

BILL COHEN

January 3-5, 1982

Ted O'Meara, Ruby Bouchard, Becky _____, Bob Umphrey, Tim Woodcock,
Will _____.

I got to Portland about 6:30, checked in at Ramada Inn and Bill came in
about an hour later. We ate dinner together.

The topics we discussed were: Potholm, social life, AWACS, MX amendment,
social security amendment, tomorrow's schedule, his book (Garp).

"Have I seen you since AWACS?" "Yes, has it gone away or does it still
linger?" "It lingers. One nice thing that happened. I got an invitation
to a dinner party from Martin Agronsky. I hadn't talked to him for a year.
It was a party for the Israeli ambassador. I said yes and Agronsky said he
thought he agreed with my position on AWACS, but he said he disagreed with what
I said about anti-semitism. I said 'Did you read my speech? And he said, 'No.'
So I sent him a copy. At the dinner, he got up and made a public apology--with people
like the Ambassador and Joe Kraft and others there--saying that the reports that
I had mentioned anti-semitism were an example of very bad journalism. There
wasn't a word about anti-semitism in the speech. But articles have been written
about it all over the country, in Moment Magazine, saying that is what I said.
There is nothing I can ever do about it."

"But it was liberating in a way. It reminded me of how few real friends you
have in this life. There are very few people you can count on in politics. So
you had better just do what you want. The people in AIPAC come to me afterward
and asked me to write a letter to the President. I said who else is going to
join me. They said 'No one, just you.' And what do you want me to say to the
President?' 'Tell him what you think his mideast policy should be.' And I said, 'No,
never again will you get me to carry water for you. I stayed with you on everything

you asked for nine years. I built up nine years of credits with you--nine years of credit. And they weren't worth a thing. On that one vote, you turned against me. You are just like every other single issue group. You're no better than the moral majority, the gun control lobby and all the rest. It gave me a small pleasure to say 'No,' to tell that that from now on I'm going to do as I please."

491 Over time, there is continuous liberation, capture, liberation, recapture. It's a political theme. Nothing is forever. All kinds of and continuity them.

I aksed about Maine Jews. The people here are still hurt and disappointed. They won't forgive me either.... I think they have failed to perceive the change in attitude that has taken place in this country and in this administration. They will always see my vote as a sellout. That's just the way it will be--unfortunately."

He thinks, and I said, that they should have treasured someone like him who has an independent viewpoint and can serve as a bridge.

He went on to say that "My friends in Israel told me that the highest officials in the government wanted to lose the AWACS vote, by one or two votes. I know they wanted to lose--narrowly. But then government played it up back home as a great security question, which it wasn't. And once they turned on the domestic lobby here, they couldn't turn it off. The domestic lobby got tough, Reagan got touch. He wasn't going to back down. The result was that a lot of the things we had going with Israel were damaged."

"I was reading through the clips and Steve Gersttel of AP worte an article saying how Mark Andrews switched his vote and didn't make a speech and how Slade Gorton did, but how Bill Cohen spoke and rushed up to the press room to talk about it. Well, they were the ones that asked me up there to explain. He wrote

Russell Long told Baker in private that he would vote for it. But he hadn't. That's why Baker was in trouble. Long wouldn't tell him. But the ^{press} image will stay with me. And there's nothing I can do about it." He's always unhappy with the press treatment of him. I think people who live by the word, die by the word--and Bill lives by the word more than most Senators. He is, after all, a writer and a wordsmith. He complained about Gerstel again on the plane.

I asked him if his book had any impact. He laughed. "The Washington journalistic community crapped all over it. But in the Senate, it just lay there. Some of my friends read it and liked it. And I had no negative comments, none at all. I would say it had no impact whatever in the Senate." Said he had worked hard not to make it offensive to anyone. He said no one has pulled back from talking with him because of it. Now has worked on two more.

Chris Potholm - "He is absolutely brilliant. But he is also completely Machiavellian. He is the Prince. If you have a problem, he will tell you, without making any moral judgments at all, how you get from here to there--take it or leave it. He's an excellent adviser, but he's not a friend of mine. He couldn't be a friend because you never know what moves he is making... He likes to encourage the impression that he's more influential than he is--but we talk to each other all the time, when the truth is that we only see each other every so often... He is a brilliant pollster... But he is lucky to be able to lean on Tom Daffron. Tom is the steadying influence on the whole operation. During the campaign Chris was on Maalox the whole time, and he has a stomach like swiss cheese. He has no stomach for the financial side of the campaign, for instance." On the plane he said he used to think Chris would run for governor. And we talked about taking criticism and what people need to have to go into politics.

On socializing, I asked him about the people I travelled with. "I see Pete Domenici a lot in our policy meetings. I don't know him well.... He's

carved out a niche for himself and is doing very well." "I see David Pryor in the Government Affairs Committee. He has come into his own, I think, the last 7 or 8 months in terms of doing things." "I haven't passed 100 words with Paul Tsongas since I came to the Senate. He suffers from the same disadvantage as I do. He's not gregarious." "I like Mark Andrews. He's a big, salt of the earth guy." He thinks Glenn is straightforward person.

"I haven't made many friends in the Senate. Garry Hart is a friend and Joe Biden and Dale Bumpers on the Democratic side and John Tower on our side. I like him."

