

Don Bonker

May 16-22, 1976

May 17 - Monday

10:00-11:00	Democratic Women's Coffee Maple Valley
12:00- 1:30	Joint Luncheon - Snoqualmie Valley Service Clubs (Carol and Chuck Peterson)
3:00- 6:00	District Day, Snoqualmie
6:30	Dinner at Dave Wright's Restaurant, North Bend

May 18 - Tuesday

10:00-11:30a.m.	Speech to Centralia College, Bicentennial Week Program
12:00- 2:00	District Office Hours by appointment, Olympia
2:30-6:30	District Day, Olympia
7:30-8:00	Address to National Association of Retired Federal Employees
8:00-9:30	Address to Thurston-Mason Shrine Club Dinner Meeting

May 19 - Wednesday

8:00-9:00	Press Breakfast, Tumwater
9:00-12:00	District Office Hours by appointment, Olympia
7:00-10:00p.m.	Bonker for Congress Dinner, Vancouver

May 20 - Thursday

7:30-9:00	Olympia Chamber of Commerce, Olympia
10:30-11:00	Constitutional Convention and Primary Election at Kent Junior High School, Kent
11:30-1:30	Luncheon Speech to Washington State Conference on Aging, "Independence for Older People"

May 20 - Thursday (cont.)

3:00	Visit with Governor Dan Evans
7:00-10:00	Bonker for Congress Dinner, Olympia
10:30	Duke Murray's for Hot Chocolate

Mike Murphy, District Representative; Amy and Floyd Bell, Dave Nyman (Father, Bill) Duke and Kathleen Murray, Don and Carolyn, Mike and Dorothy Murphy, Roy Carlson, Dorothy and Kermit E. Kern (Carolyn's Parents).

I flew in over Cascade Mts., covered with snow, with Mt. Baker (near Bellingham) off to the right totally covered with snow. We flew in over Seattle, over the water and over the evergreen-studded city. It looks hilly and the thing that struck me was the large number of evergreens all around in the residential areas. The airport had scotch broom in bloom all around the runway. It reminded me of Cape Cod and it definitely had a kind of rural, oceanside quality about it--except there are big mountains off in the distance. In the airport, and in newspapers, you are very conscious of being near Alaska. The gift shops are full of Alaskan crafts, and papers are full of Alaskan stories (how the governor's wife likes it) and the travel section of the Sunday paper is all Canada. The road from Seattle to Olympia was wall-to-wall yellow with scotch broom--about as magnificent a splash of wild growth as I've seen. It grows everywhere in every disturbed area, every vacant lot and it was in bright bloom--a nice contrast with evergreens. I found out they call this "The Evergreen State." What else? Every visfa has evergreens and some vistas have nothing else. True to form, the cloud cover was pretty thick as we came in over the city and it sprinkled off and on during the ride to Olympia. Most people were driving with their lights on, but it was only 6-6:30. When we got to Olympia the sun was coming through on the horizon.

Went to office in Federal Building and met Duke Murray-caseworker-Roy Carlson- back from district. Mike Murphy-District Representative-Amy Bell and Dave ^{nyman} who just left the Washington staff to come back and run the campaign and Don Bonker. They went over the schedule for the week. Don said at a couple of points that he was glad they left him some free time because he had a couple of big speeches to make and he wanted time to brush up on them. I noted later that he brushes up on what he's going to say in the car, holds notes when he speaks and seems to worry more about his speechmaking than most I've met (except maybe Stokes). Mike says that he's been giving the same speech for a year or more--energy, economy, environment--and that he (Mike is getting bored with it). But he seems better to me outside of a formal speech situation. He's articulate and fluid enough--but not dynamic. Mike, who was just President of the Washington JayCees last year and spoke all over the state and who is chaplain of the JayCees this year has travelled and made a lot of speeches (36 states and 4 countries this year) for JayCees is conscious of Don's speaking success, and his criticisms (he says--I didn't hear it today) focus on Don's speeches and how he could make them better. "I always watch the audience when he speaks so I can tell him how to make it better."

The point is, I guess, that he is not like Studds. To elaborate a little, Bonker's District Day³--the heart of his operation is one on one--5 minutes with the Congressman--and not a town meeting. Studds has adopted a vehicle for his personality and skill; Bonker has adopted one for his personality and skill. At one point, Bonker called Studds "smart". He may see Studds as more articulate. Bonker is very soft-spoken, not domineering, likeable--all the things Studds is not. He's more considerate of others, not acid tongued. He's religious--went to the Billy Graham crusade in Seattle yesterday (along with

61,000 others!) and met and talked with Graham before the meeting. Occasionally, unobtrusively (as when lady came to present him with the prayers of her group for Don and his wife) his sense of commitment came up. He does not swear that I have heard, and seems pretty peaceful inside.

When we left the office for drive to Maple Valley, he started right in comparing himself to Julia Butler Hansen. "My predecessor paid no attention to her constituents and did not tend the district. Her life was back there where she was a powerful figure because of her position and because of her native ability. She was terribly important to the lumber interests and the parks and the indians. She was powerful and feared back here. But she couldn't abide coming back here. She hated to fly. When she came she did everyone a favor, so to speak. And she touched the elites--the Chamber of Commerce, the local establishments. She would attend ceremonies or cut ribbons. But she didn't care about mingling with the ordinary citizens. Everything I do is in contrast. She came home twice a year. I come home every month for a week, hold district days all over the district, send newsletters, talk to ordinary people. Out here that makes news. It's nothing that lots of others don't do back east, but people see me as different because of the great contrast with my predecessor. I wouldn't say she was out of touch, because she had a great intuitive sense. But she was never around."

A couple of times, later, he talked generally (with JBH in mind) saying "After a congressman has been in a while, he gets into a close relationship with the local establishment. I don't have that. I'm still new. They don't know me. And I don't owe them anything."

Also, he noted abstractly (with JBH in mind) that after you've been in a while, it gets harder to come home because your business in Washington is so pressing.

After the Hansen remarks, he said "It's a fairly diverse district. But it is held together by a common interest in lumber and wood products and in fishing. Those are the two economic interests that dominate the district. The great issues are environmental issues, where you have deeply entrenched interests and polarized points of view--nuclear power, clearcutting, wilderness. There are no win issues politically unless you want to come down totally on one side or the other. So the natural wonders of the district create natural conflicts."

"It's the prettiest district in the USA," he said when he asked how I picked it. And it was when I said I narrowed it down to his and Ullman's that he started saying Ullman didn't tend district and then launched into his contrast with Hansen.

He then started in at some length on the freshmen of the 94th Congress. He asked if I had studied any other freshmen (in fact he asked me more times than most what others I had travelled with) and I said Phil Hayes. "The freshmen have different values than many of the other Members. Most of us ran against the heir ^{apparent} ~~opponent~~ in their districts, against the establishment. And we are more in touch with the mood of the people we represent. We care more about the ombudsman role than the legislative role. Many of us, like myself, have moved all ^{our} ~~over~~ casework back to the district. We are trying to represent people better and we think that's important. Also we are better organized and better able to take advantage of the benefits of incumbency. Wayne Hayes has helped a lot with additional stuff, newsletters and things like that. When I ran, someone said incumbency was worth 400,000. Now it must be worth 500,000. Any incumbent that gets beaten has no excuse. The last big Democratic class was 1964 and half of them lost their seats. They were union guys, people who had no experience and who couldn't take advantage of incumbency. This class knows those things and we'll do better."

