good years, still is—lumber, but there is less of the raucousness of the lumber camp to its history and more of the decorum of the New England Yankee small town with its library and literary society. When the West was the stronghold of populism, Oregon was different; and it was the most Republican of the western states as late as 1948, when it favored Thomas E. Dewey over Harry Truman.

This well-ordered little commonwealth had another boom in the 1970s. As Americans became aware of pollution and to appreciate their natural environment, they began to seek out places like Oregon, with its small cities (even metropolitan Portland is only about 1.3 million) and nearby wilderness, its pristine mountains, seacoast and desert. Oregonians, however, did not want to see their state follow the same path as the big metro areas in California. Its attitude was summed up by Governor Tom McCall (1966-74), who urged people to visit Oregon, "but for heaven's sake don't come to live here." That attitude changed by the late 1970s, when recession and an ailing lumber industry made environment-conscious Oregon yearn for a little more of the economic growth it had been taking for granted. For a time, migration into the state—long heavy, despite McCall's admonition—stopped, and unemployment rates zoomed up to some of the nation's highest levels. The problem was the vulnerability of the lumber industry: demand for lumber depends on the level of new construction, which in turn depends on interest rates; the combination of high interest rates and recession during the first Reagan term hit Oregon especially hard.

In the late 1980s, growth returned and concern for the environment was again high; Oregon



which elected a conservative, belt-tightening Republican governor in 1978 and 1982, was ready to elect an expansive liberal Democrat, Neil Goldschmidt, in 1986. A similar trend was apparent in the 1988 presidential election when Oregon, after voting Republican in all but one of the last nine elections, cast its electoral votes for Michael Dukakis. His emphasis on economic growth and on the liberal cultural values important to so many highly educated professionals struck a chord in Oregon; this is a culturally liberal state on many issues, with many young and single voters, and one that is proud of being the first state to ban throwaway bottles and among the first to allow abortions (though it may be a little sheepish about having decriminalized marijuana in the early 1970s). On economics, Oregon is less liberal, cautious in its enthusiasm for big government (even though public works like the Columbia River dams are so visible here) and turned off by the Democrats' increasing emphasis on restrictive trade policies.

Oregon seems to have reached these conclusions not after dialectical struggle, but through the emergence of a consensus. Unlike most states, it does not have long-standing political differences between different regions. The coastal areas and the lower Columbia River valley are marginally more Democratic than the rest of the state; Salem, the state capital, is usually more Republican than Eugene, the site of the University of Oregon; the low-lying, less affluent sections of Portland east of the Willamette River are usually Democratic, while the more affluent city neighborhoods and suburbs in the hills in the west tend to be Republican. But the differences are

young here like to backpack and think of themselves as middle-class; so do blue-collar workers and affluent people in the high-income suburbs.

Governor Neil Goldschmidt was mayor of Portland in the 1970s; he was Jimmy Carter's second Secretary of Transportation; when he ran for governor in 1986, these two credentials were thought to be handicaps in a state where Carter ended up unpopular and where voters outside Portland mistrust the big city. Also, Goldschmidt had a strong opponent, Norma Paulus, experienced in state government and a native of rural Oregon—the sort of moderate Republican who has often run well in the state. But Goldschmidt, who talks so fast that the best courtroom reporters can't keep up with him, based his campaign on a blueprint for Oregon's future and stressed his role as an innovator as mayor of Portland in the 1970s—"a public-sector risk-taker in the entrepreneurial mold," the Portland *Oregonian* called him. And he could claim to be a businessman himself; after leaving Washington, he returned and worked for five years for the Nike running shoe company based in the Portland area.

Once in office, Goldschmidt decided to make the problems of children the primary focus of his governorship. He wants the state to spend more on education, and got a bill through the legislature in 1989 to get around spending caps on local education; but the issue will be decided—in this state that invented initiative, referendum, and recall—by the voters. He is also worried about abused, homeless, and illiterate children, but instead of emphasizing bureaucratic solutions, he has gone around the state focusing on teachers and volunteer leaders who have changed children's lives and calling on citizens to spend some of their own time helping children in their own community.

All this sounds like George Bush's "thousand points of light." But Goldschmidt brings to the governor's office his own ebullience, energy and independence. (In his first year he took care to veto laws sought by his biggest backers.) Oregon, like Washington next door, has a Democratic governor who comes fresh from the private sector rather than government, whose politics are a contrast not only to Reagan Republicanism, but to the labor liberalism of Democrats past. It will be interesting to see what comes of these laboratories of reform out on America's Pacific Rim.

Goldschmidt's popularity has been high, and it is not clear whether one of the better known Republicans—Attorney General Dave Frohnmayer, Treasurer Tony Meeker, Congressman Denny Smith—will choose to run against him in 1990. If not, he may be opposed by a member of Oregon's religious right, like Joe Lutz the activist minister who challenged Bob Packwood in the 1986 primary.

**Senators.** Oregon has two of the senior Republicans in the Senate, the chairmen of the Appropriations and Finance Committees when their party was in control, and important legislators now that it is in the minority. Both are men of considerable intellect, character and distinctive views. And, as so often is the case when a state is represented by two Senators of the same party, considered to be in the same place on the ideological scale, and roughly the same age, their relations have been sometimes friendly, sometimes edgy.

The senior Senator is Mark Hatfield, ranking member of the Senate Appropriations Committee and holder of statewide office in Oregon since 1956, when he was elected secretary of state at 34. In 1958, he was elected governor and served for eight years; in 1966, he was elected to the Senate and has been there ever since. The issue about which Hatfield has always cared most is peace. He is a deeply religious man, and as a young serviceman was one of the first Americans to see Hiroshima after it was bombed. That experience—and deep convictions—have left him a strong proponent of disarmament and of understanding our adversaries. He was the cosponsor of the McGovern-Hatfield amendment to end the Vietnam war in the early 1970s; he was an enthusiastic backer of the nuclear freeze in the 1980s; he has never voted for a defense authorization bill. But as Appropriations chairman, he presided over the huge defense spending increases in the early 1980s; Hatfield is a man who will always vote his convictions, but will not

staunch opponent of contra aid, he believes American Middle East policy is too pro-Israel, and he strongly opposes the death penalty and tried to get it dropped from the 1988 drug bill. With Edward Kennedy, he is sponsoring a two-year U.S.-Soviet moratorium on underground nuclear testing of over one kiloton. He has worked for years to give aid to Vietnamese refugees.

On other issues, Hatfield is not so unconventional a politician. He is not an unqualified believer in free-market economics, but he has favored—long before the current slump in the lumber industry—measures to give the lumber companies more access to Oregon's forests than many environmentalists would like. He is not an enthusiast for most domestic spending programs. On cultural issues, his strong religious beliefs usually do not make him join forces usually with the New Right, but he does oppose abortion, in vivid contrast to fellow Oregon Senator Bob Packwood. He has used his Appropriations seat to funnel money to Oregon and he worked hard to prevent restarting of a shut-down nuclear plant across the river in the Hanford Reservation in Washington. Hatfield also welded together the usually fractious Oregon delegation to push through a Wild and Scenic Rivers bill in 1988, protecting 40 rivers; all but eastern Oregon's Bob Smith supported the bill.

Hatfield chaired the Appropriations Committee for six years—an often frustrating assignment, since it is constantly being muscled by the Budget Committee and by Gramm-Rudman, its bills must be defended against dozens of controversial amendments, and it had to do much of its work in one end-of-session continuing resolution. Hatfield is not a cynical horse-trader at such times, but he is willing to take on some fights and is able to win some. In 1987 Hatfield turned his gavel over to the Democrats, but since his power was not based on either partisan staffing or aggressive use of the chair, much of it remains.

