Being in the eye of the hurricane is where you want to be. There is no substitute for being in the leadership. There just isn't. You have much more ability to act and have influence on what you want to do. When you are sitting on the sidelines in the rear ranks...being in the rear ranks is not fun, unless you don't care—if you just want the glory. My first two years I was in the back seat, the total back seat. You couldn't get any further back unless you were downstairs. The next two years I was the whip! Now, I was starting to climb. The next two years, I went to the floor leadership, and then I was floor leader for four years. Then I went to the top gun, but once you get up there in the top three, it's fun; it's a lot better.

R. Frank Atwood

An Oral History

WSOHP

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Washington State Oral History Program
Office of the Secretary of State

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An Oral History

Interviewed and Edited by Sharon Boswell

Washington State Oral History Program
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Washington State Oral History Program
Office of Secretary of State
PO Box 40243
Olympia, WA 98504-0243
Telephone: (360) 704-7141

Dedicated to Marie and the kids, who were long-suffering
through my eighteen years in public service.

Surrounding Frank and daughter Suzanne, who are seated at his desk on the Senate floor, are the rest of the family: Roy, mother-in-law Lulu Matson, who helped care for the children during the session, Marie, and Deborah.

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FOREWORD

The three most important positions of leadership in the state Senate are the whip, the floor leader and the caucus chairman. Frank Atwood held each of these positions during his twelve years in the Washington State Senate and performed these duties with dedication. It should be pointed out that these positions are elective. Your peers in the state Senate—those who know you best—select you because you have the leadership abilities needed by the entire caucus and that is why Frank Atwood was chosen. Frank knew almost instinctively the role and objectives required and earned the respect of the entire Senate—both Democrats and Republicans—for his stewardship and performance in these coveted and powerful positions. I can recall, when a freshman senator, I leaned on leadership for advice and direction and Frank was always there, explaining the pros and cons of every issue, but leaving the decision making to the individual senator. Frank Atwood—a great leader in our state Senate.

DICK MARQUARDT
Former State Senator
Former Insurance Commissioner

FOREWORD

Frank Atwood is an outstanding example of a generation of courage, integrity, and principle. He grew up in the Depression, served his country in the Armed Forces during World War II, returned after the war to continue school and established himself in his chosen profession. He went on to serve his city as a councilman and, later, his legislative district as Senator. This was in the critical period of the state's history when we started growing from one million plus in population toward the five million plus we are now. It was the era of the true citizen legislature—where you served your fellow citizens because you believed that public service was the highest calling—and this despite the job paying peanuts at the time.

The fundamental act of governance is budgeting, choosing how much and on what to spend limited state moneys. As Senator Atwood, he was respected and trusted implicitly by his Republican colleagues to represent them on the budget-writing Free Conference Committee. There he did an exceptional job due to his budget expertise and the universal respect in which he was held by both his Democratic and Republican colleagues.

It was the people's loss when the Legislature became virtually full-time, and he was forced to choose between legislative service and his law profession.

JAMES A. ANDERSEN
Former State Representative and Senator
Chief Justice (ret.)
State of Washington Supreme Court

PREFACE

The Washington State Oral History Program was established in 1991 by the Washington State Legislature. It is located in the Office of the Secretary of State and guided by the Oral History Advisory Committee.

The purpose of the program is to document the formation of public policy in Washington State by interviewing persons closely involved with state politics and publishing their edited transcripts. Each oral history is a valuable record of an individual's contributions and convictions, their interpretation of events and their relationships with other participants in the civic life of the state. Read as a series, these oral histories reveal the complex interweaving of the personal and political, and the formal and informal processes that are the makings of public policy.

The Oral History Advisory Committee chooses candidates for oral histories. Extensive research is conducted about the life and activities of the prospective interviewee, using legislative journals, newspaper accounts, personal papers and other sources. Then a series of taped interviews is conducted, focusing on the interviewee's political career and contributions. Political values, ideas about public service, interpretation of events and reflections about relationships and the political process are explored. When the interviews have been completed, a verbatim transcript is prepared. These transcripts are edited by program staff to ensure readability and accuracy and then reviewed by the interviewer and interviewee. Finally, the transcript is published and distributed to libraries, archives and interested individuals. An electronic version of the text is also available on the Secretary of State Web site (www.secstate.wa.gov).

Oral history recording, while assisted by careful research, is based on individual memory and perspective. Although great effort is expended to insure accuracy, recollection and interpretation of events vary among participants. Oral history documents present uncensored accounts of relationships, actions and events; readers are encouraged to analyze and weigh this primary material as they would other historical evidence. It is the hope of the Oral History Program that this work will help the citizens of Washington better understand their political legacy and the persons who have contributed years of service to the political life of our state.

WASHINGTON STATE ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Washington State Oral History Program wishes to thank all of those individuals who contributed to this project.

Senator Atwood gave freely of his time to record the interviews and then to proofread and provide answers to endless questions about the text. He was unfailingly good-humored and accommodating, and we owe him a huge debt of gratitude for the time and care he has lavished on this project. His wife, Marie Atwood, was also exceedingly helpful in searching for photographs and providing other needed information, and we appreciate her willingness to assist us in so many ways.

People in various archives and libraries around the state located research materials and answered informational requests. Special thanks go to Terry Badger of the Washington State Archives for going above and beyond the call of duty in looking for photographs and providing us with scans for this publication. In Bellingham, James Copher of the Northwest Branch of the State Archives and Elizabeth Joffrion of the Center for Pacific Northwest Studies at Western Washington University also helped us to locate Atwood materials. Another invaluable resource was the Washington State Library, and we are always grateful for the professionalism and invaluable suggestions of the library staff.

The Oral History Advisory Committee, created by statute in 1991 to guide and advise the program, recommended Senator Atwood as a candidate for an oral history. We would like to thank the present members of the committee for their dedication and steadfast support for the program: Secretary of State Sam Reed, Secretary of the Senate Milt Doumit, Chief Clerk of the House Cindy Zehnder, Senators Don Carlson, Shirley Winsley, Ken Jacobsen and Eric Poulsen, and Representatives Sam Hunt, Brian Hatfield, Beverly Woods and Mary Skinner. Former Senators Robert Bailey, Eugene Prince, Alan Thompson and Dick Hemstad, former Representative Don Brazier, former Chief Clerk Dean Foster, Warren Bishop, and David Nicandri gave generously of their time and expertise as ex officio members of the Advisory Committee.

Our oral histories are printed by the State Printer. We thank his able team for their professional assistance.

Finally, we are grateful for the technical assistance and administrative support of the Office of the Secretary of State. As always, Dan Speigle in particular gave us his complete support and was always ready with the appropriate advice and encouragement.

INTERVIEWING FRANK ATWOOD

Periodically during our interviews, Frank Atwood would make a critical comment about the handling of a political issue and then remind me that he was not known for his "bedside manner." His colleagues in the Senate valued his no-nonsense approach to his legislative duties and his hard work, dedication, and high ethical standards. Although sometimes hard-nosed, Frank was also known as a person who knew the stakes and could be trusted to stand up for his other caucus members and for the Republican Party agenda. Fellow officers in the Army Reserve appreciated the same characteristics of toughness, fairness, and perseverance as he led various units and contributed his extensive knowledge to training exercises and other military affairs.

Yet throughout our sessions together, I also discovered the other side of Frank Atwood—the warm family man with a wonderful sense of humor who kept me laughing constantly. I don't think I have ever laughed so much during a set of interviews. Senator Atwood has a remarkable dry wit and no compunction about making himself the butt of his own jokes. He would frequently make a caustic comment about an individual or event and then break into peals of laughter. Because the written interview does not easily transmit the tone and character of the remarks made on tape, we have added the word (Laughter) to the text so readers can join in the fun.

Frank Atwood was quite obviously one of the better legislators the state has produced. As a senator he followed one of his favorite adages—Knowledge is Power—and made sure that he was up to speed on every nuance of an important bill. His legal training obviously helped him to analyze the massive amount of detail involved and sift through it to reach the core of an issue. And his own enthusiasm about legislative matters of importance to him—from details of the budget to a new building for Western—was undoubtedly infectious. The respect that his peers held for him was emphasized by his rapid rise through the leadership ranks—from Minority Whip to Floor Leader to Caucus Chair—before he finished his second term in the Legislature. Few ascend to power so quickly.

Frank Atwood unabashedly acknowledges his love of that power and the excitement that he experienced in the Legislature. Like any good military man, he particularly relished the heat of the battle—being in the eye of the hurricane, as he described it. But he also freely admitted that too much power corrupts, and he was careful in his own conduct and relationships to avoid the pitfalls of the corrupting influences that often marred otherwise successful careers.

He brought his family with him to Olympia every session, and despite the

ever-increasing workload, was able to share as much time as possible with them. Yet, he also realized the toll his legislative activities exacted and made the difficult decision to leave the Legislature at the end of his third term. At that point in time, salaries were so low and time commitments so great, that it is a wonder that most of the good legislators did not.

face the same dilemma. Although salaries have now risen and more staff is available, to this day there are significantly fewer practicing attorneys and other professional people who run for the Legislature because of the same problems that Frank Atwood experienced.

If the senator from Bellingham was occasionally lacking in "bedside manner," his wife, Marie, quite obviously made up for it in gracious ease and friendliness. I was very pleased to get to know her better at a lovely lunch we had, and I particularly want to thank her for all the time she spent searching for photographs and articles for this volume and also helping me with scheduling. Both of the Atwoods are extremely proud of their children and grandchildren, and I know Deborah, Roy, and Suzanne must feel quite fortunate to have such concerned and committed parents. I know I feel quite fortunate to have become better acquainted with the Atwood family during this series of interviews.

SHARON BOSWELL
Interviewer

Biographical Highlights

Roy Franklin Atwood, Jr., was born in Long Meadows, Massachusetts, on November 27, 1926. His mother was Myrtie Hooper Dunn and his father, Roy F. Atwood, who worked as a stockbroker and later managing partner of J.R. Timmins in New York. Frank was the third of four children; his siblings included older sister, Myrtie, brother Gerry, and younger sister, Marjorie. The family lived on the East Coast until 1932 when the Atwoods divorced. The children moved to the West with their mother, who married Alan Rogers the following year. After a short time in Seattle they went to Ellensburg, where Rogers bought the High Valley Ranch.

Frank enjoyed life on the huge cattle ranch and attended public schools in Ellensburg. World War II overshadowed his high school years, and as graduation approached in 1944, he enlisted in the United States Army, although he was still only seventeen. After completing a specialized training program and basic training, he was assigned to Officer Candidates School at Fort Benning, Georgia. The war ended, but he continued to serve in two communications platoons, one at Camp Butner and one at Fort Benning, until he was discharged in September 1946.

Frank visited his brother, who had enrolled at Washington State University after the war, and was persuaded to attend the university as well on the G.I. Bill. Frank was a political science major and graduated in 1949. After a memorable summer working as a diamond drill helper for a mining and exploration company in Labrador, he returned to Washington where he entered the University of Washington Law School. He received his JD degree in 1951, and after a brief stint as an insurance claims adjuster, he opened his own law practice in Bellingham, Washington, which became his permanent home.

Bellingham was a family town, and Frank met Marie Matson, who was born and raised locally and attended Western Washington State College. The couple married in 1955. Frank was active in the Jaycees and a variety of other community groups. A friend offered to pay his filing fee if he ran for the city council, and Frank took him up on the offer. He won the seat in his first political race and served for six years, including two as president of the council.

Disgusted with a legislative taxation measure that adversely affected cities, Frank decided to run against the incumbent state senator in the 1962 election. Despite being a Republican in the heavily Democratic 42nd District, he fought a hard campaign and was elected. Republicans were also in the minority in the Senate, but Frank relished the political battles that ensued and quickly learned that “knowledge is power” in the Legislature. His

diligence, legal skills, and integrity were only a few of the traits that led to his rapid rise through the Republican leadership ranks. He became Minority Whip in 1965, Minority Floor Leader in 1967, and then Republican Caucus Chair in 1970.

Frank particularly enjoyed working on the budget and was a member of the Legislative Budget Committee for ten years, acting as vice-chairman for four sessions. During the very difficult economic times between 1969 and 1971, he served with five other legislators on two Free Conference Committees in which they hammered out the final state budgets. Frank was also active in higher education issues and was a particularly strong advocate for Western Washington University, introducing legislation for a variety of new programs, buildings, and other improvements. He was particularly proud, during his first term, to achieve the passage of a bill he sponsored for Western's first Master's Degree program. Another career highlight was his appointment by Governor Dan Evans to an influential task force on executive reorganization.

Frank never lost his fascination with the military, and joined the U.S. Army Reserve in 1957 as a first lieutenant in the Judge Advocate General's Corps. He continued in the Reserves until 1981, retiring with the rank of colonel. His last position was as the Staff Judge Advocate of the 124th Army Reserve Command at Fort Lawton, Washington. In one of his most memorable experiences in the military, he served as the only Reserve officer on a large-scale training exercise, Brave Shield 76, in Yakima.

Frank and Marie had two children, Deborah and Roy, before he entered the Legislature, and a third, Suzanne, was born in 1968. The family accompanied him to Olympia, where the children attended school during the session. After three terms, the huge time commitment and low pay for legislators took their toll. With a son and daughter soon ready to leave for college, Frank decided to quit the Legislature and return to his law practice full-time. He continued his interest in governmental matters, serving as a Special Assistant Attorney General in revising the Motor Transportation Code for the Utilities and Transportation Commission. He has also been a long-time member of the Legislative Committee of the Washington State Bar, and a state committeeman. In 2000 he attended the Republican National Convention as an alternate delegate.

Frank continues to practice law in Bellingham and enjoys visiting his children, two of whom live on the East Coast.

Chapter 1

Coming of Age: The Road to Bellingham

Ms. Boswell: Let's get started by talking about your family background. Let's begin with your father's family. Can you tell me a little bit about them?

Mr. Atwood: My dad's family is from the East Coast. He was born in Washington, D.C. and his father was a cranberry farmer in Cape Cod—Herbert Atwood. He and his brother had a big cranberry bog there. I remember as a little kid going up there; they had a train that ran around on the bog. My mother's parents had died. Her father had passed away before she was born, I think, and her mother died in childbirth or very shortly thereafter, so she was raised by relatives.

Ms. Boswell: What was her family name?

Mr. Atwood: Myrtie Hooper Dunn. Her cousins, the Dietz family, which is Dietz Lantern Company, raised her. She used to spend time in Santa Fe, and in Boston. She had a very Bostonian accent. I was born in Springfield, Massachusetts—actually, Long Meadows, which is a suburb. When I was little we moved to Greenwich, and my dad went on the New York Stock Exchange in the 1920s.

Ms. Boswell: Now, you said his parents were out on Cape Cod. Was he primarily raised on Cape Cod or in Boston?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know. I don't even remember being in Springfield. My first remembrance is being in Greenwich, Connecticut. My dad commuted to the city when he went on the New York Stock Exchange, and he was the managing partner of the New York office of J.R. Timmins and Company for a long time.

Ms. Boswell: Had he grown up and been educated in Massachusetts?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know. I never talked to him about it. When the war came, he was called to active duty. He was a major in the reserves. In World War I he had been a sergeant in the Signal Corps, which was the forerunner of the Air Force. And my folks… he was divorced from my mother in 1932, and that's when my mother moved the family west. My father remarried shortly thereafter to Charlotte Potter, who was a Guggenheim; well, really she was a cousin of the Guggenheims. My brother and two sisters and I used to travel across the country every summer for visitations. It was friendly, if you can call a divorce friendly, but it wasn't an animated dispute. I was so small—six or seven years old.

Ms. Boswell: So had they met in college? Where had they met?

Mr. Atwood: I have no idea. We really never did talk about it. My mother didn't like to talk about it. She went to Reno for a divorce and she met Alan Rogers, and she married him. Alan was there for a divorce, and I think on the rebound; they both married and stayed married.

Ms. Boswell: Now when you say we, how many children did they have?

Mr. Atwood: Two sisters and my older brother. There were four of us who were children of my father.

Ms. Boswell: And you were all born in Massa-

chusetts or just you?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I think we all were. My older sister is still living. She lives in Myrtle Beach, Oregon. She and her husband are in their eighties. And my brother and his wife live in Quincy, and he is seventy-seven. My youngest sister lives in Seattle. Her husband died about five or six years ago.

Ms. Boswell: So you were third out of four. Is that right?

Mr. Atwood: I was the third—the third-man thing. The neglected middle son! (Laughter.)

Ms. Boswell: Oh no! (Laughter.)

Mr. Atwood: I'm the only one in the family who didn't graduate from a private school. I went to a public school.

Ms. Boswell: Well now, where did you start school?

Mr. Atwood: Where I went to school first was Greenwich Country Day, which was the school where the Bush family went. The only kid that I remember in first and second grade was Hamilton Fish. He just retired as a congressman. His dad was a congressman too, but I didn't know what that meant in those days. I remember when I got older that he was a big wheel.

Ms. Boswell: Now, do you remember the divorce at all? Was it something that affected you?

Mr. Atwood: No, it didn't. I was young, and they explained it to us very well. They called us in.

My father is buried in Arlington. He was General Earl Hoag's chief of staff in the Air Transport Command in Europe all during the war, World War II. Before he got called up, he was sent to Recife, Brazil, to set up the ferry command for Great Britain. They were flying planes into North Africa and Dakar, from Recife to Dakar, and then across North Africa, for the British. But when we got into war, he was transferred to Prestwick, Scotland. He was Major General Hoag's deputy chief of staff. Most of the war he was in England, and then France. At the end of the war, he was commandant of Templehof Airfield during the Potsdam Conference. I had a picture of him greeting President Truman when he flew in, and I can't find it. It is somewhere hidden in my archives. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Now how did he reach these positions? You mentioned that he was in World War I.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, he traveled in very high circles. He was a very close friend of Harold Talbot, Secretary of the Air Force. He was on his advisory committee. He had a lot of powerful friends. Jock Whitney was his golfing partner—John Hay Whitney—and he had a lot of other powerful friends. I didn't know most of them. I met Jock Whitney. I went to a coming-out party for Jock Whitney's daughter—stepdaughter. I remember I had just graduated from WSU (Washington State University*), and my dad said, "You've got to get a tuxedo." I said, "I don't have any money to buy a tuxedo." I was on my way to Canada to work in the iron ore fields. He said, "I'll get you one." So I got a tuxedo. I went out to Greentree Stables on Long Island, and (Laughter) I remember dancing with Irving Berlin's daughter.

Ms. Boswell: Oh my, yes.

Mr. Atwood: And all these kids were all very rich, and they were talking about their racehorses and all that. Here I am a country boy with straws coming out of my ears, but anyway….

Ms. Boswell: Did you know your dad well?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, we were very close. I used to write him. Later on, I used to stop in New York on my way back to Charlottesville, to the

** Like many other graduates of Washington State University, Senator Atwood refers to the school as WAZZU. For clarity, we will use the abbreviation WSU in these instances.*

JAG (Judge Advocate General's Corps) school at the University of Virginia. I sometimes had a couple of guys with me, and we would go to Yankee Stadium and see the ball games. This was in the late 1950s or early 1960s. He died in 1963.

Ms. Boswell: But as a child, did he have much influence on you?

Mr. Atwood: Not really, because the war came right in my formative years. The war started when I was a sophomore in high school. The last year we had visitations was in 1940 or 1941—1940. My step dad was Alan Rogers, and we lived on his ranch. In 1936 we moved from Seattle.

Ms. Boswell: Let's step back for a moment. Your mom met Alan Rogers when?

Mr. Atwood: In 1933 in Reno, and they got married shortly thereafter. We moved to Seattle.

Ms. Boswell: What was he going to do there?

Mr. Atwood: He was a lumber broker—Alan Rogers Lumber. His father was the head of Monarch Lumber Company in Minneapolis; he was a very wealthy man. I never met him. Alan was an interesting man, too. He was in Princeton at the beginning of World War I. He went into the service as an ambulance Red Cross driver in Europe and joined the French Foreign Legion once he got over there.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, that is interesting.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, he was at Verdun. His diary…or his letters to his mother were the most interesting that I have ever read.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, really?

Mr. Atwood: He was a very amazing guy. He became a regent at WSU. Alan Rogers Hall on the university campus was named after him. He was the president of the Washington Cattlemen's Association and also vice president of the National Cattlemen.

Ms. Boswell: So now, how did he get into the cattle business? He was a lumber broker….

Mr. Atwood: He was still suffering from his World War I injuries. He had lots of stomach problems from being gassed during the war. The doctor told him that he had to move out of the city, so he bought the High Valley Ranch in Ellensburg. It's still there, but it is owned by Tom Murray of Tacoma, who is a multi-millionaire. High Valley is a big ranch.

Ms. Boswell: How big?

Mr. Atwood: About one hundred thousand acres.

Ms. Boswell: Oh wow, it is huge.

Mr. Atwood: It's one of the bigger ranches in the state, but not the biggest one. It runs all the way from Peoh Point right outside of Cle Elum down to Selah. The State bought all the rangeland when I was in the Legislature. They paid a million dollars to Tom Murray and let him keep the timber rights. I said something about it to John Biggs, who was head of the Game Department and later head of the Department of Ecology. I told him, "You really ran one there." (Laughter) I was on the Appropriations Committee when I saw that. In fact, my mother's and Alan's ashes are scattered there in Robinson Canyon on state land. We got permission to do that. We have a little monument that sits up there; it's very obscure.

Ms. Boswell: So what was the transition like for you? You started out on the East Coast. Your parents get a divorce, and you moved out to the West Coast to Seattle and then….

Mr. Atwood: Then from Seattle to—let's see—I went to Lakeside. I went to Richmond Beach in

third and fourth, and in fifth grade I went to the Helen Bush School, believe it or not—me and Hazard Adams, who was the son of the headmaster of Lakeside. And then I went to Lakeside in sixth. In the seventh grade, I ended up at Morgan Junior High in Ellensburg. That was a public school, of course. That's where I went to junior and high school, in Ellensburg.

Ms. Boswell: So what was that transition like? That's a big change.

Mr. Atwood: It was lots of fun. Being on a ranch, we always had horses and it was quite a deal. My older sister was an expert horsewoman. She had her own jumpers. She was a good rider. She used to be in competitions at the Olympic Riding Club there. We moved to the ranch and we all had our own horses. It was a big ranch. Everybody had to help. We had two bands of sheep; we had about five hundred head of cows, Herefords. Oh, and we had a whole lot of pigs, Duroc Jersey pigs, a show string, and we had Guernsey cattle. In fact, some of the Guernsey cattle were purchased from Doctor Smith of Chuckanut Farms, near Bellingham. My brother, when we were in high school, had the Guernseys for his project at FFA (Future Farmers of America). I had Duroc Jersey pigs—they were solid red. (Laughter) I laugh because of my campaign manager, when we were campaigning my first campaign, and I tried to identify with the locals, I said, "You know, I was in the FFA, and I had Duroc Jersey pigs as my project," and he almost fell over. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Oh, that's great. So you liked the ranch life then?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, but, of course, it was different during the war. When I was a sophomore in 1941, the war started. I remember the day of Pearl Harbor. I was doing a geometry problem, sitting at a desk and listening to the radio. I ran outside to tell my step dad. They were cutting wood. They didn't know what I was talking about. I said, "You've got to go hear the radio. The Japanese have attacked Pearl Harbor." They all went in to listen.

So then everything changed, you know—limited gas, rationing, and all that. It just wasn't the same. Extra-curricular activities were reduced, and I couldn't turn out for anything because we were on the ranch and had to take the school bus.

Ms. Boswell: What about the kids? Was it easy, when you were older, to make the change? I guess you were in middle school when you first started there?

Mr. Atwood: No, junior high.

Ms. Boswell: Was it easy to get used to that?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. I was much smarter than most of the other students because I had gone to Lakeside for one year, and Lakeside was a very advanced school. (Laughter) My sisters went to the Katharine Branson School in Marin County, California, a private girls' school. My brother went to Lakeside, so I was by myself.

Ms. Boswell: So what was that like? Was that hard?

Mr. Atwood: Well no, but it was kind of lonely, you know. You were out there on the farm. I liked it. It got pretty cold in the wintertime, but I had a good childhood. I can't complain about that at all.

Ms. Boswell: When you were on the ranch, what were the biggest influences? Were there people who worked there who you got to know?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. You know who was there? This is interesting. Two of the people who later turned up in the Legislature had been on the ranch and worked for us. One of them was Max Benitz, the senator from Kennewick. He was in charge

of our Guernseys. And, then Irving Newhouse was the county agent in Kittitas County in those days. But anyhow, I told Max when I first went to the Legislature—he was in the House, I think—and I said to him, "You don't remember me, but I was about that high." (Laughter, while gesturing with his hand about three feet high.)

Ms. Boswell: And then, were you all over that country? You said you had a horse, so did you explore all over?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, although I was not a big horseman. My mother said I rode a horse like a sack of meal, so I didn't pretend to be a cowboy. My sister was the queen of the Ellensburg Rodeo when she was in high school… or in college. She went to the UW (University of Washington). But I was not a great horseman.

Ms. Boswell: Did your mom like that life? I mean, was that a good transition for her?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. It was a lot different than what she was used to. She had never cooked or anything. She always had maids and servants. When we were growing up in the East, we had a chauffeur. Waldemeer was his name; he was German. (Laughter) My dad had a chauffeur and a valet, and we children had a governess, Miss Belcher. It was a very different lifestyle.

Ms. Boswell: It was quite a difference.

Mr. Atwood: Culture shock for my mom, I'm sure of that.

Ms. Boswell: What about you, though? You mentioned earlier that you used to go back and visit your dad.

Mr. Atwood: Those were exciting trips, cross country on the *Empire Builder* or the Northern Pacific, or the Milwaukee road on the *Hiawatha*. (Laughter) We'd travel—all four of us. The first couple of times we had a nanny with us; we weren't old enough to travel alone. My sister, my oldest sister, had what you would call a coming-out party while there. She was in high school, but I don't remember too much about that.

Ms. Boswell: So you used to go every year in the summer? Is that how you would to do it?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, every year for a month or so. My father would rent a house on Long Island. If I remember, once we were at the Guggenheim's with Charlotte, our stepmother. My brother slipped on the dock and cracked his head open, and they had to take him to the doctor. The Guggenheim Castle was something else; it was a real castle.

Ms. Boswell: Is that where you would stay?

Mr. Atwood: No, no, we had our own home at New Rochelle. One of the things that I remember is that we used to go over to the Chrysler estate. My father was a close friend of Walter Chrysler's. I don't know whether he worked with him, but, anyway, we would go over there. Do you know where the Merchant Marine Academy is? That was Walter Chrysler's old estate, and I used to go swimming there quite a bit. Walter Chrysler was fairly old at the time. This was in late 1930s—1939 or 1940—and he didn't speak very good English. I remember he was spraying his roses. He had a boat. He was right across from Manhattan, as I recall, and he had a big yacht tied up. He said, "You guys can go down and look at my boat," so we all traipsed down there. There was a captain on the boat. He said, "What are you kids doing here?" He thought we were from the beach next door. We got out of there and ran up to the house. Pretty soon the captain comes up to the house and sees us there and says, "Oh, I thought you were from the beach next door." (Laughter) You know those things kind of stick in your mind.

Ms. Boswell: Yes. So it sounds like…

Mr. Atwood: We had a very privileged life.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, and that was during the 1930s, right? So that was during the Depression era; it sounds like the Depression didn't affect your dad much.

Mr. Atwood: No, he was on the Stock Exchange when it crashed in 1929. He spent the night there, but he was with a Canadian company. J.R. Timmins was Hollinger Gold Mines and still is. J.R. Timmins was like the Rockefeller of Canada. He was into many things, like the Royal Bank of Canada. He had a hotel in Montreal. He was quite a gambler. When I got out of the service I went to Martha's Vineyard and drove his daughter and her kids up to Montreal. They had a station wagon, and I drove it up there for them, but that was right after I got discharged in 1946.

Ms. Boswell: But, it's interesting, so even with the stock market decline though, it didn't seem to affect him at all?

Mr. Atwood: No it didn't. If it did, we weren't out on the street, and he didn't jump out the window. A lot of those corporate heads did.

Ms. Boswell: Absolutely**.** And so you said when you were growing up you were close to him?

Mr. Atwood: Well, as close you can get under those circumstances. I loved it, after the war, when he would come out here, and his favorite thing…I'd meet him in Seattle, and we would go down to the public market. He loved the public market. He would go there and buy hundreds of dollars worth of meat and vegetables. Then I would drive him over to Ellensburg, and he would stay with my older sister and her family—they had a ranch at Peoh Point—and he would do all the cooking while he was here. My brother and his family lived over there, too. Then he would come up to Bellingham, where we lived, and he would do all the cooking. He was a really good cook.

Ms. Boswell: That's great!

Mr. Atwood: And he was on the board of Canada Oil Lands Limited. He was on the Greyhound Bus board, too. When I ran for office, my first run for the Senate, the person who was the head of Greyhound—the president or whoever it was—told all the bus drivers, "You've got to campaign and look out for Roy Atwood." (Laughter) I never went by Roy, always Frank, but it was kind of nice.

Ms. Boswell: So your father had some political ties and interest. Where did you get your interest in politics? Was it from him?

Mr. Atwood: No, he wasn't that involved. He bankrolled a lot of candidates. He was a good friend of Harold Talbot, as I said, and Talbot was a backer of Dewey. I remember my roommate from WSU and I were visiting in New York on our way to Canada—the same trip that I went out to the Whitney's place. We were on Long Island. What's that fancy place out on the end of Long Island—Southampton—and Talbot was there. He said, "You guys can get into all the trouble that you want, but stay in the state of New York." That was because Dewey was the governor. (Laughter) Nevertheless, we didn't get into any trouble, of course.

Ms. Boswell: So, politics wasn't particularly your father's interest. Did you have an interest in politics early? How did that start?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, but it was not that intense. I never thought about running for office. That was kind of an accident the first time. My mother was the one who was into politics. She was a friend of Mrs. Bonney, who was Stewart Bledsoe's mom. Did you know Stewart?

Ms. Boswell: I know of him, but I did not know him, no.

Mr. Atwood: Anyway, they were close. We lived a mile down the road from them, and she got my mom involved. My mother was very excitable about politics. She was the state committeewoman from Kittitas County in the Eisenhower years. Bellingham had the convention the year that Eisenhower was nominated, and there was a big fight between the Taftites and the Eisenhower backers. She was for Taft and I was for Eisenhower. (Laughter) But anyway, Eisenhower won. But that was the closest I had anything to do with politics.

Ms. Boswell: And did it translate into school like middle school or high school? Were you interested in political things then?

Mr. Atwood: I did run for office in junior high and high school.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me about that.

Mr. Atwood: Well, I ran for president in junior high and got beaten. That wasn't a very pleasant experience. (Laughter) I lost by thirty-two votes. Then, oh…I did get elected sophomore representative the next year when I went into high school, but then I didn't run for anything again.

Ms. Boswell: What drew you into that?

Mr. Atwood: Just the nature of it, I guess. I won the sophomore representative; I beat the guy that beat me for president in middle school. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: All right! (Laughter) Sweet retribution.

Mr. Atwood: I wasn't involved in any more political activities in high school. The war was on. I was an expert in the war—I still am, on World War II. I've got every history of World War II that there ever was written.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me a little about how the war affected high school.

Mr. Atwood: It affected everything. Everything was geared to the war, everything. Our class was close to graduation. We all went into the service then. I went into service on May 13, 1944, and graduated then. That's when I raised the right hand. I was an enlisted man in the Reserve Corps. I had to get permission from my mom to join. I still have that consent; in fact, I've got my whole 201 file at home.

Ms. Boswell: And how old were you?

Mr. Atwood: Seventeen.

Ms. Boswell: So you literally enlisted before you actually went through graduation, it sounds like.

Mr. Atwood: Right. Me and another friend, Sam Kreidel. He lives in Florida now, and he also has a home in Montana. He was in aeronautics; he later became head of the advanced physics lab at North American Aviation.

Ms. Boswell: So, what brought you to enlist that early? You were so young. What was it?

Mr. Atwood: Everybody went. My brother had been gone for two years. He enlisted in the Navy as soon as he graduated. The whole class was in the service. Well, there were a few that got farm exemptions, but it was an entirely different atmosphere than what you see nowadays.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me a little about it.

Mr. Atwood: The draft had long been going. The war had been going on for three years by the time I got in, and everybody was gone. Our neighbor was killed in 1944, too. Jack Kelleher was killed on Utah Beach. He was my neighbor in Ellensburg.

Ms. Boswell: How did it affect you at high school?

Mr. Atwood: Everything was geared to the war: our physical education, our classes. I took all advanced classes—physics, algebra 3 and 4, trigonometry—the whole thing was geared to the war. There weren't any, or a very few, optionals, looking back on it now. I couldn't turn out for sports. I did play basketball in my junior year, but I didn't in my senior year because it was tough to get around. We lived eight miles out of town.

Ms. Boswell: So it would be the rationing of gas that would make it tough to get in and out?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. Oh yes, although living on a ranch, we had unlimited gas. We had our own gas, but you just didn't drive around and flaunt it because you just didn't do that.

Ms. Boswell: So, during that time, especially in a more agricultural community, were people focused on producing for the war, too?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, more or less. Well, we had our own meat. Rationing didn't affect us. We had our own chickens and everything, until our chicken house burned down—what a mess! (Laughter) It was a two-story chicken house, and you never smelled such a horrible smell of feathers.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, how did that happen?

Mr. Atwood: Overheated from the heating unit, I think. I don't know. On the foundation they built a horse barn.

Ms. Boswell: But did either beef or other things raised on the ranch go to the government? Were those things sold to the government?

Mr. Atwood: One of the interesting things about that. I remember back in the pre-war years, they had the Remount Program from the Army. They had fancy stallions that they put around; we had one of the Remount stallions, and you had to breed them. The people would bring their mares to be bred, and you charged them five bucks or something. And then once a year, the Army would send a colonel or lieutenant colonel around and look at the horses for acquisition. That program stopped after the war started. We had beautiful stallions there for about three or four years. We actually had two or three stallions, the first of which was a son of "Man O' War," the famous race horse.

Ms. Boswell: So, that was to breed horses for use by whom?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, quality horses for the Army. Of course, the Horse Calvary went out of style prior to World War II; however, it was an interesting deal.

Ms. Boswell: Did people in high school, for example, feel as though they couldn't enjoy themselves? I wonder if there were fewer parties or fewer kinds of entertainment things or not?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, there were hardly any at all.

Ms. Boswell: Really?

Mr. Atwood: Some of the kids in high school volunteered for the service before they even graduated. They were eighteen then. We had our senior prom and junior prom, but it was pretty limited. We had football, basketball, and whatnot. It wasn't like it is now.

Ms. Boswell: You mentioned that you became sort of an expert on the war.

Mr. Atwood: I am an expert on the war. Take it from me! (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: I believe it. I absolutely believe it. But it began in high school?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it did. I had maps and books. I wanted to go to West Point, but I wasn't physically qualified. I took the exam, but physically I'm

color blind, so that disqualified me from West Point.

Ms. Boswell: Did you know that at the time when you took the physical?

Mr. Atwood: I did when I took the physical. I knew that I was colorblind.

Ms. Boswell: So was it just the atmosphere, or what intrigued you about the military?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it was the atmosphere. Everybody wanted to do their part. There were a lot of women who went, too. I know my oldest sister had a woman friend, Peggy Hepler, who joined the Marines. She was a BAM. That's what they used to call them: a Big-Ass Marine. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) I have never heard that before.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, you have. Well, probably not, that was fifty years ago. It seems like yesterday. It really does.

Ms. Boswell: And so you said you had maps and you would study them?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, and I knew all the generals. I'll tell you a story. I went to basic training at Camp Roberts. It was an Infantry Replacement Training Center halfway between San Francisco and Los Angeles, outside of Paso Robles. They had me for OCS, Officer Candidates School. I was eighteen years old by that time. I went before a board, and they asked me a lot of questions. I knew more than the board did. The guy says to me—I think he was a major—he says, "How did you know all these things?" I said, "I just know it." I went to OCS at eighteen; that should *never* have happened. Looking back on it now, there was no way an eighteen-year-old should be commanding an infantry platoon. No way! There were four of us who were eighteen. During my sixteenth week, they said, "You're too young," which they should have told me in the beginning. I should never have been in the program; however, the war ended then.

Ms. Boswell: So, let me step back. Did you have trouble with your mother? I mean, you said you were only seventeen. Did she care?

Mr. Atwood: No, oh no. No, no. I was the only child left on the ranch. I could have gotten an exemption, but I didn't want one. My brother was in the Navy.

Ms. Boswell: Did you want to get into the Navy?

Mr. Atwood: No, absolutely not. I was an Army man. (Laughter) My dad was Army. In those days it was the Army Air Force. It didn't become a separate entity until 1948 or 1949, maybe 1950.

Ms. Boswell: So did you have an interest in air? I mean did you want to follow him in that?

Mr. Atwood: No. I was Army—a ground pounder. That was the best shape I was ever in, when I was in basic training.

Ms. Boswell: So now, you enlisted and then went right into basic training?

Mr. Atwood: No, I was in the ASTRP, the Specialized Training Program, at WSU for six months. Then we all went to basic training.

Ms. Boswell: I don't know what ASTRP stands for.

Mr. Atwood: That's the Army Specialized Training Reserve Program. There was a unit at Pullman; there were several units all over. Then, later in the war, they abolished them all, like the Navy V-5 and V-12.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, right. So you went to Pullman?

Mr. Atwood: You had to pass an exam to get in the program, and Sam Kreidel and I were the two guys from Ellensburg who made it.

Ms. Boswell: So you went to that, then you went to basic training where?

Mr. Atwood: At Camp Roberts. That was the Infantry Replacement Training Center for the coast.

Ms. Boswell: And then once you did that, then you went into OCS?

Mr. Atwood: I went to Fort Benning: Benning School for Boys.

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) There you were; you were very young. What were your impressions? What was that like?

Mr. Atwood: Well, they were all young. Everybody was the under the age of twenty-one, I would guess. There were some older guys there. Oh yes, we did have some in basic training. We had a guy there; he got on the wrong bus. He was from Portland. He was married and had six kids, but he made more money in the Army because he got extra money for his dependents. He was making more money in the Army than he could make at home. And after we all graduated from basic training, he told them, "I don't think I should be here. I have a wife and six kids." And they discharged him. (Laughter) Isn't that something?

Ms. Boswell: So when you went into the OCS program, what were your personal goals? Or did they just put you in there? How did that work?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I wanted it. You got a second lieutenant's commission, but you worked hard for it. Physically, you had to do all the obstacle courses. You ran everywhere you went. In those days the Airborne School was also located at Fort Benning. When the war ended in Europe, I went to Camp Butner in North Carolina. The Fourth Division had come back from Europe and was in training for the Japanese invasion. I went to the Twelfth Infantry Regiment; the headquarters of the Twelfth Infantry was at Camp Butner and that was a regular Army division, the Fourth Infantry. And then we dropped the atomic bomb. Thank god for that because I would have been there. But I was in a commo—communications—platoon in the headquarters company, the Twelfth Infantry Regiment. Better than being a front-line infantry. By that time, I made T-5. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: And T-5 is what?

Mr. Atwood: A corporal with a "T' under it. We had German POWs doing KP (Kitchen Police) duties, so we corporals didn't have to do any KP.

Ms. Boswell: So in your infantry unit, these people had been in Europe then? They had seen action?

Mr. Atwood: Most of them had, oh yes.

Ms. Boswell: Did they tell you stories?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes. Some of them, well, very few of them had been in D-Day on Utah Beach because the divisions turned over twice. They were in the Hürtgen Forest, Germany, where they just got massacred. That was the toughest battle in World War II in Europe. No one ever hears much about it, but it was much bigger than the Battle of the Bulge. The Germans chewed up three or four division in the Hürtgen Forest.

Ms. Boswell: And so then they were retraining in the United States to go to Japan, was that it?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. There were several divisions that were going to be assault divisions on Japan. It was a massive operation. I saw the plans. I forget what they called the operation, but they had about ten or twelve assault divisions. It was going to be a huge, huge operation.

Ms. Boswell: And so you would have been right in the middle?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I don't know, not right in the middle. I wasn't front-line infantry; I was in the headquarters of the Twelfth Infantry Regiment. There are three regiments in the Fourth Division: the Eighth, the Twelfth, and the Twenty-Second. They are all in the division's headquarters troops. Those were big units of about fourteen thousand people. While I was at Camp Butner, the Belgian ambassador came over and presented the division with a Belgian medal. It's the only time I've seen a whole division on parade. It was a huge turnout. (Laughter) Everything, they had the whole division, and General Courtney Hodges, who was the commanding general of the First Army, was the reviewing general—a four-star general. They inactivated, and I got sent back to Benning to the Thirty-seventh Infantry Regiment, and I served there until I got discharged in September 1946.

Ms. Boswell: What did you do there?

Mr. Atwood: School troops. We ran demonstrations for the OCS candidates. They were still OCS, but on a reduced scale. I was laying wire. The school troops were demonstration troops for the students. The Army Ground Force, board three, was a group for testing new weapons. Oh, we had lots of experimental weapons there: the automatic M-14s and M-16s, or the forerunners of the M-16s. It was interesting.

Ms. Boswell: Did you like it? How did you feel about your military experience?

Mr. Atwood: Not bad. I enjoyed it until I wanted to get out. I was tired of it.

Ms. Boswell: You didn't consider a career in the military?

Mr. Atwood: Not there. When I went to WSU, I took ROTC (Reserve Officers' Training Corps). There were eight of us in the advanced ROTC at WSU, all veterans. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Oh, wow. Now tell me about that. So you were deactivated in 1946?

Mr. Atwood: Discharged.

Ms. Boswell: Discharged, sorry. And what were your plans then? Had you made any?

Mr. Atwood: I had none. Absolutely none. I remember I went up to New York, went out to Martha's Vineyard, drove the Timmins kids home to Montreal, and then I flew home to Ellensburg. My brother had been discharged for quite a while, and he was enrolled in WSU. So I rode over with him to WSU to help him move in. My old high school teacher was a registrar at WSU, Claude Simpson.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, really, I knew Claude Simpson.

Mr. Atwood: My brother was married at that time and his wife worked for Mr. Simpson, and I made a mistake of going to see him. I was one of Claude's favorite students, of course. (Laughter) I was planning to do 52/20, which was 52 weeks at twenty dollars a week on unemployment. That was the 52/20 Club in those days. I was just going to live a little. Unfortunately, he conned me into the GI Bill. I signed up for nineteen hours, and a week later I was going to college with no respite.

Ms. Boswell: And tell me about the veterans at WSU.

Mr. Atwood: Most of the students were veterans. There were five thousand students. That was the most students that I had ever seen in my whole life until I got to the UW. Things were really jammed. That's way beyond the capacity at WSU in those days. One of my roommates was a former Eighty-second Airborne trooper who had five

Purple Hearts. Two of the guys, Alan Carlson and Jim Hickey, were from Spokane and had been in the Tenth Mountain Division in Italy. The whole place was all veterans on the GI Bill. We didn't have to pay for anything—you know the books, the paper—and we got seventy-five bucks a month. That was a lot of money in those days. That was a great program.

Ms. Boswell: And so Claude Simpson talked you into it, and what did you end up taking?

Mr. Atwood: All kinds of courses. Oh, I was taking political science, pre-law, and all that. I didn't know what I was going to do; I had no idea.

Ms. Boswell: Now, with all those veterans….

Mr. Atwood: They were all in a hurry; everybody was in a hurry. They had missed out for three or four years and, you know, they figured they were way behind. They probably were.

Ms. Boswell: And so they were all in a hurry to get done and get on with their lives and careers and whatever?

Mr. Atwood: I had been in the service twenty-eight months total. Some of those guys had been in four to six years.

Ms. Boswell: Did the university try to accommodate? I mean, were there special programs?

Mr. Atwood: No. I don't think there was anything special. They just took the regular courses, like if you were in sociology or psychology. I took a political science degree, so you might say that that's where I first brushed with politics.

Ms. Boswell: Was there lots of camaraderie among the vets?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, there was.

Ms. Boswell: Let me see if I can characterize this fairly. Is it fair to say that in the post-war period people were just relieved? What was the atmosphere like? Were people just relieved? Was there more partying because of the war being over or were people more serious? I don't have a sense of the attitude.

Mr. Atwood: Well, there was a lot of partying, but they were also very serious. A lot of the guys wanted to get married and get on with it, and there were lots of married veterans there. They had a tough life, and their wives had to work, or they did, too.

Ms. Boswell: So, you got involved in political science in particular? How did that come about? Did you just like the professors or what was the impetus?

Mr. Atwood: No, I just liked the subject. And I was in the ROTC also.

Ms. Boswell: Now in the post-war era, were most people interested in ROTC or not?

Mr. Atwood: No, no. It was very unusual to have veterans in the ROTC. A lot of them went back in the service; three or four of my colleagues went back and took permanent commissions, regular Army commissions.

Ms. Boswell: So why did you choose to do that?

Mr. Atwood: Because I wanted to do it. You got paid for it, too. But then, I enjoyed it.

Ms. Boswell: And what about other activities in college? Were there other things you liked to do?

Mr. Atwood: I had no car. My brother had a car; I used to borrow his once in a while. I had no dates, hardly at all. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Too studious, right?

Mr. Atwood: No. It was just inconvenient.

Ms. Boswell: What about the ratio of women to men? With all these veterans coming back, were there many women enrolled at that time or not?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes. There were quite a lot. During the war, there were more women than men.

Ms. Boswell: Yes. I was wondering, though, was there pressure because of all these veterans coming back? You mentioned that essentially WSU had many more people than they could technically handle. Was there a real competition for the places at that point?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, you bet. One of the things I was not interested in doing was joining a fraternity or any of that. I was an independent the whole time I was there. I enjoyed WSU. When you didn't have a car, it made it very tough. I got a car after I graduated.

My roommate and I hitchhiked across the country. My dad got us a job up in Canada working for Iron Ore Company of Canada, or actually it was Labrador Mining and Exploration up north of Sept-Iles (Seven Islands) by about three or four hundred miles, maybe more. We worked all summer, and I was a diamond drill helper. Labrador Mining and Exploration was a conglomerate composed of M.A. Hanna Company, which is a giant steel maker, Hollinger Gold Mines, and one other company. They were drilling for the depth of the ore body. They knew that there was a lot of iron ore there and there was. The year that we were up there, they went over a billion tons. Right now, it's called Schefferville. There is a town there now; it was called Burnt Creek, which was a base camp. I worked as the diamond drill helper, just south of Ungava Bay. If you look at a map, you'll see Ungava Bay is north of Hudson's Bay.

Ms. Boswell: In order to get there, you had to do what?

Mr. Atwood: You had to fly in.

Ms. Boswell: Oh. We are looking at the map here. You were way up there.

Mr. Atwood: Here: Peninsula of Ungava. Ungava Bay is up here.

Ms. Boswell: So, it is to the east of Hudson's Bay.

Mr. Atwood: East of Hudson's Bay.

Ms. Boswell: Wow, you're way up there.

Mr. Atwood: Yes. You could only work there four months out of the year. We were there from June until September. It was an interesting experience because that was the year that Labrador and Newfoundland began the process of consolidating and becoming part of Confederation (of Canada). And the "Newfies" did not like the English, and the French-Canadians didn't like the English or the "Newfies." The poor Indians were at the bottom of the totem pole. My roommate and I were the only Americans; we weren't even supposed to work there.

When we were flying up on the airlines—it was the Hollinger Ungava Transport, owned by the company—the head guy was on the plane. He said, "Have you guys had any experience in construction?" My roommate raised his hand and said, "Yeah, I used to work on construction," and he became the foreman on the road gang down at Burnt Creek. I got shipped off to work on a diamond drill crew *way* up there. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: What was that experience like?

Mr. Atwood: It was a great experience. I really learned a lot about mining. We were drilling for the depth of the ore body. Every ten feet, we would pull the rig. We would go down about 200

feet, pull the rig every ten feet, and take out the core. The core was sent down to base camp at Burnt Creek. They had a big geology shack and they were classifying the ore. They can tell the percentage of ore. The next year, they were drilling for the width of the ore body. So in order for them to have any kind of production, they had to reach a certain amount of ore. And after I left, about two years later, they built a railroad from Seven Islands north into Burnt Creek. It's now Schefferville. They built a pelletizing plant for iron ore. The ore docks were at Seven Islands on a barge. It was very interesting to see how they were doing that.

Ms. Boswell: Was it a good paying job, too?

Mr. Atwood: Well, in those days it was. You worked twelve hours a day, seven days a week. I bought a car with that money.

Ms. Boswell: I was going to say that you probably didn't have any place to spend it up there either.

Mr. Atwood: No. And you absolutely stunk. I mean you smelled awful, very ripe. (Laughter) We'd stand in the shower for two hours when we finally got out of there. I should have bought stock in that mine, and I'd have retired as a millionaire because it's in full production.

Ms. Boswell: So you did that for the summer?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, then I came back. Oh, this is the key—you were going to ask me what did I decide to do then? I thought, "What do I want to do now?" so I applied for law school from up there in the camp. The only picture I had of myself was my WSU student body card, so I clipped that to the application. I got accepted and went to law school.

Ms. Boswell: And so you chose the University of Washington, correct?

Mr. Atwood: Yes.

Ms. Boswell: Any particular reason or you just wanted to go back to Washington?

Mr. Atwood: Well, no. My roommate and I had taken a tour of all the colleges in the East—Harvard, Yale. The only college that I would have considered going to was UVA [University of Virginia]. I loved that area; that's a beautiful place. I talked to the dean there and he said, "Well, if you are going to practice in Washington, then you should go to a Washington law school." So I did. I didn't give any serious consideration to Harvard or Yale.

Ms. Boswell: And at that point you were pretty convinced that you did want to come back to Washington?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, oh yes. There wasn't any reason for me not to come back. I didn't care for New York.

Ms. Boswell: Did your dad have any input? Did he have any ideas about it?

Mr. Atwood: No, he would have gotten me a job, though. (Laughter) He had lots of influential friends.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, it sounds like it. So, up in a tent, you were actually up there filling out your application?

Mr. Atwood: I thought that would be great. If they could have seen me out there clipping my student body card. I wonder what they thought when they saw the application come in from Burnt Creek, Labrador.

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) Geographic distribution, right?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, right.

Ms. Boswell: So, now tell me about that decision, though. Did political science sort of naturally lead into law?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I think so. I think that was a natural thing for me to do. I knew I wasn't going to be a doctor; I can't stand blood. Law was a good thing for business, too. My dad said that, depending on what you wanted to do.

Ms. Boswell: Did the war experience shape your career goals at all?

Mr. Atwood: Not really.

Ms. Boswell: No? I was curious whether the idea of public service was a part of it. That doesn't necessarily mean that law leads to public service, but I wondered if the war experience and patriotism increased people's interest in the notion of public service?

Mr. Atwood: It did. It actually did. As it turned out, it did a lot.

Ms. Boswell: Before we move on, let me ask you about the law school experience. Does anything particularly stand out? Did you feel, when you got there, that this is what you really wanted to do? Did you enjoy it? Is that what you really wanted to do?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I was on the GI Bill still. It was not bad. I had a girlfriend. I worked in the Tri-Delta sorority house for two and a half years. I had a lot of fun. It was interesting.

Ms. Boswell: Now, you mentioned WSU had been primarily veterans when you went back. What about the law school? Was it still full of veterans?

Mr. Atwood: Lots of veterans, too. By the way, this year is the fiftieth anniversary of my class. I am not going to the fiftieth-year reunion; I hate fiftieth reunions.

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) Well, what's wrong with reunions?

Mr. Atwood: (Laughter) One of the guys called me and said, "Aren't you coming to the dinner?" I said, "I'll think about it," but not very hard.

Ms. Boswell: But most of them were veterans?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, most of them were. Most of them were veterans. Even a couple of women who had been in the class were veterans.

Ms. Boswell: And was it an intense experience?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it was. I was in a hurry; I went straight through. I went two summers to get through in ten quarters. I graduated in 1951.

Ms. Boswell: Was that haste because you…?

Mr. Atwood: I was behind! I was behind my colleagues, my peer group, so I thought.

Ms. Boswell: You still weren't that old.

Mr. Atwood: I know that, but now I wish I were back there.

Ms. Boswell: And so then what did you do?

Mr. Atwood: I had to work. I was out of school; I had to get a job. For a while, I worked as a sales representative at Belknap Glass in Seattle. Jack Kurtz, who was later a judge here and a partner of mine, got me a job. He had been married all the way through. He had worked at Belknap Glass down on Lake Union, and I went to work there as a sales representative until I graduated.

When I graduated from law school, I went to work for Safeco. I got a job in downtown Seattle. Jimmy Andersen—later Senator Andersen, who was later a state Supreme Court judge—and I worked for Safeco.

Ms. Boswell: How did you get into insurance if you had been in law?

Mr. Atwood: Because I was an adjuster, a claims adjuster.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, I see.

Mr. Atwood: I worked in the head office there in the claims department for about a month or two. That was a good job for law students or law graduates.

Ms. Boswell: How long were you at Safeco?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I got sent here to Bellingham. I'd never been in Bellingham before. They had fired the guys here, and I was the only, the single one in the office, so I came. As an adjuster here I covered Whatcom, Skagit, and San Juan counties. And it was a pretty good job. I had a company car. I had two cars—my own and the company's.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me a bit more about the situation. So you had been brought up to Bellingham by Safeco, and you really had no background here before that? Obviously you liked it. What was it you liked about the community?

Mr. Atwood: It was a nice place to live, yes.

Ms. Boswell: Why was that?

Mr. Atwood: Well, because there were lots of unattached females, that's why.

Ms. Boswell: Because of the university?

Mr. Atwood: No, just nice people with nice daughters. It was a nice place. There were lots of social activities.

Ms. Boswell: But now, you had been with the insurance agency, but then what?

Mr. Atwood: I left them. I was there less than a year. I passed the bar and then I set up my practice, and I quit.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me a little about how you set up the practice.

Mr. Atwood: I set up practice with Jack Kurtz in the old Seattle First building. We paid thirty-five dollars a month for our rent. (Laughter) A bargain!

Ms. Boswell: And did you have this in mind? What kind of practice?

Mr. Atwood: None. Just general—anything that came through the door.

Ms. Boswell: Was that a tough step, to start a new practice like that?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, in a town like this! It's a father and son town. I mean, we had about five law firms. In those days, there were only about forty lawyers; now, there are over three hundred. In those days, there was the Abrams, McCush, and Rinker firm, and Livesey, Kingsbury, Livesey—all fathers and sons. Kendall and Voris. It was a tough deal.

Ms. Boswell: So why did you do it?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I had to eat. And as it turns out, it was pretty good. I haven't made a fortune, but enough to get by.

Ms. Boswell: How did you get your early clients? How did that work?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I got active in the Junior Chamber of Commerce (Jaycees). I was single, and I had lots of time. That was a great club in this town. It did everything. There were two hundred members, and they were professionals and non-professionals. They did everything. They started all the events that we have today.

Ms. Boswell: Like what?

Mr. Atwood: Like golf tournaments, the Sea to Ski race that they have every year, the Christmas activities, parades—they did everything. Later on, I ran for office and got beaten three times in a row for president of the Jaycees. (Laughter) I finally did win state committeeman, but in the meantime, I became secretary-treasurer of the State of Washington Jaycees. I was Jaycee secretary-treasurer with Jerry Starr, who was state president. That was in 1957 and 1958. Then I had a big practice by that time. That's how you get your clients and your friends.

Ms. Boswell: So you just get to know people in the community that way?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, and they know you. And then I was a councilman.

Ms. Boswell: So now, let me go back to the Jaycees because that's interesting. So you got involved running for office with them?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. In fact, I went to two national conventions. The politics were cut- throat! (Laughter) Jerry Starr, my president, was running for national vice-president. There were ten vice-presidents and eleven men running nationwide. He was the odd man out. It was sad; that was in Buffalo, New York.

Ms. Boswell: Okay. But in terms of running, I mean, what drew you into wanting to have an office, for example, in an organization? Did you enjoy it?

Mr. Atwood: Well, they asked you to do it. I did hold a vice-presidency, but I was a short-timer compared to the men who beat me. (Laughter) They were old Bellingham. Those guys are still my clients, the guys that beat me. Good clients.

Ms. Boswell: That's good. So it really did make a difference in whatever you did to have been around in Bellingham?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, definitely. It was a good way to get known.

Ms. Boswell: But it was worth it, to persevere like that?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. It was a lot of fun.

Ms. Boswell: So how long did it take to build up a good law practice?

Mr. Atwood: I would guess at least twelve to fifteen years.

Ms. Boswell: And by then you had married and were off the eligible bachelor list?

Mr. Atwood: Out of circulation forever. I met my wife. She was an elevator operator here at the Leopold Hotel while she was at Western.

Ms. Boswell: And you just ran into her? Tell me that story.

Mr. Atwood: No, I rode the elevator to attend meetings in the hotel. She was cuter than a bug's ear when I first saw her; she still is. I have a funny story there. George Knowles ran the hotel, and I knew George. She and a girlfriend were running the elevators there. I had a coffee date with her and started to hang around, and George said, "Wait a minute. She is way too young for you." (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) And what did you say to that?

Mr. Atwood: I didn't say anything! I married her.

Ms. Boswell: You ignored him!

Ms. Boswell: Tell me a little about her background. Was she from the Bellingham area?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. She was born and raised here. Her folks were Swedish, but they had been here for a long time. Her mother lived to be 102; she just died about four or five years ago.

Ms. Boswell: So, she was attending Western Washington University?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. She was a senior at Western. She graduated, and we got married. We've been married forty-eight years.

I've enjoyed Bellingham—it's a nice place to live. It's been good to me.

Chapter 2

City Politics

Ms. Boswell: Tell me how you first decided to get involved in politics.

Mr. Atwood: It was purely accidental. I was a precinct captain in the Sixth Ward for the Republicans, but that's the extent of it.

Ms. Boswell: Now how did you get involved? When did that political interest start?

Mr. Atwood: Well, when I first came here, I was a Republican more or less. This city was Democratic; it still is. They had maybe one or two Republicans over the years, but primarily Democrats. The whole county still is Democratic, although it swings in some areas.

To answer your question, how did I come to run for council? It is a non-partisan office, so I had a shot at it—not good one, but a shot. (Laughter) The downtown establishment was running Bill Follis, and I had the incumbent councilman, John Kelly, who was a CPA, endorse me. He was a very popular councilman. I was running against the establishment and that's not a good thing to do. (Laughter) But anyway, I had some of my Jaycee friends come around, asking me to withdraw. I said, "What for?" There were six people to start with, and then it was down to two.

Ms. Boswell: But now, how did the idea strike you?

Mr. Atwood: It didn't. The funny story about it was that I was walking through city hall one time, and met Glenn Larson, who was the *Bellingham Herald* reporter, covering city hall. He was a friend of mine, but one of my best friends was Steve Kurtz, who was an assistant sports editor, for the *Herald*. We ran around together a lot because we were both single, and Glenn said, "Hey Frank, why don't you run for the city council?" I said, "What for?" He didn't like any of the other guys. He said, "Well, think about it," and I said, "If you'll pay my filing fee, I'll run." He said, "Okay." He went in and paid twelve bucks (Laughter) and guess what? I won!

I was not the choice of the business community. I had the endorsement of the incumbent who was leaving office.

Ms. Boswell: But why weren't you the choice of the business community?

Mr. Atwood: Because they had their own candidate.

Ms. Boswell: Oh?

Mr. Atwood: Bill Follis. It was a six-man race, and Bill and I were the top two winners. I beat him in the finals.

Ms. Boswell: You had no idea before that, no inclination that you might want to get into politics at some point?

Mr. Atwood: Not running for office. You know, I didn't mind running as long as I didn't have to pay for it. I was pretty poor in those days—not much better than I am now, but that was worse.

Ms. Boswell: But you mentioned that you were involved in Republican precinct work?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, but that's not non-partisan politics.

Ms. Boswell: Right. So was the city council truly non-partisan?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it was.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me a little about it, how that worked.

Mr. Atwood: Just the nature of the people who were running. It was hard putting a label on them. I was the only one who had been active in party politics. I know that Bill Follis had never been and has never been since. Ah, who else was in there? Bob Ebright, of course, was a veterinarian. Ned Ballinger was an old guy, and I don't know what his politics were. Bob Ebright probably was a Republican, but he wasn't active then either. He's a PUD (Public Utilities District) commissioner now. He is in my coffee group as matter of fact. I told him, "I was going through this book and here are the unmentionables!" (Laughter)" We called members of the Bellingham City Council "the unmentionables."

Ms. Boswell: What did that mean?

Mr. Atwood: Nothing. It was just a label that I put on him. Another candidate was Bill McDonald, who was the dean of men up at the college, and he was a Democrat, I think. Verdun Place was the owner of a motorcycle shop. Jeannie Beacom, who was one of the smartest council people that we had. She beat a guy who was a big Democrat, a big lawyer, Lester Voris. He's a nice guy, but he was also a Democrat.

Ms. Boswell: Why did they end up making the city council non-partisan? Is that unusual?

Mr. Atwood: It was there. In fact, they turned the county council into a non-partisan body, too. That's the only way a Republican could ever get elected here to the county council.

Ms. Boswell: Do you think that makes people focus on the issues?

Mr. Atwood: On the person.

Ms. Boswell: Is that a good thing or not?

Mr. Atwood: I think it is, especially in local government. It probably would not work on the state level, but it is good for local government—city and county.

Ms. Boswell: And tell me why?

Mr. Atwood: Well, because then you can get good men to run—good people who might be Republicans or whatever.

Ms. Boswell: So prior to that, you really had no inclination at all to run?

Mr. Atwood: None. Absolutely none.

Ms. Boswell: But you had run for office in organizations? You had run for office before, isn't that right?

Mr. Atwood: Yes I had, in the Jaycees.

Ms. Boswell: Was that at all political?

Mr. Atwood: No. You had more people who liked you or had been around longer. I got beat three or four times in the Jaycees.

Ms. Boswell: So the Bellingham City Council wasn't a popularity contest in the sort of worst sense?

Mr. Atwood: No, not like high school or the Jaycees. It was nothing like that.

Ms. Boswell: When you filed or when you got talked into filing, how….

Mr. Atwood: I didn't file. I went in and paid the

filing fee, and I signed my name.

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) Well, when you were on the line to run, how familiar were you with local politics?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, more or less, but not that much. But I had been to a few meetings and represented some people in front of the council.

Ms. Boswell: Of the other candidates that you mentioned, I don't remember that anyone else was a lawyer. Was being a lawyer an asset?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it was. I was the only lawyer on the council. Our city attorney, who shall remain nameless, was elected too, but he wouldn't do anything that the council wanted him to do. He's still a friend of mine. He was a big University of Washington football player.

Ms. Boswell: Once you did run, were there some special issues on which you particularly focused?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I was a chairman of Streets and Sewers and that was a man killer. We sewered! We built more sewers in my term—in the five to six years that I was there—than they had in the prior fifty years. We sewered all over the city of Bellingham—on the North Shore Road from the city limits down to Lakeway and out on Elridge, all of Birchwood at one time. It was one gigantic sewer project.

Ms. Boswell: Was sewage an issue in the campaign, too, before you were elected?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, because it was a huge enterprise. We also did the Lake Whatcom diversion project for water on the Nooksack, and I served on the water board when I became the president of the council. We were doing the Nooksack diversion project, which is the heart and soul of the water development. It turns out that, thirty years later, it really wasn't critical because the pulp mill is out of business now. It was primarily for industrial water.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me a little about when you were running in 1957, which was the first election. Tell me about Bellingham at that time. What was it like as a city? How was it changing?

Mr. Atwood: Well, you know, it was a father and son town. I mean really a father and son town. Old Bellingham, I still refer to it. I was new Bellingham; I had never been here before. I was married to a local girl, but I was still new.

Ms. Boswell: When you say father and son town, tell me what you mean.

Mr. Atwood: It meant businesses downtown were all owned by a father, and they were inherited: Diehl Motors, Morse Hardware, and the pulp mill. It has now changed radically. There are still some father and son businesses—Morse Hardware and Diehl Motors—but it has changed endlessly.

Ms. Boswell: So, would you call it inbred or just small?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it was kind of stodgy. It was hard to attract new industry and whatnot. It was a closed corporation more or less, but now they've got Fourth Corner Development and the Chamber of Commerce. They knew that they had to get new business, because downtown was dying on the vine. It is still an ongoing fight.

Ms. Boswell: So was the pulp mill the prime industry at the time?

Mr. Atwood: The college and the pulp mill. The paper mill was separate, too. It was a big factor. It is still going.

The South Side Sewage Disposal built a new treatment plant. That's just basic stuff, but it's the guts of the whole operation. We shut this park over here. It was a disposal plant, but it couldn't handle anything.

Ms. Boswell: Which park is that? What is it called?

Mr. Atwood: Heritage Park. It's right here by my office, right beyond that building across the street. That used to be the sewage treatment plant. We had to move everything. There was a huge treatment plant down on South Bellingham, and it was just one giant project after another, building sewers. It was not a glamorous thing either.

Ms. Boswell: Why at that particular time? Why hadn't it taken place before?

Mr. Atwood: We just never got around to it. Everything was on septic tanks, and you just can't do that in a city, of this size anyway.

Ms. Boswell: Was there a fair amount of growth in the late 1950s? Is that what helped to precipitate it?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it had been after the war. The Birchwood area opened up with new homes. Down on Lakeway, there were a lot of new homes. On Lake Whatcom, you shouldn't have been able to build a house without a sewer system. We did build that sewer from the North Shore Drive. One of the councilmen lived out there. Verdun Place had a home right on the lake at the edge of town. We had to get sewers; otherwise, there was just pollution from the septic tank systems.

Ms. Boswell: And how did that become your area of expertise?

Mr. Atwood: It didn't. I just got stuck with it. I didn't know any better. It was a big deal. It took an awful lot of time and when you start a Local Improvement District (LID), everyone is mad: "We don't have the money; it's too expensive." But later on, as it turns out, they thank you because, without it, they would have no growth at all. In fact, they've got pollution. They're going through that battle now out on the Lake Whatcom watershed. There's a moratorium on building out there on the watershed. They were talking about banning boats. (Laughter) That went out the window in a hurry.

Ms. Boswell: So, in the 1950s, was one of the primary arguments environmental?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes. Look at this headline from an old newspaper clipping: "Samish Sewer." That's Lake Samish. "Health Hazard Finding. Bellingham City Council established a Local Improvement District to finance sewers along the Samish Highway." That's all the area up on the hill there above I-5. The whole city was like that. Birchwood was the same way.

Ms. Boswell: Was there public opposition?

Mr. Atwood: Oh sure. Anytime you want to build a sewer, you are talking about high expenses, lots of dough. My house was in a LID. We had to have sewers on the south and in Edgemoor, South Bellingham. We put sewers in a hell of a lot of this city that hadn't been touched.

Ms. Boswell: Was there any relationship to other cities? I guess lots of cities were going through the same thing at that time. I'm thinking that in Seattle, that's the beginning of Metro and getting all the sewage taken care of there, too.

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes. Those problems were so big; ours were minuscule compared to Seattle, you know.

Ms. Boswell: But still, is it about the same time that every city started to realize it needed to do something?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, you bet. We had all kinds of problems, but that was the major problem—streets and sewers. There were city operations, and then there was fire fighting and law enforcement. Those weren't nearly the problem. Streets

and sewers—that's all I remember getting phone calls, complaining about the cost. We had endless hearings and protests over the cost, and it took a hell a lot more time than the Legislature ever did because you were right there on the ground. You were no further than the phone away from the people who had complaints.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me how the city council was organized. Was it just a part-time job? How was it set up?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, just part-time. We got seventy-five bucks a month. (Laughter) I got promoted to the Legislature and got one hundred a month. I'm not kidding you. My first four years in the Legislature, the pay was only one hundred a month, but we got per diem and whatnot.

Ms. Boswell: But on the city council, how many people were there? How was it organized?

Mr. Atwood: Well, the city council in this city at that time was a strong council with a weak mayor. Johnny Westford and Sig Hjaltalin were the mayors when I was serving. The mayor was the titular head, but he didn't have the power. He does now. It's a strong mayor, weak council form of government now. The mayor has the council just more or less rubber- stamp what he wants now. It changed about fifteen or twenty years ago.

Ms. Boswell: So in your time, did the mayor run for office? He was an elected official, wasn't he?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, but he just presented stuff to us, and we had to make it work. It was a weak mayor with a strong council. He presented the budget to us and we were the ones who worked it over and passed it and raised the funds for it and whatever. In those days, the council members were the "heavy lifters."

Ms. Boswell: And the council members essentially each represented a particular ward?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. In my first term, the Legislature had passed a bill. I was in a three-year term only, in the Sixth Ward. After the three years when I came up again, I decided to run for a council at-large position because it was only a two-year term. I wasn't going to spend that much time. I didn't want a four-year term because the wards went to the four-year term after that.

Ms. Boswell: And why did they institute an at-large position like that?

Mr. Atwood: It has always been that way in the city charter: six wards and one at-large position—seven council people. It was easy because if you got fifty percent of the vote in the primary, you won. And it was a two-year term. I didn't want to serve a four-year term.

Ms. Boswell: So your main reason for running as an at-large candidate was just the length of the term?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. I liked the two-year term so I could opt out. I ran twice for council- at-large, and the second time, I got through my first year and ran for the Senate. I ran twice in one year. I'll never forget doorbelling out in Silver Beach. There were a couple of guys out in their front yards and one said, "Yeah, we know you." (Laughter) I had sewered them. They had an LID there. They still remembered how much it cost them, but they couldn't have sold their houses without it. But that really stuck in my mind.

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) "We know you." Okay, here you are. You are a young lawyer. You are fairly recently married. You decide to run for the council, and then you get all the headaches of the sewer and whatever. Why did you decide to keep going?

Mr. Atwood: I had to get out of there. It looked like it was better to go to the Legislature than to stick around there.

Ms. Boswell: But now wait; let's step back. You stuck it out there for essentially three terms—three years, plus two more two-year terms?

Mr. Atwood: Almost. I resigned the end of my second at-large term. Well, anyway, I decided that it was getting a little rough. You can only take that so long. I wasn't going to run for mayor. That was a step down, I thought. I was a mayor pro tem, and Westford did a lot of traveling, so I did quite a bit of ceremonial stuff.

Ms. Boswell: So, in other words, you would fill in for him anytime he wasn't there?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. I did a lot of that.

Ms. Boswell: But so, how much time did you have to spend on council business?

Mr. Atwood: When we were doing the sewers, we spent a lot of time, especially in the evenings. We had to hear the protests on the LIDs. On every one of them, there were complaints—"We weren't benefited"—and all that stuff. It was especially hard on the big LIDs like in Birchwood and out on Silver Beach.

Ms. Boswell: But so, how was the council organized normally? Would it just meet once a week or how often did it meet?

Mr. Atwood: Just once a week, and then the last meeting of the month as a committee of the whole, where we could talk about all kinds of stuff.

Ms. Boswell: Was a lot of business done in committees or another way?

Mr. Atwood: In committees. We had several committees.

Ms. Boswell: You mentioned a lot of your work with the Sewers and Streets Committee, but I noticed that you were also on the Justice or Judiciary Committee. What kind of work did that committee do?

Mr. Atwood: That didn't amount to much. We were running a municipal court. There was also a joint committee between the county commissioners and the city. There were three councilmen and three commissioners. And when I was the president of the council, I sat on that. I was also on the Water Board. I had plenty of committees.

The Health Board was an enjoyable experience, but meeting with the commissioners was different. They were a law unto themselves, at least compared to the city council. Now we have an executive and seven commissioners here in this county, so it is a lot different. In those days, those three commissioners were something else. Of course, I was there as one of the representatives of the city, and any major decisions had to go back to the city council as a whole.

Ms. Boswell: How did the kind of work you ended up doing as a city council member match with what you expected when you got into it? What were your expectations?

Mr. Atwood: I had none. I had no real expectations. I had been to city council meetings and observed what it was all about. One of the big things when I was on the council was that we had no planning. We had no city planner; we had no comprehensive plan. We had none of that, and, of course, we were mandated by the Legislature to develop a comprehensive plan, so we started on that. That was a major effort; comprehensive planning was very big in those days. We hired our first planner, Bruce Finke. There was lots of resistance, but we had no comprehensive plan, and you had to have a comprehensive plan before you can do any extensive planning.

Ms. Boswell: Did you have access, not only to experts, but also information so that you could make decisions?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, we hired consultants. We had a lot of consultants throughout my term there.

Ms. Boswell: I noticed that in some of the campaign literature, you mentioned that one of the biggest problems a city has is raising money. Tell me a little about how that works.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, because we had very limited means of raising money. There is taxing—the B&O (Business and Occupation) tax was a major one, but there is a limit to that. We got part of the sales tax. When I was in the Legislature, I was the city's number one lobbyist on that issue. You know, it didn't bother me any, because the city desperately needed revenue. The counties are in the same kind of boat, too. Since I left, they've gotten a little bit of running room in finances, but the cities are really in tough shape, especially when the Legislature loads them up with a bunch of stuff.

Ms. Boswell: I know you made one statement to the press that I thought was pretty interesting, and I wanted to ask you more about it. This was in the 1960 campaign, and you advised the cities to go to Olympia, but not just to ask for more: "You've got to ask them to quit taking money away from the cities faster than the cities can raise it."

Mr. Atwood: That's right. There was a picture of me talking to the dummies. They were up here at the Leopold Hotel. Let me tell you what they did to us. We had all these major construction projects, and right in the middle of it, the Legislature met and passed a sales tax on construction. It was after we had already let the contracts. Guess who had to pick up the sales tax? That was a major issue in my senatorial campaign against Homer Nunamaker. I said, "Homer, you don't even know what you did?" and he didn't. He didn't have the faintest idea. It cost us thousands because we were building the Nooksack diversion, and other million-dollar projects—the sewer projects that were underway, the South Side Treatment Plant. Right in the middle of the construction, they passed this sales tax on construction, and the cities got stuck—all of them. It must have raised millions for the state and cost the cities millions.

Ms. Boswell: So wasn't there correspondence? I mean, why wouldn't the legislators have known that? Were they just not in contact with the city? What happened to them?

Mr. Atwood: They had no idea. I went down to Olympia. That's the only time that I was down there, that one time on that issue. When it came up, I said, "I'm going to run against you because of what you did," and I did. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Oh, so that really was the impetus for you?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. Oh, boy.

Ms. Boswell: So there weren't that many legislators who came from a background in city government to really understand that issue?

Mr. Atwood: There were hardly any. There were a few, but no one cared. Well, there are none of those lobbyists left. I carried a lot of water for the city down there on issues like that, but there was no excuse for passing a sales tax on construction. I think there is a picture of me talking to those guys somewhere.

Ms. Boswell: In your terms on the city council, it sounds to me like an awful lot at least got started, if not accomplished. Tell me a bit more about that.

Mr. Atwood: Yes. Well, there are so many ongoing things in a growing community. When the I-5 was coming through at that time, the Highway Commission asked us not to allow a no-zoning area within a half-mile of the interchanges. Guess what? There isn't any interchange in this city that doesn't have a big development within half of a mile. Bellis Fair, Southside, Julia Avenue, and

Sehome Village are right on the interchange. The city council couldn't hold the zoning. We weren't able to comply with the request.

Ms. Boswell: Why not?

Mr. Atwood: We just couldn't withstand the economic pressure by the developers, you know, including myself.

Ms. Boswell: What do you mean including yourself?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I caved on a couple of the developments, but I was stubborn about some of them. I wasn't on the council when they allowed Bellis Fair. I was dead opposed to that. My law partner, who is the mayor, voted for it. He was a councilman at the time.

Ms. Boswell: So, even during your terms in the office, the council was a stronger council in terms of its power, but there was still a lot they couldn't do?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, but you are subject to the pressures of your constituency. And you are right there under their thumbs. There is no escaping; you can't go hide in the Senate restaurant or something. (Laughter) Like when one of the senators down in Olympia, Frances Haddon Morgan, didn't want to vote, she'd go outside her window. The sergeant at arms couldn't find her!

Ms. Boswell: But did you enjoy it? I mean it was immediate, but did you enjoy it?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, there were some good things about it. I got to go to Seafair, and I went to conventions for the city and stuff like that. And when you are young, you don't worry too much about it. It wasn't a money-maker; that was a money loser. I only was solicited once to do something, and I just told the guy to get lost. That's the only thing.

In 1960 I went to the Seafair races as a guest of Seattle. I remember that.

Ms. Boswell: But you said somebody asked you to do something only once and you wouldn't do it. What was that?

Mr. Atwood: They offered me money.

Ms. Boswell: Oh really. Oh, tell me about that.

Mr. Atwood: It was nothing. I just said, "Forget it. I'm not in the business of representing you for anything like that."

Ms. Boswell: So, it was a business that wanted help?

Mr. Atwood: Yes.

Ms. Boswell: Interesting. So, was that kind of attention common, do you think, or not?

Mr. Atwood: Oh I don't know; it's hard to say. I suspect that probably some of those people are approached. I suspect some lawyers represent people. When I was in the Legislature, I wouldn't represent anybody in front of any of the state commissions. I was offered five grand by another legislator to appear in front of a board to get a liquor license. I said, "I don't appear in front of state boards." Senator Bob Greive accused me of having secret retainers. I said, "One thing, I'm very ashamed to admit that I have no retainers, secret or otherwise." (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: One time that you ran—I am not sure if it was 1961 or 1962—you did have an opponent in the main race, isn't that right?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, I did, but I beat him.

Ms. Boswell: Was that only because there were a number of candidates? Why did that happen?

Mr. Atwood: I didn't get fifty-one percent.

Ms. Boswell: Now, you did have a position on the council—I think in your second term—as the president of the council. Tell me about that position.

Mr. Atwood: Well, that's when you are *pro tem* and you run the meetings. I don't know why they elected me; I was the youngest guy on the council, but they did. It was probably because I was a lawyer, that's why.

Ms. Boswell: But now, I noticed that you ran for your first term and then, in the second term, you decided to run again, but of all the council members, I think at least three or four decided to not to run again. So, why was there such a turnover?

Mr. Atwood: That's hard to say. They got tired of it. You know, there is not a lot of glory in being a city councilperson. It's just a lot of grub work. I noticed that the guy who was appointed to serve for me didn't run for election. He didn't like it at all.

Ms. Boswell: And that was who?

Mr. Atwood: I think it was Barney Yorkston. He's dead now. We had good council people. We didn't have any radicals on there.

Ms. Boswell: Did you work together well?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, we did. There was very little friction on the city council. It was much easier than the Legislature as far as working together. You all have the same goal, the identical goal.

Ms. Boswell: And the fact that it was non-partisan, do you think that affected the working relationships?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, absolutely. Absolutely. There wasn't any reason to get partisan about it at all. Ninety percent of the issues were bread and butter issues: police, fire, streets, sewers, and health.

Ms. Boswell: I want to go back for a minute because we were talking earlier about money and that it was one of the biggest problems that cities at that time faced. How did you raise money? I know salaries—you particularly mentioned police and fire—were an issue.

Mr. Atwood: The property tax was big. Property tax, B&O tax, and a small percentage of the sales tax, but it was always a tough deal. Licenses and fees were available, but it was so limited. I haven't looked at the city budget lately, but it has grown about ten times where it was in my day.

There were also water and sewer fees. Sewer fees are a hundred bucks, water and sewer. We don't have any meters. No water meters. We're one of the few cities in the whole United States without water meters.

Ms. Boswell: Was that part of your doing?

Mr. Atwood: No, no! (Laughter) There were several attempts to try to get metered water. The city water engineer kept going crazy. He kept looking at it, but no one was about to stick their neck out. There are meters on the apartment houses, but residential housing is unmetered.

Ms. Boswell: So everybody pays the same? Is that it, then?

Mr. Atwood: Everybody pays $104.50 every two months on their house.

Ms. Boswell: And that doesn't raise issues now with people who have these mega- houses?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. It comes up. Apartment houses and everything else are metered.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, I mean people with 10,000 square foot houses or something like that?

Mr. Atwood: There are very few of those in this town. Believe me. (Laughter) But if they do, they got a hell of a ride. They really do.

Ms. Boswell: Yes.

Mr. Atwood: Interesting. One of these days, they are going to have to meter water, but I won't vote for it! (Laughter) I'm spoiled after fifty years. Every city engineer that we ever had has always had an eye on more meters, on metering the ten thousand residents. Then they would really be in the clover.

Ms. Boswell: There was a lot done because of residential development, but what about industrial development? I know that there was and still is a Port of Bellingham.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, that was a major developer. The city isn't empowered for industrial development. The ports are. They carried the freight on that issue.

Ms. Boswell: And they did, too, at the time you were on the council?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, they always carried the freight. And it's countywide, the Port is. They are charged with industrial development under the RCWs (Revised Code of Washington). They have a levy devoted to industrial development.

Ms. Boswell: So, did the city work closely with the Port at all?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, absolutely. We even contributed to the Port on some of their projects. The Port is a major economic factor in this county because it includes Blaine and out there on Cherry Point. It is an extremely valuable entity.

Ms. Boswell: I noticed that at least one of your opponents in one of the council races, maybe one of the primaries, was from the Port. He was an auditor from the Port.

Mr. Atwood: Earle F. Buzzell.

Ms. Boswell: Right. I just wondered if there were some disagreement between the Port and the city over development?

Mr. Atwood: There probably were. I don't remember what it was. They wanted money just like we did. (Laughter) They are landlords primarily.

Ms. Boswell: What kinds of visions were there? You mentioned planning being an important aspect of your service.

Mr. Atwood: I was there in the very beginning of the development of the comprehensive plan. They have deviated from the original quite a bit. There have been a lot of amendments, and the city has grown. Actually, what has happened is that the city is annexing areas as they develop or after they have been developed as part of the growth management plans of the state and county. The city has craftily gone north on the Guide Meridian and then east on Bakerview, taking all the rich areas. As they develop, they annex them and get a property tax base, which is not quite fair to the county, I don't believe. The county is probably yelling and screaming every time that happens.

Ms. Boswell: How did you envision the city, though? I mean, think back on the way you were planning. Has the city turned out differently than you really thought it might?

Mr. Atwood: It probably has with the big shopping centers and all that. We got caught up in that. That was long after I left. That was within the last ten to fifteen years. Back in those days, we didn't envision anything like that.

Ms. Boswell: Correct me if I am wrong, but was part of the impetus behind big shopping centers also the relationship with Canada?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. The retail markets were here. Bellis Fair came in. Of course, there was intensive planning going into it. I got involved with the Sunset Center. It was as a lawyer, not as a councilman. That was long after I was out of office. The mayor then is now with Trillium; he is the president or vice-president of Trillium. He was the mayor at the time. The Sunset Center at that time was just Kmart, and we planned to get Penneys moved out there as a major tenant. He put the kibosh on that by getting the council to pass a limit of fifty-five thousand square feet. It killed it. You had to have two or three majors. It ended up that in the Sunset Center development, the mortgage was foreclosed on the developer—nine and a half million. I was one of the trial lawyers in that foreclosure; it was the biggest mortgage foreclosure I ever participated in. Look at it now. It's finally developed the way it should have been way back. It would have been had there not been a lot of shenanigans.

Ms. Boswell: And that kind of power to shape that deal, was that intentional? I mean, didn't they want growth?

Mr. Atwood: Intentional because they didn't want growth there because Bellis Fair was coming in.

Ms. Boswell: Oh.

Mr. Atwood: I mean it was really, really bad. It just stunk.

Ms. Boswell: But even when you were on the council was…

Mr. Atwood: I wasn't on the council when that happened.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, but earlier when you were?

Mr. Atwood: We had nothing like that. No.

Ms. Boswell: So the development was primarily residential at that time?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. You can call it that, more or less. Yes.

Ms. Boswell: I was also wondering about the relationship with Canada. Was there any idea that there would be that retail relationship?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, there was, at that time. There was pretty good retail, but we didn't have shopping centers. It's hard to think back, but we didn't have any shopping centers, period. They were all headed for Seattle.

Ms. Boswell: Well, certainly in the 1950s, that was really the beginning of the big centers. Northgate. Seattle was probably the first to have them.