"We're talking at the College in Centralia. That's the only place we're welcome in that town. It's a center for John Birchers--small businessmen, rugged individualism. The newspaper writes a monthly editorial blistering me. I've got about 14-18% Birchers in the district. And they write most of my mail it seems. To look at my mail, you would wonder how I ever got elected. I'm liberal, way too liberal for this district. But if an individual has integrity and independence and takes care of his constituents, it doesn't matter."

On way to Maple Valley, he said "That whole area doesn't fit in the district. It's way up in the corner away from the center of my district. (Here he looked at my map.) I've been in three different districts. They are suburbs of Seattle and the media are from Seattle. It just doesn't fit." Then Mike said that the lumbering interests were the same, and Don agreed. Don was thinking geographically, spatially. (He kept referring to his district all day as ("spread out"), but Mike saw the district as economically linked--which Don had mentioned in the abstract, earlier.

It might be appropriate to note that Don never lived in the district. He was auditor in Clark County--Vancouver and Vancouver was cut out of the district. He said he thought "The valley" would make an exchange when some Republican wanted it and he'd take Vancouver back. Mike noted to me how he had to teach Don about the district and how remarkable it was that "a redneck district like this" would elect an outsider like Don--who came from Colorado. Mike noted how strange it was to ride around a district with a politician who wasn't always stopping to see a friend here and there. "Don has no friends in the district that go back beyond 1972, when he ran for Secretary of State." Mike handled 2 counties for Don in that race.

As we went through Ft. Lewis he noted that it had been in Hick's district until the redistricting. "It's not my favorite area, because I'm not pro-military."

"It brings lots of retirees to the district, because people stay here when they leave the army. Duke Murray, the caseworker, said that Ft. Lewis brings them a lot of military and Social Security cases. They said it was the largest military base in the county. He said rich retirees go to Hick's district while poor ones stay in his.

"District Day is our most successful idea. We send out 9,000 or 10,000 letters in each area telling them when I'll be there. Each person who comes gets 5 minutes with the congressman. About 40 people come, but several thousand know we have been around and know they could see me if they wished. Politically that's more important than the 40. But the forty get something out of it too. I got the idea of District Days from Joel Pritchard. He told me one man waited for an hour and when his turn came said, 'I have 5 minutes with you and I want to play checkers.' People have lots of different reasons, curiosity, problems, criticism. Most of them are very restrained and respectful."

I asked "if he expected different mixes of questions in different parts of the district. "Not really. Most of my district is made up of small communities, each of which has a lumber mill and some small businesses. And they have their special local problems. In Centralia - *Shahalis* area I'd expect more Birchers. And in Olympia, the people tend to be better educated and I get more high level, national issues. If I went to Port Angeles, they would be very critical of me right now. They don't like my environmental bill adding land to the national parks." But he didn't make differentiations other than that.

A theme all day was that present State Secretary of Agriculture, Stuart Bledsoe, who raised 200,000 to run vs. Mike McCormack, had been sounding out sentiment and decided he couldn't get money to run vs. Bonker. So--at the moment, he has no opponent in either primary or general. "He would have been a formidable opponent. I could have beaten him, but it would have been an

*Roanoke should
+ Bonker have
this idea - each
get 5 minutes
with the congressman
with relation*

intensive campaign. It means the Republicans are not too unhappy. They aren't pleased with me. But they aren't upset enough to make that surge you need to mount a campaign. They think I'm not such a bad guy. They also think they can't beat me.

Another theme voiced several times--but at Maple Valley particularly. "I try to keep in touch. But it's hard to achieve any visibility in such a spread out district as this. The people in Aberdeen will never know I've been back in the district all week. Joel and Brock ^{Dr. 19} Adams come to Seattle, go on one TV station, and everyone knows they've been there. But it has its advantages too. It makes it hard for anyone to run against me because they can't get visible either."

Re Maple Valley. "I had to be in North Bend, so we stopped by. They want to see you and so every chance we ~~got~~ we stop by, keep in touch and mend our fences. The district is so spread out that they don't see you much and they get sensitive. Women in politics can be especially sensitive. You almost have to hand feed them." This group was the Maple Valley Democratic Women's club--to whom he delivered a partisan little talk. They came in, he said, with McCarthy and McGovern, 'didn't like Jackson, couldn't fathom Carter; and he spoke of generational layers in among his supporters. The Snoqualmie and North Bend group were much more conservative.

"The biggest failure of the 94th Congress was its inability to do anything to encourage conservation. They were incompetent and incapable. They copped out. But I didn't! (He said ~~w~~aving his finger and hand like he was asking a question in class) I was one of only 62 votes on one car pollution amendment." I.e., running vs. Congress.

As we got out of car to go to Mount Si Country Club for lunch with North Bend-Snoqualmie businessmen, he said, "This is the hardest thing for me to do,

talk to these small town businessmen. Nothing mean happens, but it's very uncomfortable for me. They won't support me anyway and they'll find more reasons for it once they've heard me."

He was introduced there by Dave Wright (of the restaurant where we ate supper). "He's the most fantastic Congressman in the United States. He was the only Congressman in the western states to vote against a pay raise for congressmen. I could go on and on; but just let me say he's the most fantastic Congressman in the U.S."

He talked there about energy, inflation and issues of importance to the area such as clear cutting (where he went out of his way to announce his support of Humphrey bill which says clear cutting is OK and which was supported by the industry. Later he noted that this was the first bill he could side with business on. Said environmentalists were mad, but he gained a lot in that business; now thinks he's reasonable and not a wild man. Like Studds and the Ford vote.)

Talked about lumber exports and how, strategically he had shelved this divisive bill so that all would unite on clearcutting. Also talked about indian fishing, Alpine Lakes, flood control. But in all of this, I saw what I saw in Jim Johnson--an effort to educate. On one bill, he noted "We could put the bill in now, demagogue it and take credit for it, but it wouldn't get anywhere. So I think we should build a base of political support for it first, and that's what I'm doing. People in the cities, you know, aren't in favor of it as we in the Northwest are."

There was a good deal of talk about his primary vs Bailey--State Senator and District Representative for Julia Butler Hansen. "He was the heir apparent. ITT, "Every business (Weyerhaeuser, Crown Zellerbach), every labor union (AFL-CIO, teamster, longshoreman), but one, every newspaper, every state legislator supported him. I ran against the entire establishment of this district--and I won."

He tried to analyze first, why he beat Bailey in the Valley--since I had heard Chuck Peterson and Dave Wright speak glowingly of Don but never said what they liked. "Name recognition more than anything. It wasn't philosophy or issues. It was personality. It wasn't party; we have no party discipline in this state because of the crossover primary. I worked harder than my opponent to get known."