Hatfield's seat is up in 1990, when he will have held public office for 40 years. He is considered popular, but it is hard for any Oregon politician to stay in close touch with constituents so many miles away, so there is speculation that he may retire or encounter serious opposition. In 1984, he ran very well despite some charges that would have hurt a Senator whose integrity is not so universally taken for granted. Before the election, it was revealed that Mrs. Hatfield, a real estate broker, had received a \$40,000 fee in return for little or no services from one Basil Tsakos, and that Hatfield had been soliciting support on official stationery for Tsakos's proposal to build a \$15 billion oil pipeline across Africa. The Hatfields changed their story several times, then appeared together in Portland, confessed an error in judgment, promised to donate the money to charity, and asked the voters' forgiveness. Another odd episode came in 1989 when Hatfield, stopped at a red light in Washington with his wife and son in the car, saw one man on foot shoot at another. When bullets passed close to his car, he floored it—a natural and prudent reaction—but he did not report the incident to the police.

After the Tsakos affair, Hatfield won reelection in 1984 with 67% of the vote—his best showing ever. He has said he will announce in fall 1989 whether he will run again, and has been raising money. Two of the state's Democratic congressmen clearly have senatorial ambitions, but one of them, Les AuCoin, has worked closely with Hatfield on Appropriations matters and says he will not run against him. The other, Ron Wyden, has not ruled it out; either or both might run if Hatfield retires, and so might Republican Congressman Denny Smith.

Oregon's junior Senator, Bob Packwood, made history in 1986 as the Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee who played a major role in producing America's most sweeping tax reform act in 45 years. His role was all the more surprising, since it was such a departure from his previous posture. Packwood spent most of his years on the Finance Committee when Russell Long was chairman, and for years he shared Long's view that government should use the tax code—granting tax credits and accelerated depreciation, allowing deductions and tax shelters—to achieve policy goals; and he also seemed to share Long's unspoken view that a Finance chairman maximizes his power by keeping tax rates high and then doling out exemptions and

that the tax code was a disgrace to the human race, he stated openly that it was pretty good as it was. In the first months of 1986, after Dan Rostenkowski's Ways and Means Committee passed its tax reform bill lowering rates and eliminating preferences, Packwood followed his old approach. He announced early on that he would insist on favorable treatment for the timber industry—a maladroitness that gave others leverage over him—and watched as fellow Finance members piled preference after preference into the bill.

By mid-April 1986, enough preferences had been voted to boost the deficit by \$100 billion—and kill the bill. Packwood was being lampooned in the Portland *Oregonian* as “H & R Packwood with another of my 17 versions of tax reform,” and he was facing opposition in the May 20 primary from a charismatic young conservative named Joe Lutz. Packwood had amassed some \$4 million in campaign contributions (not difficult when you're Finance chairman doling out tax preferences), but Lutz was attacking him with style and humor, and was drawing on the anti-Packwood base among registered Republicans that had held him to 62% against weak opposition in the 1980 primary. A fiasco on tax reform would undercut Packwood's greatest strength with Republican primary voters, namely his reputation for competence and his ability as a committee chairman to get things done.

So in late April, Packwood repaired to a Capitol Hill bar with an aide and over a pitcher of beer started pencilling out some figures—and came up with a bill that stripped away far more preferences than the House or Reagan version and which would lower rates far more, to a high of 27%. “I came around full circle to think [Bill] Bradley was right,” Packwood said. “We ought to get the rates as low as we can, [and] let economic efficiency guide decisions.” Packwood's turnaround stunned Washington, which had been writing off tax reform for 18 months, and carried the day in early May on the Finance Committee and in the Senate. There was almost an audible sigh of relief from the politicians at the prospect of getting out of the business of doling out preferences to favored causes and lobbyists.

Packwood was banged around somewhat later by Dan Rostenkowski in the conference committee, where Rostenkowski controlled his House conferees while Packwood didn't control his Senate counterparts. But the bill finally passed into law. In the meantime, Packwood won renomination over Joe Lutz May 20 by the none too huge margin, for a primary, of 58%-42%. That was the contest for him: the Democratic nominee, Representative James Weaver, withdrew from the race in August while he was being investigated by the House Ethics Committee, and the Democrats nominated a young man who had won 14% in their primary. Packwood, with millions left in campaign funds and his reputation for competence and clout restored, won easily.

The loss of the Finance chair left Packwood less powerful but still busy. He is one of the Senate's stronger free traders, backing the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement (but getting changes to help Oregon's plywood industry) and opposing the protectionist textile bill in 1988; the former was passed and Packwood organized enough senators to prevent an override of the veto of the latter. On the Commerce Committee, which he chaired from 1981 to 1985, he is a force for deregulation. He supported the catastrophic health care bill and the Civil Rights Restoration Act and was the first Senate Republican to oppose the nomination of Robert Bork. He is co-sponsoring with Daniel Patrick Moynihan a bill to change the child care tax credit. He worked on the Oregon Wild and Scenic Rivers bill. On campaign finance reform he has partisan expertise from his days as chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee (he lost the post in 1982 after he was critical of Reagan), and he upheld the Republican filibuster against the Democrats' bill; late at night in February 1988, Majority Leader Robert Byrd, frustrated by the lack of a quorum, ordered the sergeant-at-arms to arrest Packwood making him the first Senator ever to be carried into the chamber under arrest.

Packwood has causes as well as committees. In the early 1970s, he was the Senate's leading

bans on abortion. The Senate, despite New Right gains, is still the branch of government least inclined to restrict abortions; Packwood has proven skillful at using parliamentary devices to rally the majority he has on this issue in the face of attacks from Jesse Helms and others. The issue has also been a major electoral asset to Packwood. Women's rights advocates made his reelection their number one priority in 1980 and they, in turn, were the single biggest bloc of contributors to his campaign that year, even providing a substantial share of his funds in 1986, though most, of course, could be attributed to his Finance chair. Yet he is also a strong party man, one who put together the fundraising capability and technical services which were crucial in keeping Republican control of the Senate in the 1980s. He was also the originator of the yearly Tidewater talks, when Republican officeholders from around the country, wearing sweaters and using first names, meet on Maryland's Eastern Shore and try to share the new ideas they have had about policy.

Packwood, like many prominent Senators, first won office in an upset: he was a surprise winner when he ran, at age 36, against four-term incumbent Wayne Morse in 1968. He won reelection in 1974 and 1980 by margins that have to be considered unimpressive, especially considering the fact that he heavily outspent his opponents both times. In 1986, his real challenge was in the primary, and it now looks as if the religious right will always oppose him (but not Hatfield, because of his well-known deep religious beliefs). The distance factor may be playing a part here. Much of Oregon is nine flying hours from Washington, D.C., and it's harder for Oregon's Members of Congress to keep in close touch with their constituents.

Packwood is a man of calculation more than passion, an experienced observer of the game and one who still plays it to win. Those who see him as a cynical man who believes in nothing have got it wrong; he does have strong beliefs—encouraging free enterprise, women's rights, the Republican Party to name three—but he is also interested in surviving, and other issues—tax preferences, for example—may become negotiable. His strategy for 1992, as it has been for previous races, is to raise plenty of money and try to avoid serious competition; and the surprise of previous elections is not that he has won, but that some of his margins have been so close.

**Presidential politics.** Oregon, with seven electoral votes, and geographically closer to Vancouver, British Columbia than it is to any population concentration in any state but neighboring Washington, does not see much of presidential candidates, even in primaries, and even when, as in 1988, the contest in the general election here is close. Since environmental issues started becoming important, Oregon has tended to vote more Democratic than the nation when the Democrats run a culturally liberal candidate and less Democratic than the nation when they do not. Oregon was one of the few states to cast almost as high a percentage of its votes for George McGovern as for Hubert Humphrey, yet in 1976 it went narrowly for Gerald Ford over Jimmy Carter. Walter Mondale did not sell particularly well here; Michael Dukakis did. The difference in response is even more striking when you consider that these Democratic nominees got 30% of their votes from blacks in some industrial states, while there are almost no blacks in Oregon, nor is there a large low-income population. Oregon is part of America's Northern Tier—so is Washington, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Massachusetts—the only place in the country where the Democrats' cultural liberalism is affirmatively popular.