Mr. Atwood: Northgate and then there was South Center.

Ms. Boswell: Did Bellingham see itself, at that point in time, as a service center for a primarily rural county?

Mr. Atwood: As an area center. In those days, we had two hospitals. I was on the board of Saint Luke's Hospital back in the 1950s and 1960s. I don't think I was a city councilman at the time. I could have been, but I don't think I was. Anyway, I was on the Saint Luke's board and then when I got off, they merged with Saint Joseph's. The South Campus now was the old Saint Luke's Hospital.

Ms. Boswell: Now, I know that there will be later when we talk about the Legislature, but was there any relationship between the city council and the college? Was there lobbying or any interest in seeing the college expand? How was that relationship defined?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, I thought that the college

was a backbone of our economy—a major, major backbone. We treated the college very well. There was some animosity between town and gown. (Laughter) But they had a substantial impact on the economy of the city. We gave them a lot of stuff—we closed off streets and vacated streets for their construction projects and things like that. Boy, when I was a legislator, I gave them everything. I brought home the bacon. I can go out and every street out there, I can remember doing it. (Laughter) But anyhow, I kept a low, low profile on that.

Ms. Boswell: Do you mean a low profile in the Legislature?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, but they knew. It was me that they called "the guy from Western." Senator Fred Dore used to get really annoyed with me. And the universities, the two universities, particularly WSU and UW, they didn't like Western. They didn't. I got Western everything. I got the McDonald Parkway, Fairhaven Parkway, Huxley, Fairhaven College. My campaign chairman was Dr. Kelly, who was the provost and dean of the graduate school.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, that was a good tie-in there.

Mr. Atwood: I even got him a couple of hundred thousand for his Center of Higher Education, whatever that was.

Ms. Boswell: I thought there was a great quote about you, when you were on the city council, in the *Bellingham Herald*. It's just a little thing, but it said, "Independent thinking paid off." It indicated that the high vote totals that you got when you ran for the council essentially were because of your independent thinking.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I was pretty independent, but I got in a lot of trouble over that, with the museum in particular.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me about that.

Mr. Atwood: Well, there are a couple of articles on that. I wanted to cut the funding. Oh, man! (Laughter) You'd have thought the end of the world would come.

Ms. Boswell: This was the Whatcom County Museum?

Mr. Atwood: No, the museum at the old city hall. It is now the Whatcom Museum of History and Art. There's a whole bunch about it in these newspaper articles I have. "Atwood goes where angels fear to tread."

Ms. Boswell: Now, why did you take that on as a cause?

Mr. Atwood: Because we didn't have the money. We needed it for police and fire, streets. I didn't think it had a very high priority. Look at it now; it's like Topsy—it grew. It's nice, you know, if you can afford it, and I love museums, but I didn't think that it was a proper function of a city government.

Ms. Boswell: But who opposed you on that issue?

Mr. Atwood: "Museum is back in the city family. Thank goodness." It was the *Herald*—everybody.

Ms. Boswell: So there really was a public groundswell of support?

Mr. Atwood: Oh! (reading from the paper) "In the frantic rush to ease the budget deficit, councilmen had cut the museum's $9,500 budget request—not trimmed it but eliminated it. Resulting reaction was quick and vociferous. Most of the request was restored last night, and the museum again is acknowledged, reluctantly perhaps, by some to be the legitimate offspring of the city fathers." Boy, I got in real trouble over that.

"We think that Council President Frank Atwood in his public suggestions that the museum

could be expendable showed more courage than wisdom." (Laughter) I love it. He's got that one right. "Tuesday night's action was apparently backed up by all the councilmen except Jeannie Beacom." Oh boy!

Ms. Boswell: Would you consider yourself the most independent on the council?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know; it's hard to say. I was independent, but when you are the president, you have got to set the tone. You can't be riding off. You don't have the right to just do your own thing—what you think is best. You've got to try to get some cohesiveness in the council.

Ms. Boswell: What were your strategies for that? You mentioned that people got along pretty well, but a lot of times that is because of leadership. Was that your leadership?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, well, it was mine. We were pretty cohesive. We more or less all wanted the same thing. But that museum, I'll remember that one! (Laughter) That was a big editorial; I didn't cook it up. "Atwood treads where angels fear to tread." My goodness!

Ms. Boswell: So in terms of leadership of the council, though, did that also involve running meetings? How did you exercise leadership on the council?

Mr. Atwood: I just set the agenda and tried to keep the discussion on an even keel. You can get sidetracked very easily.

Ms. Boswell: What about staff? Does the council have lots of staff?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, at that time we did because they were all independent people—they were elected people. The city attorney was elected. Al Loop, the city comptroller, was elected. He always had money in a sock somewhere. When we got stuck, and we were down to our last penny, we would always turn to Al and say, "Where are the hidden funds, Al?" (Laughter) He'd always come up with some money.

Ms. Boswell: Did that work well to have those kinds of positions be elected?

Mr. Atwood: It wasn't bad at all. They were full-time. They worked full-time; they knew what the situation was. They were there every day. The mayor then was a funeral director, so he wasn't there all the time. Now we have a full-time mayor who gets paid $90,000 or $100,000 a year.

Ms. Boswell: What was your relationship personally with the mayor?

Mr. Atwood: Very good. My partner was his lawyer, so he had an "in" with him.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me about the impact of being on the city council on your law practice. You mentioned to me before that it was slow and difficult to build your practice because of the kind of town that Bellingham was.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I wouldn't suggest that unless you were a father and son. All the old law firms were all fathers and sons here, and I had come in from outer space. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: So, did being on the council help that situation?

Mr. Atwood: Well, you got a lot of publicity, some of it good and some of it bad. (Laughter) But they sure as hell knew who you were.

Ms. Boswell: So, do you think it brought in legal business?

Mr. Atwood: To some degree, yes. But then when I was a senator, it really did, but I didn't take any cases with any state agencies.

Ms. Boswell: Was it difficult? You mentioned earlier that you did get solicited just one time from somebody who wanted something done.

Mr. Atwood: I don't even recall what it was. They offered me some money, and I said, "Forget that one, buddy." I steered clear of him from then on.

Ms. Boswell: Was it difficult to draw the line that separated what is legitimate business that as a lawyer you need to take with what is an interest that may affect the city, for one reason or another?

Mr. Atwood: I didn't take anything that involved the city at all—period. It didn't matter what it was.

Ms. Boswell: So if it was a bankruptcy—let's just use as an example a bankruptcy related to a city council action. You just wouldn't take that kind of a case?

Mr. Atwood: Probably not. In those days, I did bankruptcies.

Ms. Boswell: How do you develop the political ethics about how you separate those kinds of things?

Mr. Atwood: Very easy. Particularly the city—as a lawyer there isn't much dealing with the city unless you were going in front of the planning commission or something like that, which I didn't do. In the Legislature, it was very different and about half of those guys don't make a separation.

Ms. Boswell: Is that just a personal decision or is it really an ethical issue?

Mr. Atwood: It's a personal decision. I didn't practice in front of any state boards or commissions. I just didn't think it was right.

Chapter 3

First Legislative Campaign

Ms. Boswell: What about your interest in running for the Legislature. How did that evolve?

Mr. Atwood: As I told you before, the Legislature passed sales taxes on construction. I said, "You guys don't know what the hell you are doing!" I said to Homer Nunamaker, "I'm going to run against you," and I did.

Ms. Boswell: And so that issue really just got you mad enough to decide to run?

Mr. Atwood: I had already run once that year for city council in the winter. I think the election was in January of 1962. I went to the city council, and I told them that I was going to run. The Republicans didn't ask me to run, but I was incensed with Homer Nunamaker over what they had done to the city in the Legislature. They had put a sales tax on public works, and it applied to all contracts from then on, and Bellingham got stuck with about 60,000 or 70,000 extra dollars in taxes on our contracts. We were in the middle of several major public works projects: sewers and water. It cost us a ton as we had already accepted bids, and they didn't include any sales tax, so we had to absorb it. I got a little hostile.

In those days, I was kind of hostile—more than I am now. I told them, "You guys don't even know what you did." I was in a public meeting, and I said, "You cost us a bundle because you didn't exclude municipal public works from being taxed on contracts that had already been let." We had a $9 million water project on which we had to pay sales tax to the state, and we couldn't pass on the costs because we already had a contract with the contractor.

Ms. Boswell: Had the legislators just not realized the ramifications of what they did?

Mr. Atwood: No, they had no idea. Well, at least somebody down there did. I have a hunch that whoever was in charge of the taxing said, "Oh boy, we're going to cut a fat hog," because you can imagine the projects in the city of Seattle or Tacoma. Whoever had these big construction projects underway had to pay a tax on contracts that had already been let. That was one of the major issues. I said, "At least I know what I'm doing." (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: What about Senator Nunamaker? Had he not stood up or did he not recognize the problem?

Mr. Atwood: No, he was a very…I would call him retiring. He was the chairman of the Committee on Fisheries, but he wasn't very active. I never served with him. He had been in the House before he went to the Senate, but I got the impression he was kind of a passive senator. Bob Greive had a lot of passive senators in his group—like Frank Connor, John L. Cooney, and those guys. They hardly said anything on the floor. When I got there, they were nice people, but they never said anything—they never did anything!

Ms. Boswell: And if that issue hadn't come up, would you have run?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know. The party didn't ask me to run. They saw my statement. I remember Malcolm "Dutch" McBeath, who was a representative in 1955 and a couple years before that. I don't know who the chairman was, Scott Baron,

or somebody. I said, "I'm going to run, so don't bother me." (Laughter) They were friends of mine. I said, "I've just had it." There were several other things that the Legislature had done that really were very upsetting to me as a city councilman and to the city. It cost the city taxpayers lots of money.

And Homer Nunamaker had been in the House and Senate for over fourteen years. He was one of Bob Greive's men, too, and when I first ran against him, Rosellini and all his troops were up here in 1962 doorbelling and everything. I didn't know whether I could beat him or not.

Ms. Boswell: But you did.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I did. It was a huge upset, too. I had no help from the Republican Party, incidentally.

Ms. Boswell: You didn't?

Mr. Atwood: They didn't know who I was. They had not the faintest idea. The only guy who knew me was Tom Copeland, who came up here for his House people. At that time he was running for Speaker of the House, and he was the campaign chairman of the House. He was up here mainly to support the candidacy of Chuck Lind. I don't know who the other guy was, but we had two people running for the House. Tom Copeland came over to my office. I was in the Bellingham National Bank Building then, and he came over to my office and introduced himself. He saw the brochure and said, "That's good stuff. Keep it up." That was really an ego builder because no one else cared. That's one thing you remember—who your friends were. He said, "I like that brochure. I think you might have a chance."

You see, the district was only the city of Bellingham. He was the only guy who even talked to me. Later, after I was elected, when I went over to the first caucus in Spokane, the doorman wouldn't let me in. I said, "What the hell is this?" Senator Ernie Lennart saw me and he knew who I was. He had been my honorary chairman. He said, "This is the new senator." They didn't know me; they didn't know me from Adam.

Ms. Boswell: Why? You would think that as a young enterprising person who'd been in city government they would have backed you in a second.

Mr. Atwood: They didn't oppose me, but they didn't give me any help. Perry Woodall was the leader and he didn't know me.

Ms. Boswell: So, had they just written off Bellingham as not possible to win?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. I think they had because it was solidly Democratic. The bright young senator, up and coming, was Jack England. He got all the publicity, and he beat somebody down in King County. (Laughter) I'll never forget that, going to that door at the caucus meeting. It was at the Davenport Hotel where the caucus was. I think they had fourteen people in the caucus, and the guy says, "What do you want?" I said, "I think I'm supposed to be at this meeting." He said, "Well, this is for senators only." I said, "I am a senator." "Ohhh!"

Ms. Boswell: Now step back and tell me a little about that campaign. So you got mad enough to say, "I'm going to run."

Mr. Atwood: That was an easy decision.

Ms. Boswell: But the odds of beating an incumbent aren't very good.

Mr. Atwood: It was an off-year though, 1962.

Ms. Boswell: So tell me how you organized that campaign. How did you go about it?

Mr. Atwood: I actually didn't. I had a lot of friends. Many of the Jaycee guys doorbelled, like Harry Pagels and Sam Kelly. Jerry Starr was my

campaign chairman the first go-around. My second and third campaigns were run by Sam Kelly, a very bright guy.

Ms. Boswell: Were these people essentially volunteers who did this?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. We had no paid help. (Laughter) In those days we didn't have any kind of funds for that. We had it all for media, for radio—there wasn't any TV.

Ms. Boswell: So where did your monetary support primarily come from?

Mr. Atwood: Business. They were tired of being taxed. I had lots of business support downtown. Also fishermen, lots of fishermen. My neighbors were fishermen. In fact, in the whole Parkridge area where I lived, almost every other person was a fisherman.

Ms. Boswell: And what was their interest, especially in a Republican running?

Mr. Atwood: Nothing. They knew who I was.

Ms. Boswell: They didn't support Homer Nunamaker? He was the chairman of what committee?

Mr. Atwood: He was the chairman of the Fisheries Committee in the Senate, but he never did anything. That's why a lot of fishermen opposed him. My neighbor was a big-time purse seiner.

Ms. Boswell: Now tell me, how does a campaign for a state senator differ from a campaign for a Bellingham City Council candidate?

Mr. Atwood: Well, you are partisan. That's the difference, a big difference. Where I was overwhelmingly elected to the city council, it was a very close race in the Senate. That was the first race. The second race was easier because I was running countywide.

Ms. Boswell: So the boundaries of your district the first time were primarily just the City of Bellingham?

Mr. Atwood: Only the city. It was the Forty-second District.

Ms. Boswell: Only the City of Bellingham.

Mr. Atwood: Yes. So I had been there and run three times. My goodness, they couldn't say they didn't know who I was.

Ms. Boswell: But in terms of the partisanship…

Mr. Atwood: This is a city of Democrats, so it's very tough. I had a lot of Democratic support. A lot.

Ms. Boswell: And was there a strategy to get those Democrats? What did you do?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, more or less. They knew what I had done in the city, so they were aware of what I wanted to do. I didn't have any great platform; I just wanted to represent the city and get our fair share.

Ms. Boswell: Was the notion we talked about earlier, that you were regarded as an independent, did that help you or hurt you?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, oh yes. You bet. I was my own guy, more or less. It kind of hurt when I went over to Spokane, and they asked, "Who are you?" (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) I do really want to talk about how you familiarized yourself with what to do. In terms of the campaign first, without the help from the Republican Party, what did you do?

Mr. Atwood: I had good help from local people.

I had both Democrats and Republicans. I had lots of Democrats on my committee, and they wrote letters and everything. What made it good was that it was only within the city. The City of Bellingham was the Forty-second District. The city normally is Democratic. It has been for quite a while. The county was Republican outside the city, in the Forty-first District. Senator Lennart was a Republican. Both Chuck Lind and I were elected in the city, in the Forty-second District. In 1962 that was quite unusual.

Ms. Boswell: Now what about the mechanics of campaigning?

Mr. Atwood: I'm not very good at it.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me about that. Why not?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I'm not. I depend on my campaign people. They were good public relations (PR) people. The Jaycees were good PR people.

Ms. Boswell: And so what would you have to do, though? As a first timer, you were trying to beat an incumbent, and you were a Republican in a Democratic city. Did you doorbell? What did you do?

Mr. Atwood: You doorbelled hard, very hard. That was very big in those days. We doorbelled the city at least twice—my people and myself. That's hard work. I didn't have to do that during subsequent elections. I could have been elected a fourth time, I think, but who knows. There are no "ifs" in history.

Ms. Boswell: But so you went out and doorbelled. What other campaign strategies were you using?

Mr. Atwood: Just to go to all the meetings; there were endless meetings to go to. Coffee parties. I found coffee parties to be very uninspiring. The people who are going there are already going to vote for you. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: What about speechmaking? If you're a candidate at that level, do you make up all your speeches? Were you used to public speaking? How did that work?

Mr. Atwood: I was always used to it. I knew what I was going to talk about—nothing earthshaking. I was also in the Reserve at that time. I think I was captain—no, maybe I was a major—when I first ran for the Senate.

Ms. Boswell: I noticed that in some of your campaign literature, both for the Bellingham City Council and for the Legislature, that you mentioned you were a veteran of World War II. How important to the voters was being a veteran?

Mr. Atwood: Very, very.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me about that.

Mr. Atwood: It just is. Most of the people my age and older were veterans. I was a member of the American Legion at that time. I have since dropped out; I'm not a professional veteran.

Ms. Boswell: Why?

Mr. Atwood: Well, they want all these things, which is fine. Just because they are veterans doesn't mean that they are all that special. I'm glad that I did it, and I'm glad that I spent thirty-one years total in the Reserve and active Army. I get plenty of benefits. Veterans' benefits are overwhelming in my opinion.

Ms. Boswell: Were veterans a constituency in and of themselves at that time or not?

Mr. Atwood: No. The organizations were, more or less. They were pretty strong up here—the VFW and the American Legion.

Ms. Boswell: I have a copy of your first campaign brochure, which I think is a great brochure. Tell me a little about how it came about.

Mr. Atwood: Well, we had a lot of help on that. Harry Pagels, who was a newsman, put that together, and I'd done a lot of community things at that time. I was a chairman of everything. I was in the Jaycees; I had been a state chairman in the Jaycees. I'd been a secretary-treasurer in the state Jaycees.

Ms. Boswell: In the brochure it also mentions military service, and that you were active in the Junior Chamber of Commerce, Lions, PTA, Elks, ROA, Whatcom County Bar Association, Washington State and American Bar Association. But it says you stand for, first of all, completed highway projects. Tell me about that.

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes. Well, because we were at the end of the line. Everything was two lanes between here and Mount Vernon and the border. Everything stopped at Mount Vernon—the freeway, Interstate 5 (I-5).

Ms. Boswell: You wanted that to be finished?

Mr. Atwood: We wanted it and we did get it, thanks to Augie Mardesich and John Ryder, who put together a deal. We overthrew the highway plan and to get our votes up here, they completed I-5 from here to the border and from here to Mount Vernon.

Ms. Boswell: I can't imagine why they wouldn't have wanted to do that in the first place.

Mr. Atwood: Because they wanted to get everything in Everett and south, and from Tacoma through Olympia. As it turned out, the twelve years that I was there, it took us until 1970 to get the whole thing done, and it was thanks to Mardesich and Ryder and their plotting. Whoever was the chairman of the Highway Commission resigned over that. He got angry because our caucus, along with Mardesich and his crew, changed the priorities in the bill, which is an absolute "no-no." (Laughter) It was a total surprise to him.

Ms. Boswell: And then was there also a cross-state highway?

Mr. Atwood: The north cross-state, yes. That wasn't a major plan, though. There was a big organization pressing for that. It was well organized by local chambers and whatnot. I was there when they dedicated it. They had the governor there when they finally completed it and had a dedication ceremony. Marie and I both went to that event.

Ms. Boswell: Then in the brochure you also talked about municipal tax relief, which I think was the issue that we talked about before.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. That was one of my great triumphs, but this happened about ten years later.

Ms. Boswell: And then your other campaign pledge is that you stand for "pay-as-you-go finance."

Mr. Atwood: Well, what does that mean? All city budgets are balanced anyway. "Pay as you go" meant that you don't go too much to bonding; however, that's the only way you can really finance capital improvements in the state. When you first run, you don't know the situation. I had been in Olympia once.

Ms. Boswell: Then your brochure says: "Frank Atwood, as his public service record attests, did not, does not, and never will represent special interest groups. His obligation is to serve every man, women, and child in the Forty-second District."

Mr. Atwood: That sounds good, doesn't it?

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) Yes, it does. Is that

possible? Can you *not* represent any special interest groups?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I don't know what "special interest" means. I wasn't a teachers' representative. I didn't have any constituency other than lawyers, and my main constituency was the city. I was actually an inside lobbyist for the city to the state, and if you talk to the lobbyists—Floyd Jennings and Chester Biesen and I carried all their heavy lifting on city projects and city interests. They knew it.

Ms. Boswell: Did those people, the city people, help you in the campaign because they knew of these particular kinds of interest?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, they did. Some of them did, but not all of them. A lot of them were Democrats too, and they helped me. My neighbor was a staunch Democrat, and he supported me. He was the water superintendent.

Ms. Boswell: So, you, in one sense, had a fairly non-partisan campaign?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, well, I was used to running non-partisan. It's a different world when you put on a partisan label, I'll tell you that, especially in the city of Bellingham. I was kind of surprised that I was able to win, but we doorbelled the city hard.

Ms. Boswell: I was going to ask what you thought contributed to your success?

Mr. Atwood: Well, because of my name familiarity. They knew who I was. I'll tell you what—I never appeared on the same platform as Homer. Al Swift ran his campaign, and this was just in the city, so it was very easy. Everybody in the city knew me one way or another, and Al Swift was the chairman. He later became a congressman. Every time I would get up on the platform with Al, I would say, "Al, why aren't you running? I don't see your candidate here. You should be running." But Nunamaker and I never appeared on the same platform, not in the *Bellingham Herald* forum or anything else. Isn't that amazing?

Ms. Boswell: That is amazing. So he just sort of avoided you?

Mr. Atwood: He was a phantom candidate. I called him "the phantom candidate."

Ms. Boswell: And why did he choose that strategy?

Mr. Atwood: Because the contrast was so great. I was so young. I was only thirty-five, and he must have been in his seventies or late sixties. He couldn't talk; he wasn't very articulate. I am just guessing now, but that was a strategy that they used. That was just the way it was. I just figured out that we were not going to get on the same platform. We weren't going to have any Lincoln-Douglas debate or anything of that nature.

Ms. Boswell: So, it sounds like it was not a very good strategy for him ultimately.

Mr. Atwood: Well, I don't know. They really had all the horses in the world. In fact, right up the street was a neighbor of mine—Metcalf—and he was a good Democrat. He had a coffee party for Homer. We were both living on the south side at the time. I caught Homer tearing down my signs; we got pictures of him. We sent him a letter. That happens in every campaign, but it was a lot of fun.

Ms. Boswell: Well, it sounds like a tribute to you, too, that he realized that he might not come off very well.

Mr. Atwood: Bob Greive, who was the Democratic majority leader at the time, pulled out all the stops. He brought busloads of union people up here to doorbell for Nunamaker. There were two or three of those. Greive could probably tell you

much more that I can tell you about it.

Ms. Boswell: But you used doorbelling, too?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes. We didn't have all that much money. You know, in those days running a campaign in the city wasn't nearly as expensive as running countywide. All of a sudden, the campaigns later on got more expensive. Not in 1966, though, because they couldn't find any candidates to run against me. At the end, the party did file a guy, but I killed him. He was another lawyer.

Ms. Boswell: Do you remember what it cost to run the first campaign?

Mr. Atwood: I wouldn't guess more than five or ten thousand dollars, maybe not that much. We didn't have reporting like we do now. The last campaign was pretty expensive. That was a tough campaign—1970. They ran a professor against me. Paul Roley. Did you know him?

Ms. Boswell: No, I didn't, but I've seen the advertisements for the campaign. That's kind of an irony since you were certainly a big supporter of Western all along the way.

Mr. Atwood: Oh god, I got millions for Western. It was robbing the piggy bank down there. I did. I got a ton of stuff for Western.

Ms. Boswell: Did you have good support from Western during the campaign or not?

Mr. Atwood: From most, or a lot of the faculty. The political community up there—they ran the last campaign—Roley's campaign—for course credit on campus.

Ms. Boswell: In the political science classes?

Mr. Atwood: Yes! That was a little bit ironic.

Ms. Boswell: What about the effect of all this campaigning on your family? We haven't really talked about them too much.

Mr. Atwood: Terrible.

Ms. Boswell: Terrible?

Mr. Atwood: It's very tough on the family.

Ms. Boswell: First go back to the council. How did your wife feel about your being on the council?

Mr. Atwood: Well, it didn't bother her. She got to go to a lot of functions; we had a good social life. (Laughter) We got to go to the firemen's ball and the policemen's ball. There was a lot of social activity.

Ms. Boswell: But you mentioned that you had a lot of work at night so, tell me about your kids, and when they were born, and how that affected your career?

Mr. Atwood: They were so small at that time, it didn't bother them. When I became a legislator, I moved them all to Olympia, and they did twelve years. The two oldest ones went through the Olympia schools during the winter. That's one of the reasons why I had to quit. They were going to college, or they were almost going to graduate, so I got out of there while I could still walk away.

Ms. Boswell: Did you enlist your family in your campaigns in terms of doorbelling and all the rest?

Mr. Atwood: Sure, as they got old enough. They weren't really that old at the time. I had a bunch of high school kids out at the Lynden Fair with a banner: "Vote for Atwood for Senate." (Laughter) That was my last, the 1970 campaign. In 1966 we didn't do that.

Ms. Boswell: Looking back, how would you characterize that experience, I mean the campaign experience?

Mr. Atwood: Terrible. I hated it. I hate campaigning, I don't know how I could get elected but I did.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me what you hated about it. I don't understand.

Mr. Atwood: I just don't. I am not a glad-hander. I just don't like campaigning. Sam Kelly, who was my campaign chair later, said, "We're going to ship you to Hawaii, Atwood. We'll get you elected."

Ms. Boswell: So why did you do it then? You didn't like the campaigning, but what did you like?

Mr. Atwood: That's the worst part of it, I think. Some people—that's all they live for and they're good campaigners. I can pass, but I'm not the greatest.

Ms. Boswell: What was it that grabbed you then?

Mr. Atwood: It's heady stuff. Believe me, it's heady.

Ms. Boswell: But you liked to develop the bills?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, I was a good legislator, and I'll admit it. But I was a terrible campaigner. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: But you won the election anyway. Tell me a little bit about the election night. Do you remember it? How did it feel?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I remember. You bet your life I remember. Jerry Starr was my campaign chairman, and he had a big house out here on Broadway. All the people were there and they had a big sign there: "Congratulations Senator." It was pretty heady stuff. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: That's great.

Mr. Atwood: It was my first crack at it, never having run for legislative office before. It was pretty heady stuff.

Ms. Boswell: Did you have certain expectations of what it was going to be like?

Mr. Atwood: None.

Ms. Boswell: None? No expectations?

Mr. Atwood: None. (Laughter) Well, we were in the minority, very much so. Like I said, I enjoyed my first session. I thought it was my best because I was totally irresponsible. I could do anything I wanted as far as legislative stuff, and I worked at it. In the budget I became really an expert, and you don't acquire that overnight.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me about preparing for going down there. Were there certain things that you somehow prepared for?

Mr. Atwood: The first thing you do is the committees. You decide what committees you really want. You know you are not going to get Rules; you are not going to get certain committees. I wanted Ways and Means. I did get Ways and Means.

Ms. Boswell: So you did some research then? How did you decide what you wanted to do?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I wanted the committees that I knew a little bit about. The Judiciary Committee, most of the lawyers are on it, and I got that. I got State Government, I think. Judiciary, Ways and Means, City, Towns and Counties—I think there was a committee like that. There were all Democratic chairmen, of course. Nobody knew who I was anyway.

Ms. Boswell: How did the committee process work? What did you do?

Mr. Atwood: You submitted the committees to your caucus chairman—what committees you wanted—and the Committee on Committees, composed of both parties, decided. The ratio was heavily weighted at that first time to the Democrats. That was 1963. Let's see, how many—seventeen Republicans to thirty-two Democrats? How many?

Ms. Boswell: That sounds about right.

Mr. Atwood: There weren't very many Republicans. The Democrats had almost a two-thirds majority. The highest number of Republicans we ever got when I was there was twenty-two.

Ms. Boswell: Now, once you were elected, you said the Republicans hadn't done much to help during the campaign.

Mr. Atwood: They had no organization like the way they are organized now in the caucus, helping with senatorial campaigns and raising money—they had none of that.

Ms. Boswell: But once you were elected, then, was their organization better to get you ready to come to Olympia and go along with the program, so to speak?

Mr. Atwood: No, not really. It was pretty loose, I thought. Of course, they did pay more attention to Jack England, who was elected at the same time as I was. He was the "white knight," supposedly the big comer to the Republican Party in those days. I wasn't expected to do anything. They didn't know who I was; they had no idea who I was. I sat in the right rear seat in the back row with John Stender on my left and Sam Guess. We all came over there together. The Republicans really were poorly organized. It was kind of "every man for himself."

Ms. Boswell: So, there was no training session, or idea of what to expect when you came?

Mr. Atwood: We had a couple of them. Protocol, but not what they expected you to do for the chairman or for the floor leader.

Ms. Boswell: Did you think that Perry Woodall was a good leader?

Mr. Atwood: As far as the floor leader. As an overall leader, he was pretty lax. (Laughter) He didn't pay any attention to the troops in the back row. The first time that we voted, Woodall or somebody else came running back to me, because I voted as the first Republican. "You know how to vote? You know how to vote?" Yes, I know how to vote! It was a little irksome.

Ms. Boswell: What was that very first day like?

Mr. Atwood: Very exciting. My wife was there, but she was over at the House because that's when they threw out the Speaker of the House, and the coalition took over. That's where all the excitement was. No one gave a damn about the Senate. You know they threw out the Speaker and put in Bill Day—the coalition did.

Ms. Boswell: O'Brien. They got rid of John O'Brien.

Mr. Atwood: O'Brien, they threw him out. He got on the floor; in fact, they adjourned the Senate to go and watch it. After all the speeches, O'Brien gets up and he says, "This is the worst thing since the crucifixion." (Laughter) I mean, these guys! Oh, man, I mean there were some hard feelings there. Tom Copeland became one of the head guys and "Daddy Day" became the Speaker. There were other coalitionists: Bill McCormick and Dick Kink, my other House member. I don't know all the rest. That's where all the excitement was. Evans and Gorton and those guys had taken over. It was pretty exciting stuff.

Ms. Boswell: So Mrs. Atwood went over there to watch, instead of watching you?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, she wanted to see where the action was. Someone must have known there was something going on, but no one tipped it off. The first guy to vote over in the House was a guy by the name of Dr. Adams and when he voted for Daddy Day, that was the tip-off. All the Republicans switched over, and O'Brien had no idea what was happening to him, I guess. I didn't see it.

Ms. Boswell: So what about your impressions of that first day? You were sitting way in the back?

Mr. Atwood: I was the first guy near the door to the Senate restaurant. I liked that seat. I could see everything that was going on in the front.

Ms. Boswell: What kind of business takes place on the first day?

Mr. Atwood: Not much. It's all organization. It's all pomp and circumstance, and nothing much of consequence.

Ms. Boswell: Now, had you already brought your family down by that time?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. My wife would always go down ahead—she'd be what we called an advance party in the military—getting the housing and the schools for the kids.

Ms. Boswell: Why did you make that decision? Once you did decide to go to the Legislature, why did you put the kids in school there?

Mr. Atwood: I was going to take them with me. I wasn't going to leave them up here in Bellingham with my wife. A lot of legislators did, which is fine. To each his own.

Ms. Boswell: When you first went there, did you come down early?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, we were there a couple of days, maybe three or four days early. We moved down and had a house there.

Ms. Boswell: And did the caucus bring you together, too?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, oh yes. I don't recall very many meetings. We had a school on protocol and how to act. I think the Committee on Committees had already met. If not, they were meeting to put together the committees. Of course, the Democrats controlled everything, so we didn't have much to do.

Ms. Boswell: Did you study up on things that you wanted to do? Or there really wasn't much to do ahead?

Mr. Atwood: No. Just a few things that I thought might be of interest. Of course, I didn't know the state budget that well. I don't think anybody did except the Ways and Means staff. Our set-up in our first session was four senators to a room with one secretary.

Ms. Boswell: I was going to ask you about staff. Was that really all the staff?

Mr. Atwood: That was pathetic. And the only person that got to use that secretary was Albert C. Thompson because he was so busy running for Lieutenant Governor. Walt Williams, myself, and Sam Guess were in one corner desk, and Albert C. Thompson had a desk all to himself, being the senior senator.

I was on the Higher Education and Libraries Committee. Gordon Sandison was the chairman; he was a good chairman. And it was a first-class committee: Marshall Neil, John Ryder, Nat Washington from Central, Foley.

Highways. I wasn't on Highways; I never was on Highways. That's a kingdom unto itself. It's still a kingdom.

Ms. Boswell: Is it really?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely. It's untouchable. Frank Foley and I made a run at it, and oh, you'd have thought that was the end of the world! They put Foley on the Highways Committee to try to silence him because they had their own budget and everything. They are a separate committee—a separate empire.

Ms. Boswell: So when you made a run at it, what did you do?

Mr. Atwood: We wanted to put them in the General Fund. Ohhh! (Laughter) They thought that was the end of the world.

Ms. Boswell: You were on the Medicine, Dentistry, and Public Health Committee, too?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, but we didn't last too long there. I'll tell you what happened there. Let's see. Myself and Perry Woodall, we made a run at Davey Cowen's license. We supported the Professional Practices Act, to give the dentists their own law, like the doctors and lawyers. And by god, old Cowen made sure that the next session we were not on that committee. (Laughter) We got the bill out of the committee and got it into Rules. He was an advertising dentist, and he got upset about that. We didn't have to worry about getting on that committee again, and we didn't.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me what the Cities, Towns, and Counties Committee did.

Mr. Atwood: Well, we handled all kinds of city problems. Elections. For example, the one thing that I remember was, when I was first elected to the city council, they had changed it from a three-year term, and they were going to four-year terms. They juggled it around. The state passed a law so that after my three years, it became a four-year term. Then I ran at-large, which was only a two-year term. The committee handled stuff like that. We rewrote the municipal title. It was a big committee. They had a lot of stuff to deal with cities.

Ms. Boswell: What determines the effectiveness of a committee like that one? Is it the chair? Can you tell me a little more about that?

Mr. Atwood: It's the chair. The chair makes a committee. A weak chair makes a weak committee, unless you have a strong vice-chairman. Take a look at that Financial Institutions Committee. Herrmann parlayed that into being the insurance commissioner.

Ms. Boswell: Karl Herrmann.

Mr. Atwood: Yes. Augie Mardesich was his vice-chair, and Mardesich took over that Financial Institutions Committee later on in succeeding sessions. George Kupka was a weak committee chairman. I mean, he was a nice guy but listen to this committee: Kupka, Connor, Cowen, Cooney. Well, Durkan was on that committee.

Ms. Boswell: Which committee was that?

Mr. Atwood: Commerce and Manufacturing. Durkan and Mardesich were on that committee, and I assume that if there were any important things, they dominated that committee if push came to shove. Even though I don't know anything about it, I'm pretty sure that if they had any heavy-duty stuff, those guys would take it over.

Ms. Boswell: Now, at that time, were you on Higher Education mainly because of the university here?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, right.

Ms. Boswell: In a committee like that where you do have competing universities or colleges who want the money, how do you deal with those kinds of issues?

Mr. Atwood: You compromise! (Laughter) Listen to this. Gordon Sandison. He was a University of Washington guy, but he was a damned good

chairman. I mean he was very fair. I was from Western. I don't know where England—oh yes, the University District was his district. Frank Foley was from Vancouver. I think he was a Cougar. Web Hallauer was for the University. Andy Hess was an education guy. Mike McCormack was from the Tri-Cities. Marshall Neill was a Cougar, a very big-time Cougar. John Ryder was for the University. Nat Washington was Central. There wasn't anybody from Spokane. Later on, Sam Guess became the representative of Eastern.

Ms. Boswell: And then you mentioned Judiciary and that most of the attorneys were on that committee?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, they were. John Petrich was the best chairman. We had Wes Uhlman as the chairman later on, and Dan Marsh, the guy from Vancouver who beat Foley, was a chairman, too. But Petrich, who later became an appellate court judge, was the best chairman while I was there. He's a fine lawyer. Uhlman was a pretty good chairman.

Ms. Boswell: What about the State Government Committee? How did that work?

Mr. Atwood: I don't recall. Who was the State Government chair? Oh, Al Henry was the chairman when I was there. Donohue, England, Herrmann, Kupka. We certainly didn't do anything memorable that I recall. Oh, we probably did; I enjoyed the committee.

Ms. Boswell: As a newcomer, tell me about how they introduced you to the business of the committee, and what kind of role you actually played.

Mr. Atwood: Very little at the beginning. I was pretty quiet listening to what they were doing unless I knew something about the subject. You are not supposed to talk at first. The minute you opened your mouth, you had to buy a box of cigars for those old timers.

Ms. Boswell: Was that a tradition? Tell me about it.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, well, I forget what it was—either a box of chocolates or cigars were in order the minute you made your maiden speech.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, I see.

Mr. Atwood: I didn't talk for a while.

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) Were you intimidated or what?

Mr. Atwood: No, I didn't want to display my ignorance. But I knew a lot—as much as anybody there. I could read a bill better than most of them. I think a lawyer in those days had a much greater ability to take a look at stuff. Augie Mardesich could look at a bill. He had been there for a while, so he really knew what to look for in a bill. He was damned good at it when he put his mind to it.

Ms. Boswell: And did you find the same thing as you progressed?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. You have to look at them; you can't just take somebody's word for it or the digest that they give you in the caucus. It helps to read the bills. That's one thing. I think in the Legislature there are a lot of guys there who are not legislators. They are just an automatic vote. They don't look at some of those bills and what they are doing.

Ms. Boswell: Was there someone or a group of people who were mentors to you when you first got there?

Mr. Atwood: No.

Ms. Boswell: Not really, no?

Mr. Atwood: Nobody. (Laughter) Well, actually

Frank Foley and Marshall Neill. I would classify them as mentors.

Ms. Boswell: What was the relationship? How did they help you?

Mr. Atwood: Well, Foley was the chairman of Ways and Means. Neill was a super guy. He should have been governor, but he wasn't a politician. Lots of guys who should have been governor would never make it; they couldn't get elected.

Ms. Boswell: So, how did they act as mentors?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I could talk to them, especially about stuff that I didn't quite get—what was the history behind it and whatnot. These guys had been there for quite a while. Foley and I became very close. I was his vice-chairman on the Budget Committee, which is a bi-partisan committee. I traveled with him a lot, and I drove his car for him. He was very dependent on me. He was, but he knew what he was doing. Dan Marsh beat him in a primary, but that's because Foley was not a campaigner, and he was irascible.

There were not too many people down there who really paid attention to all the nuts and bolts. There were a few, probably ten or twelve at the most, who really paid attention to what was going on—to the meat of the coconut, the bills—and that goes for both sides, House and Senate. Most of those guys had a special interest; they were one-issue people and that's all they worked on.

Ms. Boswell: Who were some of the spark plugs, then, who really did most of the work?

Mr. Atwood: I would guess Bill Gissberg and Nat Washington, who was chairman of the Senate Highway Committee. I'd have to look at the roster. Do you have a roster there?

Ms. Boswell: Yes.

Mr. Atwood: (Looking at the roster) Martin Durkan. Robert Charette. Bob Bailey. Frank Foley was the chairman of Ways and Means. Gissberg. Andy Hess was running for lieutenant governor or something all the time I was there. Augie Mardesich.

Jack Petrich—he was a heavy lifter. He was chairman of Judiciary, and I sat on that committee. I was on the committees of most of these guys that I'm mentioning, so I knew what they were like. Gordon Sandison. Those guys were the real heavy lifters.

Walt Williams, for our side, and Perry Woodall was our leader during my first session. But he was the whole show. He was fast, very quick-witted, very bright, but I think he was a frustrated politician.

Ms. Boswell: In those days, you were on at least six committees. How much of your time did committee work take up?

Mr. Atwood: It depended on the committee. Ways and Means took a lot of time. On Judiciary, we met every morning at eight o'clock. We had good meetings; we were discussing a lot of bills. Some of those committees didn't meet all that often. Medicine and Dentistry didn't meet that often. Higher Ed and Libraries met at least two or three times a week. It depended on the bills that they were considering.

Ms. Boswell: But Ways and Means at that time, because you were on the Appropriations Sub-Committee, was a big committee assignment. Tell me a little bit more about that, especially getting to know the ropes.

Mr. Atwood: Well, that was my main committee. I spent a lot of time on that and then I got on the Budget Committee after the 1963 session. After the 1963 session, Rosellini vetoed all the interim committee appropriations, so they couldn't really operate very much. The Legislative Budget Committee did operate, and I spent a lot of time on that. I had the Budget Committee staff really sup-

ply me with a lot of stuff. I mean I had notebooks upon notebooks. Later on in my legislative career I had as much information as the Legislative Budget Committee had. I had a duplication of their material, which none of the other legislators had. It was not because they couldn't get it, but because they didn't want it.

Ms. Boswell: Did the new members of these committees stick together?

Mr. Atwood: No, not really. Just take Ways and Means. Dore was the chairman. There weren't any new guys on there.

Ms. Boswell: So you were the only one?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, Walt Williams. Williams was a new guy, but he had been in the House. I was a neophyte; I had never been in the Legislature before. Jack England had been in the House.

Ms. Boswell: Would it have been the Republican leadership who really pushed for you to get on that committee? I mean, why would they have chosen somebody who was new?

Mr. Atwood: No, the Committee on Committees decided, and I put it in for that. They asked you what your priorities were, and you got it if you ended up at the top. My name began with an "A," so I had to get something. There were only seventeen Republicans, so they were spread pretty darn thin.

Ms. Boswell: That's true. Did any of the lobbyists seek you out when you are a new member to try to influence you, too?

Mr. Atwood: Not too much, because they knew you didn't have any influence. Later on they did.

Ms. Boswell: But they didn't try to mold you from the beginning into their way of thinking?

Mr. Atwood: I knew some of those guys. I had been a houseboy in the Tri-Delta House at U of W. Vern Lindskog was an oil lobbyist, but I met him at the sorority when he was hustling his wife, Joanie Foster. I knew him quite well. (Laughter) He and I were good friends, but I had lots of bills that he didn't like. He tried to kill them. I'd get it through, and he'd kill it over in the House. The Bellingham city lobbyists—I spent a lot of time with the city people: Chester Biesen and Floyd Jennings. I spent a lot of time with them on their stuff because they needed all the help they could get. It's surprising to me that the Legislature didn't give cities much. You know, the City of Seattle had their own lobbyist, and they had a lot of legislators who were from Seattle—it's a big city. They were having a hell of a time with that Legislature; they still do.

Ms. Boswell: That is a little surprising.

Mr. Atwood: It is. It was kind of shocking to me. Some of those guys like Don Talley, who was the chairman of Cities, Towns, and Counties at the time, had been mayor. He was pro-city all right, but he wasn't that strong. But the lobbyists didn't bother much with you unless they knew you. They knew the people from the House.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me a little about the caucus that first year in 1963. You were in the minority and didn't have very many members, but talk a little about how the caucus operated and how effective it was.

Mr. Atwood: Well, the caucus was very strong as far as sticking together on some of the issues. I forget what the major issues were back then, but if the Democrats were making a partisan issue—not too much of the stuff was that partisan—but we were very tough and hung together. Seventeen votes was not much, but if you got five or six Democrats, you could give the majority fits.

I remember one meeting, on Ways and Means—and this was down at the end—Foley

was in the chair. The Republicans were solid and were all there. This was about 9:00 or 9:30 at night. They were getting out the budget, the final budget. And he calls for the vote on the Appropriations Committee budget. It goes down. Greive was not there, and all the Democrats were out at the Tyee. I'm sitting down at the end of the table, and the gavel comes flying down to the end of the table. Ryder and Neill are sitting on each side of Foley, and I think Neill or Ryder said to him, "Well, you don't expect us to carry your appropriations budget do you?" So he adjourned the meeting and threw the gavel down; he almost hit me! (Laughter) It bounced down to the end of the table. It was in the old Appropriations room. So we recessed, and they sent a guy, the Sergeant at Arms, down to the Tyee to round up all these guys. They came straggling in about 10:00 to 10:30, and Foley calls for the vote. It passed. (Laughter) That was my first budget.

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) That was in the first session?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. I'll never forget that. You don't forget things like that. I think there were maybe one or two Democrats there, but the rest were all Republicans. Let's see how many there were: (counting from the Senate *Journal*) one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight. Eight Republicans there and a couple of Democrats—we had them out-gunned. That's the only time! (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Do you think there was more camaraderie and…

Mr. Atwood: Collegiality?

Ms. Boswell: Yes.

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely.

Ms. Boswell: Especially when you are in the minority?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, oh yes. There was much more, because in the minority you don't have any power unless you have some allies on the other side. I had some good friends on the other side. Gissberg and Mardesich were very conservative people. They are not liberals by any stretch of imagination. Believe me, they're more conservative than I was, which I didn't realize until I watched them up close.

Ms. Boswell: What about that period of time in 1963? How would you characterize Republican philosophy in terms of liberal or not-so-liberal? How would you characterize, generally, the Republican philosophy?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I would think it wasn't liberal, but it wasn't that right-wing conservative either. It was just, I would say, maybe slightly conservative. It was not extreme. There were a couple of them who were, but it wasn't anything like it is now.

Ms. Boswell: I was just wondering when you were in the minority, did you—as a party—become more middle-of-the-road or lean more towards the other party in order to try to change that balance?

Mr. Atwood: Well, you tried to change the balance, but it wasn't that extreme at all. Ninety percent of that stuff is not partisan; it's just straight nuts and bolts. You were running a state government, and what are your priorities? You might get hung up on some of the priorities. The problems have not changed; that's the amazing thing. It's still the same thing—funding education. (Laughter) There isn't enough money in the world to satisfy the education people, so what you do is just try to do the best you can with what you've got. Then you run into taxation resistance on a lot of things. You see it today, especially, because people have been paying a lot of taxes.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me what a typical day would have been like. I know it changes as the session

progresses, but let's just say it was fairly early in the session. What would a typical day have been like?

Mr. Atwood: A typical day: One, I'd go down to the Senate at seven o'clock and have breakfast in the Senate restaurant; two, I'd go upstairs to my first meeting about eight o'clock—I almost always had a meeting at eight o'clock, either Judiciary or Ways and Means; three, then you have other committee meetings later on at 9:30 or ten o'clock and you'd go to those; four, you'd go into session at 11:00 to11:30, after the reading of the minutes or whatever they do—the prayers; five, you'd go downstairs and have lunch, and six, then they'd pull a calendar. You'd go to caucus, if they were pulling a calendar. After about the second week, they pulled a calendar.

Right off the bat, you debate the rules. Lots of times, you try to change some of the rules. Then they adopt the rules, but once that's done…
Later on in the day, they have the public hearings—in the afternoon. Sometimes in the morning they have them, but only as the session really gets warmed up.

Your caucus chair gives you a calendar of the day with the summaries and whatnot, and if you have some questions after you have looked at the calendar—there may be some real questions—you might go over and talk to the majority leaders or the chairman of the committee whose bill it is. You might see if you could hold it up so that you could take another look at it. The longer I was there, the more I had to do. When I was caucus chair, Bob Bailey and I used to pull consent calendars every morning, before Rules.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me more about that.

Mr. Atwood: Well, a lot of them, about seventy-five percent of the bills there, are not partisan. There is nothing hostile about them; they're not adversarial. They are just nuts and bolts stuff. We'd go through them, and we'd take a look at them, and if anybody objected to any of them on the consent calendar, they would come off. We used to pull a lot. Towards the end, we did a lot of that.

Ms. Boswell: So we were talking about your typical day. Did you have to work late? When did you get to go home? How did that work?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. I would go home and eat, or we'd go out to dinner and then come back. Those late sessions were difficult. We had a lot of them towards the end, very late sessions. We'd go to 10:30 or 11:00 P.M., and it got pretty wearing. Some of those older guys—Raugust and Lennart and some of those older guys—it was tough on them. In the 1965 session, we went around the clock the first two days. Governor Rosellini had appointed a whole bunch of people, and they were trying to confirm them all. We had Governor Evans standing in the side to be sworn in to stop it at midnight. And once that happened, they cut it off.

Ms. Boswell: And that had to do with redistricting, too, that year. Right?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know. Anything that we did on redistricting didn't matter because it went to the district court, and we didn't get to do anything for forty-seven days. We couldn't pass anything, that is, but we did plenty. The best session the whole time I was there was the 1970 special session. By far, it was probably one of the best sessions ever held there.

Ms. Boswell: In terms of what?

Mr. Atwood: Major legislation. The 1969 session had come to loggerheads. I'd have to go back and reconstruct that. And when we came back in 1970, we passed all of that stuff in two weeks—all of the stuff that hung us up. That includes the abortion bill, the income tax. (Laughter) Oh, I had to run with all that stuff; it was terrible.

The abortion bill was by far the worst. I had

voted for the bill; I was on Rules, too. I had to come up here to try a case. My partner had a stroke in the middle of the trial, and I had to come up and redo the trial. But some in the Legislature accused me of taking a powder because I was the vote to get it out of Rules. The Rules Committee was predominantly Catholic. I told them that I was going to vote for the damn thing, but Joel Pritchard was on my back. I said, "Listen, I've got to earn a living." But anyway, when I came back, we had voted it out. That was on the ballot. That was 1970.

And income tax—I told the governor, "I'll vote to put it on the ballot, but I ain't voting for it." (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: But now going back, you were saying that 1970 was the best session, but you told me that the most fun was 1963, the first session you were there?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. There was a lot of difference between fun and accomplishments.

Ms. Boswell: But tell me about what was so much fun about the 1963 session?

Mr. Atwood: Because I could do anything that I wanted. I could vote any way I chose because we weren't going to make any changes.

Ms. Boswell: Anything in particular?

Mr. Atwood: I don't remember. All I remember is that there were no interim committees that were going to function between 1963 and 1965. That's when we spent the money on the trip to San Francisco because we had a window there of a month.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me a little more about that.

Mr. Atwood: That was a heavy-duty trip. In fact, the Public Defenders Bill came out of that trip. I sponsored it and we got it through.

The trip was fantastic. Shocky Rolfson was along, who was the attorney general's assistant, his right arm. Who was the attorney general then? Smith Troy. And Featherstone Reid who was later Magnuson's head budget guy; he was the Ways and Means guy. It was Bill Gissberg and I, and we visited the public defender's office in San Francisco and the courts. It was a working session. I didn't realize how old the public defender's system was. In fact, we didn't have one here. There had been a lot of talk about it, but California had had a public defender's system since 1933—a long time.

Ms. Boswell: Wow.

Mr. Atwood: Yes. The only elected public defender they had was in San Francisco, and he was too busy running for governor or mayor or something, although he did come and talk to us.

Ms. Boswell: Who invited you or under what auspices?

Mr. Atwood: It was under the auspices of state government. I think it was one of John Cherberg's interim committees. I forget; I don't remember how it worked. I think I was on the committee, but it didn't make any difference because the Legislative Council and the Legislative Budget Committee had no money. They weren't operative during that two-year stint, so to speak, because Rosellini was so scared of the Legislative Council making "hamburger" out of all his stuff, I guess. Anyway, he vetoed all the interim committee appropriations. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: So you used the money to go then to San Francisco?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, we had to expend it by July 1st. We did. We went for about a four- day trip. We saw Chinatown and a lot of stuff at night. First-class entertainment! In fact, I even got a donkey named "Feathers" that Featherstone and Marie won throwing a baseball at a gal in a skimpy cos-

tume lying in a bed. He tipped her out. (Laughter) Anyhow, it was a good trip. I learned a lot. And we went to Chinatown, and that was really interesting. We went up to the tongs. We were the guests of a lieutenant who was in charge of the Chinatown detail. We went into these gambling dens, and the minute that they saw him, all the money disappeared off the table. Our wives had the police chief's Cadillac, chauffeur-driven. They got to see a lot more than we did because we were talking to people all the time, like the American Bar Association (ABA) guy from the public defender's office. That bill was introduced in the 1965 session and got passed. I think Gissberg was on it, too.

Ms. Boswell: So that trip was after the end of what year?

Mr. Atwood: The 1963 session. That was the only trip taken by any committee. (Laughter) I didn't realize how much money they had or anything, but it was a good trip. It was the best one I've ever had in the Legislature.

Ms. Boswell: Do you think that most of those trips are productive? I mean some people view them as junkets.

Mr. Atwood: They are junkets.

Ms. Boswell: Do you think most of them are productive generally?

Mr. Atwood: A lot of them are, and some of them are not. I was on a couple of panels when I was on the Budget Committee. I went to San Antonio when I was on one panel. I did not realize that a lot of the states did not have the same set-up that we had on the Legislative Budget Committee, which is a bi-partisan, not a partisan committee, to deal with interim matters that are continuous. Some of the states have full-time legislatures, and they don't need that kind of committee. I must say, I don't know what the set-up is down there in Olympia now or even if they still have a Legislative Budget Committee.

We had all the "powers-that-be" on that Budget Committee: Mardesich, Durkan, John Bagnariol. It was just a very, very strong bi-partisan committee, and we did a lot of stuff. We did performance audits. When I left, they were still doing performance audits. Now I have a hunch that they have given up on that. It should be a committee equivalent to the GAO (General Accounting Office) in Congress. We had a legislative auditor. Gerald Sorte was the legislative auditor or one of them. He was *the* legislative auditor. I don't know what happened to the Budget Committee. I haven't heard anything about them at all, but when I was there it was a very strong committee. A lot of heavyweights down there were on it, excepting myself. I was the greatest! (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Now, in that 1963 session, we talked about some of the committees that you were involved in. Tell me about some of the bills that you sponsored. I have a list of them, but are there some that particularly stick out in that first year?

Mr. Atwood: Only the Master's Program. That was a big one, a heavy one. That was the biggie and that took a lot of time. A lot of effort went into that bill.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me a little bit about the origins of that bill. Whose idea was that and how did it come about?

Mr. Atwood: Well, it was Western's idea. They wanted to become a full-fledged university. I had an option of, first of all, introducing a university bill. I didn't think that meant much. I think the Master's Program was a must before you did that. They finally got the university title. Barney Goltz got it for them, but by that time they were a university in fact, if not in name.

Ms. Boswell: So in 1963, they really weren't

yet, so the master's degree at least gave them a graduate degree?

Mr. Atwood: Graduate status. A Master of Education to begin with and then a whole Master's Program. My campaign chairman was the dean of the graduate school: Sam Kelly.

Ms. Boswell: They owed you a debt by that point!

Mr. Atwood: (Laughter) No, I owed him a debt. I got one of the appropriations stuck in the budget bill. This was two or three years later. I got them one hundred thousand dollars for a graduate center—whatever that was. I said, "Sam, you asked me for it, you got it. I don't want to hear anything more." (Laughter)

But he was a real scholar. In fact, a community college building was named after him. He was my appointee to the Community College Board here. Each legislator got to name one guy to the board of the local community college. There were twenty-one or twenty-two districts, and he was my choice. He later became a chairman of the community college organization statewide. He should have been the president of Western, but he never was. He's a very superb guy.

Ms. Boswell: And what was his name again?

Mr. Atwood: Sam Kelly. Dr. Sam Kelly. Great sense of humor and a good campaign chairman. (Laughter) He was a very, very bright guy.

Ms. Boswell: So, the Master's Program. You said you really worked hard on it. Tell me a little bit about what, as a first-termer, you had to do?

Mr. Atwood: I had to go around and get some support, and the university guys did not like the bill. Both WSU and the University of Washington were not in favor of it.

Ms. Boswell: They didn't support it at all?

Mr. Atwood: Well, they didn't oppose it that hard, but they sure were not giving me any support. They'd give me maybe a pat on the back and say, "Nice try," or something, but I kept getting people to help me hang it on another bill. It was a struggle between the haves and the have-nots. And I'd find a correct title of Higher Ed to hang it on, and I hung it on everything that came through there. I got a lot of the new guys to help me. It was a titanic struggle. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Was it rare for a first-term person to push through something like that?

Mr. Atwood: I have no idea. I just thought it was a great feat.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, it was a great feat.

Mr. Atwood: That was my major bill. I don't think I had others. I don't think the Public Defender Bill—no, it hadn't passed yet. That was in the 1965 session.

Ms. Boswell: What about other people's bills? Your name is on seven or eight bills.

Mr. Atwood: What were they? Do you have them there?

Ms. Boswell: Yes, I do.

Mr. Atwood: You have to refresh my memory.

Ms. Boswell: I have the bills here by number and by description. There was SB-46, which was an act relating to eminent domain; SB-53, which had to do with personal exemptions.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, that was an upgrading of the Bankruptcy Act.

Ms. Boswell: Right.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, that was long overdue. But

that was a Judiciary bill. There wasn't any controversy on that. Lots of those bills just modernize exemptions that get overlooked for years.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me. At least according to some of the things that I read, you had been involved possibly even before you got to the Legislature in the Bankruptcy Bill because of the Bar Association. Can you talk a little about that?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. Those were Bar Association bills and some of those were likely long overdue. In fact, some of them should be rewritten again; now they are way behind the times. They haven't kept up. In some of these states like Texas and Florida, absolutely the sky is the limit on your home. You see, that's why some people can keep their seven million dollar homes. (Laughter) All the people who are going bankrupt move to Florida and buy a home.

Ms. Boswell: Right. It's not included in bankruptcy, right?

Mr. Atwood: Well, it's exempt. We don't have anything like that in Washington. I think sixty thousand dollars is our limit right now. We're still pretty low, pretty slim. I wouldn't call them special interest bills, but they are bills that are long overdue.

Ms. Boswell: So in the Bankruptcy Bill, why did the Bar Association get involved?

Mr. Atwood: Because the exemptions were so miniscule—fifteen hundred dollars on a car or something like that. You can't get a good car for less than seven thousand dollars. I don't know what they are now. I don't do any bankruptcy. The bankruptcy lawyer is across the hall. (Laughter) I have to ask him what the exemptions are, but they were a lot less than what they are now.

Ms. Boswell: And so once you got to the Judiciary Committee, that was also…?

Mr. Atwood: That was bread and butter. It was lots of bread and butter stuff that you really knew what it was. Practicing lawyers did plenty of that. Later on, there was the Dissolution Act, and no-fault divorce. I was for that. I still am, but they make it so difficult now that the paperwork is terrible. You'll drown in it. I don't do any more divorce work; I do just adults, no kids. It's becoming impossible and very expensive.

Ms. Boswell: And so part of that is the result of state legislation?

Mr. Atwood: It all is.

Ms. Boswell: So it's all governed by that?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. We had endless hearings on the Dissolution Act in 1973. We had some good stuff in Judiciary, too, like self-proving wills. When I first started practicing, you had to go find the witnesses to the will and take them over to the court and swear them in. Now you have them sign an affidavit when they execute the will, and that's good enough. I sit on the Legislative Committee of the Bar, so I see all of this stuff all the time. I have been for twenty years, but I'm going to get off it this year. I've been there long enough.

Ms. Boswell: Now, there were other bills here. There were a couple of bills proposed by the Legislative Council, or requested by them. There was an act relating to the jurisdiction of courts over minors who were charged with violations of motor vehicle laws.

Mr. Atwood: Was I a sponsor on that?

Ms. Boswell: Yes.

Mr. Atwood: Boy, I don't remember that.

Ms. Boswell: It was sponsored by Woodall, Henry, and Atwood. And then there was another one that you were a sponsor with Talley and

Sandison on, an act relating to instruments being recorded and filed.

Mr. Atwood: That was just a bread and butter bill.

Ms. Boswell: Yes. Another: an act relating to insurance and adding new sections to the 1947 law. You and Herbert Freise. Then Williams, Talley, and Atwod, by a Joint Committee on Urban Area Government request, relating to taxation.

Mr. Atwood: I don't remember that one. That's probably just a bread and butter bill, too. Most of those are what I call "bread and butter"—nothing controversial.

Ms. Boswell: Let's see. Thompson, Dore, Ryder, and Atwod, by the Joint Commission, an act relating to disincorporation of certain special districts.

Mr. Atwood: That's just a bread and butter bill, long overdue, for getting rid of some of these old municipal corporations—what we call municipal corporations or districts. There are lots of districts that were never disincorporated, and there was no way to do it.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, I see. So that act established a way to do it?

Mr. Atwood: Yes.

Ms. Boswell: I see. Okay, because there was another one. Then there was another one that followed. That was an act relating to annexation of certain areas by cities and towns.

Mr. Atwood: Yes. That's a different subject.

Ms. Boswell: It was entirely different?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, entirely different. Annexation has been a sore point. Did that set up boundary review? What did it do? Was it streamlining annexation? That issue creates a lot of sore points between counties and cities, even around here. Especially in Skagit County, too. My boy is a county administrator in Skagit, and he was telling me about the fight between the county and the cities. Cities annex these high tax-based areas that surround the city, and they cut the county out of all that revenue. It's a sore point here, even in Bellingham.

Ms. Boswell: So, even in the 1960s that would also have been an issue?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, very much so. But you see, the city of Bellingham supplies a lot of outlying services to these areas: water, sewer—not so much sewer, but water. Primarily water. We don't have an electrical service.

Ms. Boswell: As a freshman legislator, did you want to be on bills? How did you get persuaded by people to help with these bills?

Mr. Atwood: I probably got on more than I should have. I've become a real devotee of being totally against hyperlexis. If you were down there in Olympia watching these guys with all their bills—hyperlexis is over-lawyering, being over-lawed, and over-regulated. Half of those bills should never be introduced. It is a waste of paper; in fact, two-thirds of them. This country has a bad dose of hyperlexis, mainly because the legislators, congressional or whatever, want to be perceived as doing all these important legislative matters that they really shouldn't be regulating or even talking about it.

Ms. Boswell: So that was really, you think, happening even then?

Mr. Atwood: I had a bad case of it.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, but certainly at least during

your first year, you didn't have that many.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, but boy, later on I did. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: So how did people go about persuading you to put your name on a bill? How did that work?

Mr. Atwood: Well, they come up, and if I knew anything about it, I might sign it. If I didn't know anything about it, I wouldn't get on it unless it was explained in detail to me. I was very careful about what I did as far as legislative stuff.

Ms. Boswell: Were there certain people, individuals who you would be more likely to join with or were more persuasive than others?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. I would be more apt to join with Gissberg, Mardesich, or Foley as contrasted with Greive or Talley, or Cooney, or Herrmann. Herrmann was suspect. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Could it be perceived as sort of an honor whether you were asked or not?

Mr. Atwood: No. They just wanted a name that they thought might help them out. A lot of those bills were just "bread and butter" bills. They were not anything earthshaking They were "bread and butter" stuff that needed to be done, just routine. Most of the routine bills fall through the cracks because everyone wants to take up time on the abortion bill or whatever.

What constitutional amendments passed out then? Any of them? I don't think I was on any.

Ms. Boswell: I don't think so.

Mr. Atwood: Okay.

Ms. Boswell: There was an extraordinary session in 1963, too.

Mr. Atwood: Was there? Oh yes, immediately following the first.

Ms. Boswell: Right. I noticed that almost all the bills that your name, at least during that period, ended up being postponed at the end of session. I'm curious. If there is a bill like the one you mentioned, establishing the Master's Program at Western…

Mr. Atwood: It lost its identity when it got hung on another bill.

Ms. Boswell: Right, but so many bills ultimately don't make it through in a session.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, probably two-thirds of them. Maybe more.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me more about just making sure that ones you really think are important do get through. I know that persistence is important, but tell me a little bit more about that process.

Mr. Atwood: If it's a Senate bill, you have to go over and lobby it in the House. I mean, *you* have to be the lobbyist. If you get some help over there, that's fine. That's why you have House members, if they are sympathetic to it. Of course, then you use a lobbyist from Western. Let's see, who were the Western lobbyists then? I don't think Barney Goltz was a lobbyist then, but whoever it was, Western had good lobbyists down there. I used them a lot to help keep me posted on what was going on.

Ms. Boswell: As a new member, how do you cultivate people in the House?

Mr. Atwood: Through your House members. Of course, Chuck Lind was elected at the same time. He only lasted one term. He got mixed up in the Goldwater campaign, when it went down the tubes. We told him not to. He was a hard head. (Laughter) You know, Goldwater. Dan Evans was the

only one who won a Republican governorship in 1964.

Ms. Boswell: Right. Goldwater definitely had an impact on Republicans.

Mr. Atwood: In this state he did. I got to know some of the House members pretty well.

Ms. Boswell: So, were lobbying efforts in the House comparable to what they were in the Senate? Did you find different things worked better in the House than in the Senate?

Mr. Atwood: Well, you picked out the right guys in the House. I forget; I don't know what I did. The bill itself wouldn't fly on its own. I stuck it on the Statute Law Committee's bill. It went over to the House, and they didn't take it off. Old Dick White was just upset like you can't believe. "No one fools around with my bills!" He lives here in Bellingham now. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: How were you savvy enough to be able to do that in your first year?

Mr. Atwood: I was watching some of these old pros and how they did it—especially someone like Augie. He never had a bill fly alone. He always had it situated on somebody else's handiwork. He would sit there with his fingers crossed, and out it goes. He was a master; he was a pro. Guys like that had been around for a long time. He'd been majority leader in the House too, and chairman of Ways and Means in the House.

But that bill of mine took some doing. I worked a long time on that bill, and I had some help because the universities and WSU did not like that bill. When I proposed a doctorate program, boy, you would have thought the end of the world had occurred. I did get the doctorate, but the minute I left the Legislature, they dumped it—the Higher Education Committee.

Ms. Boswell: As you look back over that very first year, tell me a little about it as a learning experience.

Mr. Atwood: Well, it was a real education. Believe me, it was. You know, the Legislature was pretty arcane with no staff; the facilities were pretty lean. We had no private offices—at least the Senate didn't—except leadership. And it was very revealing. In those days, some of the Republican senators were pretty high-powered guys like Walt Williams Jr. He was a super, super guy. Chuck Moriarity was pretty high-powered too, and Perry Woodall. They'd been around quite a long time. All of them had been in the House at one time. I had never been in the House. That was probably a handicap, not having been in the House, but I'm glad that I didn't because there you are really lost in the ninety-nine members.

And you know, the District Court took the ninety-ninth member and threw him out the window. Did you know that? That's why we have ninety-eight House members. That's why we have had two or three sessions where we had co-speakers of the House.

Ms. Boswell: Now, is there a story about a guy being thrown out the window? I'm confused.

Mr. Atwood: Well, during the redistricting controversy, the judges said you can't have a ninety-ninth member. I was the only senator who had three House members, until the federal court took away the ninety-ninth guy. People forget that incident. None of this stuff would have happened had the federal court not dumped the ninety-ninth member during the redistricting battles because of the issue of one man, one vote. That's what happens when a court gets mixed up in these things. The framers knew what they were doing. You couldn't have a tie, and we've had three ties since they took the ninety-ninth member away. So be it. In my second term, I had three House members up until the federal court redistricted. Then in 1970, I only had two. They couldn't get anybody to run against me in 1966, that's how strong I was. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) So you really did enjoy it. Once you got down there, you really liked it?

Mr. Atwood: I loved it. You get on an ego trip, and it's pretty heady stuff.

Ms. Boswell: What about your family? Tell me a little about how they adjusted. You loved it, but spent long hours. Tell me about how they fared?

Mr. Atwood: Well, they suffered. They were there, so I got to see them every day. That's one good thing.

Ms. Boswell: How did you engineer the whole process of getting them down there?

Mr. Atwood: My wife did that. She went down and got the house, and we all moved down there. The kids all went to school there—the two oldest ones. The youngest one wasn't born until ten years after I was there. And after the first session, we got a house. Most of the time we had a house, and a couple of times we had condominiums—the last couple of years.

Ms. Boswell: So, you would rent a house, and you would come with the whole family in January? How long would you stay?

Mr. Atwood: Until the end of the regular session.

Ms. Boswell: Just a couple of months?

Mr. Atwood: Three months. It was a ninety-day session. And then normally the special was only thirty days or a month—something like that.

Ms. Boswell: So would they finish the year out at that school?

Mr. Atwood: No. We moved them back to Bellingham. That was really tough on the kids, the two oldest ones. That was a tough deal. I didn't realize it until later on. It was a tough deal pulling them out in the middle of the year, in January, February, and March, and then they would come back to Bellingham in April or May.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, I think that it would be difficult.

Mr. Atwood: That's darn tough.

Ms. Boswell: And also just going into a new school in Olympia, where they didn't know anyone.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. They were pretty well adjusted, even in spite of all that.

Ms. Boswell: Then you were down there, and you ended up spending a huge amount of time working. I hear stories about the social life in Olympia. Tell me a little about that.

Mr. Atwood: Well, I was known as the best dancer in town. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Oh, you were? (Laughing) I didn't know that.

Mr. Atwood: No, no. Social life. It was a good social life. There were lots of functions to go to—a lot of functions. Some were put on by the lobbyists, and Republican wives had a lot of social functions. But I wasn't a man about town, let's put it that way. I wasn't known for my peccadilloes or whatever. I enjoyed it. I didn't regard it as work, but I spent a lot of time doing this. I really did.

Ms. Boswell: What happened to your law practice while you were down there?

Mr. Atwood: That's what really killed me. It just really crushed me.

Ms. Boswell: Like that first year, for example.

How did you organize it to be gone?

Mr. Atwood: I had a partner: Tut Asmundson covered for me on the stuff that had to be covered. As time went by, it really hurt me badly. I'm still paying for it because I should have been building up a huge clientele. I do have a big clientele but when I was in my moneymaking years…you see, I was only thirty-five when I was elected or thirty-six, I guess. I got out when I was forty-eight, and those were the golden years for a law practice. Not for me. That's the one regret that I do have, but I never intended to make a lot of money.

Ms. Boswell: So, you went through the first session and what was the greatest moment of it or what was the most memorable?

Mr. Atwood: I don't think there was any great moment or "the greatest," really. Just being there the first time is exciting. (Laughter) One of the funniest things was going to the governor's ball at the Armory. They all looked like a bunch of Mafia. (Laughter) They did! You know, we had blue ribbons on us, and Marie said, "God, look at those guys." (Laughter) Rosellini and his cohorts.

Ms. Boswell: Well, tell me about the governor and that relationship?

Mr. Atwood: I had none, none at all. I don't think he even knew me. I met him, but that was about it. He was a very social fellow, too. He was smooth as oil, but he was only there my one session, and then it was Governor Evans in 1964. I was in the 1963 session, then the 1964 election, Evans was elected. Republicans took the House that year, too.

Ms. Boswell: Right. I was trying to remember exactly…

Mr. Atwood: And Charles Moriarty was the floor leader. I was whip in 1965, and I became the floor leader in 1967 because Moriarity quit. That session was terrible on him, that 1965 session. He used to sweat. He would sweat so hard underneath his armpits, and he'd have a couple of martinis. He lived up the street from us, and I thought, "That poor guy is falling apart." And he didn't sit on Rules, which just killed him.

Woodall was not a team ballplayer, believe me. And I loved Perry. I supported Perry against Moriarity when he lost to Moriarity—when Dan Evans reached inside the caucus and picked Moriarity because they were close friends. I didn't blame the governor, but I didn't support Moriarity. I went to school with Chuck. I was in his law school class. When I became the floor leader, Perry was on top of me like you can't believe. When I became the caucus chairman, which was the head shot, when Ryder retired, Jimmy Andersen was my floor leader. He got on Jimmy and me like you couldn't believe it. It was pretty bad. He was a very sour, bitter, lonely old man.

Ms. Boswell: Just based on what?

Mr. Atwood: On what he could have been, and, I think, maybe should have been. But I think the booze got him too much. I think he drank too much. Alcohol is a real problem down there, believe me.

Ms. Boswell: Why do you suppose that is? What about that?

Mr. Atwood: That's because it's so available, and some of these guys depend on it like a crutch. I thank god that I didn't have that problem. I get sick when I have too much to drink. But booze, women, and finances are the three major hazards of being a legislator. It's probably true of life in general.

Booze is bad stuff. I was chairman of the Alcoholism Board for seven years or two years here. I sponsored a lot of alcohol bills, but I still drink. I was the only non-alcoholic on the Board. I was only one of two members who were not alcoholics on the board here.

Ms. Boswell: So what about the transition back to average life? You call it heady stuff, and then the session is over or the special session. Then you have to go back to Bellingham and back to your practice. What was that transition back like?

Mr. Atwood: It's not that bad. It's nice to get home and be your own person. Of course, you're in demand all the time in between. You're involved in a lot of committees, various civic things, and whatnot. I served on every board that ever was. Hospital boards—I was secretary of Saint Luke's Hospital when I got home. Then they merged. I was on Saint Luke's Foundation board for sixteen years.

Of course, I was in the Army until 1981 when I retired. I really enjoyed that. That was a good respite. I was a colonel then, and that makes a hell of a difference! When I was in the Legislature, I was a measly captain.

Ms. Boswell: Now, looking back, how would you evaluate your very first term?

Mr. Atwood: I did a lot of things. It was a learning process, but I really concentrated on the budget.

Chapter 4

First Leadership Role

Ms. Boswell: What was the transition like to your second term in 1965?

Mr. Atwood: Interim committees didn't function after the 1963 session. There weren't any but the bare minimum because Governor Rosellini vetoed them all—all the appropriations. So in the 1965 session, we were starting from ground zero.

Ms. Boswell: Now, what did you do to prepare? You didn't have to run, so was there any other kind of preparation that you made for the 1965 session?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. I started on the budget. Of course, we had a new governor, brand new, and that was kind of exciting. You didn't know where Dan Evans was coming from. He reached into the caucus and picked Chuck Moriarty as the floor leader, which really divided the caucus.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me more about that. That was going to be one of my first questions.

Mr. Atwood: Moriarty was a classmate of mine. I was in his law class, or he was in mine. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Did the governor usually do that? I mean did he interfere very often?

Mr. Atwood: He got everybody upset. He got Woodall. He made an enemy of Perry Woodall and that was unnecessary. He didn't have to do that.

Ms. Boswell: Why did he do that? Why did you think he did it?

Mr. Atwood: Well, Perry was pretty far right, not far right, but I don't think Perry gave much credence to Dan Evans. I supported Perry in voting. There were more King County people, and Evans was a new governor, and he wanted his own man.

The problem was that Moriarty was not given the Rules position. A leader—whether it is a minority leader or the minority caucus chairman or whoever—cannot function without being on Rules. At that time and in that context, you couldn't really function without being on Rules. You had to depend on other people to attend and let you know what Rules Committee was doing. Rules was a very powerful committee back in those days.

Ms. Boswell: And what happened to Moriarty? Why wasn't he on Rules? Was it intentional that he wasn't on Rules?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. The senior Republicans blocked him. I thought that it was too bad because the leader, to really have a full grasp of things, has to be on Rules.

Ms. Boswell: So what were the factions?

Mr. Atwood: Well, they were not exactly factions. I wouldn't classify them in that way. There was Ernie Lennart and Herb Freise. In 1965, I became the whip, though. That was a big deal.

Ms. Boswell: I want to hear all about how that came to be.

Mr. Atwood: Because they wanted somebody. When that happened, we had our own offices. We

got offices in the 1965 session. Before there were four to an office, and we were all in the Legislative Building. And the reason for the whip is to keep track of what was going on over at the other building because members of the leadership were the only people in the Capitol Building: the caucus chairman, the minority leader, and a secretary. The rest of us were all over in the other building.

Ms. Boswell: What other building do you mean?

Mr. Atwood: The top floor of the Senate Office Building. That's what they called it then. It's got a name now—the Cherberg Building or whatever. But my job was to keep track of everybody and let the leaders know what was going on. When you're segregated in another building, all kinds of machinations and plots and counterplots can take place. With some of these guys, the plotting is endless. They're politicians—let's put it that way.

Ms. Boswell: So, was that the first time that there was a whip position?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, while I was there. We didn't have a whip in 1963.

Ms. Boswell: How did you become the whip?

Mr. Atwood: We weren't really well organized in 1963. In the House there was a coalition, and they were driving for power, with Evans and Joel Pritchard and Slade Gorton—those guys were plotters. (Laughter) I guess that's what it takes to get power, and they got it.

Ms. Boswell: Was the lack of organization in 1963, in part, because of the leadership? I mean, would you attribute some of that to Perry Woodall or not?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. He was kind of disorganized. As a leader, you have got to get organized and have somebody that you can depend on as your vice-chairman, your executive officer, or whatever. You need that.

Incidentally, that's what happened to Charles Newschwander and Jim Matson in 1979. They lost control over their troops in the back. They got dumped. That's terrible. That should have never happened. Matson was a good leader but, boy, he lost control over the troops. You have got to keep your finger on the pulse or you are going to be dumped. And that world—it's a cutthroat world. I wouldn't have minded so much if I had been dumped, but they weren't going to dump me because I'd kill them. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) How were you going to do that?

Mr. Atwood: Because I knew more than they did. Knowledge is power in that joint. You have also got to work; you've got to really work.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me more about that group of Republicans: Slade Gordon and Pritchard and Evans.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, they were all House members. And Jimmy Andersen.

Ms. Boswell: Right. They were sometimes called the "New Breed." Do you see the influence of the "New Breed" in the Senate as well at that point?

Mr. Atwood: Not as much, but it was there. Because we had Jonathan Whetzel, we had five King County senators. We had Joel Pritchard in 1967, who was a good man; I loved Pritchard. My daughter worked for him as his staff person for the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee when she first went to Washington D.C. Joel Pritchard, Jonathan Whetzel, John Stender, Fran Holman, Dick Marquardt, and Jimmy Andersen: those were all King County guys who knew Dan, but I didn't know Dan. I had met him, but that's about all.

I don't know why he later picked me for the Executive Reorganization Task Force, but that was

a hell of a committee. I ended up carrying all of those bills. (Laughter) I don't think he remembers that very well, but I did—the Department of Ecology, the Department of Social and Health Services (DSHS), the whole smear.

Let's see, of the old guys: Ernie Lennart was on his way out. He was old, and it was difficult. The first two days of the 1965 session, we went around the clock. It almost killed the old guys because Rosellini was filling all the vacancies. I don't know how many we were confirming. We were in session for the first twenty-four hours total, and we had Evans standing in the wings to be sworn in to put an end to all that foolishness.

Ms. Boswell: That was partly because of redistricting, too, wasn't it? Weren't the Democrats trying to get the redistricting bill out before Evans took office?

Mr. Atwood: No, they couldn't get that, but they were filling in the appointments. There is no way that they could get the redistricting bill. You'd have to go through the Senate *Journal*. I was not a party to any of that. I was not one of the plotters. (Laughter) Strategists—I'm sorry.

Ms. Boswell: How did your appointment as the whip come about? Tell me about the politics behind that appointment.

Mr. Atwood: The politics behind that was Marshall Neill and John Ryder. They wanted somebody over there that they could trust. Perry was out of power then.

Ms. Boswell: He had not gone out of power gracefully would you say, or not?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. He drank way too much, and he was bitter. It was kind of sad. I tried to talk to him and, of course, I was a lot younger that he was. I was only thirty-six when I was elected. I got out of there when I was forty-eight. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: But getting back to the caucus, the caucus would meet before the session, correct? Then they would get the leadership in place and all that. So before the 1965 session—say November of 1964—how did that process work? Did you go to Olympia? How did it happen?

Mr. Atwood: No, it wasn't done in Olympia. It was done wherever the leadership chose. I think it might have been done in Spokane again. It was wherever we had the Washington State football weekend. It was done that week following the election, the 1964 election. That's when the caucus met for regional reorganization. That's where we had to vote on the floor leader. Marshall Neill was still caucus chairman, I think.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, he was, I believe, at that time.

Mr. Atwood: Great. He was a good, super guy.

Ms. Boswell: Did the Republican Party differ, at least at that time, from the Democrats in terms of the relative strength of the caucus leader versus the floor leader?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. We didn't have the same setup as they did. In their caucus, the majority leader was the kingpin. The caucus chairman was the number-two guy, and they might have had a whip, but I don't think so. In our caucus, as long as I was there, and this continued, the caucus chair was most important. When Marshall Neill went on the bench—when Governor Evans appointed him to the Supreme Court—Ryder took his place.

Ms. Boswell: That was just as caucus chair? He took his place as the caucus chair?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, right. He became *numero uno*, and I became the floor leader. I think that was in 1967. I went up the ladder so quick that I didn't have any choice. I was a floor leader from 1967 to 1971. In the middle of the 1971 session, I became the caucus chairman when Ryder re-

tired. I think he retired in 1971; I could be wrong on that. I moved up to be the caucus chairman because that was the next step.

I had Jimmy Andersen as my floor leader. He was practicing law most of the time. (Laughter) I would have to slip his lunch under the door for him. He was a good lawyer, and I was carrying the load, I think, more than I should have on the floor, too, although it didn't bother me that much. Harry Lewis was…I forget what Harry was. He was the secretary of the caucus most of the time, and the reason for that was because he was from Olympia, and he insisted that he have an office in the Capitol Building. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: But now, why was there this difference between how the Republicans and Democrats viewed the relative power of the caucus and the floor leader?

Mr. Atwood: Our caucus was a lot tighter than the Democrats. Besides, we didn't have enough members. We were eight or nine votes short all the time, so it didn't matter. We were pretty tight, though, on some issues. We voted pretty solidly.

Ms. Boswell: So, tell me about what would go on in the caucus. For example, in just developing this leadership, first of all, were there certain rules that you followed in the caucus? Were votes taken?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, votes were taken all the time.

Ms. Boswell: In terms of choosing leadership, was it secret?

Mr. Atwood: No.

Ms. Boswell: It was not secret?

Mr. Atwood: Let me tell you about my last caucus. I went over to Spokane; no, I forget where it was. Matson was elected. I said to Jim, "Well, since I'm retiring, you should take it over." "Oh no!" he said. "You take over, and we'll have a race here." I was the chairman, and Matson won. His first act after he got things situated was to declare a new regime. The minority leader gained importance instead of the caucus chair, and then he rearranged the pecking order to be more like the Democrats. He didn't think that the caucus chairman had enough pizzazz. I didn't care about pizzazz. If you were the chief, you were the chief, whatever it was called. *Numero uno* was *numero uno*. The press never got that. They thought that the minority leader was the big noise. He wasn't—never was.

Ms. Boswell: When you were made whip though, did it evolve into other duties than keeping track of members?

Mr. Atwood: No, I just kept track of what the back row was doing or the back half—what the grunts were doing.

Ms. Boswell: When you became the whip, did that change your position on the floor of the Senate?

Mr. Atwood: No. I didn't change my seat, I don't think. I might have moved up one row.

Ms. Boswell: Well, how did the relationships work? You'd been a freshman senator in 1963, but by 1965 you were minority whip. Was that the result of friendships with the leadership or other factors?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, and knowing that you knew what you were doing. By that time, I knew what the hell I was doing down there. I knew where the restroom was (laughter) and where the restaurant was, where the governor's office was, not that I spent much time there.

Bob Greive always sat in the middle. He loved the middle. When Augie Mardesich became the Democratic floor leader or majority leader, he would move down there in the middle.

Ms. Boswell: So once the 1965 session got started, can you tell me a little about it? Just generally about that session. With the new duties that you had as minority whip, did that change your routine, perhaps?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, a little bit. I kept track of everybody. That was one of my jobs. If they were going to go somewhere, I wanted to know. We had to because we didn't have very many people. Not that we were going to do anything, but it's nice to keep your finger on the trigger.

Ms. Boswell: Did you enjoy this new role that you had?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, but it wasn't that difficult. You just had to keep track of the troops. That's all. We had a few people who were difficult.

Ms. Boswell: How strong were the caucuses? How did they really work on a day-to-day basis?

Mr. Atwood: Well, if one of our members had a bill, we'd discuss the calendar of the day. If somebody had a sponsor interested in it, they would bring it up and talk about it and ask how many votes they had. So we would take a vote on what support the bill had. About eighty percent of those bills were non-partisan. They affected Kittitas County or Grant County or whatever, and you get a reading of who was supporting it and who was going to vote for it. There weren't very many partisan bills you know, until you get down to the real issues—the abortion bill or income tax, for instance.

Ms. Boswell: And then, was there lobbying or arm twisting to get the people to vote?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. All kinds.

Ms. Boswell: In the caucus, did the fact that, in 1965, you were the whip, did that give you a little bit of added prestige?

Mr. Atwood: Prestige. That's about it.

Ms. Boswell: Prestige in the caucus?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, but not that much. It did mean something.

Ms. Boswell: Was it valuable in terms of your views being heard or for some other reasons?

Mr. Atwood: No, just because they knew that I was knowledgeable. By that time, I was one of the best men on the budget—Ways and Means. I was the vice chairman of the Budget Committee after that session.