"My opponents in both the primary and the general election were aloof and arrogant. My primary opponent was a State Senator, Chairman of the Caucus. He was a big shot and had trouble talking face to face with ordinary people. My general election opponent had a very abrupt way with people. He carried a little counter in his hand and would click people off as he spoke to them. He went for quantity and I went for quality. I took time to listen to people and made their problems part of my ideas. In some areas, I became identified with issues--a ban on log exports. But mostly I sensed the mood, that people wanted a new fresh face, honest and open government. You come to have an image by the campaign you conduct, the people you have around you, how you appear."

He talked about how you take a stand. "Your philosophy and your district wishes and your conscience all play a part. On gun control, I believe we should have it. But my district--a rural district--is overwhelmingly against gun control, 80% to 20%. So I decided a long time ago not to hassle that issue. I am against all gun control. I rationalize it by saying that I owe it to my constituents if they feel that strongly about it. Besides, the problem is in the big cities, not here. Rural people are used to having guns for hunting and target practice. Sometimes I try to educate my constituents by telling them to put themselves in the place of a black ghetto resident who goes into a pawn shop to get a Saturday night special. What do they think he's doing that for, to hunt

or to commit a crime. But I don't do this as much as I should because people watch what you say very carefully and if there's any gray area, they go back and say to their friends, Bonker is talking like a politician on the issue. Sometimes I do say that it's a matter of local option; but I hope that the congressmen from the urban areas will carry the issue for me."

"On foreign aid my district is 97% against it. But I'm in favor of foreign aid and I support it. It's a matter of conscience with me." As, apparently, gun control is not.

"On environmental issues most of my district goes one way and I go the other. The environmentalists are mostly in the cities. People out here are afraid of losing their land and their jobs. But I keep taking many more pro-environmental stands than my district would support. On the additions to Olympia National Park I'm supporting a bill that most of the people of the areas are opposed to." He's in hot water over that and Governor Evans talked him into "a non-controversial bill" that has gotten him into big trouble.

He's only Washington member opposed to nuclear power - he thinks this illustrates his strongly environmentalist position.

"Business people saw me as a radical, unpredictable young ambitious politician when I first ran. Now they say 'He's not so bad;' because I haven't been as wild as they thought and have even supported their position on clearcutting. They don't like me, and they know that I'm on the side of the Lumber and Sawmill Union, not Weyerhaeuser. But they know they can't beat me and they'd never be so foolish as to close my door to them. They raised \$3000 for my opponent last time; and last week they sent me a check for \$200." Then he launched into a long discourse on evils of money (has 40,000 from banks; he could get it from maritime unions) and how public financing is only way to keep independence in voting.

"I've been in office nearly 2 years and I'm still campaigning. And before that my race for Secretary of State was a 3 year campaign. I'm still trying to

please everyone--still running. I don't feel like an incumbent and I haven't started acting like an incumbent. And I don't think that's necessarily bad."

Mike said essence of his appeal in rural area was talking to people for 15 minutes so they'd talk to other people and say "I know Don Bonker." In rural area, friendship is paramount not issues. Mike put it better, really, than Don-- though the idea was the same.

When I asked Don if freshmen exchanged ideas often on how to keep districts, he said there was some exchanging, but that, mostly, every person had to fend for himself.

"I'm still very much caught up with reelection, with my survival" was almost first thing he said when we got in car on first day.

Methodological Note: First thing in the morning is not the best time to interview because they often spend it thinking about or organizing the day ahead-- getting ducks in a row.

Don is a good golfer and doesn't play much. A couple of times he said "That's a beautiful golf course. I've just got time to play two holes. No, I don't have the time." When I told him my Zion story: "He must have been a senior member." *His success at axe throwing at Centralia College showed athletic ability.*

His sense of the rhythm of office and career is strong--that he's beginning, is home oriented, still campaigning, doesn't owe the establishment (especially Weyerhauser) a thing, has no ties with local elites, touches ordinary citizens (A guy down in Longview raised 20,000 for me last time--a hard hat!)"

Methodological Note: I don't think I emphasized enough the extent to which, compared to Capitol Hill interview, I really do intrude on situation. When you are running through a questionnaire a la Capitol Hill, you can nod sympathetically as Dexter says, and say nothing. But in the field, when you are with people with whom you are carrying on a conversation, you have to talk, you must say something

half-way intelligent. In some cases, you are virtually asked for your comment on what they have said and you can't nod or smile or change subject or say "that's interesting." When Bonker said he didn't think it was bad that he was "still running for office," he looked at me and, in so many words, asked me for reenforcement. I gave it to him, i.e., "I'm not one of those who decrys campaigning. How else are you going to find out what your constituents think?" It's like BJ and the talk re. "liberals". You can have a one-sided interview; you cannot have a one-sided three day visit in which two people are, naturally, trying to get to know each other. And, when Mike suggests that we get together the last night and have a drink and I gave him my impressions ("I want him to be so good nobody can touch him.")

Mike is, himself, a politician. Wants to quit Don and run for county commissioner.

Did Don do explaining during first day? He explained "positions" more than votes. One important one was his explanation as to why he was delaying pushing the export ban bill (export only finished products and stop ban on log exports gradually) while the estern states get together in support of Humphrey bill or clearcutting--necessary because of a Supreme Court decision (p.35) calling clearcutting illegal. He taught the groups the strategic problem, especially the problem of the West agreeing but getting killed on the floor. He often educated his constituents by speaking of regional differences--on environment, gun control, energy and necessity or difficulty of devising national solutions. Like Jim Johnson, they have a regional sense that is lacking in the East, where people automatically think they speak for the nation.

Spoke with great pleasure how President of Olympia Brewing Company came to district day. "He was one of the most powerful men in the district and he came and waited in line for his five minutes just like everyone else. I think he came

out of curiosity; but it's to his credit that he did it the way he did. He knew I treat everyone equally. I don't owe him a thing. Maybe after you've been in a while, there's a tendency for a congressman to link up with local businessmen. But not yet. He sat and waited like all the rest." A strong sense, like Hayes, of being unencumbered by special interests--or at least by the traditional special interests.

District Day - Olympia

Man wants tax shelter for retirees

Man wants homestead and veteran's benefits for Merchant Marine people of WWI.

Child care and family services problems - too expensive - wants to be buried at sea

Turned down by forest service for employment

Gun control - anti

Military retiree wants recomputation

Student support - stop military aid to Chile--asked to explain a vote couldn't recall

Stop break-up of Standard Oil because it will hurt annuities

Man going to run against him - but said DB record was A+

Protect sport fishing and gun control

Two U of W kids - support for bill to stop taking killer whales in Puget Sound
- petition with 700 signatures

Korean woman marries, sends for family and they SSI

Too much military expense - but no solutions

US. B-1 Bomber - what can't do student for Educate self and others.

school which is losing 50,000 of
money because school levy (budget) keeps failing. What can Bonker do?

No federal funds for TM AAUW - whole list of legislative demands

Unhappy with 200 mile bill - councils won't represent fishermen. DB
says we need cooperation and trust and no criticism before thing is set up.

Mothers who go on public assistance and then work - it's more profitable
than mothers who never went on public assistance and if they both make some
money when they work.

