

2/4/91

Claiborne Pell

October 31-November 1 1990

- Unemployment = 7%
- I got in early to the Biltmore and walked up to Pell headquarters.
- Talked with Jack Cummings
- "'The polls have been the same for about eight weeks. We're at 55-56 and she's at 35-36. The campaign has solidified. I keep waiting for the other shoe to drop. But I don't know what she can do unless she goes very negative. Now she's running up against time. And he has an 87% favorable rating. Nobody has anything bad to say against him except that he wears wrinkled suits and has a fuzzy collar.'"
- Over coffee down at the yuppie area of Davol Square, he began by talking about how he had started brining Pell back to Rhode Island.
- "'Our constituency operation is better than it has ever been. We have a book of Pell's accomplishments from Rhode Island--all documented, no puff. It's very impressive. About two years ago in preparation for a possible campaign, I hired a Federal coordinator--someone who had done a job for me 20 years ago. He's a grantsman. He knows how to write proposals to get money from the government. He's coordinated the activity of all our cities and towns and businesses. We are in good shape on that front--keeping the Senator close to Rhode Island.'"
- "'She began her campaign with a lot of energy and vigor two years ago on the assumption that he was not going to run. Her assumption was wrong. She went off saying if I do this and this and this, I'll be your Senator. The polls showed her at 44 and us at 50, I think. Then the Senator decided to run.'"
- Jack says he thought he would not run. That after 30 years, he'd call it quits. But he agreed with me that Pell doesn't run away from a challenge and that he likes his job. "'With all due respect to Senator Pell, what does a man of 70 do when he retires. Where else do you get those perks, those calls from the New York Times; when you're out of it, you're out. Senator John Pastore was a very vigorous man, but when he left the Senate, he just sunk. The Senaor sees him once every three months or so and they have lunch. He sees what happened to Pastore. He just walks the beach. Nobody comes up to him and says 'Hello, Senator'. He's out of it. I think Pell would like to die while he's at work. What is it they say about rich people, that they don't die, they just disappear somewhere. Maybe one day he'll just disappear in a puff.'"
- He spoke of the key decisions as finessing the debates, "'of course, the media wants to draw you into debates.'" Mary Beth took care of that beautifully. We had a legitimate debate and another joint appearance you could call a debate if you could stay awake while it was on television.

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- The inoculation ad on negative campaigning: "both candidates agreed from the beginning that they would not do any negative campaigning. Each campaign promised that over and over. It was a sacred contract you might say. And the Rhode Island media picked up on it and praised the candidates for it. But when Schneider found she couldn't move the polls, she began to make statements like 'I've heard she didn't say she knew--I've heard that Pell isn't with it anymore.'" Or "I've heard he falls asleep in the Foreign Relations Committee." "She didn't have any evidence; but those were the negative hints. So we went on the air with an ad that didn't mention her. But it said: 'both candidates have promised not to do any negative campaigning. The people of Rhode Island do not want negative campaigning. Senator Pell has never done any negative campaigning. No one else should do any negative campaigning.' It was brilliant. We inoculated the environment to the degree that she was boxed in and could not go negative. When she tried, she dropped in the polls. She dropped her consultant and took on another one, who has produced some very potent ads. She began her campaign saying there was a real difference between herself and Pell. Now she is saying 'I agree with Pell, he's a great guy, but I'm the future and he's the past.'"
- On the "Simone" thing. ^{paraphrasing} "Any other candidate would have gotten very excited. Some of the staff wanted him to fire the person who wrote the letter. But he was very calm about it--'we have our ups and we have our downs'. I don't think in all the years I've worked with him that I've seen him angry more once or twice--and even then, not angry like I get angry." "If you see someone wagging a finger at him and telling him this or that, you can see the hair rising on the back of his neck. But he won't show it".
- We didn't talk about the debate gaffe but Rick, when he gave me the clips, said there were "warts and all...I put the debate gaffe in there because everyone knows about it anyway and I don't want Germond and those guys to think I'm trying to hide something.
- Jack says 3rd key decision was just that the organization has functioned very well, fund-raising help from National Democratic Committee.
- 600 people working the phones.
- Why run "I thought I had a duty, an obligation to use my seniority to get things done. I had a feeling of responsibility to the Democratic party. I thought I could do it and I knew it would be fun."
- When did you decide? "I don't remember--last winter sometime, maybe March. Do you remember Nuela?" "Was it just before Christmas? I'm not sure." No one wanted to help me much. Maybe its because I called her 'Nuela' earlier instead of Mrs. Pell. She seemed to freeze up a little. Calls me "Dick", of course.
- CP was talking to Rick after Rick commented that Jack Germond couldn't figure out why Pell wasn't "easy to take out, being so gentlemanly and all that".