The halcyon days of Oregon's presidential primary are probably over. This late May contest ended Harold Stassen's career as a serious presidential candidate in 1948, when he lost 52%-48% to Thomas Dewey, and it gave Robert Kennedy his only defeat in 1968. Oregon in those days was part of a West Coast swing, since it came just before the California primary; at a time when campaigners were not yet used to flying all over the country they, like National Football League teams in the 1950s, scheduled West Coast contests together, to minimize travel time. By the 1980s, Oregon seemed to come too late in the season and to have too few delegates at stake to earn much attention.

kinds of percentages that members whose districts are within two hours of Washington's National Airport can count on. Oregon is not likely to gain a seat in 1992, as it did in 1982, nor will its district lines have to be changed much because of population growth. The Democrats, who control the redistricting process may, however, adjust the lines in the Portland area to make the 1st and 5th Districts more favorable to their candidates.

**The People:** Est. Pop. 1988: 2,741,000; Pop. 1980: 2,633,105, up 4.1% 1980-88 and 25.9% 1970-80, 1.12% of U.S. total, 30th largest. 20% with 1-3 yrs. col., 17% with 4+ yrs. col.; 10.7% below poverty level. Single ancestry: 10% English, 9% German, 4% Irish, 2% Norwegian, 1% Swedish, French, Scottish, Italian, Dutch. Households (1980): 70% family, 37% with children, 60% married couples, 34.9% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$212; median house value: \$59,000. Voting age pop. (1980): 1,910,048; 2% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin, 1% Black, 1% American Indian. Registered voters (1988): 1,528,478; 737,489 D (48%); 590,648 R (39%); 200,341 unaffiliated and minor parties (13%).

**1988 Share of Federal Tax Burden:** \$8,659,000,000; 0.98% of U.S. total, 29th largest.

**1988 Share of Federal Expenditures**

	Total		Non-Defense		Defense	
Total Expend	\$8,237m	(0.93%)	\$7,420m	(1.13%)	\$1,115m	(0.49%)
St/Lcl Grants	1,322m	(1.15%)	1,320m	(1.15%)	2m	(1.95%)
Salary/Wages	1,001m	(0.75%)	831m	(1.24%)	170m	(1.24%)
Pymnts to Indiv	4,878m	(1.19%)	4,685m	(1.20%)	193m	(1.03%)
Procurement	749m	(0.40%)	298m	(0.64%)	749m	(0.40%)
Research/Other	287m	(0.77%)	286m	(0.77%)	1m	(0.77%)

**Political Lineup:** Governor, Neil Goldschmidt (D); Secy. of State, Barbara Roberts (D); Atty. Gen., Dave Frohnmayer (R); Treasurer, Tony Meeker (R). State Senate, 30 (19 D and 11 R); State House of Representatives, 60 (32 D and 28 R). Senators, Mark O. Hatfield (R) and Robert W. Packwood (R). Representatives, 5 (3 D and 2 R).

**1988 Presidential Vote**

Dukakis (D)	616,206	(51%)
Bush (R)	560,126	(47%)

**1988 Democratic Presidential Primary**

Dukakis	221,048	(57%)
Jackson	148,207	(38%)
Gephardt	6,772	(2%)
Gore	5,445	(1%)
Simon	4,757	(1%)

**1984 Presidential Vote**

Reagan (R)	685,700	(56%)
Mondale (D)	536,479	(44%)

**1988 Republican Presidential Primary**

Bush	199,938	(73%)
Dole	49,128	(18%)
Robertson	21,212	(8%)

**Gov. Neil Goldschmidt (D)**



Elected 1986, term expires Jan. 1991; b. June 16, 1940, Eugene home, Salem; U. of OR, B.A. 1963, U. of CA at Berkeley, J.D. 1967; Jewish; married (Margie).

**Career:** Practicing atty., 1967-70; Legal Aide, Portland City Comm., 1971-73; Mayor of Portland, 1973-79; U.S. Secy. of Transportation, 1979-81; Vice Pres., Nike, Inc., 1981-85.

**Office:** State Capitol, Rm. 254, Salem 97310, 503-378-3111.

**Election Results**

1986 gen.	Neil Goldschmidt (D)	549,456	(52%)
	Norma Paulus (R)	506,989	(48%)
1986 prim.	Neil Goldschmidt (D)	214,148	(68%)
	Edward N. Fadeley (D)	81,300	(26%)
1982 gen.	Victor G. Atiyeh (R)	639,841	(61%)
	Ted Kulongoski (D)	374,316	(36%)

**SENATORS**

**Sen. Mark O. Hatfield (R)**



Elected 1966, seat up 1990; b. July 12, 1922, Dallas; home, Tigard; Willamette U., B.A. 1943, Stanford U., M.A. 1948; Baptist; married (Antoinette).

**Career:** Navy, WWII; Assoc. Prof. of Pol. Sci., Dean of Students, Willamette U., 1949-57; OR House of Reps., 1951-55; OR Senate, 1955-57; OR Secy. of State, 1957-59; Gov. of OR, 1959-67.

**Offices:** 711 HSOB 20510, 202-224-3753. Also 475 Cottage St. N.E., Salem 97301, 503-363-1629; and 114 Pioneer Crthse., 555 S.W. Yamhill, Portland 97204, 503-221-3380.

**Committees:** Appropriations (Ranking Member of 13 R). Subcommittees: Commerce, Justice, State, the Judiciary and Related Agencies; Energy and Water Development (Ranking Member); Foreign Operations; Labor, Health and Human Services, Education; Legislative Branch. *Energy and Natural Resources* (2d of 9 R). Subcommittees: Public Lands, National Parks and Forests; Water and Power. *Rules and Administration* (2d of 7 R). *Joint Committee on the Library. Joint Committee on Printing.*

**Group Ratings**

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	70	56	51	75	70	30	40	0	57	37
1987	65	—	50	58	—	28	—	—	61	41

**National Journal Ratings**

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	43%	—	55%	—
Social	45%	—	54%	—
Foreign	75%	—	24%	—
			28%	—
			35%	—
			64%	—
			71%	—
			62%	—
			35%	—

**Key Votes**

1) Cut Aged Housing \$	AGN	5) Bork Nomination	FOR	9) SDI Funding	AGN
2) Override Hwy Veto	AGN	6) Ban Plastic Guns	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	7) Deny Abortions	FOR	11) Aid To Contras	AGN
4) Min Wage Increase	FOR	8) Japanese Reparations	FOR	12) Reagan Defense \$	AGN

**Election Results**

1984 general	Mark O. Hatfield (R) .....	808,152	(67%)	(\$671,167)
	Margie Hendriksen (D).....	406,122	(33%)	(\$257,512)
1984 primary	Mark O. Hatfield (R) .....	214,114	(79%)	
	John T. Scheiss (R).....	26,848	(10%)	
	Sherry Reynolds (R).....	18,590	(7%)	
	Ralph H. Preston (R) .....	12,662	(5%)	
1978 general	Mark O. Hatfield (R) .....	550,165	(62%)	(\$223,874)
	Vernon Cook (D).....	341,616	(38%)	(\$38,976)

**Sen. Robert W. (Bob) Packwood (R)**



Elected 1968, seat up 1992; b. Sept. 11, 1932, Portland; home, Portland; Willamette U., B.A. 1954, N.Y.U., LL.B. 1957; Protestant; married (Georgie).