Non-smokers in public places - senior center is terrible. Vs nuclear
energy - (some people come with huge lists - 2 sides of a paper)

Too much military generosity with so many people out of jobs - thank you
for your anti-Angola position

Decriminalize marijuana - copyright laws for song writers - wants lid
taken off royalties for, say, writers - wants 2% royalty raised and copyright
length extended.

Aid to retarded children - appropriation to help local program

Who can I call in your office to find out status of variety of bills -
a state employee who tries to keep track of community-type programs - day care
centers are closing

(Average citizen ought to be able to have direct access to congressman)

VA benefits and education - extend time limit

Washington State Arts Commission - thanks, keep it up, get tax deduction
for creative artist business expense - thanks on Angola. (He talks to DB as if
he were Santa Claus - "Anything you can do about the quality of life that sort
of thing I'd like.")

PTC advertising claim on vitamins - fluoridine out of water - more economical
ways of raising food, less for chemical industry.

Bolt decision re fishing by indians - courts have too much power - keep
Panama Canal - militarily stay strong - energy independence - (sometimes he asks

questions: Do you think we should go to war over Panama Canal?) Do you think fluoridation should be local or federal decision? Do you think we should keep troops in Korea? IRS is arbitrary and confiscates property.

VA problem - disabled man gets no retirement and he wants it . Ended with tirade vs. gun control ("People control is communism.)

Yea for Angola - (DB "My one man highlight in the Congress).

A forester, concerned about ^{P.41} decision - jobs for foresters.
Wants job as secretary in Washington.

Concern about the future "I want to find where you're coming from." Mostly environment. Don tells him about "Environmental bill Governor gave all wrapped up as a present, which blew up in my face. My environmental record is 100% and now the environmentalists are withdrawing their support from me. It's very short-sighted. They should look at the whole person--not one emotional issue."

Don't cut naval reserve.

Thanks for being anti-nuclear power.

Pension law has created new bureaucracy.

[Totals for day = 51 people (+10 parents) - a few left.)

A note on District Day - God you have to like people (Mike talking with everyone as they come in and as he brings them over to the Congressman. But Studds couldn't do this - he really doesn't like people that much. Bonker really has a conversation with these people. They talk half and half. He sometimes lays out a program; he takes careful notes in some cases.

Afterwards, I said that I had a funny question, but that it seemed like you'd have to like people to do what he did. "I don't know. I'm a reserved person, not very outgoing, not an extrovert. But once I'm doing it I like it more than I think I do. I get a kick when the people come to the table. It's a

challenge; some are very interesting and you have to listen very carefully. If it were for more than 5 minutes per person, it would get tiresome, but the five minute limitation gives it variety. This is what representative democracy is really all about--letting the ordinary citizens come in and have at their congressman, right at the grass roots."

"I'll share a problem with you. We're having trouble raising money and I'm afraid our fundraisers this week will be a flop. (he said early in morning). But as we left Tumwater in evening, he said "It will be all right. We'll raise 10,000 tomorrow night and net eight. We'll get 5,000 more in Olympia the next night and have some others later. We'll probably raise 25,000 in all. And since I'll have no serious opponent that will be enough to keep ^{me} ~~one~~ visible, secure and solvent."

Earlier in day, at some point he said "We spent 90,000 in 1974. We hope to raise 30,000 this year and sock away 12,000 of it for use when we really need it. But it could cost an opponent 100,000 to defeat me. Stuart Bledsa understands that and so do the Republicans which is why they aren't going to responsible Republican candidate. There isn't that kind of money around." P. 48 end?

Re Durning at Centralia debate with Hoppe, DB said afterwards "If I could speak like Durning, I'd run for the Senate."

"I don't want to build up my support as high as it will go--to go in for political overkill. I don't want to be the most popular congressman, liked by everyone. It's my observation that the Congressmen who win by the biggest margins are the least effective. Cardiss Collins wins by 90% but she is the least effective member of the House. If you try to be popular, be everyone's friend, you are always looking for the easy way, always avoiding the tough decisions. Those that speak out in Congress and take the lead generally have small margins. In

our delegation, Lloyd Meeds always makes the gutsy decisions. He's always out front on the tough ones and it costs him at election time. He should win, but his margin will be reduced. I admire Meeds more than any other member of the delegation."

He talked, as we arrived at the Olympia Community Hall for District Day about the group that had met with him while Mike and I ate lunch. "I met with a group of past district directors. The districts were set up under the New Deal to put people to work. So these men are New Deal Democrats who now want to develop these ports for businesses. You should see the crap they want to put up to develop the port area. They are Democrats in name only. They have found their niche in the system, have become part of the establishment and sold out to the Republicans. They are big shots in their communities. They are people without vision. I have opposed them all the way. This morning they were attacking the fish and wildlife service for trying to protect the natural habitats of the birds and were opposing the cluttering up and filling in of port and marsh areas. They're like the PUD, public utility districts. We have public power here, and under the the New Deal, the PUD's were progressive. Now they, too, are New Deal Democrats who sold out to the established interests--in this case the big power companies." Always this sense of being against the interests or the establishment.

Does it bother you not to have opposition? "No, I've been campaigning for five years, non-stop and all up hill. It will be nice to have a rest and pay back all my campaign debts. I was 26,000 in debt when I ended my first campaign and I'm still 3,000 in debt from the last one. Also it's more pleasant not to have an opponent attacking you all the time and keeping you on the defensive.

"Money is a disease that has to be gotten rid of. (I'm going to get 1000 from the labor unions, 500 from the maritime unions, 120 from _____. It's always in the back of my mind that I got 1000 from labor--especially the maritime unions.

You lose your independence that way. I should have a \$100 limit. Lawton Chiles has a \$25.00 limit on contributions. But if I did that and then wanted to run for the Senate, what would I do. I could collect my money in small amounts if I had the energy to do it. I don't do it, but I wish I could." A long discussion about whether he ~~would~~ make a small amount of money stick. And later that night he came back to idea of expanding their mailing list, sending them special newsletters and asking for contributions. Idea that they haven't exploited people for little contributions came up after District Day as we left the hall in Olympia. "A lot of these people are supporters. They came in to tell us what a great job we're doing. We should put them on the mailing list and then, later, select them for contributions." The idea is dawning that he can stay in touch with constituents and get list and money from the list.

On Wednesday AM, as we picked Don up and drove to Press Breakfast, he started talking about the speeches he had to give--especially the one the next day to business group in Olympia. "Dave Yaden had written it and all week, Mike and Don kept saying how "heavy" it was--written for the national Chamber of Commerce--and so Don was going he said "to set aside some time, take some things out and lighten it up some." "We

"We wanted a major speech directed to small business, which is dominant in my district. As a liberal Democrat I'm not exactly pro-business. But I do have a sentimental attachment to small business and I wanted a speech to reflect that." OSHA - Tax problems. They came down hard on little businessman and spend an inordinate amount of their time checking on them. Tax regulations are helpful to big business and little man gets screwed. We want a speech reflecting that."

Questions at press conference. Finances - how much owed from last time?
4,000 - 5,000.