Said his MX amendment grew out of "an argument with John Tower. Nunn had amendment. Tower wanted to oppose it because Nunn was offering it. It came after the West Virginia caucus and Tower was treating it as partisan. And Tower wanted to "win one for the Gipper" Bill opposed MX or at least opposed hardened silo idea and wanted admin to pursue other options. He said he was going to put in own amendment. Worked with staff all night to get language he wanted. Nunn asked Bill to join him and Bill said no. Bill made speech in Policy Committee meeting saying Administration was really going in direction of his amendment and that they shouldn't go vs. the Nunn amendment just because Nunn was sponsoring it--that Nunn was serious about our defense etc. "WE shouldn't get into the business of voting on amendments because of who proposed them. If it were Metzenbaum or Moynihan, that would be one thing but this was Sam Nunn. He wouldn't be proposing the amendemtn if he weren't worried about national defense." Tower "saw what was happening" and suggested BC and Nunn get together and work something out--which they did. And they won 94-0. He said that it was the argument in the cloakroom with Tower, listened to by quite a lot of people, that got him to work on the amendment. It wasn't planned in advance--though he had made his skepticim re MX known beforehand. Especially

strong was his idea that MX had to be land based and mobile and that hardening silos was no improvement. He had questioned Weinberger on the latter.

"I have some expertise on defense. It's easy to get that on the Committee--especially on our side of the committee. It's not filled with heavyweights." He mentioned Tower and Warner as good (doesn't like Warner though) and Nunn and Hart.

He mentioned Washington monthly article and talked about Moynihan as being a big disappointment and not living up to expectations. "He won't get anything through, not so long as he's in the minority." They see him as demagoguing social security, entertaining but not serious." He'll come over and say to you 'You are right and I agree with you, but, of ocourse, I can't vote with you.' Why would anyone do that? I think people expected more of him, because he is smart. But he wants to be a cross between an academic and an Irish ~~pal~~. And that's all. He can't get anything through." Etc.

About tomorrow's meetings. "It's an effort to bring together the right official of the government and the people here who have been bitching and moaning about the government's actions for years--without success. We held a hearing in November. We had a good give and take session. I think the administration guys thought everyone would come, read prepared statements and go home. But it didn't work out that way. Afterwards, Brady called and said he'd do anything he could to help make the situation better. So we asked him to come up here and meet directly with the people involved."

"It's gotten a little political, now" he said. Brennan (Gov. of Maine) wanted to put 200.00 "inspection fee" on every truck carrying potatoes from Canada into U.S. Bill tried to talk him out of it, then tried to get him to delay while Brock's office looked into situation. Brennan went ahead but court has stopped him now. Bill sees that idea as unconstitutional imposition of tarriff by state.

He sees next sessions as partisan. Hard for him to balance desire to support Reagan against sense that administration doesn't have sense of equity - can't take more out of discretionary area. "I even advised him not to impose any sin taxes--on alcohol or cigarettes. The ordinary guy likes the cigarette break or the beer after work. If we impose taxes on those it will seem like we only care about the rich."

He talked about the rewriting of the social security 93-0 resolution he did, and he thinks bipartisanship was still possible then--in September.

He said he did not go around lining up votes for MX. He said it would be hard, next session, for me to find much of that. It raises question of how you get support for amendments.

"The Democrats will do everything they can to embarrass the administration. But the Republicans will do everyting they can to stop them. You'll see lots of tabling motions and substitute Republican amendments, if the ideas are good ones. Hart won't get anything passed. Glenn won't get anything passed. No one with presidential ambitions will get anything passed. And guys like Metzenbaum and Moynihan won't get anything passed no matter what. A few Republicans who are in trouble may have to go along with the Democrats. But no one will solicit their votes. Maybe there will be some interesting amendments this session, but not many."

Press Conference, January 4, 1982

Nine reporters, 2 TVs - "a little larger than most" Bill said later.
Mostly Portland people.

Question - What will deficit be? No new taxes, expectations grew too fast re last year's events takes time" "when something didn't happen in 3 weeks, people said let's change" "should have prepared people...won't get better in one month, two months, or six months. Expectations were raised "went too far in House to get support of bollweevils" "Reaganomics is in fact far different from what President wanted". "Greed did take over" as Stockman SAID. "We can either have more reductions and I don't think it's fair to take more out of discretionary part of budget."

Question - "If president asks for reductions, what will Senate do" "some entitlement cuts, some little defense cuts, no across the board cuts.

Question - How will social security bill be affected? Interfund borrowing in short run; opportunity lost to deal with long term problem when President tried to do it on short notice. "There was a bipartisan consensus developing that something has to be done. That has since been postponed. I think, frankly we should have gone ahead...we've lost a year."

Question - Will IRA relieve pressure on social security? Mostly it was effort to "rekindle the notion of saving for the future. We have been going through Tofflers future shock for some time seeking instant gratification instead of postponing it."

Question - Any tips for other walking campaigns? "My preference is to walk in summer months when there is traffic on the roads and you can stop and talk to people. David is enduring trial by ordeal. It shows how dedicated he is and commend him for it." Safety factor a problem in bad weather.

Question - Do you plan to campaign for Emery? Anything he asks - fund raisers,

joint appearances. "One does not transfer his or her popularity as lack of popularity. I found that out in straw convention... If you can generate enthusiasm that is a help, but I do not think you change any votes."

Question - will it hurt your relationships with Mitchell? "We work well together and nothing that involves Maine will be affected at all...Mitchell is "wise in the ways of politics and understands my commitment to the Republican party."

Question - 1st district politics - "I have not involved myself to date."

Brady arrives at this point:

Cohen: "It stems out of a hearing I held in Washington to try to bring to attention people in Washington serious and legitimate complaints of people who are forced to compete in an unfair situation. For 9 years I have heard of unfair competitive situation. We adhere to free market. By contrast Canada aggressively subsidizes its small industries. "We are forced to run 100 yard dash except that we start 40 yards behind."

Commerce opposed 200 mile limit, and lobsters are creatures of continental shelf - history of trouble getting help.

"We have been referred over the years to stationary limits" and he points out differences in complying with these."