**Career:** Law clerk, OR Supreme Ct., 1957-58; Practicing atty., 1959-69; OR House of Reps., 1963-69.

**Offices:** 259 RSOB 20510, 202-224-5244. Also 101 S.W. Main St., Ste. 240, Portland 97204-3210, 503-294-3448.

**Committees:** *Commerce, Science, and Transportation* (2d of 9 R). Subcommittees: Communications (Ranking Member); Foreign Commerce and Tourism; Surface Transportation. *Finance* (Ranking Member of 9 R). Subcommittees: International Trade; Medicare and Long Term Care. *Joint Committee on Taxation*.

**Group Ratings**

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	N TLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	55	63	46	75	60	40	44	67	57	37
1987	60	—	45	58	—	31	—	—	61	49

**National Journal Ratings**

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	47%	— 48%	35%	— 64%
Social	65%	— 34%	84%	— 13%
Foreign	43%	— 56%	46%	— 49%

**Key Votes**

1) Cut Aged Housing \$	AGN	5) Bork Nomination	AGN	9) SDI Funding	FOR
2) Override Hwy Veto	AGN	6) Ban Plastic Guns	AGN	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	7) Deny Abortions	AGN	11) Aid To Contras	AGN
4) Min Wage Increase	FOR	8) Japanese Reparations	FOR	12) Reagan Defense \$	AGN

**Election Results**

1986 general	Robert W. (Bob) Packwood (R) .....	656,317	(63%)	(\$6,523,492)
	Rick Bauman (D) .....	375,735	(36%)	(\$64,139)
1986 primary	Robert W. (Bob) Packwood (R) .....	171,985	(58%)	
	Joe P. Lutz, Sr. (R) .....	126,315	(42%)	
1980 general	Robert W. (Bob) Packwood (R) .....	594,290	(52%)	(\$1,534,607)
	Ted Kulongoski (D).....	501,963	(44%)	(\$190,047)

**FIRST DISTRICT**

In the northwest corner of Oregon, near the antique town of Astoria, where John Jacob Astor's fur traders were the state's first white settlers, around the mouth of the Columbia River, and in the coastal counties of Clatsop, Tillamook and Lincoln, the countryside still has a frontier ambience to it: rain falls constantly on the weathered frame houses, and men in plaid flannel jackets work in lumber mills and on docks. The towns have an unfinished look to them, as if they were villages in the late 19th century, waiting for a railroad hookup or a new factory to make one of them into one of Oregon's major cities. This land is part of the 1st Congressional District of Oregon. The 1st also includes part of the Willamette Valley south of Portland, which has long been farmland—the most fertile land in the state, settled by Yankees in the middle 19th century. But in recent years, areas close to Portland have had an influx of settlers from the metropolitan area—people looking for wider spaces, closer access to the countryside, and a more traditional atmosphere in which to raise their families.

That is the historical 1st District, the descendant of a congressional district first established in 1892, that stretches along the lower Columbia River and almost half of Oregon's Pacific shore. The newer 1st District is part of the Portland metropolitan area. It starts with the sparkling new downtown, with its handsome postmodern high-rises—the pyramid-crowned brick KOIN Tower, the wedge-shaped Justice Center—and Victorian storefronts and transit mall with trolleys and the river walk where a freeway was torn down, on the west bank of the Willamette River. It continues up through the hills that jut up just west of downtown, through Portland's most affluent neighborhoods, with old lumber barons' mansions overlooking downtown, the river and Mount Hood. Over those hills are the new suburbs of Washington County. Fifty years ago this was a farm county, with 39,000 people; now Portland has spread out over the lowlands, and the population is about 265,000. This is an affluent area with a high-tech aura; computer and high tech companies have been flocking here, attracted by an environment—at the foot of mountains, woody and even rustic, but outfitted with all the comforts and services of modern civilization—that appeals to a high-skill work force. People have started to call the area Silicon Forest.

Historically, this was mostly Republican country, and the 1st elected only Republicans to the House from 1892 to 1972. Then in the Watergate year of 1974 it elected Les AuCoin, a Democrat who is one of the leaders of, and perhaps the archetypical member of, the Watergate generation. His approach to issues is as different from that of typical labor-liberal Democrats as the 1st District is different from typical big city Democratic districts, and he has shown the capacity to win elections in difficult territory and bad years for his party. He typifies the Watergate class also in legislative skill; after one term in the Oregon state legislature he became House Majority Leader. His base was not on the Democratic coast, but in high-income Washington County; his primary emphasis was not on economic issues but on non-economic matters like Vietnam, Watergate and the environment.

In the 1980s, he emerged from his seat on the Appropriations Committee as one of the most visible and fervent opponents of the Reagan Administration's foreign and defense policy. He is one of only two doves on the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, and took the lead role

Administration bitterly for doing nothing on arms control; he infuriated Republicans by urging that funds be cut from SDI and used instead for Coast Guard drug enforcement. On all these issues, he shows genuine passion plus considerable political skill. He has also taken a lead role on some environmental issues: working with Senator Mark Hatfield to pass the Columbia River Gorge bill in 1986; helping to put together the 1984 Oregon Wilderness bill and getting it passed over the objections of the two Oregon House Republicans; and working with Hatfield to get all but one member of the delegation to support the 1988 Scenic and Wild Rivers bill. He is one of the most passionate opponents of restrictions on abortion—a losing position in the House.

On economic issues, in contrast, AuCoin's views are not reflexively pro-spending. Representing a port that unloads a lot of cars from Japan and ships a lot of lumber to the Far East, he is inclined to be a free trader. He is ready to hear arguments why business needs incentives, and has cultivated many of the business interests in his district.

For all this, AuCoin has some rough political sledding. In the late 1970s and early 1980s Washington County and the Silicon Forest were trending Republican. That, plus the native Republican strength and simple distance from Washington, D.C. stimulated several serious Republican candidacies; moreover, AuCoin with his cheeriness and his burning opposition to many of their favorite causes is just the kind of Democrat that enrages many conservative Republicans. He was held under the 60% mark, which most incumbents easily exceed, in 1974, 1976, 1982, and 1984.

But in the late 1980s Oregon west of the Cascades, like coastal California and the burgeoning suburbs around Seattle, trended Democratic. The historically Republican 1st district gave Michael Dukakis 51% of its votes—5% above his national average. AuCoin continued to raise and spend very substantial amounts of money every electoral cycle, but he had only weak opposition in 1986 and 1988 and won easily. With his free and paid exposure on the Portland television stations that cover three-quarters of the state, AuCoin is a natural to run for the Senate. But he isn't the only Oregon Democrat who has been thinking about that; so has Ron Wyden of the 3d District across the Willamette. But AuCoin, who has been working closely with Hatfield on Appropriations matters and shares many of his strong feelings on foreign policy, has said he will not run against Hatfield in 1990. He may run for the seat if Hatfield retires, or he may seek Bob Packwood's seat in 1992.

**The People:** Est. Pop. 1986: 562,300, up 6.7% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 526,840, up 32.4% 1970-80. Households (1980): 67% family, 35% with children, 58% married couples; 38.1% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$226; median house value: \$68,100. Voting age pop. (1980): 387,395; 2% Spanish origin, 2% Asian origin, 1% American Indian, 1% Black.

**1988 Presidential vote:** Dukakis (D)..... 137,972 (51%)  
 Bush (R)..... 126,763 (47%)



U., B.A. 1969; Protestant; married (Susan).

**Career:** Army, 1961-64; Reporter, *Portland Oregonian*, 1965-66; Dir. of Public Info., Pacific U., 1966-73; OR House of Reps., 1971-75, Major. Ldr., 1973-75; Admin., Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill, architectural firm, 1973-74.