Ms. Boswell: So, in terms of committees during that 1965 session, essentially it would be the same committees that you served on in the 1963 session?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, except for Medicine and Dentistry. I told you that Davey Cowen had Woodall and me booted off that committee because we were running with the Dentist Bill. (Laughter) Woodall told me. I said, "How come we didn't make that committee?" Well, Cowen got mad and went to John Cherberg and made sure that we didn't get on that committee again. Charles Newschwander was the dentist. He was the one who was promoting us, and we tried to get the bill out of the committee.

Ms. Boswell: Right. And then you were on Higher Education?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I have always been on that one. I was on the Higher Education Facilities interim committee, too. We voted on projects and whatnot.

Ms. Boswell: But was Ways and Means your main focus?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, and Higher Ed. I was on the

Cities, Towns, and Counties Committee, too. That was a major one.

Ms. Boswell: Now in 1965, there were a number of different issues that you were interested in, but one of the ones that you have particularly talked about was the public defender, which I think came directly came out of your San Francisco trip, isn't that right? Can you talk more about that?

Mr. Atwood: Right. Yes, that was interesting because I didn't know anything about the public defender issue before that. The Bar didn't want it, and the counties and cities in the state—the counties primarily—didn't want to go to the public defender system. I didn't realize that California had a public defender system since 1933—that's a long time. Some of them were elected to office. Ours was not. Later on when we got a bill passed enabling the public defender system, we didn't mandate it, but the counties needed it because private counsel was getting more expensive than a bureau or department.

Ms. Boswell: I was going to ask you, what was there before there was a public defender?

Mr. Atwood: Private contracts and appointments. It got to be very, very expensive because the full-time public defender might get the same as the public prosecutor, but private lawyers charge a lot more. I did some appointment work. Did I tell you already that my partner bid on a contract for the public defender?

Ms. Boswell: No, I don't think that you did.

Mr. Atwood: Her name was Diane Emmons, and she wanted the contract. They did it by contract here, and I was on the committee for picking a contract attorney. I told the county—either the county commissioner or we might have had an executive by that time—I said, "This is kind of foolish putting an attorney on a contract. We should probably go to the public defender system." My partner could have killed me. (Laughter) I said that it was so much more economical and much more efficient because you have a setup. In fact, the first public defender appointed is presently still here. He's a member of the Board of Governors of the Bar now, too. John Ostlund. I was on the selection committee.

But anyway, I felt kind of bad about that, but, nevertheless, the public defender system—for counties of this size or really any county—is more efficient than private contracts. Private lawyers bidding to do the job are more expensive. Our public defender's system here has been very efficient, I think, and much more economical. Hell, our budget for the county for contract lawyers was well over half a million dollars by the time they got a public defender.

Ms. Boswell: And your knowledge of that issue stemmed from your trip to San Francisco?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. I was really impressed. California, of course, is ten times our size, but they even have public appellate defenders. The prosecuting attorneys of various counties don't do any appeals. They have appellate lawyers in Sacramento who do all the appeals—they write the briefs and everything else. It is much more efficient.

And also we had the Law Enforcement Training Center. That's my one instance of petty graft. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Now wait. I don't know what you mean.

Mr. Atwood: You have a picture there of the police chief and the mayor giving me an award. That was for the Law Enforcement Training Center. We set it up in Shelton as a training center for police and the State Patrol.

Ms. Boswell: How did you get involved, in particular, in those kinds of issues with the State Patrol? In 1965 was that law officers' training?

Mr. Atwood: Because I was interested in it, and I talked to the Patrol all the time. You know in those days, the Patrol gave us a cover for our license plates. It said "Legislator" on it. So you had it, if you happened to get stopped. I never did get to use it.

Well, one time I did, I did too. I was driving Fred Veroske's brand new Mercury. Mercury had a brand new model, and Senator Lennart was in the car with Fred Veroske. It was his car, but I was driving it. I was testing it. It was late at night. We had been down at a meeting—some kind of a political deal. I was going about eighty-five and the patrolman went by me—this was about 1:30 in the morning—and he was chasing another car. He pulled him over, and then he waved his light at me so I had to pull over. (Laughter) Senator Lennart was sitting in the right-hand seat, and he said, "Officer, you've got some big fish here." That's all I needed.

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) Big fish, eh?

Mr. Atwood: That must have been in the 1965 session.

Ms. Boswell: So what happened? Did you get a ticket or not?

Mr. Atwood: No, he saw the license. He said, "Slow down, senator." I said, "Fred, you take over."

You know, Senator Lennart later died on a way to a meeting in his district—his new district—which was the Forty-first District on Mercer Island. He had a heart attack and died. He was still in office when he died.

Ms. Boswell: And that was when? Do you know when that was?

Mr. Atwood: It had to be in 1965. They appointed Don Hansey as an interim senator for a month or so.

Ms. Boswell: Was Ernie Lennart a particular friend of yours?

Mr. Atwood: He was a farmer. Yes, he was. Ernie was a good friend of mine. He kept me out of trouble my first session.

Ms. Boswell: How did he do that?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I don't know. He was the only guy who knew me in that first caucus in Spokane. He said, "Yes, he's a senator. Let him in." (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) There was a letter in one of your files that I was curious about. It was an ad that said: "Paid for by Lennart, State Senator." It said: "Atwood is our man." I guess this was probably the 1966 election. "Whatcom County will have, after my term expires, only one senator in Olympia to protect and to defend our relative position. The economic and cultural development of Northwest Washington will acquire the ablest and best that we can give. In my long years in public service, Frank Atwood is a little bit taller than most public leaders whom I have known." And it said: "Paid for by Lennart."

Mr. Atwood: I remember that letter very much. I was very grateful to him for that kind of a letter because most politicians don't get that kind of letter. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: No. It's very, very nice. So he was pretty helpful and generous?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. He was a power out there in the Forty-first District and that became a major part of my district in 1966. I had the whole county. The Forty-first and Forty-second were put together with my number on it, thanks to Marshall Neill. He got to the referee, the guy who was doing the redistricting.

Ms. Boswell: Right.

Mr. Atwood: But they make hamburger out of redistricting now. I think it is ridiculous.

Ms. Boswell: So, you thought the legislative redistricting process was more workable?

Mr. Atwood: No. They should never have been involved. That was Bob Greive, you know. It was ridiculous, and in the 1965 session we ended up locked up for forty-seven days without the ability to pass any bill because of the federal district court. We sat there for forty-seven days. We were pushing bills up for passage, but we couldn't pass them. There were a lot of articles on that. Greive was in his glory. (Laughter) That was his whole life. To me, we had better things to do than to worry about that. It was power; he wanted power.

Ms. Boswell: It is his sense that redistricting hurt him, and that the public doesn't care about redistricting, but, in fact, thinks it is suspect. What do you think about that?

Mr. Atwood: I agree. It didn't do him any good. He made a lot of enemies in his own caucus. But so be it. I just didn't care for the issue at all.

Ms. Boswell: But when all these redistricting battles were going on, were you courted by the different redistricting groups? Slade Gorton, I know, was the primary one for the Republicans.

Mr. Atwood: He was the head shot for ours, but he sold the Senate down the river. (Laughter) To save the House. He made us almost a permanent minority. Greive took care of the Senate and Gorton took care of the House.

Ms. Boswell: That's your perception of how it ended up?

Mr. Atwood: That was the perception of the whole caucus. We didn't have much to say about it.

Ms. Boswell: Why didn't somebody from the caucus step in and really push against it?

Mr. Atwood: I have no idea. (Laughter) I did not like the whole thing about redistricting. I think it's a dumb idea. We had to do it, but there were better ways to do it. I was on the redistricting committee of the county. We did that in about two days, but that was for councilmen and districts. That's pretty simple.

Ms. Boswell: Did either side bring you in to look at the district, and say, "Oh, here is how your district is going to be."

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. They had this little approval deal and said, "Well, what do you think about this district?" I said, "Well, I don't think very much of it. I have too many House members. But if that's the way it is, that's fine, as long as it's my number."

Ms. Boswell: How did you lobby for your number?

Mr. Atwood: I didn't. I never lobbied on that. Sitting in the rear for two sessions, I didn't pay much attention to it. I knew that I didn't have much to say, but Marshall Neill said, "I'll take care of you." That was good enough for me.

Ms. Boswell: So he's the one who carried it?

Mr. Atwood: Well, more or less; there were a couple of other senior senators. Everyone else wanted to protect their districts. It was kind of funny to me. It wasn't that big of a deal with me—not that I could do anything about it.

Then they allowed us, during the 1966 election, to run it that way, and then they dumped it and rewrote the whole thing. That's how we lost the forty-ninth senator, thanks to the federal district court. I don't think they should have done that. Look what messes have occurred since then—gridlock. Twice we had an evenly divided

House—forty-nine to forty-nine—ninety-eight members. That would never have happened with the way the founding fathers originally set it up. One man, one vote. Well, it's a law.

Ms. Boswell: A bill that you mentioned in 1965 as one that you were particularly proud of was a bill providing for a fifty-fifty split of federal forest funds between schools and highways.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. It was a big deal for our county.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me more about that one.

Mr. Atwood: Well, of course, any time you take money away from the state, they get a little upset, but that's a major issue here because we have the national forest. It is not so much of an issue now because they are not cutting that much timber, but to those school districts like Mount Baker and the rest, it was important. We've got nine school districts, when we need about three. Actually you could have one, but that won't fly politically. But anyway, in those days there was lots of timber being cut and so federal funds were split, which was very important for the school districts and especially for their capital improvements—schools, new schools, and whatnot. I don't know what they do now, or how much they get. I'm not sure that they get very much anymore because there isn't much timber being cut.

Ms. Boswell: Who did you have to work with on that particular bill, do you remember?

Mr. Atwood: It had to be with education, the Education Committee. Let's see, who was there? Mike McCormack. Bob Charette was a good one. He was a fine legislator. John Petrich was the chairman of the Senate Judiciary. Super lawyer.

Speaking of chairmen, Gordon Sandison was a super chairman, too, on Higher Ed. He was pro-University, but you've got to expect that. Marshall Neill at that time was carrying the weight for WSU. Warren Bishop was Governor Rosellini's right arm. Neill tried to get Evans to appoint him to the Board of Trustees, and Evans didn't want to. Do you know Warren Bishop?

Ms. Boswell: Yes, I do.

Mr. Atwood: Anyway, Neill gets the president of WSU to choose Warren, and he became a vice president of WSU thanks to Marshall Neill. It was the best thing that WSU did the whole time I was there. And, of course, Warren was a super, super guy.

Ms. Boswell: So Marshall Neill was behind that?

Mr. Atwood: Yes.

Ms. Boswell: And why would he be interested?

Mr. Atwood: Because he was one hundred percent for WSU. He was from there, and he and Frank Foley were buddies. They were fraternity brothers or something, going way back, and Foley put the arm on WSU, too. Foley was a special assistant to the attorney general as well as being the senator.

Ms. Boswell: In the position that you had in the 1965 session, when you were in the minority and you didn't have a lot of hope of getting many things through, were there certain strategies you used in the session?

Mr. Atwood: No, not really. If it's a good bill, it will pass. As I said, only about twenty percent of the bills were close to being what you'd call partisan issues, like taxes.

I'll tell you about that Budget Committee. When I was there, we visited every state institution at least once every two years. We visited all the institutions—the prisons, Walla Walla. The women's prison in Walla Walla was awful. It was the old territorial prison.

Ms. Boswell: Let's talk about that, but first step back and tell me a little more about the Budget Committee. At that time, was it the Joint Legislative Committee on the Budget?

Mr. Atwood: No, it was the Legislative Committee—the Legislative Budget Committee. Its membership was evenly divided: six senators and six representatives. Most of the leaders like Durkan and Mardesich were on that committee, and it was a choice committee.

Ms. Boswell: How did you get so interested in the budget? I mean, how did that all come about?

Mr. Atwood: That's the whole guts of the operation. Everything else is superfluous. The problems are still the same as they were then—the school allocations and all that. It's still the same. And there isn't any bill that has to pass in the Legislature except the budget. That's the only bill…all the others can go. All the bills can go down the tubes, but the budget bill has to pass.

Ms. Boswell: So you really saw that as where the action was?

Ms. Boswell: That *is* where all the action is. Now look at it today. Everybody is running the other way. (Laughter) I would love to see today's operation close up. In those days, we had the Office of Program Planning and Fiscal Management, which was a new name.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me how it operated.

Mr. Atwood: We had several staff members who were auditors and who took care of Education, Higher Ed., and various departments. They looked at them and kept track of what was going on during the interim. Once we got an appropriation, it was a fully staffed committee. We met once a month, at a minimum, to go over all the stuff that was going on and to look at the budgets of Medical Lake and Western State Hospital and all of the prisons. We had a tremendous number of institutions.

On Higher Ed., we looked at Western, WSU, and the University of Washington. We had a meeting there at least once or twice a year, on campus, to go over their budgets and whatnot. Later, Bud Shinpoch was the chairman of the House Ways and Means. He caught the University in a deal in which they spent five hundred grand that they were supposed to revert. You would have thought that the end of the world had occurred. I told him: "Bud, you don't have to get so nasty about it." Those guys went for increases in wages or something. They blew it. They spent way beyond what they had been appropriated.

Ms. Boswell: But so what would be the basic process? The governor would present the budget, and then the legislative committee would deal with it?

Mr. Atwood: The Ways and Means Committee would. The Ways and Means Committee became operative when the Legislature went into the session. The Legislative Budget Committee operated all during the session, all the time. Our staff down there also operated; they were Ways and Means staff. I used them almost exclusively during the budget sessions. They were like my own staff.

Ms. Boswell: What were their primary duties? I was looking through all the files from the Budget Committee, and there are a lot of very detailed staff reports on particular agencies or issues. Tell me a little bit about how those come about? How did you determine what they were going to focus on?

Mr. Atwood: Primarily, when the press raised some points, they had to take a look at them. We had a couple of investigations. I remember that Augie Mardesich and I went over to one place. We were in a gym, and there was some big scandal at one of the mental institutions. They sacked

a superintendent or something, but a lot of it came from the governor's office or from the press saying that there was waste.

Ms. Boswell: So, if an issue was raised, then what happened?

Mr. Atwood: The staff was living there in Olympia, and they saw stuff there. You know that place is a rumor factory, so if something didn't look right or some expenditures were being challenged, that's when we started looking at everything.

Ms. Boswell: So, who would make the decision of what specifically they would move into? Would it be the legislative auditor, or would it be the chair of the committee?

Mr. Atwood: The legislative auditor would make a recommendation, and Frank Foley or Bud Shinpoch or whoever happened to be the chairman. The chairmanship alternated between the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House and the Senate.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, okay.

Mr. Atwood: The Republicans were the vice chairmen. I was the vice chairman for Foley. I was the secretary under Shinpoch. (Laughter) Poor old Shinpoch. His wife was a pretty sharp gal. She was the mayor of Renton.

Ms. Boswell: The first year you were on after the 1965 session, Backstrom, I think was the chair.

Mr. Atwood: Henry.

Ms. Boswell: Right.

Mr. Atwood: He was the chairman of the House Ways and Means. Henry Backstrom was a nice old guy, but not the sharpest guy in the world.

Ms. Boswell: Then Marshall Neill was the vice chair, so he was the Senate Republican.

Mr. Atwood: Yes.

Ms. Boswell: So, in 1965, for example, there were reports on real estate, excise tax, and state employee compensation. I think schools were obviously a big issue. How did you use these reports? The staff does the report on these issues and then what happens?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, they made recommendations; the recommendations were on all the alternatives. Did you read any of those reports?

Ms. Boswell: Parts of them.

Mr. Atwood: Pretty tough. Some of it is pretty boring.

Ms. Boswell: So, they would generate these very detailed reports and then how are the discussions handled? If you have six from each party, was it fairly bi-partisan or not?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. It was bi-partisan. We used those reports in Ways and Means hearings, too. The governor comes with a big book and presents his budget, but we also had our own books. I had my own Budget Committee books. Everybody was saying, "Where did you get that?" I said, "Well, I got it from a committee."

Ms. Boswell: So on that committee then, you get right down to the figures for each agency?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes.

Ms. Boswell: And where you saw problems? What kind of an economic background did it take? Did you have a pretty good grasp of financial affairs?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I had been in the city government. And, of course, after you had two or

three sessions under your belt, you knew where the problem areas were anyway. I don't know what they are going to do in this budget. They have a real tough call because they relied on budget predictions that proved to be way off. So it isn't going to be easy.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, this 2002 session is pretty tough going. I guess it was a little bit later, but there were some pretty significant budget problems that eventually came up during some of your sessions as well. I guess more in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Mr. Atwood: Yes. We had major problems.

Ms. Boswell: Were there some philosophical differences in terms of the budget that come out of the Budget Committee?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, because liberals in education wanted be lavish. There isn't enough money in the state to satisfy K-12. There just isn't.

Ms. Boswell: When you say satisfy, what do you mean?

Mr. Atwood: Well, satisfy their wants and desires and make cost of living raises automatic. We're not the federal government, you know, where the cost of living raise is automatic.

Ms. Boswell: You were forced to come up with a budget in this committee, but did the issue of income tax and getting more revenue surface with that committee?

Mr. Atwood: All the time. The liberals wanted it. We knew better. There is no way that people in the state of Washington want an income tax. Not now, not ever, not in my life time, but I had to vote for the income tax. Put it on the ballot because it would have to be a referendum. They can pass all the income tax they want, but it's not going to go. Actually, the feds have just superseded anything that the states want to do. Look at Oregon. They are trying to get sales tax assistance, just the reverse of ours. It's not going to fly—period. Too many people pay it. I know the liberal point of view. I see it in the *Seattle P-I* every morning with Joel Connelly. He said he worked on my campaign, but I don't remember him. He was going to Western at the time.

Ms. Boswell: So what about the staff members on that Legislative Budget Committee—for example, the legislative auditor? Was that position chosen by the membership of the Budget Committee? That was my impression.

Mr. Atwood: Foley and I went to interview. This was a good trip. (Laughter) We flew to Las Vegas for a five-hour trip to interview Jerry Sorte. I remember we were there overnight, and we were sitting by the pool. It must have been about 110 degrees, and we were interviewing Jerry. He's dead now. He was a single guy. He was from Montana. His brother was a deputy director of OPPFM under Smith, Orin Smith, who is now president of Starbucks. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: I have Dean Clabaugh written down here. He served before Sorte, right?

Mr. Atwood: He was before Jerry, and he was an arrogant bastard. (Laughter) He was good, though. I remember him calling Evergreen College the "Harvard of the West." Where did he go from the Budget Committee? Oh, yes, he was a pretty good guy. I was on a panel down in San Antonio, the National Legislative Leader Conference. He was the legislative auditor, and he got me on this panel in Texas. He was a sharp guy, very sharp. But he was very ambitious. He saw a chance to become elevated. He did. He became chief financial officer of Evergreen, I think. I could be mistaken, but he was in higher education.

We had some good people who were staff people. Donald Petersen. I don't know; I lost track after I left.

Ms. Boswell: I noticed that in 1965, you attended the National Legislative Conference in Portland, or at least you were selected to attend.

Mr. Atwood: I don't think I have ever been to Portland.

Ms. Boswell: You didn't go? I found some information that you were selected to go, but I didn't see any reports that you actually went, so maybe you didn't go.

Mr. Atwood: I don't think I went. I went to lots of places, but I don't think I ever went to Portland. I went to San Francisco, San Diego and Hawaii. I went to Puerto Rico and San Antonio.

Ms. Boswell: What would go on at those kinds of meetings? I mean, what would you learn or what did you do?

Mr. Atwood: You learned a hell of a lot about what was going on in this state and others. Every time we went, the papers crucified us.

Ms. Boswell: But what do they do at leadership conferences?

Mr. Atwood: Well, you talk to them about other states' problems. At the one in San Antonio, I was on a panel talking about the legislative review of budgets. Most of the legislative people or legislatures didn't have an auditor or anything like that. And I found out that we were way, way advanced, even though we were not a full-time legislature. One thing I learned was that in those states like Pennsylvania, California, and New York that had full-time legislators, they were all a bunch of politicians. I was not impressed. At the San Antonio conference, the whole legislature of Pennsylvania was there—well, all the senators were there—and the House did something. They voted a new tax or something, and you would have thought that the end of the world had occurred. All those guys checked out of that motel so fast and were on the plane back to Pennsylvania. (Laughter). I laughed!

Ms. Boswell: So you thought there was a real correlation between full-time legislators and a highly politicized perspective?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, they are a different breed of cat.

Ms. Boswell: I wonder why would that be?

Mr. Atwood: Well, because it is their livelihood. You know, they depend on that position for their livelihood, and they have to feather their nests, I guess. But they're not the same as the citizen legislator.

Ms. Boswell: Would you say that today's legislators generally are? I mean, obviously they don't work full-time, but are they approaching being full-time legislators?

Mr. Atwood: I thought that. I made that prediction about twenty years ago, and I was wrong then and I'm wrong now. I don't think so. I think that the minute you do that, you will have too many make-work projects. You are going to blow the budgets out of whack. They're not going to solve the problems better than the part-time legislators. You don't have to make them full-time, but pay them decently so they can take some time on issues. But they've got staff now. Once you do that, they're dependent on the staff for lots of things. Like in Congress, the staff does most of the work.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, I see.

Mr. Atwood: Some of the senators and congressmen do some of the heavy lifting, but not many of them. (Laughter) I have seen them up close; my kids worked for them.

Ms. Boswell: You mentioned that you thought, after attending the legislative conferences, that Washington was ahead in terms of its budget. How did the Legislative Budget Committee evolve?

Mr. Atwood: It was there before I came.

Ms. Boswell: So it was always there, but it just wasn't always funded?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know if it was always there, but it was there when I came. It was the only bi-partisan committee in the whole place. The Legislative Council was weighted to the party in power. If there wasn't one, then it was evenly split, but the Budget Committee was the only non- or bi-partisan committee. I wouldn't say non-partisan, but bi-partisan. That's what made it very attractive because then you didn't have to worry about a partisan stance.

Ms. Boswell: Were there disagreements, though, over policy?

Mr. Atwood: Oh sure, you bet. Yes, you bet. There were a lot of disagreements.

Ms. Boswell: But you would always be able to work them out, one way or another?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, sure. Up or down.

Ms. Boswell: In terms of that committee assignment, did the leadership put you on it or was it because you were in the leadership at that point?

Mr. Atwood: No, I wanted to be on there. I got on there before I was in the leadership because I was a friend of Foley and Neill, and they put me on there.

Ms. Boswell: Most of the other people on the committee are part of the leadership. At least in 1965, you had Durkan, Foley, Moriarty, and Neill.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, those are the leaders.

Ms. Boswell: I noticed that there was an issue for the Legislative Budget Committee members, especially in 1965, about what they considered unfair media reporting of state expenditures. I think there was an issue, for example, in education, and you spoke out pretty forcefully about what you called unfair reporting as to what the state's expenses were. It was related, I think, particularly to K-12 and how much of the budget that the state would fund. Do you think that the media or journalists were not always well informed about how and why the budget was structured as it was?

Mr. Atwood: That's right. Some of those reporters had no idea how the budget operated. The budget can be such a boring subject. It's not a glamour subject by any means, but it's the nuts and bolts of the government. The media found it very tedious to sit through some of those sessions. They kicked you around on stuff that they didn't even understand. I don't remember any issues that particularly come to mind, but I don't blame them. It is boring. There is nothing glamorous about budgets, but it's the guts of the whole operation. That's why employees strike. There is only so much money to go around, and the people are only going to accept so many taxes. Once, we lost the sales tax on food, which was probably a good thing, we really put a crimp in the budget as far as income for the state.

Ms. Boswell: Right. You mentioned that the Budget Committee would tour or meet in various venues. Was that really helpful in terms of understanding those institutions? Tell me a little bit more about that process.

Mr. Atwood: Extremely. I think it's important that everybody see them. I bet that if you questioned all the legislative people today and asked them whether they had been to Echo Glen, they would not. How many people even know where Echo Glen is, or Purdy? Walla Walla, of course, everyone knows, and Shelton, which is the intake center. It's a pretty nice institution. Monroe is a tough place; that's the toughest prison that we have. Do you know why?

Ms. Boswell: No.

Mr. Atwood: Because that's where all the younger, forty and below, prisoners are. The old crooks are in Walla Walla; the young ones are in Monroe.

I once made a trip there. The prisoners asked me to come down and meet with their prisoner organization. I forget what the issues were, but they had a bunch of issues that were probably pretty well taken. I went down there at 7:30 in the evening, by myself. The prison was informed, and they took me into the facility. I met with these guys, and there were no guards around. (Laughter) I was really kind of nervous about the whole thing. I could have been a hostage. I did not want to be in the headlines, but they were humans, and we had a pretty good dialogue. I talked to the leaders there. There were two or three of them, and it was an interesting session. But it was still a scary experience, going down there in the evening.

What's the city next to Yakima, where Matson came from?

Ms. Boswell: I am not sure.

Mr. Atwood: Selah. Marshall Neill said, when we went there on my first trip, "You are really going to remember this place," and believe me, you do. The smell of five thousand diapers a day, and these were people who were not babies. These were people who were profoundly retarded. There was a retarded center there. Oh, I've been in that two or three times or maybe more than that. It's just terribly depressing. And they can't do anything. They keep them alive, but it's expensive. You can't kill them; Hitler would have killed them all long since. They die eventually, but the survival rate is probably into their teens.

Ms. Boswell: But was it difficult, when you saw the conditions under which so many institutions had to function, to cut their budgets?

Mr. Atwood: I never cut them. I never would. No way. They live on a bare minimum of food; it is the same way in Medical Lake. There's another institution for the profoundly retarded over there, and there is one in King County. It's the oldest. I've been there several times, too, but you remember them. No one is going to cut them, but there isn't enough money really. You can't treat them. Their quality of life is pretty much at a bare minimum. It is something that you will remember forever. Just be thankful that your kids aren't there.

Ms. Boswell: Was the basic goal to have a balanced budget?

Mr. Atwood: You have to.

Ms. Boswell: You have to have a balanced budget.

Mr. Atwood: That's absolutely mandatory. Anybody can take you to court and mandate it. It is required by the Constitution. It is not like the federal government. There is no way that the federal government can balance a budget the way the state does. The federal budget is not a capital budget. They don't use bonds or anything; they pay for everything in cash. They don't have a capital budget; it's a general fund budget. There have been some suggestions at the federal level that they go to a capital budget, but I don't know. That's a complicated issue.

Ms. Boswell: In the years that you were on the Legislative Budget Committee, were there ever surpluses, like when we had the Rainy Day funds?

Mr. Atwood: No, very few. Maybe a couple of times, but we spent right up to what was allocated—what was appropriated.

Ms. Boswell: What would happen once you got down to trying to match the expenditures to the appropriation—what was in the budget to…?

Mr. Atwood: The income.

Ms. Boswell: The income. At the end, was there always a last-minute cutting process or did it not really work that way?

Mr. Atwood: Well, it went into conference. The House has a budget and Senate has a budget, and then the conferees start over again. I was on the two Free Conference Committees, the ones in 1969 and 1971. That was an experience.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me what you mean by a Free Conference.

Mr. Atwood: Where you wrote the budget. They don't do that anymore. They don't—or they won't—give that kind of power to six legislators. There were three from each house. I was the lone Republican from the Senate—there were two Democrats. Durkan and Dore were the other two in the Senate. Evans was governor, so he could veto anything if he wanted. The House was Republican, so they had two Republican House members and one Democrat. We'd meet around the clock on the whole budget. It was wide open. You started from scratch. The first time I did it, you had to have unanimity—all six had to agree. Dore wouldn't agree, so we sat there glaring at one another! (Laughter) Even Durkan couldn't make him agree.

Ms. Boswell: Over one specific issue?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, over one specific issue. I forget what it was, but it was some nit-picking thing. And when that happens, everyone bows their head. There were five agreements and one disagreement, and he hung us there for about three, four, or five days, maybe a week. It was awful. And we finally caved—the five caved so we could get out of there.

Ms. Boswell: So all five of you caved to the one?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, to Dore. Yes, we caved!

Ms. Boswell: So he was holding out for one specific budget item?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. I forget what it was, but it wasn't worth sitting there and killing ourselves. Guess what happened next session? It was the same group, but we had changed the rules at the beginning of the session just to avoid that same thing. Any five could agree on the Free Conference report, so we took Dore's plaything away from him. We did the same thing, only he couldn't stop us this time. But anyway, that was a harrowing process.

Believe me, the pressure was enormous when you were in a free conference situation. They don't have Free Conferences anymore; they have Conference Committees.

Ms. Boswell: I don't understand the designation of the Free Conference?

Mr. Atwood: It meant they could vote for anything.

Ms. Boswell: Okay.

Mr. Atwood: And when they came up with a Free Conference report, it was either up or down; there were no amendments or anything.

Ms. Boswell: Oh.

Mr. Atwood: You take the conference report, and if five of them agree, it's up or down. They don't have to agree. The majority can vote it down, but everybody by that time is loose or crawling on the ceiling. The lobbyists were driving you crazy; I mean, they were camped outside the door.

Ms. Boswell: So those Free Conferences just happened in two different sessions?

Mr. Atwood: When I was there. I don't think that the Legislature had a Free Conference in the last four or five sessions. I don't remember any

after that. The Legislature was not about to give guys like me any power. (Laughter) You have to go back through and see how many Free Conference Committees there were. The committees met in the conference, and then if they couldn't agree on one or two things, they would ask permission from the bodies, the House and Senate, for Free Conference powers. It was either granted or not. A bill can die in conference, too.

Ms. Boswell: Did you find, generally speaking, that the Joint Budget Committee was fairly effective working together?

Mr. Atwood: Very.

Ms. Boswell: Was that the nature of the people on it, do you think?

Mr. Atwood: That's right. The people on it make the thing work. People can also be obstructionist and make it very, very tough.

Ms. Boswell: Did most of the members have a pretty detailed knowledge or understanding of budget issues generally?

Mr. Atwood: Most of them did. There were no dummies on that committee. Believe me. We had Booth Gardner on that committee for quite awhile—while he was there anyway—and, of course, Augie Mardesich was the smartest guy who's ever been in the place. He was the chairman of the House Ways and Means, but he was a very bright guy, especially on budgets.

Ms. Boswell: Now there were a couple of others.

Mr. Atwood: Shinpoch was a bright guy, too.

Ms. Boswell: There were a couple of other committees. One in particular that you were on, I'd love to know more about: the Columbia River Interstate Compact.

Mr. Atwood: Oh! You saw that?

Ms. Boswell: Yes, tell me a little about what you know.

Mr. Atwood: The whole time I was on it, we had two meetings. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: I wondered why I didn't find a lot about it! (Laughter)

Mr. Atwood: There was not a lot to find. Who was on that committee? I hardly recall the one meeting that we had.

Ms. Boswell: But you were actually one of four commissioners as opposed to just being members. The Columbia River Committee in 1965 through 1967 included you and John Cooney and then Representatives Joe Haussler and Irving Newhouse.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, Irving! And Cooney. (Laughter) You know, he once got a bouquet of flowers from the court reporter who sat down in front for not saying anything. He sat there like a bump on a log. He hardly said anything.

Ms. Boswell: Was he an effective legislator, though, or not?

Mr. Atwood: No. Not in my opinion, but he was going be there forever. He was one of Bob Greive's automatic votes. Irving Newhouse was on that committee. But they didn't do anything. Rosellini wouldn't sign anything and neither would Evans.

Ms. Boswell: Evans had only recently come into office, as of that session. What was the relationship like with Evans over time? We talked a little bit about the relationship with the caucus, but after that, what was your relationship with the governor?

Mr. Atwood: I didn't have much of a relationship with him in 1965, except to have my picture taken with him in my whip office. (Laughter) He didn't know me very well. Later on, I got to know him very well. He was a tough governor, probably the toughest governor we had in my lifetime.

Ms. Boswell: You two didn't get along all the time?

Mr. Atwood: Oh no, I disagreed with him on a lot of things, but when I was a leader, I had to carry water to the elephant, as I called it. He had lists of executive request bills that wouldn't stop. I carried a lot of stuff for him that I shouldn't have carried, but it didn't matter anyway.

Ms. Boswell: Why do you say you shouldn't have? Tell me a little bit about that.

Mr. Atwood: It wasn't my cup of tea, like the income tax. I voted for it to get it out of there and get it on the ballot; Governor Evans wanted it on the ballot. There were a couple of other things. I used to disagree with him on a lot of things, but it wasn't philosophical as much as it was… I wasn't a right-winger either, or at least I didn't classify myself in that way. (Laughter) There are right-wingers, and there are right-wingers, (Laughter) and we still have some.

Ms. Boswell: Did many of these old-school Republicans still see him as too liberal?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, yes. The King County legislators didn't, but guys like Perry Woodall and Sam Guess did, and they were pretty unreasonable, I thought. But I got along well with both of them.

I had to do a lot of the stuff that Evans wanted. He'd come there every Monday morning and have three pages of bills. "How are we going to do this one?" "I don't know." (Laughter) "We'll try to get it out, Governor." Towards the end, when any of his big bills got stuck in Rules, he'd call me and say, "Can you get that out of Rules?" I said, "I can try, but Cherberg may not have any more Rules Committee. You'd better talk to Durkan and Mardesich and see if they can get him to call the Rules and try again.

He was a very active governor as far as promoting his legislation. He was not a shrinking violet. I mean, if he wanted something, he made it his priority. He had it prioritized. He was a very strong governor, believe me. He probably didn't like me at all because I didn't agree with him on many issues. Every once in a while, I'd argue with him, and Don Eldridge, when he was the Speaker, would say, "Frank you've got to quit that." "So okay, Don." (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: What are the other big bills that did come out during that session? They actually didn't come out of the regular session, but there was an extraordinary session. In 1965, was the bill on ethics passed? It was the Code of Ethics law.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, oh yes.

Ms. Boswell: Do you know what was the background for that particular bill?

Mr. Atwood: I don't recall, but the papers were beating the drums for it. There had been a lot of shenanigans. I guess you can call them secret retainers.

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) And you got accused of that.

Mr. Atwood: That really blew me away. Apparently somebody was getting secret retainers. I know one person who wasn't secret about it—it was Martin Durkan. He had everybody on retainers: Puget Power, the horse racers.

Ms. Boswell: And so was the Code of Ethics bill essentially just?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it was just a prelude to the Public Disclosure Commission (PDC). I think our PDC was one of the first ones to pass, wasn't it? Somebody was trying to get me on it. When I got out of there, I said, "I'm not getting anywhere close to that." They sued me once.

Ms. Boswell: The Public Disclosure Commission?

Mr. Atwood: Yes.

Ms. Boswell: Why was that?

Mr. Atwood: It was over the Nancy Buffington and Bob Greive race. But I got replaced as a defendant by Matson because he was the new chair. Thankfully, he was the chairman.

Ms. Boswell: So that was just because of your role as the caucus chair?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, the chair gets sued.

Ms. Boswell: Oh.

Mr. Atwood: I had very little to do with that campaign. Matson and some of those guys in Seattle were involved. That was a hatchet job if there ever was one, but the Democrats also helped us. And Nancy Buffington was elected.

Ms. Boswell: Right. So behind the scenes, the Democrats and the Republicans tried to oust Bob essentially?

Mr. Atwood: They did. They beat him. I mean he was screaming bloody murder about it after the election.

Ms. Boswell: You were also on something called the Governor's Advisory Committee on Alcoholism.

Mr. Atwood: Yes!

Ms. Boswell: Tell me a little bit about the Advisory Committee. How did they operate?

Mr. Atwood: Well, this committee was trying to get some alcohol-related laws creating committees in various counties and administering programs. Money was being appropriated from the state level and also matching money from the Liquor Board to combat alcoholism. I served on the local committee, too. I was the chairman of the Whatcom County Alcoholism Committee. I was on it for seven years, and chairman for one or two. It was just in its infancy, and we worked to consolidate programs. They were getting alcohol funds, and I got a couple awards for that. I didn't go down for the ceremony, but we did a lot of work on it. The reason was that my good friend Jim Brooks was the state chairman for the Alcoholism Committee, and he wanted me to help him out, so I did. He was later chairman of the AWB and chairman of the National Council on Alcoholism.

Ms. Boswell: What does the AWB stand for?

Mr. Atwood: Association of Washington Business.

Ms. Boswell: Oh. Okay.

Mr. Atwood: I succeeded him. I was on the Board after he got out.

Ms. Boswell: First of all, when they formed a governor's committee, why was that done? What was the role of that kind of committee as opposed to an interim committee?

Mr. Atwood: Because there wasn't an interim committee. They were trying to promote legislative actions for relief. It was still a hell of a problem here. It is just as dangerous as doing drugs, I guess. I wasn't an alcoholic; I was one of the only non-alcoholics on the Board.

Ms. Boswell: People who would join the board often had a problem and then came?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, most of them did—about eighty-five percent. Brooks was dedicated. He had been a bad alcoholic, but he was a very rich man, a millionaire. He was a very fine fellow and did a lot of charity work.

Ms. Boswell: So on that kind of a committee, what would you do? How was it organized? How did you get anything done?

Mr. Atwood: Well, they had a platform—a program. They'd promote the program and try to get the governor to do an executive request, which he did do. I think he did it on more than one occasion, and we also got funding through the Department of Social and Health Services (DSHS) director of alcoholism, because that's a hell of a problem. It is a major problem for prisons and other institutions.

Ms. Boswell: Would there be staff people who would draw up some of these recommendations or did you have to do most of the work?

Mr. Atwood: No, we didn't. They had the staff. It was sticky. We just went over what they were proposing primarily. Fran Holman was a big gun on that committee too, I think.

The Legislative Council was also in operation in 1965. Bob Schaefer was the chairman; he was the Speaker of the House at that time. I see him once in awhile. He's a lawyer down in Vancouver.

Ms. Boswell: By the end of the 1965 session, you had been there essentially a full-term and you had a leadership position. Did that change your view of being in the Legislature? I think you liked it before then, but did it affect your views of the experience?

Mr. Atwood: I loved it. I thought I was going to be a big wheel! (Laughter)

Chapter 5

Leadership and Budgets

Ms. Boswell: During that 1967 session, you became the minority leader or floor leader. Can you tell me how that came about?

Mr. Atwood: The reason for that was that Marshall Neill was appointed to the Supreme Court by Dan Evans, and John Ryder opted to become the caucus chairman because he didn't like being the floor leader too much. So then being the whip, I was elevated to the floor leadership.

Ms. Boswell: Now, tell me about Marshall Neill's appointment? How did that come about?

Mr. Atwood: That was kind of strange. The rule is that if you are in the Legislature and voted for an increase of any of the judges…

Ms. Boswell: Increase of salary?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, salary, during your term, then you couldn't fill that position. Well, Justice Richard Ott retired, and it turns out that Marshall never had voted for his salary increase. So that was the only judge whose place he could take. It turned out he researched that pretty thoroughly, and he always wanted to be a judge. In my opinion, Marshall Neill would have been a great governor. He was really very knowledgeable about state government, but he wanted to be a judge. He later became a federal district court judge in Eastern Washington after he got to the Supreme Court. He was a good friend of mine anyway. I kind of considered him as a mentor.

Ms. Boswell: Is that where you learned—if that's the right word—how to be a floor leader? I mean, what kinds of characteristics did he bring to the leadership?

Mr. Atwood: He was never the floor leader when I was there.

Ms. Boswell: I'm sorry. He was caucus leader, right?

Mr. Atwood: He was caucus leader from day one. And he was a pretty laid back person, and very, very bright. The most flamboyant and colorful floor leader when I was there was Perry Woodall, but Perry became very bitter when he got unhorsed by Moriarty during Evans' first term. None of the other people really aspired to be the floor leader. It's not an easy job.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me about your perspective on what was important that a floor leader should carry out.

Mr. Atwood: The floor leader, first of all, has to pay attention to his troops. Later on, when Jim Matson was the minority leader—he changed the title to minority leader—he got unhorsed the last week of his session. You've got to pay attention to the back row, you've got to pay attention. You're the spokesman for any caucus position. You're the lead-off hitter, along with any chief sponsor, so the caucus would give you direction on which way they wanted to go. Sometimes you would set the tone, but most of the time the caucus would take a position and ask you to make the opening and closing arguments.

Ms. Boswell: So, one important characteristic of a floor leader was to be persuasive on the floor?

Mr. Atwood: Well, not so much persuasive—it depends on how controversial an issue it was—but at least to state your caucus position clearly and distinctly so that the papers would understand what you were talking about. A lot of people don't understand lots of these issues. One of the best ones that I know of is happening today or did in this session: the performance audit. The caucus position on that issue was that the Legislature, through its legislative auditor, should be the one doing the performance audit.

Bob Graham [State Auditor] and I did battle. There were lots of editorials about that in the *Seattle Times*. The unions even backed me on that one. (Laughter) That's one of the few times that I had union support on the issue of performance audits…and the Democrats, too. They understood. This Legislature doesn't understand that when they give up the power of performance audits to an elected state auditor, they're, in effect, giving up a great deal of power that I think they should exercise, like Congress. Like the GAO (General Accounting Office), which is bi-partisan. That was my view of what the Budget Committee's task was, and we did start in earnest on performance audits. We did not give power to the auditor to do performance audits. I don't know what happened on this issue? Did he get it or not?

Ms. Boswell: I'm not sure either.

Mr. Atwood: But the paper missed the boat on that. They were backing him. All the editorials were for Brian Sonntag to do it, simply because the Legislature has failed in their duty, as I see it anyway. Whether you are a Democrat or a Republican, I think that it is important that they maintain that hold, exactly the way the GAO does.

Ms. Boswell: And so, that was an issue?

Mr. Atwood: I'm not sure if it was an issue in the 1967 session, but it became an issue later on.

Ms. Boswell: As the floor leader, would you take a position within the caucus to advocate?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. Yes, on certain issues—like Pritchard and his abortion bill. (Laughter) We had a divided caucus on that issue, but the Democrats were more divided than we were.

Ms. Boswell: But what about the division of authority between the caucus leader and the floor leader? I mean, how did that play out in the Republican caucus?

Mr. Atwood: It didn't play out. We were in the minority all the time, so there wasn't any or very little, if any, infighting. Ryder and I didn't fight at all. We had some disagreements because Ryder had his own little pet bills on mutual savings banks. (Laughter) An inside lobbyist, which we all condemned heartily, but he got nowhere.

Ms. Boswell: But so you two got along and divided up the chores without too much trouble?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. It wasn't that difficult. We had, I would guess, four people in leadership positions: the caucus chairman, the minority floor leader, the whip, and the vice chairman and secretary, which was one person. The latter was Harry Lewis the whole time I was there, and then he became the floor leader when I left.

Ms. Boswell: Besides speaking for the caucus or the caucus position on the floor, what were some of your other duties?

Mr. Atwood: One of the other duties was to meet with the Democrats all the time, the leadership, in pulling consent calendars. I was pulling consent calendars with Bob Bailey and Augie Mardesich. Actually, Mardesich let Bailey and me do it. When I was the caucus chairman, Bailey and I did almost all of those consent calendars.

Lots of good stuff dies because it is not controversial and no one is paying any attention to it. So we would sit down and pull a lot of consent

calendars. If anybody objected to any of them, it would be knocked off the calendar.

Ms. Boswell: As a minority leader, were you worried, though, at times about keeping consensus and holding your votes together or was that not as important?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, on certain issues we were. You know, we had a couple of issues. In those days Seattle had six Republican senators: Stender and Whetzel and Pritchard. I'd have to look at the picture for the rest. (Laughter) But now they have none. That's terrible, I think. That shows how weak the party has become in King County. But anyhow, Seattle issues were not the hinterland's issues. They were not Eastern Washington's or Whatcom's issues, so we had to bend over on Seattle's issues because they were important. That's where the votes were, in the city, but we had a strong contingent from King County in those days.

Ms. Boswell: What about helping some people get elected? How much of a role did the floor leader play?

Mr. Atwood: Hardly any.

Ms. Boswell: None?

Mr. Atwood: I was a terrible politician. (Laughter) We later picked our best politicians—guys like Jim Matson, who is a real pro. He had been a county chairman. We had Jimmy Andersen, who is from King County. We had some good pros heading up the Republican caucus effort. I was always there, but I wasn't giving the directions. I didn't know what the King County issues were.

Ms. Boswell: That is what I was going to ask you. When you talk about somebody being a real pro as a politician, what does that mean?

Mr. Atwood: That means that they are geared to getting themselves and others elected, and being real party people. I don't consider myself a very good politician. I can get elected, but some of the fellows were really pretty astute. Among them were guys like Dick Marquardt, although he was defeated by Fred Dore. We put a big effort into saving him. He ran twice, and we finally got him elected. He beat Mike Gallagher on the second go-around. Some of those fellows were very good politicians: Harry Lewis.

Ms. Boswell: Why didn't you think you were a good politician?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I don't know. (Laughter) I just didn't consider myself a pro. I do now. (Laughter) I couldn't get elected dogcatcher.

Ms. Boswell: Was it just that your priorities were different in terms of what you wanted to do?

Mr. Atwood: A lot. A lot different. I looked on that whole exercise a lot differently than most of those people. I wasn't running for any higher office. I almost ran for Congress. I'm glad I didn't.

Ms. Boswell: But you were mentioned for higher office at various times?

Mr. Atwood: All the time. But they knew I couldn't be elected. I don't think that I could have been elected, I really don't. To run for the higher office, you have to run at the right time. Jack Metcalf is an example. He ran so many times, I never thought he would get elected, but he did. Three times.

Ms. Boswell: So timing was all-important?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, all-important, yes. I had a chance to run for Congress when I left, but I was tired. I didn't have the appetite for it or the stamina to do it. Running for Congress in the Second Congressional District is a real chore. It's a big district. I looked at it, but it was difficult being

from the northern part—Everett and Snohomish were the powers then.

Ms. Boswell: Getting back to the floor leader position, we discussed earlier that the Republicans and the Democrats of that period looked at the leadership roles within the caucus and on the floor differently. Certainly at that time the Democrats—and I'm thinking about Bob Greive, in particular—were raising money for their candidates.

Mr. Atwood: All the time.

Ms. Boswell: And that just wasn't a priority for Republicans?

Mr. Atwood: We didn't start that until probably right after I became the floor leader. The politicians in the caucus said, "We've got to start raising some money," and they put together some PACs (Political Action Committees) and whatnot. We really started in earnest to put together fundraising. When I ran, I got no help at all from the caucus my first time around and very little the second. The third time around I did because it was a hot race.

Ms. Boswell: In talking about candidates and helping candidates, I noticed that in the files there was something called a Candidates Advisory Committee in 1967.

Mr. Atwood: Was there?

Ms. Boswell: Yes.

Mr. Atwood: What did they do? (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Well, I think you were on it.

Mr. Atwood: Of course! The leaders were always on those things.

Ms. Boswell: Here is a schedule for one of their meetings.

Mr. Atwood: I can hardly read my writing: "October 11, 1967." Oh, Jack Metcalf was on it because he was a campaigner.

You should have seen his campaigns. Masterpieces. He'd start with pumpkins for Halloween with "Vote Metcalf." (Laughter) What a gimmick. He would hand them out to the little kids.

Oh, this was a joint Senate and House committee. I see mostly House members. Tom Copeland, I would classify as a real pro. As I told you before, he was the only one I talked to in my first campaign. He was candidate manager for the House Election Committee or Campaign Committee. He was a pro.

Ms. Boswell: But so the Advisory Committee would just be leadership who helped out candidates at that point?

Mr. Atwood: These guys aren't even in the leadership. Some of these guys weren't even in the Legislature. Bob Timm is long gone. He was in federal aviation, or he had a national position. Bob Timm had been a legislator years before. I didn't serve on that committee. This Advisory Committee was primarily fundraising. You can see all the figures, but they were making allocations to a treasurer, auditor, and insurance commissioner.

Ms. Boswell: There were some letters in your file—and I wondered if they were associated with becoming floor leader—in which you were trying to encourage an individual to run for office.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, just to help get good people. The hardest thing in politics is to get decent people to run for office, and the Republicans have a tough time. For a Republican to win in this state, he's got to be way above the ordinary.

Ms. Boswell: Why is that?

Mr. Atwood: It's just the way it is. Lots of Democrats I saw in the Senate couldn't be elected dogcatcher in my district. But they could get elected

year in and year out, and they were there long after I was gone.

Ms. Boswell: Now why?

Mr. Atwood: They were just not a class act.

Ms. Boswell: Why would Republicans have to be class acts?

Mr. Atwood: They had to be a class act; all of our dogs got beaten. They turned into alcoholics—we had a couple who had that happen to them while I was there.

Ms. Boswell: Are you saying that Republicans are more discerning voters or what? I don't understand.

Mr. Atwood: No, not discerning voters, but their candidates have to have some different kind of an appeal to the voter. You're not going to elect a Republican who looks like a Democrat or acts like one. He's just not going to do it. He's not going to cut it.

Ms. Boswell: I don't want to foist the worst or most extreme stereotypes on Republicans, but would one of the reasons that it is harder to get Republicans to run be because many of them are more likely to be either in a professional occupation or a more economically remunerative one?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, they don't want to give up the good life. I've been turned down by a lot of good people. They said, "Well, I'll think about it later on." They never do it.

Ms. Boswell: So, that really is a factor then?

Mr. Atwood: I think it's a very major factor. They don't have a priority in politics, particularly running for office.

Ms. Boswell: It seems as though you worked somewhat closely, at least part of the time, with Gummie [Montgomery] Johnson. Can you tell me a little bit about him?

Mr. Atwood: Gummie? No, I didn't. Being a leader I did, but he was a politician and he always had his own agenda. He worked closely with the House and Harry Lewis and our political types—Jim Matson. Harry Lewis can probably tell you more about Gummie than I can. I didn't have much association with him.

Ms. Boswell: From your perspective though, can you tell me about what he was like and what he did?

Mr. Atwood: In those days, he was Dan Evans' choice. In those days, there was a split in King County between Gummie Johnson Republicans and the conservatives. I don't know who the chairman was, but there were a lot of bitter feelings. I remember going to one state convention in Yakima where the King County delegation got up and walked out. The papers loved that! (Laughter) They thrive on divisiveness.

Ms. Boswell: So what was a "Gummie Johnson Republican?"

Mr. Atwood: He was a Dan Evans Republican all the way, and he did a good job. He was an organizer. I think Jennifer Dunn was the best chairman that I have ever seen, and that's because my boy worked for her. She was a pro, and she's gone far in her career, too. I wish she would have run against Patty Murray, but that was not to be.

Ms. Boswell: But so going back to Gummie Johnson, you didn't necessarily think he was as good a Republican leader because he was divisive?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, yes, he couldn't pull the party together. I don't know of anybody who has. (Laughter) It's always been that way. I know in this county, it has been bad.

Ms. Boswell: Is it almost always liberal versus conservative Republicans?

Mr. Atwood: Well, yes, but a lot of those so-called liberal Republicans are not that liberal. I don't consider myself a liberal, but I am not on the far right. I was pro-choice, and my wife was pro-life. I just said plain out that that issue was so hot, the only people who were going to decide that issue were the people. That's why we put it on the ballot.

It is just like these legislators down there today on the transportation bill. That's going to be a referendum if they try to run it without a popular vote. I'm sure of that because they've put all kinds of little gimmicks in it—a surcharge for new cars and all that stuff.

What's become a conservative issue or a liberal issue gets blurred when you get down in the middle. I would say that I was more middle-of-the-road than anything. I'm certainly not far right; I'm certainly not far liberal. I'm not a Rockefeller Republican. (Laughter) My dad was on the Eisenhower and Nixon campaigns—my real dad. He raised a lot of money for Nixon.

Ms. Boswell: How does someone like you—having had politics in your family and your dad having been involved in campaigns—how do you shape your political philosophy to become middle-of-the-road? What shapes that?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know; I can't answer that. I had my definite ideas. Being on the city council, I knew what the city duties were: fire protection, streets, sewers, water. It was not a glamorous thing. I was the chairman of the Streets and Sewers Committee, and boy, I became awfully good at that! (Laughter) That's the toughest job I ever had, when we were sewering half the city.

But it's hard to say. You've got certain things that you know have to be done. Of course, the government has grown so big and taken on so many humanitarian efforts that it's never-ending. But there comes a time when you just run out money. Some people do anyway—you are talking to one. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: For example, in the Legislature as floor leader, in order to lead the consensus of your caucus, do you have to be a centrist? Do you have to put aside your specific beliefs in order to be a leader or not?

Mr. Atwood: In some times you do. To be the leader, you have to do a lot of stuff. I had to carry water to the elephant for Dan Evans. He had so damn much stuff, he just overloaded the system with his bills. Most of them were pretty good, but you have to put a limit. Like the income tax—I hate income tax. I will never vote for it, but I had to vote to put that income tax bill on the ballot. Normally I wouldn't do that, but it was his bill and he wanted a run at it, so we gave him a run at it. There were several bills that I didn't agree with him on, but I put them on the floor and voted for them. If he needed the vote, we would get it out of there. All the Executive Reorganization Committee bills—I voted for every one of them. I look back now, after having experience with the DSHS (the Department of Social and Health Services), the super agency. It looked good on paper, but as a practical matter, it was just not to be. It was just too much to carry by a secretary and assistant-secretary, after seeing it in operation. And they're still breaking apart some of the agencies we created. (Laughter) They looked great on paper; they really did!

Ms. Boswell: But in reality, it doesn't always work that way?

Mr. Atwood: Virtual reality comes face to face with politics.

Ms. Boswell: So loyalty to the governor?

Mr. Atwood: That's your job. You've got to carry his bills. If he were a Democrat, I would not have voted for half of that stuff. I wouldn't have had to

carry it.

Ms. Boswell: If you hadn't been in a leadership position, would you have voted for it? I mean, was it being the leader that made the difference or not?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, you bet it did. You can't divide your allegiance. You know you could make the governor look bad if he couldn't get his own troops behind him. I saw the Democrats do that to Governor Rosellini on a couple of occasions when I was a freshman senator. It really amazed me. Guys like Bill Gissberg and Augie Mardesich knew Rosellini. They knew that he was full of it! (Laughter) They used to tell stories about Rosellini. He would say, "You guys have got to vote for that." The minute they did, then he would tell the labor representatives, "Oh look, those guys voted for that, and I didn't want it." (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Now how would you handle it? It was primarily in 1965, but there were certainly times when some of the Democrats would come over to the Republican side.

Mr. Atwood: A lot of them were Democratic issues.

Ms. Boswell: Yes. But they would vote with your caucus or with you. Would you have to corral them and lead them as well?

Mr. Atwood: No, no they did their own thing. Towards the end, when Greive was going down the chute, a lot of them—Walgren and Gissberg and Mardesich and Bailey and Durkan—didn't follow Greive at all. He was in the twilight of his career or of his power, anyway. I think that where a leader can get into real trouble is if he thinks that he is going to be there forever. He thinks he has control of things—the money and the power—but he doesn't. It causes a lot of disruption in the caucus. You have two factions in there, and one of the factions is going to win.

Ms. Boswell: What about you? How did you treat that issue yourself—not the issue of staying too long, but rather just your method of leadership?

Mr. Atwood: Get out while you can still walk away, believe me. (Laughter) I could probably have gotten unhorsed. I was pretty rough on some of those guys. They were telling me some stories about me! (Laughter) I don't know who you have talked to, but one of the worst incidents when I was the caucus chairman was towards the end. We were in a big caucus, and we had gone through the calendar, and then I threw it open. I said, "Does anybody want to have any discussion about any of their bills?" John Murray stood up, and he said, "I want to talk about Providence Heights," and I said, "We're not going to talk about Providence Heights. We've talked about that *ad nauseum.*" There was dead silence. "Frank, you just said that we could talk about anything." (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: So they kept you on your toes?

Mr. Atwood: Craig Voegele said to me afterwards, "Frank, that's terrible." I said, "I agree. It was uncalled for."

Ms. Boswell: Did you enjoy it?

Mr. Atwood: I liked being floor leader. It takes a lot of time, and it also interferes with what you feel is important, like the budget stuff. I didn't let it interfere with that, but the thing is most of the leadership is on Ways and Means and the Budget Committee. Greive was never on the Budget Committee. He was always a politician; he was always on the Legislative Council, which was a very partisan body—at least when I was there.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me your perceptions of the Legislative Council. How did it work, and how effective was its membership, do you think?

Mr. Atwood: I have no idea how effective they

were, but they were very partisan. All of them were running for election all the time. They did some good, but I don't know. Looking at their agenda, I never wanted to be on the council. I was never enamored of playing the political game. Anybody who wanted to be governor got on that Legislative Council, except Martin Durkan. Durkan was a budget man.

Ms. Boswell: Especially as floor leader, did you have a particular philosophy of leadership so that people would follow you? Or was that not so important because you were in the minority?

Mr. Atwood: That wasn't as important. It was important as far as holding everybody together, and keeping them from riding off in all directions. There were always two or three in the caucus who were running for higher office—like Pritchard. Pritchard ran twice. I backed Pritchard when he ran against Moriarty's father-in-law, Congressman Thomas Pelly, and I think I made an enemy of Moriarty for life. Moriarty and I were in the same law class, but Pritchard was a good man, a superior man.

Being a leader, you have got to listen, at least a little bit, to everybody. You have a picture of me with Larry Faulk and Jerry Sorte. Faulk used to drive me up the wall. He was a freshman senator, and I spent a lot of time with him. Then when Booth Gardner filed against him, it was "panicsville." Booth had all the money in the world. I'll never forget it. Faulk came running in. The paper, the *Tribune*, had been distributed and had a rose in it for everyone: "Courtesy of Booth Gardner." (Laughter) Panicsville! Of course, Larry was a one-term guy. He was a nice kid. His wife was much smarter than he was and held several positions under Evans. I liked Larry, but he just got stampeded by Booth, who had a lot of money. Of course, Booth went on to be a two-term governor.

Ms. Boswell: So the floor leader, then, made friends with a lot of first-termers?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely, you've got to help them out as much as you can. Having suffered mightily in the back seat, just doing my own thing, I think it is really critical that the floor leader and the leadership help the new people as much as they can. Some of them didn't need help; the people who have come from the House were pretty knowledgeable: Walt Williams, Joel Pritchard, Jonathan Whetzel. Most of those guys were from the House. John Stender and I were brand-new. Senator Sam Guess had been a lobbyist.

Ms. Boswell: What kind of things did these first-timers need? I mean, what kinds of things did they really need help with?

Mr. Atwood: They needed orientation on the rules and protocol and whatnot. That's really critical. There were always some wise-guys who knew everything, but time took care of them. The "Great White Hope" for the Republicans didn't turn out to be the white hope. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Now wait, who was that?

Mr. Atwood: That was Jack England. (Laughter) He lasted one term.

Ms. Boswell: But did he see himself as the hope or not?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, I think so. He was on an ego trip. Different people impress you differently, of course.

Ms. Boswell: What about on the floor itself, as the floor leader, were there certain rules or other things you really needed to know to be effective on the floor? What kind of things?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. What you did, you had to talk to the leadership on the other side to see what the agenda was and what they planned to do, so you could keep your troops informed on what was going to take place, especially so there were no

surprises. Oh, every once in a while we had a surprise that I didn't know about and neither did Ryder or Neill. It was Metcalf sitting there, throwing up these amendments and not telling anybody. He threw up the anti-busing amendment on the floor. (Laughter) The Seattle senators, all up for election, panicked. (Laughter) So we hastily went into caucus.

Ms. Boswell: So sometimes people would just be sort of loose cannons and put out something that you just didn't know was happening?

Mr. Atwood: That's right. Metcalf did that all the time. He was just not a team ball player. He got himself elected. I liked Jack; my boy worked for him for six years. Well, he ran enough times. He ran against Warren Magnuson twice. That takes a lot of courage.

Ms. Boswell: As a leader, is there any substitute for being a team player? Do you just have to be a team player?

Mr. Atwood: You have to be a team player. If you want to do your own thing, that's fine. That's what happened to Perry Woodall; he more or less he did his own thing towards the end. I don't know what he was like in his heyday, but he was very bright and very effective and very articulate. He was also very amusing. I don't think I saw anybody that I would call a real leader because everyone is elected in his or her own right. I think a leader elected is a compromise. I consider myself a leader not because I was so good but because I was a compromise in that sense. I consider myself in that category not because I was so good, but because I was a compromise between the good, the bad, and the ugly. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: When you say that, is it a compromise among the other leadership who helped to get you elected or is it really a compromise among the "troops," as you called them?

Mr. Atwood: It was a compromise among the troops. I think that's why Matson and Newschwander got dumped later on; they didn't pay attention. I couldn't believe they got dumped on the last week of the session. That had to be a terrible blow.

Ms. Boswell: How would you personally prevent something like that from happening?

Mr. Atwood: Use communications to everybody in the caucus, and if they had some real gripe—and most of them did—you would try to listen and take care of it, at least a little bit. You can't ignore them, because the troops get restless back there and then the mischief starts to occur. I wasn't there when that happened, but I couldn't believe it. That's when the state senator from Walla Walla dumped them. I'm on a committee with her husband, Dutch Hayner—Jeannette Hayner. She dumped Matson. (Laughter) That had to be humiliating.

Ms. Boswell: Do you think that situation wouldn't have happened if they had been minding the store?

Mr. Atwood: They should have paid attention to what was going on. That is critical, or otherwise there is going to be lots of mischief. As it turns out, I was never subject to that and never part of any overthrow of the king.

Ms. Boswell: When you are a floor leader like that, what about bills that you personally wanted to see go through. Did those bills take "second fiddle" generally, or could you get your agenda in there as well as everybody else's?

Mr. Atwood: I could get mine in there; I got mine in there. I was on a hell of a lot of bills—way too many—looking back on it now. But I got all the ones that I really wanted. I had some good people on the bills, too; it wasn't just me. Most of them weren't glamorous issues. If you'll notice, they were the nuts and bolts of state government, the courts, and the law. They weren't big like the abortion bill and all that stuff.

Ms. Boswell: There were a couple in1967 that I specifically wanted to ask you about. One was, I think, fairly controversial—at least if you go by what the newspapers had to say. It was a bill that empowered the State Patrol officers to stop cars and…

Mr. Atwood: And take their license.

Ms. Boswell: Yes.

Mr. Atwood: (Laughter) Do you know where that came from?

Ms. Boswell: No, tell me about it.

Mr. Atwood: That was a B.C. (British Columbia) law.

Ms. Boswell: Oh.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, did that bring the civil libertarians out in droves! (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Tell me how you got involved in that and why you felt that was important?

Mr. Atwood: Well, because of the drunk driving. You know, it's still a problem. Now look what happens. They've gone far beyond that now. It's automatic—a thirty-day suspension at a minimum if they stop you. That was not an original idea of mine. It came from British Columbia, and it was the law up there.

Ms. Boswell: So explain how that particular law would work.

Mr. Atwood: Well, if you had been drinking and they thought that you were, they tested you on the road. We didn't have automatic breathalyzers then. They'd take your license and send you home. (Laughter) Oh no, they couldn't have that. Now, Mothers Against Drunk Driving would be one hundred percent for that. That was really an extreme measure then. Yes, I remember that one.

Ms. Boswell: Definitely some controversy.

Mr. Atwood: I hope to snort. But I thought it was a good idea. I was an "alcoholic" guy; I was not an alcoholic, but I had a lot of alcoholism bills that I carried.

Ms. Boswell: And then also a lot of State Patrol and law enforcement bills, too.

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, yes. I was very supportive of law enforcement. I got some petty graft; I got a watch from them. (Laughter) It was publicly given, not under the table.

Ms. Boswell: There was another bill—actually, I think it was ultimately a constitutional amendment—creating a state Building Authority. Can you tell me a little bit about that?

Mr. Atwood: What did it do?

Ms. Boswell: Let me just read you a little bit from the summary of it: "The state Building Authority would construct buildings and improvements for lease to state agencies or departments for seventy-five years and finance such constructions through issuance of bonds or other evidence of indebtedness be paid from the Authority's revenues, which would not be subject to the constitutional debt limitations."

Mr. Atwood: Oh. That didn't pass though, did it? I don't think so. They still don't have it. It's a way of doing capital construction in a financially feasible way instead of project by project.

Ms. Boswell: So, even at that time, was it just difficult to get buildings built?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. Even today they are on the capital budget separate from the General Fund budget, and they depend a lot on bonds. This

was a deal to try to get some semblance of order out of capital construction of state buildings, which is kind of "catch as catch can" still. I haven't seen or looked at a capital budget recently, but if you looked at them back in those days, it was still the way it is today.

Like if Western wants to build a new building, and so they go down to the Legislature and ask for it. They don't have any screening process, more or less, except OPPFM. They'd screen it, and you had to sell it to the Central Budget Agency. The capital budget, of course, depends mostly on bonds.

That's where the federal government, incidentally, is different from the states. The feds fund the building totally. They don't have a capital budget; they don't space it over a period of years. They just appropriate $20 billion for a building all in one year.

Ms. Boswell: That is just not financially feasible for a state, is it?

Mr. Atwood: No, they can't do it. They project it over a number of years.

Ms. Boswell: Now…

Mr. Atwood: It's funny that you picked the drunk driving bill. Man, did that bring the natives out of the trees! (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Well, it did get some newspaper play.

Mr. Atwood: I didn't mean to do that. I thought it was a hell of an idea. You have one of my charts. What year is that?

Ms. Boswell: I believe this is 1967. It is not dated, but it appears to be based on some of the bills that were passed.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I was guilty of gross hyperlexis.

Ms. Boswell: That year was low compared to later years. (Laughter)

Mr. Atwood: I passed a lot of stuff, but most of these are just nuts and bolt bills.

Ms. Boswell: Yes. You kept this kind of spreadsheet for all of your bills during the session. Can you tell me about how that came about and how you did it?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I think my secretary was the one who suggested we develop this kind of system. I don't take credit for doing it. I had so many bills; I wanted to keep track of them. This system was as good as any. This is the best way that I found.

Ms. Boswell: How did it work? What would you do? Would you write down all the bills that you were on?

Mr. Atwood: On the left were the bills as they were introduced. You can see they were numerical, and you could keep track of where they were. Here, for example, this one died in Rules. The first one was salary adjustments, but that was probably hooked onto another bill. A lot of these were put on other bills. Many were from the Judiciary Committee, too. A lot of it was budget stuff.

I'll tell you about one interesting bill. (Laughter) When was the Appellate Court created? In 1966 or 1967. Newschwander and I introduced a bill to reduce the Supreme Court to seven. Oh, I'll never forget going over the Governor's Mansion for a party, and there was old Rosellini—Justice Hugh Rosellini—and Justice Robert Finley running around saying, "These people want to reduce the Supreme Court to seven."

Ms. Boswell: Why did you pick that as an issue?

Mr. Atwood: Well, because the Appellate Court would take the burden off the Supreme Court; they

didn't need nine. Seven was a good number. You see the way it was before the Appellate Court, there were two divisions. The Chief Justice would sit with each panel of four, so it would be a panel of five. Then, if the panel of five couldn't agree on anything, then they'd hear the whole case *en banc*. I had a case *en banc* once when one of the panels couldn't agree, so we had to reargue the whole case.

I don't see any great bills here. Did you pick out any? "Grant degree state colleges." Higher Ed. That went nowhere.

Ms. Boswell: There were a couple of Higher Ed ones during that session.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I was on the Higher Education Committee.

Ms. Boswell: Here is one: "Changing names of state colleges."

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I never tried that one. I was too busy getting degrees. I let Barney Goltz get the name of Western. Oh, great victory. We changed the name to University. (Laughter) But I thought, first of all, to get the degrees and then change the name. That's what happened. What really irked me, though, was I got the Doctor of Education degree for Western, but the minute I left the Legislature, the Higher Education Facilities Committee, or whatever it was, took it away from them. To this day, they don't have a doctor's degree. The University of Washington and WSU went crazy on that.

Ms. Boswell: And so they got enough support when you were gone to take it back off?

Mr. Atwood: Well, they just didn't approve it—the Facilities Committee or whatever the committee, joint committee, or separate committee of Higher Ed it was.

Ms. Boswell: Which of these bills do you see it as being the most important, for example, in the 1967 session?

Mr. Atwood: Boy, I don't see any. (Laughter) I really don't. Most of these are just bills that were probably routine. I know one of the things that we needed to do was to inventory state land. We had never had an inventory of state land.

"Washington State Building Authority," Ways and Means: that passed the Senate. It passed the Legislature.

Ms. Boswell: One of the things that you also had in your files were some opinion polls to get constituents to tell you about various issues. First of all, I wondered about polling and how you saw it fitting into what you did. Then, in particular, maybe you could tell me about some of these issues. I'll show you a copy of one of those polls. Was polling something you did regularly or not?

Mr. Atwood: No, I wasn't very good at that. That poll was put out by our caucus. We had a mailing, and we got a lot of stuff back. It has been standard forever; it still is standard today. I got one from Rick Larsen the other day.

One of the questions is: "Do you favor business establishments remaining open on Sunday?" One of the big controversial bills was either in the 1966 session or 1965. Senator Lennart had the bill "Save Sunday for the Family." Oh my. He had about six or seven sponsors, all from Rules Committee. (Laughter) I wasn't on Rules when this happened, but I was there, though. I was told about it by people who were there. A majority of the Rules Committee were sponsors on the bill, so he pulled the bill for consideration. It didn't pass. Ernie got upset and said, "The room is filled with liars." (Laughter) That was the last we ever heard about "Save Sunday for the Family." I had to back him because I was from his county, Whatcom County, but that was a hot issue in those days. Now, it's just ridiculous. We wouldn't even consider it. Everything is open on Sunday. He was from Lynden. Lynden was never open…you

couldn't even mow your lawn on Sundays! (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Yes, I came from Ohio, and I remember that they had what they called "Blue Laws." Nothing opened on Sundays—stores, nothing was open, but that changed. But this particular poll also asks whether you would like to see a constitutional convention.

Mr. Atwood: I really didn't care, but I didn't think they really needed it because it would be endless. You've got enough stuff in that state Constitution that deals in minutia. Some of it is pretty archaic.

Ms. Boswell: One of the things that was sort of unusual about 1967 and that particular period was that you were the only senator?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. I had three House members.

Ms. Boswell: Right. We talked about redistricting bits and pieces, but tell me a little more about how Whatcom County and you, in particular, were affected by the redistricting changes made in 1965?

Mr. Atwood: Well, in 1965, we still had two senators.

Ms. Boswell: Then the redistricting took place, so in 1967, you had…?

Mr. Atwood: Three House members.

Ms. Boswell: Three House members and one senator, right? That was based on the 1965 redistricting?

Mr. Atwood: It was the biggest district in the state. It was kind of unusual to have three House members, though. I had to run around. I had a couple of Democrats, I think, as House members.

Ms. Boswell: And who were the three House members that you had?

Mr. Atwood: Caswell Farr, Fred Veroske, and Dick Kink. Kink and Farr are dead. I represented Kink in his second divorce—his only divorce. His wife died, and he married her sister. Kink was a Democrat, but he was one of the coalitionists. So he was not very popular with the Democrats. (Laughing)

Ms. Boswell: So, in redistricting, you were not a person who was in the "hot bed" of redistricting?

Mr. Atwood: I paid no attention to it.

Ms. Boswell: But in 1965 how could you not pay attention to it in the sense of its impact on the session? Let me go back. How did you view it then? I mean, how did it affect you specifically?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I didn't like the district; it was so big. Whatcom County is a fair-sized county, but I had three House members. I didn't pay that much attention to it. In those days, Marshall Neill and Jimmy Andersen—I don't know who was in charge of our redistricting. We had two guys in charge of it—Pritchard might have been one of them. But the whole issue was that I wanted to get my number stuck on that district, not the Forty-first. The Forty-first District was transferred down to Mercer Island. Later, the federal court threw that whole thing out. They took the forty-ninth seat member and created a problem ever since.

Ms. Boswell: So it was through Marshall Neill that the district in Whatcom stayed the Forty-second and then that meant Lennart's district, the Forty-first, was gone?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, he was out; he was gone.

Ms. Boswell: How did he feel about that?

Mr. Atwood: Ah, he was old, but he was prob-

ably upset. Those old senators were there forever, you know. Raugust and Lennart were what I called "front row senators." That was their whole life.

Ms. Boswell: Right. What would have happened if they ended up putting Forty-one on your district instead of Forty-two?

Mr. Atwood: I would not be sitting here talking to you. No problem.

Ms. Boswell: But that didn't make you feel as though you needed to jump on and lobby? It wasn't that important to you?

Mr. Atwood: No, it really wasn't. You know the minute you start that, then you start alienating people. Did you ever watch that "Survivor" program? Everybody starts to lobby against you, and they cut your throat! (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: You chose primarily just to stay out of it rather than get involved?

Mr. Atwood: There was not much that I could do about it. I wouldn't have had much effect on it anyway.

Ms. Boswell: And so what impact would having three House members have specifically on you?

Mr. Atwood: It just makes you more powerful. "I've got the biggest district in the state now. Look out, fellows. I've got three House members; we'll outvote you."

Ms. Boswell: For anything, then, that affected this particular district or county, then you had those four votes rather than the standard?

Mr. Atwood: The three. It wasn't that big of a deal because the next crack out of the box, the federal district court enjoined us. They took away the forty-ninth seat, so I no longer had three and was reduced to half a county. That was that.

Ms. Boswell: Do you think that the commission way of handling it as they have now is more effective?

Mr. Atwood: It's better, but they still have a long way to go. I thought the master did a pretty good job. It was a stupid Republican who redistricted us and cut us up. It was a forerunner of what we have today. Some House member was running for Congress down in Seattle, and he redistricted us. He thought that by taking the college out of the Forty-second District that he would really do a great job for us up here. He killed us! (Laughter) He cut our throats! I forgot the guy's name. He was an ambitious young man. He's from south King County. He was building a new district for himself to run for Congress.

Ms. Boswell: This was later?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, later. And it turned out that he got dumped in the primary down there. All the best-laid plans went down the tubes. I forget his name, but I was in the Senate when this happened. I really read him the riot act. He didn't know what the hell he was doing; he didn't care.

I don't know how the Legislature is going to get out of here this year. They've got a terrible problem, a terrible problem.

Ms. Boswell: Right now, the 2002 session?

Mr. Atwood: It's an absolutely no-win situation. They blew all their money. I don't envy them. I have no suggestions on how they are going to get out of there without… they are going to have to have a vote on that transportation bill. They overloaded it, I think. They put a one percent sales tax on cars. I think that is still in the bill. I don't know; it changes hourly. But anyway, I'm glad that I'm not there.

Ms. Boswell: Budget issues can be a problem.

Mr. Atwood: That's the guts. As I said at the beginning of this, the only thing that has to pass is the budget—nothing else. Everything else can fail, and the state won't go down the tubes, but without a budget, it's done for.

Ms. Boswell: Speaking of the budget, you were also on the Budget Committee in 1967, and I know some of the bills you sponsored came from that committee. It seemed as though the focus of the Budget Committee, at least in 1967, was more about long-term planning. There seemed to be a real interest in it, but also a debate about constitutional revisions, and whether some of the changes were needed in a long-term budget. What were some of these long-term budget issues? What kind of long-term planning could you do as a Legislative Budget Committee?

Mr. Atwood: Well, the Budget Committee would ask the departments to come up with their goals and missions—first their mission and then their goals of how to reach it. Governor Evans was pretty good, being an engineer.

He had a lot of plans for what he wanted to do in the institutions. Some of it was good, and some of it turned out to be kind of bad, I think, or kind of sad. He had a goal of getting everybody out of the mental institutions and getting them back into the community—community-based treatment. So they shut down Northern State, and they shut down several others or trimmed them. It turned out that many of these people you see on the street would normally have been in those institutions. I feel bad about that; I thought it was a hell of an idea. It still is, but you still have to maintain some kind of treatment centers for the retarded and for people who can't make it on their own—people who have drug addictions and all that.

Ms. Boswell: So the committee mostly had to do with different agencies?

Mr. Atwood: Agencies and the long-range planning of where you wanted to go with state government on the treatment of adults and children. We have a lot of children in the system—at Echo Glen. We used to tour those facilities, and it was kind of sad.

We met every month, and we toured all the facilities at least once every two years—all major facilities. That's how you really got to see what the state does in corrections, in health, mental health—Northern State, Western State, Eastern State—and the prisons. There is plenty to see. I don't think half of those people in the Legislature have ever been to any of those institutions.

Ms. Boswell: But even during those times, there would just be members of the Budget Committee?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, anybody else could come along, but they wouldn't get paid like we did. We toured all the colleges and universities and community colleges.

Ms. Boswell: So it was a broad-based look at state institutions?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely. It wasn't political. It was just the guts of the whole operation and the services that the state was offering. I don't think that half of people in that Legislature had been to all these places.

Ms. Boswell: So you think that is an important way of really understanding the state's services?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely. Every place we went, we looked at their budgets, too, and what they needed. They always wanted more money, of course. We went to Purdy. One of the first times we went to the women's prison at Walla Walla, I was just aghast. That's why not many women got sent up. It was terrible. It was the old territorial prison. Then they opened Purdy, and it is beautiful.

Ms. Boswell: So, was it primarily a budget issue

in the sense of dividing up a finite amount of money? Or was it more philosophical in terms of the role of government? Was there was too much government in social issues? I mean, where did it fall?

Mr. Atwood: I don't think you can get too much government in social issues like institutions. When you get to the institutions, you have failed somewhere along the line. The last stop is at the institutions. You are probably looking at more than K-12 education and welfare.

Ms. Boswell: But what about the desire to do away with some of these institutions?

Mr. Atwood: You can't do that. We did it, or the governor did it, and the problems are still with us.

Ms. Boswell: Was the ultimate rationale for doing away with them budgetary considerations or was it just trying to streamline the system?

Mr. Atwood: Just trying to streamline the system. The budget wasn't even under consideration at all. They figured that institutional warehousing was not the real answer. It isn't, but in some cases, that's the only possible answer; otherwise, these people will die on the streets. They're homeless. They've got thousands of them, apparently, in the big cities. A lot of them had been in Northern State or had been institutionalized.

Ms. Boswell: What about the constitutional issues, though? Why did something like that have to be take care of by constitutional change? What were the constitutional issues involved, and how could changing the Constitution address those issues?

Mr. Atwood: You can't. You don't address those issues in the Constitution. We didn't even try, did we?

Ms. Boswell: That was my impression, yes, from reading these articles. It says you wanted a constitutional convention and to make constitutional revisions in the executive branch. The other alternative would be what was called a piecemeal approach. My sense from reading about it is that the notion was to have a constitutional convention and change the structure to give the executive branch more power over this issue.

Mr. Atwood: I don't remember that. I certainly wasn't very keen on a constitutional convention. At least not now, and I don't think ever. (Laughter) Was I a sponsor on something like that?

Ms. Boswell: Well, that was my sense—that you supported it in relation to these budget issues, in particular.

Did you ever find, as part of the Legislative Budget Committee, that there were institutions that were really badly managed or that were wasting money?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. Facilities always needed a lot of upgrade. That was always a problem. I don't know how you solve it. There isn't enough money to really keep them top flight all the time. We did have a couple of scandals. I don't really remember; they weren't that great. Augie Mardesich and I did an investigation. I remember we went to a gym and had a big hearing. It was something that was on the front page of the papers when we were looking at it. I forget what it was about. It had a lot of publicity, but we were delegated as a subcommittee to report back to the committee on what should be done. The head of the institution resigned.

Ms. Boswell: Was that in the course of the Legislative Budget Committee's activities?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. We were asked to look into anything like that. A lot of things came online when I was there, like Shelton—that's a diagnostic intake center. Garrett Heyns Educational Center. Garrett Heyns was a Director of Institutions and a

very strong person.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, under Governor Rosellini. So, was the fact that these institutions were coming online a result of the time you were on the Budget Committee, or had they had been proposed earlier and then completed during your time?

Mr. Atwood: Some of them had been earlier. But in those days, Evans was trying to wind down the mental hospitals. We were going to have community-based treatment. I think that was kind of a failure because you see all these homeless people around. We've got mental health centers in these various communities, but I don't think they took up the slack. They still don't.

Ms. Boswell: I don't know if this is too much of a stereotype, but Republicans are generally thought to want less government. Did you see agencies that you thought the state government should not be involved in?

Mr. Atwood: Not very many. Most of these were long-standing agencies. What do you mean by less government? I don't think that we can expand where we will ever get control over the situation. It's just not to be; there isn't enough money in the world. Besides that, you have agencies and institutions competing for the tax dollar, and these institutions are no match for the K-12 and the colleges and universities and community colleges; they just aren't. Now you have a lot of these prisons. They are expensive items, and there doesn't seem to be any decrease in the number of prisoners. Now they're chock-full.

Ms. Boswell: Well, with "three strikes and you're out" and other similar kinds of legislation….

Mr. Atwood: Well, the drug thing. I don't know what the answer is there, but obviously we have got to try to do it a little differently. I'm not for legalizing drugs. Alcohol is the real root of most of the problems in the prisons. It causes the dysfunction of the family. It causes a lot of heartache.

Ms. Boswell: During the budget process, there is never enough money, so how do you decide between one institution and the next?

Mr. Atwood: It's all a matter of choice. Some of these legislators have those facilities or institutions in their districts, so they are, more or less, an inside lobby for them. Walla Walla has a prison; that's a big one.

Ms. Boswell: Are there any other lobbying groups, other than local legislators, who really took on the cause of mental health or prisons?

Mr. Atwood: Oh sure, there are a lot of those. Yes, you bet. There are lots of them. There are retarded children's groups—Association of Retarded Children. That's a big deal because there are a lot of them. That's one thing. When you go through those institutions—and there were three or four of them—you never forget them. We went to one over at Selah. The smell of diapers stays with you for at least two or three days after you have been there. Eastern State and Fircrest. I don't know if those are still prime facilities for the retarded.

A lot of people won't go there; it's too much for them. There are just a lot of institutions that people aren't aware of. There is a lawyer here in town, and his son is retarded. I got him placed in Fircrest for a while. He is now fifty years old or maybe sixty. He's still here; he's up in Lynden and works in—what do they call it now—a work facility for the developmentally disabled.

Ms. Boswell: Was it a sought-after committee or not?

Mr. Atwood: No. Not a glamour committee.

Ms. Boswell: Was it as much or more work than other committees?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. Well, if you wanted to keep up with it. I was always on the Executive Committee of the Budget Committee, so I was either vice-chairman or assistant secretary. It was equally weighted; it wasn't political. It was the only committee in the whole state that is not. In other committees, if the Democrats were in control, it was predominantly Democratic, like the Legislative Council. That was political.

Ms. Boswell: Why wouldn't the Legislative Budget Committee be political?

Mr. Atwood: Because it was equally weighted. Most of the leadership was on the Budget Committee. Augie Mardesich was, myself, and Andersen. Frank Foley was the chairman of Ways and Means when I first went there. I think that the Budget Committee was by far the best in the whole state as far as bringing you to what the state does.

Chapter 6

Media Coverage and The Power Of The Executive

Ms. Boswell: Can you tell me about some of the reporters who covered your campaigns or time in Olympia? Were there any who particularly stood out?

Mr. Atwood: Adele Ferguson from the *Bremerton Sun*. I used to subscribe to that paper to find out what was going on because she knew what was going on all the time. We got the *Seattle P-I* and the *Times* automatically, but then you had a choice, at least when I was there, of subscribing to outside papers. I got the local *Herald*, the *Daily "O"* and the *Bremerton Sun*.

Ms. Boswell: Yes. Were there any particularly good political reporters up here in Whatcom County or in this area?

Mr. Atwood: No, we had terrible ones. (Laughter) Oh god, well one of them went to work for the "*Daily Zero,*" Bob Partlow.

Ms. Boswell: What kind of relationship did you have with some of the press?

Mr. Atwood: Not too good. (Laughter)

Mr. Atwood: Why not, or what was the reason for that?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I didn't pay much attention to them. There were two or three of them I got along with real well, like Dick Larsen of the *Seattle Times*. He was pretty sharp. I didn't think much of Shelby Scates. I know Shelby, but he really was out to lunch on about ninety percent of the stuff. Of course, he was all King County. I thought he was a dandy reporter. And Adele Ferguson. She is still writing a column. I haven't read her column for a long time. She wrote one a year or so ago that I really liked. I wrote her a letter and praised her. She's still the same old Adele, but she really knew what was going on. I don't know where she got her information; she had spies everywhere. She did, so you had to be careful. She knew what was going on—period. I picked up a lot of information from that column.