"To date these complaints have been met with virtual indifference. I found out in a hearing that many of our officials were unaware of the extent to which Canada assists its industries." 8B a year to aid business. 6B of direct support to fishermen and farmers. ABC document "what I do find fault with is our almost calculated indifference to the fact that we are forced to compete in an unfair environment."

A State department document tells us of extent to which Canada subsidizes.

"Mr. Brady was impressed with the quality of testimony. He offered to come to Maine to help... So far the relationship has been on adversarial relationship in which the burden of proof has been put on our small industries ...who go through a series of revolving doors."

"Attitude in Commerce is this bunch of people up in Maine involved in parochial matters. Let's stay out of it." "Question now is what can be done?"

(1) Keep statistics

(2) Examine subsidies and must put burden on the industries here

(3) Institute an investigation at expense of federal government

(4) Most important is change of attitude. "There should be no exaggerated expectations... It involves many states... I believe the most heartening response would be a change of attitude and frankly I had not seen it until Mr. Brady's response to the Hearing in November."

Introduces Brady of Commerce Department - Brady 2 comments. Has been

of Commerce - Jurisdiction used to be in Treasury. "Since Jan. 20th to be frank, we have looked at these problems in a new way." "We are going to make some headway in finding out what the facts are." Working in lumber industry - "across the board review." "I think we are making headway. I agree bureaucracy has been slow in reacting. The problem runs to the matter of our ability to compete in world markets... We are going to permit American industry to compete fairly and not have our industry to compete unfairly." "We are here to find out what problems are. There's a dichotomy between book information and what happens day to day. And that's why we're here today."

Cohen says -They have ignored the complaints and dismissed them as bellyaching by people in a small part of the country." Coehn goes on at some length.

Question to Brady - "Do we need change in laws or can it be done administratively. We need "a change in regulations... (Give example) hard to answer...

Cohen "Let me give you a better example... Where group is required to show "causal connection" between subsidy and your business. I think you should have to show subsidy and material injury...no causal connection....

"As said When you find a in the milk you don't have to go further than that." Response to "One thing speaks for itself."

Question - How can you justify adjustment assistance and free trade?
Cohen answers the question. "To extent you allow industries to be crippled, how long do you let that continue till you have no dairy farmers, no shoe fashions, no fishermen and all the product comes from outside under a monopolistic price... They need export subsidies to make Maine products competitive....

"I don't want to see the total failure of fishing and farming which have been traditional sources of strength in our economy."

"I'm not critical of Canadians... what I am critical of is that we have turned a blind eye and said, let our industries go under... You need to maintain a balance between two cooperative nations."

Brady "There are real costs in dealing with subsidized imports--unemployment compensation.

Question - I don't have a YND but I'd like to ask a question... How long is it going to be before we see something concrete.. How long, what will we see and when?

Brady - "Within a 6 month period we would come to grips with a couple of the major problems we have--lumber and potatoes. At least we'll have the information... A larger part of the problem is attitudinal. If federal government is willing to help small industries we can make some gains... Toward mid year, I should hope we would have some progress."

Cohen - "It's not a Maine vs. Canada problem. If it is perceived that way, we won't get anywhere. Oregon, Michigan, Vermont have a similar problem... There is a commonality of interest here. It's a national problem."

Question - "You're not talking about action till overviews are completed?"
"Yes, that's correct." We can't act until we get information."

Question - "Ineffecient marketing techniques... Can you help?"

Brady: The impression I'm trying to convey to you today is that we won't say..we've done everything we can in Commerce, you go to Agriculture. We will bring in Department of Agriculture and say to them this is what you should do. We want out in a typically bureaucratic way."

Question - What did you do about decision on shoe imports. Answer -
That was not done in my department! (laughter)

BC - "I can't say let these industries go. I won't say it... I have found two people, Mr. Kiefer in Brock's office and Mr. Brady in Commerce - I take what I can and I have some ready willing and able ears here... Whenever I take action in hearings or on the floor, I get a call from the Canadians to fly to Toronto and explain what I'm doing to devastate their industries. So it has a salutary impact just that we are doing what we are doing."

At lunch - "Isn't that Stan Kelling something? He's a very intimidating person. You should see him when he's working down on the docks. He is one big man." He's the guy who cussed and left the meetings early.

Airport Conference - Ed Bradley is fisherman's lawyer. Bill says to fishermen early before Brady comes in. "For the first time, I think we have a sympathetic ear. Mr. Brady is 1st one to say to us 'You have a legitimate complaint. What can I do to help'."

Fish: "I'm fishing hard weather. Haddock is 1.25 in Boston. By the time we get in, the Canadians are in there with their fish and Haddock is down to 1.00... It cost me 100,000 a year with my 3 boats. It's ruining us."

He wants Canadians to declare what kind of fish they have and where it is going--destination so Maine fishermen can react.

Two uses of Canadian fish - round fish and blocks - round fish have bellies left on them.

"We're out today. We fish the bad weather so we can make the bucks."

"Today the price will be good. Tomorrow that price will be trucked down, trucked down from Canada."

"We're competing with a subsidized fleet. They have a free ferry boat. Suppose they nationalize the fishing industry. What will we do then?"

"You are not listening to a bunch of whining people sitting back on their duffs doing nothing. You are looking at people Bill Cohen invited in here to talk to you. We are going to have a booming industry in New England, but if we don't solve this fishing problem, we could all go down."

Brady. "We want to sit down and work through anything you want to work through. We need information like the free ferry. That's the kind of thing we can't know."

"When they come into this ocuntry, we have to know what species are coming into the country. We could be working on codfish and could shift to something else. "These dumping situations are killing us... When you are getting 25¢ fish, and business dollar with 5 men on the boat... In another 2 months they'll have us on our knees again."

Talk re difference between dumping and subsidies.

"If four major companies lose 1 million dollars and the government is thinking of nationalizing the industry, something is wrong somewhere, isn't it."