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- "It's just the same as 1972. I was supposed to be gobbled up by John Chafee, but I wasn't. I would have been gobbled up if he hadn't made one big mistake. He went negative. He was ahead by 2-1 about six weeks before election day, when he suddenly went negative. He didn't have to and I never understood why he did. Little old ladies in tennis shoes started coming up to me and saying 'I'm a Republican, but you are being such a gentleman by not hitting back at him that I'm going to vote for you'. The big laborers came up to me and said, 'Pell, where's your guts?' I didn't respond because I knew they would vote Democratic anyway, whereas the old ladies would not have. I have always believed that negative campaigning will not work. And I'm proof that it doesn't."
- When I first met Mrs. Pell, she said "It's very close. We are about 10 points ahead, and if she came up three or four it would be even." "Her idea is that Claiborne is a good senator but he represents the past and she represents the future. She could catch us, so we are running scared--or, he is running scared. Congress was in session so long that I have had to stand in for him and give speeches for the first time ever. I have read speeches for him, but have never given them on my own. It's been good for me."
- After the Woonsocket Call editorial board interview, she said, "That's the campaign in a nutshell. He's the past; I'm the future." She interpreted the questions that way--which were "when Claudine was here, she said or she intimated."
- CP "We agreed that neither one of us would engage in negative campaigning. And its been free of that so far. I've been a good Senator; she's been a good Congresswoman; I like her."
- When I first met Pell, at the State House steps where the Fraternal Order of Police endorsed him, Jack Cummings went on to tell him I was there. Pell, as he came toward me, said "Not to the press conference" and Jack said "No". Then he came over and said "I remember you" in a vague way. Not a great beginning. But I persevered, got into the car and inched my way into the press conference.
- He didn't want me there, but he didn't know how to get rid of me. Gradually, I became part of the scenery and he got used to me. But the contrast with Cohen could not be greater. He shook my hand at the Burrellville Hospital thinking I was a patient or something! I was embarrassed. I said "I'm with you." The guy guiding Pell said "I thought he was with you" and Pell said "I didn't recognize him from behind." He was not responsive to my questions. (I only asked two.) He spoke to me twice--to ask me a question. Does this seem any different to you from 1984. He asked me if I had been watching him for 18 years.
- When Mrs. Pell didn't arrive for a rendezvous at an apartment complex in the middle of nowhere, he touched me on the arm and said "Actually, you can be very useful. You could stay here and wait for Mrs. Pell." I said "sure" or something like that, and he gave me a little note to give to her when and if she arrived. I could picture myself thumbing a ride to get out of there. Thankfully, the idea did not appeal to Peter (driver) and Rick (press guy)

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and so we left the note with someone else and rode away to the headquarters.