Ms. Boswell: When you say that they know what is going on, do you see them as being partisan?

Mr. Atwood: They were not too partisan. Dick Larsen of the *Times* was outstanding and he was fair. He was a good Democrat, but he was fair. He wasn't that partisan. There were a couple of them who were fairly partisan from the big city dailies, the *Times* and the *P-I*. Shelby Scates was a liberal Democrat, but he was pretty fair. I didn't have too much to do with him; he didn't talk to me very much.

Some of them were very partisan. Now, here is a good example: Joel Connelly is a Democratic flack, so I don't know why they even bother with him on the *Seattle P-I*. I hardly ever read him except when a friend of mine asks, "Have you seen Joel today?" I say, "No, what did he have to say?" "The usual." I could write his column for him. (Laughter) I mean he's bad. He is so biased and so far out, he's not really objective. I don't call him a journalist.

Nationally, I like William Safire, and I like, of course, George Wills. He is pretty conservative, and he's smarter than hell. I watch Sam Donaldson and Cokey Roberts, but they're gone, or they will be next year. George Stephanopolis is not a journalist. (Laughter) I don't like Bill O'Reilly;

boy, he's so judgmental. I can hardly stand him.

Ms. Boswell: But when you were being covered locally, did you think you got fair coverage most of the time or not?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. I got good coverage. The *Herald* was very good to me. Glenn Larson of the *Herald*, who covered the city—he's the guy I told you about in the beginning who paid my city council filing fee of twelve bucks. He won awards for a couple of columns on me. This was in my first or second session. He got an award, and I have it somewhere. He is still around, but he's pretty old. He covered city hall; that's all he did. He knew more about city hall than almost all of us. Then in the courthouse they had two or three reporters. That's all they did was cover the courthouse.

Today, you don't know what's going on in city hall hardly, and it's very poor. They're all young reporters. This is apparently the *Bellingham Herald*'s training ground for reporters. We have had about four different publishers in the last five years. It just isn't the same paper. The people up here, the reporters, don't know the history of Bellingham at all. They are not familiar with the 1950s and 1960s, the 1970s and 1980s. They're all just very contemporary; they have very little feel for the town itself.

Ms. Boswell: Did they do a lot of their own coverage of the Legislature, too?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes.

Ms. Boswell: They did come down from Bellingham?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, they came down all the time. Bill Fowler, who was the editor during my stay, came down along with reporters—two or three at least—four or five times a session and maybe more. They did great coverage of the Legislature. In fact, Partlow, who worked for the *Daily Zero* was from the *Bellingham Herald* originally. He was one of the people who covered the Legislature. There were several reporters.

Ms. Boswell: Now, you referred to the *Daily Zero*?

Mr. Atwood: That's what we called it—the *Daily Olympian*. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Oh, I see.

Mr. Atwood: Well, it's a Gannett paper like the *Herald*. Gannett owns both of them.

Ms. Boswell: Well, you had said you thought that there was some good coverage in Olympia.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. The local paper, for being as far away as it was, had good coverage. They had much as you can. The reporters came down a lot, and they talked on the phone with us a lot, too. I had no quarrel with the coverage from the local paper. It wasn't too bad at all.

Ms. Boswell: Was there a way to court the media so you would get better coverage or not? Did you bother?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I didn't try very hard. My beside manner, as one person said "leaves much to be desired." (Laughter) I'm a lot mellower now than I was then.

Ms. Boswell: So you just really didn't care what they printed?

Mr. Atwood: I cared, but I rubbed people the wrong way. I'm aware of that, very much so. My wife gets mad at me all the time about that, but not so much now.

Ms. Boswell: In what way? What would you do that would rub the people the wrong way?

Mr. Atwood: I wouldn't pay attention to what they were saying. I wasn't a good listener to a lot of people. They were boring to me—what they were talking about—about half of the time.

Ms. Boswell: Now, was Ross Cunningham of the *Seattle Times* still there?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, he was there. I didn't think much of him. Those reporters were all King County, and they didn't pay much attention to the hayseeds and the provincials.

Ms. Boswell: What about the Spokane press? Was it Ashley Holden and some of those people?

Mr. Atwood: (Laughter) Oh, there were a couple of good ones, but the Spokane legislators were pretty bad.

Ms. Boswell: What about Bob Goldsworthy? You worked with him didn't you?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, a great guy. He was a two-star general. He took us on a trip to Colorado Springs once, to the Air Force Academy and to NORAD—that was a hell of a trip. That was one of my great trips.

We took the old National Guard plane. It was Charlie Elicker, Charles Newschwander, and there were a lot of Democrats. Of course, I'm a military guy, and Goldsworthy was on active duty when he took us. Charlie Elicker's son died while we were there. His son had—what's that disease of the lungs that they have trouble breathing? Well, he died. That was sad. The boy had worked in the Senate as a tour guide.

One of the Democrats and this guy—I liked the guy—but they got drunk and got into a fight over a woman. Here they were. A three-star general was giving us a briefing—the commander of the Continental Air Defense Command. These two guys were in the back snoring away; they had a hangover. Oh, it was awful. And he goes on later to be a big wheel in the city of Seattle. It was really bad. But that was a great trip.

Ms. Boswell: How did you get selected or decide to go on a trip like that?

Mr. Atwood: We were invited. There wasn't anything special. It wasn't for leadership; it was just for anybody who wanted to go. It was for Air Force public relations.

A great trip! We went inside the tunnel and Cheyenne Mountain and the Air Force Academy—I was really impressed with that. It's a beautiful installation. It has a church there; it's not a church—it has several churches inside of it. If you ever get a chance, you should go through it. I assume they have trips there.

Ms. Boswell: I don't know. I think that they have trips through NORAD. Or at least they used to have trips, but maybe now they don't because of the terrorist concerns. For a while, I think you could sign up a long time ahead and reserve a time to go through it.

Mr. Atwood: Later on, after I got out of the Legislature, I went on a junket to SAC—Strategic Air Command—in Nebraska, which was a different kind of operation, of course. It was a Strategic Air Command, and it was a joint command, too—they had forces from the United States Navy, Air Force, and Army. They had a targeting committee for nuclear missiles; it was very fascinating. We flew on a KC 135 out of Boeing Field and went into Nebraska, where Offutt Field is. They kept a couple of the 747 Combat Command Posts there. In those days, there was always one airborne: "Looking Glass." It had a one- or two-star general on board all the time. There were so many. Every general, no matter who they were, had to pull a duty on the Looking Glass at least once every month. Those were the days of the Cold War. This was in the late 1970s or early 1980s. But, I'm detracting from your narrative.

Ms. Boswell: No, not at all. It's fascinating.

I do want to go back though and talk about some of the interim committees between 1967 and then 1969. I know earlier there were no interim committees for a while because of the budget issues, isn't that right?

Mr. Atwood: That's when Rosellini was governor. That was in my first session.

Ms. Boswell: Right. Then after that, how active were some of these interim committees that you were on?

Mr. Atwood: Well, the Budget Committee was very active. Others were not.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me the difference between an interim committee and a governor's task force. How does a governor's task force differ?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, right. Well, because it didn't have any legislators. The only task force that I was on only had two legislators. One was me, and then a Democrat. The first of the Democrats was Bob Charette from the House and then it was Bill Gissberg. I forget who the other one was.

Evans was an activist. We had a hell of a lot of meetings. We had a lot of staff; well, not a lot of staff, but people from the government and from outside like T. Wilson of Boeing, who was the president of Boeing. We had a lot of executives on it. Brewster Denny was the chairman. We had a lot of meetings.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me about the rationale behind the Task Force on Executive Reorganization.

Mr. Atwood: Evans had a definite idea about how he wanted the government to operate. He didn't think he had enough power to really manage government. Have you read the reports on that? He combined a lot of the agencies. DSHS (Department of Social and Health Services) looked great on paper, but later on, after I saw what had happened, I realized it was just too much for one person to manage. It just was, so they have broken it back to other agencies. It looked great on paper, though.

Ms. Boswell: So Governor Evans was the driving force behind it?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely. He knew exactly what he wanted, and we were supposed to get it for him, which we did. (Laughter) I think I was a sponsor of a lot of those bills.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, I think you were. But now when you say he knew what he wanted, just tell me a little bit about what his philosophy was in terms of reorganizing the government?

Mr. Atwood: He wanted to make it more cohesive and more responsible to the executive. That's the whole gist. A lot of these state agencies were a law unto themselves. They were beholden to no one—especially Transportation. The Highway Commission was really out there to the point where the governor had very little to say about it. He could appoint a secretary, but there wasn't any Department of Transportation (DOT). It took three or four sessions to get that. That didn't happen until I left. That was one of the original packages, the DOT, and even then, the governors didn't have complete control of it like Evans had wanted.

Ms. Boswell: So if efficiency was his goal, how did the power of the governor, the executive, enter into it?

Mr. Atwood: He had control over the budget. He had a hell of a lot to say about how much they got. A lot of these agencies, like Parks, had commissions that were fairly powerful. Now, the governor's office controls more or less everything, from the Department of Ecology—he appoints the head of that—to the Office of Program Planning. I don't know what they call that now. The CBA, the Central Budget Agency, combined a whole bunch of lesser agencies. There was just a total

reorganization of state government down at that level. Before this, a lot of those were independent, more or less, and the governor had very little to say in their affairs.

Ms. Boswell: Would it be fair at all to call it a power grab by the governor or not?

Mr. Atwood: Well, yes, it's a power grab, but a power grab in the best sense of the word. These agencies were competing with one another for the dollar, and the governor had no overall control, but he got blamed for it.

Ms. Boswell: Now, in reading, I see that same kind of reorganization was a fairly substantial trend throughout the country—to try to reorganize the executive branch in different states.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it was. A lot of these agencies were more or less independent. The governor would get blamed, but he couldn't control them. Like DOT—that was an empire. It still is, but they got a little bit of control. Trying to crack that is something else.

Ms. Boswell: So you see that as being the hardest of the agencies to reorganize?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, the others were fairly simple. Well, not simple, but easier.

Ms. Boswell: In the task force, you said you met a lot. What kind of structure did the task force have and how did it operate?

Mr. Atwood: We'd have presentations from people who had been in government from the state. They were making recommendations of what it should be. We had a dean of the Social Work Department of the University—I forget what his name was—about welfare and all of that. They put all of these agencies into one part of DSHS.

Ms. Boswell: So, to a degree, it was consolidation and development of…are they super agencies or not?

Mr. Atwood: All of them are, compared to what they were. They are institutions with separate little agencies. Corrections—it is now called Corrections—was still part of DSHS. Health. If you look at those charts that they have in that report, it shows what was put together. Before they had been fairly autonomous, but now they are beholden to a secretary, a deputy, an under-secretary and others.

Ms. Boswell: Could you say that it was modeled, to a degree, after the Cabinet on the federal level?

Mr. Atwood: To some degree. Looking at the Department of Agriculture, for example, I don't know how that agency is so big.

Ms. Boswell: The task force began in 1968 and made recommendations and then came back in 1970—well, in 1969 and then in 1970 issued the second report. The first wave of bills and issues came up in 1968 and then in the 1969 session.

Mr. Atwood: There was a lot of resistance to this reorganization from the entrenched bureaucrats. Some of it was not too open, but a lot of it—subtly.

Ms. Boswell: When you say subtly, what could they do?

Mr. Atwood: They could lobby their own legislators, who weren't paying any attention to what was going on. There weren't many members of the Legislature on the committee. There were only two of us on it.

Ms. Boswell: I know that Governor Evans said it was a bi-partisan task force. Would you say that was the case?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. There wasn't anything political about it, except maybe somebody wanted some power.

Ms. Boswell: As a legislator, though, how did you feel about the idea of increasing the governor's role in these different agencies?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I didn't have any objections to it. He was going to get the blame for everything that goes on from people who he had no power over—absolutely zero. If they screwed up, he gets the blame.

There were some really outstanding people on there. Walt Howe. He was the governor's director of the Office of Program Planning and Fiscal Management and later vice-president of Weyerhaeuser. Harold Shefelman was a lawyer. Sid Morrison later became the head of DOT. Bill Gissberg and Sid Morrison came on later. I see the Boeing president doesn't show on this list, but he was on it—T. Wilson.

Ms. Boswell: Now, first in 1968 when the task force came out with its recommendation… let me back up. When you did have meetings, how were they organized?

Mr. Atwood: They had a staff, and the staff put it together. They made a presentation showing what the agency was at that time and what they wanted it to be, so they had better information available—like this completion and transfer of state planning along with fiscal management. They redefined the role of planning and community affairs. Dick Hemstad was made a director of that later on.

Ms. Boswell: So, the staff would develop the ideas of what programs could be combined and then the members would do what?

Mr. Atwood: We would debate it and vote for what we thought would work.

Ms. Boswell: Was there a lot of division of opinion?

Mr. Atwood: Not too much. I mean there really wasn't because it was quite obvious on some of these things. The framework was fleshed out by the academics, more or less, and the people in business who had some real experience.

Ms. Boswell: In his annual message in 1969 session, Evans talked about executive reorganization as really one of his top priorities.

Mr. Atwood: It really was.

Ms. Boswell: He mentioned—let me just read you a line from his message about business. I was curious about how much it was modeled after business. He said:
"Government cannot be run exactly like a business, but nowhere does it say that government must be run in ignorance of business principles and nowhere can you find justification for the contention that size is a realistic substitute for efficiency."

Mr. Atwood: (Laughter) I love that; that's quite true. DSHS is so big; it is not efficient. It was just too big for one guy. It looks great on paper.

Ms. Boswell: Yes. In that context, though, I think he was probably advocating for bigger at the time.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, well he got tired of all these people fighting for the dollar.

Ms. Boswell: But I was wondering about this idea of business principles. How much did the business members of the task force contribute in terms of how business is organized versus how government is organized?

Mr. Atwood: A lot. The guy I was trying to think of who was the dean of the Department of Social Work: Dean Brink. He was a great contributor on the DSHS.

Ms. Boswell: Were the members purely gubernatorial appointees?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. I don't know why he picked me.

Ms. Boswell: I was going to ask you.

Mr. Atwood: I haven't the faintest idea. It was probably because I was one of the leaders on the Budget Committee. I think Marshall Neill might have told him that, but I really don't know. I was quite surprised. (Laughter) Who knows?

Ms. Boswell: I suppose it was important to have someone with a really good idea of the state budget. Budget issues must have figured into it substantially.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, you have to ask him that. "Why the hell did you pick Atwood?"

Ms. Boswell: So the staff would do what?

Mr. Atwood: They would put together a presentation from various sources. We spent a hell of a lot of time; we had lot of meetings. It wasn't a one-shot deal. It lasted over a period of time.

Ms. Boswell: When you say a lot, do you mean weekly, monthly, or how did that usually work?

Mr. Atwood: We met at least once or twice a month.

Ms. Boswell: And then when you narrowed it down, was there then a final vote of the task force as to what you wanted to recommend?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, well, we had plenty of guidance. They knew where they wanted to come out.

Ms. Boswell: And then once you had recommendations, how were they translated into action?

Mr. Atwood: They were put into bill form.

Ms. Boswell: Put into bill form by whom?

Mr. Atwood: By the code reviser and the attorney general.

Ms. Boswell: Who was responsible for marshaling them through the Legislature?

Mr. Atwood: (Laughter) I'll give you one guess. Take a look at who were the sponsors of the bills. I know I was one of the sponsors of the quite a few of them. They started half of them in the Senate and half in the House.

Ms. Boswell: I know that after 1968—or at least those that were recommended in 1968—some of them got through and some of them did not. Among the ones that were adopted—and I know you introduced at least one of them—was the Office of Program Planning and Fiscal Management.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, that was important. That was the guts of the operation; that was the one that sets the pace. That was very important. When we first went, there was the Central Budget Agency. Warren Bishop was probably one of the best contributors on that—he and Walt Howe. Walt was just an ex-officio member. Warren Bishop was Governor Rosellini's right-hand man; he ran the state for Rosellini.

Too bad Evans didn't have him as an assistant right off the bat. (Laughter) He had this turkey from Illinois who bombed out after about the first six months.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, really?

Mr. Atwood: In 1964. Yes, he had to let him go. I forget who succeeded him, but boy, the key for a governor is getting people who really know what they are doing.

Ms. Boswell: And you think Warren Bishop did?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, super. He was a pro. At this

time, he was the vice-president of university development over at WSU, thanks to Marshall Neill, who called over to WSU and said,"You have got to get this guy. Don't let him get away." And he didn't; they got him. (Laughter). Evans used him a lot.

Ms. Boswell: But so he was behind a lot of the planning for the Office of Program Planning and Fiscal Management?

Ms. Boswell: Yes, he sure was. Walt Howe was, too.

Ms. Boswell: And that new office was a combination of what?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I forget. They had about two or three different agencies. There was no planning in that one. The state program-planning function was to be merged with budgeting functions in the new office and also community affairs. That agency is still alive and well, I think.

Ms. Boswell: Which agency?

Mr. Atwood: Program Planning and Fiscal Management. They call it something else.

Ms. Boswell: Is that the same as the Office of Financial Management?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. Everybody likes to fool around with titles. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: I wonder why that is?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know—just so they could say, "I did this."

Ms. Boswell: Now, I think the Department of Social and Health Services and Ecology also got though during that session.

Mr. Atwood: Yes. Ecology was the easy one, although there was a lot of cantankerous wrangling. What was Ecology combined with in there?

Ms. Boswell: I'm not sure.

Mr. Atwood: Well, they had two or three agencies in there. But you know, all these were little fiefdoms before that.

Ms. Boswell: Well, certainly the environment and ecology were specific interests of Evans too, weren't they?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes. I'm telling you, he was the strongest governor that I have seen in my lifetime or ever will, in this day and age. I didn't realize how strong. They call him a liberal; he is liberal but you don't wrestle with him. He's just a tough governor. He's tough. He had all the guts in the world.

Ms. Boswell: Do you think that we won't see more tough governors like that?

Mr. Atwood: Not in my lifetime. We just won't. It was just the way he was. What was he, a three-term governor? Yes. He didn't like being in the US Senate; he has to be the kingpin or the head person. (Laughter) That's my view of it.

Ms. Boswell: Is that a personality issue?

Mr. Atwood: Not now. He was the president of a university. I'd hate to do his oral history. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Why do you say that?

Mr. Atwood: Well, he has done so many things. I mean, he has done everything but take tickets.

Ms. Boswell: Well, he's supposed to be writing his own memoirs.

Mr. Atwood: Well, okay, that's him. I happened

to run across a pamphlet he put out: "*Views of the Governor"* or something like that. (Laughter)

He used to have meetings every Monday. We would have to go over there and have a nice breakfast. He'd whip out his executive request bills and start going through them. "Where is this? Where is that? Are you able to get this?" I don't think any governor had as many executive requests as he did. Some of them were other people's bills, but he made them his. Even when the session was like it is today, he'd say, "We've got to get Rules to meet." He'd call me up and say, "We've got to have the Rules Committee meet and see if you can get two bills out. I have to have them." I said, "Well, Governor, I'm in the minority." I said, "Did you talk to Durkan or Mardesich?" He said, "No, but I will." Cherberg wouldn't call me. (Laughter) He never gave up, right to the last hour.

Ms. Boswell: I don't have the facts at my fingertips, but during the time that he was the governor, the Republicans were always in the minority, weren't they?

Mr. Atwood: No. We were just in the Senate.

Ms. Boswell: In the Senate, but not in the House?

Mr. Atwood: Don Eldridge was the Speaker of the House, and then the Republicans controlled the House at least part of the time after that.

Ms. Boswell: Was Don Eldridge an effective Speaker?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, pretty effective. He used to tell me: "You've got to stop arguing with him, Frank. He's the governor." I said, "I know he's the governor." (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Was Eldridge a good political operative in that regard?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, he was a pro. He's from Mount Vernon originally, and they had pretty strong members in the House. Of course, Slade Gorton had been in the House and Tom Swayze became the Speaker of the House from Tacoma.

When I was there, we never got into the majority. After I left, they did. Who was it that switched parties? It was in the late 1970s or early 1980s. He was in the Reserves, too. He went on to be on the King County Council—von Reichbauer. Peter von Reichbauer.

Ms. Boswell: You mentioned how difficult it was to get the Transportation Department through. But there were a couple of others that didn't get adopted right away either. One that was proposed was Community Affairs and Development and another was Manpower and Industry. I don't know whether they ultimately ended up having different titles, but I know they didn't get through on the first go-around anyway, and probably the second.

Mr. Atwood: I don't even remember those proposals. Obviously, they weren't a high priority.

Ms. Boswell: Transportation I can understand, but what was it that impeded some of these agencies from getting through?

Mr. Atwood: The effort to protect those empires, especially DOT. That was an empire and still is. The final DOT was just a compromise and not what Evans had in mind. Who was the first secretary—Duane Berentson? William Bulley was the first and then Duane Berentson followed him. Those were very protected empires. It used to be the old Highway Commission. It was resolved by putting transportation, the aeronautics division, and rail and all that together in one agency. They were very jealous of their prerogatives. They did not want the governor having a total control over them. They still don't, more or less. But in those days it was particularly strong. He worked on that a long time to get that. He was very persistent. They finally got it halfway, where they could live with it. That was long after I left.

I did not care too much for the Highway Commission operations. They had their own budgets, and they were very protected by the construction industry, the highway contractors. (Laughter) I used to know all those lobbyists. Frank Foley and I…they finally put Foley on the committee! (Laughter) They pulled his teeth so he wouldn't kick them around anymore.

They're outside, and now look at what they've got. They have a problem because they don't have the money. It's all gas tax money. It's got an earmarked fund, but it ran out, just like the Game Department did. The Game Department used to be solely dependent on hunting licenses. We kept telling them, "Why don't you become a General Fund agency? You'd be a lot better off. Then you wouldn't get the full brunt of the lobbying effort." You would get better money, and they did. They couldn't price the hunting licenses and fishing licenses as much as they needed to support the activities, so they became a General Fund agency, finally.

Ms. Boswell: So Transportation was all earmarked?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, they didn't want to be put in the General Fund. No way. The minute you talk General Funds, they've got a constitutional amendment about what to do with the gas tax. Everybody looks at that gas tax and wants to dump it in the General Fund. (Laughter) That really brings the tiger out of the cave. Believe me.

Ms. Boswell: So did you have to do a big lobbying effort?

Mr. Atwood: Not really because when they had the hearings in the committee, they were pretty good hearings. It didn't take that much of an effort.

Ms. Boswell: Another big issue aside from Executive Reorganization that Evans got involved in during that 1969 session was tax reform. Now tell me how you felt about the tax reform issue?

Mr. Atwood: Well, what tax reform equals is income tax. There is no way that is ever going to carry in this state under the present circumstances. We're going through the same cycle, incidentally, right now. You're going to see a lot of beating of the drums for tax reform, especially in light of what this budget was. I'm interested to see what happens. No way, no way is this population going to vote for an income tax. We're stuck. Once they repealed the sales tax on food, they thought maybe we would have a good chance. I voted to put it to the people. I had to because I was the minority leader.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, I was going to ask you about that. You definitely voted yes on that constitutional amendment, the joint resolution to have a constitutional amendment.

Mr. Atwood: I was a total hypocrite, who voted quietly in the voter's booth. I hate the income tax. I hate the federal income tax. I have more trouble with income tax than anything in my whole life.

Ms. Boswell: Why is that?

Mr. Atwood: I just never have enough money put away to pay the tax. Now this Friday, I have to go and get it done by my accountant. I know I'm going to pay four or five thousand bucks somewhere. I hate it.

Ms. Boswell: But so on the state level, because Evans wanted it, the leadership had to go along?

Mr. Atwood: Well, if you were going to be the minority leader. I just quietly voted, and rolled over and played dead. We had to get it out of there. All the liberal Democrats wanted the income tax, and the Republicans hated the income tax, including me. But I voted to put it on the ballot. I didn't campaign against; I ran with it in 1970.

Ms. Boswell: Did it affect you later in running?

Mr. Atwood: Greive tried to use it against me. I wish you could have found that brochure that he did. It had a big fat lawyer jumping on law books with secret retainers, and then he had another one with sheep. (Laughter) It was about voting for tax reform. Oh, he was proud of it. Durkan wanted me to sue him for slander. (Laughter) And I said, "I'm not going to sue him for slander."

Ms. Boswell: Oh, that's great.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it was. I had a bunch of them, but I don't know what happened to them. I guess it went on the ballot again about four or five years later, didn't it? Yes, it did. It went down to a worse defeat the second time. We're about to get a third time, in my lifetime. I guarantee it will be on the ballot.

Ms. Boswell: When was the point at which most states got a state income tax and Washington just did not do it? Was there a point in time when it could have been instituted?

Mr. Atwood: Long before I ever was there. Like Oregon has an income tax, but they don't have a sales tax. They are one of the very few states that don't. There are six states that don't have income tax, and they're very attractive to people. That's why we have a lot of airline pilots up here because they can fly out of California and live here. They don't have to pay any income tax to the state. It is very attractive.

Ms. Boswell: Along with the tax reform issue, the third major thing that Evans introduced in 1969 was essentially constitutional reform. He talked about a Gateway Amendment that would authorize a constitutional amendment by broad subject matter rather than single subjects. Is that something that you got involved in at all?

Mr. Atwood: No. That's not the way to amend the Constitution. That was a hot issue. There was a lot of talk about a Gateway, but that isn't the way you do it, if you are going to do it. I mean that's taking the whole Constitution. That's pretty tough to do after 150 years or 100 years. I don't think that's the way to amend the Constitution. You have a constitutional convention, not amend by legislation.

Ms. Boswell: So, did that not just eventually die?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it was very short-lived. It didn't have any appeal. At the time it was fairly controversial. I think some political scientist sold him that idea. But it didn't get much support anywhere, to my recollection anyway. It didn't get on the ballot, did it?

Ms. Boswell: No. Now, he also talks a lot about a state program that sounds like it would be similar to the Forward Thrust Program in King County and the Seattle area. It included reform bills related to the environment and to a variety of things—health and welfare and labor. Was Forward Thrust a model for this legislation?

Mr. Atwood: I suspect it was to him. To the rest of the state, it didn't mean much. It didn't fly anywhere anyway, did it?

Ms. Boswell: I think piecemeal some things may have, but as an overall program, I have never seen much about it other than in his speeches. I certainly have seen a lot about the actual Forward Thrust, but not on the state level. I know that the enabling legislation for some of the Forward Thrust measures…

Mr. Atwood: Had to go through the Senate.

Ms. Boswell: Yes. Bob Greive helped to introduce some of them. For example, when Metro came in, Bob Greive was pretty instrumental in getting some of the legislation for Metro passed. There were bits and pieces that had to come

through the Legislature for King County, but on the statewide level, I wondered if, among the Republicans, was there interest in that kind of reform?

Mr. Atwood: Well, no, but how many Republican senators were there at that stage of proceedings?

Ms. Boswell: I think there was a fair number.

Mr. Atwood: Whetzel, Stender, Holman—Fran Holman—Pritchard.

Ms. Boswell: I didn't think Whetzel was there then.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, he quit when I did in 1975.

Ms. Boswell: Here is the list of members of the Senate Republican Caucus for 1969.

Mr. Atwood: 1969. Oh! Walt Williams—how could I forget him? He was from Bainbridge Island, but he might as well been from Seattle. Jimmy Andersen. Fran Holman was there. Brian Lewis was from Bellevue. Dick Marquardt, my buddy; he's still my buddy. We go to football games together. He said he wouldn't do an oral history. He'd be interesting to do, but he was only a one-term senator. Then he went on to be the Insurance Commissioner. Interesting.

Now in Forward Thrust, who was the lawyer who promoted it?

Ms. Boswell: Ellis?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, Jim Ellis. His brother, John Ellis, who was the head of Puget Sound Power and Light, was in my law class.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, really?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, he was a nice man. He was a "goer." He and Evans were very close. Everything that he was promoting probably was something that Evans was very interested in.

Ms. Boswell: Evans did, during this time, propose more frequent sessions and more money for the legislators, too. How did that go over?

Mr. Atwood: (Laughter) That was fine. Annual sessions were finally passed, but they didn't do it right. They can't do the job in sixty days. We were down there a lot longer than that. We had annual sessions when Evans was the governor. The odd year was thirty days, but the main session was ninety days at least, and probably one or two specials. Look at how many specials there were in that year—that was a continuing session.

Ms. Boswell: Right. You are talking about 1973, right? 1973.

Mr. Atwood: But more money for the legislators—yes. That's one of the main reasons I had to get out. I couldn't stay there any longer. We did pass it; we jumped it up. I forget what it was, but then it got referendumed and was back down to $350 a month.

Ms. Boswell: I know that at the end of the 1969 session—after the 1969 session—there was going to be a special session in 1970 that Evans called. I noticed from the notes you have in the Republican Caucus that Republicans were against having a special session in 1970, and then wanted it to be only twenty-one days.

Mr. Atwood: We didn't prevail. (Laughter) I just read that in there. I had forgotten all about that.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, why would Republicans be against a special session in the first place, or an extraordinary session?

Mr. Atwood: We didn't like to go down there. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: But even if the governor was the one who proposed it?

Mr. Atwood: It doesn't matter who proposed it; we spent too many days down there in the 1969 session. There was a hell of a lot done in the 1970 session—all of the heavy legislation like the Department of Ecology. There were some major things in the 1970 session.

Ms. Boswell: There were a lot.

Mr. Atwood: There was a lot of heavy stuff because we had beaten it to death in the 1969 session and didn't get through. When we got there in 1970, we passed all of it.

Ms Boswell: Before we get into that, though, the other thing about 1969 was that you were the minority floor leader again, so you had been through that job before.

Mr. Atwood: I took over in 1967, toward the end.

Ms. Boswell: Right, when Marshall Neill left. I looked that up because we weren't sure about exactly when—that was in April. They did another session.

Mr. Atwood: I became king. We had a coronation. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Oh, you did? (Laughter) Tell me about that.

Mr. Atwood: No way. (Laughter) Oh, that's ego.

Ms. Boswell: Were things different in 1969? It was a packed session with some controversial issues.

Mr. Atwood: A lot of issues were controversial.

Ms. Boswell: How does that affect your ability as a minority floor leader?

Mr. Atwood: Holding the troops, toward the end, is damn tough because we were a minority to begin with and there were guys riding off in all directions. It was very difficult. Trying to keep them there is tough, very tough.

Ms. Boswell: Were there special techniques?

Mr. Atwood: Just beating them around the ears, and threatening them—good leadership qualities.

Ms. Boswell: So did you have a big stick or what? (Laughter)

Mr. Atwood: Good leadership qualities: I beat them around the ears.

Ms. Boswell: When you say that, truly what did you do?

Mr. Atwood: Try to reason with them. Legislators are very unreasonable people, for the most part. Oh, there are a lot of bright people in their own right. There were a lot of dullards too, but more bright ones than dullards.

Ms. Boswell: Was there good old-fashioned horse trading or not?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, to some degree, but there wasn't much to trade for. And some of these guys, well, there were some ideologues there, but most of the people…To get anywhere, you have got to walk the walk and talk the talk; talk the talk and walk the walk. We had good people in that caucus, and we hung together pretty well. We had to—although we had a few flakes. (Laughter) There were always one or two.

Ms. Boswell: Were there some people that you could go to and feel like you could convince them?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. Harry Lewis lived there,

so he didn't have to worry. The people who lived in Spokane—the lawyers—had problems. We had a lot of lawyers there. They really get antsy. We had twenty-two lawyers in the Senate when I first went there. Well over half of them were practicing. They don't have any now.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, I think they do, don't they?

Mr. Atwood: Take a look. I bet you there are very few practicing lawyers. I gave a speech on that last year to the Bar. And I think there were three or four in the House and two or three in the Senate. None of them practice.

Ms. Boswell: And why is that?

Mr. Atwood: They can't do it. It's the time. I was out of my office 180 days my last year. My partners were screaming. We had moved into this building in 1972. But I loved it. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Now somebody told me this piece of trivia yesterday, and I haven't done any research to find out if it is true. They said that, currently—I'm not sure if it was in the House or in both the House and the Senate together—that Washington had the highest percentage of legislators who had not graduated from college.

Mr. Atwood: Really?

Ms. Boswell: Yes. I don't know if that's true, but the person who related the story is a professor, and he was saying that he had heard that information.

Mr. Atwood: Probably. That would be a good research topic.

Mr. Atwood: So I don't know, but it would be interesting to research the states.

Mr. Atwood: You just take a look at that list. Where is that list again? Some were lawyers and judges starting with Andersen, Atwood, Charles Elicker was a lawyer—he was in the law school when I was there. Fran Holman.

Ms. Boswell: Fran Holman was very active in the Bar, too. Wasn't he active in the national organization?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, he was a judge, too. Five, six, seven. We had seven lawyers on our caucus. One third of the caucus was lawyers. Some of them were damn good lawyers. There was at least that number in the Democratic Caucus, too. I know we had twenty-two lawyers most of the time. After the 1974 session, there were hardly any lawyers left. Later on, there were even less.

Not that the lawyers were that great, but at least they could read the bills and knew what they were doing half of the time. I found that knowledge is power in that place. About half of those people didn't know what they were looking at. Really. That's where a lawyer does have the advantage. Now, it's pretty bad.

Ms. Boswell: So it was primarily just time and pay—that you just couldn't afford to do it?

Mr. Atwood: Couldn't do it. You know we did raise the pay up to—I forget—five hundred a month. You thought that end of the world had come. They said we did it at midnight; we didn't do it at midnight. For god sakes, the papers were sitting right there and watching the whole process. We're fair game; legislators are fair game, you know.

Ms. Boswell: You could argue that the pay was pretty low.

Mr. Atwood: It was pathetic! (Laughter) We got forty dollars a day at our height. When I first went there, it was one-hundred dollars a month and twenty-five dollars a day per diem. I had two houses—a house in Olympia and a house up here. But that's the way it goes.

I'll tell you this, looking at all the different state legislators, that those full-time legislators from Pennsylvania, New York, and California were a different breed of cat. They were not even close to being citizen legislators.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, we talked earlier that you really believe that a citizen legislator is better, but if there are many in professions who can't afford to do it, then is it worth it?

Mr. Atwood: No, it doesn't become that. There are more women in the Senate now than there ever were. In the Democratic Caucus, the majority of their people are women. That is really unusual. And we've got a bunch. Jeannette Hayner was our majority leader when Matson got "tubed." I don't know how many women are in the Republican Caucus. I haven't been down there at all, to speak of. I just don't like going back there for some reason. It isn't the way it used to be.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, a lot of people say it is not the way it used to be, but I'm not sure I understand what it is that is different.

Mr. Atwood: Well, there is a lot of bitter partisanship, I guess.

Ms. Boswell: Now, one of the things that you proposed during the 1969 session was creating a Council on Higher Education.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I was on that for a while.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, and when you were on it, what were the goals of that?

Mr. Atwood: To get some coherence out of the system. We had the universities and colleges and also the community college system, which Mike McCormack created. They were all cutting each other's throats to get the dollars. They still do, but once the council got in control, they got some coherence and some direction on dividing up the areas of interest and which of the universities and colleges should take what, instead of duplication *ad nauseum*. There is still a lot of duplication, but nevertheless they started cutting back on it.

Ms. Boswell: Was the idea popular among the college and university people or not?

Mr. Atwood: No. Of course, the two universities—the University is just like the gorilla. "Where does the gorilla sleep? Any place that he wishes!" (Laughter) The universities are very powerful down there.

Of course, I represented Western, and Nat Washington represented Central Washington most of the time I was there. Later on, Sam Guess and some others were for Eastern. Goldsworthy and Neill and Foley represented WSU. They all had their inside lobbyists, but the University of Washington had the most.

And the council was a copy—I forget where it came from—of Minnesota or California or some place. It wasn't an original idea, but it was something to get some coherence in the system instead of beating each other to death and trying one-upmanship.

Ms. Boswell: Was it difficult to get through?

Mr. Atwood: Not really, because I think the presidents of all the universities and colleges agreed with the theory of the whole thing. Was I a sponsor of that?

Ms. Boswell: Yes, I think so.

Mr. Atwood: No kidding? Well, Gordon Sandison, of course, was a power in Higher Ed at that time, and he still was the whole time I was there. I was on his committee. I remember; I served on the Council on Higher Education originally.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, you were on it during the 1969 to 1971 interim.

Mr. Atwood: That's because I was from Western. I used to get all the goodies for Western. I got them a ton of stuff, but it didn't show. I got Huxley; I got Fairhaven College.

I'll never forget when Fairhaven College came up in the Conference Committee, and Dore looked at that and said, "What's this? Where did that come from? We didn't authorize any college up there, at Fairhaven." It was a subdivision. I said, "It isn't; it's just part of Western." He said, "Well, we didn't authorize the use of that name." It never has been authorized, at least while I was there, but it was stuck in the budget that way. It is Fairhaven still today.

Ms. Boswell: Right.

Mr. Atwood: It was a bad deal because my buddy, Sam Kelly, who was the graduate dean, said that thing should never have been created.

Ms. Boswell: How was it created?

Mr. Atwood: In the budget.

Ms. Boswell: I mean, whose idea was it?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I don't know. They were copying Evergreen, being very liberal. My daughter graduated from Huxley and that was environmental. They were looked on with askance and still are up here. They've got a good name now for environmental science. (Laughter) I'll never forget how Dore said, "Where did this come from?" (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) So, you could sneak some of those things in?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. When you get into the nuts and bolts—we had better fish to fry than that.

Chapter 7

Budgets, Law Enforcement, and Military Service

Ms. Boswell: Tell me about the 1970 session.

Mr. Atwood: It was probably the most productive session ever held, for a short session because of the fact that all the hearings and everything took place in 1969. Unfortunately, the bills never got moved up. The abortion bill, the income tax, shoreline management, I think, and a whole bunch of other stuff, too, was put on the ballot after the 1970 session. It was heavy stuff that went out of there. In 1969, we had all the hearings, but never got the job done. We came back in January of 1970. Have you got the Senate *Journal*?

Ms. Boswell: Yes.

Mr. Atwood: So you can document it better than I can recall it.

Ms. Boswell: When you have a session where there are carry-over bills like that and where you have all of this legislation, how do you keep track? You were minority leader, so how did you keep track of all the things that were going on there?

Mr. Atwood: Well, we knew exactly what we were going to run with. The Democrats worked with us on it, too. It wasn't a one-way street. They decided every step, and the governor, of course, was beating everybody around the ears. (Laughter) He was pretty good at that. He wasn't bashful, believe me; there was nothing bashful about Dan Evans.

Ms. Boswell: What were your highest priorities?

Mr. Atwood: I didn't have any highest priorities. The budget was always my number one. That's the only reason or justification for being there—the money part of it. That was my chief concern: the budget. We did a supplemental in 1972, but it wasn't all that great because of the 1969 budget.

Ms. Boswell: You were saying that you didn't really have priorities, though?

Mr. Atwood: Western Washington University. I had Western stuff that I pushed, since it was my number-one constituent and always was the whole time I was there.

Ms. Boswell: But what about going back to the budget for a minute. I think you had moved up to being, first of all, the secretary, and then ultimately the vice-chair?

Mr. Atwood: I was vice-chairman twice.

Ms. Boswell: Vice-chair of the Legislative Budget Committee. How did that affect this 1970, or the 1969 and then the 1970 session?

Mr. Atwood: It just gave you a lot of little more crunch or whatever you call it. (Laughter) Not crunch, but a little more clout. No one paid much attention. You know, it's strange, but a lot of those legislators never paid any attention to any of that stuff. They wanted all the glamorous stuff in the budget, not the big K-12 or college budgets, or whatever. But to me, as a legislator, the budget was most important. Now, that's the only bill that had to pass. Everything else could go by the boards, but the budget couldn't. That operates state government. It's just that simple.

Ms. Boswell: You also joined or became a member of the Executive Committee. Now, how did that function and what was its role?

Mr. Atwood: We planned the agenda for the meetings, and we had a meeting once a month. During the interim, we met constantly during the interim. Every once in a while we got saddled with an investigation for some scandal. I remember Augie Mardesich and I had to go over to—I forget where it was—it was maybe Western State. We had a big hearing there and state employees came, and we took testimony—the whole nine yards.

And that was a very hard-working committee, and we had a big staff. We had a fairly good-sized staff, and they were very able people. The legislative auditor, my final one, was Jerry Sorte. His brother Don was a deputy to Orin Smith, who is now the president of Starbucks. (Laughter) Orin was a pretty good guy. He was Dixy Lee Ray's chief financial officer, or that's what I'll call him. I don't know if it was OPPFM, or OFM, or whatever. That Budget Committee—I don't know what happened to it. After I left, I just don't know what happened to it. I don't know where it is now, today.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, you know, I'm not sure.

Mr. Atwood: I couldn't tell you. They let this auditor run roughshod over them. You know, we had a big battle with old Bob Graham, the State Auditor. I had a knock-down, drag-out fight with him. It was in the *Times* and the *P-I*. We stifled him. There was a clipping in there. It was about me questioning him and what authority he had for doing performance audits.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, I was going to ask you about that because performance audits were a big issue.

Mr. Atwood: It was in this current session, too. That's the same ground we plowed back in the 1970s. You could ask Bob Graham about that. (Laughter)

That function belongs to the Legislature, but they dropped the ball. They created a vacuum with no performance audit. It was supposed to be like a mini-General Accounting Office, like Congress has, with comptroller-general equivalence, but for some reason it lost its position. It's not a partisan issue. It's a question of whether the Legislature is going to let its responsibilities go by the by and let somebody else, an elective official, do it.

Even the unions thought that I was right on that issue. That's the only time that the unions did support my stand. (Laughter) Joe Davis of the United Labor Lobby. I think you might ask Norm Schut, who was the head of the Washington Federation of State Employees in the AFL-CIO, about it. I think he has retired.

Ms. Boswell: But explain the situation about performance audits?

Mr. Atwood: Performance audits are to determine whether the intent of what the Legislature had in mind when they passed certain legislation is being carried out, and whether the agencies—DSHS (Department of Social and Health Services), or General Administration—were doing the job which they were supposed to do. It's pretty easy to determine.

DSHS, of course, is this huge super-agency now, and obviously it's harder. Looking back on it now, that agency is so super, so big, that no one individual can manage it appropriately, even though you had some top-flight people managing it. Dennis Braddock, who is the manager now, is probably as good as any of them, but it's just too large to manage effectively, I think.

Ms. Boswell: So the issue was that Graham felt that he, as Auditor, should be able to review how they were doing?

Mr. Atwood: How they were doing and what the intent of the Legislature was, or whether the

intent of the Legislature was being followed by the various agencies' activities. Well, he's not qualified to do that. And then he did one on the Legislature. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Oh, I didn't read about that. What was that?

Mr. Atwood: I think he did. I think that was what he wanted to do, but that would have been something. (Laughter) He could really make the governor's office look bad, or any of the elected offices. They're all elective. And I don't think the elected officials appreciated that. They don't mind being audited for their income and expenditures and stuff like that—the purely fiscal management.

Ms. Boswell: Graham obviously wanted that power to be able to do it. Did Jerry Sorte also support that idea?

Mr. Atwood: No.

Ms. Boswell: No, not at all?

Mr. Atwood: Jerry Sorte didn't, and I know that Don Sorte didn't either. Everyone in the executive branch was scared spitless of that. He can make you look awfully bad. You know, that's a lot of power if you do a performance audit. Your performance is zero. It is just not a proper function for an elected official like the auditor, who is primarily a fiscal person—expenditures and income and collection of taxes efficiently and whatnot.

Ms. Boswell: And did Graham just take that on himself as something that he wanted to do?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, he did. (Laughter) I think he did a couple or three of them. It brought a few of the people out of their chairs. I'd have to go back and reconstruct that; my memory just isn't that great.

Ms. Boswell: I had read that one of the things that happened, though—and it may have originated in the Budget Committee—was that the Legislature, when they passed the budget in 1969, actually put in a provision that he couldn't do the performance audits.

Mr. Atwood: That's right. I think that's what we did. We put the kibosh on that. I don't think that the governor vetoed that out either.

Ms. Boswell: No, I don't think so. And then the attorney general told him that he better not violate that or else!

Mr. Atwood: (Laughter) Well, he was going to do a performance audit on everybody. "The attorney general is not doing the job, blah, blah, blah." That's a tremendous power to put in one man. The Legislature is fine; it's a collective body and it's better able to do the job objectively, especially the budget people who are on the staff. We did some performance audits—quite a few. I thought I had copies of some of them, but I couldn't find any. There are some, so they must be in the archives somewhere.

Ms. Boswell: So, was the Legislative Budget Committee pretty much together in opposing that?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, absolutely. That was right in our bailiwick in my opinion. At least at that point in time, it was in the bailiwick of the Legislative Budget Committee, and that was both Democrats and Republicans. It wasn't a partisan deal.

Ms. Boswell: So, his argument was that he was acting in the stead of the Legislature?

Mr. Atwood: Well, he didn't say that, but that's what, in fact, he was doing. You would have to go back and take a look at that issue. But this time—who is the new auditor? Brian Sonntag. I think he got it passed for himself. I think it passed. I don't know if the governor vetoed it or not, but it was the same song and dance that we went through back then—thirty years ago.

Ms. Boswell: There were a number of other measures, and some of them ended up being mentioned later in your campaign literature. They were from that session, and there were a few that we haven't talked about, so I want to ask about them. Some of them obviously are more important than others, but one was legislation creating a Law Officers Training Commission for local officers.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, that was a big one.

Ms. Boswell: Now, tell me a little bit about that.

Mr. Atwood: Well, for years there wasn't any formal, structured training center. Was that the commission or was it the center?

Ms. Boswell: I think that it was the commission, first.

Mr. Atwood: Okay, we had to set up a body to conduct uniform training and develop facilities for the State Patrol, city police, and county sheriffs. I think the facility is down in Shelton, or at least it was originally. I don't know where they are now, but that was a big deal for the sheriff and police associations.

Ms. Boswell: So, what had happened before then? Was it just done piecemeal?

Mr. Atwood: Nothing. It was just a hodge-podge. There wasn't any uniformity in the training. Some of the chiefs got to go to the FBI Academy, and they still do, but there wasn't any uniformity. Big cities had their own. Seattle had its own training faculty. This is for everybody else, so we would have some uniformity in traffic, and in investigations of murder, homicides, drugs, or whatever. There wasn't any uniformity. We were kind of behind in that area compared to some of the larger states. We were at the point where we sure needed something.
I think Wes Uhlman and I were co-sponsors. I remember getting some "petty graft" from the police and sheriffs, the police chiefs. (Laughter) For the petty graft I got a watch. I still have it, but I call it petty graft. I think Wes got a radio or something. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: And you sponsored a lot of legislation related to law enforcement?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I did. I was very high on getting some top-flight people or getting some cohesion, some coherence, in the law enforcement area. But ever since that trip to California my first session, I got really interested in what was going.
I served on the Crime and Intelligence Committee, too. We didn't have much intelligence. (Laughter) Police chiefs and the sheriffs don't like to talk with legislators; they leak too much. I get a laugh out of Congress. You know in their oversight committee on intelligence, these guys are always spilling the beans.

Ms. Boswell: I noticed there was also legislation giving the State Board of Pharmacy the power to cope more effectively with drug problems. Was the Vietnam era the backdrop for this?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. Drugs were a very major issue. There were a lot of drugs dispensed willy-nilly, you know. It was pretty wide open for quite a while. But that wasn't original with me. They got me to sponsor that bill.

Well, that was the beginning of the big drug deal, you know—drugs on campus, drugs everywhere. I think the reason for tightening up the requirement on the pharmacies was because they were dispensing it with very little oversight, unless it was extreme.

Ms. Boswell: In the 1969 session, another of the bills that went through was the bill on broadening the governor's power to quell public disturbances. It was a bill that you voted for. I would guess that it was the result of some of the Vietnam protests.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it was. We had some protests. When I was there, the Black Panthers came down, and I laughed at the aftermath. There was a picture in the Seattle papers of a Black Panther standing in the doorway of the Capitol building with bandoliers and rifles. (Laughter) Evans was out of the state, and John Cherberg panicked and called out the Patrol. Durkan ran down and told them, "I invited them down here to testify." (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Oh, no.

Mr. Atwood: Everybody here was panicked. "Who invited them?" (Laughter) They had a bunch of State Patrol officers escorting them down from Seattle; it was a big deal.

Ms. Boswell: Now, there was another issue that I noticed. It was a bill for special compensation for Vietnam veterans and you were actually opposed to it, weren't you?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely.

Ms. Boswell: Now tell me about that, because you have a military background.

Mr. Atwood: I still am. I was in the Reserves then. I didn't think it was right for the World War II veterans. I was a veteran of the World War II, too.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me about that.

Mr. Atwood: I just don't believe in that kind of thing, but it's a popular thing to do.

Ms. Boswell: So, was what they were proposing like the Bonus Bill?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely. It's the same theory. Now the civilians are asking for reparations. Where do you end it? It passed and how much did they get? I don't know—I don't think I applied. I think I did after World War II.

Ms. Boswell: So, your opposition to it was essentially based on what rationale?

Mr. Atwood: Well, the rationale that they were doing their duty, and they got paid, so they didn't need a bonus for doing it. The veterans' lobbies were very strong and still are pretty strong, although there are a lot less of them now. I don't belong to the American Legion. I did, but I dropped out. I'm a life member of the Reserve Officers Association, but even that, I object to some of the stuff they are promoting. We got tremendous benefits. God, I can't complain then. TRICARE for Life for the reservists is just great. It's as good as the G.I. Bill, really.

Ms. Boswell: Now, explain to me what TRICARE for Life is?

Mr. Atwood: That's a federal program that went into effect October 1st of this last year. I can drop my Group Health, my supplement, and go on TRICARE for Life. I don't pay anything except a co-pay, very small, forever. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: And when it says TRICARE, does that mean like…medical, dental, or something, or what does that mean?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, everything. I am on the TRICARE prescription program in which I can get free prescriptions, and I take a lot of them. You can't beat those benefits, you know, especially if you're a senior and paying over $100 a month for pharmacy services.

Ms. Boswell: Maybe this would be a good opportunity to talk a few minutes about your military career. We talked about your World War II service, but…

Mr. Atwood: I was young. I was seventeen; I got out when I was nineteen. I didn't know what

the hell I was doing. I'd never do it again. I was a ground-pounder—that's for the birds.

Ms. Boswell: But after that, you were in the Reserves.

Mr. Atwood: For thirty-one years.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, so talk a little about that and how you got involved with the Reserves and then what you did.

Mr. Atwood: I came to town. There were three of us—two were lawyers—and we had a Reserve unit out here, a civil affairs military government unit, the 448th. Ward Williams, who was later an appellate court judge—he is deceased now—recruited me. I was a starving young lawyer; I was. (Laughter) He got me a commission in 1953 or 1954, a First Lieutenant's commission, so I joined the Reserve unit and was in it.

Ms. Boswell: Now, so it was a legal unit?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it had a legal section in it. There were three JAG officers in it: Ward Williams, Bill Gardner—they're both dead now—and myself. We later had another couple of JAGs. I was in that unit for a very long time.

In fact, when I was a state senator, I dedicated Stevens Hall out there by the new Armory. Now the 448th has been moved to Fort Lewis and has been there a long time, about fifteen years. In fact, the 448th got called up for Haiti, and a lot of them are serving in Bosnia and Herzegovina. But I really enjoyed it, going to Civil Affairs School. I went to the JAG school and took a lot of JAG courses: a couple of Command and General Staff courses, international law, procurement law, and what not. That was good duty. The University of Virginia is a beautiful place.

I got promoted out of the unit when I made Lieutenant Colonel. I outranked the commander, and you can't do that. (Laughter) I was his executive officer. I thought we might get called for Vietnam, but they didn't want us. I would have gone over there. They didn't want any old farts. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: So, when you are in that kind of a unit in the Reserves, like a JAG unit, tell me about what you did?

Mr. Atwood: Well, we would do all kinds of things. We did legal assistance for the troops, for the regular army. We used to pull duty down at Fort Lewis in the JAG shop there doing legal assistance to the women and wills and stuff like that—family law. But then in this last go-around, the civil affairs units are all overseas. I mean they got called up.

Ms. Boswell: What is a civil affairs unit?

Mr. Atwood: That's civil affairs, coordinating between the military and the civilians and setting up governments where there are none. The active Army does not have any civil affairs units except for one group at Fort Bragg, with the Eighteenth Airborne Corps. That's the only civil affairs in the active Army; all the rest are reserves.

Ms. Boswell: Why is that?

Mr. Atwood: The Army doesn't want to spend apparently any monies for regular Army civil affairs, and it's not a glamorous thing for any of the active Army, like the combat commands and the support groups. It's a combat service support unit, the civil affairs. Now they're using them because they need them in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They're all over. I don't think there are any in Afghanistan, but there may be. Actually, there probably are. There are probably some civil affairs people, and they have a couple of lawyers in every company. They are using them a lot more than they ever did before.

Ms. Boswell: Now, you mentioned that you wouldn't have minded going to Vietnam, but now

let's just say that your Reserve unit was called up to go. What would you have had to do with your practice and the Senate and all that?

Mr. Atwood: I had two partners. I would have had to resign. That was just part of the deal. When you sign up, you go. I noticed that about some of these guys, like in the Gulf War. I felt sorry for these married guys; they didn't realize that they'd get called on. Both the husband and wives are in units; it's nice when you don't get called.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, so if you get called, you get called, and that's that. You have no choice?

Mr. Atwood: As far as I'm concerned. You can resign, but when you take their money, you do what you are there for.

Ms. Boswell: And if you are in the Reserves like that and you do get called, for example, in the JAG units, are there limited amounts of time that you serve?

Mr. Atwood: No, normally those Reserve units get called up for a year; sometimes you can extend it for two years. A couple of lawyers I know who went to Korea were in law schools afterwards, and they got called in Vietnam and then they stayed in. One was a full colonel in the Marines. I think he was assistant dean at the UPS (University of Puget Sound) Law School, but he stayed in after being called three or four times (Laughter) He was in Korea. He was a Marine in Korea and Vietnam, and then he just stayed in.

Ms. Boswell: But now, how did the pay scales equate to civilian legal work, for example? They could not have been close, could they?

Mr. Atwood: Not very good, but still you could live. A full colonel gets pretty good pay as far a being able to survive on it. It wasn't that bad when you get called up. I don't have a chart here on how much you get paid, but now it's really pretty good. A full colonel gets, with pay and allowances, probably $100,000; it's an O-6 rank.

Ms. Boswell: It's a what?

Mr. Atwood: 0-6—that's a uniform pay grade. A Navy captain, a four striper in the Navy, is an 0-6.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, so it's standardized.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, standardized. The pay is standardized.

Mr. Atwood: My friend Sam Kelly, who is now deceased, volunteered us for everything. We never got called; they didn't want any part of us. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: I also am not clear; you mentioned that you had risen in rank. How does that work in the Reserves?

Mr. Atwood: In the Reserves you've got to meet certain qualifications for each rank.

You have to complete basic courses and advanced courses. You've got to put in so much time—your two weeks. If you don't do the extension work and everything, you are not going to get promoted. And then to be in the 0-6, you've got to complete the Reserve Component General Staff Course—Command and General Staff, for short.

Ms. Boswell: And tell me what that is?

Mr. Atwood: That's an advanced course for all branches of the Army. They have a Reserve course; the regular Army goes to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, for six months. It's a year's course for the Reserves.

Ms. Boswell: As you rise up in terms of your rank, does that increase the amount of work that is expected or time that is expected?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it is. Like when I was the SJA (Staff Judge Advocate) of the ARCOM, I was on the general staff, so my boss was a two-star. A general in the Reserves is on extra duty about eighty percent of the time. We had a two-star and a one-star, and you've got to put in every other weekend, about double what you normally would do.

Ms. Boswell: Now, given that you had the Senate work and the law practice and kids at home, how did you fit all that in?

Mr. Atwood: I didn't. (Laughter) No. I probably neglected the kids, although the Senate didn't require that much. When I was down there it did. In the interim, we didn't do all that much, except the Budget Committee did a lot of stuff—much more than most committees. We met at least one weekend in the month, and the Reserves were one weekend a month. I took my family with me when I was on active duty, too, for summer camps or whatever.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, you could take your family?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I took them down to where I was, and they could visit me, at least during the weekends.

Ms. Boswell: Oh. And where did you usually do the active duty?

Mr. Atwood: All over. I did it at Fort MacArthur a couple or three times; Monterey at Fort Ord; Charlottesville, Virginia, a lot, down at the JAG school. That's a beautiful place. I'd love to have gone to school there. The law school is right next to the JAG school there. My wife did not care for the Reserves at all, but she does now. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: And what did you like about it? I mean, what was the continued draw?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I just was doing a lot of stuff. For a year I was a G-5 of the Ninth Infantry Division at Fort Lewis, which meant that I was on the staff of the general there. I used to go down there quite a bit, and then I went on one huge exercise in Yakima; we had a huge exercise called Brave Shield 76.

They had it run by the central command out of Eglin Field, Florida, a three-star command. They had the whole Ninth Division; they had parts of the Washington National Guard; they had 82nd Airborne detachments; they had Special Forces; they had the Green Berets there that was in those days. I lost fifteen pounds in two weeks. I was on the general staff. I was the only Reserve officer on the general staff, but it was something else.

Ms. Boswell: And what would your role have been in something like that?

Mr. Atwood: I was a coordinator between the civilian people in the Yakima area and the combat command. I was the general's civil and military advisor.

Ms. Boswell: So what did that mean? Were your duties logistical to make sure that the exercise didn't interfere?

Mr. Atwood: No, no, it wasn't. We were playing with a script. What the script was—the opposition forces were a Soviet military tank division, and the Ninth Infantry was a heavily weighted counter-tank outfit. They had extra TOW missiles battalions; they had extra choppers and everything. We got overrun the first two days of the exercise, and the three-star general called in the bombers from Mountain Home, Idaho, to save us. (Laughter)

It was very educational. I didn't realize how professional the Ninth Infantry, the regular Army, was. They could tell anything that moved on the ground. They sent over planes, recon planes, every three or four hours taking pictures of our tactical operations center and everything. We were tactical the whole time we were there. It was fascinating to me. I was in the 365th at the time, which

is a civil affairs unit in Seattle. The commanding officer didn't know who I was and wondered what the hell I was doing over there because I was a JAG officer. (Laughter)

That was quite a deal. It was the first and only time in a long time that I have been on active duty in a big, huge training exercise with the regular Army. There were 20,000 people over there. It was a whole division plus a whole bunch of extras.

Ms. Boswell: Did having all this military experience affect your perspective on the Legislature or on specific legislation?

Mr. Atwood: No. Except, one thing that I learned is to get organized. That's one thing about the military; they've got a standard operating procedure. You always have a second in command, an executive officer, or whatever you want to call him—chief of staff or whatever. Even today, that's carried on in the government—chief of staff or special assistants or whatever.

And keeping logs. It's very valuable training, especially if you are in the command position like my sergeant. I had a legal assistance sergeant; he kept the logs. Everything was logged in and logged out, like the government does. The Legislature doesn't do that, except when I was there; we did keep a log. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: So how would you keep a log of the Legislature? I'm not clear.

Mr. Atwood: Anything that comes in for tasking, bills and whatnot. Our log wasn't that great, but at least we knew where the requests for legislation and all that kind of stuff were.

Ms. Boswell: Now when you say a log, is that like these spreadsheets you had? Is this a log?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, that's to keep track of bills. That's a form of a log.

Ms. Boswell: But you're saying, as minority leader, you would keep a log? Is that how it worked?

Mr. Atwood: I never did keep a good log. I should have, but I didn't. We didn't have the staff to do it. We had three secretaries, two in the office. No, three. Harry Lewis had one, the minority floor leader had one, and I had one, but mine stayed on during the interim, Chloe Skoles. She stayed on. She was my secretary almost one hundred percent of the time when I was in the leadership. If I were doing it again, I would really keep her all the time. Now you have to because it is a matter of keeping track of phone calls: log them in, log them out.

Ms. Boswell: So a log would cover any kind of…?

Mr. Atwood: Any kind of activity, request, or anything. We never did keep one that complete, but you should do it. That's one thing that I learned in the service; otherwise, you would get killed. Look at all that happens on the national level. (Laughter) Everybody keeps a log. My daughter is the special assistant to the deputy secretary of Agriculture. They keep a log, in and out.

Ms. Boswell: Does it go down even to your time, and what you do every minute?

Mr. Atwood: You've got to have a response. It depends on how detailed you want to get. The federal government operates that way the whole time, at least they should. I don't know whether Bill Clinton's people did, but I know these people do.

Ms. Boswell: Now, you kept your own personal log, these yellow spreadsheets. Tell me a little bit about how they were used or, how they worked?

Mr. Atwood: My secretary did it. Well, every-

day you would get those status sheets, and they would bring them up-to-date once or twice a week. You didn't have to do it everyday because the bills don't move that fast. What year is that?

Ms. Boswell: This is a 1969, for example. But so you would write down all the bills and then just go through them?

Mr. Atwood: The secretary would bring them up to date, keeping track of where they were and coloring it in as you went.

Point Roberts, I remember that. I've made *Time Magazine* on that one.

Ms. Boswell: What was that?

Mr. Atwood: Senate Joint Memorial 7.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me more about it?

Mr. Atwood: That Point Roberts one was a national boundary commission between Canada and the United States. It was a big to-do. Somebody wanted to give away Point Roberts to the Canadians. Well, that meant fishing rights went with it, so what we did was to create a commission. We asked the Congress to create a joint commission on Canadian/American relations in regards to Point Roberts that could iron out any of the boundary difficulties.

Ms. Boswell: I think there were some issues earlier on, too, about water out to Point Roberts?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, everything. (Laughter) Point Roberts is hanging out there, cut off from everybody. The only way from the United States to get there is by boat; otherwise, you have to go through Canada. So I'll tell you this, if you are going to commit a murder, the place to go is Point Roberts. Call the Canadian authorities, and they'll haul the body across the border, and that's the end of it. Because once they do that, the state laws lose jurisdiction. That's happened a couple of times.

Ms. Boswell: Well, I suppose there is a special relationship between Point Roberts and Whatcom County. Is Point Roberts officially part of Whatcom County?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. I had to campaign up there, although not too hard, because they're eighty percent Canadian. (Laughter) That's an interesting area.

We had lots of studies, didn't we?

Ms. Boswell: I saw on some of them that you also had it noted whether they were departmental requests or executive requests.

Mr. Atwood: I had to be on lot of those bills because I was a leader. Some of them I didn't do too much on. (Laughter) The governor's bills I did.

Ms. Boswell: On some of them it seems like you have some annotations. Here is another one in 1969.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, this one was really my favorite: the State Lands Record. We had no idea how much land the state owned. The Budget Committee kept running into this problem, so finally it was determined that we should inventory what the state owned and that's what that bill did.

Ms. Boswell: And so, it just hadn't been done for a while?

Mr. Atwood: It never had been done. If it was done, it was never kept up-to-date. You'd be surprised how much land the state owns; it's a fantastic amount.

Here is a reorganization bill on creating the Office of Program Planning. That's one of the executive's big bills.

Ms. Boswell: Right. I think in 1970 it carried over that there was the Department of Social and Health Services. There was an Office of Pollution

Control. I was interested in that as well.

Mr. Atwood: The Department of Ecology.

Ms. Boswell: So that was what became of that agency?

Mr. Atwood: DOE, except the name was changed. I think it was on the floor or mandated or something.

There was the PhD for Western. They passed it and the minute I left, they took it way. (Laughter) That was one of my big bills, just to prove that I could do it. Boy, you would have thought that the end of the world had occurred for WSU and UW. We were encroaching on their private preserve.

Ms. Boswell: Relating to colleges, I notice that in 1969 too, there was a resolution that you sponsored to make capital and operating budgets of community colleges more equitable and more efficient. Do you remember that?

Mr. Atwood: No, I don't, but it was because they all went their separate ways. There wasn't any cohesion, or coherence is a better term. They were all down there lobbying their own little budgets. (Laughter) We had one guy there in Centralia Community College; he lived at the Legislature lobbying his people. I forget his name, but he used to bug me.

Ms. Boswell: I noticed that several of these issues are memorials to the U.S. Congress. How effective or how much hope was there of ever having any positive response to a memorial?

Mr. Atwood: Well, they acted on that Senate Joint Memorial.

Ms. Boswell: On Point Roberts?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, because it had a lot of merit.

Ms. Boswell: There was another one about returning a larger percentage of the income tax for local needs. (Laughter) I mean, some of them felt impossible.

Mr. Atwood: That's a good deal. (Laughter) The problem is that the state passes all this stuff onto the locals, and the federals do the same thing, but they don't give any money to do anything with it. That's a bad deal down at the Legislature. It's easy for them to do, but they don't provide any means of paying all these things.

Ms. Boswell: The other issue that seems to have come up more recently in the Legislature, and I wondered if it did during your tenure, was developing legislation but then passing it on for a public vote. An example was the addition to the gas taxes.

Mr. Atwood: They had to do it or it would have been referendumed. I don't criticize. All these people say, "You should have done your job." Well, guess what? It would have been referendumed anyway, and then you really have a problem. It slows way down. That's the only reason the abortion bill passed; it's because we put it to a vote of the people. The Catholics would never have let that bill go through unless it was a vote of the people. That was to cover themselves.

Ms. Boswell: Now tell me, the abortion bill, did it come out on the ballot in 1970, I guess. Tell me a little bit about the backdrop of the abortion bill?

Mr. Atwood: Well of course, it was Joel Pritchard's big bill, and it was lobbied very hard by—I guess you could call them liberals. I was pro-choice, but my wife was not (Laughter) But that's how divisive that issue was, you know. Up here in Lynden, I don't know how they voted for me because I was always pro-choice.

Ms. Boswell: Why do you say that? Tell me.

Mr. Atwood: Well, because the Rules Committee, as you can see in the newspaper editorials, was predominantly Catholic, and most of the senators from Seattle were pro-abortion, or pro-choice I should say. My feeling on it was that the rich people could go get an abortion. They could go to Sweden or Japan in those days. The poor people were stuck, and I thought they should have the opportunity, or at least the choice. But the issue was so divisive; it still is, but not like it was.

So let's get it out on the table and let the people vote. The compromise was—put a referendum on it and let them vote. As it turns out, it passed; it is still the law. You know, it was three years ahead of *Roe v. Wade*. It's still there. I think they may have amended some of it, but, boy, that was a miserable issue on the ballot.

Ms. Boswell: Because of its divisiveness? Why do you think that Joel Pritchard pushed it so hard?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know why. It was his main bill; I mean, he worked the problem. He had to get by the Rules Committee. (Laughter) There were so many Catholics on that committee.

I told you that my partner at that time, Joe Pemberton, had a stroke in the middle of a trial of mine. It was my case—a wrongful death case. So he had had the stroke sometime before, and I had to reset the date. It happened to come right when the abortion bill was coming up. I had to come up here to Bellingham and try the case. I was in the middle of a trial when the vote came. I think there is an article about "Atwood hiding out" or something, and that just burned me so bad. I said, "I'm trying to make a living. You guys don't pay me enough money to hang around this place." (Laughter)

But, anyway, when I went back, I voted to put it out. I was the one vote, but there was an agreement that if it got on the floor, a referendum would be on the ballot.

Ms. Boswell: When you got down there to make that vote and an agreement was done…?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I had a big fight with the proponents. They were beating me around the ears, with signs. Daddy Day and I had a meeting in Ways and Means. We got nailed by those people, and I said, "You keep that up and I'm changing my vote." (Laughter) That really irked me, that kind of behavior. I don't like that. That isn't the way to lobby anything.

Ms. Boswell: Did that kind of issue break down along party lines or not?

Mr. Atwood: No. Of course it didn't because there were more Catholics in the Democratic Party than there are in the Republican, but there were some concerned Christians up here in Lynden who were all pro-life. They never attacked me on it. And Dick Kink, who was one of my Representatives, lost the election because of the fact he wavered on the issue. He was a Catholic. Donald Hansey was running against him for the second time. Kink said, "I'm a good Catholic, and I'm opposed to the bill." Then apparently some of the polls that were taken showed there was about sixty percent "for" and forty "against." He started to waiver, and that just infuriated his Catholic constituency. He lost the election. I don't think Hansey was pro-choice, but he didn't make a big issue out of it.

But in the 1970 campaign, later that year, that was by far and away the hottest issue that I have ever seen on any ballot, at any time. It was much hotter than the income tax, by far and away, especially up here.

Ms. Boswell: Controversial issues like that—do you think that they're better left out of the legislative process?

Mr. Atwood: No, put them in there. You can tell what's going to go and what isn't. But when you get an issue that hot, there is only one way to fly—let them vote! Get it out of their system. It still hasn't gotten out of their system, but I don't know what would happen if we put that on the ballot

again. I think it would be little closer, maybe. This year that transportation bill would have been referendumed. It's a huge tax—nine cents. I don't fault the Legislature for doing that; that's the only way that it's going to get out of there. I think Governor Locke criticizes them, but if he was in the House, I'll bet he would vote to have it put on the ballot. The governor wants to control it, but you can't do that on some of these issues. It is the same way with the income tax. That has to be voted on. It has to be a constitutional amendment.

Ms. Boswell: Right. The Legislature obviously votes on lots of social issues, but with an issue that has such strong religious ideas associated with it, like abortion, is that appropriate for legislative action or not?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I think it is if you are going to legalize it. Otherwise, it's on the books—it's illegal, murder.

Ms. Boswell: Right. So the fact that there was past legislation dealing with the issue made it important to deal with it?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely. I think it was very important. I hate to see that ongoing. It's still ongoing, but not like it used to be. Then, of course, the Supreme Court acted. I believe, like Robert Bork, that is not an appropriate issue for the Supreme Court to make it legal. That's a legislative role.

Ms. Boswell: So, you see the proper place for it to be dealt with is in the Legislature?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, absolutely. Not by the Supreme Court of the United States! That's my mossback opinion. (Laughter) But Bork had to be right on that issue. His rationale was absolutely one hundred percent mine as far as legislating judges. They do that all the time, though.

Ms. Boswell: When you have a controversial issue like that come up, is there a temptation not to take a stand?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, absolutely. There were a lot of what we called long-ball hitters.

Ms. Boswell: What is a long-ball hitter?

Mr. Atwood: A long-ball hitter is one who heads for the tall timber when the going gets rough. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) And were there any issues for which you were a long-ball hitter?

Mr. Atwood: I don't remember, but there must have been some. (Laughter) Although when you're the leader, you get stuck, like the income tax. I would love to have bugged out on that one. I was one hundred percent against it, but I had to carry it for the governor. I held my nose and voted for it. I could have taken a powder on it, but you just can't do that. If you're the leader, you take the good with the bad, and the bad with the good. (Laughter) Bob Greive tried to nail me with it, too.

Ms. Boswell: Now tell me a little about the background, from your perspective as a leader, of the income tax. You personally weren't too happy with it, but how did the leadership deal with that issue at that time?

Mr. Atwood: Well, the pro-income tax people had enough votes to pass it and put it on the ballot. That was the governor's big bill—tax reform. That's a phony issue. I don't think tax reform is in the form of an income tax. I don't think that it will ever pass—not in this day and age.

I just paid my income tax; I'm broke. And the Republicans had the nerve to call me up for a donation. I said, "For god sakes, I'm trying to pay my taxes. I'm not paying you guys anything." It is just like Oregon, which is stuck with an income tax but no sales tax. It is just the reverse of Washington.

Ms. Boswell: I noticed that also during the 1970 session there was a vote on deleting the prohibitions for lotteries, for state lotteries.

Mr. Atwood: Was that the Senate Joint Memorial?

Ms. Boswell: Yes, I believe so.

Mr. Atwood: Do you know who is the sponsor of that bill? If it's the same one, does it show there?

Ms. Boswell: It is Senate Joint Resolution 6 with Walgren, Bailey, Atwood, Keith, and Twigg. So tell me a little bit about it.

Mr. Atwood: Okay, the reason for that was that I was on the Bellingham City Council for a number of years. We licensed gambling, card rooms. (Laughter) We licensed them here, and no one ever said anything about it. It apparently was illegal—the whole thing. (Laughter) I said it would be a little hypocritical for me to say that we shouldn't license card rooms when we had been doing it long before I came to Bellingham. I don't think there is any good reason for not licensing card rooms. They had interpreted the lottery to prohibit any type of gambling like that. That's why it went up to the vote of the people, and it passed. The next thing that we had was the state lottery.

Now it's big time. I heard on the radio that the "Super Powerball" thing is coming. Boy, can you imagine. I like them. I'm not a hypocrite about that. I don't buy a lot of tickets, but I buy one ticket for the big ones. When they're having the Powerball back East, I have my son-in-law and daughter buy me a ticket, just in case lightning strikes. Then I can retire.

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) What were the anti-arguments for the lottery?

Mr. Atwood: Everybody is against it. Gambling is a bad thing, but you are not going to stop it. There is so much under the table. Look at all the office pools and everything, they were all illegal. Human nature being what it is, you're not going to succeed. Trying to outlaw gambling is worse than trying to outlaw booze. It can't be done. I mean, you can do it—write it on the paper—but how are you going to enforce it? It is just not practical really.

You might as well make some dough out of it for the schools or whatever. I heard that Governor Locke predicted that just this year alone on the Powerball lottery or whatever they call it, Super Lotto, they're going to clear about $24 million. That's not going into operation until October 1st. Just imagine what that's going to do!

Ms. Boswell: So states are more and more going to the lottery as a means to supplement their budgets?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, it's an easy way to raise money. It's a bad way to raise money. Talk about not being very progressive; well, so much for progress. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: In difficult budget times, I guess, we can make the rationalization that it's all right.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, these poor people. I was at the Exxon station where we have a Lotto station. There was a guy in there who spent ten bucks for ten tickets. Oh, good luck.

Ms. Boswell: That's low compared to some, I think.

Mr. Atwood: Some pay $50 or $100. My son-in-law does that once in awhile. Crazy.

Ms. Boswell: I would think that with your odds, you would be better off with any other type of gambling. (Laughter)

Mr. Atwood: Some people won't even buy one ticket. But the lightning is going to strike me. That's my retirement.

Ms. Boswell: One other issue that was on the ballot in 1970, and that I think was fairly controversial as well, was lowering the voting age. There was a constitutional amendment to lower the voting age.

Mr. Atwood: To eighteen? I thought we passed that by a bill?

Ms. Boswell: It was a constitutional amendment, and there was a bill to lower it to eighteen. You voted "no" on that, and—I believe, you voted "no" on that—and then I think it was on a ballot at nineteen.

Mr. Atwood: I don't remember that being on the ballot. I thought we just did that flat- out. I didn't think that it needed to be, or did it?

Ms. Boswell: I think it was a constitutional amendment; it had to be. It had to be on the ballot.

Mr. Atwood: Well. I voted "no" on that? I was in the Army at seventeen. I would never vote "no" on that.

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) Well, that's what it says.

Mr. Atwood: Is that what it says? They've got my voting record wrong.

Ms. Boswell: So you don't really see it as being too young?

Mr. Atwood: Not in this day and age. There were hundreds of seventeen-year-olds in World War II, in the United States Army, Navy, and Air Force.

Ms. Boswell: I have one more question for you, really quickly. Did the fact that Washington had the initiative and referendum system affect voting? You were mentioning that it wasn't always a bad idea to send a bill to the public for a vote because it would be referendumed anyway. Did it really overshadow some of the actions of the Legislature by always having that idea that a referendum could be brought?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it does. It does put a brake on some of the stuff that they do. Most of the states in the West, west of the Mississippi, have that provision for initiative and referendum.

I don't like the initiative process as much as I do the referendum. Some of those initiatives are really dorky. (Laughter) Like that one of Tim Eyman's. That initiative was so clearly unconstitutional with two subject matters and one of them very broad—every tax increase had to be voted on and all that. That's bull; that's nonsense. But anyway, Tim Eyman, (Laughter) He met his Waterloo, I guess. I liked his one on the thirty dollar car tab; I loved that one.

When the Legislature overreaches itself, perception-wise, that's when you get killed. Like when we voted that increase in pay, they said that we did it in the middle of the night. We didn't do it in the middle of the night. It was right out there in front of God and everybody, and we got killed because of it. That's one of the reasons why I left. I wasn't going to go to the poorhouse or file bankruptcy. That was enough for me. Now they're getting big pay, according to what we got.

Ms. Boswell: But, so in terms of initiative and referendum, at least the referendum had its place?

Mr. Atwood: I think it's got a very good place. I really do. It is kind of a brake on the Legislature, to quell the extremists.

Ms. Boswell: But the initiative, because of the complexity of developing legislation, was more problematic?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, I think it's a lot more problematic because it's just not that efficient. It is all subject to interpretation and lawsuits up the kazoo. I'm not as enthralled with initiatives as I am with referendums.

Chapter 8

The Toughest Race and A Paper Storm

Ms. Boswell: You have told me in the past that the 1970 campaign was your most difficult. Tell me a little bit about your opponent Paul Roley. How did he become involved in the race?

Mr. Atwood: Well, he was a professor at Western, and the political science department up at Western was running his campaign for credit. They really knew how to bite the hand that fed them.

Ms. Boswell: Is that legitimate? Isn't that partisan? It seems like that's not right.

Mr. Atwood: I agree with you, but it was done, nevertheless. And Sam Kelly was my campaign chairman. He was a dean of the graduate school. He ran these ads that said: "This is the real world in Olympia, and not a faculty meeting, Professor." Roley didn't use the word "professor" so we capitalized on that. But anyway, it was the most difficult race I was ever in, even worse than the first.

Ms. Boswell: What were some of the issues? What did Roley campaign on?

Mr. Atwood: Well, one of the issues was the income tax. We were also running abortion on the ballot. The 1970 ballot was something else; it had all these issues. The abortion issue was the hottest, but I think I handled that brilliantly, of course! (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) What was your approach?

Mr. Atwood: Well, the first question asked at every meeting was, "How do you stand on the abortion issue?" It was well-publicized. I said, "I'll tell you what I think, and I'll tell you why you're voting on it, and not just me." I said, "This issue is so divisive. In our household, for example, I'm pro-choice and my wife is pro-life. That's why you are voting on it because we cannot agree, and the Legislature could not agree enough to substantiate a majority. The reason it passed is that there was a majority who wanted the people to vote on this issue, it was so divisive." They accepted that explanation.

Dick Kink, who was running at the same time, was a good Catholic. He could see that the people were pro-choice. The polls were showing that, and he started to waiver. He started backing away, and the Catholics all got mad, and he lost the election. He had been running for fifteen years or more. You can't namby-pamby around it. People don't like it—I found that out very early in the game, long before this election. As long as you tell them where you stand, they're not going to hold it against you, even though they will disagree with you. If they are one-issue people, like those who hated abortion, they were not going to vote for you anyway. But it was something else.

Ms. Boswell: I have seen some of your ads in the newspaper.

Mr. Atwood: I didn't have any of his, did I?

Ms. Boswell: No, but some of your ads were in response to his, and it sounded like there were some accusations about secret retainers.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, secret retainers. That was Bob Greive's idea. Sam Kelly was brilliant. Look at these ads; they are sweet. Greive's brochure had this reference to secret retainers—secret this, secret that.

Ms. Boswell: Now tell me a little bit about how Bob Greive got involved?

Mr. Atwood: He was running Roley's campaign. He wanted to beat me. He went all out. He had these Roley signs up before other Democrats got started. Somebody told me later that Greive had used all the signs in the sign shop that he set up for Roley. Roley had about three or four thousand, or maybe a couple of thousand signs put up before the primary. In fact, Roley bet a newsman that he would beat me in the primary—he didn't. But anyway, it was a hot race. That's what these ads are about. I love them. "Do your homework, professor. Accuracy is important." (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Here is another one. It says, "Let's be Frank. Senator Atwood's special interest group is you…the people of Whatcom County," It sounded like they were accusing you of representing special interests.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. One of the brochures that Greive put out showed me leading a bunch of lambs to the slaughter. (Laughter) Harry Pagels did these ads.

Ms. Boswell: Now, who was that?

Mr. Atwood: He was my public relations man. He was a news guy; he was really good.

Ms. Boswell: Here is another one. (Reading from newspaper articles) It says, "How's that again, Professor? Floor question: 'Do you know that Frank Atwood has received any secret retainers?' Roley: 'No, I do not. I'm sure he hasn't.' Questioner: 'Do you know of ANYONE who has?' Roley: 'No, I don't.'" Then it says, "Professor, why admit one thing in an open public forum—and insinuate another elsewhere?"

Mr. Atwood: That was the answer to that brochure that Greive produced. You should have seen that brochure. It was a big fat lawyer jumping on a law book and the blood oozing down. (Laughter) I wish you could get a copy from Greive.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, I would like to see it.

Mr. Atwood: Yes. (Laughter). That was marvelous. I beat Roley in the primary; that's where it counted. He bet the newsmen that he was going to beat me in the primary. He campaigned hard before the primary—a lot harder than I did.

Ms. Boswell: One of his supporters was Pat Finn from a group called the Whatcom County Committee on Political Education.

Mr. Atwood: He was a Meatcutters' Union man. (Laughter) COPE. That was from one of the unions. The answer to all of these questions was, "Who was in control?" We sure weren't; we only had twenty-two members. The Democrats had absolute, total control.

And in the 1971 session, Augie Mardesich operated on majority rule; he didn't have any rules until the end of the session. Every time we raised a point of order, he said, "What order are you talking about? What rule?" Then we would tackle him, and Bob Bailey would get up and say, "We are operating on the majority rule." (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: But you also had had Dan Evans endorsing you as well?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. They were after me; they were really after me. I don't know why. I didn't provoke them that badly.

Ms. Boswell: So, do you have a sense of why they decided to target you?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. They just wanted to unhorse me.

Ms. Boswell: But you had been the minority floor leader. I would think that you were not a very good target. You were well entrenched.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, as well entrenched as you could be under the circumstances. You know, it only takes one or two issues to go wrong. They were coming up with secret retainers and all that nonsense. That was bull. In fact, my favorite remark was, "I'm embarrassed to even talk about it because I don't even have any "unsecret" retainers." (Laughter) I didn't. I didn't have any retainers. It was embarrassing to hear Martin Durkan, who was a big Democrat. He had more retainers than every lawyer in the place.

Ms. Boswell: Did Roley endorse all of these attacks and innuendoes?

Mr. Atwood: He put them out. He let Greive do all of these ads and the brochures. They were all for Roley.

Ms. Boswell: Were there real issues that Roley differed from you?

Mr. Atwood: If there were, I don't recall. For a non-incumbent, it was very difficult to attack someone who had been there for quite awhile, especially in the leadership. It was very, very difficult. I wouldn't attempt to do that now, not having been there for so long. It would be very difficult.

Ms. Boswell: Was Roley pretty well informed about the issues?

Mr. Atwood: Not really. You know the funny thing abut him—believe this or not—but about ten years ago, he made a 180-degree turn to the right. He is now a mossback, a reactionary Republican. (Laughter) I'm not kidding you. I was at a meeting, and I didn't recognize him. It was a meeting for a candidate running for Congress who I was backing—Jerry Saling—and Roley was there. I said, "I remember you. You were throwing mud all over me." He didn't say anything. I said, "I see now that you've changed horses. You are now Mr. Right-wing, all the way." (Laughter) He is, too. He didn't say anything.

That's incredible, absolutely incredible.

Ms. Boswell: Were there any other sensitive issues?

Mr. Atwood: No. The issues were all on the ballot. There were big issues on the ballot. I don't recall all of them, but the two big ones were the income tax, of course, and abortion.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me again what your position was on income tax?

Mr. Atwood: Greive put out a brochure attacking me for voting for the income tax. I told them my answer to that was, as a minority leader, I had to vote to put it on the ballot. That was the governor's request. Personally, I hate the income tax. I'll always hate it. I don't care how progressive they are or liberal or whatever. I hate income tax. I never have enough money to pay it. I'm always in debt. I'll never vote for income tax, but when you're in a leadership position, you have no choice.