Will you disclose finances? Yes, state delegation met and decided to disclose everything.

Any limit to contributions accepted? No.

Intense lobbying on clearcutting? Yes - but on both sides, ... no influence.

TV coverage floor - Would vote for it, but could see abuses - "You have demagoguery now, but no exposure."

Bolt decision - increase fish runs and let everyone share. Question: Shouldn't federal government do more? Yes, but lots of bureaucratic disputes. [Six press people are here and so far no question asking him to explain a vote. But he is asked to explain his position in general terms.]

"I could denounce the treaties, Bolt decision recommend overturning it and become instant hero in this area. But it would be demagoguery and would not be honest and realistic and we couldn't get anywhere with it. I wouldn't be doing a service to the people of this area or to myself by doing it. This is a regional issue and there is just no way you are going to get people in the rest of the county to support anything that is adverse to the indian. That's just a fact of life. The people of New York and Massachusetts will never vote to nullify or abrogate an Indian treaty. So we have to do something realistic." Said it would cost 20,000,000 a year in perpetuity to "buy off" indian fishing rights.

Still support Jackson? Yes. 2nd choice? Carter. Can broaden base of party "Have sized him up."

How do you stand on aid to Chile? "I've consistently voted vs. aid to Chile. It's a repressive government. It violates human rights." Ought to check aid to all countries--(Here is an explanation for a vote.)

Re Bolt - (from Bircher writer) how about limiting appellate jurisdiction of courts and "making common cause" against judges who mandate ? He admits courts have legislated; but legislative bodies have to move definitive and direct because legislature often abrogates its responsibilities. But it's serious constitutional matter to tamper with court's jurisdiction."

Methodological Note: He introduces me quite often. Tells 'em I've written books "classics" on Congress, tells 'em I'm writing a book about "how Congressmen do it back home and has chosen this district to study. If we behave ourselves, we may become a footnote." "We'll be anxious to see how it comes out." He was more interested in my book than anyone else - seemed to take it more seriously. So did the people around him.

When we got into car after press conference, DB said "I hope the stuff on the Bolt decision came out all right. That's a very explosive issue in this state because everyone fishes. The headline will probably read "Bonker supports Bolt decision."

Then Mike said "I was surprised no one asked you about the Olympic Peak issue." And DB said "That's the thing about this district. That part of the district is so isolated and cut off from the rest of the district. I could survive down here and still be in a lot of trouble there--as I am. No one here knows what's going on there. It's a local issue and it's confined. There aren't any reverberations or shock waves. It's an explosion without tremors in the rest of the district. The environmentalists write to me from around the state, but they are supporting me."

Then he wondered what press would do with his statement that Carter was his second choice and said Carter was not yet acceptable to party people, liberal or regular. "He's an outsider." Re his support of Carter. "I suppose the fact that he's a Christian has something to do with it."

Pictures in office - 2 Colorado and 1 Jesus.

"My district is so spread out that I can have a lot of fires without any spreading."

Dick Welsh - "Trust doesn't enter into it. It's not a personal matter
as a spokesman for industry and I have such deep-seated suspicions of the

telephone industry that I'm not very sympathetic. They are just a big industry trying to protect their monopoly as far as I'm concerned."

Grace Harbor Group (Five) on Mononphola "Young Lifer" in group--Hardware owner and Don have introductory conversation to break ice and Mike introduced the guy as "a big Young Lifer". Even long discussion in which Bonker is pro-industry and tells them they will have to make concessions to get bill that will pass on floor. "Be acceptable to industry and still pass."

His use of term "We in the Northwest" is very frequent - re clearcutting, gun control. Bolt decision.

"A legislative body has to represent conflicting interests and we have to recognize other points of view." "I'll push for as strong a bill as I can and our delegation will. But this is a big county and Congress is a microcosm of the county and compromise is necessary." Trying to get this pro-industry group to accept compromise.

quality changes "non-degradation policy" "will destroy all further economic development in the 2nd district" says one guy. Bonker favors "a study".

3 Sierra Club people came in and DB is very emotional in telling them that he's their friend and they should trust his judgment that Quineault area should be deleted from the bill. "We'll never have another shot at I'll never introduce it again and it will cost me Clallam County as it is. I don't have the staff to work on it. I don't think I can stand it again for one who has gone 90% of the way and now has visible opposition, it's disconcerting. Labor and industry will look to their locals and have a more sophisticated approach. There are environmental bills you never hear of. I'm the only rural congressman--from a timber producing area--who does this. I've taken a big leap out to establish this record that only urban types have. When I go to my little lumbermills who are my supporters, they don't like anything the environmentalists do. If you oppose

it you'll defeat it. But that's shortsighted. Even I'm getting lukewarm; to do all I've done and end up with hostility is a travesty."

"What upsets me is the opposition in Clallam - not industry I'm used to that, but ordinary Dem voters, my friends in the court house. My assistant is resigning. It's cost me everything. And now to have environmentalists against it is really disturbing. It confirms everything people feel about environmentalists --that they won't compromise, even with their friends. The best thing that could happen now would be for the bill to die. There's no support anywhere up there. Even the few supporters won't speak up. That's how bad things are." He gave 'em a good lecture, but said he could never tell whether it sunk in with them--they'd probably get back with their peers and be adamant. As Mike said, he was doing it for them, that conservationist, like Wm. Douglas, for years had been trying to get Shi Shi Beach and Point of Arches into the park and here were these "whippersnappers" coming along and killing it in the name of environmentalism.

Re District Day - Mike says they've had them in every town 800 or over in size. Most notices sent out was 14,000 and least was 2800. Average = 8,000 - 10,000.

Re log export issue, the issue of the 1974 campaign. "If it hadn't been for the log export issue I never would have been able to raise enough money for my campaign and I never would have been in Congress. And it was all luck. To go back a bit, the issue had been on the ballot in 1968 and to the ban on exports had been opposed by a coalition of all the big businesses and all the big unions, and it had been defeated overwhelmingly--so much so that all the politicians in the state agreed that you just didn't touch it. I was having lunch with a reporter and we had gone through the usual issues and some political chit chat and were just getting up when he asked me how I stood on log exports. I said I was against them. He got his pencil back out and said let me get this straight, "You are in

favor of a ban on log exports?" I said 'yes'. Then he called all the others primary candidates and asked for their position. They all came out against the ban. So he printed the story and I had an issue. At first I got nervous. I hadn't studied the subject. I just knew how I felt intuitively, in my gut. Then we took a poll and found that the overwhelming majority of people in the district favored the ban. Then we knew we had a good issue. The big companies and the big unions were against us but the small mills were with us and one radical union. The Japanese were paying exorbitant prices for logs and the small mills couldn't compete. One small mill in Vancouver was cooperatively owned and a leader of the union they raised \$20,000 for me--a hard hat. We had a great TV ad which showed me standing in front of a pile of logs and a Japanese ship in the background. We pulled all our other TV ads and ran only that one. Our opponents thought we had planned and orchestrated the whole thing--that we took a poll, followed it, raided the money and won the primary. The truth is we just stumbled into it." Later, in the general election, it

The next day, when I asked to see the poll, he said there were three polls, really--his own poll, a Seattle Intelligence poll of Seattle and Western Washington and a poll Lloyd Meeds took in his district "which is like mine". All showed support for the ban in area of 75%.