- When we got there, one of the kids said to me "I have gotten dinner for you and the Pells'." He took the food into them. Mrs. Pell said "Who is this extra one for?" and did not wait for an answer before calling to another person and inviting him to come in and eat with them. The kid was embarrassed "There's been a mix-up," he said. I waved it off. So I sat there outside the room they were eating in and finally got a sandwich at 9:00 - four hours later.
- There was no ^{consideration} coordination of my personal comfort or convenience--in contrast to Cohen's people who knocked themselves out for me, joked with me, hung out with me. The Pell campaign, around Pell, is very sober. (His best joke, on Halloween night "it's Republican trick and Democratic treat").
- When I asked if I could "ride with you one more day", he said "sure" with some enthusiasm and made sure we had our signals straight.
- A strange man--and a living example of the idea that the minute you think you've got a standard politician and you understand why people vote for such a person, forget it. He is no person's idea of what a politician should be!
- Do you think the campaign looks about the same as 1984? "I do. I feel just as strong as I did then. We do have a stronger staff this year - more professional. They are doing a great job."
- He agreed, earlier, that it was a tiring, hard campaign this year.
- Rick talked about the media attention. "In the early summer, we were on the endangered species list." Johnny Apple came, Helen Dewar. Jack Germond, (Newhouse guy) came to see. In August, our polls began to show her slipping and I began to send those polls to Washington, to see if I couldn't help dry up her image. Johnny Apple's article had a tremendous impact on our campaign. When he wrote that Pell was ahead, the people inside the beltway, who want to put their money where it counts, went elsewhere. Her money dried up. Helen Dewar helped too. We spent a lot of time with her. After those two articles, the media decided it was all over in Rhode Island. We haven't had any national media people in here since August, early September."
- Pell chimed in "Five days ago the local media stopped paying attention to our race. We won't get anymore stories in the local media from now on."
- Rick sees Apple article as one turning point in the campaign.
- The difference from 1984, Pell said, "the economy is worse off than it was in 1984. People are losing their jobs now."
- Most of what we did today (10/31) was senior citizen stops. At each one he spoke and honed his message, which was:

1. I'm not just a senior senator, I'm a senior citizen. I

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understand your aches and pains and arthritis and other ailments.

2. Reason I resisted the budget agreement was because of the size of the cut in Medicare which hits the elderly too hard.

3. Difference in philosophy between Republicans and Democrats. Democrats believe government should help people. Republicans see government as necessary evil. Republicans believe prosperity at top will "drop down". Democrats believe that prosperity at the bottom of the pyramid will ooze up.

- I had a fight
in the office
no fight,*
- Seniors rise and applaud when he comes in. They love him. He's introduced as author of Medicare, COLA, etc. and just "we love him". He says things like "I'm not the best talker. You'd think I would be after 31 years; but I have a long way to go."
 - Some clues upon reflection - his liberalism - Thompson says he's "only senator I've ever known who has nothing in his record that needs to be explained or to be ashamed of." A liberal view.
 - Thompson also says Pell told him that re PACs "one clue to success in politics is the ability to be ungrateful." Take the money from PACs, but don't feel grateful to them. *Arch man's view?*
 - The affection people have for Pell has to do with his record and the fact that he's been around for so long. Everyone has an attachment for him--especially the senior citizens. Schneider's only group strength, as of 10/31 Channel 10 poll, was with 24-35 group. At Vinci's lunch group, the lady in-charge said "They are 50-50 Democrat-Republican, but they are all for Pell." "He's almost a deity in Rhode Island," says Peter. Surely, he has no following or visibility outside of Rhode Island.
 - He says, "My father was more liberal than I am" in commenting on fact that his kids are very conservative.
 - Editor of Woonsocket Call "Even if people disagree with him, they will say 'I like Senator Pell'. Part of his appeal is that nobody has anything against him." That's one key to political longevity. Domenici had it too. Can negative campaigning overcome this in all cases?
 - He does take criticism, too. When he asked Rick about his "two differences between the two parties" talk to the seniors what he thought, Rick said that he should stress his support for Medicare and Social Security, "that's what get's 'em." And Pell said "That's a good point. I was too philosophical." The next speech he gave his two differences, and ended with his support for Medicare and "that's why I voted against the budget." Then, the next speech he put the Social Security stuff first and then the philosophical stuff. It was the best of all. Everyone in the van agreed it was. Pell said "You have to work it out as you go along." Peter added "You want to be sure of your numbers". He said "I thought ~~it~~ was, but that's a good point."
 - He started to fumble to get his notepad. Mrs. Pell said "other pocket".

*It's a big
state &
no one's.*

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Then he made a note and started to put it away and she said, again, "other pocket." Absent minded! But that's nothing new. I think its the best 1990 example of what I've seen before.