Ms. Boswell: How did voters react?

Mr. Atwood: They didn't. Well, they voted it down. I honestly hate income tax, and when we were putting that bill together, Bill Gissberg and I were there with the attorney general. I had a lawyer, a tax lawyer, with me all the time. I had him in the caucus—Bob Burks. He was a CPA (Certified Public Accountant) and a lawyer. He and I lived together, and he was my lawyer on the income tax.

But, oh my, I got into a big fight with the attorney general and the tax people. Gissberg said, "Calm down. Calm down." (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Did that all stem from your essential dislike of the notion of the income tax?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. Once you have one, you are done. We're done for! (Laughter) We're going to

get it one way or another. It's going to come up again; I bet we will see it again. You just watch the *Seattle P-I* and the *Times*. I hate it. I'd much rather vote for a sales tax. To me, that's the easy way to pay for things. I don't mind paying the sales tax because it is paid when you buy your goods.

Ms. Boswell: But the argument is that a sales tax puts more of a burden on the poor for goods that they have to buy.

Mr. Atwood: The rich people buy more expensive things than the poor people. The poor people, of course, would be particularly hurt if it was taken out for food. I'm not going to argue income. I just hold my nose and vote no. It is coming. The same arguments are being made today, you know. For the schools—K-12—there isn't enough money being raised to pay for the things that they really need or want. There just isn't enough.

Ms. Boswell: After this tough campaign, you were elected. Was that your closest race?

Mr. Atwood: No. The first one was because it was a much smaller district—just the City of Bellingham. The City of Bellingham, when I was first elected, was Democratic all the way. That was a tough race, but the incumbent didn't campaign. I think I told you before that he never appeared on the same platform with me during the whole campaign. They brought Governor Rosellini up here two or three times because no one knew who I was. I was the president of the city council, but that didn't mean anything to the pollsters who were running the show.

Ms. Boswell: In 1970 when you ran, did you use different tactics because you knew it was going to be a difficult race? Did you use different campaign techniques yourself?

Mr. Atwood: No. Those ads were a lot bigger than I would normally run. It looked pretty desperate for a while because we didn't have the polls like we do now. I had all of Whatcom County. No, I didn't. The Forty-second was up to Lynden and included everything to the west. I had most of the City of Bellingham.

Ms. Boswell: So, do you think, ultimately, that incumbency made the difference?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely, as long as you have a good record and nothing to be ashamed of. I didn't get drunk and put the lights out in Tumwater, like my House member did—Dan Van Dyk. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) What did he do?

Mr. Atwood: He got drunk and hit a power pole in Tumwater and put the lights out. (Laughter) Poor guy, I felt sorry for him. His wife divorced him. She was a lot smarter than he was, and he ended up in jail for non-support.

That's a bad place down there; it really is.

Ms. Boswell: Do you mean Olympia?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, in the Legislature. The problems are booze, women, and finances, in that order.

Ms. Boswell: You did win and then you later called the 1971 session "the year of the paper flood?"

Mr. Atwood: Yes, we had long sessions, and we couldn't get all the heavy bills out, so it was held over until the special session. That one session was only thirty days, but everything went out—all the heavy stuff, that is.

Ms. Boswell: I saw in your recap of the 1971 session that there were more than 2200 bills and measures submitted during that particular session. And there was a long special session, too. One of the differences in the 1971 session is that you became minority caucus chair?

Mr. Atwood: Yes.

Ms. Boswell: I want to talk a little about that. First of all, did you expect, when you ran, that you were going to become the caucus chair? Was that a promise that had been made to you?

Mr. Atwood: No. No, but John Ryder was retiring so I was going to be the choice. It would be either Jimmy Andersen or me, but then he retired, too. I think I was the only one. No one ran against me. In my home I have the signs from my door: "Chairman" is on top, "Floor Leader" is next, and then the "Vice-Chairman or Secretary" is on the bottom.

Ms. Boswell: We have talked about this issue before, but the positions are reversed in the Democratic Party. For the Republicans, the caucus chair is the top position?

Mr. Atwood: I was the last caucus chairman that was the head. Jim Matson was my successor. He didn't like the ambiguity. The first thing that he did was to declare that he was going to change the title when he became the minority leader.

Ms. Boswell: Why didn't you do something like that?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I didn't care. I was the head anyway. When I was the floor leader and Ryder was the caucus chairman, I did all the work anyway. He didn't do hardly any floor work except on his issues.

Ms. Boswell: But was Ryder a mentor in that kind of leadership or not?

Mr. Atwood: No, I think Marshall Neill was. I would classify him as a mentor.

Ms. Boswell: In what ways?

Mr. Atwood: He and I were friends. Ryder was kind of a cold person. He was from Seattle and a big wheel. He had been vice-president of the Washington Mutual Savings Bank, and he had been in the House a long time. So had Marshall. Marshall Neill was a super guy. He was an able legislator, an able lawyer, and he was a caucus chairman before Ryder. He and Perry Woodall were a pair. Perry, unfortunately, in later years when I saw him, was going downhill.

Ms. Boswell: So, would Marshall Neill really look out for you, or did he give you advice about what to do?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, he did. He saved me. He put the district together. During redistricting, he influenced the number being hung on it and protected me. Then he bowed out and became a state Supreme Court judge.

Ms. Boswell: But now, when you became the minority caucus chair, essentially what were your duties as the Republican Party caucus leader?

Mr. Atwood: My duties were to hold a caucus meeting before every session, to listen to the will of the body, and to try to give some direction to our platform. I had some political people who were pretty good. Jimmy Andersen was the floor leader. Jimmy was still practicing law when he was there. (Laughter) He worked hard on his practice. He was a good floor leader. He had been in the House, and was chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. Harry Lewis was the secretary, and Jim Matson was my political successor. He was a party politician and I wasn't. I don't classify myself as a very astute politician because I wasn't in Seattle, where the power was. We had a lot of King County senators then.

Ms. Boswell: But you were the minority caucus chair. Was it more difficult to hold a minority together or not?

Mr. Atwood: No. We either stuck together or

just were totally ineffective. We were pretty effective; we got a lot of things done. We had lots of cooperation with the Democrats. There aren't that many issues that are really highly partisan, in my opinion—particularly the budget. Probably twenty percent of the work may be partisan, but the rest of it is just common sense and practicality.

Ms. Boswell: So, was it fairly easy to maintain a good working relationship with the Democrats?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, especially Augie Mardesich and Bill Gissberg. Those guys were my cup of tea. (Laughter). They were easy to work with and so was Bob Bailey. They were hard-core. Bob Greive was a politician, totally. He lived and breathed just for power. He was a poor legislator, or at least not my idea of what a legislator should be. He didn't know what was in any of the bills. Augie did. He read all those bills, and so did I. So did Bailey and Gissberg and Walgren. There were a lot of people there, and the old-timers didn't pay much attention. They were there for the ride. There were quite a few of them who had been there quite awhile.

Ms. Boswell: So, you found it easier to work with a group of Democrats—I don't know how to characterize them other that they were younger and, possibly, most of them lawyers?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. Well, in those days when I first went there, there were twenty-two lawyers in the Senate. When I finished, there were very few, and there are hardly any now. Augie and I came to the Senate at the same time. He'd been twelve years in the House and had been a majority leader in the House, but he was lazy, too. (Laughter) It got him burned out. (Laughter) He never did directly what he could do indirectly. I enjoyed it. He is a very clever guy. I think he was the smartest guy in the place; if not, then he was right up there at the top.

Ms. Boswell: What about working within your party? Were the other people in leadership positions good to work with?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. Jimmy Andersen, in particular, was very good. We were pretty close. I had been his campaign chairman up here in 1956 when he ran for attorney general. I don't think many people remember that. And when I was on active duty during our campaign—I think it was in the 1966 campaign—he came up here and campaigned for me. Jim Matson and I were very close, but he came later. He came in the 1968 session, I believe.

Ms. Boswell: As caucus chair, did you oversee the floor leader? Having been a floor leader, did you oversee what the floor leader did, or how did that work?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. The floor leader supposedly has to carry the burden of our actions on the floor, and I helped him out. I did a lot of floor work, too. I was not as bashful in those days as I am now. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: (Laugher) Were there some individuals who were divisive in the caucus?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, we had some guys who would drive you absolutely out of your mind. One of them was Larry Faulk; he was a nice guy. He ended up being a one-termer, and guess who beat him? Booth Gardner.

When Booth decided to run against Larry, we could see that it was going to be a tough race. Of course, Booth had all the money in the world. Larry just drove our caucus crazy. There were a couple of other guys like that, too. Jack Metcalf—there was someone. The Congressman. He was something else.

Ms. Boswell: Were there certain techniques that you would use to keep the caucus together?

Mr. Atwood: One thing that I always tried to do

is to communicate. The bulk of the caucus is over in another building, and the leadership offices were in the main Legislative Building. The caucus chairman, the floor leader, and the secretary were right off the floor, so the whip was over in the other building. His job was to keep us posted on what the membership wanted or was vitally interested in, and what the major issues were for them. Everyone has their own issues, and communication is everything in the Legislature. If you don't communicate with your people, you are going to get killed. That is what happened to Matson and Newschwander.

Ms. Boswell: But now, who did you have for the whip when you were the caucus leader?

Mr. Atwood: Oh boy, I don't even remember. (Laughter) Harry Lewis and Jim Matson. Matson was the vice-chairman, and I had him over there—he and Newschwander. The members were all different sizes and shapes. We had some older people who were very difficult.

Ms. Boswell: Is it fair to say that the Democrats started the practice of having daily caucuses or was that pretty much in place?

Mr. Atwood: That practice was going on long before I ever got there. We would caucus before every session. The leaders would go through the calendar of the day, and we had our caucuses afterwards to discuss some issues that were pending. It was up to the leaders, but if there were plenty of the members who wanted a caucus, we'd call one. The Democrats were very liberal about allowing us to recess and go into a caucus when there was a particularly burning issue of some type.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me how caucus sessions themselves were run.

Mr. Atwood: Well, the chairman ran them, and people talked about the issues that they were sponsoring or had a particular interest in. For some measures, they would explain to the caucus what they were all about.

Ms. Boswell: So, did you control the discussion by setting an agenda for each caucus?

Mr. Atwood: No, the agenda was set by the calendar of the day. Of course, we had a lot to do with the calendar, too. (Laughter). Bob Bailey and I use to put down a consent calendar. We always asked our members if they didn't want things on the calendar, and anybody could ding them off. We used to spend a lot of time trying to get as much good stuff that wasn't controversial passed, so we didn't waste a lot of time. But there was quite a bit that had some controversy to it—well, not all that much. We kept the members informed about what the Democrats' strategy was going to be. It was a question of communicating to the membership exactly what they might expect.

Almost everyone came to the caucus. When I first got there, two or three people left the caucus over the redistricting issues because Bob Greive had promised to build them a special district. He bought them off—some of the older members especially. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: So they actually stopped coming to the caucus?

Ms. Boswell: Yes, they didn't want to talk about redistricting. Of course, I was not in the leadership then. I was in the back row. I could care less, since there was nothing I could do about it.

Ms. Boswell: Did being a caucus chair require certain skills? What might they be—to be a good caucus chair?

Mr. Atwood: A good caucus chairman has to be knowledgeable about what is going on. That's everything. You can't be playing around. You have got to pay attention to what is coming up, what's on the agenda. Of course, Evans was governor, and he had his own agenda. You had to pay at-

tention to exactly what was going on or you would never get anything done. We used to meet very regularly. Every Monday morning we'd have a meeting at the mansion. You'd have breakfast, and he'd have his three-page agenda, which got bigger as the session went on. (Laughter)

Mr. Atwood: If you didn't agree with certain items that Evans was proposing, could you speak out instead of agreeing?

Mr. Atwood: Sure, yes. I did it all the time. Don Eldridge would say, "Come on Atwood, you can't argue with him. He's the governor." I said, "Okay." (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: But so it was harder to have control over what he did?

Mr. Atwood: You had no control. He was his own guy; he was the strongest governor I have ever seen. He was much stronger than Booth Gardner, or John Spellman, or Dixy Lee Ray. He was very strong-willed, tremendously so. I didn't realize how strong-willed he was until after I saw the performance of the other people who followed him. Gary Locke is not nearly as strong as Evans is or was. But you know, he was a tough governor. And he got most of what he wanted eventually. He was very persistent. I didn't agree with him very much on a lot of his proposals, but that was neither here nor there. He had the votes, and that was all that mattered.

Ms. Boswell: And so, as the caucus chair, would he talk to you if he wanted to propose different legislation?

Mr. Atwood: We'd talk about it. He didn't ignore us.

Ms. Boswell: You would talk about it?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, you didn't ignore the governor's request. He had his own people whom he was very close to, like Joel Pritchard and Jonathan Whetzel, and there were a bunch of King County people who had been in the House—Jimmy Andersen. They were all close to the governor; they were closer than I was.

Ms. Boswell: But unless you had a major difference, you were essentially compelled to present his bills?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. I carried a lot of water to the elephants. He was a hard taskmaster.

Ms. Boswell: But you mentioned earlier that you were opposed to taxation, but you felt that you had to introduce the bill for him?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I had no choice. If I was going to bail on him, I would just have to resign the position. I wasn't going to do something like that. That issue was going to be voted on by the people anyway.

Ms. Boswell: In one of your newsletters, you described the difference between the floor leader and the caucus chair. I think what had happened is that, in the paper, an opponent had criticized you for no longer being minority floor leader, and you responded by saying, "Well, I'm no longer floor leader because now I am the caucus chair, which is essentially more important."

Mr. Atwood: It's higher up—a higher echelon.

Ms. Boswell: You described the differences between the two positions in this way. You said that the caucus chair is a coach rather than a quarterback, and that his duties are essentially strategy and plans versus tactics and action.

Mr. Atwood: Yes.

Ms. Boswell: Would you continue to see that as a good analogy?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, but now the minority floor leader is a minority leader who takes the floor out of it as long as it has a floor. The thing is, a lot of these people, like Jimmy Andersen, weren't there a lot of the time. He was in the practice of law, and I had to do some of the floor work, but Harry Lewis helped, too. But that's what the newspaper didn't understand—that the caucus chair in our party is the head person. That's primarily why Jim Matson changed the title.

Ms. Boswell: I understand how this could be confusing.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, because they all got confused.

Ms. Boswell: Now in the 1971 session, it seems like the budget was obviously an extremely important issue. It was a time of economic downturn, and I wondered if you might talk a little about the Boeing bust and all of the economic problems that the state was experiencing. It seems a little bit reminiscent of the current situation.

Mr. Atwood: What we have now?

Ms. Boswell: Currently in 2002. With issues of the economy and continuing economic downturn, it sounds like the 1971 era was similar in many ways?

Mr. Atwood: It was.

Ms. Boswell: Except Seattle, or at least King County, was more of a one-industry place, with Boeing being the primary industry.

Mr. Atwood: Now, they have Microsoft and a few others, but they also have the anti-tax movement—property tax relief through the one percent limitation.

Ms. Boswell: But when you have a situation where you essentially need an austerity budget, is it usually the governor who takes the lead?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, but not Dan Evans. (Laughter) He didn't care for any of these measures. I think he was more or less like the congressional Democrats; they don't want any tax limitations or rollbacks.

Ms. Boswell: But in a state like Washington that doesn't have an income tax, then you have to raise revenue. If there is a shortfall, you have got to raise revenue somewhere. At least in 1971, they proposed what you might call luxury taxes—taxes on cigarettes, on liquor, and similar things.

Mr. Atwood: Sin taxes.

Ms. Boswell: Right. These were new, but yet typical ways of trying to raise revenue in other places. I know one of the issues was the lottery—changing the Constitution to allow a lottery. Was that the result of the economic downturn?

Mr. Atwood: No. No, although it was sold to some people as a cure-all for the schools, but the lottery was a constitutional issue. The no-lottery provision included no gambling, which was the interpretation of the Supreme Court. But, hell, everyone was gambling here. I was on the Bellingham City Council licensing card rooms downtown, but it was totally illegal under the Constitution, according to the attorney general. So I said, "For god sakes, we at least have to license the card rooms." (Laughter) In order to do that, you had to repeal that lottery provision, and that's what happened. And from there, we got a lottery, which was a source of revenue. There were a lot of issues about money.

Ms. Boswell: Well, another proposal, for example, was to increase college tuition.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, that's always an issue. They really bumped it that time.

Ms. Boswell: You were talking a little bit ago about the property tax relief, a relief that was put

in at that time.

Mr. Atwood: It's still here.

Ms. Boswell: Right.

Mr. Atwood: Not effective, but it's still here.

Ms. Boswell: But again, was all that a direct reaction to economic problems?

Mr. Atwood: No, it was public pressure, and we still have it today—public pressure on the property tax. Right around here, it is very tough. Property taxes go up every year, or every three years, and they are quite substantial now. They still haven't been able to put a lid on it. They really haven't, no matter how hard they try. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: So I was wondering if that was really an issue whose time had come and not particularly tied to the economic downturn of that period?

Mr. Atwood: No, it was just pressure from the outside because the K-12 money and other budget items primarily depend on property taxes. The pressure is enormous, especially locally.

Ms. Boswell: Now the pressure must be greater since there isn't an income tax, and so there isn't any other way to raise money.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I don't think so. I think Oregon, which has the income tax, finds the pressure for the sales tax is just as great.

Ms. Boswell: It's just as great?

Mr. Atwood: That's kind of ironic. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: There were also some emergency unemployment compensation bills, too, including allowing state employees, for example, to get unemployment compensation. So state employees weren't entitled to unemployment benefits prior to this time?

Mr. Atwood: I can't answer that.

Ms. Boswell: What were the implications for that?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know. I was no expert on unemployment compensation, but that's always been a major bugaboo. People like Sid Morrison were pretty expert on that.

Ms. Boswell: Well, I noticed that Vice-President Spiro Agnew came to Olympia and talked to the Legislature at that time. Can you tell me a little about that visit?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I remember that. You know, the only thing that I remember about that visit was that he wanted somebody to get him a bottle of Chivas Regal. That's the only thing I remember—that's how memorable that visit was.

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) So he needed a drink?

Mr. Atwood: I guess he did. I don't know, but his speechwriter was something else. I think it was William Safire. He said, "Nattering nabobs of negativism." That's one of the great lines.

Ms. Boswell: "An elite corps of impudent snobs" is what I remember.

Mr. Atwood: He was a crook—an Eastern crook. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: I read that there was a bomb scare right before he came?

Mr. Atwood: I don't remember that at all. There could have been. You go through those. I don't remember much. That visit was not very memorable.

Ms. Boswell: One of the things that he was supposedly there for was to support the revenue-sharing program of the Nixon Administration. At that time you wrote, "I'm convinced revenue sharing is an idea whose time has come."

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I agree.

Ms. Boswell: Did you find it to be the case once it was implemented?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, but then they cut if off. All the money goes to Washington D.C., and you get about ten percent of it back when you should be getting seventy or eighty percent back.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, but after the fact, Nixon's revenue sharing plan received some criticism that it was just the federal government adopting an essentially hands-off policy. They didn't want to be involved and but to allow a lot of social programs to decline, if not to fade away. So they were going to give money to the local areas and then have them not get a lot done. Is that a fair criticism?

Mr. Atwood: It probably is, to some degree. The legislators, whether they were Democratic or Republican, hated to see the money go out of Washington so they had no control over it, whereas federal revenue sharing was up to the states to monitor. As usual, there was a lot of waste, blowing the dough like manna from heaven.

Ms. Boswell: At that time you had a Republican national administration, you had a Republican governor in Washington, but you had a Democratic—a heavily Democratic—Senate. Were people generally responsive—even Democrats—to the revenue-sharing idea?

Mr. Atwood: Looking back on it, I think they were—more or less. They depended on it; it helped to balance the budget. It was an integral part of their finances. The states counted on it, but it didn't always materialize.

Ms. Boswell: So essentially it did fill in? Washington certainly was having its economic problems, and so were many other states, so revenue sharing was regarded as a way of trying…

Mr. Atwood: Trying to alleviate some of the hardships. They could sure use it now. Of course, September 11th caused all of this. There are a lot of problems for state budgets.

Ms. Boswell: I'm curious about the Senate Appropriations Committee, which, in 1971, was headed by Fred Dore, a Democrat.

Mr. Atwood: Martin Durkan was the chairman of Ways and Means. Dore was one of his flunkies, or he was over Dore. Dore was a very intractable person to work with, but Durkan actually kept his finger on him.

Ms. Boswell: Explain how the budget process works. This was certainly a period of budget infighting, so how did the process work?

Mr. Atwood: The House passed their version; the Senate passed their version. Neither party would back off from their version. Republicans were controlling the House—of course, that was Evans. The Democrats controlled the Senate, so the senators on this Conference Committee were two Democrats and one Republican: me. In the House, there were two Republicans and one Democrat. We met, and we re-wrote the whole budget.

If you have ever seen a cloud of locusts, that was how the lobbyists were out in the hall. That damn Fred Dore would go out and spill the beans, even though it was supposed to be confidential. It was like a leaky sieve; they knew everything that we were doing because Dore would run out there and tell them. We would get calls—it was ridiculous.

Ms. Boswell: What were some of the big, stumbling-block issues that you had to deal with?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, the amount of money available.

Ms. Boswell: In one of your newsletters you mentioned, in particular, the pension system—the Public Employees Pension. Why was that such a big issue at that time?

Mr. Atwood: Well, because there was a lot of unfunded liability, that's why. It turned out that they are now better funded. They called it "unfunded liability," but that was a misnomer because it all didn't come out at one time, and we passed some pension measures. I sat on a Pension Reform Commission for a little bit after the Legislature was over.

Oh, the Democrats also tried to hold up the budget for redistricting. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: But one of the other things that came up was that you had the Free Conference Committee, but prior to that, the Legislative Budget Committee had made their recommendations. I know that there were a least one or two laws at that time that essentially authorized the Legislative Budget Committee to make across-the-board cuts.

Mr. Atwood: That didn't fly. I thought that was a hell of a good idea, but the governor didn't like that plan. He didn't want anybody fooling around with his budget. 1973 was the last Free Conference Committee ever held on the budget.

Ms. Boswell: Why was that?

Mr. Atwood: Legislators did not like giving up their prerogatives to six people.

Ms. Boswell: I thought that the bill, 559, that authorized the Budget Committee to make those cuts did pass.

Mr. Atwood: Maybe it did; I don't really recall that bill. I'd be all for that. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) Well, that's what I wanted to ask you because you were a long-time Legislative Budget Committee member.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, I was very jealous of the prerogatives of the Budget Committee and the Legislature because they were at the mercy of the governor or the executive most of the time.

Ms. Boswell: So who chose? When the Free Conference Committee existed, who made the choices of who were the members? Were you on it automatically because you were in the leadership? Is that how it worked or not?

Mr. Atwood: No. Normally the leader didn't sit on that committee, but I did because I was the number-one budget man. I was the vice-chairman of the Budget Committee. Bob Goldsworthy and Jerry Saling were, I think, on that one. I'm not sure because there were two Free Conference Committees that I served on, but since I was the ranking member on Budget, that's why I was on that committee.

Ms. Boswell: So, what happened when the Free Conference Committee got together?

Mr. Atwood: We didn't have free-conference power then. It was a Conference Committee first, and we agreed to go back to each body and ask for the powers of free conference. And each house had to grant that power, or else we had to start all over again. Then, once you got the free conference power, you could act. The first time we did that, I was involved. It took all six members to agree in order to get a vote on the budget, and Dore hung us up for a whole week, it seems like, on his little issues, whatever they were. I'll never forget that. We couldn't get an agreement, and we finally had to back down. We finally caved in and gave him the money that he was holding out for. We finally gave in because we had to get out of there.

Ms. Boswell: What were those Conference Committees like? How long did they last?

Mr. Atwood: They were tough. Going through all those things; we had a stack of paper in there. The governor had an observer in there, too. It wasn't a secret. Well, it was a secret to a degree, but the governor had his budget director in there, Walt Howe. Also, there were the Ways and Means people; Dore's staff; Mike Lowry, who was at that time Durkan's staffer, and Craig Voegele, who was Goldsworthy's staffer for the House Appropriations Committee.

We went through the budget, item by item. They would give us some input because the mandate was that you had to have a balanced budget. Either raise the taxes or we take these items back to the caucus so that the caucus could have their input on these certain items. It was a daily deal. The budget was the only thing that had to go; everything else could go by the board in order for us to get home.

Ms. Boswell: Right. So you ultimately *had* to come to an agreement? So, does that mean that the pressure was significant for you to come to a compromise?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, absolutely. You might as well be in Timbuktu if you were going to be intransigent like Dore was on a couple of issues. We finally gave into him after all, but I guaranteed that the next time, there wasn't going to be another problem. There were going to be five approvals, and that's it. Dore could go and hang himself. (Laughter) I remember in the *Olympian*, the daily news headline was: "Atwood Darns Hole in Dore's Budget." (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Was he your major adversary? I guess that is the right word.

Mr. Atwood: Well, he wasn't an adversary, but he didn't cooperate. These people didn't work the problem. They were mostly, I would guess, ambitious for higher office. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: And what was the relationship between the passage of the budget bill and redistricting?

Mr. Atwood: I didn't even think there was any. What is your source?

Ms. Boswell: Well, you had mentioned it, actually, in one of your newsletters. You said they were trying to hold you up over the redistricting bill in 1971.

Mr. Atwood: I don't remember that at all; I really don't. I saw that on your outline here.

Ms. Boswell: It seemed like you sponsored a lot of legislation in 1971, too?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. Some of it was good.

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) Do you want to talk about a few of these bills? Are there ones, in particular, that you felt were important?

Mr. Atwood: Was that Senate Bill 16, the powers of initiative and referendum for counties? Didn't that pass?

Ms. Boswell: Yes, it did. I think it was amended to a degree, and it passed.

Mr. Atwood: I'll tell you the best one was the non-partisan election of county sheriffs and prosecutors. I still believe that is best, even though it still has not changed. Law enforcement should not have a partisan flavor to it—period. I don't care if they are Democrats or Republicans, they should run it as a non-partisan office. It's law enforcement. It doesn't need to have a partisan flavor; it just doesn't. That's a lawyer speaking. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Yes. But was that just a personal

feeling of yours, or were law enforcement agencies behind that idea?

Mr. Atwood: I think they were—a lot of them were. The Democratic and Republican Central Committees probably weren't. You know in this county, we had a county executive election in which we tried to make all of the offices non-partisan like the city is. The minute you got a partisan flavor to it, then you had a problem. There was a lot of political posturing.

Ms. Boswell: You mentioned earlier this bill for initiative and referendum at the county level. What prompted that bill? Were there a lot of issues where you thought the public should have that kind of power?

Mr. Atwood: I think they should have some way of adding their input on issues.

Ms. Boswell: We have already talked a little bit about the lottery.

Mr. Atwood: That's what started all the gambling; that had to be the source. The Constitution had to be amended to have a lottery or any gambling at all. From there we went to the Gambling Commission, the Lottery Commission, etc, etc.

Ms. Boswell: I think the times have changed, to a degree, where it is more accepted, but was the major argument against it an ethical argument?

Mr. Atwood: No, they didn't want any gambling. That was the only stumbling block for legalizing gambling—the lottery provision in the Constitution.

Ms. Boswell: I mean, was the opposition primarily religious?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, the opponents were religions and schools and whatnot.

Ms. Boswell: But it was the bad influence, you think?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it really was. But the lottery provision was the initial problem. Once that was removed, we were going down the home stretch for gambling. We are not quite there yet for wide-open gambling, but the Indians already have it.

Ms. Boswell: How did you feel about that particular issue?

Mr. Atwood: I was a sponsor. (Laughter) I thought that the time had come because there was so much illegal gambling going on, the state might as well pick up some revenue from it. Now, it is big-time. We are going into the Powerball lottery this year; nationwide it has become an addiction. I was just looking at this list of bills and thinking to myself, "Everything is hyperlexis." Do you know what hyperlexis is?

Ms. Boswell: Too many bills or laws?

Mr. Atwood: Too many laws; too many lawyers; too many regulations. I had a bad case of it.

Ms. Boswell: There was a bill that was of interest to me. It started out as Senate Bill 134, and it restricted the establishment of satellite campuses at community colleges. Was that bill an outgrowth of your interest in Western?

Mr. Atwood: No.

Ms. Boswell: No? Tell me about it.

Mr. Atwood: Very easily. It was to protect the vocational-technical school here in Bellingham, Whatcom County. They would have been sucked into the community college in Mount Vernon. What we did was to create a new community college district up here; otherwise, voc-tech would have been sucked into another college. Right now, we have a big community college, as big as the one in

Mount Vernon—Skagit Community College.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, I see. But at that point, was it to protect the economy?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely. That was the whole purpose of it, and we did. In fact, they were going to leave it as a community college satellite up here.

Ms. Boswell: What about some of these other things that you sponsored? There was one about the order of listing candidates on voting devices.

Mr. Atwood: I have no recollection of that bill. I don't know why I did that.

Ms. Boswell: Well, the order was not, for example, alphabetical, but it was based on what party had won the previous election and by how many votes. It was evidently ordered in that way.

Mr. Atwood: Okay.

Ms. Boswell: So those kinds of issues—are they purely political?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, they were probably trying to get around some political problems if the Republicans or the Democrats had control.

Ms. Boswell: The bill authorizing Senate Bill 476, which gave school district voters the right to levy up to fifteen mills in a year, but not any other levy in that same year, was that just a response to problems in different school districts?

Mr. Atwood: I think so.

Ms. Boswell: Aside from these bills, one of the most interesting issues was busing. There was a bill prohibiting mandatory busing, which essentially said that the schools wouldn't be reimbursed if the parents objected to their children being bused. Busing had been, for at least awhile, a major national issue. What about the busing issue in Washington State? How controversial was that?

Mr. Atwood: I can't answer you; I don't remember a thing. All I know is that Jack Metcalf threw that bill up on the desk, and everyone got spastic in King County. The rest of us didn't because we didn't have that problem.

Ms. Boswell: So, there was a fear that it would be a controversial issue, but beyond that not much opposition?

Mr. Atwood: Yes.

Ms. Boswell: I also noticed that you voted against a bill for a Martin Luther King school holiday. It was before Martin Luther King Day was a national holiday, but tell me about that issue?

Mr. Atwood: Very easily. It cost the state a hell of a lot of money. All of these holidays that were created are fantastically expensive—really expensive. I didn't think that here it was a big deal. Our African-American population at that time was not large. I forget how much it cost, but I figured that it was tremendous. You've got state employees, teachers, the whole works who get a holiday, and it's not a cheap deal.

Ms. Boswell: That's interesting. I don't think people think about that part of it.

Mr. Atwood: Well, that's all I thought about. You know every time we had a new holiday, they were enormously expensive.

Ms. Boswell: One of the things that happened in the 1971 session was that votes in the Rules Committee were no longer secret.

Mr. Atwood: I was there.

Ms. Boswell: The votes were no longer secret. Tell me a little bit about how that came about.

Mr. Atwood: That's because a bunch of liberal Democrats got excited and wanted to open the vote. They controlled the committee, and they could open it at any time. The minute that happened, Bill Gissberg left that committee and went over to the Judiciary Committee and became its chairman (Laughter). He thought that the Rules Committee was ruined, and he probably was right. He'd been on it a lot longer than I had, and could control some things that I could not.

Ms. Boswell: Control what kinds of things?

Mr. Atwood: Well, issues that would not come out. That was involved with the secrecy issue. Bob Greive accused me of being secret. He was on the Rules Committee a long, long time before I was ever on it. It was all secret ballot.

Ms. Boswell: I know, talking to Bob Greive, he at least intimated that he was very much against the secrecy and that he fought against it for a long time.

Mr. Atwood: I never heard that! (Laughter) I never heard that. The Democrats controlled the committee; they could open it at any time.

Ms. Boswell: What was the rationale for keeping it secret?

Mr. Atwood: It was a last-ditch effort to keep bad legislation from coming onto the floor. That was the rationale. In other words, we were a super-minority. For legislators, the Rules Committee added to their power. It was a power or ego trip once you got on Rules. Getting a bill out of Rules can be pretty tough; it's all secret ballot. That's what happened on the abortion bill. It was a predominantly Catholic committee. They weren't about to vote that thing out of the committee.

Ms. Boswell: So it kept the bad legislation off the floor? Did it protect individual legislators?

Mr. Atwood: To some degree. It depended on the issue, but, to some degree, it did. They didn't get labeled falsely. Once you threw it open, then everyone came into the committee to watch what was going on.

Ms. Boswell: So once secrecy was abolished, was the caucus really the only place where people could stand up and say what they thought without it being heavily publicized?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, as matter of fact, but it also tested the mettle of the committee chairmen. They could still have the power, but most of them didn't have the guts when they saw a bill that was really bad. They succumbed to a lot of pressure from interest groups. But never having been a chairman, I never got the chance to exercise that power.

I didn't care whether the Rules Committee lost the secret ballot. Then they became just another committee. I had no feeling one way or another. I would rather have it secret because there were a lot of things that I…I wasn't afraid to vote.

Ms. Boswell: So that movement was primarily pushed by just a few Democrats who said, "Enough is enough. We don't want to do this anymore." Secrecy was pretty jealously guarded prior to that time, wasn't it?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, had they ever! Just to get on the committee was something else. It was the most powerful committee in the whole place when I first came there. But the minute that the vote was taken…if the bills didn't come out, the lobbyists were on you like a ton of bricks. The papers, the news media were on top of it, too.

Ms. Boswell: Now redistricting keeps popping up, but that was not a major interest for you?

Mr. Atwood: I had no interest in it or very little. I had people in the caucus who, especially in King County and in heavy areas where they were going to get redistricted, were very concerned, but we were at the end of the line here.

Ms. Boswell: There were not many other places for your district to go?

Mr. Atwood: No, no, that's for sure. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: In relation to one of the bills that came up, you made a comment in which you called the Senate "Joe Davis-land."

Mr. Atwood: Well, it was.

Ms. Boswell: Essentially, in that article you talked about the power that organized labor, and particularly Joe Davis, had in the Senate. Can you talk about that a little bit more?

Mr. Atwood: Well, he was the head of the United Labor Lobby. I don't know how many labor union lobbyists there were, but there were a lot of them. He was the head guy, and they had their regular meetings, and they had their regular agenda, and they watched everything that went on in Olympia. Anything that was pro-labor, they really put the pressure on. There were probably good, big-time lobbyists for schools—K-12—and maybe they represented more people because they had the state employees. Norm Schut, for example, was head of the state employees union, but Joe Davis was the head guy. It was Joe Davis-land. When he had an issue that he desperately had to have, he got it.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me your thoughts about him as a lobbyist and as an individual.

Mr. Atwood: He had the power. He was the guy you didn't ignore. I got along well with him, but he and I had a lot of disagreements. One of the things that finally passed this session, and that I had some interest in, was arbitration and collective bargaining for state employees. What a bunch of gutless wonders the legislators were! They handed the state to the employees and it affects us today. (Laughter) That's what happens when you have collective bargaining, in my opinion.

Ms. Boswell: And can you tell me a little more about that? Why?

Mr. Atwood: I haven't looked at the bill recently, but now they have the right to collectively bargain for everything, including wages and hours. It affects the Legislature in its responsibilities and especially those of budget making. It will probably be very costly in the long run.

They finally got it this year: mandatory arbitration for public employees. That's terrible. That puts the Legislature at the mercy of labor, totally.

Ms. Boswell: You mean the mandatory part of it?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely. It can break a budget just like that. They had been trying for years. How long ago was that? That was over twenty-five years. Mandatory arbitration. Norm Schut and the AFPE or whatever it is called—the American Federation of Public Employees. I don't see how the Legislature can really function with that kind of a situation, but that's my view.

Ms. Boswell: When Joe Davis was in charge of the United Labor Lobby, I have heard him described by some as being one of the most brilliant lobbyists ever. Would you agree with that or was it just hyperbole?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I'd be brilliant, too, if I had that kind of muscle. You know, you don't need a lot of brilliance to be powerful like he was. He was a smart guy—I'm not saying that—but he was not the most brilliant guy I ever met. There were a few brilliant ones. I wouldn't classify him as that; he was just a hell of a good labor lobbyist. I will not deny that. He had the muscle.

Ms. Boswell: But when you say he had the muscle, didn't he have to build that muscle?

Ms. Boswell: Well, yes, with his group—the unions. I don't know what the others thought.

You have to ask the unions. The other one was Norm Schut. Norm had a lot of muscle, too. He was the state employees' lobbyist. Of course, he lived there. And Joe Davis had to live with his group.

There were a lot of unions. We had a labor union guy in our caucus, John Stender, who was the head of the Boilermakers Union. He was the toughest guy I have ever seen, as far as being a labor union guy. He was very tough.

Ms. Boswell: So, when labor issues came up, what would he do?

Mr. Atwood: He would be the guy that we looked to for advice.

Ms. Boswell: But now, at that time, was it unusual for a strong union person to be a Republican?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely, very unusual. Labor was the Democratic Party. Of all the Democrats, I don't know of anyone who voted against labor—maybe one or two, but very seldom.

Stender was a very unusual guy. He came to the Senate the same time I did.

Ms. Boswell: Was he able to convince the caucus, at times, to follow labor's perspective?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, you bet. And he did his own thing when he wanted to. Yes, he was a good legislator.

Ms. Boswell: One of the issues about labor that was mentioned, at least in the 1971 session, had to do with industrial insurance.

Mr. Atwood: I'm not knowledgeable on that issue. They had a huge kitty, and they were always trying to get chunks of it for labor. What did Mardesich say about that issue? He sat on the Industrial Insurance Appeals Board after he left the Legislature.

Ms. Boswell: I don't know if he talked about it too much. I think the 1971 issue had to do with the addition of private insurance carriers to provide industrial insurance.

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, self-insurance. Self-insurance was a good issue. I thought they should have the right, as long as there was oversight by the state.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, but the unions were against that plan. They wanted the state to have total oversight, didn't they?

Mr. Atwood: Total. They wanted one hundred percent. They didn't want any private self- insurance. Yes, that was a major issue. I was for self-insurance, I think. Did I vote that way?

Ms. Boswell: Yes.

Mr. Atwood: I better! (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: There were a couple of other issues that you were involved in that had to do with rehabilitation of prisoners. It seemed to me that some of them were maybe ahead of their time, at least in terms of social legislation. There was a Gate Money Program for newly released parolees where the state would actually give them a salary until they got settled, and another one where inmates could…

Mr. Atwood: Go home.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, literally leave jail to try to transition back into their families. Both seemed quite progressive.

Mr. Atwood: They were pretty liberal.

Ms. Boswell: They seemed to be unusual kinds of social legislation for that period. For those kinds of bills, were there individuals who had these ideas and put them forth, or how did some of these ideas evolve?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I think there were plenty of reformists who pushed those ideas. Incidentally, I met with the Prisoners Committee at Monroe a couple of times, and it was very revealing. That is the toughest place that I have ever seen; it's the toughest prison we have. Walla Walla has the old pros, but Monroe has the young pros. They are tough, tough people.

Now we have such crowded prisons and, of course, drugs are primarily the issue that has caused all the crowding. I don't know what they're going to really do about that issue. Here, where our jail is now overcrowded, we ship them to Yakima.

Ms. Boswell: Here, meaning in Bellingham?

Mr. Atwood: Bellingham—the Whatcom County Jail. I was on the Jail Committee here for the building of a new jail—not when I was in the Legislature, but afterwards. Now that jail is full.

Ms. Boswell: Do you think there should be a relaxation of some of the criminal penalties as a way to relieve that situation?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I do on some of the drug issues. Like smoking pot. I don't know how far you go, but it seems like it's a losing battle up here because everybody goes up to Vancouver and gets whatever they call that stuff—marijuana. I was amazed at the number of people who smoked marijuana around here. I have never smoked it myself, but I could sure smell it. (Laughter)

There were a lot of people smoking down there at the Legislature—not legislators—but going into the restrooms, you could smell it. I don't know when I first smelled it. I didn't know what it was, and somebody said, "Well, Frank, that's marijuana." "Thanks for telling me."

Ms. Boswell: So really, during the 1970s when you were down there, you thought it was prevalent?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. It was just starting, but it's still really prevalent up here—everywhere now, I guess.

Ms. Boswell: I know that they have stopped or tried to stop a lot of shipments across the border.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, they do. They seize thousands of pounds all the time. I'm getting too old to solve all the problems. (Laughter) I have different ideas now about what should be done.

Ms. Boswell: Well, I think everybody changes through time and uses different approaches.

Mr. Atwood: I had a bad case of hyperlexis when I was down there. I look at all these bills now and think, "What in the world were you doing?"

Ms. Boswell: Well, isn't that what the Legislature is supposed to be doing?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, but not like that. Some of these bills are ridiculous. We have got so many laws now that they're tripping over each other. They have dual coverage on several crimes.

Ms. Boswell: What can you do to solve that problem?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know what the answer is to that question. As long as we have democratically elected legislators, they are going to be making new laws faster than we can absorb them. Lawyers can't keep up with them.

I still sit on the Legislative Committee of the Bar; I have been on it for a long time. This is going to be my last year (Laughter) Every time I see some of these bills, I say, "God, we have been there before."

Ms. Boswell: So what kinds of things can the Legislative Committee of the Bar do at this point?

Mr. Atwood: We review all proposals that are

going to the Legislature. We recommend to the Board of Governors whether we support it or oppose it. Lots of stuff we recommend to oppose, and lots of stuff we recommend to support.

Ms. Boswell: These are proposals that already have been proposed in Olympia and are for review?

Mr. Atwood: No, proposals go in that are being made by various committees of the Bar and would like to have Bar support.

Ms. Boswell: About how many per year—just a general figure—does the Bar support?

Mr. Atwood: Probably four or five. Some of them are very major issues like the rewrite of Article Nine of the Uniform Commercial Code—things like that are very technical. Normally, the Bar will support it, although there are some issues that the Bar is divided on, so it's up to the Board of Governors to reach some kind of compromise on it. But there are a lot of bills that we recommend not to support. There are some far-out bills that are not practical at all.

Chapter 9

The Environment and Minority Politics

Ms. Boswell: In the late 1960s and early 1970s, environmentalism became an important cause for people. Can you give me a little bit of background on your general views on environmental legislation during that period, and what you thought was important for the state?

Mr. Atwood: Well, of course, Dan Evans was an environmentalist. He was as much an environmentalist as anybody down there. He had a lot of projects that he had in mind. Some of the things I was in favor of, and some of them I was not. They were rocking the boat. My step-dad had been a cattleman, and they used the national forests for grazing in the summer. Those were not under attack at that time like they are now. By those, I mean grazing rights and whatnot. But looking back on it, there was the tanker issue. I thought that was ridiculous. Oil spills. We have yet to have an oil spill thirty years later. Yes, it has been thirty years now.

Ms. Boswell: But how did you feel about the super-tanker issue?

Mr. Atwood: I thought it was a non-issue. They banned them, you know, and then they were thrown out by the state. They were actively thrown out; that's what I recall. But actually, we had four oil refineries in my area. At that time, we had Shell, Texaco, Mobil, and Arco, so that was not a very good economic thing for them.

Ms. Boswell: How did people up here feel about it? Was there fear, given that there were so many oil companies here, that there would be spills in and around Whatcom County?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, it was a bugaboo. Mary Kay Becker, who is now a judge, wrote a book called *Superspill* or something like that. That was her first notoriety. We have yet to have a big tanker go aground here. I was just reading about that in Web Hallauer's book, and he says that he didn't think there was much of an issue. He said that during World War II, they were sinking tankers all over the place on the East Coast and nothing ever happened. The environment was not permanently damaged at all. I was amazed to hear him say that; he was very liberal. He was the director of the Department of Ecology under Dixy.

Ms. Boswell: But now, you had been working with Governor Evans on that Executive Reorganization Task Force too, so the development of the Department of Ecology came under your watch.

Mr. Atwood: Well, it came then, but we didn't talk that much about it. We were focused on the heavy stuff, like DSHS, which was the big one, because they were trying to consolidate all these agencies. I feel kind of bad about that. It looked great on paper. You can't argue with the concept, but as a practical matter, there is nobody that's big enough to handle the whole thing. There just isn't.

Ms. Boswell: Right. So the Department of Ecology wasn't as much of a worry?

Mr. Atwood: Oh no, it really wasn't. There were several other agencies involved, as I recall. They were consolidating them. It just wasn't one of the big ones.

Ms. Boswell: Certainly one of the big pieces of

environmental legislation—or at least the most the hotly debated, I think—was the Shoreline Management Act.

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely.

Ms. Boswell: Can you tell me your perspective on that legislation?

Mr. Atwood: Well, my perspective was that we needed some protection on the shorelines. We've got a lot of them here—Bellingham Bay, in particular! (Laughter) We are still trying to clean it up and will be for the next fifty years, I think. Every time they get an agreement, things go awry. Well, the pulp mill went out of business.

Most of the legislation was pretty good. There were two pieces, as I recall—I could be wrong on this—but the Legislature passed one and there was one by initiative.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, the initiative actually got the process started before the Legislature acted, didn't it?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. The Legislature hadn't taken any action, and the initiative really prompted a lot of action on the part of the Legislature. Of course, you take the lesser of the two—the one that you feel is the least damaging or the most productive. I think Bill Gissberg drew up the legislative version of that bill. I could be wrong about that.

Ms. Boswell: I know that the environmentalists, the stronger environmentalists, were in favor of the initiative; in fact, it was developed by the Washington Environmental Council.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, no question about it. They did not like the legislative version; they thought it was not strong enough.

Ms. Boswell: Right. And the difference between the two had to do with the extent of state versus local control of the coverage of the shoreline and also the extent of what you could call a shoreline?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, we did not want to take that up to the mandatory level. We wanted to give some control to the county planning or city planning or wherever the shorelines were. That's still my view. The state has preempted everything, more or less, but the legislative version, I thought, was a lot more moderate as contrasted with the initiative.

Ms. Boswell: Was there pressure for the Legislature to compromise to get its own bill?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely, oh yes. There wasn't any question. We couldn't live with that as an issue. I think we would have had a lot of problems—economic problems.

Ms. Boswell: Were there strong environmental groups in Whatcom County or the Bellingham area?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely. Very much so. And, of course, we have the oil companies here. They are big employers. We have Intelco here now; they're starting up again now, thank goodness. Those things are not all bad. When they put in that aluminum plant, the environmentalists were really on them. They did spend an awful lot of money on the environmental controls and clean air and whatnot. I think they did a pretty good, pretty fair job.

Ms. Boswell: Were there other environmental issues that were particular concerns?

Mr. Atwood: It wasn't my forte, anyway. I wasn't on any of those committees that I recall; in fact, I know I wasn't. So I didn't know that much about it or pay that much attention to those issues. Gissberg and I were pretty good friends, and he, along with his staff and the attorneys, drafted the legislation. I think he was a prime in that issue. Did you do an interview with Bill Gissberg?

Ms. Boswell: Yes, I did. I'm trying to remember back then to how much he talked about it.

Mr. Atwood: He was the "laboring oar" in the Senate on that issue. And, boy, he was conservative; he was more conservative than I am—he and Augie Mardesich. Believe me, they both were way to the right of me, but you would never know it to talk to them. (Laughing)

Ms. Boswell: (Laughing) Yes. Talking about them, during this period of time, there was a lot of agitation in the Democratic Party about leadership. From the Republicans' perspective, how did you view that whole leadership struggle between Mardesich and Gissberg and Durkan, and that group, and then Bob Greive and his group?

Mr. Atwood: Greive's time had come and gone. It really had. He had been there so long, and that's the problem. That's what prompted the Senate to actually pass, twice, an SJR (Senate Joint Resolution) to limit the terms of office to twelve years, which the Republicans supported, and a majority of the Democrats did, too. But the House, for some reason, didn't. None of them ever lasted twelve years, except maybe a handful. (Laughter) They wouldn't pass it.

Ms. Boswell: So the Senate was willing to accept it?

Mr. Atwood: Augie was one hundred percent in favor, and so was I. I know why because you start looking at all the guys in the front row. They were just there for the glory, but not doing any of the heavy lifting. Believe me, none of them. There are only about ten or twelve people in the whole place who were doing all the work—getting out front and getting shot at.

Ms. Boswell: But what about all the infighting amongst the Democrats? Were the Republicans very aware of what was going on?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes.

Ms. Boswell: Obviously, you couldn't participate in their caucus, but was there some kind of behind-the-scenes pressure?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, let me tell you about something that I pulled on them. You saw that in the Greive book, there is an editorial or an interview with Shelby Scates?

Ms. Boswell: Right.

Mr. Atwood: In that interview, Greive was very frank and stupid. He called Augie and Gissberg and Al Henry "the Arabs?"

Ms. Boswell: Oh, yes.

Mr. Atwood: Well, when things came up, I went and got a whole bunch of them and spread them around on all the Democrats' desks. (Laughter) Just sowing a little discord in the ranks. I enjoyed that. I slipped that in. This happened about two or three weeks after the article appeared. That wasn't very complimentary of a leader, talking about some of his people. It was pretty insulting, I thought. At least if it had been me, I would have been insulted. But anyway, I did that. I slipped that in. (Laughter)

The situation was already fomenting, though. There was a lot of unhappiness over there, particularly around Augie and Gissberg and Walgren. It's all documented in Augie's oral history interview.

Ms. Boswell: Right. I was just curious whether, because you were also in the leadership, whether you backed off?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, we didn't participate. We just stirred discord whenever possible. Divide and conquer. (Laughter) We were in the minority and well aware of it. It's not a pleasant thing to be totally helpless when push came to shove.

Ms. Boswell: There was certainly some intrigue involved in that rivalry?

Mr. Atwood: A lot more than I was aware of. I mean, there were some bitter, bitter feelings. Augie and Greive really got into it personally, or so I was told anyway. It was all hearsay.

Ms. Boswell: Had you encountered anything like that in the Republican leadership?

Mr. Atwood: (Laughter) If I did, I wasn't aware of it. No one stabbed me in the back like they did poor old Matson. They could have, and I wouldn't have been surprised. Everybody is so ambitious down there—a lot of them, but not a majority. I was fairly young compared to Herb Freise and Damon Canfield and some of those guys who had been there for a long time. My rise was very rapid, comparatively. I came there in 1963, and I was a leader on the floor by 1967—the end of the 1967 session. When Ryder quit, I moved up. I didn't generate any heat, or too much, anyway.

Ms. Boswell: I know that the Democrats certainly would say that the Republicans were more divided or that they had a harder time keeping people together. Is that fair?

Mr. Atwood: That we had a harder time?

Ms. Boswell: Yes, the Republicans had a harder time?

Mr. Atwood: Not really. When it came to redistricting it was. The old guys wanted to protect their districts. I was sitting in the back row watching all of this. There wasn't anything I could do. I didn't even go down and talk to Greive about my district because there wasn't anything that he could do to me. He could put on Lennart's number, but the Republicans wouldn't stand for that because Ernie was down at the end of the trail. And then when the redistricting by the court commissioner came, Marshall Neill—he was the caucus chairman—said put Forty-two on that district, and they did. They moved the Forty-first to Mercer Island. But I wasn't involved in any of that maneuvering; there wasn't anything that I could do. I could run around, wring my hands, and say, "You've got to put my number on it."

Ms. Boswell: But so, do you think it is just the immediate personalities involved, or is there something inherent in the Republican versus Democratic structure that encourages this sort of behavior?

Mr. Atwood: The minority is tough to keep together. Witness what is going on right now in Congress—the US Senate, not the House. The House is pretty solid as far as the Republicans are concerned, but in the Senate we have a lot of long-ball hitters like John McCain. He's going to run as a Democrat, for god sakes. Oh, they are beating the tom toms for McCain to run as a Democrat against Bush. It is some kind of conspiracy. If McCain does, he is the stupidest man I ever saw.

Ms. Boswell: Do you think so?

Mr. Atwood: He is. I mean he is somebody that is so consumed with ambition. Typical Navy. Well, his dad was a four-star admiral, and his grandfather was also a four-star. Typical. Typical.

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) You're not biased, are you?

Mr. Atwood: Oh no. (Laughter) I wouldn't be surprised to see him run as a Democrat. Who cares? I do.

Ms. Boswell: I was wondering whether the Democratic issues—and this is probably just really far-fetched—but in the Senate at that time, whether the Democratic issues could be more divisive. So many times when you had the coalitions, it was the Democrats who were more disaffected.

Mr. Atwood: Because there were a lot more of them.

Ms. Boswell: Well, that's true, too.

Mr. Atwood: There were a lot of disaffected Democrats when I first went there. They had taken a couple of runs at Greive without too much success, but he had enough people. Most of those issues were not very partisan, although it was a matter of how you viewed them. We normally stuck together pretty tight on certain issues, but we were not divided very often. There were a few guys like Metcalf, who was so ambitious and riding off in all directions. He was in his own little world.

Ms. Boswell: But you worked well together with some of the Democratic leadership?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me about your working relationship with Bob Bailey. I know that you two did a lot together.

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, we did do a lot together. In my last two years, we used to pull the consent calendars. We got a hell of a lot done—good bills that would have died, but they were bills that no one was going to live and die for. They were bread and butter issues that needed to be taken care of. I call them "bread and butter bills"—correction bills. There were a lot of them, and they would just sit in Rules forever. No one was pushing them. The bills that were getting all the publicity got a lot of push. We put together a lot of consent calendars, and if anybody didn't like one of the bills, then we would kick them off. That's a way to run the show, when there is no controversy, or if they were good bills.

Ms. Boswell: How did you and Bob Bailey build that kind of a relationship?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know. I had good relationships with Bailey—I thought I did. And I had a good relationship with Augie especially. He and I are very good friends. We traveled a lot together to the national conventions or national leadership conferences.

Ms. Boswell: Were you close to him before he came?

Mr. Atwood: No, he and I came to the Senate at the same time. We were pretty close. (Laughter) I had never known him before. I didn't know anybody. I didn't know a soul down there.

Ms. Boswell: I was thinking more when he came into the leadership, as opposed to before. You were friends with him prior to his leadership role?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, yes. We became very good friends. After all, his wife used to get mad at us. "How can you be friends? You don't believe in the same things!" (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Now tell me about Bob Bailey. What kind of a legislator was he?

Mr. Atwood: He was a good legislator, very sound. At the time, he was a congresswoman's administrative assistant. He'd been around a long time. He was an excellent legislator. Well, he did the heavy lifting; he was not lazy.

Ms. Boswell: When you started pulling the consent calendars, was that something that you mutually agreed on? How did you come up with that idea?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. Each guy would get a bunch of bills together. I'd ask my caucus, "What bills do you want out that are not controversial?" They gave me a list, and I would take a look at them. Then I would take them, and we would sit down and go through all the bills to see what they said, what they did, or what they were purported

to do. If they weren't very controversial or had no controversy, then we would put them on the calendar. If anybody objected to them, then they automatically came off. That's exactly what it was—a consent calendar.

Ms. Boswell: When there was the revolt, if you want to call it that, against Bob Greive and the change in Democratic leadership, one of the issues that was brought up was streamlining committees. I know that Augie Mardesich and others have said that they thought there was too much of a proliferation of committee assignments and bureaucracy. They felt that they needed a firmer hand on committees. How about that issue for the Republicans? How did the Republicans feel about that?

Mr. Atwood: Well, what the Democrats would do every time they got a newly elected member, they would give him a committee. They would make him a chairman. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: There was a letter in your files, which was written right after the 1971 session, talking about you and Bob Bailey getting together to get rid of some committees as well.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, we talked some about it, but it was very tough because all the chairmen had their own interests. (Laughter) There is just no way for the minority—we only had twenty-one or twenty-two members—so we were spread awfully thin. We couldn't sit on more than two or three committees at most. I think, at one time, I had four or five. But they didn't need all those committees.

Ms. Boswell: So you were supportive of the idea of streamlining the committees?

Mr. Atwood: I think they could have done a lot in restructuring committees, but the minute you start fooling around with those committees, everyone feels their prerogatives are being encroached on—especially those in the majority who were chairmen.

Ms. Boswell: There was some indication—and I think it was after the 1972 special session rather than in 1971—but you indicated that in the 1973 session you wanted to be head of Ways and Means instead of caucus chair?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, but that wasn't going to happen. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: That wasn't going to happen?

Mr. Atwood: No, no. The highest I ever got was vice-chairman of the Legislative Budget Committee a couple of times, but the Ways and Means position was not going to happen. I can assure you of that.

Ms. Boswell: In terms of the committees, it sounded perhaps—in the 1971 session and into the 1972 session—that one of the things that irritated you most was that some of your bills were getting held up, particularly by John Cooney.

Mr. Atwood: A real winner! (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: It was the Committee on Constitutions, Elections, and Legislative Processes. You called it the "graveyard of legislation" and that you had all these bills that you wanted to get through—a couple, in particular. They just got side-tracked in Cooney's committee, especially an initiative and referendum bill that you had introduced, I think, in 1971, and then tried again in 1972 to get it out.

Mr. Atwood: I wonder what that was. I don't even remember it.

Ms. Boswell: That was Senate Bill 136; it was a introducing the initiative and referendum at the county level.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes! I thought that was a good deal. You have it statewide, so why couldn't you have it at the county level?

Ms. Boswell: Right.

Mr. Atwood: But the county commissioners' organization killed that one in his committee, I think. I'm not too clear, but it just vanished into never-never land.

Ms. Boswell: I think Cooney stalled it for quite awhile.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it was his committee. He was the one who killed it. Yes. Now the home-rule charter—we got it in this county.

At the end of one session the stenographer up front in the Senate gave Cooney a great big bouquet of flowers for not saying anything. (Laughter) He never opened his mouth.

Ms. Boswell: And in that committee that year, I think you were complaining that he held one meeting every year or two.

Mr. Atwood: I'm sure, if that often. Is he still living incidentally—John Cooney?

Ms. Boswell: I don't think so.

Mr. Atwood: I don't either. Jimmy Keefe is dead, I think. He sat in the front row. He was a nice man, but he never did anything. I saved his bacon a couple of times on a horse-racing deal.

Ms. Boswell: What was that?

Mr. Atwood: I don't remember, but it was something to do with thoroughbred racing. He got it all screwed up, and Durkan, who was on retainer, wasn't there. (Laughter) I don't even remember, but I remember saving his bacon. He came back and thanked me profusely. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Yes, sure.

I want to show you a pamphlet. I am assuming that it went out to other people. It was titled "What Joe Davis and Bob Greive Cost Business in the State of Washington." It primarily focuses on the years between 1970 and 1972 and on the different pieces of legislation that they either promoted or killed. I assume that this was from the Republicans?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it was. This was for a campaign.

Ms. Boswell: Was that for the 1972 campaign?

Mr. Atwood: Yes.

Ms. Boswell: Can you tell me about who might have developed that list?

Mr. Atwood: I have a hunch. I have a hunch that it was probably Sid Morrison. He was a big Republican honcho, and it probably came out of the House. (Laughter) All of these are Senate bills; one was a House bill. I didn't have much to do with this. (Looking at papers) This pamphlet was not manufactured by me; it could have been Jim Matson and Sid Morrison. That would be my best guess. Matson was our number-one guy on the Labor Committee. I didn't do much with labor. That has to be Matson and Morrison, I would think.

Ms. Boswell: I also have the Senate roll-call votes as published by labor, and you only have one pro-labor vote.

Mr. Atwood: One favorable! (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) One bill you voted right on in the 1971 and 1972 sessions.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, one right and fourteen wrong. Oh, yes, I'm consistent. Yes, this is Joe Davisland. This is living proof of it. (Laughter)
Let's see: Harry Lewis. He was a big carrier of state employees because that was in his district.

Ms. Boswell: He had only two right votes, though.

Mr. Atwood: That's right. He later became chairman of A.W.B. the Association of Washington Business. He followed his good friend—who was his House member? Hal Wolf.

Ms. Boswell: There is one other thing I wanted to ask you about. Although he was not a Republican, there are pictures of you with Henry Jackson in 1971. It was part of Henry Jackson's campaign for the 1972 presidential election. It got started in Washington and around Everett with a lot of his supporters. Tell me a little bit about Jackson and about his impact on Washington politics from your perspective.

Mr. Atwood: Big. Big. He had a lot of Republican friends, too, and apparently, I would bet, they gave him money. Of course, I was a Nixon man, but I didn't have any compunction about Jackson being president at all. None at all! He was a human being—first, last, and always. He was a very impressive gentleman from what I had to deal with him. He was a very kind person.

Ms. Boswell: And his political views, how did they mesh with your own?

Mr. Atwood: Well, his national defense issues were mine, all the way—his foreign views.

I used him a lot, or his office, when I was in the Reserves. I used to get all these special treaties from his office. He had a full-time military affairs colonel working in his office. When I was doing these civil affairs exercises in the Reserves, I'd write him. It was for General Palmer. When I first met General Palmer, he was in the 365th and we were running a command post exercise. I had all these treaties, and he said, "Where in the hell did you get those?" I said, "Well, I wrote Senator Jackson's office." I had to laugh. I had written to the congressman first, as a matter of courtesy. It happened to be Meeds or Swift—I forget which one of them—and they said there was no such thing. I knew damn well that there was. (Laughter) I wrote to Jackson's office, and this colonel gave me all this stuff. God, I had a whole desk full. (Laughter) Palmer was very impressed. (Laughter)

Jackson was a first-class guy. I can't say anything bad about Jackson. Nothing derogatory.

Ms. Boswell: Was there fairly strong support for him in Whatcom County?

Mr. Atwood: I would think so. You know, I don't recall. Nixon, of course, ran very big everywhere. Did Nixon carry Washington?

Ms. Boswell: I don't know.

Mr. Atwood: I don't think so. In the 1972 election, I don't know.

Ms. Boswell: There was a special session in 1972, and let's see, in the minority leadership, you remained, obviously, in your position. Jim Matson became the minority whip during that session. Charles Newschwander was the assistant floor leader at that time.

The 1972 session was short—I think it was forty-four days, so it was fairly short. I know that Bob Bailey talks about the income tax reform issues, and that Governor Evans would bring in whole groups of people continually to meet…

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, to beat you around the ears.

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) About the graduated income tax. Can you tell me more about that issue? We talked about it before.

Mr. Atwood: We were harangued, or pressured. It had to be voted on, so it was going on the ballot. Greive used that on a brochure against me—that I voted to put it on the ballot. I remember the brochure. It had Atwood leading a bunch of sheep being sheared. (Laughter) I wish you could get those brochures—the one on the secret retainers and all that stuff. They were something else. I think he did three brochures.

Ms. Boswell: So that would have been in the 1970s?

Mr. Atwood: That was on the income tax. Yes, it was in the 1970 election.

Ms. Boswell: So did Evans use the idea of bringing people into his office for that personal pressure a lot?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, he did. Listen, he was a very active governor. I didn't bother to oppose him on any of that stuff because it was going to go. There were too many liberals in the place. I voted to put it on the ballot; I did not vote for it in the booth, though.

I hate the income tax. I can hardly pay it. I just got through paying a whole bunch. I hate it. I much prefer the sales tax, even though the sales tax is hard on the poor, supposedly. I don't think you'll ever get an income tax in this state. I think I told you that, but who knows? The tom toms are beating in this session for an income tax, or the next one. We're going to go down the same path. You could almost write the script for it from the 1972 session. That was the second time during the Evans campaign that it went back on the ballot.

Ms. Boswell: Right.

Mr. Atwood: It went down bigger the second time than the first.

Ms. Boswell: Something that benefited locally was the Whatcom County Community Mental Health Center. I think that was something that you were pushing at that time.

Mr. Atwood: Yes. Evans had the policy of putting all the mental health issues back to the local governments. It was another issue where the state was cleaning out the asylums: Western State, Eastern State, Monroe. We had to have some agency to take care of them, and the best that they could come up with was a local mental health facility. It wasn't good enough; it still isn't.

They can't handle it. You see all these homeless people running around. They're all mental health people—people who were turned out of the asylums. They couldn't handle the influx of the people from those various state mental health institutions that were so big.

We've talked about it before, but I didn't realize how bad that thing was. That program was devastating to the people inside those institutions who had been there for a long time. They just couldn't handle it, and the community-based mental health facilities were not adequate.

Ms. Boswell: Was it just the cost, because the communities couldn't afford to put what they needed into it?

Mr. Atwood: That's right. And the state wasn't going to help them that much. The state was getting rid of a big responsibility, a lot of institutions. "Community-based" is a good term, but to me, it just was really devastating to those people who had been in those institutions, particularly Northern State Hospital. I could see it around here. I had been in all those institutions with the Budget Committee several times. This Evans policy looked good on paper, but it just wasn't. I think it was really cruel to those people.

Ms. Boswell: I think it was about the same time that there were issues about the treatment of alcoholism, too, weren't there? The switch was made that alcoholism was less a crime than a health issue?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, a sickness. Alcoholism didn't have the commitment that mental health did. Alcoholism is still a hell of a problem. I served seven years on the local board here until it was wiped out with a new administration. I was chairman for a couple of years. As long as I have been around, alcoholism is the number-one health problem and criminal problem. It causes a hell of a lot of crime,

violence, and the whole works. Even the statistics in the prisons show that people are there because of alcohol—drugs and alcohol. More are there because of alcohol than drugs because alcohol is so readily available.

Ms. Boswell: I wanted to go back a minute to talk about Martin Durkan running for governor. I guess there was also some discussion at the time that Evans might or might not run in 1972. I have an article where Tom Copeland, speaking at a press conference in Bellingham, said that you immediately came to mind as being a potential Republican gubernatorial candidate.

Mr. Atwood: (Laughter) Oh, I love that! That's an ego builder. (Laughter) Well, I wasn't about to even think about it because I knew he was going to run. That was nice of Copeland. He was, himself, probably a potential candidate.

Ms. Boswell: He lists three people. He lists you and Jim Andersen and Stewart Bledsoe, I think.

Mr. Atwood: Stewart Bledsoe would be more appropriate; he was a colorful guy. He was my neighbor in Ellensburg—well, my folks' neighbor. I knew him long before I went to the Legislature.

Ms. Boswell: Did you ever have any thoughts about running for higher office?

Mr. Atwood: Not at that time. Well, I did have thoughts of being a US Senator. I aspired to it, but it was not in the cards. You know, you could see this. I traveled the state as state secretary-treasurer of the Jaycees. I was Jerry Starr's state secretary, and I traveled all over. This is a hell of a big state. Campaigning statewide is a tremendous chore. You have got to have a huge organization, and I'm not that good of a campaigner, or wasn't anyway.

Ms. Boswell: So the notion of governor didn't interest you?

Mr. Atwood: It interested me, but what am I going to do? I'm from Bellingham. Running in King County, I'd get killed! (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Well, I think there have been people running for governor from smaller places than Bellingham.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I wanted Marshall Neill to run. (Laughter) He was from Pullman.

Ms. Boswell: You were mentioning some of your major bill interests earlier in 1972, and another one that I read about was a bill that tightened residence requirements for state educational institutions. You had lobbied very heavily that the state was picking up a lot of the tab for out-of-state students—a lot more than you thought was fair?

Mr. Atwood: You mean out-of-state institutions?

Ms. Boswell: No, students coming from out of the state to attend state institutions. The state was picking up quite a lot of that cost?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, we were, but we weren't getting paid for it. That was one of many bread and butter issues. I find it very interesting that the regents of the University of Washington are now going through the tuition increases and whatnot.

Ms. Boswell: Two things. One, there was a move—I think it was obviously by the Democrats—to put a limit on the veto power of the governor?

Mr. Atwood: (Laughing) Yes, "Danny Veto." (Laughter) But he got nailed by the courts on the Landlord-Tenant Act, which was totally his undoing. He screwed it up for all the governors to come because he went through and struck out the word "not" all the way through, and changed the whole complexion of the bill. It was called by the Supreme Court "affirmative legislation"—not negative—and it took away all that power that he was exercising.

I told the landlord organization in Seattle—it was their bill—that it was a good bill. He changed the whole complexion of it to a debtor's bill. I said to them, "You guys have got a case here because this is affirmative legislation by way of a veto." It is the law today. It killed him. It was the end of "Danny Veto." (Laughter) I wasn't even in the Legislature when the ruling came down on him, but I had encouraged them to appeal that right away.

Ms. Boswell: Now, was that the kind of legislation that you and he were at odds over?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely. There was one other that he broke his word to me, and I can't remember it. We extracted a promise on the floor of the Senate. It was on a limitation on something to do with King County taxing. He said we'd let it expire, and then he vetoed that expiration date after we had left. I wrote him a letter, as I recall, or had somebody write him a letter. He had promised not to do that or that bill would never have gotten out. But that's the only time he ever did that. He was a fierce user of the veto—he used it once too often.

Ms. Boswell: Now, would you say that overall he was a man of his word?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, absolutely.

Ms. Boswell: Was it just an aberration?

Mr. Atwood: I think he just forgot. That was the only time that I can recall, and I'm not sure about it. The circumstances were such that he had promised not to veto it, and he did. We were aware of what he could do with a pen! (Laughter) He was probably a great penman. Rosellini had nicknamed him "Danny Veto." But he used it once too often.

Chapter 10

Ethics, Budgets and the Continuing Session Concept

Ms. Boswell: In late 1972 and during the 1973 session, there were many important issues that occupied the Legislature and that had far-reaching effects. Redistricting, for example, continued to be an issue for the Legislature in the early 1970s.

Mr. Atwood: I didn't pay any attention to redistricting. When we were going through it in 1963 and 1965, I was so far back in terms of seniority. I was in my first term. I just didn't do anything. What could I do?

Ms. Boswell: What about the 1970s? You were in the minority leadership in the 1970s.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, that was a lot different. Redistricting was done by the federal district court with a commissioner, with a master.

Ms. Boswell: What did you think about the master of redistricting, Morrill? Richard Morrill was the man who did that job in 1972.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I think he did a good job under the circumstances, as much as he could. He had some input from some of those guys who knew him. I know Marshall Neill got to say a few things. I think he was consulted about what numbers to keep. They kept my number on the Forty-second District. They move Ernie Lennart's Forty-first to Mercer Island, which turned out to be fine because Ernie died going down to a meeting. It all worked out for the best.

Ms. Boswell: Some people say that the way he redistricted changed, essentially, the balance of power in the Legislature, primarily between urban and rural areas. Part of that, of course, was that the population was changing.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. I don't think he had anything to do with that. I mean, it was just the hard facts of the population being so sparse in the Eastern Washington districts, and Seattle and Pierce and Snohomish being the heavily populated counties.

Ms. Boswell: I was wondering, though, about the effect of that population switch and then changing the districts to match that switch? How might it have changed the makeup of the Legislature and the whole tenor of the Legislature at that time?

Mr. Atwood: I'd be surprised if you could really point to anything, except as Republicans, we took it in the shorts terribly. In King County, when I was in the Legislature in the 1960s, the Republicans had four or five senators. After that redistricting, we had even less and now we have zero.

Ms. Boswell: Right after that, I guess in the 1972 election, both the Senate and the House became Democratic. I think for a long time, when you were in office, the House was Republican and the Senate was primarily Democratic.

Mr. Atwood: The Republicans were never in the majority when I was in the Senate. I think we got up to twenty-one or twenty-two once, in one session. I was not concerned with redistricting. I probably should have been, but I don't know what difference I could have made in that issue. I was clear up in the northern part, and there wasn't anything that they could do to me. They couldn't go into Canada and pick up New Democratic Party (NDP) members! (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Did the fact that the leadership changed begin to have an effect after 1972? First of all, with the Democratic majority in the House you had a new Speaker. Leonard Sawyer became Speaker. I don't know if that would have any effect on the Senate leadership at all, but I was just curious.

Mr. Atwood: It didn't have any effect. I got in more fights with Lenny Sawyer than the Democrats. He was in my class. I knew him, and that phony "continuing session" thing was a very costly matter. It blew the budget clear out of sight; every two months you had to have a supplemental budget.

Ms. Boswell: Let's talk about that because that was one of the controversies of that 1973 session—the continuing Legislature. Tell me about how that came about.

Mr. Atwood: That was Lenny Sawyer's brainstorm. The rationale for it, I think, was totally lacking.

Ms. Boswell: But now explain what they were proposing to do in this continuing session legislation?

Mr. Atwood: They were proposing to come into session about once every sixty to ninety days, and we did. I think we had a couple of weeks in session in September of my last year.

Ms. Boswell: So the idea was that you had your regular session and then, instead of lengthier special sessions, you would come in periodically? Is that it?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. It was just a make-work project, at least in my opinion. It didn't accomplish much, except running the cost of the Legislature clear out of sight. Now it is even worse. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: What was their rationale for why they wanted it?

Mr. Atwood: They wanted it so they could change things rapidly, immediately, but as it turned out, that didn't happen. Everybody's little pet project never died. It was always alive.

Ms. Boswell: Wasn't also part of it that they would change the nature of committees so that you could get rid of interim committees?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, that was one of the things. Standing committees would continue to operate in the interim rather than having separate interim committees, which is fine. They didn't have to have a lot of those interim committees; they could have eliminated all but two or three. The Legislative Council, the Budget Committee, and the Transportation Committee were the only three that really needed to operate in the interim. The rest of those committees didn't do anything except look at whatever they were looking at.

Ms. Boswell: What were some of other ones that you think were more expendable?

Mr. Atwood: Fisheries or Banking and Commerce. I'd have to look at the book. You can see all the interim committees. There were enough to keep everyone busy.

Ms. Boswell: Was it worthwhile to have a permanent staff? Didn't they add a permanent staff to the standing committees?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, a lot. It did, but it increased the cost of doing business immensely. It was certainly not a money-saver because then everyone had to have staff all the time. Each person now has a staff member. When we were there, there was no staff for my first two sessions, until I got into leadership. Then I had a secretary full-time, but she also served the rest of my caucus. The Democrats had all kinds of staff running around

there. (Laughter) Well, they did. And now when I see those figures in the Legislature, I'm horrified by it. They don't do anything.

The problems are still the same. We're going to go through tax reform again this coming session. Believe me, it's the same old thing: the K-12 and the university budgets. Oh, you could turn the page back ten years or twenty years, and you would have the same thing then. It was absolutely the same thing. There's just not enough money in the whole world to satisfy those people. There isn't.

Ms. Boswell: Another argument that you used against the year-long session was that you thought that it essentially eliminated deadlines.

Mr. Atwood: It did.

Ms. Boswell: You said that without deadlines, legislatures couldn't work. Now tell me about that?

Mr. Atwood: You got it. The Legislature would drag its feet; procrastination is the thief of time. Believe me, if there was ever an example of that, it was those continuing sessions. I think Augie and Bob Bailey and all those guys would say that if you didn't work against a deadline, you could hardly get anything done. You really couldn't. It was terribly frustrating to have no deadlines and see everything still alive. You live to fight another day you know; there was just no way of cutting it off.

Ms. Boswell: Would that be particularly a problem with the budget?

Mr. Atwood: No, it wasn't because you've got to have an appropriation; you've got to terminate somewhere. Actually, it was really a nightmare for the budget people because they had to redo the budget, or parts of it, every time we went down there. You come back and make another appropriation—a supplemental. That means the governor is going to be tested every time the Legislature got into session.

Ms. Boswell: But yet Evans was supportive of it, wasn't he?

Mr. Atwood: Not of the continuing session, I don't think.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, I thought he was. At least he didn't come out firmly against it, did he?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, he didn't. I think he was more of a traditionalist on the annual sessions—period and that's it. If you have a continuing session, that's frightful. They don't have it now, do they?

Ms. Boswell: No.

Mr. Atwood: No, it was a bust; it was an absolute bust. There wasn't any reason for a continuing session; it had no rationale at all. You can see now why they don't have it anymore. It died a horrible, slow death after everybody quit.

Ms. Boswell: Do you think that was the reason for some people to quit?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, very much so. They just couldn't do it—those people who had very good jobs. They had to make a living and or were self-employed. That was a good reason to quit because you couldn't keep that up. As a matter of fact, it was the death knell of any type of citizen legislature.

Ms. Boswell: Now tell me about that. Why do you think that?

Mr. Atwood: Well, because you've got to leave your business. At least for the professional man or for the businessman, he has to leave his business every sixty days for a month, or three weeks, or whatever. It's not a vacation down there, although it can rapidly turn into one. (Laughter) They

say, "Oh, well, we're in the continuing session. I think I'll take off for a couple of weeks." Well, the people figure out what they're going to do.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, I can see that it would be quite difficult to run a business if you had to keep going down there.

Mr. Atwood: You can't. Oh, you can't. That's one of the main reasons I had to quit. My last year, I was out of the office 180 days. There was just no way I could send two kids to college. I had some harsh words for that continuing session.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, you did! But was it primarily the Democrats who wanted it?

Mr. Atwood: Just Sawyer. I don't think Augie did. Augie had to go fishing in the summertime; he didn't have time for it. And some of these other guys had businesses. Gissberg was a lawyer, but then he became a bureaucrat after he got out. He quit the Legislature. There were a lot of guys who terminated because of the very fact of having to quit their business or whatever they did. A farmer. How is a farmer going to leave in the spring and then again during harvest in the fall to be in Olympia? He can't.

Ms. Boswell: Well, it seems that many of your efforts were primarily to cap the number of days that legally you could meet in a special session.

Mr. Atwood: You had to put an end to all of that stuff. If you don't work against a deadline, then it just drags on forever and ever and ever.

Ms. Boswell: It seemed that Leonard Sawyer, as the Speaker of the House, became the target.

Mr. Atwood: He sure was.

Ms. Boswell: Did he actually hold up bills to try to maneuver with his plans?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely. He wanted to save something to do in the continuing session. (Laughter) And he liked that. It was a terrible concept; even Congress doesn't do that.

Ms. Boswell: But why would there so many people who seemed to be in favor of it?

Mr. Atwood: That's because they got paid. Some of those guys never made that kind of money.

Ms. Boswell: Ultimately, the compromise that they came up with—I think it was primarily made between Augie Mardesich and Harry Lewis—allowed for second special sessions if you had a petition signed by two-thirds of the legislators. But there was to be a September session, I believe, in 1973.

Mr. Atwood: I don't know what it was, but whatever it was, it was unnecessary. I'm surprised. Augie probably gave in to Len on some of those issues. I'll tell you this—the special session wasn't going to be during fishing season! (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: In terms of that issue, there was an interesting editorial—I think it was in the *Bellingham Herald*—in which they described you. They said, "Atwood is the toughest nut to crack on this issue of the continuing session." And then it says, "The Senate, indeed the most powerful club in the state, operated on a consensus. It hasn't the time of day for the petty partisanship so readily apparent on the House floor, and Atwood isn't that far away from Senate Democratic floor leader Mardesich and Martin Durkan."

Mr. Atwood: That's right. They hit it right square. I don't think their heart was in that continuing session, but they had to go along to get along. We agreed. I don't think Augie liked that continuing session concept, but he had to play along a little bit. Oh, that's very interesting. That's true.

Ms. Boswell: What about the description of the

Senate as being operated on a consensus with less petty partisanship than in the House?

Mr. Atwood: That's true. The reason is that the House is up every two years. They're always in a campaign mode, where the senators aren't. Some of them are.

Ms. Boswell: So that really does relieve some of the partisanship?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, absolutely. There's very little partisan stuff. I guess about twenty percent might be classified as partisan; the rest is non-partisan. Really. I never had any difficulty with it, except those things that they made partisan issues.

Ms. Boswell: Another change that came up that you seemed strongly opposed to—or at least parts of it—was the Public Disclosure Act that came about because of that initiative?

Mr. Atwood: It didn't bother me as much as having to disclose your clientele and listings, like Jonathan Whetzel. He had to have his bookkeeper work on it. He was in a big law firm; they were KING-TV's lawyers and whatnot. I mean he had pages that big!

Ms. Boswell: Like a couple of inches worth?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. I mean that was ridiculous. Mine was pretty thin. I didn't have any clients who made me that kind of money—over $5,000 or whatever it was. It was very onerous.

Ms. Boswell: Slade Gorton had become the attorney general by then, and you actually asked him for a new ruling on that initiative based on what?

Mr. Atwood: Disclosure of clients.

Ms. Boswell: Right. Just for attorneys?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, attorneys and accountants. I don't know what he ruled; he said it was okay, I guess. I think the big law firms had a problem with it. It was like Whetzel, who worked at one of the big law firms, and I think, maybe, Fran Holman. Lots of those Seattle lawyers have thousands, or at least three or four hundred, clients. That's really an onerous task because the lawyer in the Legislature doesn't know who all the clients of the business are, but you have to disclose them.

Ms. Boswell: So it wouldn't just be your personal clients, but the clients of the whole law firm?

Mr. Atwood: No, the clients of the whole law firm.

Ms. Boswell: That is a lot.

Mr. Atwood: Oh it's ridiculous, absolutely ridiculous. But that was the law. I guess it was upheld.

Ms. Boswell: There was some debate in the papers about whether that law caused the so-called "exodus" of good legislators because of the effect public disclosure would have. Was that a valid claim do you think or not?

Mr. Atwood: It probably was, but it was something that we were going to have to live with. It was a *fait accompli*; it wouldn't do any good to combat it. But now, you know who uses the public disclosures, don't you? Your opponent! I spent a lot of time looking at all my opponents' disclosure statements.

Ms. Boswell: Just trying to find what?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, it's very illuminating, especially on their financial disclosure. It's a real tool for the opponent—especially for the non-incumbent. Marvelous.

Ms. Boswell: I know that this wasn't your primary reason for leaving, but who were some of the people who did leave or decided to leave the Legislature because of it?

Mr. Atwood: Whetzel was one of them. He said he had had it. He was a very brilliant guy. There were a couple or three others who didn't enjoy disclosing all of their clients. I think Durkan was one of them. He had so many retainers; I mean he made a good practice out of the Legislature. Talk about retainers—he had them.

Ms. Boswell: Were there questions, even then, about the ethics of that practice?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. Like he represented the Washington Horse Racing Association, the thoroughbred racers. He had a lot of clients. Puget Sound Power and Light. I don't know. You would have to go back and look at his disclosure forms, but he represented a lot of people.

Ms. Boswell: By the 1973 session, the Democrats in the Senate also had a major leadership change with Augie Mardesich taking over as the floor leader. What was the effect on the Republicans when there was that kind of upheaval?

Mr. Atwood: Great!

Ms. Boswell: Great?

Mr. Atwood: (Laughter) Didn't I tell you way back at the beginning? Greive was beside himself. I mean, it was bitter. I'm sure you know that because you interviewed Greive and Augie, didn't you? Augie never showed how bitter it was. But Greive approached the Republican caucus and actually talked to Newschwander. We had to have a meeting with him. We had a meeting at the Turkey House. I was instructed by the caucus to talk with him, for a potential "coalition," but it was laughable. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Why do you say that?

Mr. Atwood: The turkeys met at the Turkey House in Arlington. (Laughter) I took John Stender with me. He was a tough union negotiator—a boilermaker. I forget who Greive had, but he made some preposterous offer. He'd give us a couple of committees, and he would get chairmanships. There wasn't any way. And Augie and Gissberg knew that. They knew that we couldn't do business with Greive. (Laughter). He had about six votes. You know, we had enough to control the place. But we weren't going to do that—not with Greive.

Ms. Boswell: In some of the newspapers, they were speculating at the time about this potential coalition. Some of them suggested that the Republicans said, "It's either all the way or none." In other words, that Greive might have proposed a coalition, for example, to get some committee assignments, and then you—or I shouldn't say you, but the Republicans—said "Okay, it's either a coalition on every issue or not." Was that your position?

Mr. Atwood: More or less. It wasn't very serious, though; it was kind of laughable in my opinion. I'm not a good negotiator when it comes to something like that. My heart was not into talking with him, and I'm sure Stender's was even less. Of course, Stender is dead now, but I'd love to have heard his take on it.

Ms. Boswell: But you seriously listened to his proposals, right?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, sure, you had to. I was instructed to. I carried them back to the caucus and that was the end of that.

Ms. Boswell: And the caucus didn't want to go along?

Mr. Atwood: They didn't want to do anything because Augie had said, "We'll give you any of what you want." He was much better than Greive ever was. And he did! He gave us a lot of leeway, and we talked. We got a hell of a lot done.

