

BILL COHEN

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Relations with RR. "It's still the same. It's never been close. But I support what he's trying to do. I like him. Like anybody else, I get exasperated at times, like when he said he wouldn't be bound by the defense authorization in 1984 and 1985."

Was balance budget vote hard. "No, I knew how I wanted to vote. Politically, it was a lousy vote. I'm caught both ways. When I vote to cut the budget, I lose all the votes of the groups that want benefits--elderly, veterans, students, retirees. And then when I vote against the balanced budget I lose all the hard rock conservatives. It's a hard vote to explain to people in 40 seconds, as I found out after the vote--unless you demagogue it. And I'm not above that. So I did. I said it's a coverup for our own cowardice... And it is." "Actually, I'm sympathetic to the idea that we ought to restrain ourselves. But this is the first constitutional amendment to protect Congress from itself."

"That vote will put me right back where I started with a lot of people in Maine. They think of me as a far out liberal--because of Watergate and impeachment. For a lot of Conservatives and Republicans that's all they know of me. My image was fixed then. I've worked ever since to bring myself back into the middle. I now have the most conservative voting record in the Maine delegation. But that won't matter. This vote has put me right back out there on the left, standing all by myself."

"You can't win. I get so angry and frustrated at the flak you take.. I've been 110% for veterans. But just because I voted against one provision, now I'm anti veteran. I'm at the point where I'm ready to say the hell with it. This job isn't such a great job as you and I have spoken about it."

My ~~attack~~ attitude--the hell with it, I don't give a damn--is probably my death knell as a politician. But I'm ^{carrying} counting votes here and there just as I see them. The six year term gives me time to be a statesman till my fifth year. (smile)

Are you thinking campaign yet. "No, I'm not. And I won't till next year. I still have one more year before I think much about reelection."

He talked a lot about balanced budget. Might have voted yes if Gorton Rudman had passed. Proposed an amendment for the purpose of legislative history. A kind of we don't mean this, do we? No, 92-0.

*Indep
middle*
I showed him the voting chart from NJ. "That's just where I always said I was. On social issues of individual liberty like abortion I've always said I'm very liberal. On economic issues I'm somewhere in the middle. I don't vote against unemployment compensation, but I am fiscally conservative most of the time. And on foreign policy issues, I'm a hard rock."

I said he was contemplative and he said "introspective." I asked how it fit. "I'm afraid I'm getting trapped by the image I have of always reading. I'm not sure I like it. But I'm not sure I can do anything about it. People will say little things. We never see Cohen without the New York Times under his arm. I should mingle more and back slap more than I do. Do more visiting at lunch or dinner. And I'm trying to do that. But when I see what image I have and then others see that I see it and they see me changing, I may become a caricature. I don't want that to happen... There's a lot of interaction here--meetings, luncheons. And there's a lot of synergism there. But they are working sessions. There is no time to get away and think. I have to read and think or else I don't feel I've done anything with my day." If I had a hideaway somewhere, no

one would notice. But I have to read and think if I'm going to make decisions. I don't have that intuitive sense that some people have on the issues. I have to know them as deeply as I can.

Relatedly. "The book has helped me some. It's stood up better than people might have thought. Gorton and Rudman and Rudy Doschwitz read it. Their staffs read it. And I think they are keeping their own diaries now." Then he spoke of his new book.

"Things have been going well for me with regard to Maine. I've been able to help Maine and I have no apologies to make about that. Loving Air Force Base has been kept open--and it will stay open as long as I'm on the Armed Services Committee. Bath Iron Works has been doing very well and will probably get 3 billion worth of new business. That's because of something I did, taking out a restrictive provision that forbid them from bidding on the Aegis(?); I was able to save the clothespin industry in Maine for two years--600 jobs in one part of the state, the state has gotten 4 out of 5 of its EDA grants. We just got a new 7 million dollar plant for _____. On that front, things have gone very well for me."

"I'm frustrated at the Congress. We have accomplished so little. All we have done is wait. We wait till we pass the budget; then we wait till we pass the tax bill; we wait till we pass reconciliation. But we don't do anything inbetween. Maybe that's not all bad. But I can't justify what I'm doing with my life when all we do is wait. So I keep writing." That's when we moved into the contemplative question.

Is he a substantive senator? "I think I am. But it would depend on what other people think. When the defense bill was being debated on the floor an awful lot of people came up to me and said Bill, we know you are moderate and thoughtful on defense matters, what do you think? Not the older ones, but all the guys in my class and the younger ones came up. →

Even the hard liners said 'What do you think? We know you aren't a knee jerk in this field.' That was the test for me. It showed that people do think I'm thoughtful on defense matters. It was the same reputation I had in the House--that I'm moderate, thoughtful and have good judgment. So I'd say, yes, I do have that substantive reputation. Bill Bradley is getting that same kind of reputation. Paul Tsongas, Gary Hart, Sam Nunn."

Get along with Tower? Smile. "Oh yes I like Tower. He's a prisoner of his reputation, too, that he's very tough and wants to knock everyone down. He's actually soft underneath. Maybe if you were 5'4" and came from Texas, you'd compensate too. I've been able to reach the real human side of him. I crap on him a lot and kid him. But I agree with him on military policy. So the relationship is very easy."

Why don't you write a party manifesto. "What would I write. The party is where it wants to be--to the right. I'm in such a small minority in my party that a book would only be self serving. I would be justifying myself. I'd be hanging out there in a bottle...saying to myself what do I want to be? There would be no one to listen." Where the dots are was a long disquisition on the preface to the Wasteland.

On the balanced budget amendment. "I announced my position two days ago. I wasn't going to stand out there and take all that pressure. A few people came up to me and said 'Can't you...I shut them right off by saying, I declared my position two days ago. I'm committed. I didn't want to put up with any more flak. He didn't mention AWACS. But he must have been thinking AWACS.

"I do my best work in committee. That is best suited to my skills. I don't do a lot of talking on the floor. For example, on the amendment to allow military widows to share in their husbands pensions. I got that

through. Just between you and me Jepsen couldn't have carried that amendment. And maybe he wouldn't have even tried. The Navy Department and DOD was adamantly opposed to it. I went over there one day and turned some of their witnesses inside out. That is something I can do well--interrogate witnesses. I like to make speeches. But I don't speak on the floor unless it pertains to Maine or unless I hear something outrageous. That amendment the other night is something I wanted to talk about. I enjoyed that."