- On Thursday morning, I missed the van. He told me 8:30 and he meant 7:30. I wouldn't have missed him if I hadn't been talking with Judge Thompson at breakfast. It reminded me of the rule that you should not talk about yourself on these visits; it always gets you into trouble. I took my eye off the ball for 30 minutes and it cost me. Now, I'm writing this as I sit in the headquarters waiting for a ride to Pawtucket.
- Last night, we were finished at 8:30. He lingered at the last two functions to a very uncharacteristic degree because he was charged up and had no place else to go. On the ride back, he called his scheduler from the van. "Is there anything else we could do this evening? We are in the van, full of energy and ready to go. Isn't there someplace we could go and help out? No? Well, I just wanted to volunteer." "He's a night person" says Mrs. Pell. Its a commentary on his age, however, that he ran two miles that morning and ended the day trying desperately to find something else to do!
- It occurs to me that the theme "he's the past, I'm the future" is not a bad idea, but the people here do not want to give up the past--nor does Pell. He and they are still in synch. He sees self as a liberal Democrat of the old school. He liked the day when party meant something and Democrats were Democrats. One old guy coming out of a ^{trying} ~~senior~~ meeting said, "There aren't any old Democrats anymore--not since they closed down the mills." Mrs. Pell commented that "The party needs to coordinate things and send people out to various places. Now its everyone for himself. It makes fund raising harder." There is a sense of longing among many voters, perhaps, that these were "good old days". Yet Pell (Viet Nam, peace groups, women, etc.) has kept up. Also his warning to Bush at White House meeting, "to take it easy" is a modern notion dating from Viet Nam.

The seniors like his social welfare view; the young and the liberals like his anti-war, social liberalism stance.

- Channel 10 poll 10/31 Alpha-shows Pell 60, Schneider 34, Undecided 5. Newscast said Schneider probably "is not selling to Rhode Island Democrats."
- Pell's reaction, "I don't believe it...I'm a fatalist about it."
- He mentioned "that dreadful rally we go to every election eve."
- "If I get reelected, I'm not going to get into details as much as I have."
- The comparison between ^{Cohen's} ~~Pell's~~ performance at Waterville and Pell's performance at Woonsocket is very striking. Cohen put on a tour de force, holding forth in the most analytical, articulate manner about how the Persian Gulf-Bush's options, Hussein's options, Gorbachev's options, War Powers Act, etc. And then frantically pushing for space on the media. Pell's very defensive, inarticulate, stumbling defense of his position, looking to the NYT to weave it all together "terrific" he said. Cohen

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gets top billing in the Providence Journal! Then Pell explains. Cohen gets front page and picture in BDN.

- And Pell says to me "I have great respect for Bill Cohen. He speaks up and says what's on his mind. At the White House the other day he said things that must have been very disturbing to the administration. I agreed with him, but it's easier for me. It's not my administration."
- At Woonsocket Call, they pushed him by telling him what CS had said. (1) "future...past", (2) she says "that for the first 10 years, you were a very effective senator, the second 10 years you were less effective and for the last 10 years you have not been effective", (3) she says "you have no more fire in your belly, that the Democrats talked you into running and she hints that you will retire before your term is up."
- These questions came at different parts in the interview. He answered them:
 - (1) "I am the future, too. I have a different kind of influence now. I am not as creative as I once was. But my seniority gives me a greater opportunity to nurture and to expand old programs, like Pell grants. I can be a traffic cop now, pushing programs I like, halting programs I don't like.
 - (2) Same answer to 1. "The job differs when you've been in for 20 years. A senior senator doesn't find individual bits of legislation. You pick the legislation you have already passed and you nurture them, and push them along. Or you block what you don't like. It isn't flashy, but the impact on the community is very great."
 - (3) Fire in belly. "Ask Mrs. Pell!" "If I'm dead or senile, I wouldn't run. I feel good. I ran two miles this morning. I ran a 10K race awhile ago and finished first in my class. Of course, there were only two in my class! But I finished. And I feel well. I will say that I trust my memory a little less and my judgment a little more these days. But I think judgment is more important."
 - (4) CS also said she would take commerce and health committees if she were in Senate and that Rhode Island doesn't need a senator with Foreign Relations Committee. What did Pell say about that, they asked. "If you had war, it would affect Rhode Island. It would be pervasive. My position would be advantageous in Rhode Island and the country. True, I can't order someone to buy paper pads from Woonsocket, Rhode Island."
- "When you vote you have to consider the national and the state interest. Some times they conflict. The textile bill is good for Rhode Island, but not for the nation. Then there are issues of the heart--like abortion--where you vote your conscience. Then there is what the majority of your constituents want. You crank these from very different things, in your head and see what spits out. You hire me to spit out my judgment. I can't tell you how often the votes are 48-48 or 49-48. Many votes are very close and one person's judgment matters alot." Idea was that his judgment was better than CS.