When Amy and Duke were showing me the case files, DB said, "That's what gets me reelected. All these speeches and district days don't amount to a thing!" He said it facetiously. Then, "As you say, it's not an inconsiderable part of it. It's our ombudsman function." I counted 2500 name cards of people "talked to" by Duke and Amy.

Went to talk to Dan Evans who said he thought it would blow over in short period of time. He recalled other such emotional issues that flared and died soon thereafter. Said DB's district was "one of the most varied you'll find in

this part of the country" and that he, DB, not only had to solve intra-district problems but had to balance regional vs. national interests in the area.

Re Olympia. "It's not the 30 in-holders that bother me. They'll be mad at me forever. But it's the mood it creates among the other people--that the government comes bulldozing in, taking people's lands, trampling their rights."

Olympia Chamber of Commerce - noted that he had created Olympia office for first time and that he had kept campaign promise to come home once a month. "You may not see me when I'm home because this is one of the largest districts in the United States--larger than the state of Massachusetts. It starts at Port Angeles, goes down the coast, horseshoes around Tacoma and picks up Fort ^{P-67} Parkland and then goes up to North Bend and Snoqualmie. When I'm in one area no one knows I'm in the other area. It's a hard district to represent because I have to spend so much time travelling."

Re media - both Mike and Don mention that "there are several twin cities" in the area - each has a small paper - Centralia-Shawallis, Longview-Kelso, Aberdeen-Hoguiam.

"Since I've been in Congress I've come to realize that Congress is a micro-cosm of the United States--with diverse and conflicting interests." East interested in railroads and we aren't. But we have to have some sympathy with their interests--they have to have sympathy with ours.

"The strength of the district is small business. As a Democrat, I'm not thought to be particularly pro-business. I want to make a distinction. I am pro-small business. I have some doubts about big industry; but not small business." Spoke about a vote on OSHA amendment and vs. consumer industry.

There was a difference in the two fundraising events--after the Vancouver one, he said "It felt good not to have one single lobbyist at a fundraiser--just friends." And when he spoke to them he spoke about the importance of "being unencumbered by special interests." At the Olympia fundraiser, there were lobbyists

and important business people and when he spoke he pointed out "there's the education table here and the union table over there." At Duke's house afterward there was talk about other lobby groups and whether they were going to pay and how much--mostly with Roy Carlson. I thought his Olympia remarks--the story about Carolyn sitting with King and him with Winthrop Rockefeller and "Carolyn would make a great first lady, but ...Bonker, you don't have it." The next morning I asked him how it went. "There was a nice mood." But we won't know how much we raised for a few weeks, as the money continues to come in." He then went through his finances: \$23,000 in debt after Congress run; have been paying that off continuously so that they are just barely catching up. Are now 3,000 in debt; expect to net 8,000 from the two fundraisers this week. Then they expect \$5,000 from another fundraiser and that's it. "We started out behind, which is why we aren't in as good shape as we should be. But we will begin to accumulate a surplus over time. What chance does that give someone who wants to run against me? It means I've beaten the system; but it's not a good system."

On the way in to the airport, I asked him to take the schedule and rank the activities according to (1) importance and (2) "at homeness"--though the word I used was comfortable.

As he did this (see schedule for results) he said some things. On the matter of importance, I had excluded the ageing hearings and he said "The hearings would have to rank first because that is my whole reason for being here this week. We should get good publicity from that."

On the matter of comfortableness, he said "Do you mean how things went or how I felt going in. I feel a lot more comfortable with the aged than I do with the Chamber of Commerce; but I was much happier the way my Chamber of Commerce speech went than I was with my speech to the aged." (I told him I meant comfortable "going into the events, and he rated them on that basis.)

As he was rating for "comfortableness," he said "I'm always more apprehensive about a speech than I am when it's informal gathering or one on one." That was very evident (as I've mentioned) all week. He worries extravagantly about his speeches. Dave Yaden's "heavy" speech for the chamber was edited and reedited and typed and retyped and when it came to giving it, he pulled back and talked more extemporaneously. He never used it. And he was happy with his speech. He was unhappy with the aged speech because he read it and he hates to read speeches. Mike comments on his speeches, says he hates to read them, that he gives the same one ("Has been talking about energy for a year; who cares about it now." And Dave Nyman complained, too, that DB gave the same one over and over.) and that he, Mike, always goes over the speech to help him improve. At Differ Mike's wife Dorothy told me that Mike spent "hours and hours and hours" trying to improve his speech making ability," and that he had improved through his JayCee Presidential term. I think Don's insecurity comes out more than anyplace else in this problem with speech making--the rhetorical component of politics. Mike said re. his speeches "He needs reassurance" and noted that even after the junior high school convention talk, he asked Mike 'How'd it go?'"

I thought his "best" one in terms of mood was at the Olympia fundraiser and I told Dave and Dorothy (Mike's wife) so. I bridle a little at the use of Carolyn--but it seems to go OK; and otherwise there was a nice touch of humility--local boy goes to Washington, is impressed, feels his insignificance, but is committed to career there and likes it. Doesn't talk about how important he is--quite the opposite. Has a very appealing little-boy-shy smile and walks kind of side to side in a semi athletic, semi-penguin like walk. He's slight, not physically prepossessing, dresses conservatively and, in general, his physical appearance contributes to a youthful, reserved, friendly, pleasing appearance.

We talked on way to airport in retrospect about the Dan Evans visit. I

told him (and here was clear case when I intruded into the natural setting) that he could just as well have been sitting in the governor's chair--that their roles could have been reversed. He was obviously flattered--but it opened him up some, too. "That's a high compliment. I hate to appear weak kneed in critical situations like that. When you look back on them, they are the testing times, and it's important that you feel you met the test. When I was Clark county auditor, I introduced a whole set of reforms--punch card registration, computerized voter lists, a booklet on county government. I was opposed in those reforms by every other county auditor in the state. At our convention we would have votes of 28 to 1 and I was the one. We had some terrible battles. Everyone said I was politically dead for being so disruptive. When I ran for Secretary of State, which had jurisdiction over the entire electoral process, none of them supported me. Even the one or two who agreed with my reforms kept quiet. When I became a congressman and addressed their convention. I got the greatest ovation I ever received, a standing ovation. I was one of them. And I had made it." Implication was he passed critical test in his days as auditor by sticking to his guns.

He spoke generally about his patterns. "I'm new and I've developed no style or philosophy about how to act yet. After four or five terms you develop a pattern in handling problems. I haven't. Your first reelection has a lot to do with it. Some of my freshman friends in marginal Republican districts would never have taken on the Olympic Bill the way I have." In talking at Duke, Roy Carlson said Julia Hansen wouldn't touch the Olympic bill and stayed as far away as she could. Pt. is she had plenty of seniority and safety, and she wouldn't do it.

It occurs to me that the West is in same position as South used to be. They had better develop some very good legislators, because the rest of the country is really leaning on them in environmental sense.