**Offices:** 2159 RHOB 20515, 202-225-0855. Also 860 Montgomery Park, 2710 N.W. Vaughn St., Portland 97210, 503-326-2901.

**Committees:** *Appropriations* (22d of 35 D). Subcommittees: Defense; District of Columbia; Interior.

**Group Ratings**

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CEA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1986	95	86	73	73	100	8	21	0	43	22
1987	88	—	71	86	—	14	—	—	20	18

**National Journal Ratings**

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	57%	—	41%	—
Social	86%	—	14%	—
Foreign	64%	—	34%	—
			81%	—
			0%	—

**Key Votes**

- |                           |     |                      |     |                     |     |
|---------------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
| 1) Homeless \$            | AGN | 5) Ban Drug Test     | AGN | 9) SDI Research     | AGN |
| 2) Gephardt Amdt          | AGN | 6) Drug Death Pen    | AGN | 10) Ban Chem Weaps  | FOR |
| 3) Deficit Reduc          | FOR | 7) Handgun Sales     | FOR | 11) Aid to Contras  | AGN |
| 4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice | AGN | 8) Ban D.C. Abort \$ | AGN | 12) Nuclear Testing | FOR |

**Election Results**

1988 general	Les AuCoin (D) .....	179,915	(70%)	(\$542,224)
	Earl Molander (R) .....	78,626	(30%)	(\$11,741)
1988 primary	Les AuCoin (D), unopposed			
1986 general	Les AuCoin (D) .....	141,585	(62%)	(\$946,767)
	Anthony Meeker (R) .....	87,874	(38%)	(\$492,655)

**SECOND DISTRICT**

The Cascades, the string of volcanic-origin mountains that run north and south through Oregon, in the words of the *WPA Guide*, "walled eastern Oregon away from the humid winds, the warm rains of the coast, and turned most of the land, through countless eons of slow dehydration, into a country of drought and distances, of grim and tortured mountains and high desert grown sparsely with stunted juniper and windblown sage." The mountains made the first settlers "out of sheer necessity, into cattlemen and sheepmen and 'dry' farmers, just as more benign circumstances made western Oregon residents into lumbermen, dairymen, fishermen, and farmers, and—in the more populous centers—into artisans and politicians and financiers." Thus it was 50 years ago and mostly is still today. Eastern Oregon, with 70% of the state's land, has

All of which produces a chip-on-the-shoulder attitude, as when Neil Goldschmidt, then running for governor, declined to debate in Bend, the biggest city east of the Cascades, because it is "the middle of nowhere." He apologized and should have, for Bend had in 1988 the nation's largest percentage of VCRs (74% of households had one), and it is right next door (by western standards) to Crook County, the one county out of more than 3,100 in the United States that has voted for the popular vote winner in every presidential election since its creation. Crook County is lumbering country, almost entirely white Protestants, "a red-neck, white-sock county." Jay Mathews of *The Washington Post* quotes a school librarian as saying. National reporters flocked to the county seat of Prineville in 1988 to see where the country was going. Crook County lived up to its reputation by voting 52%-46% for George Bush, almost precisely the national percentages.

The 2d Congressional District of Oregon covers all of the state east of the Cascades and the southernmost valley between the Cascades and the Coast Range. This is the barren land that some of the first settlers of the Willamette Valley came from—and many died on the way. To the south, the terrain is desertlike, and mostly uninhabited. To the east, along the Idaho border, are the irrigated farmlands along the Snake River as it flows northwest to the Columbia. The northern part of eastern Oregon is forested land, with occasional lumber mill towns; settlements are sparse and separated by many miles. There are a few larger towns here—Pendleton in the northeastern wheat fields, La Grande in the rich Grande Ronde Valley, The Dalles where the Columbia River Gorge begins, and Bend. Much of the district's population is clustered in the southwestern corner, in an area separated from the rest by the Cascades and the once huge volcano whose blown-off cone is now 2,000-foot deep Crater Lake. This is lumbering and pear orchard country. Medford, Ashland, Klamath Falls and Grants Pass are pleasant towns whose ornate Victorian houses remind you of the past.

The 2d District, like most of the intermountain west, is mostly Republican, and it is represented in the House by Bob Smith, a cattle rancher and 22-year veteran of the Oregon legislature who led the Republicans in both houses. He looks rough-hewn in his cowboy boots and western shirts, but he is also a skilled legislator. His proudest accomplishment was an amendment to the 1988 drought relief act, limiting feed grain aid to only those farmers who grow their own feed grain; why should the government, Smith reasoned, pay \$2 billion to subsidize feed prices to those who don't grow any? Although not high in seniority, Smith may play an important role in the Agriculture Committee on the 1989 farm bill; he claims also to have opened markets for Oregon products—pears in Taiwan, beef in Japan, potatoes in South Korea. On environmental issues, Smith has consistently been rolled by western Oregon members; he opposed the 1984 Oregon Wilderness law and the 1988 Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, but both passed anyway, and his opposition actually seems to have helped in the 1988 campaign. In 1989 he finally got a seat on Interior where he can fight further battles.

Smith may not have been planning to go to Congress, but when Denny Smith chose to run in the new Willamette Valley district in 1982, the 2d was an open seat, and Bob Smith won 63% in the Republican primary. Against two spirited Democrats he has won four comfortable victories and seems to have a safe seat. Incidentally, there is another Congressman Bob Smith, from New Hampshire, with a similar voting record but an entirely different background and constituency.

**The People:** Est. Pop. 1986: 548,800, up 4.1% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 526,968, up 34.2% 1970-80. Households (1980): 75% family, 39% with children, 65% married couples; 30.5% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$186; median house value: \$49,900. Voting age pop. (1980): 374,066; 3% Spanish origin, 1% American Indian, 1% Asian origin.

Rep. Robert F. (Bob) Smith (R)



Elected 1982; b. June 16, 1931, Portland; home, Burns; Willamette U., B.A. 1953; Presbyterian; married (Kaye).

**Career:** Cattle rancher; OR House of Reps., 1960-72, Spkr. 1968-72; OR Senate, 1972-82.

**Offices:** 118 CHOB 20515, 202-225-6730. Also 1150 Crater Lake Ave., Ste. K, Medford 97504, 503-776-4646.

**Committees:** *Agriculture* (11th of 17 R). Subcommittees: Forests, Family Farms, and Energy; Livestock, Dairy, and Poultry; Wheat, Soybeans, and Feed Grains. *Interior and Insular Affairs* (12th of 15 R). Subcommittees: National Parks and Public Lands; Water, Power and Offshore Energy Resources. *Select Committee On Hunger* (5th of 12 R).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	5	22	14	45	19	92	81	80	86	65
1987	24	—	13	21	—	64	—	—	86	64

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	19%	—	80%	—
Social	13%	—	84%	—
Foreign	16%	—	78%	—

Key Votes

- |                           |     |                      |     |                     |     |
|---------------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
| 1) Homeless \$            | FOR | 5) Ban Drug Test     | FOR | 9) SDI Research     | FOR |
| 2) Gephardt Amdt          | AGN | 6) Drug Death Pen    | FOR | 10) Ban Chem Weaps  | FOR |
| 3) Deficit Reduc          | —   | 7) Handgun Sales     | FOR | 11) Aid to Contras  | FOR |
| 4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice | FOR | 8) Ban D.C. Abort \$ | FOR | 12) Nuclear Testing | AGN |

Election Results

1988 general	Robert F. (Bob) Smith (R) .....	125,366	(63%)	(\$340,643)
	Larry Tuttle (D) .....	74,700	(37%)	(\$208,513)
1988 primary	Robert F. (Bob) Smith (R), unopposed			
1986 general	Robert F. (Bob) Smith (R) .....	113,566	(60%)	(\$323,210)
	Larry Tuttle (D) .....	75,124	(40%)	(\$104,266)