"You could be creative conceptually in telling us what to do... If we're going to go forward we're going to need a lot of help in terms of

the conceptualization that that will tell us what we need to present our situation to you." "You'll never understand our industry just sitting there in Washington."

They talk about how you win before ITC - how to make case for unfair trade practices. ITC not sympathetic to idea that you could have made more except for import competition - can't prove "material injury." Commerce guy discusses ITC decision making practices. Some information has to come from industry itself and hence fishermen have to survey self.

"They sent a very earnest young man and I sat down with him to help. The guy walked in out of nowhere out of the snowstorm with some forms. (Like you did today!) He had no feeling for what we were trying to do. If we thought we had a sensitive ear we could get the information for you."

Commerce guy says get forms from ITC and get someone you trust to work on them.

"That will cost us dearly if our board has to do that... Unless we have sense that the government is going to make it possible for us to do it without a 100,000 DC law firm costs, we aren't going to do it.... This system doesn't work for us. I know it's our problem, but..."

Cohen - "Can we get a study on fishing "like the ones in lumber."
"These people can't sit down in Boston and keep statistics"...

This guy's boat takes every kind of ground fish and scallops and so does his boat and his boat. Can't separate the two and yet Commerce wants them to.

Big guy with plaid lumber jacket, beard, and blue cap, i.e. Stan Kelly -
"I want to tell you something. I have put up with a lot of horse shit from the Commerce Department for years. Thank God for BC - I'm glad we've got a sympathetic ear here today. We may get something done for fish and lumber people who are the backbone of this GD country... They get overruled

by the Commerce Department in every nickel and dime situation, for Christ's sake. We've been beat on for too long. I'm glad to see the lumber people here today. And I've got to go."

City of Portland guy speaks.

Bill again makes point that burden of proof should be changed.

Brady: Are you willing to go through with an anti dumping, countervailing duty action.

Answer: Would it help us to get together as a group of first belt industries.

Commerce guy says no--need to do it on industry by industry basis if you bring countervailing duty action.

Fisherman want commitment from someone "at the working level in the Department " that is available to us before we go through with this. Brady "You have that commitment." "I will get back to you and tell you who that is."

80% of Canadian market is in U.S.

Maine Lobersterman's Association speaks - complains about lobster problem. Canadians have much better access to market now - people losing money. "It's like being in a big poker game. We're in it with our boats and our farms and everything we've got. Those are the chips we have thrown in. The Canadians are playing with house money. How can you beat them when they are playing with house money... We don't want all these subsidies that the Canadians have."

Cohen: "It's not going to be business as usual. You have an agreement that you will have a point man... The most important thing is the establishment of attitudinal change. We aren't out to break the Canadians' back but we aren't going to let them break ours... If we take action to show we are serious about it, perhaps the Canadians will be more cooperative. Perhaps

the best thing that happened with the hearing was that the Canadians were concerned about what we were doing."

"We've been too easy with them."

Fisherman Ed Bradley - "That hearing for me put it in the picture of regional economics and not just a good neighbor problem."

Coehn "The government has not been tough with little interests. It has been tough with steel but not with shoes. It's the difference between big interests and little interests."

"Our government's interest is biological to see that fish are OK. The Canadians emphasize economic development... That puts us at a tremendous disadvantage... They told us, in Portland that we are going to take over 35% of your industry. He said it matter of fact. And that's just what they've done."

Comm: How many jobs involved?

"The coast would collapse - it's not just boats, it's the suppliers of boats and processors. We added 1500 jobs once just because we found a new scallop bed."

"Where does it stop? When they nationalize and we go out of business? That's what it looks like to me."

Cohen: "The thing we need, as you say, Larry, is an overview. These people can't do that. They have to fish and make a living. If you can help them to collect the information they need, to go countervailing duty or whatever, how to get if you can provide a point man then we're a lot better off than we were when Peter and I used to meet in his kitchen."

"You tell us what kernel of information would be most helpful to you, we'll get it for you."

"For someone in a business our size it's almost impossible to find the money (to file a petition) no matter how beneficial the results might be."

Brady: "If you do proceed with countervailing or d action, it would be our duty to calculate what the benefit of the subsidies are. The question will be before the ITC finding out what injury is... The Department is prepared to work closely with you to come to groups with what should be in the petition."

A problem which came up is whether we could get from customs and census to the information species coming in to the county. We have data on imports, but it can't be made public.

Bill makes point he's made before. How can we determine which of the multi subsidies is responsible for which injury. (I think you have a small industry caught in complex procedure, one that hasn't got resources to cope-- or even to proceed."

"They give us a hard time. We don't give them a hard time. These things could put pressure on them."

Then the wood products people take over - "our problems similate (sic) the problems of fishing industry."

"We're a little company in Jackman Maine competing with a company supported by Canada." Long list of subsidies - worst is exchange rate - "our productivity is such that on head to head basis, we can compete." The exchange rate means that "we are operating at a slight loss, they are operating at a slight profit."

"There's no way we can run our company and fill out all these forms--(to proceed with anti-dumping petition).

"We're not here asking for subsidies... I'm a little bit surprised that you may not feel you are asking the wrong questions."

Brady tells 'em to contact ITC man doing the economic overview of lumber industry to make sure that Northeast "is well taken care of in that study."

Coehn: "Once we have the information then you can go ahead with your proceeding. The difference is that government is doing what they should be doing. You know what the problem is but up to now the problem is you couldn't prove it... The very institution of these proceedings will have a sobering impact on the Canadian government, because up to this point, we have done nothing."