Ms. Boswell: There was a press conference that you held, and you were asked lots of questions about the potential of that coalition.

Mr. Atwood: What did I say?

Ms. Boswell: Well, you essentially held it out as being a possibility for the future, in case things didn't go your way.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, right. You can't just summarily shut them off, and give them the Yasser Arafat treatment—although he was unknown in those days. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: But you did indicate that Mardesich had essentially given you what you wanted?

Mr. Atwood: Everything we wanted. We named our own committee members. They established the numerical make-up, and they kept control of the important committees. In the rest of it, he was very generous. He told me personally—he said: "Whatever you want, let me know." He was very easy for me to deal with. I was a good friend of his long before he took over.

Ms. Boswell: Yes. Was he using the Republicans as a pawn in this battle with Greive or was Greive trying to? I mean it seems like both of them were trying to…

Mr. Atwood: Yes, but Augie's positions were a lot closer to ours than Greive's—a lot closer. Augie was a very conservative guy; believe me. He may not appear to be—maybe on some things he isn't. I knew him after he came here in 1963 with me, and I knew that he was very conservative. In all my dealings with him, he was very conservative. He really was.

Ms. Boswell: In any particular area—I mean, fiscally?

Mr. Atwood: Fiscally—very. He and Gissberg—they were more conservative than I am. (Laughter) I think they are. He might deny that, but the thing about Augie is that he never did directly what he could do indirectly. You could never tell what his important issues were until towards the end. You tried to smoke him out, but he wouldn't be smoked out until the very end. Then he would show us what he wanted.

Ms. Boswell: Was that an effective tactic, do you think?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely, he was a pro. He learned that tactic in the House. He was probably as effective a legislator as anybody down there, if not more so than most. I guess more so than ninety-eight percent.

Ms. Boswell: When he ran against Bob Greive within his own caucus for the floor leader position, they issued something that they called—at least in the papers—"the Mardesich Manifesto" about the things that he wanted to do. I think probably one of the primary ones was to streamline and change the committee system. Did you see that coming, and was it effective in your opinion, or not?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I don't think it changed it all that much. He wanted to cut back on the number of committees, which was a good move, but he was hampered because everybody whom he needed to deal with was a chairman—I mean, his people. And you had to keep Greive under control, and Greive's four or five people. And he had to rely on the Republicans to keep the balance in that relationship. Of course, the Republican position was a lot closer to those people than Greive's.

Ms. Boswell: One of the things that I think he was in favor of—and which, I think, essentially happened—was that they have the same committees in the House as the Senate. That had not been the case prior to that time?

Mr. Atwood: Never. Not when I was there. It

did become more so, but they were different types of committees. They had different names even.

Ms. Boswell: That doesn't make any sense. You would think there would be this correspondence. One of the reasons that I brought all this up was that you mentioned Martin Durkan and all of his retainers. One of the first or early things that happened in the 1973 session were the accusations against Augie Mardesich about his retainers—or whatever you might want to call them—from the garbage haulers. I wondered about that and if people took that seriously?

Mr. Atwood: (Laughter) He and…what was his partner's name? His law office partner?

Ms. Boswell: I can't remember; let me think.

Mr. Atwood: Archie Baker. Archie had the cigar or the shoebox with the $10,000 in it. I looked at that trial. I was down trying a drug case in federal district court when they tried Augie for corruption, or whatever. I forget what it was.

Ms. Boswell: Tax evasion?

Mr. Atwood: No, it wasn't tax evasion. This was for campaign funds.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, the campaign fund.

Mr. Atwood: (Laughter) It was a phony deal. Augie knew how to raise money, and he raised it. He was no different than Greive. The Greive fund was a fairly successful fund for a long time. The garbage money was—I'm not sure that it was tainted—it was just an out-and-out. I think part of it was gambling; I think that was the major thing. I watched the trial. My good friend, Stan Pitken, was the prosecutor. He's from here. I told him, "I don't think that you're going to find anything there." The majority leader now of the Senate testified for Augie and did a good job. The worst witness against him—and he was supposedly for Augie—was a relative. He was a horrible witness. I happened to be there the day he testified. He was just terrible. (Laughter) I think he was trying to put Augie behind bars.

Ms. Boswell: What was the perception? I mean, were the Republicans gleeful that this was taking place or not?

Mr. Atwood: No, they were not unhappy about the whole thing, but it cast aspersion on the whole place. It was not a good thing to have taken place, so you can't be too happy.

We made a rule. I didn't have any slush funds. I didn't have a Greive fund or a Mardesich fund. I didn't even try to collect any money for that. We had a Finance Committee that did it all, and a Senate Campaign Committee that did it all. I got sued over that in the last election on the Buffington campaign. Who was controlling the elections? The PDC (Public Disclosure Commission)? Yes, the PDC sued me along with some other members, but I was retiring. This was in 1974, and they substituted Matson in the lawsuit. As it turned out, the Republican caucus got fined for not reporting a couple of staff members' time working on the Buffington campaign.

I'm telling you, there was a lot of help getting Greive—not only the Republicans, but some Democrats. I think Durkan and Augie really teamed up on Greive. I don't remember all the details, but I heard about what was going on, and it was bad. He was assassinated! (Laughter) It couldn't happen to a better guy.

Ms. Boswell: Going back to Mardesich and the garbage haulers, the accusations were made by a man named George Martonik, who had worked for Greive prior to that time.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, okay. I didn't pay much attention to the whole thing. There were a lot of aspersions cast against Augie. It must have been very painful to Rosemary and the family because those are bad things when that happens. The ap-

pearance was bad. I bet my last dollar that there was nothing untoward or any crookedness involved in that, but it just looked bad. You can't change that.

Ms. Boswell: So was that the position that you took then?

Mr. Atwood: That's what I did. We weren't joining the fray. There were a lot of rumors and all that kind of foolishness.

Ms. Boswell: Was that your decision, as the chair of the caucus, not to get involved?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it was the decision of the whole caucus; there was no use. What was it going to do? Nothing.

And later on there was that scandal with Bagnariol, and Walgren and Gallagher. Patrick Gallagher was the lobbyist's name.

Ms. Boswell: Did you have a sense, or did you see a lot of "shady practices" when you served there?

Mr. Atwood: I said "petty graft"—a lot of it. Even I got what I considered petty graft. I got a wristwatch from the Patrol or sheriffs and police chiefs. It was beer and wine when I first got there. You had a case of beer delivered to your home each week—a case of beer from the Teamsters. I'll never forget, I had my mother-in-law down in Olympia, and there was this big tough guy hauling beer. "I have some beer here for Senator Atwood. Where do you want it?" She didn't know anything about it. She said, "Are you sure he ordered beer?"

I forget what else. Oh, yes, we got football tickets to the UW and WSU games. That practice was cut out by disclosures. We had a lot of petty graft, or what I called petty graft. There was also booze, lots of booze. In fact some of those guys made it a business. I remember my wife was down in the Senate garage and here comes an old legislator's son, who was a lawyer, too. They had a truck, and they were loading cases of whiskey and whatnot in this truck. He made it into a business. He had enough booze there to last him two years. It was every session, but it wasn't unusual, I guess.

I used to get booze from the Association of Washington Cities. They kept the caucus room supplied. That was quite routine. Lobbyists kept both caucuses supplied with any hard liquor, and when I first went there, the Liquor Board used to give us samples. (Laughter). They got indicted. They did. Don Eldridge and Jack Hood got indicted, and Jimmy Andersen defended them. He could tell you about that case.

Ms. Boswell: So now, tell me just some brief background. Why were they indicted or what was the whole scenario?

Mr. Atwood: They were samples, so they were free booze. The state didn't pay for them; they were samples. It depends on the liquor.

Ms. Boswell: But they gave it equally to both the caucuses?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, oh, yes. They would come around and say, "Do you need any booze, Senator?" Well, I said, "I don't know. Just check with the caucus, the sergeant at arms." The sergeant at arms took care of that stuff.

Ms. Boswell: So when was it used in the caucus? When you had meetings, did you have booze or what? I don't understand. When would the caucus use it? For parties?

Mr. Atwood: Parties and in-between, but never while we were in session. You could go and get a drink if you wanted one.

Ms. Boswell: Was alcohol a major problem?

Mr. Atwood: I think it was to some of them. I

told you at the beginning of this interview that booze, women, and finances were probably the biggest problems in the Legislature.

Ms. Boswell: But in regard to this whole issue of ethics and what is ethical to accept, was the Pubic Disclosure Commission a good thing because of that issue, or not?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, it made people clean up their acts. There probably was a lot of other stuff that I was unaware of. I called all that stuff petty graft; it really was, you know. (Laughter) I don't know what else to call it.

Ms. Boswell: Would any of that "petty graft" have ever swayed you, for example, to support an issue?

Mr. Atwood: No. (Laughter) It wouldn't have swayed ninety percent or ninety-five percent of the guys. Really. I don't know what the ethics said, but you were not supposed to take gifts or have dinner worth more than twenty-five dollars or some such thing. There were a lot of restrictions.

Ms. Boswell: But I've heard people say that the lobbyists, for example, would pay for meals. You would never have to pay for your own meals or dinners, if you didn't want to, and that there would be parties and food all the time.

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, that's true. A friend of mine, who shall remain nameless, was a good Democrat, but he said, "Frank, I'm going to get us a pigeon." (Laughter) And a little while later, we went out for dinner courtesy of the pigeon. I just didn't have the guts to do it. I had some good lobbyists who would buy me dinner, but I never asked them. I didn't like that—getting the pigeon—but most of the lobbyists knew who to look out for. These guys would have the arm put on them by these people.

Ms. Boswell: You mean the legislators would put the "arm" on them?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, the legislators.

Ms. Boswell: They would ask to be taken out? Is that it?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. That wasn't too common, but it was there among some of those legislators, and especially some of the old-timers.

Ms. Boswell: To your knowledge, did money change hands?

Mr. Atwood: Not to my knowledge; I never saw that happen. I never heard of it. I heard about some of it. They accused Augie. Augie didn't take any of that money. He used it for campaigns and whatnot.

Ms. Boswell: What do you think of the ethics of having this sort of campaign collection activity going on by individuals? We talked about the Greive fund and the Mardesich fund, and this guy's fund and that guy's fund. I think they would say, "We're raising money, and we'll give it to whoever asks." I know Bob Greive argued that he even gave to some Republicans.

Mr. Atwood: I doubt that. My first session, I was sitting there minding my own business about 2:00 in the morning when old man McCutcheon, who was a good Democrat from Pierce County got up, and he started to read from the Greive fund. I went wild. I was sitting back there writing all the names down of who gave to the fund. All of these lobbyists who were good supporters of the Republicans were on that list. The next day I said, "Thanks a lot fellows." A lot of them—most of them—had given to that Greive fund. That's what made it so successful. They played him right to the hilt.

Ms. Boswell: But the names were all publicized, so it wasn't hidden?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, well, this was late at night, so there weren't any newsmen around. There weren't. This was about 2:00 in the morning. I'll never forget that. It might be in one of the journals in the 1963 session.

Ms. Boswell: But now, how did the Republicans handle it? You were in the leadership, so how did you handle fundraising? I know you said earlier that when you were fairly new to politics, the Republicans were not very well organized in terms of fundraising.

Mr. Atwood: They were terrible.

Ms. Boswell: But what about by the 1970s? Was it better?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, they were in good shape. We had some good politicians. Matson and Lewis. We had two or three: Harry Lewis and Jim Matson. They were good pros. They had been raised with the Evans and Gorton crew over there in the House. They really got it organized.

Ms. Boswell: And so they would help?

Mr. Atwood: They had the Leadership Council, which was part of the Senate Republican Caucus. They still have that; I get mailings. I never go, but I get their mailings all the time. That's what they needed to have way back when, but once they got it started, it has been going strong now for quite a while.

Ms. Boswell: So that was an effective way of training people?

Mr. Atwood: Oh absolutely, oh yes. Getting candidates, too. The tough part of the Legislature is getting good candidates. Man, that's tough. If you can get a good candidate, a really good one, you are going to do all right if you give him some support—money and whatnot. But that's tough, really tough, and we had some good commissars—that's what I called them. They were pros.

Ms. Boswell: Now, at this time in the 1973 session, you did have some changes in the Republican leadership, too.

Mr. Atwood: Who did I have?

Ms. Boswell: You were the chair and Matson was the vice-chair, but you had a new floor leader, Harry Lewis, who came in to replace Jim Andersen. Then you had Newschwander, and you had a new minority whip, George Scott. Tell me about, first of all, Harry Lewis as floor leader.

Mr. Atwood: Well, he was all right. He lived in Olympia and he'd been in the House, so he was a pro.

Ms. Boswell: And Jim Andersen left? Why did he decide to leave?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. He got appointed to the appellate court. He was a good friend of Dan's, and then he got appointed to the Supreme Court.

Ms. Boswell: Why wouldn't, for example, Newschwander, who had been the assistant, why wouldn't he have risen to the floor leader position?

Mr. Atwood: I can't answer that. Harry was a wheeler-dealer; believe me! (Laughter) Harry always had some deals cooking. I had Matson protecting my rear from him because he was pretty ambitious.

When I left, Jeannette Hayner overthrew Matson and Newschwander.

Ms. Boswell: What about George Scott? How did he fit in?

Mr. Atwood: I thought he was a comer, and he was one of my protégés, but he just didn't pan out as much as I thought he would, for some reason.

He was a tough guy. He didn't disappoint me, he just wasn't up to the expectations that I had for him.

Ms. Boswell: What did you look for in a "comer"? What kinds of things did you think generally marked somebody who could succeed?

Mr. Atwood: A guy who does his homework, for one. Knowledge is power in that place, and ignorance is bliss. You might as well be elsewhere. You could have a good time there and do nothing. You had to really tend to your knitting as far as doing your homework on legislation.

It was easy for a young guy. I was very young when I started; I was thirty-six. I'd been a city councilman for six years. I left the Senate when I was forty-eight. That was the heart of my earning power; that's why I'm broke still. (Laughter) But I loved it.

Ms. Boswell: But so really knowing what you're doing and being well informed was important? Was there anything else that was important?

Mr. Atwood: Having confidence. Yes. I also think you need to know when to talk and when not to, especially when you are new there. You're not supposed to talk very much. In committees you could talk and exercise your muscle. You know, I noticed that the guys who were goofing off there and having a good time, they would be elected forever. But the guy who was doing the work could get dumped in a hurry.

Ms. Boswell: Because he does what?

Mr. Atwood: He was not afraid to take a stand. (Laughter) I took some horrible votes.

Ms. Boswell: Did an individual have to be a good speaker or a persuasive arguer to be a good legislator?

Mr. Atwood: It helps, but it's not the key. As I said, knowledge is power. If you know what you are talking about, and the people who are listening to you know what you talking about, that's the key to being successful in that place, even when you are on the bad side of things. The other side is in error. That's why Augie was so strong; he'd pick out the weaknesses in any of that legislation and pick away at it.

Ms. Boswell: Do you think that people who were attorneys had an advantage over the others?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, absolutely. I think so. I'm glad that I was an attorney because you were dealing with law. That was all you were dealing with. We heard all the new, big, heavy legislation that was mostly legal. On the Judiciary Committee, we had some good chairmen there. Gissberg. The best one they ever had was Judge Jack Petrich from Tacoma. He was a good man, a really cracker-jack lawyer. He became an appellate court judge later on. He was a good chairman; he was really on the ball. An outstanding chairman.

Ms. Boswell: So who were the other good chairmen?

Mr. Atwood: Gissberg. Wes Uhlman was a pretty good chairman. These were all Democrats because they controlled the place. Dan Marsh was fair.

Ms. Boswell: When you were in the leadership, how frequently did you all get together before the session started to plot out what was going to happen?

Mr. Atwood: Every session.

Ms. Boswell: Every session?

Mr. Atwood: Especially if there were some controversial things. In our office, there were three people in our leadership. There was the chairman, the vice-chairman, the secretary, or then the

floor leader, so we always had a little prayer meeting before we went into caucus. We talked to the attorneys, the caucus attorneys, who were doing the digest. Both caucuses had digests prepared by their attorneys. You had to especially gear up for something that was going to be a big squabble—not a big squabble, but controversial.

Ms. Boswell: Did you have certain strategies for approaching the caucus?

Mr. Atwood: Not really. We picked out the guys who were very well-versed on the issue, particularly, to be the spokesmen, backed up by the floor leader and the whip or the caucus chairman. I did a lot of the floor work because Andersen was practicing law, but he was a good floor leader. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: And then what about when Harry Lewis came in? Did he take over more of that work?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, more or less, but he wasn't as good as Andersen. Of course, Harry was not a lawyer, but Harry was very knowledgeable.

Ms. Boswell: As a leader, were there certain characteristics that you felt you had to exert? You were the leader of the Senate Republicans, so were there certain leadership qualities you tried to foster?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. I think the main thing was trying to get everybody to participate, and if they didn't want to, that's fine. It depended on what the issue was, too. But especially when you got into a scramble, that's when the leaders had to really come to the fore. Then if it got too rough, we would just ask for caucus time to get organized. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: One of the decisions you made during the start of the 1973 session was to have weekly news conferences for the minority caucus. How and why did you decide to do that?

Mr. Atwood: To keep up with the Democrats! (Laughter) Besides that, we had John Murray, who was our newsman, and we had our own PR guy, Ken Bertrand. It doesn't do any good to have a PR guy unless you are going to disseminate the news.

Ms. Boswell: So, was that something new—to have a PR guy for the caucus?

Mr. Atwood: No, we had one. In fact, Munro's wife was one of our first PR gals, and then we had Helen.

Perry Woodall did not like having press conferences. He was the whole show. (Laughter) If you are going to be a leader, you have to depend on some of the troops, too.

Ms. Boswell: So how did you feel about holding press conferences?

Mr. Atwood: Fine. We had people there, various senators, at the press conference, not just the leaders. And, of course, the leaders were always subject to quotes. You had to be careful of what you said. The press conference was a semi-structured deal. You had a statement and then questions.

Ms. Boswell: I'm curious about the committees at that period of time. By this time, because you were in the leadership, you were on what many people considered the most prestigious or powerful committees. In particular, that year you were on Rules, Ways and Means, and the Judiciary Committee. We have talked now and again about Rules, but once you were on Rules, can you tell me about that committee?

Mr. Atwood: When I first got on Rules, it was a pretty powerful committee because it was a secret ballot. The minute that secret ballot went out the window, it became a lot less powerful. The

chairmen of committees became more powerful because once it got into Rules, there was probably no holding anything. Gissberg got off Rules because he said it was like a sieve.

Ms. Boswell: So the changes in Rules and the lack of secrecy really did alter the power structure?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, absolutely. It didn't alter the balance of power, but it just altered the effectiveness of the committee to hold bad legislation. They just couldn't hold it. You know, the pressure from the various pubic interest or personal interest groups—special interest groups is the term—gets to be overwhelming. They know what you are doing.

Ms. Boswell: There was a little bit of controversy early in the 1973 term about the Rules Committee having an "Executive Committee meeting" about certain issues. You called it "a tempest in a teapot," but was that a technique that Rules used, on occasion, to have a secret Executive Committee meeting?

Mr. Atwood: I don't even recall that. I think you asked me about that before, but I don't remember having a meeting of just the leaders, like Augie and myself and Bailey, and Harry Lewis or Matson—an Executive Committee—I really don't remember. If it did, it didn't meet very often, that I can recall.

Ms. Boswell: What did you see as your personal role on Rules?

Mr. Atwood: Just to be careful on what we voted to get out. Lots of stuff you couldn't hold in there. The only place that you could have held it was in the committee, and the committee acted with the majority. If it got into Rules, everything was fair game. You get it out, if you've got enough pressure.

Ms. Boswell: I think that one of the changes that Bob Greive had tried to initiate during that session was to open certain committees? How do I want to phrase this?

Mr. Atwood: Executive sessions?

Ms. Boswell: No, to open up conference committees so there would be no secrecy. You were against that.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, because then you didn't get a free exchange, especially when you were in a free conference situation, like in the budget. But I tell you, once you got into one of those things, there was always some long-ball hitter who would run out of the room and tell the lobbyists, "Look out. They are going to get you on this." And then the pressure would start.

That darn Fred Dore—the late Fred Dore—was really something else on the budget. We'd decide one thing, and he'd run out of the door. Then about two minutes later, I'd go down to my office, and there were about ten guys waiting for me. So much for secrecy. (Laughter) He hung our committee up—that one Free Conference Committee I was on for the budget—he hung it for about four or five days. We finally caved in to Dore. In the next session, the first thing that we did in the Senate was on the free conference committee—it took just five out of the six—so that was the end of Dore as far as being the "dog in the manger."

Ms. Boswell: In Rules, though, wasn't there a controversy when Augie came in as leader?

Mr. Atwood: He kicked Greive off.

Ms. Boswell: Didn't he kick some of the older members off and put some freshmen on?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I don't know. What freshmen were put on, do you know?

Ms. Boswell: I think it was Dan Marsh and Ted Bottiger. He removed Bob Ridder and Joe Stortini from Rules.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, boy, two guys to get rid of, too. Marsh wasn't a freshman in 1973, was he?

Ms. Boswell: Yes, I think so.

Mr. Atwood: He beat Frank Foley—my friend Foley.

Ms. Boswell: There was a controversy about that. I think the Republicans had a standoff over the seats in Rules, and then finally you were able to compromise with Augie Mardesich, and, at least, get people on some subcommittees that you wanted in Rules.

Mr. Atwood: Yes. Who did we have on Rules?

Ms. Boswell: Let me see. Well, Cherberg was chair, and then there were: Atwood, Bailey, Bottiger, Guess, Henry, Herr, Keefe, Harry Lewis, Mardesich, Marsh, Ted Peterson, and Talley and Woodall.

Mr. Atwood: In 1973? Most of ours were by seniority. Peterson was a senior guy.

Ms. Boswell: And he was appointed after the resignation of Stender.

Mr. Atwood: When did Stender resign?

Ms. Boswell: I think it was early in 1973. In March.

So the Rules Committee wasn't as important to you as what other committees?

Mr. Atwood: Ways and Means and Judiciary. Of course, Judiciary was a bread and butter committee to me.

I don't know what session it was, but the banks were running around with an initiative to raise the interest rates. I'll never forget it. I was sitting over at my office, and the head of the Seafirst Bank up here in Bellingham came over to the office and asked me about the initiative or the bill. I said, "Well, I don't think you are going to get it; I don't care what you are doing." And by god, here comes old Durkan. He knew that he wasn't going to get it. In fact, the vice-president of Seafirst was sitting out in the audience. And Durkan says, "How many votes do we have for raising the interest rate to fifteen percent?"—or whatever it was. Two hands were raised out of the committee, and down the tubes it went. (Laughter) I told them that beforehand; I told them that it wasn't going to fly, so don't spend any time on it. It wasn't going to fly—period. Labor was against it; I was against it; the Republicans were against it. (Laughter) It was very interesting. Durkan kind of slithered out of the room. He was on the committee; he just fled out of the committee. Dan Marsh was the chairman when that happened.

Ms. Boswell: And that was the Judiciary Committee?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it was Judiciary. That was the only time I ever saw Durkan at the committee meetings. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Now, in Ways and Means, the root of the power is just the budget?

Mr. Atwood: That's the only bill that has to go. If you wanted to get anything done, you tried to hook it on a money bill—a Ways and Means bill. There is no other bill in that place that has to go except the budget—period. Everything else could go down the tubes, and you might be better off.

Ms. Boswell: Now, was there a lot of jockeying in Ways and Means then?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, everyone. It depends on who your constituency was, like community colleges. I had a voc-tech college; I had Western

Washington University; I had heavy manufacturing, refineries, and Intelco. It was a very diverse group, but some needed more tender loving care than the rest. Like Western—they had a lot riding on the Legislature, and, of course, they got caught between UW and WSU. Those two universities have a lot of power down there, lots of power.

Ms. Boswell: Was that because of effective lobbying?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. They've got all their senators and representatives from King County, and the University of Washington has a lot of alumni in that Legislature, and so does WSU.

Ms. Boswell: In terms of the Ways and Means Committee, I guess Martin Durkan was the chair in 1973.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, he was.

Ms. Boswell: And Donohue, vice-chair, Odegaard, vice-chair, and then it was: Atwood, Bailey, Canfield, Dore, Fleming, Gardner, Grant, Harry Lewis, Mardesich, Marsh, Metcalf, Newschwander, Ted Peterson, Ridder, Sandison, and Scott.

Mr. Atwood: Big committee.

Ms. Boswell: It was a big committee. How do you get anything done in a committee with that many people?

Mr. Atwood: Well, because the Democrats come with their budget—the chair's budget. In fact, in the caucus they go and agree on a budget and that becomes the budget. The committee votes it to get it out; it goes on the floor. But it is really about four or five guys who were writing the whole thing. Mike Lowry was an assistant; he was a staff person on that committee. He was Durkan's staff person. But in that session, I had a lot to do with the budget, but Dore got his budget out on the floor. I told Augie, I said, "That's not Durkan's budget, that's Dore's."

Ms. Boswell: It seems that in 1973 particularly, you were fairly hostile publicly to the Evans budget during that year. You called it "a mess" in the press, and you said that it was "enormous" and that it would have to be examined carefully and restructured or some measures eliminated. (Laughter) You are rolling your eyes! Yes, you were very vocal. You called it a "spending budget;" you called it a "welfare budget."

Mr. Atwood: Well, that's true; it was.

Ms. Boswell: Well, but it was interesting to me that as the minority leader of the Senate with a Republican governor that you would have taken such a vocal stand. Was there any method behind that?

Mr. Atwood: No, it was just my personal view of the whole thing. It *was* a spending budget. I think maybe we had an easier time because we were spending money. We didn't raise taxes either, too much.

Ms. Boswell: There was that tax reform bill, but that didn't get anywhere.

Mr. Atwood: No, that went down the tubes.

Ms. Boswell: Did your fairly vocal criticism of the Evans budget affect your relationship with him?

Mr. Atwood: Not to my knowledge. I don't remember him dis-inviting me from the breakfast meetings.(Laughter) He and I got along pretty well together. He knew what my feelings were on the budget. He and I used to converse a lot about it.

Ms. Boswell: Was that an unusual position to take, a fairly vocal position, about the governor's budget?

Mr. Atwood: Why not? I learned that from Augie Mardesich and Bill Gissberg when they were hostile to Governor Rosellini. During my first session, they were opposed to Rosellini on a lot of stuff. I couldn't get over that. He's just a governor. You were elected in your own right.

But anyway, when I got on the Free Conference Committee, then everything changed a lot. The Free Conference Committee re-wrote it—a lot of it.

Ms. Boswell: Did your feelings about budgetary restraint increase as you served? Did you find yourself becoming more of a hard-liner on those issues?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I was getting a lot more conservative. I was taking my lead from Gissberg and Mardesich. I told you at the beginning that they were more conservative than I was. I was amazed when they took the line with Rosellini my first session.

Ms. Boswell: Beyond their example, did you just see more extravagance?

Mr. Atwood: Not extravagance, just way too much money for many of the projects, especially if you weren't raising the revenue. At that time, we had started to recover. It is easy to spend, but it is darn hard to pay for it.

Ms. Boswell: Yes. You were also really critical of, not only some precedents in Washington, but nationally, in terms of spending federal monies that have been allocated. You thought that a lot of the spending was a boondoggle?

Mr. Atwood: A lot of it was. It was a free grant with a lot of extra strings on it, too, which made it very difficult for us. When you take the federal money, you have a lot of requirements that you have to meet. Some of them you can meet, and some of them you can't. That was Nixon, wasn't it? He was the president.

Ms. Boswell: Right.

Mr. Atwood: And he had that federal grant program, which looked awfully good. It was awfully easy to spend and spend because there weren't many strings on it. It was *carte blanche*.

Ms. Boswell: But it also created some uncertainty, too, as to whether it would come through?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, absolutely, because there was no guarantee that it would be repeated. So when you built it into your budget and, all of a sudden, it got cut off, you had a problem, a real problem.

Ms. Boswell: In the 1973 session, in particular, it seems as though it was a session in which the Legislature really tried to exert more authority over budgetary matters. Was that a goal or was that just the outcome of that session?

Mr. Atwood: It was a goal, I think. We were trying to maintain a balance between the executive and the Legislature because lots of times, the Legislature just abdicated its responsibility. Especially like performance audits. This Legislature has abdicated totally to the state auditor, which is bad. Apparently, long after I left, the Budget Committee went. I don't know what happened to it. It was just my feeling or what I observed anyway.

Ms. Boswell: Was that sense of the Legislature needing to create more of a balance the result, primarily, of Evans' strong leadership or had it been an even longer-term problem?

Mr. Atwood: No, it was because Evans was such a strong governor. He was so much stronger than all the rest of governors during my lifetime. I didn't realize how strong he was until after I got out of there and watched him operate—vis-à-vis Booth Gardner; vis- à-vis Dixy; vis-à-vis Spellman. Spellman, pardon me, was very weak. I was his chairman up here, and I thought he would do well, but he wasn't nearly as strong as Evans. The thing

about Evans was that he fought for his programs right down to the last hour. He never gave up on them. He would have three pages of executive requests and for the ones that he wanted, he just went to the mat with the Legislature. He didn't give up. People voted them down a lot, like tax reform, but I have never seen a governor that strong in my lifetime.

Ms. Boswell: Were there certain elements of his style that made him that strong, or was it just a personality issue?

Mr. Atwood: I think it was just his personality and his persistence. He set his goals early on and kept to them. He didn't try to compromise them. He wanted what he wanted, and he got about eighty percent of what he wanted.

Ms. Boswell: Did he, in so doing, increase his support base or did he undercut, to a degree, his support?

Mr. Atwood: I really couldn't answer that. You would have to talk to other people—the Democrats. He talked a lot to the Democrats, too.

Ms. Boswell: But I was thinking more in terms of the Republican leadership. Certainly, you weren't totally in support of him in the budget areas, and in some other areas, too, but did his strength put off some of the Republican members of the Legislature?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. He made a couple of statements: "I'll cross the aisle before I'll cross the people"—that famous statement that everyone pasted to the ceiling. (Laughter) He was a pro, but he was also a very tough governor.

Ms. Boswell: One of the things that the Legislature did in that session was to try to get more control over review of the spending of unanticipated funds. Had that long been an issue—that once the Legislature was gone, they had no control over that spending?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, that was one of the issues. We didn't have that many unanticipated funds, except maybe federal funds that came in on the federal grant programs. By the time we got there, the governor had already allocated them.

Ms. Boswell: Well, my sense was that you even tried to do some kind of a constitutional amendment for budgetary review of that issue, and ultimately it ended up going into individual pieces of legislation that the Budget Committee, in particular, would be able to review.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, we tried to put an overall deal in, but it didn't fly at all. The reason for that is a lot of those people in the Legislature were not on the Budget Committee and were very jealous of the prerogatives and were not about to give any small group of legislators a hammer on any of it. It was a turf war.

Ms. Boswell: Did the Legislative Budget Committee, at that time, get substantially stronger because of some of this legislation?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. We were, by the time I got out. It started out pretty strong, but when I got on it kept getting stronger and stronger. It became a place where leadership was. Greive was never on it, but we were the guts of the operation. Foley and then Bagnariol and Shinpoch. Bud Shinpoch was the big budget man in the House for the Democrats, and Bob Goldsworthy and Jerry Saling. It got a lot stronger, and they were flexing their muscles, trying to get control of some of the spending. They did.

Ms. Boswell: Was that increase in strength primarily because of those particular personalities or some other reason?

Mr. Atwood: No, a whole combination—personalities and the will of the body to let them do

it—to get control over some of that spending and some of those programs.

Ms. Boswell: How much did the staff—the ongoing staff of the Budget Committee—contribute to that increasing power?

Mr. Atwood: A lot. They were very good, very professional. They were very thorough. We had about five or six really top-flight people: the legislative auditor, Jerry Sorte, and his staff. I forget some of the other people. They were really good. And later on those people all got good jobs in other states. They were hired away. Sawyer was on the Budget Committee, but he let it disintegrate when he went to the continuing session and all that. It was too bad, I thought.

Ms. Boswell: But at this time there was also a proposal for a state legislative auditor. What did you have in mind for that position?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, we did pass that one. It had the equivalency to a comptroller-general of the General Accounting Office of Congress to give him some stature and equivalency to the state auditor. We were embarking on performance audits, which we did. I don't know what ever happened; I never found out what happened after that. We did a bunch of performance audits, but then for some reason, the Legislature doesn't do them anymore.

Ms. Boswell: Was the legislative auditor associated with the Budget Committee?

Mr. Atwood: Yes.

Ms. Boswell: Was it another position in the Budget Committee?

Mr. Atwood: No, he was the head of the Budget Committee, just like the comptroller general of the General Accounting Office of Congress. That's what it was supposed to be; that was the theory of it.

Ms. Boswell: But it was a newly created position?

Mr. Atwood: We had a legislative auditor, but we just gave him some stature. It's like giving him a cabinet rank or something like that.

Ms. Boswell: I see. So you didn't really create a new position, you just changed the job description?

Mr. Atwood: We changed it and gave him some real power and some legal authority. That was kind of important, in my view, because we had just gone through a battle royal with Bob Graham on the performance audits. (Laughter) I think this Legislature made a horrible mistake. They'll come to rue the day that they gave the auditor power to do performance audits. They lost their independence when they did that.

Ms. Boswell: It almost seems as though it's rather cyclical.

Mr. Atwood: It is. I'm surprised that this whole issue came alive again after twenty years. It's like I've been there before. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: What impact did the continuing sessions have on a committee like the Budget Committee?

Mr. Atwood: A big one because Ways and Means was operating at the same time. They got a little bit of a turf war. In the Senate, we used the Budget Committee staff with the Ways and Means.

Ms. Boswell: And that wasn't done in the House?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know what they were doing in the House. In my opinion, the Budget Committee staff did most of its work on the Senate side.

Ms. Boswell: At the end, when you got into a conference situation, what kinds of characteristics did you need to get your part of the budget through or what you wanted in the budget?

Mr. Atwood: We had our general goals. They weren't that much different from what we knew we had to do and get. The staff put it together. Sorte's people put together a good rationale. And a lot of these department heads were always hanging around, trying to get their goodies or whatever you might want to call them—their programs and whatnot. But we knew what we wanted to do, by and large.

Ms. Boswell: When you say you knew what you wanted to do, was that in terms of figures? You knew what figure in each agency you wanted to get to, or that you generally knew the kinds of changes that had to be made?

Mr. Atwood: We generally knew what the parameters were going to be on the spending and what programs we were going to go with.

Ms. Boswell: Was there horse-trading over certain things?

Mr. Atwood: A little bit, but not much. There was some. I don't remember trading anything of any magnitude at all…except a few projects for Western. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: But in 1973, it was a difficult economic time.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, we had to tighten up on everything. It was still a pretty liberal budget—well, not really liberal.

Ms. Boswell: There were certain things that you had mentioned. One was that you thought that the DSHS budget, in particular, was very high. Also there was, I think, a pay raise for state employees. I think that became an issue because Evans had included teachers in that budget, and because it was in the middle of the contract, it was found that they couldn't actually get the pay raises. There were a lot of fairly controversial issues involved in that particular budget.

Mr. Atwood: Well, there always are in the budget. And now that they have collective bargaining, that makes it very difficult for the Legislature. They don't realize how difficult it's going to be.

Ms. Boswell: Well, as a stereotype, for example, the Democrats are often thought to be more on the side of social welfare spending. And it was the Republicans in this case who shot down the social welfare spending of a Republican governor, so it seemed as though there was some scales that were tipping here. Was that a concern of the Republicans—when you call it a "welfare budget" from the governor himself?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I don't know. I really don't think so. We just thought that there was way too much money being spent on the welfare program. What did we say about it?

Ms. Boswell: I know, for example, that the DSHS budget was pared way back by the Legislature. There were other more specific programs, but it seemed that, by calling it a welfare budget, that follows the stereotypical Republican mindset—and yet it was a Republican budget. My question is, were the lines fuzzy in terms of what might be considered to be typical Republican or Democratic programs?

Mr. Atwood: It could be. I don't recall specifically exactly what happened on that DSHS budget. It always was out of hand—the projections were. We had many more caseloads than what were projected. Now, the new welfare reform that Congress passed years later—what, in 1996—probably was a typical Republican emphasis on welfare and "welfare reform."

Ms. Boswell: Right.

Mr. Atwood: I think that was really a Republican idea and the Democrats finally passed it. They didn't want to, and actually Bill Clinton vetoed it twice before he caved in.

Ms. Boswell: Well, one of the other issues was salaries, and in tight economic times, there was a lot of debate in that 1973 session over how much in raises you could give to state employees. I think that where it broke down, at least from your perspective, seemed to be with salaries—for example, of professors at the university level. You were really opposed to a dollar increase rather than a percentage increase. Was that just because of your association with Western?

Mr. Atwood: Probably. My campaign chairman was the dean of the graduate school. He had my left ear and my right ear! (Laughter) I don't think any of them voted for me, but, nevertheless, I carried their water.

Ms. Boswell: One of the things, too, in the 1973 session that created a difficulty in budget planning was that the Nixon administration had instituted impoundment, where they wouldn't distribute the promised federal funds for a variety of things.

Mr. Atwood: That makes it very difficult. You might have figured it in your basic budget and then come to find out that you were not getting it, so you were back to square one. That makes it very difficult. There was such a vast difference between the federal budget and the state budget. The federal budget doesn't have a capital construction budget like we do, and we're on a biennial basis and they're on an annual basis and everything's cash. If they had a capital budget, they might be able to get by a lot easier.

Ms. Boswell: Can you explain to me how the supplemental budgets figure in? How does that whole process of the supplemental budget work?

Mr. Atwood: The supplemental budget supplements the biennial budget, where you see that there are some weaknesses or you have some holes or where you are starting to run into a serious deficit. You supplement it with additional appropriations, depending on what has happened—maybe a disaster or fires or whatever.

Ms. Boswell: Can there be supplemental budgets even in a budget year? Would you already have supplemental budgets before the final?

Mr. Atwood: You could have. Oh yes. This year they had a supplemental that they ran ahead of the main budget, to finish out or supplement the fiscal 2001-2002 budget. It wasn't a very big one, but it was still supplementing because they ran short. A couple of the departments got overexpanded.

Ms. Boswell: There was an issue in 1973—and I'm trying to understand how it worked—that there was a legislative pay increase and that the Democratic leadership wanted to slip it into a supplemental budget, but you insisted that it had to be in the main budget. So, in other words, they wanted it to come in late. They wanted it to take place, but they wanted it to come afterwards? Is that how it worked?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. But we got into all kinds of hot water. When we raised the supplemental—what did we raise it? We jacked up the salary; then, in the initiative the Legislature didn't get their pay raise. But that was a phony deal. That legislative pay raise—really big pay.

Ms. Boswell: When you say "phony deal," you mean it just wasn't much?

Mr. Atwood: Look at what they get now compared to what we got.

Ms. Boswell: By about 1973, what was the typical pay?

Mr. Atwood: It was $300 a month, $3,600 a year. Now it is $27,000 to $30,000 a year. (Laughter) Plus you've got all the other benefits. You've got staff; you've got telephones. It is pretty lucrative now compared to what it was.

Chapter 11

Bills for All Seasons: 1973

Ms. Boswell: In the 1973 session you had a number of bills that you personally sponsored, but I wanted to ask you about a few of them, in particular. One was a bill that you sponsored to standardize state forms and to have a center for forms management so there wasn't such a proliferation of forms.

Mr. Atwood: We got it. Well, if we didn't in that session, we've got it now.

Ms. Boswell: You got it in that session, but how did that become a pet project? Was it also a budget issue?

Mr. Atwood: No, it was just that we got so many forms running around, we needed some coherence out of it. (Laughter) Since probably about seven or eight years ago, we have forms for everything. For divorce—you get a packet of forms for doing it yourself. The paperwork is now overwhelming on all of these forms. You have to use the right forms; if you don't, you're going to get it thrown out.

Ms. Boswell: Although now a lot of forms are available online; you can get them on the Web.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, you can get them anywhere. They are online; they're all online. So it's no big deal to get them, but everything is on a form now.

Ms. Boswell: A bill like that—is that something that you just notice during your time in office and decide to sponsor?

Mr. Atwood: No, we get a request from somebody. It's easy to get support for something like that because then everything is formalized, standard. It makes it a lot easier on everybody, too. And it's available to everybody at no cost.

Ms. Boswell: Another bill that you sponsored—and I think a lot more controversial—was the bill to get drunk drivers off the road immediately. It was modeled after the British Columbia (B.C.) plan?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I did that. The *Seattle Times* and the *P-I* just crucified me. (Laughter) I pointed out that it wasn't an original idea with me, but it was a way to get these drunks off the highways with a minimum amount of stress.

Ms. Boswell: And just tell me a little bit about how this plan would work.

Mr. Atwood: As I recall it, in B.C., if they stopped you and thought you had been drinking, they would take your keys away and drive you home. They wouldn't waste any time testing you. You would get the drunk driver off the road PDQ—bang! Of course, the ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union) and everyone went through the ceiling. You weren't guilty, but you might as well have been. But I'll tell you, I don't think they do that anymore in B.C., but I could be wrong on that. That's where I got the idea.

Ms. Boswell: But some people criticized, suggesting that it was unconstitutional?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes.

Ms. Boswell: And I think you thought it might be?

Mr. Atwood: I said that. I'm not too sure about the constitutionality of finding you guilty before you even had your day in court. (Laughter) The goal was to get the drunken driver off the highway, and that's one way of doing it.

Ms. Boswell: But it was interesting because a lot of other people criticized it as not being strong enough, in the sense that those people who were driven home weren't necessarily charged with drunk driving.

Mr. Atwood: No, but they could have been.

Ms. Boswell: Yes. I think the argument was that if you just drive them home, and you don't do anything about it, they are just going to commit the offense again. Are you not just slapping them on the hand instead of something more severe?

Mr. Atwood: That's true, if they didn't want to prosecute them. But when they had determined that they had too much to drink, they were on their way home and off the highway. I remember that one well. (Laughter) You know, I didn't say right off the bat that it was from B.C., until they really got on me. I said, "Well, this is our neighbor to the north. They have found it very successful. Why don't you talk to them?" Did you have some editorials on that issue?

Ms. Boswell: Oh, yes. There were quite a few in that book of clippings that you have. Even some local papers were somewhat critical, or, at least, were questioning the strategy.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, sure. "Dictatorial powers!"

Ms. Boswell: When you propose a piece of legislation like that, which you think is workable, and you get this wild public response—or, in this case, somewhat negative…

Mr. Atwood: Somewhat? (Laughter) It was pretty negative.

Ms. Boswell: How did you take that? Did you persevere or did you just throw up your hands and say, "Oh, well, this wasn't such a good idea after all?"

Mr. Atwood: Well, it was an idea that wasn't going to fly. It was going to crash land on takeoff, which it did.

Ms. Boswell: Did you often just float bills to test the waters?

Mr. Atwood: Not often, but this was one that I did. I wanted to see what would happen. And it happened. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: When you proposed something like that, did you have fear, "Oh, if people don't like it, it will damage my reputation?" Or did that not enter into it?

Mr. Atwood: No. I was just trying to do something about the problem. They are still struggling with that problem, incidentally. Getting the drunk driver off the highway is still a tough problem, no matter what they do. They lowered the alcohol level, the penalties are very stringent, but they still have a problem.

Ms. Boswell: It seems as though that proposal did include penalties for not taking a breathalyzer, and I think that provision, at least, is now in place in current laws.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, you'll lose your license.

Ms. Boswell: If you don't take it, whether or not you were later found to be drunk?

Mr. Atwood: Whether you are under the influence, or below the legal limit, you can lose your license. You are entitled to a hearing. My partner does some of those cases, but I don't do any of those anymore.

Ms. Boswell: I wanted to mention another bill, which I think was an extension of your interest in higher education. It was something called the Higher Education Assistance Authority, which provided state loans to students for education?

Mr. Atwood: That was just modeled after the federal act. We didn't have all that kind of money for that. That didn't pass, did it?

Ms. Boswell: I don't believe so. No.

Mr. Atwood: They didn't have enough money to fund it, but it was modeled after the Federal Student Loan Act.

Ms. Boswell: Were you finding, for example, that at Western there were lots of students who wanted to attend school, but couldn't, even with the federal loans?

Mr. Atwood: I'm not sure that I even saw the statistics on it, but there were some. Sam Kelly was my advisor, so I relied on him to a great extent on what needed to be done in the field of higher education. It's too bad that he passed away. He would have been a good president of any college. He was the president of the Community College Board of Trustees, the statewide organization, and served on a community college board up here. A building was named after him here a year or so ago.

Ms. Boswell: There were a couple of broader issues that seemed to be important in that session. In particular, there was the move for public transit, and I wondered if that became a regional issue?

Mr. Atwood: It was regional.

Ms. Boswell: The idea of public transit?

Mr. Atwood: It was regional in King County and Pierce and Snohomish—it still is. They have the regional transit authorities that are operating in those areas. We have a transit authority here now; it's countywide. Back in those days, it wasn't a big issue up here, but it was in the heavily urban counties.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me about your opposition to that issue. Wouldn't a public transportation system in those congested areas ultimately be of use to people of other communities?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I'm sure they were, but it was creating a new authority. I don't know how many junior-taxing districts that there are in King County, but there are hundreds—literally hundreds. Even now in 2002 they're going to have some more; they are voting on a new gasoline tax bill. I was never very strong in the area of transportation because those transportation people were a law unto themselves—in their own little world. They still are. They are not part of the General Fund. They jealously guard the gas tax, and they invade other areas of General Fund opportunities, too, particularly for funding the State Patrol. They go into the General Fund on license plates and everything else—drivers' licenses.

Ms. Boswell: So it was a concern more for their independence from scrutiny than, perhaps, opposition to the concept of public transportation?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. I don't have any real feeling about it. You see, those funds are all dedicated from the gas tax—and also at the federal level.

Ms. Boswell: You came up with an amendment to put a ceiling on state funds that could be put into public transit, for example. Metro. That was the time when Metro, in order to get federal funds, had to have a certain amount of state support. You even teamed up with Martin Durkan to try to forbid the use of motor vehicle taxes to fund public transit. It was an interesting alliance.

Mr. Atwood: (Laughter) Well, Durkan was all through running for governor; he had already given

up on that. It's kind of tragic that he fell apart on that.

Ms. Boswell: But another area that was similar was the port authority. I think there was a movement to have either a state or regional port authority?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I opposed the regional port authority. They wanted to include the Port of Bellingham and the Port of Whatcom County in that—the whole coast. That was strictly a provincial protecting local interests—just like the community college. I didn't want to see this port get dragged into the big ports—Pierce County, or Tacoma, Seattle, and Everett.

Ms. Boswell: But wouldn't a regional port authority give Bellingham and Whatcom more power in opposition to those bigger ports?

Mr. Atwood: I don't think so. I think we would have been in the minority and the makeup of that regional port authority would be dominated by the big ports—and rightfully so. The Port of Bellingham would have been a very minor deal. We would pick up the crumbs. Instead, we can compete with Seattle for the Alaska ferry and things like that, which we did. We got it away from Seattle. Seattle has still never gotten over that. (Laughter) They're trying to get it back.

Ms. Boswell: That was later. Wasn't that in the 1990s, the early 1990s?

Mr. Atwood: Late 1980s or early 1990s. (Laughter) If we had been in a regional port authority that would have never happened, in my opinion.

Ms. Boswell: Yes. In terms of this regional interest, another thing that happened—in fact, there is a photograph of you with Premier Dave Barrett from B.C.—I think there was a delegation from the British Columbia government that came down to Washington. Were there some issues of common interest with Canada?

Mr. Atwood: That was strictly Davey Barrett's political move on William Bennett, who was in power. Davey Barrett was a New Democratic Party (NDP) candidate in the next election. He used that and parleyed that into victory over Bennett and threw away the whole—whatever they call it—Bennett program or Bennett party, the Social Credit Party. He just blindsided Bennett. That was very smart politics. But if you look back on that era, Davey Barrett took over the problems of B.C., and the NDP reigned supreme for a number of years. He was a minority; he wasn't a majority at all.

Ms. Boswell: So he thought it would be or it was popular to have more interaction with the United States?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, he was really going to play it to the hilt. Bennett wasn't that friendly to us, but later on Bennett saw the handwriting on the wall. I think he and Evans had several meetings at the border—big deal. But Davey Barrett stole the march on them on the whole issue of regional cooperation between B.C. and the state of Washington; he was way ahead of Bennett. Bennett didn't think too much of that. Well, to his chagrin, he got defeated. (Laughter) I had to laugh because Barrett was just a smarter politician on that one issue; he really, really was in clover on it.

Mr. Atwood: Were there, in your opinion, some meaningful issues that we shared with British Columbia?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, we had a lot of issues, particularly on the pollution. Like Victoria is still dumping its sewer into the straits and things like that. Pollution control, air and water pollution were very major issues. They still are.

Ms. Boswell: Was Barrett really willing to talk about those issues or was it more posturing?

Mr. Atwood: Well, that, and when he got into power, he nationalized everything. ICBC is the Insurance Corporation of British Columbia. He took over all the automobile insurance and all the telephone companies. (Laughter) I mean, he cut a wide swath: power companies.

Ms. Boswell: When they came down during that session, what was your impression?

Mr. Atwood: Well, he was a high roller. He was educated at Seattle University, of all places.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, really? I didn't know that.

Mr. Atwood: I didn't either, until I met him. He was quite a politician. I don't know what ever happened to him. He was elected to the national Parliament, but the NDP never went very far, I guess, on the national scene. He sure did in B.C.

Ms. Boswell: From Bellingham's or Whatcom County's perspective—you mentioned the environmental issues, but were there other points of contention or issues that particularly affected Whatcom County with B.C.?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, the border. The border has always been and always will be. This border now is overwhelmed because of security. The Canadian trade impacts Whatcom tremendously, and now especially on the exchange rates. They used to come down here in droves when it was favorable. Now the economy is not dependent on Canadian dollars as much as it used to be. In fact, the Canadians still come down, but not like they used to.

Ms. Boswell: I know that these days there are certainly some issues about drugs and this border, too.

Mr. Atwood: Yes.

Ms. Boswell: Has that long been an issue or is that really more recent?

Mr. Atwood: No, it's in the last ten years, or maybe twenty years, but it's bad. They catch them all the time, but it's bad. They caught some high school kids from Blaine running marijuana the other day. (Laughter) I mean, really. And the Indians—the treaty Indians can cross the border at will. They don't have to go through Customs—the treaty Indians. Heavy smuggling. They can't catch them all, I guess. That is a very big issue here on the border. And I don't know, it is a state problem, but it's a federal problem more than a state problem because they're charged with enforcement.

It's still a major issue here. Back in the rum-running days of the islands, the San Juans, they were running booze through the San Juans into Bellingham and all over. Drugs are the same way now.

Ms. Boswell: I know that you mentioned a lot of Canadians came down here, but did Bellingham lose businesses going up into Canada? I am thinking of tourist business, in particular, or that kind of thing.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, but then the exchange rate changed so drastically in the last fifteen years that the traffic reversed. Now, it is still good for Bellingham people going to Canada. I think it is sixty cents on the dollar. You get a hell of a rate.

Ms. Boswell: One of the other big issues that had an impact on Bellingham and Whatcom County in that 1973 session—and we have talked quite a bit about it in the past—was gambling. The legislators went back and forth as to what should be allowed. I think one of the proposals that you made on gambling was that there be a part-time advisory commission rather than an independent gambling commission. Can you tell me a little bit about that?

Mr. Atwood: I had no feeling for it. I didn't know what they were going to do. All I knew is that

eventually we were going to have gambling. I think we ended up with a Gambling Commission, didn't we?

Ms. Boswell: Yes. But at this time you were appointed to the Governor's Ad Hoc Committee on Gambling to look at the issue.

Mr. Atwood: How did I get on that?

Ms. Boswell: In 1973. I think Governor Evans appointed you. (Laughter)

Mr. Atwood: That was one way of trying to keep the cover on gambling a little bit. As it turned out, it really didn't because the Indians went ahead with the casinos.

Ms. Boswell: But was that a state issue?

Mr. Atwood: No.

Ms. Boswell: You had proposed, in the give-and-take of the debate over gambling, an amendment for a local option. Did you expect, for example, that either Bellingham or Whatcom County would not have voted for it?

Mr. Atwood: No, I knew they would! (Laughter) It's not like the "dries" in Oklahoma and Kansas. I knew that if they had a vote here in Whatcom, it would all go for gambling. We had licensed card rooms here for a long time.

Ms. Boswell: So, at that point you weren't against the smaller operations—the card rooms and bingo?

Mr. Atwood: No. I licensed them when I was on the Bellingham City Council. (Laughter) We were illegal, I guess, according to the attorney general, but as long as I was on the city council, we licensed card rooms. We had four or five going here all the time.

Ms. Boswell: And you never really had any problems with them?

Mr. Atwood: Never. Not one. It was a place for people to come and gamble.

Ms. Boswell: But you didn't have any personal antipathy to gambling issues?

Mr. Atwood: No, not per se. Well, look at what we have now. We're into the big-time gambling now, with the Super Lotto and all that stuff.

Ms. Boswell: But you were pretty vocal in your opposition to a state lottery.

Mr. Atwood: Well, I knew that it was going to happen. Now, it's a big deal—a big deal.

Ms. Boswell: What was your main opposition?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I just thought that people who could least afford it were the ones who were going to play it, and that's the way it is. It's just a fact of life. But I knew when I was a sponsor of SJR-5 with Gordon Walgren that once we got around the constitutional prohibition on the word "lottery" that we were going to have gambling here. Now we've got the Indians, particularly, with their casinos. With the Indians, for every one that makes it, there are four or five that won't—that's the Indian casinos. But gambling is here now.

Ms. Boswell: There was another new committee that you were on, and I just wanted to ask you about it briefly. You were a member of the Crime Intelligence Advisory Board. Tell me about why that was formed and what it did.

Mr. Atwood: Because of all the Vietnam upheaval and all of that—the Black Panthers and the whole nine yards. We never did anything. If it was in effect now, it would be an anti-terrorism committee.

Ms. Boswell: It said "organized crime," though, so I wondered about it.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, organized crime was considered to be a menace here in the state to some degree. We had some evidence that some of the Cosa Nostra people had moved into Seattle.

Ms. Boswell: Oh really? Seattle or Tacoma?

Mr. Atwood: Tacoma, primarily. Tacoma was a bad city. (Laughter) It had a lot of organized crime.

Ms. Boswell: How did they get information about that?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know. The Patrol and the police departments, the federal government—the feds, drug people, the DEA (Drug Enforcement Agency). There was a lot of underground activity. That's why that committee was created, but we didn't do anything constructive, I thought. We weren't used at all, and there wasn't any reason to use us. We only had two or three meetings. The police and the State Patrol and the rest of those people were reluctant to tell us anything, I think. (Laughter) I remember that committee now. I had forgotten.

Ms. Boswell: But the thought was that you might be useful, is that it?

Mr. Atwood: Yes.

Ms. Boswell: Was that why they started it?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. I don't recall ever doing anything of any consequence. I don't think there was.

Ms. Boswell: I wondered if there was any connection between the lottery issue, the gambling issue, and organized crime. Was there a fear that organized crime would come into that business or not?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, yes there was because we felt that there was a presence. There was a lot of Nevada influence. That was all organized crime back in those days or early before that. They were not hesitant about coming in here and promoting gambling, to some degree. But I don't think we ever did anything. I don't remember any bills.

Ms. Boswell: I was just looking at your sheets of bills during that session.

Mr. Atwood: Well, I had a lot of them?

Ms. Boswell: Well, a fair number, yes.

Mr. Atwood: Too many.

Ms. Boswell: I think one of your pet bills that didn't make it through was that bill to allow counties, or people in the counties…

Mr. Atwood: …taxing authority for initiative and referendum?

Ms. Boswell: Yes, initiative and referendum.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, later on we were able to get it through home rule. I wasn't instrumental in the Home Rule Charter, but I supported it wholeheartedly. It allowed the counties to go to a county executive and county legislative body. The commissioner form of government is an anachronism. My son lives with it down in Skagit County; he's the county administrator. It's terrible; it's all politics. You have a seven-man council, and you have a division between the executive and the legislative. Here in Whatcom County we've got a county executive, and we've got a county council.

When I was on the city council, I served with the three commissioners—it was something else. (Laughter) They were judge, jury, and whatever. They had the sole authority to do whatever they wanted. They were legislators and executives all wrapped up in three people. That was the way this county was run until we went to the Home Rule Charter. No one wanted change. There was a big argument about it, but it turned out to be much better than the old commissioner form. As

this county grew into a big size, it made a lot of sense. It could support a county council and a county executive.

Ms. Boswell: Who were the backers of that system?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, there were a lot of Republicans and a lot of Democrats, too. There are always some people who don't want to change anything. "It was good enough for my grandpa so it's good enough for me." But it was due. We were ready for it. That didn't occur until after I got out of the Legislature.

Ms. Boswell: Let me ask you about another issue, which was regional in nature. I am interested in the role that you saw the Legislature playing. There was a proposal to have Expo'74 in Spokane, and the Legislature had to decide about funding—how much state funding there would be.

As someone from essentially the opposite side of the state, how did you feel about this idea of the Expo and what role the Legislature should play?

Mr. Atwood: I was all for it, wasn't I?

Ms. Boswell: Well, pretty much, yes.

Mr. Atwood: Yes. I am an Eastern Washington boy, and I thought Spokane was entitled to the same thing that Seattle had in 1962. I went over there in 1974. It was a good time. Augie and I went over there. It was a very well-done event, even though it wasn't of the magnitude of Seattle. I was all for it. We funded it.

Ms. Boswell: It interested me because you had been fairly severe on other programs in terms of the budget. How should I phrase this? State funding for a fair seems maybe out of character, to a degree.

Mr. Atwood: Well, we funded Seattle. Of course, that was done before I got there.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, but was there a sense that it would really add a lot of tourist dollars to the economy?

Mr. Atwood: I thought so. I thought it was very good for the state, especially in Eastern Washington, since Seattle gets most of the pickings all the time. I was very sympathetic with Spokane and Eastern Washington. More or less, I was an Eastern Washington product, so I was very sympathetic to the Spokane World's Fair or Expo '74.

Ms. Boswell: There were also two what you might call national issues that did come up at that time. One was the whole debate over the death penalty and, within Washington, whether or not Washington would have a death penalty or a mandatory death penalty. Tell me a little bit about those debates.

Mr. Atwood: We have almost always had the death penalty here. We had it when I was young. Very few people have ever been put to death and still haven't. I don't remember very many at all.

Ms. Boswell: There was a proposal in 1973 to make the death penalty mandatory…

Mr. Atwood: Mandatory in certain cases.

Ms. Boswell: For first degree murder and…

Mr. Atwood: Killing a police officer.

Ms. Boswell: Yes.

Mr. Atwood: I think I supported that. As a practical matter, having been in Walla Walla several times on the Budget Committee, these guys on Death Row have been there forever. I don't think that when I was in the Legislature one person got executed. At least I don't recall any. Every time they get ready to execute somebody, there's a big hullabaloo, and they go up to the federal court and it's delayed again. It's really a bad situation.

Have they killed anybody? I don't think they have executed anybody for a long time.

Ms. Boswell: I don't know, but I think you are right. I can't remember any.

Mr. Atwood: I remember that big fat guy got off because they said it was "cruel and unusual" treatment to break his neck. So they said, "Well, we'll give you the shot in the arm."

I just don't think it's an effective tool for anybody the way it is now. There are a lot of cases that cry out for the death penalty. That guy who killed the Goldmarks down in Seattle on Christmas Eve in the 1980s slaughtered the whole family. He's still living, isn't he?

Ms. Boswell: That's a good question. I think so. I believe he is serving a sentence of life in prison.

Mr. Atwood: I think that crime was so bad; that was so horrible and so cold-blooded. That's the kind of person who should be executed.

Ms. Boswell: Do you think that there should be a mandatory death penalty?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I do. I do, but they have to be very careful. I don't think they should execute these people that are retarded—I mean really retarded. They shouldn't execute them, but I don't know how many there are. There's one over in Walla Walla, who has been there a long time and who is totally retarded. He doesn't have a brain, and they literally have to keep him separated from the rest of them because he's like a maniac. I remember going up into the hospital wing, and they had him up in there.

Ms. Boswell: That's very sad.
The other issue that I wanted to bring up was the federal Equal Rights Amendment that came up for a vote in the state—in the Senate—in 1973.

Mr. Atwood: What was that? For the women? ERA?

Ms. Boswell: Yes, the Equal Rights Amendment.

Mr. Atwood: Well, we passed that, didn't we? We were one of the first. That had been Bledsoe's big bill. We had to have it right away—be first. "Okay, Stew."

Ms. Boswell: But now you voted against it.

Mr. Atwood: That's fine. I voted against my neighbor: Stew Bledsoe. He was our neighbor from Ellensburg.

Ms. Boswell: But tell me, what was your rationale?

Mr. Atwood: I didn't have any. He was my neighbor pressing it. We didn't need to do it that fast.

Ms. Boswell: But would you have supported it generally?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. I didn't think we needed it; that was the main reason. I always thought that women had more rights than we did. (Laughter) Well, I did. It was a big political deal, and women have always had equal rights, as long as I have been around, if not more so.

The other thing is being a reservist, I've seen women in combat units. Now, I don't want them in the frontline, but I don't object to them being in combat units. In the Ninth Division, there were several women officers who were up in the Tactical Operations Center. They were in just as much danger as anybody else, but I don't object to that. The Republicans always have it in their platform. I got up and killed it the last time. I was out at a county convention last Saturday; I was a delegate and if that same stupid thing had come up, I would have gotten up and shot it down again.

There are women in combat units all over, in every unit in the Army. Well, look at that major

who fought in the Gulf War. She got shot down. She was a battalion commander of a Chinook Squadron. I mean, come on!

Ms. Boswell: What is their rationale?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I don't know. It's just an anachronism. There are some damn good women officers who are in tactical, and they serve at West Point. I don't think very many people in the Army are against it—I suppose there are, but I don't see it. Some of them are damn good. It's just like some men are damn good, and some aren't.

Ms. Boswell: But you said you don't see them in the front lines?

Mr. Atwood: I don't. I don't see them doing Special Operations like that. They're in the front lines as observers, but are not considered combat soldiers. They are combat service support. I suppose they could be in combat—the Israelis use them.

Ms. Boswell: I'm not sure I see why they couldn't be?

Mr. Atwood: Most women don't want to be in the front lines. (Laughter)

ERA. I think I said, "Why do we need that? They've got more rights than we have." What did I say on that?

Ms. Boswell: Oh, you must have been very popular with the women. (Laughter)

Mr. Atwood: I was never very popular with women. (Laughter) What did I say? Did I say anything illuminating?

Ms. Boswell: Well, that was pretty much what you said.

Mr. Atwood: I thought so. (Laughter) I was always right. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) You had a long military career and interest in it yourself. 1973, of course, was the time that we were beginning to wind our way out of Vietnam. How did that affect you? I know that there was one resolution that you proposed to wear white carnations to honor the ceasefire and the people who fought in Vietnam. There was certainly a less-than-enthusiastic welcome back to a lot of service people who had been in Vietnam. What was your opinion at that time?

Mr. Atwood: It was tough because the unit that I was in, the 448th, had a lot of Vietnam officers come back, and they served. They were very able people. It was kind of sad. A lot of them had gone back to college at Western. These guys were top-flight officers.

What happened after Vietnam in the mid-1970s and 1980s, these guys were lieutenants and captains. They all got riffed. They wanted to be regular Army, but there was a reduction in force, and they all got riffed. They were very able officers. I can think of two or three, and I felt sorry for them. They wanted to be career officers, and they had ten years in, but it went down the tubes. They became Reserve officers.

Ms. Boswell: Did you find that many of the legislators were not particularly sympathetic to the returning vets?

Mr. Atwood: Well, there were some very liberal ones who marched with the anti-war people, but I didn't pay much attention to them. I felt bad for the Vietnam vets. I felt really bad. And we had a bunch of them in our unit, too, who had been through a lot.

Ms. Boswell: Were there any legislative initiatives or memorials that had to deal with Vietnam?

Mr. Atwood: I don't remember any when I was there because we were still in Vietnam. There wasn't any aftermath. It wasn't until Ford be-

came the president that we got out of there—skedaddled.

The Army never did recover until the Gulf War finally. It was too bad; there were a lot of hard feelings. Sam Kelly and I told them we'd go over there and help out. (Laughter) This was in the late 1960s. They wouldn't have us—too many lieutenant-colonels running around over there.

Ms. Boswell: Would you really have done that?

Mr. Atwood: Sure, if we got called. Our unit got called for Bosnia and Haiti. Now they use the reservists, but then they didn't.

Ms. Boswell: I was going to ask you, was the policy not to use the reservists?

Mr. Atwood: Not unless they had to, and they didn't use them. Particularly, we were the only civil affairs people around. The Army didn't have any civil affairs people except for reservists. They had one civil affairs group stationed with the Eighteenth Airborne Corps at Fort Bragg, and the Eighteenth Airborne Corps was all geared and went to the Vietnam—the 101st Airborne and the Eighty-second. Both fought in Vietnam, but none of the support troops went. I don't think the civil affairs group got called; they were regular Army.

Ms. Boswell: Did you find that your involvement with the Reserves during that period of time affected your relationships with other people?

Mr. Atwood: Not really.

Ms. Boswell: You mentioned that you felt sorry for some of the Vietnam vets who were part of the unit, but was there a division of opinion, even in the military, over what was going on?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, there was some. Some of the people joined the state guard instead of going to Vietnam. You see that all the time; they were accusing people, like George Bush. Of course, he was a pilot. He could have gotten called instantly; he was an F-106 pilot. You are at high risk, as a pilot, because they are called all the time. In fact, there are Reserve units at McChord that are fliers. They have been flying in Afghanistan constantly and also in the Gulf War.

In fact, the Secretary of the Senate, Gordon Golob, was the commanding officer of the Reserve squadron flying C-17s down in Vietnam. He is retired now, but at that time he was very active. He was the secretary of the Senate for a while when the Republicans were in control.

Ms. Boswell: Right. Was there a loss of people who had been long-time reservists during Vietnam or not?

Mr. Atwood: No. In fact, our unit was filled all the time, mostly with people who didn't want to be drafted. We had some football players from the B.C. Lions. (Laughter) They were Americans playing. We had some baseball players, and people who joined to avoid the draft.

Ms. Boswell: How did the long-term people who were already in feel about that?

Mr. Atwood: They didn't care for it too much.

Ms. Boswell: But there wasn't really any animosity?

Mr. Atwood: No, no. That was interesting, though.

Ms. Boswell: I want to switch directions a little bit now and talk about some other issues that could have had an effect on the system of Washington government. There were some judicial changes that were under consideration—exempting trial judges from election.

Mr. Atwood: I was deadly opposed to that.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me about that issue?

Mr. Atwood: This was a recurring issue. Everybody wants to go to different plans; they don't like elections. As a lawyer, I would never go for just appointive with confirmation.

Ms. Boswell: The judges?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. The federal system is a prime example of what happens. They have life tenure, and they go on forever. They get senior status, and they still are there. It is acceptable for the Supreme Court—maybe, with some modifications. But the appellate court and trial judges and the district court should be subject to the vote of the people. Otherwise, these people have got tremendous power—even the elected ones. You see it everyday. What some of these judges do—especially the trial judges! And the Bar in these local counties will protect the judges. A good judge will get re-elected; he doesn't have to spend a lot of money campaigning. But if he screws up, he's going to have a problem.

Ms. Boswell: So, would that also have been the position of the Bar Association?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know. I think it's probably close. We have had that issue around for a long time. It predates my being in the Legislature; we get it every session. All the think-tank professors decry the system that we have, but I think, even with all its faults, it is still the best system that I have seen. As long as they are subject to the voter, it keeps them from being dictators on the bench. In the federal court, they are dictators; believe me. And that's too bad.

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) It sounds like you have had personal experience?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes! Boy, I was all for elected trial judges, including federal court, but that's not ever going to happen because it's in our U.S. Constitution. Once you give a guy life tenure, he's a law unto himself.

Ms. Boswell: It seems as though, at this point, there was an attempt to change the judicial part of the state Constitution.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, and it's still there. I can guarantee you some of these judges would love to have just the Missouri plan, where they are either approved or not approved. It's easier to get approved than not approved, unless they really screw up. But an election keeps them honest. It keeps you from being a dictator on the bench. Once in a while you still get one, though, and they get voted down eventually. And if you have been in front of a couple of them, you all of the sudden are a convert.

Ms. Boswell: There was also a bill in 1973—and I think it may have been one that kept reappearing, too—that would give immunity to journalists from testifying in grand jury hearings?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I was against that one hundred percent.

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) Tell me a little bit about that issue. You definitely spoke up on that one, too.

Mr. Atwood: Did I say something on that?

Ms. Boswell: Well, you registered your dislike.

Mr. Atwood: There was no reason to give them immunity from testifying. They're no different than others. They're not priests; they're not lawyers. Who else has immunity? Just priests and ministers and confessionals and, oh, medical people. There is no reason for it. What's the rationale for giving immunity to journalists?

Ms. Boswell: Well, freedom of the press, I guess.

Mr. Atwood: So, freedom of press. You want to talk to a guy and not testify, that's fine, but if you are going to talk to these criminals and get confes-

sions, there is no reason for it.

Ms. Boswell: There is a code of medical ethics that says you can't reveal your patient's confidential information.

Mr. Atwood: But these guys are not patients; they're not clients.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, but journalists have a code of professional ethics as well that says that they don't reveal their sources, right?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, but that's nonsense. I'll never, never change my mind on that one. They have it every session. Some reporter—a woman reporter normally—goes to jail, the guy spills his guts to her, and she won't talk.

Ms. Boswell: Why would you say it would be a woman reporter?

Mr. Atwood: Well, because these guys who confess will talk to a woman a lot quicker than they will to a man. They trust a woman not to say anything. That one—I'll go to my grave without granting immunity.

Ms. Boswell: Let me read you one other quote about you that relates to this issue. It was from March of 1973. It said, "Senator Atwood, whose influence as minority leader seems to be at an all-time high in this Legislature, accentuates the positive and implies that news reports to the contrary are misleading, which seems to be a standard Atwood appraisal."

Mr. Atwood: (Laughter) Right! They got that right.

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) And it was in reference to the accomplishments of the Legislature in the 1973 session.

Mr. Atwood: Right. You know, I found over the twelve years that I was there that the Legislature, as a body, is incapable of defending itself and is subject to being harpooned *ad nauseum* by the press. The favorite targets of the press are everyone in the place. They are targeted, and the majority is tarred with the same brush. The Legislature, as an entity, can't defend itself against that kind of an attack; it just can't. It is just the very nature of it. The press gets a big pleasure out of torturing the Legislature. (Laughter)

Well, they do. You read the editorials. We're fair game. It's one of the travesties of the whole thing. They don't look at the goodness or the badness—whether it's good, bad, or indifferent—they just cut the Legislature to ribbons as an entity. The individual legislator can defend himself, but the Legislature can't. There's no way it can defend itself against the onslaught of the media.

Ms. Boswell: Well, is that because there can't really be one spokesperson for the interests of the Legislature as a whole?

Mr. Atwood: That's right. We are fair game, and we were fair game.

Ms. Boswell: So did you think that the news reports were actually misleading? Would you say that?

Mr. Atwood: Some of them are. One that really comes to mind was the time we gave a pay raise—and the press said that it was done in the middle of the night. It wasn't done in the middle of the night. It was in the budget the whole time!

People like Tim Eyman can also make hamburger of the Legislature.

Ms. Boswell: You mentioned the movement that followed that pay raise to cut back the legislators' salaries. Who was it that led that campaign? Wasn't it a man by the name of Bruce Helm?

Mr. Atwood: Some guy out of Lynwood or some place. A Tim Eyman-type guy who rallied the citi-

zens to do in the Legislature that had passed a midnight increase—that was BULL! The press was sitting there watching as we put the budget together. It happened to be one of the items that was last on the agenda, but, boy. Then Initiative 282 was passed.

Ms. Boswell: That's the salary rollback, right?

Mr. Atwood: Right. Fixing increases of the Legislature at five and a half.

Ms. Boswell: With an initiative like that, is there anything that the Legislature can or has tried to do to stop them, or to influence public opinion?

Mr. Atwood: Helm was the guy—oh, he was a big hero. "We're going to get the Legislature." You got them, all right. You deserve exactly what you got.

Ms. Boswell: How do you and Legislature combat that, or do you?

Mr. Atwood: You don't. Anything you do, you are going to be criticized. You just let them sink in their own juice.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, but if they win, then what?

Mr. Atwood: What do they win?

Ms. Boswell: Are there funds available in the Legislature for you to have information in the media on the other side of an issue like Initiative 282?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I suppose there is, but it's difficult.

Ms. Boswell: One of the things that came out of that issue was a proposal—and I think you were one of the backers of it—for an independent citizens' salary commission.

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely. That's the only fair thing.

Ms. Boswell: Now, tell me a little bit more about that.

Mr. Atwood: Well, it was obvious that the Legislature couldn't reach a decision. There were all the long-ball hitters who would be against any raise. Those were the ones who were millionaires. (Laughter) But then there couldn't be any criticism of the Legislature voting on its own pay. So the commission was created, and I think it's still in existence, isn't it?

Ms. Boswell: Yes. At that time, was it a bi-partisan effort?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely. The way one newspaper article said it, "It was a bone in the throat of the Legislature." That's what I was quoted as saying. I don't know whether I ever said that.

Ms. Boswell: I think Augie Mardesich was joining with you?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. We just didn't want to horse around with that issue anymore. It wasn't that important. It was to the people involved in the Legislature, but the citizenry didn't pay that much attention.

Ms. Boswell: There was another proposal, made in the form of an initiative by King County Assessor Harley Hoppe, to shrink the size of the Legislature. What effect would it have, to cut the number of legislators virtually in half?

Mr. Atwood: The power is cut in half, too, so your representation is much weaker than what it normally would be if you had the full forty-nine senators.

Ms. Boswell: Were the proposals to cut the size of the Legislature cost-saving proposals primarily, or for what reason?

Mr. Atwood: Let's see, what they wanted to do

was shrink the House from ninety-eight to sixty-three members, which meant a considerable cut in the representative capacity of the House members. They wanted the Senate cut back. (Laughter) That was Hoppe's deal—cutting senators from forty-nine to twenty-one. You could imagine what the senatorial district would be—some of these people would be hopelessly without any representation.

Ms. Boswell: What was their primary purpose?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know. Even Augie—I see he was quoted that he favored shrinking the Legislature: "I would prefer to go slowly." They were not going to change it. If they did, especially with the increase in people, they were crazy. I mean, the voters would be crazy; they would be cutting their own throats.

Ms. Boswell: Was it fair to say that that was a period of time when, with Nixon and all the other issues that began to come up, there was a widespread distrust of government and that folded over into the Legislature, too?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, and there was always that group that wanted to do a one-house Legislature, like Nebraska. But Nebraska is a very small state population-wise. The minute you do that, you have taken away power from a great big segment of the voters.

Twenty-one senators would mean that Whatcom would be stuck with Skagit, Island, Jefferson, and Clallam. Seattle would probably have half of those senators. They would have twelve or eleven, and would leave the rest of the state with no power. It doesn't make good sense. If anything, they should increase them, like they increase Congress—or they shift it. When the population goes down in one state, and it goes up in another, the one with more population gets more representatives. They adjust it—if you were going to do that, that's fine. A lot of these things went by-the-by.

One of the big issues there was the Democrats and the Republicans in the Senate voted for term limits twice. When Lenny Sawyer was Speaker of the House, he opposed that. Of course, it died, but it passed the Senate twice, which is amazing. I think there was a lot difference between term limits in the Legislature than in the Congress or Senate.

Ms. Boswell: In what way?

Mr. Atwood: Because it takes so long in the national legislature, the Congress, to achieve any status at all as far as seniority is concerned. But in the state House and the Senate, I thought the norm would be a twelve-year limit for both the Senate and House. That's three terms in the Senate, and six terms in the House.

Ms. Boswell: And why did you favor that?

Mr. Atwood: Because there was a lot of dead wood down there, at least during my sessions. There were about fifteen people doing all the work; the rest of them were sitting around having a good time and just looking out for getting re-elected. You can look at that picture on the wall, and I can point to all the guys who were just there having a great time—a lot of power, no work, and not worried about anything but re-election.

Ms. Boswell: So that was the primary focus of most of these term-limit movements?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I think so; at least, in my view it was. In the Legislature, you don't need to have all that seniority. Some of those guys had been there forever, and they didn't do anything. They got all the perks and all the glory, but they didn't take any of the heat.

Ms. Boswell: But some of the old-timers were hard workers, too, weren't they?

Mr. Atwood: Very few of them, very few. No, very few of them. There were some of them who

worked. Very few were committee chairmen, and they didn't do anything.

Ms. Boswell: Was it primarily a very partisan issue?

Mr. Atwood: No, it wasn't. Not in the Senate. It became so in the House, and I don't know for what reason. I guess it was because the Speaker was against it, but most of the big turnovers are in the House. Normally it was much bigger than in the Senate. We mustered thirty-three votes in the Senate to pass a constitutional amendment.

Ms. Boswell: Who spearheaded that effort?

Mr. Atwood: Well, our caucus and the Democratic caucus.

Ms. Boswell: I also want to talk about some of the special sessions or mini-sessions that happened once the Legislature had passed what you could call the continuing session concept.

First of all, after the 1973 session, there were a series of continuing interim committee meetings. Can you talk a little bit about how that continuing session system worked?

Mr. Atwood: I don't even remember. That's how important it was.

Ms. Boswell: You didn't like it very much?

Mr. Atwood: No, well, it didn't have any coherence to it. You would start up, get going, and then stop, and then come back in three weeks or a month, or two months. All it did was cost a lot of money every time you called a session, but I don't know of any legislation of any consequences that passed.

Ms. Boswell: There were some particular issues that came up and that had to be dealt with. It seems as though there were only a very few that really got solved.

Mr. Atwood: No, there wasn't anything of great magnitude; at least, I don't recall any.

Ms. Boswell: I think one of the issues that the Legislature started to deal with at these interim meetings and at these various sessions, through the end of 1973 and into 1974, was the energy crisis. I think there was a big worry about energy, the oil embargo, and how that affected—not only the energy future of the state—but also its economy.

Mr. Atwood: That had a big impact on the economy.

Ms. Boswell: Yes. Talk a little bit about that.

Mr. Atwood: I remember they had to issue a special card to get gas to come to Olympia. (Laughter) There were only two or three places you could stop and gas up. One was in Mount Vernon—I remember that. Just getting around was a problem. On even days, you could go and get your gas. If your license plate was an odd number, or ended in an odd number, you went on a different day, or something like that. It didn't make any sense because travel was so curtailed. It had an impact on state agencies, too, especially those that relied on motor vehicles for their operations.

Ms. Boswell: There was some legislation that was proposed in that mini-session in 1973 that essentially gave the governor emergency power over energy. I think both Republicans and Democrats had some hesitations because of the huge power that was given to the governor.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, that's for sure. Democrats were particularly jealous because of Evans being the governor. If it had been Rosellini, probably not; it depended on who's who and what's what.

Ms. Boswell: Well, you spoke out about how much power it gave to the governor.

Mr. Atwood: I know that. (Reading some news-

paper excerpts) "Power Handed to Evans." This is an interesting newspaper article. (Laughter) "Executive Rainmaker, Matson called the Governor." (Laughter) I see I called for "parameters on the type of power granted to the governor no matter how great he is." "Another senator facetiously offered that the governor should be named the executive rainmaker." (Laughter) I love that. "Power shortages have been blamed on the lack of rain in Washington this year."

"Still another, Senator Matson, noted the amount of oratory flowing from the floor and said, 'The crisis may well be over before this comes to a vote.'" (Laughter) "In the final wind down, the Senate voted forty-seven in favor of giving the governor his kilowatt- curbing power, and one opposed."

Ms. Boswell: What were some of the proposals for curtailing power usage? A lot of it was trying to get the private sector to cut their power use.

Mr. Atwood: All the things that we've heard about during these past two years—Enron and all that stuff—there were all those proposals. Now, look at what happened. Actually the power shortage was not false, but it was a lot better than they made it out to be.

Ms. Boswell: Did you see companies during that period in the 1970s taking advantage of the situation—power companies?

Mr. Atwood: Well, not really. The reason for that not happening is the residual from the private-public power struggles of the prior twenty years. So there were only a couple of private power companies of any consequence—well, there were actually three—Washington Water Power, Puget Sound Power, and maybe one other. The public power system far outweighed the private—the Grant County PUD, the Seattle City Light.

Ms. Boswell: The Northwest had a lot more water-based power.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, we had hydroelectric power.

Ms. Boswell: There was also a Property Tax Exemption Bill that was first discussed in the September 1973 mini-session. Do you remember anything about that particular bill?

Mr. Atwood: No, I don't.

Ms. Boswell: You made an amendment to it, making the applicants pay the administrative fees for it. It was an exemption for what?

Mr. Atwood: Old folks or low-income people?

Ms. Boswell: It was for agencies like daycares or other kinds of agencies that were public-service kinds of things.

Mr. Atwood: Okay. I don't remember much about that except that if you gave too many exemptions, the first thing you know, you would have a problem with the budget. They have a real problem now.

Ms. Boswell: There was also a bill that you introduced for compensation to State Troopers injured on duty that ultimately was signed by the governor.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, they weren't covered by Workman's Compensation.

Ms. Boswell: Why was that?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I don't know; they just weren't covered. The state didn't pay any premiums for injury—industrial insurance.

Ms. Boswell: So this bill then provided that insurance through the state?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it did. I see this bill you were talking about on the compensation for troopers

killed in the line of duty. Here's what this newspaper says: "Delivered to everybody as a flock of sheep."

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) Who said that?

Mr. Atwood: Jim Matson, the late Jim Matson. (Reading from a newspaper article) "As decisions have already been made, the legislators were supposed to follow quietly along, content with munching on the little bits left over." I love that.

Ms. Boswell: So, was he saying that they were sheep who went along with the governor? Is that it?

Mr. Atwood: No, he's just saying most of them were just sheep. (Laughter) Of course, if you happen to be the sheepherder, the shoe is on the other foot, and that is difficult. That's one thing; when you are down to the end of the session, and you've got to get out of there, and you are trying to get the votes, that's tough. And the leadership has to take the tough votes. No question about it. You know that you are going to get beaten around the ears with it, and you do. As long as you have a good rationale for doing it, you won't get penalized that much.

Ms. Boswell: I'm sorry. When you say penalized, I'm not sure what you mean?

Mr. Atwood: Well, by votes—by the voters. You are going to have it used in ads against you. Greive was very good at using that type of information.

Ms. Boswell: What did you find worked the best to marshal the votes you needed?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, really discussion. Most of those people are pretty realistic. Sometimes I had a lot of trouble with people in swing districts who wouldn't cooperate. I'll give you a good example: we needed to increase the sales tax by a half cent or something, and the Democrats furnished so many votes and I had to furnish so many votes. I had some people who were solid Republicans, and normally they wouldn't vote for any tax increase—like Fred Redmon, who was formerly a county commissioner from Yakima who was totally anti-tax. We had to protect some guys who were in sensitive districts. In this case, it happened to be Joe Chytil from Lewis County, who was up for election. We would go into caucus, and I said, "We've got to have six or seven votes for this. I'm going to be one of them." Ryder was one of them. We had three or four others, and I said, "I need one or two more." So Fred Redmon was sitting behind me. He normally would never vote for a tax increase, but I asked him. I said, "We've got to protect Joe." He said, "Okay, I'll give you a vote."

Ms. Boswell: That's interesting. So, on votes where you knew that it might be controversial…?

Mr. Atwood: Very controversial. Anything to do with taxes, especially, was controversial; a lot of these guys were very conservative.

Ms. Boswell: So, then you would try to look for people in solid districts to take the heat?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, to take the heat. They could take the heat with some degree of comfort. Some of them wouldn't under any circumstance, but that's kind of like listening to people attack Rush Limbaugh because he supports George Bush. (Laughter) They don't have any understanding of the legislative process, especially of the presidency. "He's not a conservative blah blah blah blah." "He's a turncoat."