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The New Paper Nov 1-7, 1990.

November 1-7, 1990

Endorsing Pell, "How do you go about campaigning against a Rhode Island institution? Schneider obviously wasn't quite sure, as she never managed to send a message of what her campaign was all about. Instead, she waffled between respect and ridicule of Pell."

- They like Schneider but we can't endorse her because she's a Republican.
- "Jokes about Pell's eccentricities and absent-mindedness are part of his legend and down-home appeal."
- Pell grants, Middle East
- "He caused quite a stir during a debate, but Pell has not done anything to let Rhode Islanders down."
- Thursday was the day after the polls came out showing him at 60%. "When you're a winner, everybody's friendly," he says coming out of Blue Cross.
- They worried all day about "the other shoe. "I can't believe she won't drop the other shoe or boot after the poll results. But I would have thought she would have done it by now." Rick keeps saying that its too late now, but he thinks she'll do something.
- CP is worried about his haircut "A liberal gets along better with a short haircut."
- And he's thinking about election night. "It would be presumptuous for us to ask Claudine to exchange telephone numbers for election night." He thinks his people are getting ready to do that.
- "Bruce wants us to go to the ballroom together. I think I'd rather go by myself. I don't like being an appendage." (Bruce Sundlun is governor candidate.)
- "I don't know why she hasn't hit me with the club business. She has me cold on that." (What is it?) I belong to clubs that don't admit women...I think its mean of Jack Reed to attack Trudy Cox's conflict of interest because she owns stock. I'll bet alot of congressman own GE stock."
- Use of word "mean" is typical.
- "I have my rebuttal all prepared if she does say something today - its the frustration of a defeated candidate." He had it written in his notebook.
- All this is car talk - nothing really interesting except that he now knows he's won.
- Thursday afternoon "I guess what we ought to do for the next two days is wrap me in a cotton ball and hide me. The only mistake I can make is if I say something. That's what she has criticized me for." Do you think the

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level of exhilaration is as great as other years (yes, more) because it's been a tougher race? (yes)

- "I guess this has been the most positive campaign in the United States this year."
- "She was the favorite when the race started--three points ahead. The conventional wisdom is that the incumbent loses votes near the end of the campaign. 'I guess this is the exception.' He seemed genuinely proud of his gentlemanly campaign.
- I asked him if he felt "pushed" by Schneider and reacted to that by entering the race. "No. Perhaps it was my fault for wavering the way I did. If I had not wavered for so long, she might not have run." Mrs. Pell jumped in. "She was thinking of running six years ago and decided not to. She came to you this year and told you she was going to run whether you ran or not." Pell, "I know, but I think if I had decided earlier, she might not have run." Mrs. Pell "Claiborne would have run whether she was running or not." Pell, "When I was deciding, I may have felt pushed a little then...to make my decision."
- My idea of "challenge" didn't pan out.
- Are you an institution? "I think it has happened, don't you? (yes) I didn't remember saying it, but I know I wished (12 years ago) it would happen sometime. It didn't happen 12 years ago; and it didn't happen six years ago, but it has happened this year. I have been victorious after having run, warts and all, with all my imperfections and display--my interest in the paranormal, for example. It is a good feeling to have run just the way you are without pretending to be something you aren't."
- I said "you have terrific recognition." He said "after 30 years in a small state like this, I should have. With all the exposure on TV, people learn to recognize your face. I sometimes marvel that in a state of one million, a county of 250 million, a world of 10 billion, that everyone has a different, recognizable face."
- Pell to John Breaux (who met us at Hasbro entrance). He is Chairman of DSCC.
- Pell "We have steered a very steady course." Breaux "She must be very frustrated. Pell "That's why we've been waiting for the other shoe to drop."
- Later, Pell "You were in the House with her?" B - "Yes, on the Merchant Marine Committee." Pell "She wasn't much of a follow-through person was she? Just good at throwing out ideas?" Breaux "Yes, she talked alot and could get on people's nerves. Very strident." Pell, "Several of her Republican colleagues came up to me quietly and said they wouldn't mind at all if she was beaten."
- Breaux asked CP if he worked with her. "I've seen her off and on. And with her. I've helped her all I can" he said.