"The State Department has no interest in seeing these proceedings to forward. And the Commerce Department has had no interest in seeing them go forward... If nothing happened, people will take matters into their own hands. It's happened before in the potato industry and it may in the fishing industry. When people's livelihood is concerned they will do what they have to do... Let's face it the state department will never change. They don't want anything to change our relations... I hope we can have a moderating effect, that's all we can hope for, for the Canadians to ease back... "What we've got is a little window of light here."

Re Brennan. "I had grave doubts about the constitutionality of it... I didn't want that... What's the point of doing that if it won't work, except to pacify contemporary sentiment."

Fish. "You have to hit em on number of levels."

Cohen talks about how he fought for provision in Ag. Bill that they could use export subsidies for potatoes. "They aggressively go out to promote their fishing industry. We say there are those people up in Maine making trouble." He tells of how threat of filibuster on treaties with Canada caused Reagan to withdraw treaty. "You should have heard the cursing and fighting behind

rain and then rain. And the storm was moving up north to Bangor and Presque Isle so Bill called off the trip and the meeting was leisurely. It began at 10:00 and ended at 12:30. By that time it was raining hard and it rained hard all day--turning today's snow and last week's heavy snow fall into rivers of water that ran in torrents in the gutters and streets. We went to lunch in downtown Portland--Bill, Ted and 3 staffers. We went back to office and I spent the afternoon looking at clips and talking to the staffers--esp.

William . Becky took me back to the Ramada Inn, Ted picked me up at 6:00. Ted, his wife Patsy, Bill and I ate at Burger King and went to see "Sharkey's Machine."

In Burger King, a guy came in and said as he walked by, "What's a United States Senator doing in a dump like this." Bill smiled and said nothing. "The answer would be, 'what are you doing in a dump like this' but the only answer in this situation is silence." Later he went over to the man and said "And I'm going to the movies too." The man told him he was hanging around because his son was out back mopping the floor.

Patsy asked Bill who most witty people were: Dole, Moynihan and Bumpers, he said. They asked him about best speakers. He said Baker, Bumpers, Moynihan. He said Hart was good in committee but not debate. They talked about Hart--who is the person he seems to like most. "He's so serious minded. He's always in motion, going somewhere, working on something. He's such a hard worker."

I asked him if he had met with Brady beforehand to learn what he might say. "No. I had no idea what he would say when he got here. But I felt that in a meeting like that, with peer pressure operating, he might give a little more than he would if I went to him beforehand and asked him. If he had said, then, that he would give nothing, then we would have been stuck with that answer. The big breakthrough was the fact that he agreed to come."

Tom and Will both see this trip by Brady as a change of direction and they emphasized that "the ball is now in our court." They have to follow-up to see that the momentum is maintained, that Brady doesn't forget or fall away, that every promise made is carried out, etc. They put great stress on their follow through. Otherwise, nothing will happen. Will was hired, he said, specifically to set the original hearing up, and the follow through. He's a JD from Maine, with an MA in resource management from State of Washington, I think, who worked for EPA and was brought on by Bill. I think all these guys are Maine people. Ruby is from Aroostock. She started April of 79. Becky was with campaign, worked as Tom's Ass't in DC for a year and is back in Portland now as caseworker. I have a feeling the office is pretty heavy with Maine people.

"I thought the press conference was nice and easy... Clark Irwin is the toughest because he is so conservative. A George Will type. But there were no hard questions."

Lots of Emery talk - Thought his world was "brave and stupid." He's a big blob but people look at him and say, 'He's Maine.'

Cohen Clippings - AWACS (10/16/81) Brunswick Time and Record - Paul Managhan.

Cohen casts only Republican vote in AS Committee vs AWACS - And he did so 24 hours after meeting with Reagan. Vote was 10-5. Met for 1/2 hour with Reagan day before. BC describes meetings as "candid informal and extremely friendly... no extraordinary arm twisting; no such promises entreaties or intimidations." "It was an important meeting. He does have quite a bit on the line on this one. Frankly, I'll continue to meet with him should he deem it desirable."

Bill came in at this point and described meeting--which was the joint one, as he recalled it. But article was about one on one--or so I thought. President made a pitch "If I can't carry the Republican Senate, what can I say to Schmidt." He was very impressive and his argument made a lot of sense. Then Haig spoke...a little too melodramatic for me. Tower and Percy each made a pitch. Frankly, Packwood was not veryimpressive that day. Someone said 'Bob, that makes a lot of sense to me, what do you say?' He said 'All I can tell you is that the Egyptians will putt out of the peace process in 6 months. And he sat down. Everybody kind of sat back and said to themselves 'You've got to do better than that.' On the way out Deaver said to me 'I don't suppose there's any chance you can go along with this' I said, 'yes there is, if certain things are taken care of. But right now I can't go along.' He said 'If you ever want to talk to the boss, let me know.' A lot of the guys thought it was pretty heavy handed. Well, all I can say is they haven't been around very long. I've been to a lot of those things and I've seen 'em get you in the back room and line you up against the wall."

"About that time, I began to get calls from Israle. My friend in Israeli intelligence called and--in code--said he wanted me to know there was a second opinion that they were worried about the British getting in and that they had gone too far and that Begin was too far out--and that I should get in

touch with 'our mutual friend' (the Israeli ambassador). Efron came to see me. I said 'I know what the party line is and I don't want to talk about it. Tell me what would make it better if you do lose. He pulled out a list of things. He was all prepared. He said "Our position is that we're against it.' I said I know, I just want to know what will make it better. I took the list to the White House and they said this and this are double. Then Haig agreed.... At this point Bill went to answer a call from Gary Hart.