Said he felt more at home with Olympia Chamber of Commerce than Snoqualmie CC--and his rankings indicated that--I think he's around Olympia more and feels more "at home" there generally. In fact he said as much a couple of days earlier when he said he had developed friends in the Centralia-Shahali area and had old friends in Vancouver and had some (like Jim Sullivan I would guess) in Olympia--as compared to Port Angeles and Aberdeen.

When I said I hoped ageing hearings went well, he said "They can't go badly. You just sit there and listen and try to ask intelligent questions. And the press coverage should be good."

Talking on way to airport about press conference--"I don't understand what's going on over at the Olympian. The only question Jack ever asks me is whether I'm going to run for reelection. I've courted that guy; I've taken him to lunch several times. He's young and we ought to have a lot in common. But he's still sarcastic." (Amy said her husband thought that Jack "isn't too bright", and that ended the musing.)

After his speech to Olympia Chamber, he commented "Considering they are our arch-enemies, that wasn't too bad."

I asked him about his consumer protection agency vote, which he mentioned during the CC speech and said that it must please the businessmen. "That's the first time I ever mentioned it in a speech. I don't exploit issues I'm not happy about--gun control and consumer protection agency. It would demean myself and my listeners and the office. On the consumer protection agency we studied it very very carefully and decided it would not help the consumer, that it wouldn't do what it said it would. We took a Jerry Brown approach. Dave Yaden worked very hard on it. My liberal friends called and said 'You've got to go on this one; but we didn't. I think we have to look at every bill and see what it really does and not just react to the old liberal constituency. That's why I call it

the Jerry Brown approach. Nobody is stronger for the consumer than I am, but that bill was a phony." Still, he was not running around wooing business by harping on that vote.

Things I did not hear Don mention: Trust - which leads me to believe, again, that young people don't feel they have it. Ethnic groups - which leads me to believe that's not a way he sees the district. He didn't mention Scandinavians (he's Scotch-Irish-English). He called Larry Malloy (his great fundraiser) "a redneck and Mike once referred to "this redneck district"--but otherwise I heard no black-white conversation.

He noted at one point that all his staff were his friends. I'll have to ask him more about that. But he said several times that he thought public official should be judged by people around him. Amy and Mike signed on early, I know. Mike, when he saw Phyllis Rovine from the Washington office at the ageing speech said he was glad Don was hiring people from "Washington, D.C." (as Don always called it" Washington, D.C.)

He said that "Coffeees played a large part in our primary campaign. We held about 100 of them. We have tried to keep up by asking the same people back again to a coffee. We schedule them whenever there's a free evening when I'm home. We'll call someone who gave a coffee before and ask them to get their same neighbors back again. You get stronger support that way; those people will stay with you."

After CC speech, he said, "It sure is nice to run as an incumbent. When you are running for the first time, you feel so insecure and you want to please everyone. Now you can report from Washington and you have things to say. You had to force your way into places where no one wanted you. Now they invite you and open the door for you. I remember when I was running the first time, Scoop Jackson came to help my campaign. We went to dinner and they put him at the

head table and sat me way in back somewhere. When he mentioned my name to endorse me, he had to call out and ask where I was. During both my campaigns, Carolyn kept a diary and the other day we took out the diary to see just where we were two years ago that day. It was a day we had a spaghetti dinner cooked for 2,000 and 40 showed up. It was so painful to read, we put the diary back in the drawer. I don't think those humbling experiences are bad. They bring you to your knees. And they make you realize that reality is back here not in Washington."

"Some people have the ability to stimulate followers. It's hard to predict and hard to explain. I don't know what the chemistry is. But it happens when the right person campaigns in the right way on the right issues at the right time. That's what happened in my case. It was not charisma; it was just the right time--luck." He elaborated saying McGovern got great support but was personally dull.

Duke Murray told me that DB originally hired him as a "consultant" to go to Washington and talk with people in a number of other offices to see how they did it. The first office he mentioned and said he spent a lot of time in was Studds. There are lots of similarities--several district offices--district day--town meeting--emphasis on contrasting home attention to that of predecessor. He also mentioned Stark and Sen. Bentsen. Couldn't remember others. Said he talked to about 20 and that information reached diminishing returns quickly.

Mike thinks Carolyn would run in a minute if anything happened to Don. A little by play between them that Mike reported. Carolyn: "Don't let Don fly in a one-engine plane. I don't want to be the Congressman yet." Mike: "Don't worry, you won't." Fenno: "If lightening were to strike Don, would she run?" Mike: "She sure would. And I'd file against her."

Mike said he had one serious talk with Don in which he said he'd stay on with Don if Don were going for Governor, and Don said "I don't have enough self-confidence now to run for Governor. Maybe sometime, but not now." This comment came on the heels of the comment that DB needs "reassurance" about his speeches.

After the Olympia Chamber speech, he also repeated something he said earlier. "All I hear from these people are good things. Of course they would be nice to your face. But I don't hear many negative things at all. It's an impression they have. At first they felt I was unpredictable and radical. My opponent claimed my election would cost everyone \$3,000. His TV ads said "Don't get bonked." He was dirty. But now people say, he's not so dead. ^{had} It's the service I give the visits home, district days--all the things that were never done in this district before. And it's the people around me. You get judged by the kind of staff you have. And Mike was President of the state Jay Cees. Duke was a businessman. I have three offices in the district. All Julia had was one part-time guy who wandered around the district by himself."

I asked about his votes in this calculus. "Only a few discerning people know my voting record--labor, the environmentalists and the Chamber of Commerce. The guy who sat next to me told me I voted wrong 14 of 16 times according to their records."

Note: Doug Price talks about professionalism as state of Congress. Each congressman goes through the same process. Amateur professionalism. A career sequence that moves from district to Washington orientation. And, after all amateur was a district-oriented person--see, ^{Young} Kernell?

I asked him who would be the toughest kind of opponent. "I've been mentally asking myself that question and going over the field. The man I would fear the most would be _____. He is my idea of what this district is like. Physically, he is big and touch. He's a small business man, a self-made man. He's

not sophisticated about issues, but he could get hold of the four or five that count and put them across to the Kiwanis and the Chamber. He's not a good speaker but that's not important in this district. He would move around a lot, make a lot of noise and work very hard. He's a mainstream Republican and could raise money. If I were in Seattle, I'd worry about a smooth, articulate, nice appearing person who would look good in the media. My last opponent did well near the city, but he wasn't tailored to the district. He was an articulate media man. But there is no media in this district. My idea of an ideal candidate in this district would be someone like Mike--who grew up in the district, knows the district well, has been a logger, hunts and fishes, has connections all over and can talk the language of the JayCees." Implication is that he is not such an ideal candidate--at least by what he called the ideal "profile".

Re his strongest supporters in primary. Taking off from his comment to someone earlier that "I identified my constituency and got them to the polls."