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- seems a slight touch*
- He puts everything in a very matter of fact way - no speculation type*
- "I can't tell you how much nicer it would be in the Foreign Relations Committee if Helms and Boschwitz were defeated. In a quiet way, Boschwitz was an obstructionist."
 - Re the campaign, "The only problems I have are those I've made myself--my gaffes. But they are really pretty trivial. It's not like being called incompetent or senile. It's a good campaign if the only problems are those caused by what you say and not by what your opponent says about you."
 - "When I ran in 1960, Rhode Island was a textile state--textiles and machine tools. That all changed. Jewelry is still our biggest industry. Fifty percent of all jewelry made in America is made here. I was thankful that Moynihan was able to keep the cut-off for the jewelry tax at \$10,000. If it had dropped to \$5,000, it would have caused great difficulty for this state. So I have been able to be very honest in explaining why I voted against the tax package."
 - He wrote a letter to Bush the day after the WH meeting advising him to "go slow" and he kept asking Rick and Bill Bryant (in D.C.) if they had gotten any play out of it. They hadn't. But this letter to the President ploy works back home.
 - On the matter of taking an interest in me, I have to amend my earlier comments. We missed signals on the pick-up time this a.m. It turned out that he had come up to my room and knocked on the door. I was eating breakfast. Then, he later offered me half of a sandwich that he couldn't eat. And he let me ride with him and John Breau. He also never said anything to make me feel like part of the group. But he did warm up a little the second day.
 - At the headquarters, I saw the critical ad--the one Jack thought turned it all around. It has a cross-section of voters commenting on negative campaigning; and three days after the ad ran, she pulled a set of four ads she had been doing, fired her media person, and got a new one. Charlie Pink, Pell's TV guy, said that the sequence started with quote from her camp (I have it) that they were thinking of getting rough. Then they put the four ads on, then Pell's negative campaign ad, and then her pulling old ads and starting in again.
 - The late September, early October pivotal, inoculating, preemptive strike ad went:
 - "Don't just put everybody down."
 - "I don't approve of negative campaigning."
 - "Pell has outstanding achievement?"
 - "His word is his bond. He'll never go back on his word. Negative campaigning is going to backfire. Negative campaigning doesn't work, especially someone going negative on Senator Pell. That's just trying to undercut a good guy, that's all."

- Her four previous ads: one talked about convicted drug dealers getting federal benefits and death penalty under certain circumstances; idea is to get tough on crime--'nice guy approach hasn't worked--we need Claudine in Congress.'
- Social Security: elderly lady says 'it makes me get my shackles^{up} because I don't want the Social Security Program tampered with in anyway. In Washington there are some who would like to tamper with this sacred contract. 'When you are watching a ball game, you don't want the rules changed. I want Social Security to stay where it is.'
- Another one on drugs, criminals and death penalty.
- 'People say we are fond of both you and your opponent, what's the difference. Most people are outraged about the S&L scandal. I voted against the S&L bail-out. Social Security is solid now and I'll fight to make sure it stays secure. We both want to reduce crime, but I'm against federal benefits for convicted drug dealers, and I believe the death penalty is warranted under some circumstances. If you want the results, you must be willing to make the fight. The world is changing very rapidly and the challenges of the future require tough choices.'
- Claudine: 'your choice for a change, your choice for the future.'
- This gained her a few points, but did not hurt Pell. After the inoculating ad, she put on a new set:

Her new ad starts with pictures of the two with 'Decision'. 'It's a tough choice - they are two of a kind--caring, committed, honest--they have worked together...two of a kind. One with a proud past, one moving to the future. It's a tough choice, but one we have to make.' With the past and future comment, Pell's face fades away and Schneider's face occupies the screen.