I asked Bill if he was disappointed about not getting to Presque Isle. "Yes I am. I haven't been up there in some time. I wanted to get up there and give them some momentum. They get very antsy up there, feeling that they are cut off and nobody comes to see them. The storm only reminds them how hard it is for people to get there. That two lane road from Houlton is a terrible drive. We'll go back there in two weeks." He and the staff had been talking about that ever since the weather forced him to cancel. Bob suggested they hold a meeting in Bangor in 'weeks. "You could fly in and out in one day. They could drive down from Presque Isle." "No, it's symbolic with them. They feel cut off and they want you to come up there to meet them there. We'll go to Presque Isle." A good difference of perspective between staff (Bob lived in Aroostock once) and Senator.

AWACS chosen as one of top 10 Maine stories of 1981 - Cohen's vote, that is. Maine's population is 53% rural and 47% rural. ?

I asked Bill what he said to people after meeting about Senate and House. "I told them that even as a minority member of the Senate you can do things you can't in the House. We were able to get the two treaties--on boundary dispute and fishing--separated. They had it set up so that the Canadians would have fishing rights in perpetuity. Carter couldn't send them up because he knew we were going to raise hell and filibuster it.. And I could go to Jesse and

get him to help out with export subsidies. I didn't even get a quid pro quo from him. I said I can't vote with you on tobacco subsidies, that we don't have subsidies in Maine, but that we need help. He said, I understand..."

At lunch, he said that he voted vs. tobacco subsidies but that he voted with Helms on a closer vote to note to change the formula. "I told him I would vote vs him on subsidies, but with him on the formula."

I asked him if he could get Brady here if he were in the House. "Yes I could, but it would be more difficult... They do more for you as a Senator because you are one of only a hundred. In the House, they can make it up somewhere else pretty easily. It's not that they respect you more. It's just that they understand the numbers."

At lunch, he asked me what I thought was most interesting about the meeting with Brady. I said, first, it was a good example of the links between home and Washington--that a Washington hearings should lead to a home activity and second I said the mismatch between the fishermen and the big department of Commerce, whose procedures were not calibrated to fit the problems of fishermen. I said I marveled at how the fishermen even survived; that I understood there's great frustration in dealing with the gov't--that it was their gov't and it should help them.

"That's a two edged sword," he said. "They want the government to help but they don't want the government looking at their income tax. They don't want the government in there at all when it comes to revealing how much money they lost. That's a private thing. They do want help; but they don't want subsidies. They want their independence." And Ted chimed in and said "If they had to choose between subsidies to save them and their independence, they'd go down with their independence any day." Bill agreed.

Bill said "The most interesting thing I found was that when you get those

people in a closed meeting, they are very reasonable. The fishermen acted in a very calm manner and we accomplished some things. But if this had been an open meeting, there would have been fireworks and demands and rhetoric and nothing would have gotten done. I know I've tried it both ways."

Ted told me later that the lumbermen didn't want to come to the meeting and didn't (except the one guy) because they all own Canadian land and are really multinationals.

Tuesday - January 5, 1982

Vets breakfast - Stirling , Doug , 44,000 Viet Nam Vets; 16,000 combat veteran.

Stirling - "When I was 18 years old, I could order in an air strike that cost 200,000. And nobody said there wasn't enough money. Now we are asking for something to help disabled veterans--including post traumatic stress, and all we hear is budgets."

Half way house with tax shelter status--in a rural setting.

"We get a guy to come in to peer group rap sessions--he comes out of the woods where he is hiding--he comes to 6 or 9 sessions, talking about his problems--you get him to point A and there's no place to go. We can't get him to point B."

"I'll talk to Dole and we'll see what we can get through--almost sneak through--about tax shelter station. That's No. 1 on my agenda. What else? You want some kind of program that separates out Viet Nam veterans. Problem with federal legislation is that you have to make it nationwide--you can't do something just for Maine. Let me see what I can do about 2 problems. Don't overwhelm me with too many things, or I'll do nothing... If you get a letter on tax status, you think you can get the money. Then you'll need to get the farm house."

He speculated afterwards that Doug was "more screwed up than Stirling and sounded like he came from wealth." Some idea that he was from jet set of Maine up by Sugarbush. Stirling had arm nearly severed in V.N. and "went around for a while with his arm in his pocket." "very intelligent person."

On way to Gardiner, he said "The junior high is a tough group to talk to. You don't know what they are interested in. By high school, you know they are being taught civics at least... And the early grades are easy. They just want

to see you. College students are the worst because they are so cynical. And they put a liberal cast to everything. I can see it with Kevin. He's reading 'The Best and the Brightest.' And he challenges me on a lot of things."

Talk to Regional Junior High School Guym in Gardiner - town of 7100 people - Band plays, pledge of allegiance, Bill talks.

Waiting - Don Brown of ABK says "You have a very solid man to follow. I always tell people if they haven't met Senator Cohen they are in for a treat. He's the kind of person who in my group stands a little higher than all the rest. Of course he distinguished himself in the Watergate hearings, which gave him the kind of national publicity anyone needs to get ahead in the system." He's going to save his tape for me.

He started his talk by asking how many students knew what they wanted to do with their lives. About 20-25 raised hands. (Ted leaned over and said "That's a higher percentage than on our staff!) He went on to say that he didn't know that he wanted to go into politics till he was 32.

AWACS "controversial sale that put me in the middle of things in Washington...both sides had exaggerated the importance of the sale... I came to the conclusion that the AWACS was not as serious a threat to Israel--that the real threat was symbolic--I also became convinced that the British Nimrod was a greater threat to Israel. They have no commitment to Israel's security and no strategic alliance with them... The British want to establish an Arab policy... These were people in Israel who did not want the British to have more influence in Israel...."

Will there be WWII? "Who's the biggest guy in the class? (Then point him out) How many of you could walk up and take a swing at that fellow over there? (A number of hands go up) I don't believe it."

At end, he told students "This group has asked the best questions of any junior high school I have ever visited." And walking to car he said "Most high schools don't ask as good questions as they did." Then in the car a little later he mused. 'Should we have gone into Viet Nam or not' That's a tough question."