He said: "I wasn't anything we sat down and planned as a matter of strategy. It just developed as we rolled along. There were the log export groups--the plywood companies especially of which we have about eight in the district. They are coops, and they would have meetings in which several hundred people came, learned about the importance of a log export ban on their jobs and formed groups to get their members to the polls. Then there were the liberals, the progressives who wanted change and young people and environmentalists were in this group. Then the Christian Community was of great importance. I didn't mention it or talk about it but word spreads fast in the Christian community--"Don Bonker is a Christian; his wife is in the Christian Crusade." The Young Life activists were important: In every town when we went to church, we

were recognized from the pulpit. You saw the man in the office today, the "Young Lifer"--the only connection he had with me was through our attendance at his church. Then the senior citizens--we did very well with them, particularly in Olympia and Longview. My previous experience with the "Senate Committee on Ageing helped there."

When I asked if he could have picked a district to run in which one he would have picked, he thought about it and said Meeds' district and his were very similar except that Meeds had a University. Then he said Pritchard's would be OK, that it had a University and that he would do well with young people. Then he said Hicks' district was solid Democratic, but that "Pierce County politics is a jungle" and would not want to run there. He ended by deciding that there were "Some equally good, but none better." ~~What was interesting~~ What was interesting was, again, my sense that there is no particularly special fit between DB and his district. He's an atypical outsider who came along at the right time and made it, and will keep it. But there's no magic in the relationship between DB and district. The magic, perhaps, was the moment he picked to run.

He talked about a letter Julia Hansen wrote to him in reply to a letter telling her he had decided to run in the Democratic primary against her district representative and protege. "I'll have to show it to you sometime. It was a long letter, in which she told me that I was a young man with a great future but that Bob Bailey had earned the right to the seat and that I should wait my turn. Then, I could earn it and have it next time. It was incredible. It was as if the Democratic party owned the seat or as if she owned the seat and they decided who should have it and handed it down like a legacy. The party was full of hacks. The seat belonged to the constituents. That letter was an example of all that was wrong with the Democratic party."

He brought this up after State Democratic Chairman Neil Chaney and one of his honchos dropped in. He said Neil likes to think of Don as his protege, but that he had opposed him every time he ran. He was contemptuous of Chaney though said he liked him personally and that there was no personal problem between them. It was a Studds attitude without any of the sarcasm or bite of Studds. Just thought of Chaney as a functionary who was puffed up with an importance but was ineffective in about every way. NB I should probe DB-party relationship further.

On way down to Vancouver fundraiser, he noted that this was his geographical base of his support. "Vancouver was my base of support when I ran for Clark County auditor. And I was auditor for two terms. When I ran for Congress, Clark County was my base of support. My best friends and best supporters are here. If I hadn't raised the money I did in Clark County, I never would have been elected. I told you how Larry Mally, President of the Vancouver Plywood Coop, raised \$20,000 by himself. Clark County is more like home to me than anyplace. My roots are here. Actually, I was born and raised in Denver. I came to Vancouver to go to college because my father lived there and he put me through college. But I wasn't a member of the community when I ran for country auditor. I was an outsider. I wasn't a member of the community when I ran for Congress either. Traditionally, incumbents grow up in this district like the trees. But I was an outsider." (Again, some parallels with Studds; others with Hayes; others with Johnson.)

Coming back from Vancouver, he told story of how Larry Malloy got to Presidency of Plywood Corp and saw how log export ban was hurting his company and rounded up 20,000. Stories of how he went into unruly logger meetings and threatened to punch people in the nose if they didn't give money and organize. His most important supporter, probably. "Give me one Larry Malloy to fifty Neil Chaney's any day." Pt of that is that party won't help you; you need your own personal coalition.

District Day - Snoqualmie

Man not getting his share of junked cars from highway patrol.

Woman brings him a prayer and pleads for diabetes appropriation.

Man says we're diverted from Declaration of Independence in having slaves; thinks nation should vote on all foreign aid funds.

Woman says he's doing a good job, say hello to his wife.

Against export of lumber.

Painter not reimbursed by Kings County Arts group.

Veteran complains that Brock Adams didn't meet with their group in Washington.

Senior citizen problems in North Bend.

Problems of emergency medical services now that hospital has closed down.

There are about 25,000 people in the valley - Snoqualmie, North Bend, Fall City, Issequa. "They've been in 3 different congressional districts and they have no sense of identity. They feel isolated. They are in Kings County but feel left out--we'll do it ourselves. If you look at the configuration of my district, the center of population is Centralia. That's a long way from here."

I seem to have lost the paper with the notes, but as we got near Centralia he noted "We have a lot of friends here and the party is in good shape. It began socially with our meeting two people and then expanded into their circle of friends. I think we have done something similar in Olympia. But when I go to Port Angeles or Aberdeen, I feel like a complete stranger. I'm a Christian; and thought I don't make anything of it publicly the word gets around fast in the Evangelical community. That has helped us get acquainted. It's not openly political because I won't let it be. But it helps me politically to have it known that my wife and I are active Christians. Too many Evangelicals are ready to

wrap themselves in the flag and get very political. And they are on the far far right. I'm working hard on a speech I want to give this weekend advocating the separation of the spiritual religion from the civil religion."

Committees: Asked for Appropriations first. Duncan "aced me" because of prior service. Wanted MMF because of district. And Gov. Ops. Foley tells him Gov. Ops. not so hot, that he should try for F. Aff.--spread delegation around. He finds out later that there are lots of vacancies on F. Aff. But likes it. Foley, Adams Meeds say they can get W & M for him when Fulton leaves. He doesn't want W & M. "I don't want to spend the rest of my political life dealing with taxes."

Most Important - ranking

1. Ageing Hearings
2. Olympia and Vancouver Fund Raisers
3. Luncheon Speech to State Conference on Ageing
4. Snoqualmie and Olympia District Days
5. Olympia Chamber of Commerce

[At this point, he said "The rest are just fillers" - but continued anyway.]

6. Press Breakfast
 7. National Association of Federal Retirees and Shriners Speeches
- (others not listed)

Most Comfortable - ranking

1. Snoqualmie and Olympia District Days
2. Maple Valley Democratic Women
3. Vancouver and Olympia Fund Raisers
4. Speech to Washington State Conference on Ageing
5. Speeches to Retired Federal Employees and Shriners
6. Press Conference
7. Junion High Constitutional Convention
8. Olympia Chamber of Commerce
9. Centralia Community College
10. Snoqualmie Valley Service Clubs

Most Important - ranking

1. Ageing Hearings
2. Olympia and Vancouver Fund Raisers
3. Luncheon Speech to State Conference on Ageing
4. Snoqualmie and Olympia District Days
5. Olympia Chamber of Commerce

[At this point, he said "The rest are just fillers" - but continued anyway.]

6. Press Breakfast
 7. National Association of Federal Retirees and Shriners Speeches
- (others not listed)

Most Comfortable - ranking

1. Snoqualmie and Olympia District Days
2. Maple Valley Democratic Women
3. Vancouver and Olympia Fund Raisers
4. Speech to Washington State Conference on Ageing
5. Speeches to Retired Federal Employees and Shriners
6. Press Conference
7. Junion High Constitutional Convention
8. Olympia Chamber of Commerce
9. Centralia Community College
10. Snoqualmie Valley Service Clubs