- Then, either this ad or a second one ends with 'which one of us has the energy and the commitment to fight for you for the next six years...'
- Pell comes in while I'm watching this. 'Whose ads are these?' he asks. 'Schneider' says Charlie. 'Oh, I haven't seen them' says Pell. Then he comes in to Mary Beth's office where Charlie is showing me the latest ones; he watches the new one and says 'that's a good ad.' When I asked him if he had seen her ads, he said 'one or two, not many.' A candidate who can't recognize his opponents ads is something of a rarity, I would guess.
- Says John BreauX after CP leaves the van, 'they don't make 'em like him any more.'
- At the senior citizens center this PM, a doctor gets up and speaks for him--she says Pell 'wrote the COLA legislation', sponsored--a militant cosponsor--of Medicare, responsible for the Older Americans Act, 'Democrats have given you everything you've got,' she told the elderly group--rather

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demeaning I thought. She tied Pell's interest to Aime Forand and Johnny Fogarty and their interest in health.

- I asked Mary Beth if her private polls told her any thing different from the public polls like Alpha. "Yes, he was never as far ahead as the public polls. He was never higher than the low fifties. We screen our voters very hard so that we have only key likely voters. He's always been a marginal candidate and he still is. (It's worst case analysis?) Yes, worst case is always the best."
- When did, if ever did you know, you had it; was there ever one big jump-up during the campaign? She reversed the question - "The debates were a major warning for us, of course. We were surprised that it didn't cost him any more than it did...we were surprised that she didn't go after him any harder than she did. She could have run a very different campaign. She could have roughed him up. That would have given us lots of trouble. There are alot of ways in which he can be roughed up. He ran with his faults showing. He even told a reporter that if he hadn't been running for reelection, he would have voted the other way on the budget. She never picked up on that. Why she didn't do it, I don't know. But it made it a lot easier for us."
- Rick, after that, said something similar. "If I had been her, I'd have hit him hard back before he decided to run, hit him on the differences between them. If they didn't work, you could always readjust...I think he could have been scared out of the race. I think he was ready to be scared out."
- At the dinner, Mitchell called him "beloved" and talked about peoples "affection" for Pell. Someone else called the election "an explosion of affection" for Pell. I said to Mary Beth "His favorables must have been extraordinary." She said "84% - I've never seen anything like it."
- Schneider did not turn out to be a tough, determined dogged fighter. Too volatile with staff and with TV - too many changes - not steady.
- A tortise and hare contest.
- "People do what's in their hearts and what they think is best for their states. You don't persuade anymore."
- He mused in the car later. He said, "I've just been thinking what she could do now--call me a homosexual? They tried that 12 years ago and it didn't work. People don't care. We have two right next door. Not that I am one. I'm not. But I'm trying to imagine what she could possibly do." Later that evening, we picked up the rumor that he was planning to resign! Maybe that was it.
- Back to Woonsocket interview re Senate. "One of the reasons I almost didn't run is because the Senate is run by an incredible archaic system where one or two people can block everything. When I come to work in the morning, I don't know what time I'll be home, at 6 or 11 o'clock. I have never voted against cloture in my life."
- I don't think Pell did anything of special interest in the Senate. What's

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interesting is how he got elected.

- He likes the Canadian health system - wants to make Rhode Island a model health state, with medical schools the brain, HMOs, the fingers and hospitals the heart or something like that.
- "One of my functions, is to get pork for Rhode Island. And I get criticized for spending too much time on Foreign Affairs."
- "I did some real soul-searching on the budget vote. But I know I did what people of Rhode Island wanted." Tom Hughes said they had a terrible time trying to decide what was hot politically and that the advantage was that since the House voted first, Schneider had to vote first and they could decide how to position themselves. Since Pell told a reporter he would have voted the other way if he wasn't running, we might assume that he voted the way he did because she voted that way and he didn't want to give her a "difference" to play up. Tom said, "If she had been an outsider, we would have had one hell of a time figuring out how to vote on that one."
- On Bush, "I know him and I like him personally...he has a slightly more adventurous, aggressive outlook than I'd like to see."
- "I'm not one of the great leaders. There aren't many real leaders. We're just doing our damndest by our lights."
- Keeps mentioning Frank Bellotti, who was ahead at end of polls and lost his lead.
- "It's like the man who dreamt he was making a splash in the Senate and found when he woke up that he was."
- "Polls are a snapshot and I have complicated pollster reports this thick. They go into all the ins and outs. They are very confusing. The only poll that counts is election day."
- Re Helms: "A courteous soul, but politically very difficult to work with."
- "Temperamentally, I'm not one of the 10 leaders or 5 leaders. I say, let other people have your way."
- "The last three times women have run against me. I'm not put off by that. That last two times I did very well."
- He told Breaux proudly that "my office in the federal building is the same one my predecessor had for 50 years. A Democrat has sat in that office for 50 years. The same is true of my office in Washington. That was Theodore Green's office, too!"
- He also told Breaux that the statue on top of the Capitol was the independent man. "That tradition and the tradition of Roger Williams have had a big impact on this state-for religious freedom and freedom of thought. We're a pretty independent lot."