Kids asked a lot about military questions and terrorism related questions-- foreign policy and military policy mostly. One on acid rain. None on economy. None on energy.

Bill asked me what I found interesting in the clips. I mentioned Mikd D'Antonio's article that he had expertise in defense and asked if he had "carved out a niche in the defense area." "A little one. I know more about defense than most Senators. And to that extent I'm an expert. But there is so much to know. I understand something about sea power; I know something about manpower problems; and I know a smattering about strategic systems from having gone through SALT. But there is so much to know. But I do think people feel that I know something about defense and that they think of me as an expert. That has two effects. First, it makes you want to be more of an expert, to learn more. So it has a reenforcing effect. Secondly, it gives you more weight in defense matters than most other Senators... By being on the Committee you are surrounded by experts. You have access to more expertise than you can use. You should meet _____. He knows everything about the Navy, enough to tell you, when the navy is testifying that 'that's bullshit. They are lying. Or _____. He is a brilliant person on strategic problems. These people will give you all the expertise you need... It's like cramming for a final exam in a course the night before. You become an expert for a day--so much of an expert that you can take on the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on that day. But you can't keep it up or keep up with it. The system is too

complex. And you have three other committees to go to... Expertise is all relative. And I do have some in that sense.'

Re Jones the Chief of the Joint Chiefs. "He and I have a loathing for each other. We don't speak to each other. I don't think he's very smart. But worse than that, I think he's deceitful; he's downright dishonest."

Also on way to Gardiner, he prophesized re Mel Leary, a reporter we would meet. "He'll ask me about Richard Allen, the economy, Chancellor Schmidt's visit to Washington--all the current events. 'Senator, now that Richard Allen has been fired...' 'Senator, you said yesterday about taxes...' He'll call Bob Ryrer and tell him that he wants to ask me just two questions and he'll get me on ask a third question that comes from the back page of the Wall Street Journal. He loves to try and stump me. You wait and see if I'm not right." After the interview, the first thing he said to me was 'Well 3 out of 4 ain't bad.' These guys get to know reporters so well they know what they are going to ask.

Camp
Ted talked about the 1984 campaign. I asked him who was thinking about it. He said Tom was, he was. 'We sent out a letter to all the people who gave 1000 or more last time telling them that even though we weren't running, we needed a small kitty to do certain things--hold meetings, for instance. Maine is a small state; and there are so many people who have a claim on their money this year that it wouldn't be wise or productive to ask them to help us. But as soon as the 1982 elections are over, we'll have a solo shot to 1984. Ted knows campaigning. He managed Olymia Snowe's 1980 campaign.

A flap that ran all afternoon had to do with a scheduled interview and "drop in" at WGAN later in afternoon. As the Lewiston office open house drew to a close Bill told Ted to call Bob Tyrer who had set it up and tell him that he wasn't going to make it and for Bob to call WGAN, Channel 13 and cancel it.

Ted called Bob and I listened. Bob kept saying he had to and then Tom Daffron got on to say same thing. Ted was saying 'I've been over it with him three times and he's not going to do it... What do you mean he has to go.' All I know is that he says he won't go. He wants to go back to the motel and work on his speech for tonight. He says they covered me yesterday and they can cover me tonight... I told him that the interview was secondary, that the real purpose was for him to stop by and say hello to them on their territory. I told him he will be doing something for someone who has never been especially good to him. I told him they say they never see him out there... It's the old problem of the difference between the mother ship and the field office. OK, why don't you call me at our next stop and I'll see what I can do." We go to Quimco fabrics, Ted has another talk with the home office and says to me "Tyrer still hasn't cancelled the appointment. My ass will be in a sling with those people at WGAN." Then Bill came in, Ted tells him and Bill says "I'm not going to do it. You call Tyrer and tell him to cancel that appointment. He pisses me off sometimes. And you can tell him he's fired." We get in the car and there is silence for 5 minutes. Then he says "stop and call Becky and ask her to get the staff over to the TV station and we'll meet her there. And when I get to Washington I'll tell Tyrer if he ever does this to me again, he's through... We won't go to the social hour tonight either. We'll go at 7:15 and just eat and then I'll speak." Ted stops and goes in store to call Becky and Bill says "Sometimes I think I'm working for my staff." I said "Sometimes you are." That was it. He did the interviews, he had longish social chat with the News Director of WGAN. Ted came out and said "Good, they are talking away. Tyrer knew Bill would do it. He knows Bill well enough to know he would. This station has not bent over backwards to be nice to us. They are arrogant and feel that 'you need us more than we need you.' It's true, too. As Tom told me over the phone, 'we can send 20 press releases

to the Portland Press Herald and they won't be worth one spot on the evening news on Channel 13.' Bill has 200,000 people to reach in this city and this is the only way to reach them. They'll know he was around today." When Ted picked us up to go to the Bar Assoc. speech Bill got in car and said "Has Tyrer scheduled anymore appearances for me tonight?" That was it. Ted said he had been talking to the Washington office.

Bob Tyrer started as a volunteer--heard Bill on TV or something in midwest somewhere. Worked in DC - managed Bangor office - went back to DC after Bright and then Mel Brenner ('he never clicked') left as press ecretaries

Speech to Cumberland Bar on rule of law - ought to speak up about our values at this particular time. Used to think too many laws--then went to potato regulations re children - "rule of law was nullified by unseen, unelected and unaccountable." We see "contempt for rule of law" - hearings "on chop shops in Senate - little risk of being caught or prosecuted or convicted or seeing long sentence. ver profitable and so you get "socialization of crime" - same in medicaid medicare - workman's comp. - cocaine and drug 7B industry - "rule of law has become meaningingless under the blind eye of indifference." move to day court's jurisdiction on prayer, bussing, abortion - there are time honored ways of dealing with these problems - process as imp. as substance - not enough to agree with aim - must save process - process is as imp. as substance.