A lot of these people in the Legislature don't care; they are just interested in their re-election. Most of them are in safe districts, too. But a few times I had to do that, and I always got a good response because we'd go into caucus and explain what the problem was. In order to get out of there, we had to give so many votes. It was just that simple. The Democrats equally would try to

get some of our guys in the swing districts to vote for it.

Ms. Boswell: Were there any other techniques or tactics that you used to bring people together on some of these issues?

Mr. Atwood: No, you've just got to explain to people—especially the back-row people—what the problem is. A little discussion in pointing out what the problem is. Being a leader is not easy. You get a lot of glory, but you also get lot of brickbats thrown at you. (Laughter) But the toughest thing is getting people to change their voting against their instincts or against what they normally would do, if they could go their own way.

A leader cannot go his own way. He's got to be a team leader, and that's why I think Newschwander and Matson got unhorsed. They didn't communicate with their back-row people. I wasn't there, so I'm just speculating. It was surprising to me that it happened with only two weeks to go in the session.

Ms. Boswell: Is it also sometimes a matter of personality? In other words, were there certain personalities that, no matter what you did, you couldn't get them to go along?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, I used to get in big fights with them. They'd get mad at me. That's fine, but I didn't want to get unhorsed if I could avoid it. But the thing is, if you knew more than they did, they were reluctant to take you on in these things. I think that's the one thing that saved me from being continuously harassed or undone.

Ms. Boswell: Was it that you knew more than most of them?

Mr. Atwood: I knew more than they did. (Laughter) Knowledge is power in that place. Boy, believe me.

Ms. Boswell: Was there anyone who was your nemesis in terms of the caucus?

Mr. Atwood: There were a couple. I'm sure I generated a lot of what I would call "heat" from two or three people. The famous one—I cut off John Murray. I called the caucus, and we were killing time. I said, "Okay, what are we going to discuss now?" and he brought up his pet project of buying this big installation. I said, "We're not going to talk about that, John!" and Craig Voegele, my administrative assistant, said: "Frank, you just said we can discuss anything." (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Now, it is interesting because in that article from March of 1973 that I read you earlier, it does say—and fairly so—that your influence as minority leader was at an all-time high.

Mr. Atwood: I don't know about that. I did have a lot to say. I wasn't an extreme partisan, but I did have a lot of influence. I didn't try to throw my weigh around very much. I talked to Augie and Gissberg and those guys. We had, more or less—as you said in the beginning—a "consensus." We had a lot of things that we agreed on.

Ms. Boswell: Here you are; you are at the height of your power, or as much as you can have as a minority leader. Did you have any inkling that you might decide not to run again at that point—as early as 1973?

Mr. Atwood: It began after Sawyer put the nail in the coffin and said we were going to be back every two months or whatever. That was the end of that. And my kids had gone twelve years in the Olympia schools and were getting ready to go to college, and I just had to get back and make some money—or try to.

Ms. Boswell: But so you didn't really sit back and enjoy the fact that you had reached a pretty strong position of power?

Mr. Atwood: No, I was devoting a hell of a lot of

time to it. It was way too much time for the amount of remuneration. My wife was very unhappy that we were living so close to the edge. I enjoyed the Legislature—don't misunderstand me—but there comes a time when you have got to fish or cut bait, and it was there.

Chapter 12

The Last Session

Ms. Boswell: In 1974 there was a special session beginning in January. The 1974 session was essentially dealing with the same issues that the mini-session and earlier sessions had dealt with—budget, taxes, energy, salaries, and all that.

Mr. Atwood: Same old, same old.

Ms. Boswell: In terms of energy, there is a famous picture of you with Ralph Nader and I think, Augie Mardesich. (Laughter) But Ralph Nader visited the Legislature in that January.

Mr. Atwood: That was in Augie's oral history.

Ms. Boswell: Right. What was the opinion of Nader at that time? He came to the Legislature and addressed it.

Mr. Atwood: It is the same as it is now. The environmentalists love him and will still love him forever. I don't know. He cost Al Gore the election—big time.

Ms. Boswell: But at that time, he was calling for the establishment of a Federal Energy Corporation to drill on federal land. Quite interesting, I think.

Mr. Atwood: I was unaware of this. Really, I don't remember what he was doing. That would have been fine.

Ms. Boswell: But I think he was very much anti-nuclear at that time.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, he was. Anything to do with nukes was passé.

Ms. Boswell: What about within Legislature? What was the feeling about nuclear power then and what was your feeling?

Mr. Atwood: There were pro-nuclear feelings, generally. And then we had that horrible mess. After I left, there were the problems with WPPSS (Washington Public Power Supply System). They got going too well, and they got carried away. Then the enviros got all upset and killed everything. It has been dead ever since, except for one power plant. It will probably come full circle again sometime in our lifetime. If there becomes a real energy shortage—I mean real, where it's critical—I wouldn't be surprised to see a nuclear renaissance. Although the enviros will probably win again, or at least delay it. It's so tough to get permits and everything.

Ms. Boswell: What was your feeling at the time? Were you worried about the environmental consequences or not?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I didn't think there were any, to speak of. The waste is what was critical. I think right now they're going to go for that mountain down in Nevada. You have got to have that. I don't think we have much choice. You can't undo what's already been done as far as nuclear is concerned. Europe and Asia have all these nuclear plants. Of course, they have had a couple of bad accidents—Chernobyl. Without them, they have a real tough economy.

Ms. Boswell: The other energy source that was hotly debated, too, was oil.

Mr. Atwood: Fossil fuels.

Ms. Boswell: And what was happening with the Alaska pipeline and who would refine that oil. There was a predication by a person in the House, Bob Perry…

Mr. Atwood: I know Bob Perry.

Ms. Boswell: Who thought that the North Puget Sound should be and would be a major oil-refining center? Tell me a little about that idea?

Mr. Atwood: It is because we're right in the middle of it. Mobil in 1953—the Mobil Refinery, which is now Phillips Petroleum-owned. Then Shell and Texaco down in Anacortes, which were being built in mid 1950s. Then Arco in the late 1960s, or early 1970s, I guess—maybe later than that. It still is a major refining area. There are four big refineries here.

Ms. Boswell: I think there were also some proposals for Bellingham to be a deep-water super tanker port, as well.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, Cherry Point. (Laughter) They're still arguing about it. We do have big super tankers coming into the Arco and Phillips refineries. It's there. There haven't been any major spills here—there have been little ones. It's still tough. They're still trying to get permits for another big dock out there, and they haven't been able to do it.

Ms. Boswell: What was your feeling, say in 1974, about Bellingham growing as a major refining center?

Mr. Atwood: Well, it was out in the county, but I would support it. You either grow or die, and we were dying because the pulp mill was now shut down. It was a shifting economy. We've gone through it. Lumber and fishing are now dead compared to what they were when I first came to town. There is a whole new economy here.

Ms. Boswell: Do you foresee that oil would really be that long-lasting as well?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. Everything is so computerized now, they only employ 200 or 300 people, but that is quite a few people, anyway.

Ms. Boswell: What about the danger of spills? Was that a concern, too?

Mr. Atwood: To the environmentalists, it was. But there are a lot of precautions now. They have instant reporting, and you get fined if you don't report oil spills, no matter how little or how big. The oil companies have tough regulations on controlling the spills, and they got a lot of equipment to control them. We haven't had any major spills at all. Mary Kay Becker got elected because of her book, *Superspill,* and Maggie—Warren Magnuson—got a bill through to make them double-hull tankers and all that, but we haven't had any major spills.

Ms. Boswell: What about your constituents? How much of an issue were possible spills up here?

Mr. Atwood: It wasn't. Just for the environmentalists. The voting man, no. Oil spills? During World War II, the whole East Coast was inundated with oil spills. The tankers were being sunk left and right by submarines.

Ms. Boswell: I know that there was some talk in the papers about Puget Sound and the fact that it could trap oil, if there was a spill, and that it wouldn't wash it out very easily, so that it would really concentrate.

Mr. Atwood: The tidal action is pretty good, as far as in the Sound. Now, the state-of-the-art is such that they can really curtail oil spills, if they get to them early enough or rapidly enough. We haven't had any really major spills. We had a lot

of little ones. They were able to curtail them pretty well. We haven't had anything like Prince William Sound. Now Prince William Sound has been rejuvenated.

Ms. Boswell: So, at least in the 1970s, was that the hope for the economic future of this area?

Mr. Atwood: No, not really. It was one of many things. You have got to have energy to expand the economy, and, of course, when the Arabs embargoed oil it was a problem. We still have that problem with Middle Eastern oil, and now we're looking at Russia and China for exporting petroleum products.

Ms. Boswell: Right. The hope for the Alaska pipeline was very high in the 1970s.

Mr. Atwood: It was. It was a big deal. Here, it was a tremendous deal. We did all the prefabs for the construction going into Prudhoe Bay and everything—it still is a big deal. And they're going to drill in ANWR eventually.

Ms. Boswell: I'm sorry, in ANWR?

Mr. Atwood: A.N.W.R.—the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. The state-of-the-art of drilling now is such that it doesn't impact anything—really. But you are going to have to have fossil fuels as a base, at least in my opinion. All these other things aren't going to cut it as far as being an energy supplier. Natural gas is the other big one.

Ms. Boswell: Well, now Bellingham certainly has had its problem with natural gas.

Mr. Atwood: That was on the pipeline, but that was an accident that could have easily been avoided. The company has paid very dearly for it, too. They're still paying for it.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, but it's still an accident. It still killed people.

Mr. Atwood: Three. I remember that day. It's a good thing that it didn't come down the river or down Whatcom Creek, which runs right here. It runs right here by the park. If it got down that far, it would be a problem. They evacuated the jail, you know.

Ms. Boswell: I didn't know.

Mr. Atwood: Well, the thing goes right back behind City Hall. If it had gotten that far, that would have been a hell of an accident.

Ms. Boswell: Yes, it could have done a huge amount of damage in the city.

Mr. Atwood: Well, it did quite a bit of damage.

Ms. Boswell: Now, all of these energy issues had an impact on the budget. The governor had put forth his budget, and then in that session, you were still working on the supplemental budget. There was a proposal to cut one hundred million dollars from the supplemental budget, and you actually countered with a thirty million dollar cut. How common or uncommon was it to propose major cuts in the supplemental budget?

Mr. Atwood: Normally, you're talking about cutting the biennial budget. That's very unusual, unless things are really bad. They were bad enough, so we proposed a thirty million dollar cut, which is nothing. One hundred fifty million is really nothing.

Ms. Boswell: Even in 1974, that would have been considered nothing?

Mr. Atwood: I wouldn't think it would, because our revenue estimates were never that exact. It just takes a little blip to increase them an enormous amount.

Ms. Boswell: But there was a lot of discussion about whether or not these promised federal funds

would come or not come. People wanted to postpone decisions on some of parts of the budget, pending those funds.

Mr. Atwood: Your guess is as good as mine on any of that stuff because predicting what the feds are going to do is impossible. You could get into real trouble if you overextended, relying on grant monies and whatnot when the feds can get in the same pickle as you are. Right now, we're back to deficit spending because of the terrorism.

Ms. Boswell: I think that your feeling at that time was that some of these decisions were being postponed because of this continuing session concept.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, why spend it when we don't know what we're going to do in the next month's session? If you want to control the budget, that's easy to do. You can continue it, and the minute you create it, allocate it, and appropriate it, *then* it's going to get spent. If you want to avoid spending it, you say, "Well, we'll continue this issue until the next session—the next mini-session."

Ms. Boswell: Now, you weren't in favor of that, were you?

Mr. Atwood: No, I wasn't. I'd like to cut it off. The Legislature, in its wisdom—if you don't work against a deadline—it will never get decided. Procrastination is a big item in the Legislature. This continuing session really encourages postponing everything. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: In the 1974 budget, there were a couple of agencies or items that were in limbo. One was DSHS. That whole budget was put on hold in that special session in January and February of 1974, and I think that was, in part, because of federal funding?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it was, because we had no idea what proportion of that budget depended upon the feds. The Medicaid budget—a lot of those things were very difficult to budget when you were depending on certain percentages that were going to come from the feds. The estimates were all predicated on that.

Ms. Boswell: I think another big issue, too, was appropriations for salary hikes, particularly for state employees.

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, that's always a big issue.

Ms. Boswell: And what to do about that?

Mr. Atwood: That was a big issue, especially in hard times. That's the first place they look. You've got to hold the line on salaries.

Ms. Boswell: Didn't they make huge cuts in the Western budget in 1974? I think it was because of declining enrollment, in particular, but tell me a little bit more about that situation. What had happened to Western?

Mr. Atwood: Nothing. They put a cap on enrollment, and thereafter, they put caps on it. We could have grown to about 12,000 or 13,000 easily, but the funding wasn't there for it.

Ms. Boswell: But at that time, weren't they having some declines in enrollment?

Mr. Atwood: No.

Ms. Boswell: No? Oh, I thought it was an issue.

Mr. Atwood: Well, they might have for that one year, but after that time, they could have really grown. When did Evergreen come on line? The three state colleges could have easily absorbed all the students who were at Evergreen. Evergreen only took in 1,800 or 2,000—something like that.

Western, I think even now, is only up to 10,000. If they had the funding for it, they could take at least 2,000 more. I don't think there is much question that they could.

Ms. Boswell: Had you been a proponent of growth for Western?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I was. I sure got them funded for it. (Laughter) When I left, they cut it all back.

Ms. Boswell: Were these cuts in 1974, in part, because of the problems in the overall economy?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely.

Ms. Boswell: Did other schools face the same thing, or was Western really a target?

Mr. Atwood: No, I wouldn't say Western was a target—so were the universities—WSU and the University of Washington, in particular. Bud Shinpoch was chairman of the House Ways and Means, or I guess, he was on the Appropriations Committee. He attacked Western on the basis that they wasted some money, but he really got the University of Washington, which blew about half a million without authorization.

Ms. Boswell: But the governor came back and vetoed the cuts in the Western budget, at least initially?

Mr. Atwood: Yes.

Ms. Boswell: Had he been a good Western supporter?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, he was.

Ms. Boswell: Or was he generally an education supporter?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, he was just, overall, pretty good at funding the universities and colleges. The mechanics were that the University of Washington had a very strong inside lobby. By that I mean about half of the people in the Legislature were graduates. WSU had less power, but the minute that any of the state colleges tried to expand their prerogatives or whatever—like the doctorate—that brought them out of their chairs. They really fought that tooth and toenail. (Laughter)

I sat on that commission, too—the Higher Education Commission—for a while. It was obvious that state colleges each had their presidents on there, and, of course, the University of Washington had its president, along with financial officers and whatnot.

It was a tough deal for the colleges to battle UW and WSU.

Ms. Boswell: Was there really strong public support in this northern part of the state for Western? Were people really backing it?

Mr. Atwood: Quite a bit. It wasn't as great because you also had the new community college system that was really starting to move, and that cut into the funding of all the universities, and the three state colleges.

That was a very powerful lobby. Community colleges had people in every district. A legislator, or two legislators, were from every district for the community colleges. Those who didn't have a university had a community college so they were supportive. They became very strong and, later on, equal to the University as far as their lobbying efforts.

Ms. Boswell: You proposed during that session some amendments to the budget. One of them was to put the DSHS budget back in, and not to wait to appropriate it?

Mr. Atwood: And let the governor adjust it if it didn't materialize—especially if the federal funds didn't materialize. That's one way of doing it.

Ms. Boswell: And the second was to add back the community college equipment money, which I guess had been cut. That was interesting to me because normally you were seen as a university proponent rather than community colleges.

Mr. Atwood: That's right. Well, you know why? My chairman, Sam Kelly, was the director of the community colleges; he was the president of the association. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Oh. (Laughter) All right, so that was the real reason.

Mr. Atwood: It was a good inside lobbying job by Sam Kelly.

Ms. Boswell: And then the third—none of these passed by the way—but the third was the sale and distribution of Washington Future Bonds. Tell me a little about that?

Mr. Atwood: Oh boy, that was a high-risk deal. I really don't recall exactly what prompted all that. I think that was one of Evans' big deals, wasn't it?

Ms. Boswell: I thought you were bringing it to the floor for Evans then?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. I think that was one of his big deals. You know he had pages of executive request bills, if you have ever seen those. Every Monday we had to look at them: check off on which ones were going, and which ones weren't. He didn't give up on any of them.

Ms. Boswell: Did you have to fight with him over these things?

Mr. Atwood: Oh no, I never fought with him on any of it. I'd tell him, "It's not going to run. It's not going to fly." You didn't fight with Governor Evans; he would trample on you. He would go around you. He was the strongest governor I have ever seen, by far.

Ms. Boswell: In a budget situation like this where it was really unclear what would happen, one of the things that you asked for was to make a determination of where surplus funds would go. How does that usually work?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. Well, it's not too usual, but you put a mandate in the budget bill on what would happen if there was a surplus. I forget how we worded it; we had a lot of riders in that budget bill: "provided, however, in the event that there is a surplus of such and such, it will increase the budget…." We wanted to keep our finger in control of any surpluses, if possible, without the governor vetoing it. And I don't know what he did; I would have to look at the veto messages on all that. He vetoed some of the stuff in that budget, as I recall.

Ms. Boswell: You were particularly interested in surpluses used for law officers, firemen's pensions, and also school levy relief funds.

Mr. Atwood: That was political.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me about that?

Mr. Atwood: Special levies were a headache; still are. That problem is never going to go away. It hasn't gone away in thirty years, or forty years. It's still with us.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me about what the issues involved are and why?

Mr. Atwood: Well, because so much of the operating budget is dependent on the special levies. That's the way schools are funded. There isn't enough money in the budget to take care of the levy problems and the K-12 expenditures. They just keep going up and up and up. You can't keep pace with them. That is a problem that is not going to go away. It didn't go way when I was there and is still with us. We have nine school districts here, and they all depend upon special levies to some degree.

Ms. Boswell: Are there just certain areas where people won't pass special levies?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it is getting very tough to pass some levies. The property taxing is not there to

support them.

Look what happened—the schools ran with an initiative to mandate salary increases. That was a terrible thing; I thought that was awful. You might as well not have a Legislature if you are going to mandate salary increases. But the teachers prevailed on the voters to do that, and the net result is that the voters are going to vote themselves more special levies to pay those salaries.

The state will cut back in that area and let the special levies take over those problems. (Laughter) I'm glad I'm not there, looking at what they are horsing around with. They are not being realistic at all. We're going to have an income tax run again, and it's going to go down by fifty-five or sixty percent.

Ms. Boswell: There were some tax issues in 1974 that you had to deal with it, too. One was—I think you supported some of these and, in fact, the Republicans actually initiated some of these—the elimination of the sales tax on prescription drugs and phasing out of something called the Business Inventory Tax?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. That was a big one because it wasn't raising the amount of money it should have. All of the warehouses moved out of the state—they went to Oregon—like Sears and J.C. Penney. And Boeing flew all of their airplanes out of here to avoid the inventory tax.

Ms. Boswell: So you were taxing business for the amount of inventory that they carried?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, every year. Guess what? No one carried any inventory in the state. They all warehoused them in Oregon. The Portland area had lot of warehousing.

Ms. Boswell: It sounds like it was somewhat of a deterrent for business rather than an encouragement.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, it was. It wasn't a very productive tax for most of the big industries because they just wouldn't warehouse anything here. Automobiles and farm equipment all were warehoused out of Portland. And today, they're still warehoused out of Portland.

Ms. Boswell: So it had a long-term effect?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, you bet it did.

Ms. Boswell: And then the sales tax on things like prescription drugs?

Mr. Atwood: Well, that followed the food.

Ms. Boswell: Was all that sort of an alternative to the income tax?

Mr. Atwood: They would have had a referendum on it eventually. Of course, the population wasn't as senior as it is now.

Ms. Boswell: In order to raise money, the state lottery bill got passed and went to Evans. You said you were dead set against it. We have talked about this issue before, but tell me why?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I didn't want a lottery, yet I played the lottery all the time. (Laughter) What a hypocrite.

Ms. Boswell: But you didn't want it. Why not?

Mr. Atwood: Well, that was a poor way to raise money because the people that play that shouldn't be.

Ms. Boswell: So you saw it as being regressive in the sense that it would end up taxing poor people who couldn't afford it?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. They pay a lot more taxes than anybody else because they buy those lottery tickets.

There are no long-term solutions to the spe-

cial levies. There is just never going to be enough money. The higher the taxes will go, especially in a recession situation. We're starting to come out of it. I find it rather interesting that these guys are fighting the same problem this session, and their solutions are even worse than ours. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: I wanted to ask you about this other issue. Point Roberts came up again in 1974 with a plan by the International Commission to make a 3000-square-mile park at Point Roberts, which you and Augie Mardesich, and others got up in arms about. Do you want to talk a little bit about it?

Mr. Atwood: The reason for that is that they were afraid that they would involve the fishing rights, which belonged to the U.S. They didn't want the commission to denigrate the fishing rights that go apparently along the border and that would have been changed by making it a national or international park.

Ms. Boswell: But you started out by a Memorial to Congress. Tell me about how that happened?

Mr. Atwood: Well, because they weren't doing anything with it, and we were afraid that the fishing rights were going by the by. That even made *Time Magazine*, I remember. That was my big moment in the sun. (Laughter) But that was my district at that time.

Ms. Boswell: So, it wasn't so much that you were opposed to the park, but it was just the consequences?

Mr. Atwood: The consequences of that whole thing were that we were going to lose the fishing rights that go with it. The fishermen here—it belonged to the U.S. and not to the Canadians. Still today, they're arresting crab fishermen and the Canadians are over there in American waters. But that was what it was all about.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, I see.

Mr. Atwood: That was the most I could do—memorializing Congress to take it over.

Ms. Boswell: There was also a proposal in the Senate to have a committee to make recommendations. I think there was also an argument that all of this was decided without really any state or local input.

Mr. Atwood: Input, that's right. It was done back in Washington, D.C., without any input from the locals—the county or the state.

Ms. Boswell: So the committee in the Senate—I guess it had some House members as well—made recommendations. What did it end up doing?

Mr. Atwood: I don't remember. I can't answer that.

Ms. Boswell: There were criticisms that it was an advisory board to an advisory board to an advisory board. (Laughter)

Mr. Atwood: It's probably true. That's called hyperlexis—hyperlexis in its worst form.

Ms. Boswell: Were you able to get some local input?

Mr. Atwood: Very little. Congressman—I forget who it was that time—I think it was Lloyd Meeds. I think it was Meeds. It wasn't Al Swift. Al Swift was my first opponent's campaign chairman—Senator Nunamaker. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Then in April of 1974, there was another mini-session where they finalized the budget. I think there was something of a surprise in that the Republicans teamed up with the Democrats and were able to actually defeat the budget twice before there was some compromise, and it

finally did pass. Do you remember that?

Mr. Atwood: I don't remember that at all, but we always had our little coalition going.

Ms. Boswell: There were ten Democrats, I think, and then all the Republicans. It was Mardesich who really got surprised by what happened.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, Augie? Augie was surprised?

Ms. Boswell: Yes, he didn't expect it.

Mr. Atwood: He probably instigated it.

Ms. Boswell: No, no. He didn't expect that it would get held up like that. I think it was contrary to how smoothly he thought the budget would get through.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, well. Greive and all his people came over and voted with us. It was very unusual. (Laughter) Greive always liked to make trouble for Augie.

Ms. Boswell: Well, you were quoted as saying: "They (referring to the Democrats) spent everything that they could get their hands on."

Mr. Atwood: That's true; they were spendthrifts.

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) Was that a common criticism?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, more or less. Although Augie was a lot more conservative than people think. He didn't mind it so much if we didn't spend the last nickel, but Dore and Durkan—Dore in particular—liked to spend right up to the hilt.

Ms. Boswell: I think Mardesich was also a little different than his predecessors in terms of his relations with labor, too.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, he didn't get along well with labor.

Ms. Boswell: Especially Joe Davis?

Mr. Atwood: They defeated him, you know. It was a shame. Matson didn't run any Republicans in that district because he liked Augie. They should have because the guy who beat Augie was some labor guy? Vognild? I thought that was a shame for the Democrats.

Ms. Boswell: In 1974 they did get passed a Labor Relations Act that gave collective bargaining powers to businesses with, I think it was, five or more employees.

Mr. Atwood: Yes.

Ms. Boswell: And Mardesich actually opposed this until the very end?

Mr. Atwood: I can understand that. As I said, he was a very conservative guy when it came to that kind of thing.

Ms. Boswell: By the end of April, you had begun to decide your fate in the Legislature, but before we talk about that, what was your assessment of the continuing sessions after that first year?

Mr. Atwood: Ridiculous. We could have done all that in one session with a minimum amount of expenditure of staffing and all that stuff. There was no reason at all to meet for twenty days, continue it for another month, and then come back for another twenty days. It was a make-work project. It can be: procrastinate, procrastinate, procrastinate.

Ms. Boswell: Was that the opinion of a fair number of legislators after that first year?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I think so. I left; I wasn't going to go through that again. I was out of my office 180 days that whole last year, 1974. That was ridiculous.

Ms. Boswell: So, was that continuing session a reason, was it the straw that broke the camel's back, or what?

Mr. Atwood: It was just one of many reasons. It was time for me to go. (Laughter) Oh, you stay too long.

Ms. Boswell: But you were in the leadership; you had a lot of power. Why did you think it was time to go?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I know. Well, it was a good time to go. Two of my kids were getting ready to go to college, and I wasn't getting any richer down there, believe me. I had to get out financially.

Ms. Boswell: How long had you been considering leaving?

Mr. Atwood: Probably a year or two. When we couldn't get a raise, there was no reason for me to stay. There just wasn't any way of hacking it.

Ms. Boswell: I read somewhere in the newspaper that you had actually threatened to quit four years earlier or that you considered it for a short time?

Mr. Atwood: I could have. My constituency—lots of them, both Democrats and Republicans—came down and tried to get me to file again, but by that time, I was done.

Ms. Boswell: What were the other reasons? You mentioned continuing sessions, the low pay, or at least the failure to get a pay raise. If you had gotten a pay raise, do you think you would have stayed?

Mr. Atwood: It depends on how much it was. We had just moved into this building, and I own part of it, and I had to get some funds to pay for it. I couldn't depend upon my partners to carry me down there. Financial concerns were the main reason.

Ms. Boswell: What do you think would have been a reasonable pay? I mean, is that something you can speculate on?

Mr. Atwood: Oh. looking back on it now—I don't know. We were getting $3,600 a year plus per diem, but the per diem during the session paid for my house in Olympia and my house here. I had my family with me when I was down there. I would guess $15,000—$10,000 to $15,000—and I would probably have been able to stay. Once they didn't do anything, it was time for me to go.

Ms. Boswell: Do you think the salaries of today are reasonable? Is that enough to live on?

Mr. Atwood: Well, yes, it's enough—plenty. Then they have these other perks. They've got phones; they've got offices; they've got a staff. The problems are still the same, and they are not being solved any better than we were solving them with a hell of a lot less staff. Things are not that difficult. They've got a bad case of hyperlexis now. It really is, because they're cranking out this stuff. You can't possibly keep up with it. There's no way.

I sit on the Legislative Committee of the Washington State Bar Association still. I'm going to do it one more year, and that's it. I've been on that committee forever. It's just incredible.

Ms. Boswell: And we talked about public disclosure. You don't think that was a major factor?

Mr. Atwood: It didn't bother me that much. Everybody in this town knows how much money I have, and where my properties and all that are, so it doesn't matter to me. I imagine, to a millionaire, it would. It was just a whole accumulation of stuff.

Ms. Boswell: Because people were worried about all the legislators who were leaving, there was a proposal at that time for a commission of retired legislators to advise on pay and other issues. Was that something you think would have worked or not?

Mr. Atwood: I doubt it. I think the way they're doing it now is as good as you are going to get. The problems are still the same, and they're not being solved any better than we solved them with hell of a lot less staff. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Yes. Do you think the Senate in the 1970s was really weakened by the loss of the legislators who left?

Mr. Atwood: I think so because they were mostly all lawyers. Lawyers were way ahead of the game down there, if they are any kind of lawyer at all. But there were a lot of top-flight guys like Holman and Whetzel. There just were a lot of top-flight people who left.

Ms. Boswell: After it was announced, people did try to talk you into staying. Were you at all swayed? Did you have any inkling that you might change your mind?

Mr. Atwood: No, once I made my announcement, that was it. There was a lot of pressure. They knew I was going. I told some of my close supporters that I was going to leave, and a whole bunch of people got together, and they had secret parties for me. Oh fellows, thanks, but no thanks.

Ms. Boswell: How did you feel about your own decision? Did you have mixed feelings or not?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I had some. I loved the place, and if you get to loving the power you are going to be less effective. It was time for me to go.

Chapter 13

Life after the Legislature

Ms. Boswell: Let's start with your decision to leave the Legislature. I know why you wanted to do it, but tell me about the decision-making process to determine that was the end after the 1974 session. Can you tell me about what you went through to make that decision?

Mr. Atwood: Well, it was at least a year in the making because my kids were all getting ready to go to college. Of my two oldest, one was graduating from Sehome High School and the other was graduating the following year, so I really didn't have any choice. I wasn't making enough money practicing law because of my time out of the office. The last year I was in the Legislature, in the year 1974, I was out of the office 180 days. You can't practice law and do that, so I had to devote my time to making some money.

Ms. Boswell: Were there people that you talked to about it, I mean staff or others?

Mr. Atwood: No, I never talked to any staff. I had voiced some preliminary warnings to a lot of people that I probably would not be running again. I told the caucus. And that's when the jockeying starts, immediately when you decide to leave. (Laughter) Everyone was very ambitious.

Ms. Boswell: But there were number of people who tried to convince you not to quit?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me a little bit about that.

Mr. Atwood: Well, a lot of my constituents had a surprise party for me down there. My secretary said, "We'll go out to dinner," and I said, "Oh, boy!" We got to the place and there was a whole bunch of people from Bellingham and people from Olympia. They had a surprise party, trying to talk to me about not being hasty in the decision. I had already decided. I hadn't announced it, but I was getting ready to do it. I wasn't going to resign; I was going to fill out the term. The decision wasn't that hard to make. I really had no choice.

Ms. Boswell: You mentioned that in the caucus there was jockeying?

Mr. Atwood: Well, not openly. (Laughter) Although Jim Matson and Charles Newschwander were legitimate choices, and we didn't know what would happen in the 1974 election. It turned out that there were a whole bunch of House members who came over.

Ms. Boswell: Was your caucus worried about what would happen?

Mr. Atwood: No. You never worry about what's going to happen, especially if you are in the minority. There was no use cutting each other up; at least, that was my impression. But it was a hard decision. I was firmly convinced that I had to get out of there while I could still walk away. I could have been re-elected, I think. I don't think that I had much competition, but who knows?

Ms. Boswell: What was the effect of making that decision, first of all, on the people who worked for you or with you—your staff, the people who ran your campaigns, and people like that? What was their reaction?

Mr. Atwood: Well, they were kind of sad. I

wasn't deserting them because I had been there for twelve years, and that was long enough.

I still think twelve years in the Legislature is long enough. You could stay there forever. Most of the people who had been there that long or longer could stay there forever, if they wanted to. Some of them do. The year that I retired, a whole bunch retired. There were a bunch of people like Jonathan Whetzel, who recently died. They were ready to move on, and I was ready to move on, to do new things.

I did have a press conference later on, and people thought that I was announcing for Congress. (Laughter) I said that it wasn't for that at all; it was for some other reason. Somebody talked me into doing a press conference for some state project, and I noticed that KING-TV and KIRO sent these people. I told them, "I'm not running for Congress, so don't come up." (Laughter) It was for publicity—I forget what it was. I was sorry to disappoint them. I'm not sure, but I think I could have made a good race for Congress.

I was just tired; I was tired from doing that kind of work—legislating. I didn't like running for office. I'm not that great of a campaigner; I get in fights with everybody. (Laughter) As the *Bellingham Herald* said, my bedside manner leaves much to be desired.

Ms. Boswell: What about your family, and, in particular, your wife? Did she give you any advice?

Mr. Atwood: She was very happy. She wasn't about to change my mind. (Laughter) It was very hard on her, riding up and down to Olympia, especially with the kids when they were in school. Her mother was still living, and she came with us and took care of the kids during the session. That was one of the good things, the real good things for her that she had a babysitter. Her mother lived to be 102.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, that's wonderful.

Mr. Atwood: In those days, she was in her eighties.

Ms. Boswell: Wow, that's pretty impressive.

Mr. Atwood: She was very good, and very close to the kids. But my wife was overjoyed when I left the Legislature.

Ms. Boswell: So, when you announced, was there any nostalgia or a sense of loss?

Mr. Atwood: No, not to me anyway. Maybe to the one of the colleagues. I didn't consider myself as a beloved figure. (Laughter) You know what I mean. My wife was very happy.

Ms. Boswell: What did you miss most?

Mr. Atwood: (Laughter) About being in the Legislature?

Ms. Boswell: Yes.

Mr. Atwood: Being Mr. Big! (Laughter) You weren't very big, though.

Ms. Boswell: What about the least? What did you miss the least?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I didn't miss the long meetings. It was not very healthy. I was a smoker. I smoked cigars—I'm allergic to cigars now. I can't smoke a cigar, and I didn't give up cigarettes until twelve or thirteen years ago. But it was a very unhealthy place, as far as your health. Sitting down all day, with little exercise.

Ms. Boswell: Stress?

Mr. Atwood: I didn't think it was that stressful. I enjoy stress, more or less. I like big fights. (Laughter) Thinking back, I have forgotten most of those things. I was in the heart of the tornado or hurricane or whatever it was, but I enjoyed it. I was

good at it, too, but that is neither here nor there.

Ms. Boswell: What were the biggest changes that you experienced when you stopped?

Mr. Atwood: Well, all of the meetings and having no agenda. I was now practicing law full-time.

Ms. Boswell: Was it hard to build the practice back up?

Mr. Atwood: No, oh no. I had a good clientele; I still have them, or a lot of them. The time for making money in the law was between the ages of twenty-eight and fifty. And I was in the Legislature during my golden years—in those twelve years I was between the ages of thirty-six and forty-eight. I left the Legislature when I was forty-eight years old.

I'll never recapture the money that I lost, but that's just the part of the game. It is part of what you pay. It was a big price. My family is the one that paid the price, not me.

Ms. Boswell: Were there any upsides in terms of your law practice? Were there clients that you got based on having been in the Legislature?

Mr. Atwood: A lot because I didn't do a lot of things before that. When I was in the Legislature, I wouldn't appear in front of any state agencies or anything like that. I started to get a lot of people who had business for the state. I never did business with the state while I was in the Legislature. I had a lot of opportunities to do so. Some of the people that I know had a good living from doing business with the state, like Martin Durkan and a few others. I shouldn't even say, that but he had a lot of retainers. It's a matter of public record.

Ms. Boswell: When you say that you gained cases with the state, give me an example. What kinds of things were you asked to do?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, license applications and stuff like that. Appearances in front of state agencies—I had a couple of cases in front of the Shoreline Hearing Board and things like that.

Ms. Boswell: So, was there something to the idea that having been in the Legislature, you were well known and, therefore, well respected?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. I knew the players. That was half the battle. I did do one lobbying job. (Laughter) It was for Blue Cross, and Bill "Daddy" Day and Martin Durkan were for the other side. I was a lobbyist for Blue Cross. I forget what the case was about. It wasn't a very big deal, but it was a modification of the health contracts. Daddy Day always wanted to cover chiropractors.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, right.

Mr. Atwood: But this case was on the dental side of it, and I forget what it was. They wanted to wrap in this additional coverage, but that was the only time I ever did any lobbying.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me a little bit about that. So did you make regular visits to Olympia?

Mr. Atwood: I went down there about three times. I went down there for the hearings and to talk to some of the legislators. That was about it.

I was a special attorney general for the two years after I left, for a U.T.C. (Utilities and Transportation Commission) study that Jerry Sorte was in charge of. I was his lawyer, a special attorney general, on the rewrite of the Motor Transportation Code, which was very interesting. We got everything that we wanted except Walgren killed one of our measures. He told Al Henry that it was not a good deal, and Al Henry held the bill. He was trying to sell his truck line to the FBI. (Laughter) It was a sting.

We did get a couple of constitutional amendments—a back-haul amendment to the Constitution.

Ms. Boswell: What kind of an amendment?

Mr. Atwood: Well, empty back-haul. There was a prohibition against it. You couldn't take a back-haul—I forget the details, so I'd have to pull the file. That was interesting. Jerry Sorte was an action person; he had been the legislative auditor before that. We were hired by the Utilities and Transportation Commission. I enjoyed that case.

Ms. Boswell: What kind of work did that entail for you?

Mr. Atwood: Well, just legal work. I only appeared a couple of times when they stuck our bill in Rules, and we couldn't get it out. (Laughter) That's when Gordon Walgren went over to Al Henry said, "This is not a good deal for us." He wanted to sell that damn truck line. (Laughter) I'll have to talk to Gordy. I'll ask him, "What the hell was that about?" He is probably sensitive about it because he went to prison shortly thereafter, but that was a phony deal because he wasn't trying to run anything. He was just trying to get rid of a truck line. I think that he had two trucks that he wanted to get rid of—it wasn't a winning proposition, which I wasn't aware of at the time.

Ms. Boswell: Working as the special prosecutor…

Mr. Atwood: No, I was the special attorney general.

Ms. Boswell: Special attorney general.

Mr. Atwood: I wasn't persecuting anybody. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Okay, sorry. (Laughter) Was that a state position? Or was that on contract?

Mr. Atwood: No, it was on a contract. I was hired on a limited basis by the Attorney General's Office and assigned to that case. Jerry Sorte asked them; he wanted an attorney.

Ms. Boswell: Did that require lots of trips to Olympia?

Mr. Atwood: No, I only went down there maybe three or four times. We had a couple of meetings with the U.T.C. Frank Foley was our mentor on that project. I'd like to have gotten on the U.T.C., but you had to have an "in" with the governor. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: What about other commissions or other party activities after that?

Mr. Atwood: I became a state committeeman from Whatcom County for a while, and I was on the A.W.B. Board—the Association of Washington Business Board, when Hal Wolf was chairman, and then Harry Lewis succeeded him. That plaque up there on my wall is for 1981-1887—six years on the A.W.B. That was good, interesting work, and we had lots of meetings.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me about the kinds of things that board does?

Mr. Atwood: Well, it's a business association—A.W.B.—and it also has United for Washington, which is their lobbying arm. I was a counsel to Jim Brooks, the chairman of A.W.B. for two years, and then I stayed on the board as a member. They take on business issues of all kinds, and we did things on taxation and a whole bunch of projects like that.

Ms. Boswell: When you are a counsel to a board like that, what kind of duties did you have?

Mr. Atwood: I was the chairman's lawyer; I wasn't the board's lawyer.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, okay.

Mr. Atwood: They had a lot of lawyers on the board. It was just a variety of issues, and a lot of tax issues, industrial insurance, self-insurance—all

these major issues that the state deals with. We'd have, at least once a year, an event where they had all the leadership of the Legislature report to the group. Now, they meet up here at Semiahmoo every year. They have the governor talk—Governor Locke was up here not too long ago. It's interesting. It's a very active board. It has to be because they have a lot of lobbyists, too: Weyerhaeuser, Boeing. The Association of Washington Business is the number-one business organization.

The Roundtable consists of CEOs and is a separate organization from A.W.B. I enjoyed being on that board. We met at least once every two months, if not more. We were meeting in Seattle mostly, but once in a while in Olympia. But I enjoyed that—it kept your finger in the pie, so to speak. Then you knew what was going on.

All of this time, I was on the Legislative Committee of the Bar. I'm still on that committee; this is my last year. They called me, and I said, "Why don't you kick me off?" (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: And again, what kind of role would you play on that committee?

Mr. Atwood: Well, that committee recommends to the Board of Governors of the Washington State Bar legislation that's wanted. The various committees of the Bar, like the Probate and Trust Committees, have bills that they want to give to the Legislature. They run it by the Legislative Committee, and then we recommend to the board whether we should support it or oppose it or whatever. There is a lot of stuff that comes up that we recommend they oppose. We have three or four meetings in September, October, and November before the legislative session. We get a lot of legislation that the Bar wants to have passed or bills that are going to come up that we want to oppose. But I've been on that committee way too long.

Ms. Boswell: Is that kind of position essentially non-partisan, or not?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, oh yes. It's totally non-partisan. We have a bunch of Democrats on the committee too, like Pete Francis, who was chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee when I was there. He is on it. I just got the list the other day of who is on it this time. There are some other legislators on it. Jeannette Hayner's husband, Dutch Hayner, is on it, or was up until this year.

I enjoyed that kind of thing, but I'm tired. (Laughter) You get tired.

I also did a lot of hospital work. I was on the Saint Luke's Foundation. I was the secretary of Saint Luke's Hospital. When I got out of the Legislature, I was on the Saint Luke's Hospital Board for a number of years.

Ms. Boswell: How did you get involved in that?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I originally was a Jaycee representative for that board, but then later on I became a member of the board. Then, of course, Saint Luke sold out to Saint Joseph, and they merged the hospitals. We had two hospitals here—Saint Joseph's south campus is the old Saint Luke's Hospital. Saint Joseph still owes them three or four million dollars for the merger. That's the main nest egg of the Saint Luke's Foundation. I just got off that board. I was on it for sixteen years, and I just got off it a couple of years ago.

Ms. Boswell: Did your legislative experience help in being on these other boards?

Mr. Atwood: Oh yes, absolutely.

Ms. Boswell: In what ways?

Mr. Atwood: Well, it just gives you an insight on what the problems are in these various sectors of the community: business, medical. It's very, very broadening.

I enjoyed the hospital, but you can stay too long in some of these organizations. They've got some people on there who had been on there initially. I went on it when I was secretary of Saint

Luke's Hospital, and I went off of it two years ago because I figured that they needed new blood. They do. That's the biggest private foundation here in town. They do strictly health measures.

Ms. Boswell: Why didn't you do more lobbying? You had a good position here.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I did not feel good about lobbying.

Ms. Boswell: Why? Tell me a little bit about that.

Mr. Atwood: I just didn't. I did not want to regale my former colleagues, either Democrats or Republicans, because it just did not appeal to me. I could have made a lot of money. Hell, I was offered fifty or sixty thousand dollars to represent a couple of interests. I did not feel right about it. The only one that I did, I just did not feel right about it. I know I didn't appreciate old legislators coming to me. We still see a lot of legislators down there lobbying.

Ms. Boswell: Sure. You do.

Mr. Atwood: That wasn't my cup of tea; it just wasn't.

Ms. Boswell: Now, what about getting involved in other campaigns?

Mr. Atwood: I got in a few.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me what your criteria for doing that was?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, like I got in Duane Berentson's campaign when he ran for governor. I still have his shirt—"Berentson for Governor." These were people that I knew who would be good. I got involved with Spellman's campaign up here when he ran for governor.

Ms. Boswell: When you would do that, was it more just lending your name or were there duties involved?

Mr. Atwood: I actually did some help in fundraising and put on some parties and organized. I wasn't the chairman. Oh, and Ann Anderson's campaign—that was a doozy. She ran against—who did she run against? They lied about her, and I remember cutting some tapes for her. They tried to defeat her.

Ms. Boswell: Did she run against Barney Goltz or was she just trying to succeed him?

Mr. Atwood: No, it wasn't Barney Goltz she ran against. But Barney was involved on the other side of that campaign because he put out a mailing, which was totally untrue, and I nailed him on that. And she won; she should have never won. Who was it—Kelli Linville, I think, was running? They started running negative campaigns on her. I was an honorary chairman, so I wasn't the workaholic chairman. It takes somebody who will do that. I cut some tapes for her. I enjoyed that one because she came out of nowhere and beat—I think it was Kelli Linville, but I could be mistaken.

Ms. Boswell: What about the election for your position the year after you left? Tell me about that election. Were you involved at all in that campaign?

Mr. Atwood: A little bit, but not much. Barney Goltz beat—I can't even remember who ran. Barney was a House member at that time, so he had the inside track. He had been a lobbyist for Western down there in Olympia when I was a senator. He used to come into my office all the time.

I'll tell you what. The fun thing that I did was two years ago, in 2000. I've been to a lot of state conventions—Republican conventions. I wasn't that active in the party, although I was a precinct

committeeman and a state committeeman. I ran for national delegate to the Republican National Convention.

The reason that I did is because my kids and my grandkids live across the river from Philadelphia, and my wife and I decided we were going to try and go. So we worked the problem, and, by golly, I got to be an alternate to the national convention, and we went. That was the only time in all my thirty years of involvement, since the fifties—I had originally been a precinct committeeman back in the 1950s. We got to go to the national convention. That was really something else!

Ms. Boswell: What kind of politics are involved in getting to be a national delegate?

Mr. Atwood: Plenty, believe me. Without my boy I couldn't have done it. My boy is really a pro as far as politics. He has worked for Jennifer Dunn. He worked for that senator from Edmonds. Who is that gal? Sue Gould. He ran her campaign. He was on the Evans campaign in South King and Pierce. He got in touch with Jennifer Dunn and Della Newman down in Snohomish County. I had to be picked.

First of all, you have to get to the state. That was easy enough from the Fortieth District. Then you have to be on the right side. The Bush campaign—were they ever organized! They shut out our right-wingers here. I laughed. I don't think that Yvonne Goldsmith knew what happened until we got over to the state. In order for me to go the national convention, I had to sign a deal that I'd vote for John McCain on the first ballot.

I was an alternate; they elected an alternate delegate, and they voted a slate. You went up to the computer and punched one button. If you were on that list, you made it. I got on the list because of Jennifer and Della Newman. She was the ambassador to New Zealand. She was a very powerful Republican. They talked to me. I knew them both. I knew Jennifer, but my boy had gotten this McKay, who was chairman of the Bush campaign to help. So I got on that approved list, but they made me sign this thing because the right-wingers were trying to defeat this list. The first vote taken over there at the state was to allow a ballot, a one-shot deal. If you were on that list, you could vote. You could vote individually if you wanted to, but the way it was rigged, if you were on that list, you were going to win.

That's what happened. I had a Bush hat, and I was talking as an alternate for McCain, of all people. Ralph Munro was head of the McCain delegation over there. They had four who were elected in the primary—that was a given. I was one of the alternates to the convention because I had not run as a McCain delegate originally. And then McCain released the delegates, so I didn't have to worry about it.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me what it was like being there.

Mr. Atwood: It was a lot of fun. It was hell of a deal. It was very expensive; I'll tell you that. It wasn't cheap. They had it organized really well. The security was overwhelming because there were three ex-presidents there. It was great. I won't do it again; I'm not going to be a delegate again, but it is a tremendous effort. It was very expensive.

The delegation stayed at the Holiday Inn, which was about twenty-five miles outside the city.

Ms. Boswell: That's quite far way.

Mr. Atwood: And I was across the river at my kids' house, and I was only twenty minutes away from the First Union hall. They had buses running from these hotels across the river, and I had my son-in-law take me over. We would get on the bus and go.

Ms. Boswell: What was the most fun part of it?

Mr. Atwood: The parties. My daughter came up from Washington; she was the lobbyist back then for Capitol Link, which is a private group. She got us tickets for the farm breakfast, which

was in a big hotel. I don't know how much she paid for them, but it was wonderful.

Bush, the elder, was the speaker—not the presidential candidate—and Senator Pat Roberts was the master of ceremonies. He was one of the funniest guys that I have ever listened to. He talked a bit because George, Sr., got delayed. I'll never forget, he said, "The president has been delayed because the protesters put a fence of broccoli around the hotel." (Laughter).

But it was very exciting. The Secret Service was everywhere, and I was sitting in the back of the room at the table with my daughter and my wife and a couple of other people. The doors closed—the Secret Service closed the doors. You couldn't get in or out because the former president was coming.

We just had a good time. We didn't participate in all the parties; there were endless parties. They had it really well laid out, down at the convention center downtown. We went down there, and they had replicas of Air Force One set up, and all kinds of things that you can buy, of course—cups, hats, and whatever.

Ms. Boswell: In a convention like that, no matter who is chosen, are people really confident about the future and about the possibilities of being elected?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. Everyone figured that Al Gore was going to win, but the Bush people. I'm telling you, I have never seen a political organization like that in my whole fifty years. Believe me. They had that convention organized from A to Z. Jennifer Dunn was one of the key people. She was a co-chairman. I don't think the Democrats knew what happened. They underestimated Bush, and he didn't have to worry about raising a lot of money. He already had it going in, but they also had the votes under control. McCain didn't realize what he was up against; they just out-muscled him. He was the darling of the press, but I was just totally impressed with the Bush organization at that level. It was incredible, absolutely incredible.

Our seats in the Washington delegation. . .I was an alternate so I sat up above. I'm glad I wasn't on the floor. You couldn't see anything on the floor, and the people down on the floor always wanted to trade with their alternates. (Laughter) I hated to go down on the floor because you couldn't see anything. Right across the way were all the Reagans, the Fords—who else? The father Bush and his wife, and when they came in, everyone could see them. We were looking right at them. We took pictures of them. They were three sections over, but we were looking right at them, and it was really something else.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, that's great.

Mr. Atwood: We took as many pictures we could. It was well worth doing it once. For some of these people, that's all they live for. But it's terribly expensive. I'm glad that I didn't stay with the Washington delegation. You had to stay a week.

Ms. Boswell: It was worth it?

Mr. Atwood: It was worth it. We got to see the kids. My daughter took my wife's credentials and went with me a couple of evening sessions. They had a lot of evening sessions because that's prime time, but she enjoyed it, too.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, that's so neat.

In your own career, was it a real disappointment to the party that your seat went to a Democrat?

Mr. Atwood: I assume that it was, yes. I can't speak for the party, but I'm sure it was a big disappointment. Well, Ann Anderson got that seat later on, which was pretty good. How did she get it? Barney Goltz was a president protem, but he retired. He did twelve years; he retired after twelve years. I left in 1974, so he was elected in 1974. He served from 1975 to 1987. She succeeded Barney, so it must have been a great disappointment to the Ds to lose that seat to Ann Anderson.

They finally got it back, but Georgia Ann Gardner had stiff competition in 2002. The sheriff, Dale Brandland, ran against her and won. I talked to Brandland, and I said to him, "What in the world are you thinking running for the Senate when you're the sheriff?" He had been a good sheriff, too. He is relatively young. He was in the Forty-second, and I am in the Fortieth, but I told him that I would support him all the way. He was a very attractive candidate.

Ms. Boswell: Can somebody like that keep their current job when they run?

Mr. Atwood: No, no. He's not running again for sheriff; he's up for election.

Ms. Boswell: What about Barney Goltz? What were your thoughts about him as a successor? Did he have very different views than you did, or not?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, quite a few. He was very liberal. His views and my views are very different. I like Barney; he's a good friend of mine. I knew him very well.

Ms. Boswell: You had one or two letters in your files from him, and they seemed very jovial. He kidded you about measuring for curtains in your office.

Mr. Atwood: Yes. He's all right. He's kind of a lonely guy now; his wife died, and she was the power behind the throne. (Laughter) She was a very smart lady.

Ms. Boswell: What about within the Republican leadership? You've mentioned some of the things that happened. Can you explain a little about who succeeded you and what happened to them and why?

Mr. Atwood: Well, no one succeeded me except Democrats. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: I meant in Republican leadership. I meant as the caucus chair?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I was all for Matson; in fact, I would have been surprised if he didn't succeed me. And Newschwander. But I was totally shocked when they got thrown out of office their last week before the end of the 1979 session, I believe. Jeannette Hayner could tell you. That would be a good one to ask her about the plotting that went on. That should have never happened during the session. It happened a week or two before the session ended. If the leader is doing a job, it should never happen. That surprised me, because Matson was a pro.

Ms. Boswell: So how closely did you follow what went on in Olympia once you left?

Mr. Atwood: Not much. Just through Jim Matson. I used to see him because I'd go on active duty over at the firing center in Yakima, and I would go up to his house and have dinner with him and play golf with him after hours. I used to see him. In fact, at his funeral, I was one of the speakers. He got cancer and died four or five years ago.

Ms. Boswell: Was it difficult not to second-guess what they were doing?

Mr. Atwood: No, no.

Ms. Boswell: No?

Mr. Atwood: I didn't pay that much attention to it. (Laughter). I am now because they have a hell of a mess in the 2002 budget. It is just really bad.

Ms. Boswell: Once you had left and became a typical citizen—once you were out of politics—did it change your view of the process? Once you left, did you get some distance?

Mr. Atwood: No. The only thing that I really felt

is that I was guilty of gross hyperexis. (Laughter) I was one of the worst offenders. Well, you can see all the bills. Half of them we didn't really need, but some of them we did.

Ms. Boswell: Did you notice things that you didn't see as a legislator? (Laughter) I mean, in terms of public perception, for example.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, but most of the people don't follow the Legislature. They don't pay any attention to what's going on—that's the bad part of it. Let me give you an example. Just yesterday, a new bill went into effect that puts a ten-dollar charge on every instrument you record at the county assessor or county auditor—for supporting low-cost housing. Now, why should a recording fee—like your deeds and community property agreements—have to include an extra ten bucks for low-cost housing? That doesn't make a bit of sense to me. It's for a worthy cause, but making the public pay an additional ten-dollar surcharge on everything that's being recorded? It doesn't make a bit of sense to me. That went into effect yesterday. I didn't know that. I wasn't aware of that until the auditor said, "You better get this recorded because tomorrow you are going to pay ten bucks extra."

Ms. Boswell: And all that money goes to the state?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. It's a surcharge for low-cost housing. It doesn't help the county, but that's just one of them. I don't pay that much attention except the legislation that the Bar is interested in.

Ms. Boswell: What about some of the pet projects that you had worked on when you were there, and now you're gone. Were there any, in particular, that you were watching that maybe either did or didn't go the way you had hoped?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. I'll tell you the big one was the performance audit. Now the state auditor made a power grab and was successful because the Legislature laid down on the job. They let that happen. That should never have happened. That's a legislative function, not an elective auditor.

Ms. Boswell: And that was something you had fought for?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. I had a major battle with Bob Graham over it. If you go back and research that era, we had the performance audits for the Legislative Budget Committee, and they just dropped the ball. I don't know why. That's too bad; it's just a weakening of the legislative process, in my opinion. Like the GAO—that's what that thing was supposed to do. The Legislature in its wisdom apparently defaulted on it.

Ms. Boswell: What about running for judge? Tell me a little bit about that and how you got interested in running for the Whatcom County Superior Court?

Mr. Atwood: That was a disaster. Well, I thought that was going to be the way to go to get a retirement. (Laughter) I didn't realize the guy who got elected had been campaigning for it for two years. I was the only practicing lawyer in the race; the rest of them were all district court judges or court commissioners.

Ms. Boswell: When you decided to run for that office, what was the impetus? Wouldn't it have taken you away from your practice like the Legislature had?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely. I would have been done with the practice of law, but that was not to be. I was not aware of what was going on as far as that race was concerned.

Ms. Boswell: Tell me about when it was and what the race itself was like.

Mr. Atwood: Well, there were four people in the race: Michael Moynihan, who won the election,

Dave Rhea, who was a former partner of mine, Frank Morrow, and myself. Morrow was a court commissioner, Dave Rhea was the district court judge and Moynihan was a court commissioner, and I was a practicing lawyer.

That was a disaster because Moynihan had been campaigning in the senior centers and everything for two years.

Ms. Boswell: How did you organize that campaign?

Mr. Atwood: Well, not too well. (Laughter) I had lot of lawyers helping me, but not enough.

Ms. Boswell: What caused you to decide to run?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I thought I would have a good shot at it. Little did I know. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) Was it something that you had thought about for a long time?

Mr. Atwood: Not really. Not really. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: There it is: "Frank Atwood for Superior Court Judge." That was your campaign button?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: It's a non-partisan office, right? But was it a very political kind of campaign, or not?

Mr. Atwood: No, it was not. You can't say too much—just your experience and your resume.

Ms. Boswell: Did you have a regular campaign organization like you had for the Legislature?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. You bet.

Ms. Boswell: Who was involved in running it?

Mr. Atwood: I had the same people that I had before: Sam Kelly and Harry Pagels. But we didn't even have a chance. I got knocked out in the primary. Boy, was I happy that I did because the guy who finished second, Dave Rhea, spent a ton of money and got trounced by Moynihan. Moynihan was the weakest on the law of the bunch. The guy who was the judge didn't know any law; he didn't have to. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: But you said that he prepared early on?

Mr. Atwood: He was running ever since he was a court commissioner.

Ms. Boswell: So, was it just a question of building a constituency?

Mr. Atwood: Senior centers. Church. Good Catholic. Pretty solid.

Ms. Boswell: What differences are there in that kind of campaign compared to a legislative campaign?

Mr. Atwood: You can't say anything. You can't say anything bad about anybody. It's not a negative-type campaign. You go around and it's—what do you call it—a "beauty contest," except it's who is the best fellow and who is hale and hardy.

Ms. Boswell: What did you think that you could have accomplished or changed by being a justice?

Mr. Atwood: Nothing—just be a good judge. Out of most of these judges, there are only a couple who think they are going to legislate. There is one judge here that thinks he is a legislator, too. He was just on the front page of the *P-I* the other day about a foster care case. (Laughter) He was going to take over the foster care. Sure you are, judge. (Laughter) That is Judge Dave Nichols. The other two are just straight judges.

It's interesting. We are going to have another

judge's race here in the next two years, but I'm too old to run now. You have to leave office when you are seventy-five.

That's the limit in the Constitution. Marshall Forrest had to get off the appellate court. He couldn't run for the appellate court again.

Ms. Boswell: Would you have been a "hanging judge" as they call them, or not?

Mr. Atwood: Probably not. It depends on the case, but I doubt it. It depends on the crime. I think the drug cases have clogged the courts and the jails, you know. The "three strikes and you're out" law, in my opinion, is not a very good law. There is no leeway. Those kinds of laws have taken discretion away from the judges. They have no choice. It is the same way at the federal level. They have no choice, and, to me, that doesn't make good sense. When you take all discretion away from the judge, to me that's awfully harsh. In effect, it makes the judge just a rubber stamp. "You are going to jail for life"—period. It doesn't matter whether you stole a loaf of bread like the Count of Monte Cristo or whether you stole three loaves.

Ms. Boswell: Right.

Mr. Atwood: But they have to change that law. We can't build jails fast enough.

Ms. Boswell: Did you ever consider trying again?

Mr. Atwood: No, that was it. You learned your lesson. If you have ever been hit in the head or beaten around the ears, that's enough.

Ms. Boswell: What about the cost of campaigns like that? Is it less than a legislative campaign, or not?

Mr. Atwood: You can spend as much as you want. I know that Dave Rhea, who finished second in the primaries, spent a ton of money—thirty or forty thousand bucks.

Mr. Atwood: Is it harder or easier to raise money for different positions?

Mr. Atwood: Much harder. Much harder.

Ms. Boswell: Much harder? Why is that?

Mr. Atwood: Well, unless you've got a lot of rich friends. I'll tell you this; I had a lot of lobbyists send me money. Boeing sent me a big check; well, not a big one—five hundred bucks. I think it was five hundred. Bud Coffey of Boeing and Weyerhaeuser. (Laughter) I can see when people looked at my PDC, they might say, "What in the hell are Boeing and Weyerhaeuser doing up here?" (Laughter) I would have to go look and see who had donated, but I had some good donations.

Ms. Boswell: Was that because they had known you from the Legislature?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, they were friends of mine. I'd have to check that PDC. I wonder if they keep those things?

Mr. Atwood: I think so. I would guess they do, but I truly don't know.

Mr. Atwood: I thought that was amusing. Some *Herald* reporter called me up and said, "How come Boeing is giving to you?" I said, "I don't know. He's a friend of mine." (Laughter) That was Bud Coffey.

Ms. Boswell: So lobbyists did, then, become friends to you?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. Hey, I was friends with a lot of lobbyists. I had a lot of bills that I'd get out of the Senate, and they'd run over to the House and kill them. (Laughter) That's true. I had a couple of good bills that were worthwhile, and they killed them.

Ms. Boswell: Well, they don't sound like they were very good friends, then.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, they were. I had one bill for taxing, where you had long-term leases. We taxed them as a sale. They didn't like that because they were hiding behind long-term leases and not paying good property tax.

Ms. Boswell: Who do think were the most successful lobbyists?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I think probably Bud Coffey. I think that Ron Gjerde of Weyerhaeuser was very effective. I think that there were three or four others who were really good lobbyists. Bob Blume of Cascade Gas. Ron Gjerde is dead; I went to his funeral or memorial service. He died on the golf course, just suddenly. There were three or four other good ones. Marty Sangster. I didn't have a lot to do with most of them. I didn't have bills that I was interested in sponsoring. There's a Seattle First Bank lobbyist, Joe Brennan.

They were all different. Some of them were tight; some of them were not. But the Association of Washington Cities had two or three good ones. I liked them because I was carrying most of their water for them, but they weren't a powerful lobby.

Ms. Boswell: Were the lobbyists much less interested in you if you were in the minority?

Mr. Atwood: I suppose they were. But we were still able to raise as much money as we needed, I think. Especially the business community is more oriented towards the Republican side, and A.W.B.(Association of Washington Business) and the Roundtable is oriented towards business Republicans.

Ms. Boswell: Did you think that some of the labor people were good lobbyists?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, you bet. Joe Davis was. I lived in Joe Davis-land, as Augie said. (Laughter) Joe Davis was very effective. Norm Schut of the state employees was very effective.

Ms. Boswell: Did you find that, for you, lobbyists brought you new information that you wouldn't have found elsewhere?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely. We operated—I forget when it was—under an edict in one session, and we couldn't pass anything. So there were no lobbyists around for about thirty or forty days.

Ms. Boswell: Was that the redistricting battle in 1965?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, it was. Boy, you talk about a dearth of information. There wasn't any, and you would try to find somebody who knew something about the bills. We were working bills, but it was difficult. People have a funny impression of lobbyists. Most of them are pretty good sources of info, especially pro and con, when you are not knowledgeable on the subject. That is just critical, so you could get at least one side of it anyway.

I had a lot of admiration for some of those lobbyists. The A.G.C. lobbyist was pretty effective, too.

Ms. Boswell: Which is what?

Mr. Atwood: The Association of General Contractors. I didn't have much to do with them because they were the transportation people.

That was a law unto itself, that whole transportation department. They had their own budgets, and Frank Foley and I took them on. We got them all nervous. (Laughter) There wasn't a Department of Transportation then. It was the Highway Commission. They have their budgets; they were sacred—a sacred cow. Everybody thinks the sales tax goes to pay for the highways; it doesn't. It's the gas tax. That's a sacred deal. That's an empire, and I don't know what the answer is. I don't think it will ever change. They're just a hard and fast little empire. They have their own committees—the Joint Committee on Highways or Transportation in the House and the Senate.

Ms. Boswell: I have heard other people refer to them as an empire.

Mr. Atwood: They are.

Ms. Boswell: How does that happen? Is it just strong personalities who build the empire or what?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, that's because they've got a base in each House and Senate with the transportation committees. I don't think there's been a change. We're going to be voting on a gas tax—a nine-cent raise—and that's strictly for them. It's not for anybody else, but the people want it. I think it's going to pass in the 2002 election.

Ms. Boswell: Oh, you do?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I don't know. You live in King County. If it doesn't pass, King County is going to sink in the concrete. (Laughter) I could be wrong on that, but my coffee group consensus was that it would pass up here, but, of course, the main vote is down in King, Pierce, and Snohomish.

Ms. Boswell: I think it is more of an issue whether Eastern Washington will vote against it.

Mr. Atwood: I'm not sure they would. But who knows?

Ms. Boswell: Throughout both your legislative career and afterwards, you continued to be involved with military activities. Can you give a brief overview of how your military commitment extended during the same time that you were in the Legislature, first of all, and then afterwards?

Mr. Atwood: When I first went into the Legislature I was a company-grade officer—a first lieutenant, captain, and then a major.

Ms. Boswell: This was all in the Army Reserve?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, the Army Reserve. The JAG corps—Judge Advocate General Corps. And then I was in the civil affairs unit out here in Bellingham. When I was a senator, I dedicated that armory and Secretary of the Army, Robert Stevens, came out.

When I got promoted out of the unit, I became a lieutenant colonel. I outranked the commander, and I had to transfer to Seattle, to the 365th Civil Affairs Unit as a JAG officer.

Ms. Boswell: Excuse my lack of knowledge, but in order to move up in the ranks like that, is it partially the years of service or does it have to do with quality of service? How is it determined?

Mr. Atwood: No. You've got to qualify educationally. Those are just two of the things. In order to be promoted to colonel, you have to complete a Command and General Staff school. But I also had a whole bunch of those courses in Virginia at the Judge Advocate General school. You had to have so many hours. I had a lot of schooling—probably five to ten years of schooling—in procurement law, criminal procedures, court marshal, administrative law, and international law. Then I transferred to the 365th Civil Affairs Unit in Seattle. It was headquartered there at the Leisy Center.

It's up there by Fort Lawton. It's now the headquarters of the 70th Support Command, I think. It was the 124th Army Reserve Command, but the civil affairs unit was a separate command headquartered in California. But then I got promoted to colonel, so I was out of that unit. The next thing I knew, General Palmer appointed me as a staff judge advocate for the 124th ARCOM, and that was my final three-year tour. That was a command position.

I had the Sixth JAG unit in Seattle as part of my command, a detachment in Portland, and I had the Fifth JAG in San Francisco. That was the headquarters of the Sixth Army; they're all Reserve commands as part of the Sixth Army. I got to travel twice a year to Virginia for conferences, and I went to San Francisco a lot. I went when Gen-

eral Palmer, the two-star command, went to meetings in San Francisco. I went with him along with the rest of the staff.

I enjoyed that. That was real-world stuff. There wasn't any play because we had a lot of problems. We had a helicopter unit in Everett. We always had some problems there—somebody crashed. But it was interesting, and I enjoyed doing that.

Ms. Boswell: How much time would you have to devote to that work?

Mr. Atwood: One weekend a month—probably a little bit more than that because I was in a command position—and then two weeks every summer, and sometimes an additional two weeks, or a week. I think in December I went to a conference in Charlottesville and one in June, plus my active duty.

Ms. Boswell: But if you are in the command, aren't there, if not day-to-day, week-to-week issues that come up that you have to deal with, too?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, all the time. But I had some staff down in Leisy Center—some full-time people. I had a sergeant and a civilian employee. That's a big command; the ARCOM was a big command. They had several permanent civilian staff, and they also had Reserve commissions.

Ms. Boswell: You mentioned problems such as helicopter crashes or other things?

Mr. Atwood: Let me give you an example. Abbotsford has a great big air show every year; that's up in Canada, so every year we sent a unit up there. Well, this one year those big Chinooks went up there, and they did an air show for them. One time they touched the rotor on the tarmac and parts flew out into the crowd and injured a whole bunch of people. They didn't kill anybody, thank goodness. Fort Lewis actually sent an investigative unit up there, but we had to handle it. The first question that came out of the Department of the Army was, "Who gave you the permission to do this?" Thankfully we had the permission documented. (Laughter) You talk about scrambling to get authority and whatnot.

We had vehicle crashes and men getting in trouble with the local authorities while on active duty and things like that.

Ms. Boswell: Certainly during your tenure there were military situations where at least some of the Reserves were called up.

Mr. Atwood: Yes.

Ms. Boswell: Were there times when you might have been called up?

Mr. Atwood: All of them. We were willing to go. Well, the last one, they called that hospital group of the 124th in the Gulf War. They all went, the whole unit, and chopper units out of Everett went. The 448th, my old unit, went to Bosnia. They were in Haiti, too. I talked to a lot of the sergeants, but we never got to go anywhere. (Laughter) We didn't have all the turmoil either. Vietnam was the only one where we could have gone, but they didn't want any civil affairs in Vietnam, apparently. The only civil affairs units are in the Army Reserves, except there's one civil-affairs group at the Eighteenth Airborne Corps, at Fort Bragg. That's the only active Army unit there is. The Marines have some.

Ms. Boswell: You almost sound disappointed that you weren't called up.

Mr. Atwood: Very. Sam Kelly and I wanted to take the unit out. (Laughter) And everyone was glad we didn't. (Laughter) We would probably all have gotten shot.

Ms. Boswell: Certainly, though, it would have been a hardship business-wise, wouldn't it? You would have had to leave the Legislature because of it?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I would have had to give up the Legislature. I would have done it in a heartbeat, but we never got to go.

Ms. Boswell: So, what would it have done to your law practice, too, if you had to go for any length of time?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, it would be over. I might have stayed in the Army.

Ms. Boswell: Could you do that?

Mr. Atwood: Sure.

Ms. Boswell: If you transferred over, you could do it?

Mr. Atwood: Sure.

Ms. Boswell: At the same position?

Mr. Atwood: With the same position and with the same rank. It was not a permanent rank, but it's the high two years you retire on. A colonel makes damn good money.

Ms. Boswell: What was the attraction, generally?

Mr. Atwood: I was just interested. I was an expert in military stuff. I enjoyed it. It's like having an avocation. I'm still pretty sharp on it. Just before you came, I was reading about it. I'm a member of the Air Force Association—although I had nothing to do with the Air Force—but I keep up on all these things.

Ms. Boswell: On weaponry or what in particular?

Mr. Atwood: Everything. One, the whole picture—see this Air Force publication: "Seven Pillars of Air Power, the Mobility Boom." We're so far beyond where we were. Technology—it's just incredible what they have now. We've been testing it in Afghanistan—I mean big time. Look at all that stuff—unmanned aircraft. You could fly them anywhere.

Ms. Boswell: How much effect did this military knowledge have on your political career? I can see that you could use it on the federal level, but in a state position, was there much call to know some of this military stuff?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, because the National Guard is a big chunk of the budget. I know General Goldsworthy, they wanted to make him an adjutant general, but the regular National Guard people didn't like that because he was regular Air Force, or had been.

Ms. Boswell: Right.

Mr. Atwood: I was down there when they talked about making him adjutant general. I think Evans talked to him about being the adjutant general.

Ms. Boswell: Did you have much influence over the National Guard?

Mr. Atwood: No. I'll tell you who was the National Guard officer: Wes Uhlman. He was in the National Guard. He retired out of there as a lieutenant colonel or colonel. And that guy who switched parties—von Reichbauer—who became a King County councilman. I think he was a colonel in the National Guard.

He was in the Senate, but he switched horses. He went from being a Democrat to a Republican back there in the early eighties and gave the Republicans control. He then was a county councilman in King County—Peter von Reichbauer. I don't know him very well. I know he was a major when I was leaving the Legislature.

Ms. Boswell: If you had to pick the highlight of your military career, what would it be?

Mr. Atwood: I think the highlight was when I was a G-5 of the Ninth Infantry Division at Brave Shield 76, over at the Yakima Firing Center. I was the only Reserve officer on the staff. It was a huge exercise. It had about 20,000 troops. We had, of course, the Ninth Infantry Division and the opposing force was a brigade, commanded by a three-star general out of Florida, Eglin Field. They had units from the Eighty-second; they had a SEAL unit there. It was huge, and I was really impressed. I had never been on active duty with a regular army unit, and I was the only Reserve officer on the staff. I was a lieutenant colonel at the time. I was older than the general, as a matter of fact. General Volney Warner was the commanding general at the time, but there was a three-star Air Force general in command of the exercise. It was a lasting impression. I had never been that close, since World War II, to a regular army division, and it was really impressive. I did some time with the Ninth Infantry, but never on a big exercise like that.

Ms. Boswell: How did you get selected for that duty?

Mr. Atwood: I'll tell you how I did that. (Laughter) My commanding officer got into trouble for that. There was a guy by the name Elmer Crape in the 448th, and he didn't want to go. I said, "Well, I'll go." It was a two-week deal, and I took a detachment. I took two or three good captains who had come back from Vietnam and some enlisted people. We were part of the civil affairs and military government section of the G-5; that's a staff position in the division. And so we went over there. It was a hell of a deal. I lost fifteen pounds in two weeks. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Wow!

Mr. Atwood: We were tactical the whole time, once we went into the firing center. It was something else. They had psychological warfare units and everything. I'll tell you, I learned more in that exercise than I care to know. We were overrun the first two days by a Russian brigade, but they cheated. They put their coats over the receptacles by laser—you could tell when a tank was knocked out with a laser, and they cheated. So the guy in charge called out the F-111s from Mountain Home, Idaho, to bomb the Russian brigade. (Laughter) Not the Russians, but the opposing force, to save the day, so we got saved. Anyway, it was something else. I learned more in that exercise than the whole two years that I spent as a D-5 in the Ninth Division.

I was the oldest guy on the staff. I loved doing it because it was very interesting. They were tactical the whole time. A couple of the guys got killed, of course. There always are in those exercises.

Ms. Boswell: Really got killed?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. Accidents. It's a wonder more do not get killed or badly injured.

Ms. Boswell: Did you ever seriously consider a career in the military?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, for a long time. If I had gotten called to Vietnam, I might have stayed in; either that or gotten killed. I took ROTC in college after I got out of the service in World War II. I was in the infantry. I got out of that in a hurry. When you are young, that's fine, but not when you're old. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: You mean the infantry itself, not ROTC, or both?

Mr. Atwood: Infantry, yes.

Ms. Boswell: Now, just going back over your career generally, what was it about politics that intrigued you?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, I just loved it. Well, you like it; you wouldn't be doing this kind of work unless you did. It's just something that is fascinating.

Politicians—and I've met a lot of them from presidents on down—are just interesting people.

Ms. Boswell: Do you think some of it came from your dad, or your other associations, or do you think it was just an innate sort of thing?

Mr. Atwood: No, other associations—my mother and my dad, my family in general.

Ms. Boswell: Do you think the war influenced that notion?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, some. My dad was very friendly with a lot of high-powered people, including Nixon and Eisenhower. There was a picture in *Life Magazine* of my dad playing cards with Eisenhower at Augusta. They didn't identify him as such, but it said "Eisenhower and friends." I was trying to find that picture, but I can't find it. It was in a magazine a long time ago.

Ms. Boswell: What kind of personal characteristics might have made you a good legislator, if you had to pick them out?

Mr. Atwood: The ability to study things—and knowledge. Down there, knowledge is everything. Without knowledge you are just a nonentity. Really. You can get by on your good looks and your money.

Ms. Boswell: Is that based on your education, or do you think it is more, for example, legal ability? Or is there some sort of personal savvy that just goes along with it?

Mr. Atwood: Well, there's some personal savvy, but it's your education. A lawyer has a step up because you are dealing with making laws and whatnot. Lawyers have got a big advantage in my opinion. When I was there, there were twenty-two lawyers. Now, there are hardly any left in the Legislature.

Ms. Boswell: But knowing what you know now, would you become a legislator?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, sure. But you get educated in a hurry down there. I liked doing it; don't misunderstand me.

Ms. Boswell: Did being in the minority affect your outlook or your thinking?

Mr. Atwood: Not really, because most of those issues down there are non-partisan or bi-partisan—I guess about eighty percent of them. In the other twenty percent or so, they've got the votes to do what they wanted. But when you have the governor and one house of the Legislature, you are in pretty good shape.

Ms. Boswell: I was just wondering if there were any really important issues or pieces of legislation that, if you were in the majority, that you would really have tried to get through?

Mr. Atwood: I can't think of any major issues. There probably are a couple of issues, but I can't really get upset about them because many of your ideas even get shot down by a minority.

Ms. Boswell: People often make the comment in sports that your career isn't complete if you are not on the award-winning team or whatever. If you are always in the minority, is there a little edge that you could have done more, or you would have preferred to be in the majority?

Mr. Atwood: I would have preferred to be in the majority, but I don't know how we would have handled it. You get the minority complex after a while, but it didn't bother me that much because I did what I wanted to do, and I got done what I wanted to get done, primarily. I had a lot of help, too, from the governor and the House. So I didn't classify just being in the minority as some failure.

I didn't like it when I first went down there because we couldn't do anything because Rosellini

was the governor, the House was Democratic, and the Senate was Democratic. And then the coalition took effect. Those first two years were very interesting because when Evans became the governor, the whole thing changed.

Ms. Boswell: How important was being in the leadership? Would you have enjoyed it less or have less interest if you hadn't been in the leadership?

Mr. Atwood: A lot less. Being in the eye of the hurricane is where you want to be. There is no substitute for being in the leadership. There just isn't.

Ms. Boswell: Why is that? Is that personal, just a personal philosophy, or is it just that you have that much more ability to change things, or what?

Mr. Atwood: You have much more ability to act and have influence on what you want to do. When you are sitting on the sidelines in the rear ranks…being in the rear ranks is not fun, unless you don't care—if you just want the glory. "Senator so and so" and "Senator so and so." But being in the leadership really is the place to be, if at all possible.

Ms. Boswell: Do you think most people down there would agree with that idea?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know. My first two years, I was in the back seat, the total back seat. You couldn't get any further back unless you were downstairs. The next two years, I was the whip! Now, I was starting to climb. The next two years, I went to the floor leadership, and then I was floor leader for four years. Then I went to the top gun, but once you get up there in the top three, it's fun; it's lot better.

Ms. Boswell: Is it hugely more time-consuming as a leader?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. You've got to pay attention to what's going on, especially the budget. That took a lot of time.

Ms. Boswell: Would you think that most people would aspire to that position?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know.

Ms. Boswell: You really don't think so? I'm surprised that you don't think that was a goal for most people.

Mr. Atwood: Well, I tried to get a couple of people interested, like George Scott. I wanted him to take over, and he didn't want to do it. Newschwander kept telling me, "George doesn't want to do what you want him to do." I was impressed with him, but I guess he didn't want to do it.

Ms. Boswell: I know that you mentioned earlier that being in the Legislature did have a big impact—and not always a great one—on your family. Was it the time-consuming aspect, and especially your leadership role, which caused that, or would it have been the same no matter what?

Mr. Atwood: No, it was being in the leadership. It took a lot of extra time. I had a lot more meetings, and a lot bigger agenda. Something always has to suffer and that was family.

Ms. Boswell: What about your family? Obviously, being a legislator—especially then when so much time was involved for so little money—was hard on the family, but how do you see, with hindsight, your career affecting your family?

Mr. Atwood: Quite a bit. They had to suffer. My boy used to tell my wife, "I hate Dad being a senator because I have to be so good." (Laughter) Come on, Roy! (Laughter) He actually said that.

I'm sure that I could have been a much better

dad than I was, when you are not there to participate. They were in Olympia with me during the sessions, but when they were not in session, I was always in meetings one or two days a month.

The family does suffer. There are a lot of divorces. All of my House members—well, not all, but several of them—got divorced while I was there: Dick Kink and Dan Van Dyk and Fred Veroske, later on. It's just not a good atmosphere; there is lots of pressure down there. There is booze, too. Booze, women, and finances. Finances are a big item because we didn't make enough money.

Ms. Boswell: And so it put a hardship on the family?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, we couldn't do a lot of things we would like to have done.

Ms. Boswell: What about a career in politics? If you were having all those problems, would you advise your kids to do it? How did you feel about it? Several of your children have gone into careers that are involved in politics. Did you give them advice about that beforehand?

Mr. Atwood: I didn't tell them anything. No, they just got into it. Especially Roy—he's a hell of a campaigner. If I were running for office again, I'd have him as my chairman. He worked the Evans campaign; he worked Gorton's campaign; in Sue Gould's campaign, he was the chairman. He has had his ups and downs, but he's a pro.

Ms. Boswell: So, you didn't give him any advice about politics?

Mr. Atwood: Not any. He's got a Master's degree in public administration now, and he did that on his own after he got out of WSU and when he was working for Jennifer Dunn. He worked for the Legislature.

No, I didn't discourage them or encourage them. My daughter is really big-time. She is the special assistant to the Deputy Secretary of Agriculture. She just got back from Bali, of all places. They were in a big entourage of agricultural officials. She's going to Johannesburg in the end of August to a huge international conference. Boy, what a life!

Ms. Boswell: Is there sort of a vicarious enjoyment for you?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely, because she knows all those people. She was at the White House the other day. She was in charge of a booth—it was the US Forest Service, which is part of the Department of Agriculture. She was over there making sure everything went okay as part of the deputy's duties. Here comes the President and Laura who came over and talked to her. She was quite excited about that. But it's a stressful deal. I told her not to take that job because it's lot of infighting.

Ms. Boswell: But, so don't you think that your political interest was the source of their interest?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. It translated to my two oldest children especially. But Debbie is really a pro. Roy is really a pro. And Suzanne has her hands full with her three children, but she has been quite active in her local home owners association and other community concerns.

Ms. Boswell: So, they couldn't have thought it was so terrible, right?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I don't know. (Laughter) You would have to ask them that question.

Chapter 14

A Legislative Career in Perspective: Some Reflections

Ms. Boswell: Let's review your career and also talk about some of your perspectives about politics and the Legislature in Washington State. First of all, looking back, what was it about politics that most intrigued you?

Mr. Atwood: Well, it was just the action. I was politically active after I started practicing law, and even before then. When I was in high school, I served on the high school council—I was the sophomore representative to the Student Council when I first went into high school. I was from a junior high that went to the ninth grade, and my sophomore year, I was elected to the council. That was my first successful campaign. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) Your first political race.

Mr. Atwood: Yes.

Ms. Boswell: But so you said you liked the action, but you certainly had plenty to do with your law practice. You just couldn't keep away? Do people get politics in their blood?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, more or less. You get very interested in politics. I told you that story about how I came to the city council, when the newspaper reporter, Glenn Larson, who covered city hall, said, "I'll pay your filing fee if you want to run for council." I said, "Oh, okay," just kind of casually, not having a prayer in the world of winning. I was brand new; I'd been in the city about three years, maybe four. Being, not old Bellingham, but brand-new—an interloper, an alien! (Laughter) A twelve-buck filing fee, and I won. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: If you really were an interloper, so to speak, in the very beginning, what were the characteristics that made you a good candidate?

Mr. Atwood: Because I was new; I was a fresh face. There were several people who filed. There were six people in the race, and they cut it down to two. I was running against an old Bellingham guy, Bill Follis, Jr. He was the pick of the powers-that-be, and I was sort of the outsider. I was in the Jaycees then, and several of the Jaycees came around and asked me to withdraw because they thought Bill Follis should be on the council. I said, "I'm not going to withdraw. Why should I?" Then I got the backing of the incumbent who was giving up the seat, John Kelly, who is a CPA. He endorsed me, and that's what put me over the top.

Ms. Boswell: What was his rationale for endorsing you?

Mr. Atwood: I think he was tired of the downtown group running the show, or perceived it anyway. I wasn't that knowledgeable; I've only been at the city council two or three times, and that was after I filed.

Ms. Boswell: What about as a legislator then? What kind of characteristics do you think you had or the voters were looking for in a legislator?

Mr. Atwood: Somebody new. The guy who was there had been there too long. He was a nice old fellow, but he didn't do anything. He didn't represent the city. I nailed him on passing a sales tax on municipal corporations and city and county contracts that had already been let. On public works contracts, we had to pay a sales tax. It

passed after we had already let the contract, and it cost us a bundle. He didn't even know they had done it. I got upset about that! (Laughter) In those days, I got upset easily.

Ms. Boswell: Well, is that another characteristic that is important for a legislator—to be passionate about issues?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I think so. Looking back on it, I was only thirty years old and a young lawyer who didn't know straight up probably about city business, except that I learned in a hurry.

Ms. Boswell: But you kept getting elected to the Legislature, too?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, and I could have been elected again, too. They asked me. I had a lot of Democratic support, too. In fact, to be elected in the city of Bellingham in 1962, you had to have Democratic support because this city was very Democratic or Democrat- controlled. The guy who I ran against had been there a long time—I think ten or twelve or maybe twenty years.

Ms. Boswell: Aside from being a fresh face, you kept getting elected, so how would you describe the kind of characteristics that made you a good legislator?

Mr. Atwood: Well, because I was pretty independent. I'm still inclined to be that way, but I get beaten and whipped around. (Laughter) I had a mind of my own on a lot of these things. They didn't tell me what I should do or what I had to do.