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Pawtucket Times Interview with Jim (?) Baron

- "I'm not fooled by snapshots." (re polls which last night had him at 60%)
- "We have had a very clean campaign. Mine has been as positive as I can make it. I won't criticize hers. Both parties have done their best to keep clean. It's a philosophical matter for me. I think I made the right decision and I hope the results are favorable. I can understand her frustration. We have steered a very steady course."
- "Have you seen this? (Pell Record) It has been of immense help--a lot of good stuff in here."
- Highlights? "Let me give you two thoughts. As Al Smith said 'let's look at the record.' And as the philosopher, George Santayana said, 'Those who forget the lessons of history are condemned to repeat them.'"
- "My opponent says I'm a candidate of the past. But I'm a better candidate for the future because of the lessons I've learned."
- What am I most proud of--in cameo? Pell grants - good Rhode Island students - good for country - passed 15 years ago - increased 10 years ago (I think). National Endowment for Arts - high speed train. Sea grant colleges.
- "I used to be described as interested in seaweed and choo choo trains; but they have worked out to the benefit of Rhode Island."
- "There's a difference between a senior and a junior senator. A junior senator can be quite creative. A senior senator's main job is to nurture programs you started and act as a traffic cop, to nurture the programs you believe in and to gently derail others. I have always been guided by a seven-word slogan 'translate ideas ^{into} events and help people'. There is no better place to do this than the U.S. Senate."
- "The theme of the campaign is peace and jobs. In different years, different things are dominant, but always either one or the other."
- Which this year? "Both."
- "In either case, I believe I can be reasonably effective in what I do. In peace, I don't know whether you read the New York Times the other day. And we released a letter to the President emphasizing my idea that in the Middle East, the President shouldn't go in on an individual basis unless American lives have been lost or are in imminent danger, that we should consult with Congress or the UN."
- "He received that message when we all told him to go slow." Does Bush make you jittery? "A little."
- "There's no such thing as an embarrassing question, only an embarrassing answer."

- What would trigger interventions - ''depends...''. Pell thinks we should stay as long as necessary. Do you get any calls on this? ''Not many, although one day the phone was knocked off the hook. Four-fifths of the callers said 'take it easy'. ''
- ''Every campaign I've ever fought has been peace or jobs. On jobs, I'm particularly focussed on education. For 20 years I've been on the subcommittee on education...there are three great areas of the world---the pacific rim, North America and Europe, east and west. Which one will be dominant in the next century depends on education. Now, we won't be number one, unless we do a better job educating our citizens.'' Long discussion here.
- ''I've focussed on education. You can only focus on so many things.''
- The ESP question, ''I'm a great believer that we all have abilities that are not fully tapped...(physical) or you have mental ability, people who can absorb a page in 30 second...I come across people who have extra sensitivities and I'd like to find people who have the ability and develop that potential. It would be helpful to the community. I don't back away from it one bit. I've been laughed at before, but are things I've prided myself as being right. Twenty years from now, if I'm successful, it will stand beside the Sea Grants College and Pell Grants. I assure the people of Rhode Island that I have not neglected my other duties.''
- What about the ''Simone'' episode. ''I said that I thought this reverse communication was 'wacky' myself. He made an error in judgment writing to the Secretary of Defense. He is a solid fellow, and does NIMH OTA work. He is highly qualified. He's a Ph.D. with top secret clearance.''
- Q: If he had come to you first and said 'I'm going to send this letter to Secretary Cheney', what would you have said?
A: ''Don't...or, please don't.''
- Speaks about need for ''diversification'' by local industries. Wants Electric Boat Co. do research on underseas tankers, etc. Also Ratheon to do research. Gives Textron most praise.
- Re: small size of Rhode Island - ''70% of the population of Rhode Island live within seven miles of the Biltmore Hotel in the center of town.''