THIRD DISTRICT

Fifty years ago, it was known as the Rose City for its beautiful flowers on hillsides overlooking the Willamette River and, looming in the distance on clear days, the snowy peak of Mount Hood. Portland, then as now, was Oregon's metropolis, with about 45% of Oregonians living in its metropolitan area. Portland was founded by New England Yankees (had a coin toss come up heads, it would be called Boston) and started off as a muscular blue-collar town—the place where Oregon unloaded its supplies from the east, on the docks or in the railroad yards, and

But since the late 1960s, the tone of the city has been set by younger people with white-collar jobs and liberal cultural attitudes. It is a city where the former mayor (and now governor, Neil Goldschmidt) worked for an athletic shoe company; where he tore down a riverfront freeway to make a park with summer festivals; where a transit mall runs through the downtown core and you can ride the mass transit line for free; and where the current mayor, Bud Clark, a bearded tavern owner and bicyclist, fired three police chiefs in two years. Portland is tolerant in its cultural attitudes, innovative in its public policies and almost religiously devoted to its environment. These attitudes may be more pronounced in the affluent hills that rise just west of the Willamette River and in some of the more expensive suburbs; but they are also present on the flat plains east of the Willamette, which slope exceedingly gradually toward Mount Hood, where most Portlanders are just plain folks. These attitudes are reinforced by the changing focus of the economy here. Portland is very much aware that it is on the Pacific Rim; it lives in very large part on foreign trade, and sees East Asians as potential customers rather than competitors. This is the one American million-plus metro area from which you cannot fly nonstop to Washington or New York—but from which you can fly nonstop to Tokyo.

The 3d Congressional District of Oregon takes in all of Portland and Multnomah County east of the Willamette River, plus a couple of suburbs along the Willamette just to the south. These are mostly modest-looking areas, with small houses and rows of commercial buildings on the main streets built in the 1950s. The population begins to thin out as you go east toward Mount Hood; there is even a little agricultural land there. The congressman from the 3d District is Ron Wyden, who in his twenties started off in the 1970s as director of the Oregon Gray Panthers, a militant organization for the elderly; he was, among other things, the spark behind the successful statewide referendum to reduce the price of dentures. In 1980, he ran against the incumbent congressman, Bob Duncan, who evidently had not kept in touch with Portland, and won with a solid 60%.

Wyden has a pleasant personality and a low-key style which contrasts with his aggressiveness and creativity as a legislator. He was a freshman Democrat in a Republican year, but won easily; he got a seat on the Energy and Commerce Committee, which has jurisdiction over almost everything that moves, just when the aggressive and competent John Dingell became chairman; he serves on Henry Waxman's Health Subcommittee and Dingell's Investigations panel and has remained on excellent terms with both even when they were fighting fiercely over the Clean Air Act. Wyden has used his committee slots shrewdly, including his chairmanship of a Small Business subcommittee which technically has little legislative power. Among his achievements are a bill delaying access charges on single business phones, a bill imposing severe penalties for computer crime, a \$350 million Nurse Education Act, a national data bank for disciplinary records of doctors, nurses and other health practitioners, making nationwide the restrictions on dumping of medical wastes, a reservation to the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement to open up their plywood market to U.S. (especially Oregon) producers. Wyden has conducted investigations of medical labs that did a slipshod job of assessing tests for AIDS and other diseases. He has pushed the Patent Office to speed up the processing of biotechnical patent applications; he wants an antitrust exemption to allow small companies to join in "flexible manufacturing networks" to get new business; he wants to experiment with letting workers take unemployment benefits in a lump sum to use as seed capital for small businesses.

For the 101st Congress, Wyden wants to keep tabs on private long-term health care insurance policies and to see if more Medicaid dollars can be used for home care. He has a bill, supported by the industry and environmentalists, for better tax treatment of small woodlot owners. He wants to encourage rehabilitation and sweat equity, recognizing that the biggest source of low income housing is conservation of existing units rather than building new ones. A law he

republicans as well as younger and older Democrats. He approaches issues with almost a childlike wonder but works out solutions that are politically shrewd and make sense as policy.

Wyden's performance at the polls has been superlative. The 3d is a Democratic district; it has voted Democratic for President three times in the 1980s. But Wyden surpassed all records when he received 86% of the vote here in 1986—the highest percentage ever won by a congressional candidate with major party opposition in Oregon's history; in 1988, he had opposition only in the primary and won 95%-5%. Well-positioned in the House, he decided after some thought not to run for the Senate in 1986. But he is thought to be considering running for Mark Hatfield's seat in 1990 or perhaps Bob Packwood's in 1992; there is some rivalry here with Les AuCoin of the 1st District (though AuCoin says he won't run against Hatfield), but those two Democrats could conceivably end up as Oregon's Senators for a couple of decades as those two Republicans have.

**The People:** Est. Pop. 1986: 529,300, up 0.5% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 526,715, up 2.6% 1970-80. Households (1980): 65% family, 33% with children, 51% married couples; 39.8% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$220; median house value: \$56,400. Voting age pop. (1980): 394,345; 5% Black, 2% Asian origin, 2% Spanish origin, 1% American Indian.

**1988 Presidential vote:** Dukakis (D) ..... 143,542 (61%)  
Bush (R) ..... 89,744 (38%)

**Rep. Ron Wyden (D)**



Elected 1980; b. May 3, 1949, Wichita, KS; home, Portland; Stanford U., B.A. 1971, U. of OR, J.D. 1974; Jewish; married (Laurie).

**Career:** Campaign aide to Sen. Wayne Morse, 1972, 1974; Codir. and Cofounder, OR Gray Panthers, 1974-80; Dir., OR Legal Svcs. for the Elderly, 1977-79; Prof. of Gerontology, U. of OR, 1976, Portland St. U., 1979, U. of Portland, 1980.

**Offices:** 2452 RHOB 20515, 202-225-4811. Also 500 N.E. Multnomah, Ste. 250, Portland 97232, 503-231-2300.

**Committees:** *Energy and Commerce* (14th of 26 D). Subcommittees: Health and the Environment; Oversight and Investigations; Telecommunications and Finance. *Small Business* (8th of 27 D). Subcommittee: Regulation, Business Opportunities, and Energy (Chairman). *Select Committee on Aging* (16th of 39 D). Subcommittee: Health and Long-Term Care.

**Group Ratings**

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	90	73	81	100	81	16	26	0	43	21
1987	84	—	80	79	—	9	—	—	14	12

**National Journal Ratings**

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	60%	37%	57%	40%
Social	64%	34%	78%	0%
Foreign	64%	34%	76%	19%

3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Pnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

**Election Results**

1988 general	Ron Wyden (D)	190,684	(99%)	(\$287,996)
1988 primary	Ron Wyden (D)	84,978	(95%)	
	Sam Kahl, Jr. (D)	4,790	(5%)	
1986 general	Ron Wyden (D)	180,067	(86%)	(\$242,600)
	Thomas Phelan (R)	29,321	(14%)	

**FOURTH DISTRICT**

At the southern end of Oregon's Willamette Valley, set between two buttes, is Eugene, the state's second largest city. White settlers first arrived in 1846, farming in the valley and cutting timber in the hills, and in 1876, the University of Oregon was set up here—a symbol of Oregon's Yankee cultural ethic and of how sparsely inhabited Oregon was: there were just five students in the first graduating class. Thousands of miles from most Americans, this has never been a thickly populated place, though it has grown steadily: Eugene and the next-door lumber mill town of Springfield had 25,000 people between them in 1940 and 150,000 in 1980. Lumber and the University give this part of Oregon its special tone. Eugene has bicycle paths along the river banks and on main streets and likes to bill itself as the Running Capital of the Universe; the annual Bach Festival includes a Bach Run, a one-to-five kilometer dash through downtown. It is a place where graduate students stay on forever and where people have an almost religious enthusiasm for the environment.