Ms. Boswell: But you were also a hard worker. Obviously, you grasped the issues. You were interested in the budget and a number of key issues.

Mr. Atwood: I liked doing what I was doing, and I thought I was pretty good at it.

Ms. Boswell: When you look back, what do you think were your greatest successes or contributions?

Mr. Atwood: I think getting the biennial budgets during my last few years. Budgets are everything in state government. All this other stuff has some validity, but the budget runs the state.

I wasn't afraid to take a stand on some issues that people thought not too good, and I got shot down by the newspapers.

Ms. Boswell: Is there any one issue, in particular, that you thought was important that just didn't get done?

Mr. Atwood: No, not really. Looking back on it, those issues that I thought were extremely important faded in importance. I think one of the major issues now is that we have got a terrible case of hyperlexis. Even in those days, I had it too, and that's one of the things that every legislator elected has. After you get out and see the regulations and everything that are piling up, no one can possibly comply with even half of it.

Ms. Boswell: Why does that happen? Why do we do it?

Mr. Atwood: Because it's a make-work project. Now they have got all the staff; they've got to keep them busy. Half of that stuff we don't need. They've got special sentencing deals for "three strikes and you're out," and all that is going to do is create a big demand for prisons. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: But that was put in by initiative, wasn't it, the three-strikes provision?

Mr. Atwood: Well, yes, but it was a big political issue. But we've got things that we don't need. We don't need special sentencing laws for—what do they call them—sex crimes or discrimination crimes. We've got laws. If you hit somebody, that's not just because they're gay, and you

shouldn't have a special sentencing. That's assault and battery—period. We have got duplicate laws on everything practically.

Ms. Boswell: How can we stop that?

Mr. Atwood: I don't think that you can. It's the nature of the beast, until people get tired of building prisons. Look at the drug laws. I don't know what the answer is there, but longer prison terms aren't going to solve anything, in my opinion. Treatment probably helps, but I don't think there is enough money in the world to cure the drug problem. Making it legal isn't going to help either.

Ms. Boswell: What about hyperlexis? Is there any way, given the state of affairs, that we can cut back on that?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. I think so. (Laughter) There are several little things: no more than three bills per session. (Laughter). You can limit the legislator in consideration of the bills and the regulations that he's proposing.

Ms. Boswell: But seriously, do you think that the Legislature will self-regulate like that?

Mr. Atwood: I doubt it. They're famous for lack of self-discipline. That's one of the natures of the legislative process.

Ms. Boswell: You were mentioning earlier that part of it is staff, and the fact that now there is a lot of staff. Obviously staff is important, especially when you are in a leadership position as you were. Tell me a little bit about the role that your staff played, and the people, in particular, who were important to you.

Mr. Atwood: Well, they keep on top of things. My secretaries, like Chloe Skoles—she lived in Shelton—and Craig Voegele, my administrative assistant. He lives in Olympia. He's now a lobbyist for Boise Cascade. Without those people, you are not nearly as effective, but those people watch out for you. They know what the issues are. It is kind of a closed circle down there, and everyone knows who's doing what to whom.

Now they have staff running everywhere. Every senator has a secretary and an AA—an administrative assistant. I don't think they need them. That makes you lazy, and the staff starts dictating what you should be doing. I never had a staff that close. I had Voegele and I had a lawyer, but the lawyer also served the whole caucus, not just me. And we had one secretary, and two secretaries over the interim in my last couple of years.

Ms. Boswell: So aside from your position in the caucus, you wouldn't necessarily have had your own secretary otherwise, is that right?

Mr. Atwood: That's true, absolutely, until the last few years. They want to cut down the size of the Legislature, but that just waters down the representative capacity of it. If you did that—if you cut the Legislature in half—people would suffer for lack of representation.

Ms. Boswell: But you think that you could cut the staff in half?

Mr. Atwood: Oh easily, easily. We survived. (Laughter) When I first went there, there were no offices. There were four people to one office with one secretary. We survived. (Laughter) We survived rather well.

Ms. Boswell: So, you really don't think there was any lack of production because of it?

Mr. Atwood: No, but it got better. They needed some staff. It's a good improvement, but we don't need a full-time Legislature. When you do that, you've got a problem. It's make-work, and it's very costly.

Ms. Boswell: You also had somebody working with you on your campaigns, Ken Bertrand, who,

I think, was in public relations?

Mr. Atwood: He was our PR guy for the caucus, but he didn't work on my campaign.

Ms. Boswell: I'm sorry; I misspoke. I meant the caucus.

Mr. Atwood: Yes, he did PR work for the whole caucus. I don't know what happened to him. He might still be down there. I haven't seen him for years. He was a Reserve in the 124th ARCOM. He was the head of the public relations team for the Army Reserve Command in Seattle.

Ms. Boswell: And then you had your campaign people who often helped you?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. I had Harry Pagels and Sam Kelly. Sam is gone now. He was super. (Laughter) He was really good.

He was provost at Western, and before that, he was the dean of the Graduate School. He should have been president of Western. There is a building at the community college named after him. When we compromised on that bill, each legislator got an appointment. I appointed Sam to be a trustee for Whatcom Community College. He later became the president of the whole Association of Community Colleges. He was an outstanding person.

Ms. Boswell: You said, "when we compromised on that bill," and I'm not sure what you meant?

Mr. Atwood: Well, the bill was compromised. Mike McCormack was the chief negotiator, and his bill was in trouble. We created twenty-one community college districts. In order to get votes, he said each legislator got to appoint a trustee. (Laughter) The governor didn't like that. In fact, not long ago they had a big event down at the Seattle community colleges. I got a plaque; in fact, everyone did who went. I reminded the governor. I said, "You know why that bill passed? We each got to appoint one guy." That bill flew out of the Senate and the House. A little crumb here, and a little crumb there. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: I know that this is a tough question, but when you look back, are there other things that you regret—maybe, first of all, in terms of legislation?

Mr. Atwood: Probably, but I really haven't given it much thought. There were a lot of things I wouldn't have done.

Ms. Boswell: Can you give me an example?

Mr. Atwood: I wouldn't have introduced as many bills as I did, especially when I was a leader. Everyone thought they wanted my name on a bill, and I should have been more careful, I think, about putting my name on a bill unless I had a real interest in it.

Ms. Boswell: Are there certain actions—or lack of actions—that you wish that you could have changed?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I would like to have been in the majority just once. You get minority-itis, but we were butting heads with Greive. That's all Greive lived for was redistricting, and Slade Gorton sold us down the river on that issue. He got the House majority. Later on, we did get the majority in the Senate when von Reichbauer switched caucuses. (Laughter) That's the one thing I regret—that I was never in the majority.

Ms. Boswell: If you had been, is there something special you would have tried to do?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know. It would have been a unique experience. It would have been very unique. That's the one thing—you like to be in the majority, although with the governor and the House most of time being in the majority, it was pretty good.

Ms. Boswell: Were there issues that you were adamant about then, but maybe looking back, you might now say weren't such a good idea?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, there were some. (Laughter) You brought up that bill about taking the keys away and sending a drinker home in a cab—the B.C. treatment. I thought that was a hell of an idea. (Laughter) The editorialists didn't.

Ms. Boswell: But are there other things, with hindsight, where you think, "Well, we shouldn't have done that." Maybe even budget issues?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, looking back now in the light of experience: DSHS. We should not have tried to make it a super agency. It's just too big. I think I told you this, something like that is of such a magnitude that one individual is not able to control or handle it. It's just too damn big.

It looked so good on paper; it really did. It made a hell of a lot of sense, but there are just not enough people of ability. I don't care how much you try; you just can't control it. It's just like a national bureaucracy—like this Homeland Security. I don't know how they're going to handle that agency. It's just incredible.

Ms. Boswell: It's too big?

Mr. Atwood: Too big. I don't know, they're going to have a lot of problems with that agency. I don't know what they're going to do with DSHS. They keep talking about dismantling it, but if they dismantle it, they have to be very careful on how it is done. It's a big bureaucracy now. Having put it together once, I think if they are going to take it apart, they should do it very carefully. That's one of the things that I regret. That was a mistake that we made. If you looked at it on paper, it looked damn good, but as a practical matter, it was just impossible for bureaucrats to run that entire show. They've got so many agencies within it. I can see that's what's going to happen—like Homeland Security. (Laughter) They're going to have a hell of a mess.

Ms. Boswell: So, something like the Department of Social and Health Services just took in too much?

Mr. Atwood: Too much. Looking back on it, that was one of the big mistakes. I was on the committee. I served and spoke for it, I think. I'm not sure anymore whether it started in the Senate or the House. If it started in the Senate, I was probably one of the sponsors. I'd redo it a lot more carefully than what we did.

The fellow, Dennis Braddock, who is running DSHS was on the city council. He's a Democrat, but I gave him some money when he ran for the city council. He was a very able person. But he's got a tough show now.

Ms. Boswell: What about environmental or transportation or other legislation like that?

Mr. Atwood: Environmental is just enforcing the law. In environmental issues, they have got to keep some kind of a balance. They don't want to ruin their own economy. With the environmental legislation—some of it was good, and some of it wasn't. Shoreline protection was an essential one. Growth management caused a lot of problems. They are going to have a lot of problems with it in the future. We have it here; we have to keep rewriting the growth management laws. The very beginning started back when I was there, with the Department of the Ecology and all that.

Ms. Boswell: But transportation is another one.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, that's one. (Laughter) I don't know what they're going to do with that one. I have no solution for that, and neither do they. (Laughter) They've got a lot of proposals, and they all take a lot of money.

Ms. Boswell: Are there any issues that you wished you had tackled, but didn't?

Mr. Atwood: Not really. I can't think of any.

Ms. Boswell: What about now? Let's just say you decided that you wanted to run again now. Are there certain issues that grab you now and that you want to say, "Darn it. This is something that I really want to change?"

Mr. Atwood: No.

Ms. Boswell: No?

Mr. Atwood: I know better. I'm not going to be Don Quixote and tilt at windmills. I've done that—been there, done that.

Ms. Boswell: What about the party itself? Do you think the Republican Party has changed significantly since you served?

Mr. Atwood: Not really. We still have the far right, the middle right. (Laughter) We had the extremes, and we had the moderates—the Rockefellers. I don't know. In those days there were still the John Birchers, and we still have remnants of them. I wasn't that active in the party. I was after I left the Legislature. I was the state committeeman from here for one or two terms.

Ms. Boswell: What about the religious right? They have played a role more recently.

Mr. Atwood: Not here.

Ms. Boswell: Not in the state?

Mr. Atwood: Not in those days. Well, who was the woman who ran for governor, got teed off, and split and went off on her own? Ellen Craswell. Well, anyway, they didn't carry any weight. Here it was a little different because we had Lynden—the Concerned Christians—and they carried a lot of weight here. But not in those days.

Ms. Boswell: Do you think there is an increased conservatism these days?

Mr. Atwood: Well, around here there probably is, but this is kind of a swing district. King County is Democratic, liberal—some of it—but the complexion hasn't changed that much. There are not that many in the far right anymore. They are always there, and they are one-issue people, too. I agree with a lot of their stuff, but not their style. They don't believe in compromise. They don't understand the legislative policy. You wouldn't get anything done. Some of these legislators, like "Senator No"—do you know who "Senator No" is? He never voted for anything. Bob McCaslin is "Senator No." (Laughter) I would hate to have that kind of a reputation.

Ms. Boswell: You were mentioning earlier that one thing you would have liked was to be in the majority just once, but did being in the minority affect your thinking or your career? If you had been in the majority, do you think your career would have taken a different turn?

Mr. Atwood: I doubt it. (Laughter) I probably would have gone down the tube a lot quicker if I were in the majority. (Laughter) I would probably have gotten chastised a lot harder. Being in the minority, you can be irresponsible. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Now, you weren't irresponsible.

Mr. Atwood: No, I wasn't, but you could afford to be if you wanted.

Ms. Boswell: You talked one time of maybe going on for a bigger or different office, and I just wondered if being in the majority might have helped you to do that?

Mr. Atwood: It would have; I'm sure it would have. You get consumed by ambition as you get up there. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: What about political infighting? Was that a big part of the state Legislature, and how would you assess its importance?

Mr. Atwood: Well, it depends on how ambitious you are. Some of these guys are pretty ambitious; that's all they're interested in is running for higher office. Jack Metcalf—every two years he would be running for Congress, once Jackson and Magnuson left. There were a few like that who were very ambitious, and some of them get elected. Metcalf got elected; I didn't think he could possibly get elected when he first ran, and then my boy ends up as his AA or running the office here.

Ms. Boswell: You said you were really independent. Can you be really independent and move up through politics in the state?

Mr. Atwood: No, no, you can't. I wasn't that independent, you know. I carried water for the elephant. (Laughter) I carried a lot of water for the elephant.

Ms. Boswell: A lot of people would argue that young people today are seemingly less interested in political office or less committed to public service. Do you think that's the case?

Mr. Atwood: I can't make that judgment. The ones I know are. There are a lot of young people who are extremely interested. I don't know how good they are at it, but I wish we had some more bright people interested in it. A lot of people are very turned off by politics.

I was just reading a book by Ed Rollins, *Bare Knuckles and Back Rooms*. He opens up in the prologue with a searing indictment of Arianna Huffington. (Laughter) He just ripped her, just gutted her, and also her husband for trying to win the senatorial race. He said it was the worst thing he has ever gone through.

Have you seen her on TV?

Ms. Boswell: I have seen her before.

Mr. Atwood: You read that book. Ed Rollins is Ed Rollins, but boy, he was so dismayed by her actions. She was a total fraud.

Ms. Boswell: But isn't that a lot of what turns off, not just young people, but people in general about politics—that kind of behavior?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, absolutely. The Gary Condits and the whole nine yards.

Ms. Boswell: How do we get better people to go into politics?

Mr. Atwood: (Laughter) Don't ask me. I haven't tried to get candidates. That's probably the number one problem—getting qualified people to run for office. What is the answer to that? I cannot say because the people who should won't.

Ms. Boswell: And it's not the money, in your opinion?

Mr. Atwood: No. Not at all. Although people who have money would do it, but these people…If you've got money, you can do your own thing. But he was Ross Perot's advisor, too, and I guess in this book he rips Perot some more. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Given your decision to leave, based on your own family considerations and job considerations, have you noticed changes in the Legislature, in terms of the makeup, because a lot of people were just not able to afford it?

Mr. Atwood: There are a lot of attorneys who can't. When you are out of the office, you are out of business unless you have somebody sustaining you, like a major law firm. But that doesn't happen anymore.

Ms. Boswell: But if only the wealthier people can afford to hold office, what does that say about representation of a lot of people who don't have money, or whose interests may not be apparent to people who have money or who have always had money, for example?

Mr. Atwood: Yes. People who have always had

money are from a different standard. The people who don't have money are very aggressive. Bill Clinton had no money when he was raised, but he was very ambitious and consumed by ambition. He made a success of it. He's now in the chips; he's a millionaire many times over. He made it pay.

And there are several of them like that. They're just that ambitious, and they see all their colleagues around them making all kinds of money. There are very few of them who don't have money, especially at the national level. There are very few who don't. Most of them, or a lot of them, are millionaires, several times over. We have one, Maria Cantwell. She made four million dollars last year. Patty Murray is the one who doesn't have any money. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: But then Cantwell lost most of her money?

Mr. Atwood: She's got it; she made four million last year. That's what they published in the paper the other day from her financial disclosure, so she did lose a lot of money. Look at how much money Dick Cheney had to give up—three or four hundred million. That ain't chicken feed. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: How would you assess the effectiveness of this 2002 Legislature compared to your era?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know. That's a hard one because they had a terrible session this time; they didn't solve anything. They still got that whole thing hanging over them; it depends on the gas tax vote. I was talking to Duane Berentson, and that was one of his big babies, the tax. When he was the head of DOT, he's always got more gas tax.

My solution to that problem is very simple: toll roads. Every time I go back East, I get on those highways. For the last twenty years or thirty years I have been going, and they have toll roads about every ten miles. They have a good gas tax, but the toll roads, to me, are the answer.

The state of Washington, for some reason, doesn't want them. I don't know; you fool around with the gas tax when you can make twice as much on a toll road.

Ms. Boswell: And then you know you are taxing the people who are using the roads.

Mr. Atwood: Who are using the trucks and everything. My son-in-law has speed passes on all his trucks. He's in New Jersey, and he goes across those bridges and pays a monthly fee. I don't know how much—I didn't ask him—but it's expensive. Those toll roads are expensive, but you are paying for them, and it is included in the price of the article that you are peddling. I think that would be the best.

You know, if I were there and I proposed a toll charge, they'd run me out of the joint. (Laughter) They would.

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) Is that because the highway "lobby" is so strong?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know. Yes, they are very strong, but that would be an answer to building roads here. We could have a toll road every ten miles or charge every ten miles on I-5 and on the interstates. On the New York Thruway, every ten miles is a toll booth. You don't have to pay toll; you get a card when you get on and then when you get off you pay, depending on how far you went. But to me, that's one financial solution to the stupid highway question.

I think financing the roads through toll roads is the answer because the people won't vote those taxes; Eastern Washington probably won't vote for a gas tax, but they won't have anything to say about tolls. They can try to referendum it, but we'll suggest that in the Legislature. (Laughter) Well, I just see what the East Coast is doing; they have a tremendous traffic problem, but the toll roads help alleviate that.

Ms. Boswell: What about the fact that the Leg-

islature, at least in the 2002 session, has been so close in terms of the number of Democrats versus Republicans? Has that, in your mind, really limited their effectiveness as well?

Mr. Atwood: On the partisan issues, well, I don't know. I suspect that it does because no one has a clear majority. You've got to cooperate when it's that close; you've got to compromise. You just can't sit there and vote no. If you are going to do anything for the good of the state, you have to talk turkey with each other there. Of course, they have the governor; the Democrats control everything now so, but they still haven't solved any problems. They're depending on a vote in November, and if it goes down the tubes, then they're back to where they started.

Ms. Boswell: Certainly in the past, coalitions eventually developed. I don't know if I have seen any indication of coalitions evolving out of this Legislature. (Laughter)

Mr. Atwood: I sure haven't. The positions have been solidified. (Laughter) They really have—East versus West.

Ms. Boswell: So, the art of political compromise seems to be a remnant of the past as well?

Mr. Atwood: Well, it's not in the past, but it's just not as prevalent as it used to be. You know, to get out of that place, we might have to get five or six votes for an increase in the sales tax or something. I'd hate to be the one to vote for it when I didn't want to. (Laughter) Greive would write up a pamphlet accusing me of being a tax man. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: Is it partisanship, do you think?

Mr. Atwood: I think there is more partisanship this time than there has been in a long time. I wasn't that close to it; it's just what I read in the papers.

Ms. Boswell: But what was your sense of partisanship when you served? Was it important or not?

Mr. Atwood: It was important, but not that important because Governor Evans was a doer. He wanted to do things that took a lot of Democratic votes, and he had the House with him. But he was a tough governor compared to all these people that we have had since then. I didn't realize how tough he was.

Ms. Boswell: In your mind—and you are obviously speaking from a legislative perspective—what about the relationship between the governor and the Legislature? Would you rather have a stronger governor than a weak one? How do you feel about that balance?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes. I think that Evans was a strong executive and watching these other guys—Booth and Spellman—I think Dixy was stronger than most of those guys. She really was. I didn't know her, and she spoke her own mind. She had no experience with the Legislature per se, but Evans did. He'd go right into the caucus; he'd ask for caucus time. (Laughter) I don't know whether Booth did or not; I was not there. Booth was a legislator, too, and Locke, of course, was. Not being down there, I can't really say.

Ms. Boswell: But a strong governor essentially can help you get things done?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, immeasurably. Evans didn't beat around the bush. If he had some bills that he wanted to pass, he got them.

Ms. Boswell: What about the role of the voters in getting things done? In the past few years, I think the initiative system has been much more widely used.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, yes, everybody is running around, but a lot of bad legislation, too, is done by initiative. This requirement of an increase every

year in the school salaries—that to me is just incredibly stupid. It's not going to help anything because everyone is going to cut back. Somebody else is going to take it and get their throat cut. That's not my idea of good legislation. The referendum is a good way to stop bad legislation.

Ms. Boswell: What about the anti-tax initiatives and their impact?

Mr. Atwood: Well, if the Legislature had paid attention to what was going on, they wouldn't have had those. The license tax got outrageous. That's why we've got a thirty dollar license tab. Moderation is the key to taxation, but they never do that. (Laughter) It's always extreme because they are trying to make up.

But the initiative and referendum system is a tough thing. They can be good, and they can be bad. There are more good than bad, but some of them are really rotten. How they come up with them is beyond me.

Ms. Boswell: But there's really not a way to address that problem other than educating the voters?

Mr. Atwood: Only the Constitution. Yes, educating them constitutionally. We had that happen back in the 1930s when they had the Townsend Act, or whatever it was; it broke the state. Free room and board for everyone or something. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: What about the ethics issue in politics?

Mr. Atwood: It has now become a major issue because we have an Ethics Board. As I said, Jim Andersen was the chairman of it; they got a lot of complaints about some of the ethics. I think its important now to put parameters on what you can do and what you can't do, as well as what you should do and what you shouldn't do, because there's quite a difference.

Now you are allowed to practice in front of state boards when you are in the Legislature. I made it a rule never to appear in front of state boards. I got a lot of offers. (Laughter) I had a couple of legislators who wanted to pay me $5000 to appear in front of the Liquor Board to get a liquor license and things like that, but I think that's a matter of ethical concern. I just made it a nonproblem: Don't appear in front of state agencies and state boards.

Ms. Boswell: So, essentially, then it was much more of a personal decision? With the Ethics Board now, it becomes…?

Mr. Atwood: It may be a violation of ethics to do that. I don't know; I haven't studied their rules, but now they have an Ethics Board to make the decision.

Ms. Boswell: Do you have a sense that politicians generally—this is obviously a gross generalization—were more ethical when you served, or not?

Mr. Atwood: No. I don't think so. I questioned the ethics of some of my colleagues; I still do. I still have great concerns. A few of them had retainers from people who obviously had business with the Legislature—big business with the Legislature. There were a few who were well known; everyone knew who they were because they had to report them on their PDCs. Just because you reported them didn't make it right, though.

Ms. Boswell: Was the Public Disclosure Commission, in your mind, a valuable step towards trying to address those issues or not?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I think so. It definitely was. It made people very careful about what they did or what they were proposing—bills and legislative regulations and whatnot—if they were representing somebody.

Ms. Boswell: What about the idea of "back-room" politics. Did that exist? Does it still?

Mr. Atwood: I'm sure it still exists. I don't know. (Laughter) I don't know.

Ms. Boswell: What about when you served? Did it exist?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, of course it did, but I don't know what the problem is with the back room. If you get out in the open, you get shot down. (Laughter) There was back-room politics; there was always wheeling and dealing. There were a few people who were really good at it, like Harry Lewis. He always had some deal going. There were two or three others.

Augie Mardesich was a great one. You could never determine what Augie was in favor of or what were his particular interests. It was always a game trying to determine what Augie wanted, and you'd never be able to do that until the end—towards the last week of the session—and then you could see what he wanted. Then the deals started. (Laughter) He was pretty good at it. He was damned smart; he was the smartest guy in the joint.

Ms. Boswell: In terms of that political mastery, and in addition to Augie Mardesich, were there others whom you respected as being just really good politicians?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, there were a few. I thought Jim Matson was a good one, until he got unhorsed. (Laughter) I asked someone down there what happened to him. I asked Mike O'Connell, who was the Secretary of the Senate and one of Matson's guys. I said, "What in the world happened there?" He said, "Matson never talked to anybody." (Laughter) He didn't communicate. That should never have happened.

Ms. Boswell: So, communication is really important?

Mr. Atwood: A little communication goes a long, long way. If you are not going to talk to your people, you are going to be in trouble.

Ms. Boswell: Do you have any real political heroes? Were there people either then or now that you see as being good politicians and good models?

Mr. Atwood: Not really. I think Henry Jackson was a human being; he was a damn good politician and that's why he was so popular. He got a lot of Republican votes.

Of all the people that I have met? A couple of others: that Senator from Kansas who was the chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee. I thought he was damn good.

Ms. Boswell: Bob Dole?

Mr. Atwood: No. Pat Roberts. He was the most clever guy I have ever heard. I heard them all. I met Humphrey and Rockefeller. They talked to the national Legislative Leadership Conference.

Ms. Boswell: I heard you described one time as the Robert Taft of Washington—that your political style or approach was like Robert Taft.

Mr. Atwood: Oh, no!

Ms. Boswell: Did you ever hear that?

Mr. Atwood: Never. I have never seen that. They're confused. I was more Eisenhower. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) In what way?

Mr. Atwood: Taft was hard-core right. I'm not that conservative. I think Augie's more conservative than I am—Augie and Gissberg.

Ms. Boswell: What about Eisenhower? What traits do you see as being similar?

Mr. Atwood: I'm not sure. (Laughter) He knew how to get things done. He compromised, but he was, of course, up there where the whole world was resting on his shoulders—the United States, Great Britain, and the whole free world. My dad used to play golf with him once in a while down in Augusta.

I'm trying to think—you asked me a question about whom I really admired. I didn't know very many of those people. I did meet Jackson a few times, and I was very impressed with him. He was a human being.

Ms. Boswell: Now when you say that—a human being—what do you mean?

Mr. Atwood: He paid attention to what were your problems. Let me give you an example. We were over in Hawaii at the National Legislative Leaders Conference. When was Nixon elected—in 1966?

Ms. Boswell: 1968, I think.

Mr. Atwood: 1968. We were in Hawaii. Jackson and his wife and his sister were at Fort DeRussy, next door to our hotel. My daughter went into a coma, and they took her down to the Kaiser Memorial. My wife and I went over to the reception they had for Jackson after she was in the hospital, and he came over. He didn't know who I was; I had met him casually. He came over and had heard about her, and he gave me a name of a doctor at the University of Washington and all this. That, to me, is being a human being. And all these guys were fawning all over him. (Laughter) And here I was, a Republican leader at the time, a floor leader. Why would he pay any attention?

And then he came over again, and he talked to Jimmy Andersen and I. Nixon had called him while we were there. Nixon had just been elected and had asked him to be the Secretary of Defense. He asked Jimmy and I what he should do, and we said, "Oh, don't do that; you don't need that." Of course, I didn't know what he was going to do, and later on he did turn it down—not because of us. He was just getting a sampling.

Later on at the reception, he and his wife came over and talked to Marie and I. That was, to me, more impressive than anything he could ever do—something personal.

But let's see, national figures? I like Bob Dole; I've met him. Another guy was President Ford—Irv Newhouse and I met with him. We were down at the Tacoma Golf and Country Club, and he came through on a campaign swing. We talked to him. He was, of course, a minority leader. During his whole tenure, he'd been minority leader in the House—forever. I kind of identified with him. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: So, it's the human being, the personal touch that you see as being important?

Mr. Atwood: I think that is absolutely essential. That's what makes George Bush so popular; he's not like his dad. His dad was an aloof guy, although I met him when he was national chairman during Watergate. He came out and talked to Newhouse and me and other Republican leaders. We met with him twice—at the Washington Athletic Club once. I was really impressed there because everyone acted like rats leaving a sinking ship. (Laughter) I was really impressed with him. But that was my only contact with him.

Ms. Boswell: Is that ability to be a human being innate rather than something learned as a politician?

Mr. Atwood: It's innate. It's in your upbringing and what you are taught. Like Bill Clinton—he's a very charming guy. Everybody who has ever met him knows that, but I have never met him, so I can dislike him. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: What about women as politicians? Certainly, the role of women in politics has changed.

Mr. Atwood: Changed? I hope to shout.

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) Quite dramatically.

Mr. Atwood: They control the Senate.

Ms. Boswell: How do you think that has affected politics? You weren't necessarily in favor, I know, of the Equal Rights Amendment in the very beginning?

Mr. Atwood: I wasn't against. I didn't think it was necessary. I thought they were always equal. Now they got more equal.

Ms. Boswell: (Laughter) Do you think they have changed politics in any way?

Mr. Atwood: Oh, absolutely. In the Democratic caucus in the Senate, a majority are women, and there are quite a few Republican women, too.

Ms. Boswell: Why has the pendulum swung so dramatically?

Ms. Boswell: Because the men really don't have the time to do it—to do a real good job. I think the women do. But even in the national Congress, there are more women than there ever were before.

Ms. Boswell: What about the specific effect on the process or the legislation that passed? Do you see any differences?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I don't know. All I know is that they get their voices heard more than ever before. When I was there, there was only one woman in the Senate: Frances Haddon Morgan. (Laughter) She wasn't the greatest senator who ever lived. She was a nice lady, but she used to go hide on the tough votes. The sergeant at arms could never find her. She was always hiding outside the window of her office.

There were several strong women over in the House, but I didn't have that much association with women in the Senate. Later on, there was a woman from Tacoma, who just retired now, who was a senator from Tacoma. Lorraine Wojahn. I liked her; she was a good senator. But I wasn't exposed to all the women who are in there now. There are a lot of Republican women, too. Some of them are very strong-willed. The Forty-second District had a woman member, Georgia Gardner.

Ms. Boswell: What about the future of the Washington Legislature? Is there a way in such a diverse state, and in such a geographically separated state, to have consensus?

Mr. Atwood: Sure. Absolutely. There shouldn't be the East versus West problem. We're all in the same boat.

Ms. Boswell: So, you don't see consensus as a problem?

Mr. Atwood: I really don't. It's just the nature of the beast. You've got to get a consensus, or you are going to be locked up forever. There comes a time when you've got to vote up or down. That's why it is definitely necessary to have a deadline. Don't let this thing drift because procrastination is the thief of time. Believe me, they will procrastinate if they can.

Ms. Boswell: Let me just ask you if you have any final thoughts about your career and its impact on you?

Mr. Atwood: Well, I wish I had done other things. (Laughter) But it wasn't to be. Looking back, I probably would have done some things differently. I don't know what it would have been, but I could have done a lot of other things. I could have stayed in the East, stayed in the Army, or just done a lot of other things. Now that I'm down towards the end of the line, there is not much I can do about it. I'm not General MacArthur. (Laughter) Hell, he was commander in Korea at age seventy-two. (Laughter)

Ms. Boswell: But you don't have any regrets at not having made those choices, do you?

Mr. Atwood: No. Not at all. I probably will practice maybe four or five years more, and that will do it—as long as I have some faculties.

I have been in practice now fifty years, this year. I'm not killing myself and I'm not making a lot of money, but I'm not going to go to the poor house either.

Ms. Boswell: So, retirement doesn't hold any great interest for you?

Mr. Atwood: It really doesn't. I don't know what I would do other than what I'm doing. I don't know where I would go during the week. My wife wouldn't want me around the house all the time. (Laughter) We've traveled at lot as it was. We go back East, and we've traveled to Europe. We've been to Europe twice; we've been back East several times. We just were back East in May for two weeks. The kids are coming out here in August. It's been a nice life. I don't know whether my wife would tell you the same thing. (Laughter) She's been long suffering.

Ms. Boswell: But politics as a part of your life?

Mr. Atwood: Still is, but not as much. The greatest thing was going to the Republican National Convention in 2000, but the premise was to see the kids and go to a national convention. It was one of the things that I had never done when I was a power.

Ms. Boswell: So, of all the things that you've done in your life, if you had to pick the most influential or the most important to you, what would it be?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know. I can't answer that. It would be several things. But I've done a lot of stuff: city council; president of the Bellingham City Council—when I was in the majority. (Laughter) There were only seven of us, so you only needed three more votes. But city council was a lot different than the Legislature. Being a colonel in the Army, I enjoyed that at the end. Going up the ranks was good. I enjoyed my military career.

Ms. Boswell: The politics fits in how?

Mr. Atwood: One of the major pieces, and I enjoyed it. I love politics. You can love it too much, you know. If you get consumed with ambition, you are going to get into trouble, one way or another. (Laughter)

Guys like Augie, who was a majority leader in both the House and the Senate—that was quite an accomplishment, in my way of thinking. But there were some good legislators whom I met over the years. Bill Gissberg was one of them; he was damn good when he wanted to work. (Laughter) They'd been around so long—but Gissberg was very good.

Ms. Boswell: Was that the greatest value to you of your political career—the people whom you met?

Mr. Atwood: Yes, I think so.

Ms. Boswell: Or what you accomplished?

Mr. Atwood: Watching people operate, like Jim Andersen. Pritchard. I liked Joel Pritchard. A lot of people didn't like Pritchard; he was too liberal. My daughter worked for him as a staff person, but I enjoyed Joel. He was a good man.

Ms. Boswell: What is your notion of public service? Do you have a personal philosophy about what people should do in terms of public service?

Mr. Atwood: I think they should do it—period. It's very tough to get competent people to run for office. I think that's the number one problem, in my opinion. Competent people do not run for public office.

Ms. Boswell: Why do you think that is?

Mr. Atwood: They're just plain scared. Just plain scared.

Ms. Boswell: Scared of what?

Mr. Atwood: Well, just reluctant to put their head on the block. Like when Dale Brandland, the Whatcom County Sheriff, announced, I was so overjoyed to see a man like that run. Why would a sheriff, who has been successful and could be re-elected forever, go for the Senate seat? Now, that I think is great, to me, whether he wins or not. If we could have more people like that, we'd have a lot better Legislature.

Ms. Boswell: What about the idea of public service? Is that a motivating factor for most people in politics?

Mr. Atwood: Absolutely. There are a lot of things that you can do that you don't have to be a legislator to do. You can do as much as you want. You can be a political party worker. You could volunteer tomorrow and get to be the chairman of this party. That's how much they are hurting.

Ms. Boswell: How can we fix that?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know.

Ms. Boswell: What about young people? A lot of them are seemingly less committed to public service. Is that something we've done wrong, or what is the problem?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know what the answer is there. There are a lot of young people who are active, but they're not the ones that I want to see. They are just not.

Ms. Boswell: Ideally, who would you want to see?

Mr. Atwood: I don't know. There are a lot of bright young people around, but I don't know what impels someone to get active in politics. Being a young person in politics, you can go a long way in a hurry. Believe me.

Ms. Boswell: Is it a long-term problem?

Mr. Atwood: It is a problem. Oh, absolutely. The parties aren't that strong. I don't know about the Democrats, but the Republicans aren't. If I put my mind to it, I bet I could be the chairman within two years easily, but I don't want to. (Laughter) I'm not going to do it.

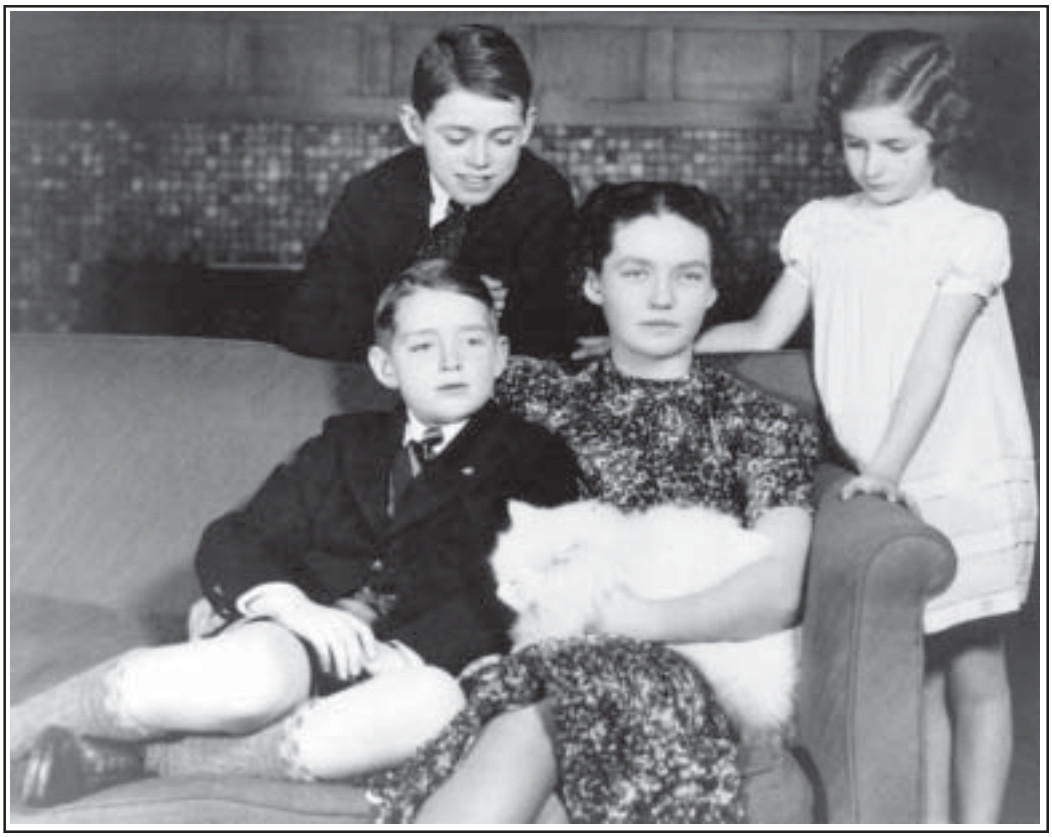
Ms. Boswell: You can't be enticed to run again? (Laughter)

Mr. Atwood: No, are you kidding? They'd kill me. No one remembers me anyway. Looking back on it, I left there in 1975, so that was twenty-seven years ago. That was yesterday to me, but forever to youngsters.

Senator R. Frank Atwood

Appendix

PHOTOGRAPHS, ARTICLES, AND CORRESPONDENCE

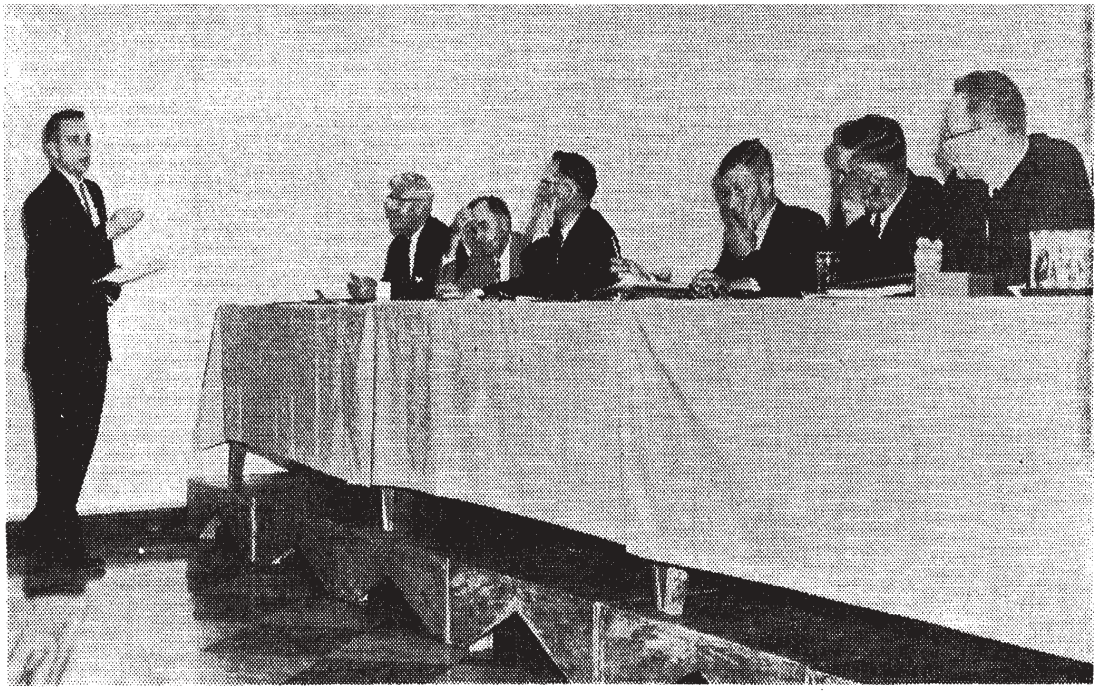


Frank Atwood was what he laughingly called the "neglected middle son." He is seated at left on the couch next to his sister Myrtie. His other siblings standing behind him include Gerry, at left, and Marjorie.

Frank enlisted in the Army at age 17 to join the American effort in World War II. His brother Gerry, at left, served in the Navy.

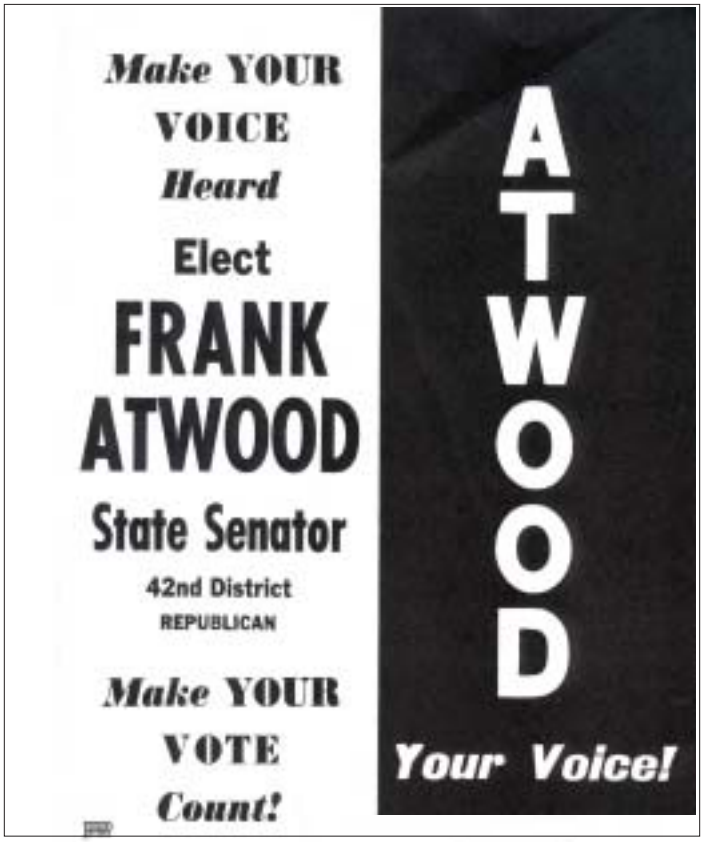
Marie Atwood looks over the election returns as Frank wins his first big political race for the Bellingham City Council in 1957.

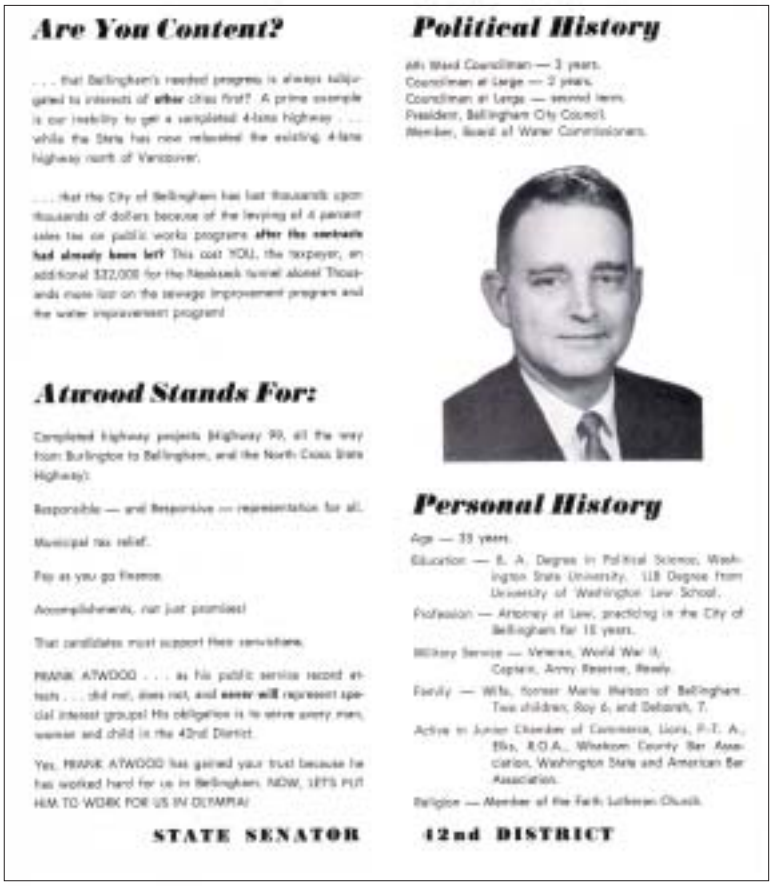
Bellingham Herald, July 30, 1962



AT LEGISLATIVE HEARING — Frank Atwood, president of the Bellingham City Council, tells members of the Legislative Interim Committee on Highways, Streets and Bridges how the city spends its gasoline tax money during a public hearing at the Leopold Hotel. Pictured are Rep. Arnold Wang, Sen. Louis Hoffmeister, Elmer Cowell, Highway Commission chairman, Rep. Robert Bernethy, Rep. Horace Bozarth and committee chairman Sen. Nat Washington.—Herald photo.

Reprinted with permission





Are You Content?

. . . that Bellingham's needed progress is always subjugated to interests of **other** cities first? A prime example is our inability to get a completed 4-lane highway . . . while the State has now relocated the existing 4-lane highway north of Vancouver.

. . . that the City of Bellingham has lost thousands upon thousands of dollars because of the levying of 4 percent sales tax on public works programs **after the contracts had already been let?** This cost YOU, the taxpayer, an additional $32,000 for the Nooksack tunnel alone! Thousands more lost on the sewage improvement program and the water improvement program!

Atwood Stands For:

Completed highway projects (Highway 99, all the way from Burlington to Bellingham, and the North Cross State Highway);

Responsible — and Responsive — representation for all;

Municipal tax relief;

Pay as you go Finance;

Accomplishments, not just promises!

That candidates must support their convictions.

FRANK ATWOOD . . . as his public service record attests . . . did not, does not, and **never will** represent special interest groups! His obligation is to serve every man, woman and child in the 42nd District.

Yes, FRANK ATWOOD has gained your trust because he has worked hard for us in Bellingham. NOW, LET'S PUT HIM TO WORK FOR US IN OLYMPIA!

STATE SENATOR **42nd DISTRICT**

Political History

6th Ward Councilman — 3 years.
Councilman at Large — 2 years.
Councilman at Large — second term.
President, Bellingham City Council.
Member, Board of Water Commissioners.

Personal History

Age — 33 years.

Education — B. A. Degree in Political Science, Washington State University. LLB Degree from University of Washington Law School.

Profession — Attorney at Law, practicing in the City of Bellingham for 15 years.

Military Service — Veteran, World War II; Captain, Army Reserve, Ready.

Family — Wife, former Marie Watson of Bellingham. Two children, Roy 6, and Deborah, 7.

Active in Junior Chamber of Commerce, Lions, P.T. A., Elks, K.O.A., Whatcom County Bar Association, Washington State and American Bar Association.

Religion — Member of the Faith Lutheran Church.

After six years on the city council, the Legislature was the next political challenge. This pamphlet helped to kick off the "Atwood for Senate" campaign.

Bellingham Herald, Wednesday, September 12, 1962

6 Bellingham Herald, Wed., Sept. 12, 1962

THE BELLINGHAM HERALD

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S. A. PERKINS, PUBLISHER, 1903 - 1955

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OFFICIAL NEWSPAPER OF BELLINGHAM AND WHATCOM COUNTY

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Primary Post-Mortem Shows GOP Bright Spots

Projecting September returns into November results is always a risky business, particularly so when the primary voting is as light as it was yesterday.

Yet local Republicans can be forgiven for a feeling of guarded optimism after studying the returns in Tuesday's primary balloting.

As far as the courthouse is concerned, there was little to shake the equanimity of those who now hold various offices, either Democrat or Republican. Incumbents all got good votes, though County Commissioner E. R. Haxton had some uneasy moments for a time in his surprisingly close race with challenger Dick Minor. Haxton in effect won the office, since there is no Republican nominee for the job.

But it was dramatically different on the legislative section of the ballot. Frank Atwood's superior showing in comparison to incumbent State Senator Homer Nunamaker's vote corroborated the belief that an outstanding Republican could knock this dormant Democrat off his Senate seat. But who figured Charles Lind to lead the balloting for 42nd District representative, ahead of incumbent Dick Kink, with Barney Stewart in third place ahead of oldtimer A. E. Edwards? Certainly this must have been heartening to the GOP, for it gives solid hope that at least one of the House seats representing Bellingham can be retrieved for the first time since Dutch McBeath and Hal Arnason were upset eight years ago.

In the 41st District, Jack Hood seems to be in very good shape for his November runoff against Frank Hatley. Hood has been a conscientious and competent legislator, a credit both to the Republican party and rural Whatcom County. In the 41st, Senator E. W. Lennart is a holdover, so GOP prospects for continued domination in that district seem bright.

Statewide, Dick Christensen got a sizable vote and established himself as a serious challenger to U.S. Senator Warren Magnuson, although the incumbent Democrat remains a heavy favorite. And in the Second Congressional District, Representative Jack Westland's impressive vote showed he still enjoys voter approval, with support from many independents and Democrats as well as Republicans.

But there were a few bright spots for the Demos, too. Second District Commissioner Henry Halverson's strong showing in his first election bid indicated that his party is in good shape to retain a seat on which Republicans had their eye.

And the party professionals apparently were able to nominate Milo Moore and thus sidetrack Payson Peterson as Democratic challenger for Westland's seat in Congress.

Too, Democratic strategists may take consolation from the belief that a larger percentage of their adherents stayed away from the polls yesterday, and that many more will show up in November.

The next eight weeks will tell the story. It should be a lively period.

Bellingham Herald, Wednesday, November 7, 1962

THE BELLINGHAM HERALD

42nd District Seats Picked Off by GOP

Republicans have captured two state legislative seats from the Democrats here in Bellingham and the race for the third position will go right down to the absentee ballot wire.

Frank Atwood, 35-year-old attorney, uprooted veteran Democrat Homer Nunamaker to win the State Senate seat in Bellingham's 42nd District. Atwood, increasing his margin in the primary, outpolled Nunamaker by 948 votes in the unofficial count with all city precincts in.

The 1,006 absentee ballots out in Bellingham could not ordinarily change that result. However, the absentee count—which Auditor Wella Hansen says could get stated Friday—will decide the two winners in the "horse race" for 42nd District State Representative.

THREE-VOTE MARGIN

The unofficial total auditor's office count there showed Republican Charles E. Lind running first, only three votes ahead of incumbent Democrat Dick J. Kink

In third place, 179 votes behind Kink, was the other Republican candidate, Donald B. (Barney) Stewart. All three hopefuls indicated they had worked hard on going after absentee votes, as they had in the rest of their campaign, which was featured by the most strenuous personal, doorbell-ringing type vote-seeking in many a moon here.

Defeated in his bid for re-election was Democrat Rep. A. E. Edwards, who at 83 has been the oldest member of the Legislature, has served as chairman of the House appropriations subcommittee and who has represented Whatcom County and Bellingham in both houses at Olympia for 28 years.

Democrat Sen. Nunamaker is another veteran lawmaker, having served in the state House 18 years and for the past eight years in the Senate. He ran almost 500 votes behind Atwood in the primary.

HOOD WINS SUPPORT

In the 41st District, incumbent Republican State Rep. Jack Hood of Ferndale easily outdistanced Democrat challenger Frank L. Hatley, winning by more than 4,000 votes to gain a third term in the state House from the Whatcom County area outside of Bellingham.

The Bellingham state representative battle matched young men. Lind, making his first run at public office is 31. Kink, a commercial fisherman with two terms in the House, is 41. Stewart, also running for the first time is 40.

Only Whatcom County legislator not up for election this time was Republican 41st District Sen. Ernest Lennart.

Atwood, making the jump from City Council president—he is councilman at large—said he feels the 42nd District vote mean Bellingham residents are "concerned with past representation… and with having someone new in Olympia who are more informed on our specific problems." "It is incumbent on me to try to improve the position of our city. I will try to justify the faith of the majority of the voters."

CHAIRMAN DELIGHTED

"We are enthusiastic with the extremely strong showing of our representatives in the legislative races even though our two courthouse aspirants were not successful," Scott Barron, county Republican chairman, said Wednesday in noting his party's "delight" with election results. "The only reason this election outcome was possible was the tremendous organizational efforts of the Republican party workers, and I want to take this time to thank them publicly for their work," he said. "The people by their vote have indicated they wish to be represented in Olympia by alert, conscientious men who will work for the good of Bellingham and Whatcom County.

"I hope that regardless of the final composition of the legislature after this hard-fought race that both parties can work together," Barron concluded.

Bellingham Herald, February 24, 1963

WORK WITH SENATORS—C. W. (Bill) McDonald (left) and **Harold Goltz** (right) of Western Washington State College were present at Olympia to "lobby" for passage of Senate Bill 229, a bill to authorize Western to grant master of arts and master of science degrees in addition to its present master of education. Working with the two college men were Senators Frank Atwood (next to McDonald) of Bellingham, and E. W. Lennart of Everson.—Herald photo.

Reprinted with permission

Always a strong advocate for Western, Atwood looks on as Governor Albert Rosellini signs a bill creating the first Master's Degree program. Also in attendance, from left, are then-Western lobbyist Barney Goltz, unidentified person, and Whatcom County Representative Dick Kink.

Members of the Republican Caucus, from left, included Charles Newschwander, Elmer Huntley, Larry Falk, Frank Atwood, and Ted Peterson.

For his outstanding service to the law enforcement, Senator Atwood, at right, receives a plaque in June 1965 from a representative of the Association of Sheriffs and Police Chiefs, while the Whatcom County Sheriff and Mayor of Bellingham look on.

Bellingham Herald, Thursday, February 28, 1963

Editorial Page

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College Bill Passes Tests, But Help Still Needed

With a tremendous 37 to 5 margin, the bill to authorize the state colleges to grant master of arts and master of science degrees has passed the Senate.

The bill thus has strong impetus as it goes to the House of Representatives, where the appointment of Bellingham's Charles Lind as vice chairman of the House Higher Education Committee augurs well for getting the bill moved. Governor Rosellini's unequivocal endorsement this week also ought to be helpful.

Western Washington State College academically is not far from being ready to implement the proposed authority in several fields. Western, Central and Eastern now grant master of education degrees, and the broadened offerings will allow graduate courses for non-teaching majors as well. It will be a significant step forward.

First-term Senator Frank Atwood of Bellingham is conceded by the college's Olympia observers as having done a fine job in moving the bill through committee and out to the floor of the upper house. Last Thursday when we were in Olympia, WWSC's Administrative Assistant Barney Goltz and Dean Bill McDonald both spoke of Atwood's efforts in glowing terms. And after the measure passed the Senate, the young Bellingham attorney's colleague in the upper house, Ernie Lennart, called us yesterday to say that it "never would have passed" without Atwood's special effort. Normally that might seem a moderately decent gesture by one Republican senator toward another, but when you consider the strong possibility that there will be two senators and only one Senate seat from Whatcom County in the next Legislature, Lennart's gesture becomes unusually generous.

Senate Bill 229 will face its first House test Friday at a hearing before the Higher Education Committee. Besides Lind, this group includes another potentially outstanding young legislator from our part of the state, Skagit's Duane Berentson. The next big step would be Rules Committee, of which Mount Vernon's Don Eldridge, a Western graduate and former trustee of the college, is an influential member.

There have been 1,221 bills introduced in the Legislature and obviously only a fraction will get through. It will take support by all the Whatcom and Skagit delegation to assure enactment of the master's degree bill into law, but with that support it can be done.

RETAIN

Your Voice

Re-Elect

FRANK ATWOOD

STATE SENATOR

42nd DISTRICT

REPUBLICAN

Among his main legislative efforts, he continues to work for:

1. Industrial expansion **with planned** regional development.
2. Sensible outdoor planning and recreational development.
3. Continuous improvement of education, and equitable financing for both public schools and colleges (e.g. W.W.S.C.)

Atwood for Senate Committee—E. W. Lennart, Chairman; Sam Kelly, Co-Chairman; Ramona Cannon, Finance Chairman.

RETAIN FRANK ATWOOD

Your Effective Voice

Senator Atwood used this brochure in his re-election campaign in 1966. As a result of redistricting, the 42nd District was the largest in the state.

Lennart States

"Whatcom County will have, after my present term expires, only one Senator in Olympia. To protect and defend our relative position, the economic and cultural development of Northwest Washington, will require the ablest and Best that we can give.

"In my long years of Public Service, Frank Atwood is a little bit taller than most Public Leaders whom I have known."

—SEN. ERNEST LENNART

Vote Compilation

Atwood's vote compilation makes him the choice of Republicans, Democrats, and Independents.

People, **regardless** of Party, want a **VOICE** in Olympia!

Their confidence is merited, for Atwood has proved to be one of the ablest legislators ever to represent this District. That this respect for his ability is shared by legislators throughout the state is indicated by his being elected the Senate Minority Whip during his **first term in office!**

Political History

State Senator, 42nd District, 4 years.

Bellingham City Councilman, 6 years (President of Council for 2).

Committee Assignments—Sub-Committee on Appropriations; Ways and Means; Higher Education and Libraries; State Government and Veterans Affairs; Cities, Towns and Counties; Judiciary.

Joint Interim Committees—Legislative Budget Committee; Columbia Interstate Compact Commission; Governor's Advisory Committee on Alcoholism.

Frank - Marie - Debbie - Roy - Suzanne

Personal History

Age 39 years.

Education—B.A. degree, Political Science, W.S.U.; LL.B. degree, University of Washington Law School.

Profession—Attorney-at-Law, practicing in the City of Bellingham for 14 years.

Military Service—Veteran W.W. II; Major, Army Reserve

Active in Lions, Bellingham YMCA, Whatcom County, Washington State and American Bar Association.

Member Faith Lutheran Church.

Excerpt

Bellingham Herald, Sunday, January 8, 1967

Packing Unpacking Keep Legislators'

FOR THE GOVERNOR'S BALL -- Deborah Atwood, 11, watches as her mother packs formal attire for herself and Sen. Frank Atwood for special occasions during this year's legislative session. Mrs. Atwood has chosen an emerald green gown for the Governor's Ball Wednesday. The family moved into their home in Olympia Saturday.

By BEV DANIEL
Herald Society Editor

PARENTS COMING

Sen. Frank Atwood's wife has the sitter problem solved. Her mother, Mrs. Lester Matson, is going.

"She has gone every year. Even Frank knows better than to go without her," Mrs. Atwood said with a laugh.

After several sessions in Olympia, the Atwoods are seasoned to the flurry and bustle. The children, Deborah, 11, and Roy, 10, are looking forward to guiding the Veroske youngsters around. Suzanne, 10 months, will spend a good deal of time at home.

The Atwoods will live at 1919 E. Thurston St., and the Veroskes only about a block away on Turner Street. The youngsters are looking forward to having someone they know in Olympia, Mrs. Atwood said.

"They sort of tolerate it. They aren't excited about leaving friends but they want to go along with good old dad," she added with a laugh.

"They do some honorary paging, but are too young to be pages in either house. They have been through all the government buildings and have met many of the state officials and are learning a lot about government in action."

She is looking forward to seeing old friends and has already received several invitations for luncheons, dinners and teas, and has a new long, emerald green gown for the ball, she says.

They have a three bedroom home, furnished, which will cost them $250 a month.

"Some people seem to think legislators are rich and that they go to Olympia for a big lark instead of to work. The rents have always been high, but his year, like so many other things, they have skyrocketed. They used to range from about $175 up but his year they start at about $225 and go up."

Bellingham Herald, Sunday, January 8, 1967

MEMORIAL ASKS TALKS ON POINT

Olympia– Joint U.S.-Canadian talks on the "unique" problems of Point Roberts have been called for by Sen. R. Frank Atwood.

A memorial was introduced in the Senate today by Atwood that asks President Richard M. Nixon and Congress to set up the talks involving representatives of both federal governments, state, provincial, and local governments, and the people of Point Roberts. (A memorial is an official message from a state legislature to the President and Congress.)

WHATEVER ACTION

The memorial asks President Nixon and Congress to "take whatever action is necessary in order to hold a joint conference with the appropriate representatives of Canada in order to discuss the problems at Point Roberts."

Atwood notes there are about 200 U.S. citizens on the Point and an estimated 3,500 Canadian citizens living there. Many of the Canadians live on the Point only in the summer, although some are year around residents who maintain official residence in B.C.

"The U.S. citizens are cutoff from the mainland of Whatcom County unless they travel through B.C. or by water or air," Atwood said.

LACK OF ACCESS

"This lack of direct access, except in the most 'round about manner has provided innumerable, unique difficulties of life for residents on the Point."

He notes the area suffers from difficulties in police protection, fire protection, schools, summer recreationalists, and numerous custom and immigration problems.

Maintenance of roads and sanitary facilities is made more difficult also because of the isolation from the U.S. mainland.

" I don't know what the answer to the problems is but we need to get leaders of both countries to recognize there are unique problems there and that some solution is needed." Atwood said.

CANADIAN AGREES

In Victoria, Robert Wenman, member of the B.C. Legislature from Delta, said he agreed that something had to be done about the problems of the Point Roberts area. He represents the district adjoining the Point.

"It's about time that a meeting of this type took place," Wenman said.

He added he would be "most pleased" to be the representative of the B.C. government at such a meeting.

Wenman said he would read Atwood's memorial to the B.C. legislature this afternoon so that it would "be informed of the Washington activity in this matter."

After the memorial was introduced in the Senate, it was referred to committee for study. If passed finally by the Senate, it will be sent to the House of Representatives for concurrence before being signed by Gov. Dan Evans.

The memorial will then be forwarded to Congress and the President.

order to hold a joint conference with the appropriate representative of Canada in order to discuss the problems of Point Roberts, Washington. Your Menorialists further pray that such commission be composed of representative of: the United States government; the State of Washington; Whatcom County, Washington; and residents of the area; and their counterparts from Canada.

BE IT RESOLVED, that copies of this memorial be immediately transmitted to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, the President of the United State Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and each member of Congress from the State of Washington.

SJM 7

SENATE JOINT MEMORIAL NO. 7

State of Washington
41st Regular Session

By Senator Atwood

Read first time February 19, 1969 and referred to Committee on STATE GOVERNMENT.

TO THE HONORABLE RICHARD M. NIXTON, PRESIDENT OFHE UNITED STATES, AND TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OFHTE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

We, your Memorialists, the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Washington, in legislative session assembled, respectfully represent and petition as follows:

WHEREAS, The community of Point Roberts, Washington, representing a total population of approximately two hundred United States citizens, and approximately thirty-five hundred Canadian citizens, is located on a piece of United Sates soil of approximately six square miles which represents the southern-most extension of the peninsula in the Straits of Georgia; and

WHEREAS, the portion of United States soil upon which the said community is located is not connected to the continental United States, but is connected to a portion of the Canadian Province of British Columbia; and

WHEREAS, The lack of a direct access to the continental United States, except in a most round-a-bout manner has provided innumerable difficulties for the trade and commerce of the inhabitants of the community; and

WHEREAS, The residents of the community encounter difficulties in the following: Police protection, impact on recreational facilities, civil defense, schooling, fire protection, medical restrictions, custom and immigration problems, maintenance of roads and sanitary facilities, and labor restrictions imposed by the means of access.

NOW, THEREFORE, Your Memorialists respectfully pray that the Congress of the United States take whatever action is necessary in

Senator Atwood introduces Bob Stevens, the Secretary of the Army, at the dedication of Ferry Hall, part of the new Reserve Armory at Bellingham Airport.

Bellingham Herald, March 31, 1969

Abortion Advocates Quarreling With the Wrong Man

The Skagit County advocate of abortion reform who castigated Senator Frank Atwood in a letter printed in this paper Sunday over-reacted to Atwood's criticism of high pressure tactise, it seems to us.

Whatever Senator Atwood's deficiencies—mainly lack of a sympathetic billside manner—he is not one to talk and vote one way in public and act another way behind the scenes. If he says he favors liberalization of the rigid abortion law but that some of the lobbying on its behalf has been so aggressive that it will alienate sympathizers, that is precisely what he means.

It's not for us to say whether the sign-waving group which stormed the Capitol Building last week to demand action from the Senate Rules Committee on the abortion bill was out of line. We do have two observations to make. One, it's never good sense to fight with people who are on your side. Two, a legislator who is not afraid to "tell off" a pressure group when he thinks its tactics are objectionable is preferable to one who goes along meekly with whoever is applying the most pressure at the time.

It is perfectly proper for supporters of abortion reform to put the heat on those members of Senate Rules who have bottled up the bill in committee. But picking unnecessary fights is seldom profitable.

Reprinted with permission

Bellingham Herald, March 04, 1969

Will 17 Men Be Able To Mock Legislative Process?

John Cherberg, Democrat, Seattle
Robert C. Bailey, Democrat, Grays Harbor
Frank Conner, Democrat, King County
John L. Cooney, Democrat, Spokane
Frank W. Foley, Democrat, Vancouver
William A. Gissberg, Democrat, Snohomish County
Robert R. Grieve, Democrat, King County
James E. Keefe, Democrat, Spokane
Reuben A. Knoblauch, Democrat, Sumner
Don L. Talley, Democrat, Kelso
Frank A. Atwood, Republican, Bellingham
Sam C. Guess, Republican, Spokane
Ted G. Peterson, Republican, Seattle
John N. Ryder, Republican, Seattle
John H. Stender, Republican, Seattle
Walter B. Williams, Republican, Seattle
Perry B. Woodall, Republican, Yakima

Listed above are the men who will determine whether this Legislature must stand up and be counted on the most controversial of all the bills facing it — the bill that would allow a woman and her doctor to decide if she should have an abortion.

Those 17 are members of the Rules Committee of the Washington State Senate. It is the all-powerful body that determines what legislation shall be brought to the floor for discussion and vote. There is a process by which the Senate can bypass the Rules Committee. That is by a simple majority vote on a motion by any senator to consider any bill. But no senator wishes to make such a motion, for it virtually dooms any other bill he might ever wish to have brought out. So for all practical purposes, the Rules Committee can keep any bill from seeing the light of day. It's doing that now to the abortion bill.

An effort was made last week to bring the bill out of committee. It's reported that Senators Bailey, Atwood, Peterson, Ryder, Stender, and Williams favored it. But that's only six. Nine favorable votes are needed.

Will three of the reluctant 11 sometime vote "aye" and let the measure out on the floor? Or will they continue to controvert the legislative process that they have volunteered to represent?

Seven of the 17 are lawyers. Only two — Williams and Atwood — are among the six reported willing to let the bill reach the floor.

The word "reported" is used here, because the Rules Committee operates in virtual secrecy. Until this year, the secrecy was absolute. Votes were by paper ballot and nameless. This year the Senate talked a lot about eliminating the secrecy. But all it did was to eliminate the paper ballot. Now the vote is by voice, but no one hears it except the committee members. Is this committee going to be able to thwart the legislative process without the public even knowing which members to blame?

Seven of the 17 are Catholics. That's relevant, because the Catholic Church has involved itself in this abortion bill.

The Church urged its members to write their legislators opposing the bill. The response has made it seem that the public is overwhelmingly against liberalizing the abortion law. Proponents say that independent surveys show just the opposite to be true.

If the abortion bill is passed, it will not have to directly affect any Catholic against his conscience. But failure to pass it limits the actions of Catholics and non-Catholics alike. Should the Catholic Church be able to establish its own morality for everybody in the state? By refusing to put this bill out on the floor, the Rules Committee is in effect allowing a church to establish the laws in the state of Washington.

The Catholic Church says it opposes letting a woman choose whether to have an abortion or not because of its respect for human life. It is murder to abort a fetus, the church says. But what of the lives lost through illegal abortions? It is said that 10,000 women a year in the U.S. die because of being aborted by quacks in unsanitary conditions. Isn't it murder to deny these women the safe abortions that would be possible if they were legalized?

The Catholic Church opposes abortion as interrupting the normal life cycle. But society already interrupts the life cycle in many other ways — by contraception, by imprisonment, by celibacy, by sterilization. They all prevent life that otherwise might occur.

A most odious feature of the antiquated law that now governs abortion in this state is that it allows women with $750 to be aborted, but it forces women without that much money to have an unwanted child. That $750 is the amount the Seatle P.I. says a travel agency there charges for an all-inclusive flight to Japan, where safe, medical abortions are legal.

Some legislators have tried to excuse the Rules Committee's refusal to allow the abortion bill to reach the floor by saying, "if the people want a new abortion law, let them enact it by initiative."

It is likely that such an initiative will be presented if the Legislature fails to act. But that attitude is a complete abdication of the responsibility of a Legislature. The state already has an abortion law. It is causing hundreds of unwanted births and an unknown number of tragic deaths. It was passed by the Legislature in 1909. It should be up to the Legislature of 1969 to undo what that pioneer Legislature did.

Perhaps citizens in Washington don't want to legalize abortions. Perhaps legislators, who have heard both sides of this emotional issue, would not vote the bill in. But if they go home without having had the opportunity to do so, those 17 names listed above should be on a special Roll of Infamy for making a mockery of the legislative process in Washington State.

Reprinted with permission

A student helps Senator Atwood to take the driver's seat of a prize-winning experimental automobile, which was developed at Western.

Bellingham Herald, April 13, 1969

House Passes Amended Western Doctorate Bill

OLYMPIA - The stormy trail of a bill by Sen. Frank Atwood to allow Western Washington State College the power to grant doctor of philosophy degrees in education reached its zenith Friday when the House approved the measure after adding two amendments.

The amendments were a compromise between those against and those for the controversial bill and are sure to be concurred in by the Senate, according to Atwood.

The original Senate bill allowed Western to grant the Ph.D. degree in any field the college now grants a master's degree. Before the amendment in the House, the power to award the degree would have had become effective as soon as the bill was signed by Gov. Daniel J. Evans.

DELAYED DATE

A House higher education committee amendment delayed the effective date of the program until July 1, 1971 and provided that a proposed Council on Higher Education would have to approve the specific degree program before it could be started.

The amendment was proposed to the committee by Rep. Cas Farr, R-Whatcom, to break the deadlock over the bill. The committee had time and again refused to move the bill without some sort of delay and further approval of the proposed council.

Rep. Fred Veroske, R-Whatcom, then received House approval to amend the committee amendment to say the proposed Higher Education Council would have to "review and recommend" the approval of the doctoral program rather than "approve" the program.

"The bill creating the council gives it no power to approve anything so the word "approve" should be taken out of the bill." Veroske said.

NOT CONCERNED

Western President Charles J. Flora said Friday he was not "the least concerned" about the delay in the beginning of the program until 1971. "We couldn't be ready with the doctorate until then even if we began planning immediately." Dr. Flora said.

Several legislators have indicated there would be nothing to stop the college from beginning a Ph.D. program on mid 1971 without approval of any kind if the Higher Education Council isn't approved by this session of the legislature.

The chances of the council bill passing even though legally exempt from the bill cut-off date because of an appropriation it contains are considered extremely slim.

The final vote on the Atwood bill was 65-28. Only two Democrats voted against the bill, while 26 Republicans were opposed.

PICKED UP VOTES

The measure picked up several votes for it after a speech against the bill by Rep. Alan Bluechel, R-Kirkland.

"We are actually picking the third university when we pass this bill and we are looking at a cost of up to $200 million," he said.

This was countered by Rep. Frank (Buster) Brouillet, D-Puyallup, who noted Bluechei's $200 million figure was a red herring.

"The University of Washington budget for the (1969-1971) biennium is only $148 million, so I don't know where he gets his figures from," Brouilet said.

He added it was the perogative of the legislature to begin planning for another university and commented he felt Western "is the strongest of the state colleges."

Bluechel also objected to the review of a doctorate program by the proposed Higher Education Council on the basis it was only "window dressing" to get the bill passed.

The Higher Education Council is proposed to draw together and coordinate all programs and plans at the four-year colleges and universities in the state. It is pending in the Senate.

Bellingham Herald, April 13, 1969

Fishing Village Lawyer Finds Happiness In Olympia

OLYMPIA — Can a lawyer from a small fishing village on Northern Puget Sound find success in the marble chamber of the Washington State Senate?

Just over six years after those lines in parody of an oldtime radio soap opera were written in The Bellingham Herald by reporter Glenn Larson about then Sen.-elect R. Frank Atwood, it appears the answer to the question would be "yes."

Atwood has nearly completed a full session of the legislature as Republican minority floor leader. He was named to the position toward the end of the 1967 session when Sen. Marshall Neill was elevated to the state supreme court.

The minority floor leader shares the responsibility for the actions of the Senate Republican caucus with the caucus chairman, Sen. John N. Ryder, R-Seattle.

CONDUCT BUSINESS

"It is our job to be responsible for the governor's program in the Senate and for the conduct of the business of the minority caucus," Atwood explains. "I have to see (the Republicans) get fair treatment and consideration for our legislation.

Atwood daily provides liaison with Democrat leaders in the Senate and with leaders of both parties in the House. Many preliminary discussions are informally held to insure a smooth flow of legislation from committee through the rules committee, and to the Senate floor.

While enjoying the added responsibility and burden of leadership, Atwood admits his position sometimes means he can't speak out on a particular bill as he would like to.

ASSUMPTION MADE

"When I make a public statement, either on the floor or to the press, everyone assumes I'm speaking for the governor and the entire Republican legislative program. This means I have to be careful not to make statements I would consider proper but which the governor and others might object to," Atwood says.

This doesn't mean he will work for a bill on the floor of the Senate if he has strenuous personal objections to it.

"It rarely happens, but there have been bills I have had to say I can't take the leadership on because I'm opposed to them totally. This has never happened with any major legislation."

The value of his leadership role to Whatcom County far outweighs any disadvantage, Atwood believes. The minority floor leader is a member of the rules committee, the ways and means committee and often becomes a member of conference committees appointed by the Senate and House to work out differences between the two versions of bills each passes.

IT DECIDES

The rules committee is the most powerful committee in the Senate. It is this committee that decides what legislation reaches the floor for final action.

"I'm in a position to see that a bill needed by Whatcom County is pulled from the rules committee and passed by the Senate," he notes.

His long-time membership on the Senate ways and means committee makes Atwood a recognized expert on budgetary and other financial matters of the state. This is the committee that writes the Senate version of the budget each legislative session.

RANKING MEMBER

During the interim between sessions, Atwood is a ranking member of the legislative budget committee; a bi-partisan committee of House and Senate members who constantly review state spending problems.

Presently, Atwood is the Senate Republican member of the conference committee working out the differences between the Senate and House versions of the state budget for the next two years.

He is a very junior senator for a major leadership position. Most senators in leadership positions on both sides of the political aisle are veterans of 12 or more years in the legislature.

IN MINORITY

His bill - passing record hasn't been too bad considering Atwood is in a minority in the Senate. Over 20 of the 65 bills he is a sponsor of have passed both houses of the legislature and have been signed into law.

A majority of his bills have managed to pass the Senate and await action in the House.

"I feel this as a good record since I'm the sponsor of many of the governor's request packages that aren't totally accepted by the Democrats," he commented.

Atwood has some definite opinions on some of the problems facing the legislature as a whole.

ANNUAL SESSIONS SOON

He feels annual sessions are on their way, but says he will have to examine his own private law practice carefully before deciding whether he can afford to stay in the Senate.

Another area is the method the Senate rules committee operates. Atwood acknowledges this committee is often the graveyard for "hot" bills because actions of the committee are not publicly recorded.

"There probably should be recorded votes in rules, although votes are pretty well known outside the committee room now," he says. "Look at the wine bill —everyone had the names of those on rules that were for or against the bill and those against were lobbied very, very hard."

If the power to stop so-called "bad" bills is taken away from the rules committee, Atwood feels this type of bill would only die in individual committees.

PRESSURE PROBLEM

The problem of public pressure on legislators is another area Atwood feels is often misunderstood.

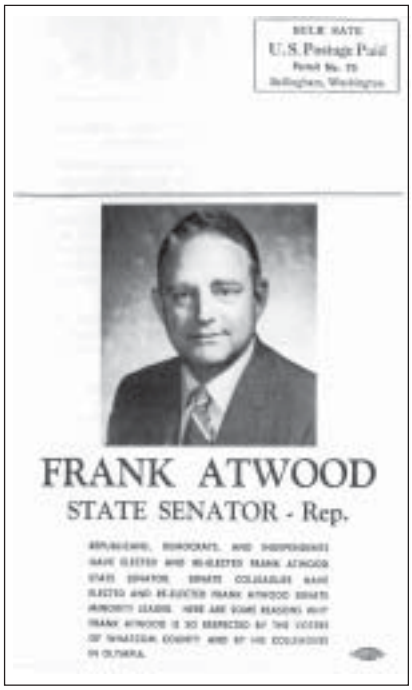
"There is nothing wrong with public pressure if it is not obnoxious or threatening," he maintains. He says many advocates of a piece of legislation get carried away with their cause and "don't know when more pressure will be harmful rather than helpful to their program."

Professional lobbyists, he says, usually know when to quit pushing a "dead horse" and give up.

Atwood discounts the impact of "favors" done for legislators by those who want certain bills. He says he has never accepted any kind of favor in exchange for a vote.

As one of the most powerful legislators in the state, it would seem that "the lawyer from the small fishing village" has indeed found success in the marbled halls of the State Senate.

HAS ENTRANCE—State Sen. R. F. Atwood poses at the door to the minority caucus room in the State Legislature in Olympia. In just over six years the Whatcom County Republican has worked his way to Senate minority floor leader, one of the key positions of power in the lawmaking body.



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FRANK ATWOOD
STATE SENATOR - Rep.

One Good Term
Deserves Another!

FRANK ATWOOD

ATWOOD- ★ STATE SENATOR ★ SENATE MINORITY LEADER

PERSONAL . . . . . Married, 3 children. 18-year resident of Whatcom County. Age 43. Health, good. Member of many civic and professional associations.

EDUCATIONAL & PROFESSIONAL . . . . . Bachelor of Arts Degree, Political Science, Washington State University. J. D., University of Washington. President, Whatcom County Bar Association. Member, State Bar Association. Admitted to practice before Washington State Supreme Court and Federal District Court.

LEGISLATIVE RECORD . . . . . In the LAW & ORDER AND HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD, Frank sponsored a Bill to provide competent legal counsel to the needy . . . a bill establishing the law enforcement officers training commission, and the Public Defender authorization. He worked and voted for bills providing post retirement benefit increases for firefighters and police officers, for the police Statewide teletype system. He worked and voted for the bill to increase property tax exemptions for Senior Citizens . . . the bill providing workmen's compensation for permanent partial disability . . . the bill to provide Day Care Centers.

In the ENVIRONMENTAL field, Frank sponsored the bill which set up procedures to inventory state lands and their use for public recreation. He worked and voted for the bill creating a state Department of Ecology, and for bills controlling the use of waterfront lands and providing for the acquisition of scenic easements for public access; finalizing formation of recreation districts.

In the GOVERNMENTAL area, Frank sponsored several bills to Reorganize and Streamline State Government . . . A Memorial requesting the U. S. Congress to act on the Point Roberts situation (Commission now appointed by U. S. Government). Frank sponsored a bill for FULL disclosure of all campaign contributions; a Grange request bill allowing additional representation on the Board of Health (broader county representation).

In the EDUCATIONAL Field, Frank sponsored a bill Authorizing W. W. S. C. to grant a Doctorate Degree in the future. He worked and voted for a bill providing for 75-year leases for school purposes (for long-range planning and development possibilities) . . . a bill implementing State Teachers retirement provisions.

A record of 8 active years in which Atwood has sponsored many bills, and cast his vote on a great many other important measures, cannot be condensed on one page. The above record merely points out the range of Senator Atwood's legislative activities, his knowledge of local and state needs and his ability to get the job done.

HE WORKS FOR WHATCOM COUNTY!

The 1970 campaign was probably the most difficult one. Senator Atwood, by that time, had become the Senate Minority Leader.

The Atwood family poses for a 1970 campaign photo. Marie and Frank Atwood stand with their children, from the left, Deborah, Roy, and Suzanne.

Friend and mentor Justice Marshall Neill administered the oath of office and Lt. Governor John Cherberg delivers the Certificate of Election to Senator Atwood as he begins his third term in the Senate in 1971.

Senator Atwood joins in a conversation with Governor Dan Evans, Stewart Bledsoe, and Don Eldridge during one of the governor's weekly breakfast meetings.

Frank Atwood believes that Dan Evans was the strongest governor Washington has had during his lifetime. The two did not agree on every issue, but maintained a cordial and productive working relationship.

Members of the Governor's Task Force on Executive Reorganization surround chairman Brewster Denny and Governor Evans, who are seated at center.

The Saint Patrick's Day party was an annual event hosted by Senator Martin Durkan. His three bespectacled friends joining him, from left, are Gordon Sandison, Frank Atwood, and Augie Mardesich.

The Price is Right! Television host Bob Barker visits with Senators Jim Keefe and Frank Atwood.

The minority leadership confers with the majority during the 1971 session. Pictured from left are Harry Lewis, Frank Atwood, and Gordon Walgren.

Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson made periodic visits to the State Legislature. Here Damon Canfield looks on as Atwood chats with Scoop.

The two older Atwood children both served as pages. At left, Debbie poses with her father at his desk, while in the photograph at right, Roy takes his turn.

Irv Newhouse and Frank Atwood entertain then-Vice President Gerald Ford at a reception at the Tacoma Golf and Country Club.

The members of the 1973 Republican Caucus surround their leader, Frank Atwood. Seated, from the left, are Scott, Stender, Peterson, Matson, Atwood, Lewis, Newschwander, Guess, and Jones. Standing, from left, are Woodall, Twigg, Lewis, Sellar, Whetzel, Metcalf, Murray, Canfield, Wanamaker, and Clarke.

Senator Atwood and his daughter Debbie are flanked by two of his most trusted staff members: Chloe Skoles, at left, and Craig Voegele.

Bellingham Herald, October 7, 1974

'Continuing' legislature more costly, Atwood says

The Democrats' use of the "continuing session" has pushed the operating cost of the state legislature up 54 percent, Sen. Frank Atwood, R-Bellingham, has charged.

The Republican Caucus chairman reached that figure by comparing the expenses of the 1974 fiscal year with those of the other "off year" in 1972. "Sawyer (House Speaker Len Sawyer, D-Lake Tapps) has contended all along that the continuing sessions have reduced the cost of legislative government and these facts completely pop his balloon," Atwood said.

"In the last normal off year we only spent $3,646,968 operating the legislature and for the 1974 fiscal year, the cost was increased to $5,632,226."

The continuing session idea was introduced by the Democrat majority in the House and Senate as a means to cut down on session length, spread state government business over a year's time and bring more committee hearings to local communities.

Backers contend it cuts down on legislative time and expense, while detractors maintain the opposite.

Atwood also blasted the three supplemental budgets passed in mini-session in 1974.

"The majority leadership was determined to pass a supplemental budget," Atwood said, "and that resulted in escalated state spending."

The retiring legislator said that overall, more than a quarter billion dollars in state spending was added to the general fund during the three mini-sessions.

"If we're going to talk about curbing inflation, let's start at home with state government," Atwood said.

The tolls of leadership. Bob Bailey, at left, and Frank Atwood have their blood pressure checked.

In addition to his service in the Legislature, Frank Atwood was a long-time member of the Army Reserve. He retired as a colonel in 1981, and here receives he Legion of Merit from General Palmer, the commander of the 124th ARCOM.

STATE OF WASHINGTON
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
OLYMPIA

DANIEL J. EVANS
GOVERNOR

June 1, 1974

The Honorable R. Frank Atwood
Minority Caucus Chairman
Washington State Senate
Bellingham Legal Center
805 Dupont Street, Suite 5
Bellingham, Washington 98225

Dear Frank:

I am sorry I was in China when your letter reached my office and, as a result, did not have a chance to read it until just a few days ago. While I can understand your reasons for retirement, I am nonetheless deeply distressed over the loss of leadership that will represent for Washington State and for the State Senate. We appear to be losing a great number of fine leaders on the Republican side, and I am particularly distressed about the loss of budgetary expertise on both sides of the political aisle.

While we've occasionally disagreed on some issues, I have always admired your candor and political courage. You will be missed in the Senate, and by the constituents of your district, but I think I will feel your loss more personally, as we face the difficult legislative sessions of the next couple of years.

I hope we can continue to work together closely in other ways to help make progress in our State.

Sincerely,

Daniel J. Evans
Governor

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