Springfield and the lumber towns to the south and over on the coast have a different preoccupation. Oregon's 4th Congressional District that includes Eugene and Springfield, the valley around and to the south, and the southern half of the Oregon coast, produces more lumber than any other district in the nation. That means that the local economy is exceedingly sensitive to interest rates and economic conditions which affect construction in the United States and—this is the increasing market here—East Asia; the early 1980s were rough times here, the late 1980s much easier. It also means that there are arguments over how much and how timber should be harvested and processed. Small mill workers and owners, for example, want heavy harvesting and a ban on export of unprocessed logs. The big lumber companies want to manage the harvest and to export unprocessed logs if there is a market for them (as there is). Environmentalists want to limit harvest, and especially to keep timber men from building roads.

Resolving these conflicting demands is one of the things electoral politics in the 4th District is all about. The current congressman, Peter DeFazio, a Democrat first elected in 1986, seems to have done more to resolve them than anyone thought possible. His predecessor and onetime employer, James Weaver, a Democrat first elected in 1974 who was proud of being the grandson of the 1892 Populist party candidate for President, took the environmentalists' side totally, which was not unimportant because, thanks to the vagaries of seniority, he quickly became a high-ranking member of the Interior Committee. Weaver in turn was bitterly opposed by local lumbermen, the big companies and conservative Republicans. Still, he won routinely, and was planning a Senate race against Bob Packwood in 1986 when he was tripped up by reports that he had lost \$80,000 in campaign funds in commodities speculation; he left the Senate race and retired from politics.

what one reporter called his "sharp views and sardonic wit" he seemed similar to Weaver. But he navigated carefully to a 34%-33%-31% primary victory over a state senator from the Coast and the Eugene liberal who had lost to Senator Mark Hatfield in 1984, and in the general against Weaver's 1984 opponent, Bruce Long, he trumpeted his opposition to unprocessed log exports. Each carried his home areas again, which was enough to produce a 54% win for DeFazio.

In the House, he quickly emerged as a more accomplished legislator than anyone expected. He was the first freshman to pass a law settling a problem involving the Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Indians. He got consumer protection provisions into the Airline Passenger Protection Act which passed the House and Senate, and was named to the conference committee reconciling the details of the issue. He moved to make permanent the income tax exemption granted to graduate students for tuition waivers. Unlike Weaver, he put most of his staff into district offices and held dozens of town meetings; he also got environmentalists and timber people talking to each other. One issue was whether to allow salvage of usable timber from the 100,000-acre Silver fire; DeFazio arranged a compromise that allowed lots of salvage but few new roads. With a seat on the Interior Committee, he helped to put together the Oregon Wild and Scenic Rivers Act. Like other Oregon Democrats, he wasn't far to the left on economic policy, opposing some spending programs as well as congressional pay increases above the social security COLA. There is a certain feistiness about DeFazio: he was the only Pacific Northwest Member to vote for Richard Gephardt's trade amendment, and he came out against the Reagan policy in the Persian Gulf. But he has also shown a gift for creative compromise.

All this was nicely rewarded when he was reelected in 1988 with 72% of the vote; Weaver, in contrast, never exceeded 60%. His only problem is the "redeye." This is probably the district farthest from Washington in the continental U.S. in flying time: to get back to the nation's capital without losing a day, you have to drive two hours from Eugene to Portland, take a plane that leaves around midnight, stops at O'Hare or somewhere else in the middle of the country and then gets into Washington at something like 8:37 a.m. Taking this redeye every other weekend all year can exhaust even the healthiest and most motivated young politician, and DeFazio may be pardoned for wondering whether he hasn't spoiled his constituents by his frequent trips back home and whether he can sustain this pace over what otherwise has every prospect of being a long congressional career.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 509,400, dn. 3.2% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 526,462, up 26.9% 1970-80. Households (1980): 73% family, 39% with children, 63% married couples; 33.0% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$208; median house value: \$57,100. Voting age pop. (1980): 378,675; 2% Spanish origin, 1% American Indian, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential vote:

Dukakis (D)	120,036	(54%)
Bush (R)	99,085	(44%)



**Career:** District Ofc. Dir., Rep. James Weaver, 1977-82; Lane Cnty. Bd. of Commissioners, 1982-86, Chmn., 1984-86.

**Offices:** 1729 LHOB 20515, 202-225-6416. Also 215 S. 2d, Coos Bay 97420, 503-269-2609; P.O. Box 123, Fed. Bldg., 211 E. 7th Ave., Eugene 97401, 503-687-6732; and 621 W. Madrone, Rm. 406, P.O. Box 126, Roseburg 97470.

**Committees:** *Interior* (23d of 26 D). Subcommittees: Mining and Natural Resources; National Parks and Public Lands; Water, Power and Offshore Energy Resources. *Public Works and Transportation* (20th of 31 D). Subcommittees: Aviation; Water Resources.

**Group Ratings**

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	80	83	90	100	94	13	20	0	25	19
1987	100	—	93	71	—	4	—	—	20	14

**National Journal Ratings**

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	63%	— 37%	61%	— 38%
Social	81%	— 19%	78%	— 0%
Foreign	68%	— 28%	81%	— 0%

**Key Votes**

- |                           |     |                      |     |                     |     |
|---------------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
| 1) Homeless \$            | AGN | 5) Ban Drug Test     | AGN | 9) SDI Research     | AGN |
| 2) Gephardt Amdt          | FOR | 6) Drug Death Pen    | FOR | 10) Ban Chem Weaps  | FOR |
| 3) Deficit Reduc          | AGN | 7) Handgun Sales     | FOR | 11) Aid to Contras  | AGN |
| 4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice | AGN | 8) Ban D.C. Abort \$ | AGN | 12) Nuclear Testing | FOR |

**Election Results**

1988 general	Peter A. DeFazio (D) .....	108,483	(72%)	(\$279,809)
	Jim Howard (R) .....	42,220	(28%)	(\$58,563)
1988 primary	Peter A. DeFazio (D), unopposed			
1986 general	Peter A. DeFazio (D) .....	105,697	(54%)	(\$295,654)
	Bruce Long (R) .....	89,795	(46%)	(\$333,647)

**FIFTH DISTRICT**

Fifty years ago Oregon's capital, Salem, had only 30,000 people; with its domeless capitol it was one of several small cities in the Willamette Valley, established by the first wave of New England Yankees who came here on the Oregon Trail. This was one of the few valleys which settlers to the West found that nature had already made suitable for agriculture. California's great valleys depend on irrigation; so does the cultivation of wheat in eastern Washington. But things grow in the Willamette Valley without much man-made help. The soil is fertile, the plain created by the waters of the Willamette sweeping down from the Cascades and the Coast Range are broad, and the rains everyone hears about in Oregon are dependable most of the year. These assets made this good farming country for years; more recently it has attracted young people

Near Portland it has the old pioneer town of Oregon City, and part of the high-income suburb of Lake Oswego. In the south it includes Corvallis, home of Oregon State University. In the center is Salem. Historically this was Republican country—typical of New England Yankee settlements. But like most of Oregon it has trended Democratic in recent years, irregularly. The legislature created this district after the 1980 Census and gave Oregon a new seat expecting that it would lean Republican. It has, but it has produced three close elections out of four.

The congressman from this district, Denny Smith, has a political pedigree but sees himself, mostly accurately, as a political amateur. His father, Elmo Smith, was governor in 1956 and 1957. Denny Smith was an Air Force and commercial pilot and Vietnam veteran who headed his family's newspaper chain and then ran against and upset House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Al Ullman in 1980. Smith's platform then and voting record since is fairly simple. He believes in cutting, if not eliminating, every domestic government program. And he believes in spending a lot more on defense. In addition, he attacked Ullman for not owning a home in the district and for backing a value-added tax when Oregon has always refused to have a sales tax (as it did again by a 4 to 1 margin in a 1985 referendum; the smart thing to do in these parts is live and work in Washington state, which has no income tax, and shop in Oregon). Smith's 49%-47% victory was one of the big upsets of 1980 and also changed the House—and maybe the country. If Smith had lost, Dan Rostenkowski would not have become chairman of Ways and Means, in which case he, and not Thomas Foley, would have probably become Democratic Whip and then, as Majority Leader, would have become Speaker after Jim Wright resigned in 1989.

Smith has devoted much of his attention to military issues, though he doesn't serve on the Armed Services Committee. But when he sets his pilot's eye on some projects, he doesn't like what he sees. Armed with test results and testimony from military men, he launched a non-stop attack on the Army's Sergeant York anti-aircraft gun, and in August 1985 Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger scrapped it after the Pentagon spent \$1.8 billion—the first time a weapons system in production had been scrapped in 20 years. Smith drew a bead as well at the Navy's Aegis anti-aircraft missile in 1984—several years before an Aegis on the USS Vincennes shot down an Iranian 747. Smith's work on weapons and testing was cited approvingly as an exercise of power in Hedrick Smith's *The Power Game*.

But Smith has not been converted to liberalism. On the Budget Committee, where he is now the fourth-ranking Republican, he favors across-the-board freezes on domestic spending and suggested saving money on social security COLAs. There he has sacrificed effectiveness for purity. On Oregon issues, Smith opposed the 1984 Oregon Wilderness and 1986 Columbia River Gorge bills, only to see them passed over his opposition. In 1988, he supported the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, after gaining some concessions. He also got heavily involved in state politics in 1988 by backing an anti-crime initiative, banning parole, probation and early release of repeat violent offenders; Governor Neil Goldschmidt complained it would require expensive new prison places, but it passed 79%-21%.

But while Smith was winning on that issue, he almost got blindsided in the 5th District. State legislator Mike Kopetski, a former congressional staffer, was running an active organizational campaign, and Michael Dukakis was running about even in the district. The graduate student proletariat around Corvallis disliked Smith for his unapologetic conservatism. And during October, Marilyn Wilson, wife of the owner of the Soloflex exercise equipment company, ran a \$150,000 independent expenditure campaign of ads against Smith showing, for example, a schoolchild getting a small slice of pie and a cigar-smoking, sunglasses-wearing general getting a huge piece. Smith called the ads vicious and claimed the Wilsons were leading activists for

in 1982, when Oregon got its fifth House seat, he could have chosen to run in the much more Republican 2d District and won handily. He chose the 5th because he lives in Salem, though he could have easily moved. He has been mentioned as a candidate for statewide office, though he has said he won't run for governor in 1990 and won't run against one of the state's two Republican Senators. If Mark Hatfield should retire in 1990 or Bob Packwood in 1992, however, Smith might very well go for it.

**The People:** Est. Pop. 1986: 547,900, up 4.1% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 526,120, up 41.1% 1970-80. Households (1980): 74% family, 40% with children, 63% married couples; 32.4% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$207; median house value: \$62,100. Voting age pop. (1980): 375,567; 2% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin, 1% American Indian.

**1988 Presidential vote:** Bush (R) ..... 121,553 (50%)  
 Dukakis (D) ..... 116,348 (48%)

**Rep. Denny Smith (R)**



Elected 1980; b. Jan. 19, 1938, Ontario; home, Salem; Willamette U., B.A. 1961; Baptist; divorced.

**Career:** Air Force, 1958-67; Pilot/Flight Engineer, Pan-Am Airways, 1967-76; Chmn., family newspaper chain, 1976-present.

**Offices:** 1213 LHOB 20515, 202-225-5711. Also P.O. Box 13089, 4035 12th St. S.E., Ste. 40, Salem 97309, 503-399-5756.

**Committees:** Budget (4th of 14 R). Task Forces: Community Development and Natural Resources; Defense, Foreign Policy and Space; Economic Policy, Projections and Revenues. *Interior and Insular Affairs* (5th of 15 R). Subcommittees: Energy and the Environment; Water, Power and Offshore Energy Resources (Ranking Member).

**Group Ratings**

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	5	5	8	9	25	96	93	100	92	83
1987	4	—	7	14	—	95	—	—	100	89

**National Journal Ratings**

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	7%	— 91%	0%	— 89%
Social	0%	— 95%	10%	— 85%
Foreign	0%	— 84%	27%	— 73%

**Key Votes**

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

1980 general	Denny Smith (R) .....	111,489	(50%)	(\$559,616)
	Mike Kopetski (D) .....	110,782	(50%)	(\$351,806)
1988 primary	Denny Smith (R), unopposed			
1986 general	Denny Smith (R) .....	125,906	(60%)	(\$312,236)
	Barbara Ross (D) .....	82,290	(40%)	(\$87,129)

**PENNSYLVANIA**

Fifty years ago Pennsylvania was, as its nickname noted, the Keystone State. It was the nation's major producer of energy at a time when almost all industry was fueled and most homes were heated with coal. It was also the nation's most important heavy manufacturing state, with its huge steel plants and small foundries, and one of its chief transportation hubs: the home of the Pennsylvania Railroad (the nation's largest) and the pathway through which passed most of the freight traveling between the interior of the country and the Atlantic. "Today, the mention of Pennsylvania probably calls up, first of all," wrote the *WPA Guide* 50 years ago, "a picture of an industrial commonwealth, with belching blast furnaces, labor problems, and all the spectacular features of an industrial civilization." The Guide points out that Pennsylvania still had many fertile farming regions and quaint Pennsylvania Dutch and Quaker remnants, but it concedes that more typical were regions "where the plow no longer turns the furrow but has been permanently laid aside for the hydraulic drill. Fields no longer tilled have been gutted by quarry or mine shaft, and mountains have surrendered their wealth of coal and iron."

This was not the future that seemed likely to the men who voted the Declaration of Independence and drafted the Constitution in 1776 and 1787 in Philadelphia, a city which, with 43,000 people, was America's first city, and a state which had a fair claim to being its first state. Pennsylvania was one of the newer colonies, founded 50 years after the Puritans established New England and 70 years after the settlement of the first of the Chesapeake tobacco colonies, Virginia. Under the benevolent rule of the Penns and with its Quaker traditions, Pennsylvania soon became the major settlement in the Middle Colonies: its tolerance attracted Englishmen of all sects and Germans as well. Its vast and available farmlands west to the first Appalachian ridge attracted thousands of yeoman farmers, and poor Scots-Irish farmers were crossing the corduroy-like ridges and settling the mountainous interior where Braddock had been beaten by the French and Indians not long before and where George Washington would lead troops again when the Whiskey Rebellion flared up a decade later. On the banks of a wide estuary, with its thriving commerce and rich hinterland, Philadelphia seemed destined to be the London of America, the capital and metropolis and academy all rolled into one.

But history took a few unexpected turns. Philadelphia and Pennsylvania have remained among the most important American cities and states, but they have not occupied the central position the Founding Fathers expected. The nation's capital went to the Potomac, as part of a political deal, rather than to the Delaware. The Appalachian chains stalled the early development of transportation arteries west from Philadelphia, while New Yorkers were building the Erie Canal and the water-level railroad line which became the New York Central. By 1830, Philadelphia was eclipsed by Washington in government and New York in commerce, and rivaled by Boston in culture.

Pennsylvania in the 19th century became instead the energy and heavy industry capital of America. The key was coal: northeast Pennsylvania was the nation's primary source of