"A frequent recurrence to the principles if liberty is necessary."...
(Franklin's)

ends with praise of lawyers "If you don't strike oil in 3 minutes, stop boring."

"It's the set of and not that determines which way
you go.

On the way to the speech "The Cumberland Bar Assoc. has the smartest lawyers in Maine and also the most arrogant. I don't know why I said I'd do it. Dick Hughes asked me, I guess... I won't make any converts. Those that are for me will stay for me, those who are not will not change."

As it turned out, he had been trying out parts of his speech during the day--even at the junior high schools and in the car. He wants someone to speak out on these themes. "No one is speaking out on these things" he said in the car afterward and we talked about abortion all the way home. "I don't know whether it's the right position or not" he said several times. Maybe the pro-abortion position does denigrate human life he feels. But he thinks Republicans who said rail against the hand of government on their business of are hypocrites when they want to put the hand of government "in the bowels of a woman". He says that he has tried to find some middle ground but "There is no way you can compromise. It's yes or no. So I have stopped talking about it. I've just taken my position. But I'm not sure it's the right one. Politically, the trouble is that the women who are for you aren't organized. And those who are, you don't want with you." He knows that these matters will be coming up "with a vengeance" next session and he wants to speak out in a general way. (Like M.C. Smith and the voice of conscience I say--not he) "They print my picture in their paper with the caption 'Herod' over it."-- he said of some anti abortion group. I don't know why he wants to speak out on this issue except that he really sees it as part of a larger indifference to "process" of law. He worried that the Pastor Niemuegger story was too extreme, since it grew out of the Nazi experience. He may just feel very strongly about this matter of civil rights and due process. After all, that was related to his Watergate experience as well as to his legal training.

Off and on he talked about parts of Maine. At Burger King

someone said "Were you worried that you might not get to Presque Isle?" And he said "I was worried that I might have to stay." I said "Let me write that down." And he said "off the record." Then he added. "I would have had to go dancing at Gettys."

On way to Gardiner, he said, "Dave Emery has a better day to walk. But can you imagine walking today with all this sand being kicked up on the highway?.. I don't know why he's walking in the most Republican territory there is in the state. But if anyone meets him they'll love him. He talks just like they do... I took him and introduced him to people in the St. Johns Valley. I said, don't take any photographs or media with you the first time, come on slowly, don't talk too much and try to cut your accent a little. Those people aren't used to the accent. It may be Maine to the people in the east coast, but it's not Maine to them--they are all French Canadians. He did very well. The only problem was hi saccent. People came to me and said "He doesn't talk like he comes from Maine..." The only problem I had campaigning up there was that people expect you to drink too much. They are insulted if you don't drink with them... About Dave's accent, people in Congress say to me, 'How come you don't talk like Dave Emery? That's the way Maine people are supposed to talk."

*re
talk*

He talked about York County. "I want to open an office in York County. I have problems down there. The area is oriented to Boston. Everything pulls their attention away from Maine and toward Boston; nothing pulls them the other way. I haven't spent as much time down there as I should have." like Culver and western Iowa."

On the way to Lewiston, he said "The Republicans are in such a tiny minority in that town. They are so bitter they won't walk on the same side of the street as the Democrats. I have cultivated the Democrats there ever since I ran the first time. I got to their events, stay in their homes, help them in every way I can. The Republicans don't like it; but I can't win

without that Democratic support. Lil Cron, the former mayor, came out for me in my Senate race and she is now the head of my office there."

As it turned out, he was met by a delegation of Republican women. "They louldn't let Lil into the room when they talked with me. They said she should changer her party. They said I shouldn't appoint a Democrat to that job. I said 'She support me in the election.' They said, 'And you are paying her off.' And I said 'You bet I am.' I asked them if any of them would do what she did. No answer. I said President Reagan appointed Jeanne Kirkpatrick as his UN Ambassador and she's a Democrat. That passed across their gaze without registering... (Later back in the elevator in the motel) Those Republican women said Lil was a spy for the Democrats. She's a great woman."

George Putnam Republican County Chairman said he was upset with Bill. "He doesn't toe the party line enough. He doesn't help the other Republican candidates enough. He recognizes the Democrats too much." He agreed that Bill needed Democratic votes. No candidate for Congress or Senate or Gov. has carries state without carrying Androscoggin County except Bill and he almost won it in 1978 (George says.) Bill had recognized as Dem during his talk and George was upset. "I wouldn't have given him any recognition. He was a Republican who changed to Democrat."

In Lewiston, 3 clothespin manufacturers came in for help. They want relief from Taiwan and Chinese imports of clothespins. They represent 500 workers in 3 Maine towns--all of which will collapse if they go under. They have been plowing money back into their business and ITC has voted 5-0 to give them help for 3 more years. They need Reagan's approval. And approval has been hard to get, because Reagan's philosophy is free trade. Spokesman says "we feel that you are the key that will unlock the situation for us... When it comes to the lickin' of the thing, we're counting on you." Bill tells 'em that Stockman is the problem, and that he'll ask Stockman." Stockman is

the key. I tried with textiles and shoes and failed. But I'll try again. I'll make the private contacts with the right people. As soon as I get back I'll call Stockman and get together with him. He'll call me on the budget and I'll tell him then what we need. If they will do it on a personal basis they'll do it for me, not for a Democrat. I'll put it on a personal basis with them. We'll see what happens." When spokesman leaves he says "If we win this one, you can write a poem about it." In the car afterward Bill says, "I'm going down to the White House and say you've got to give me one and this is the one I want." I asked Ted why Bill seemed so eager on this. He said that it was (except for one tiny Vermont plant) entirely a Maine industry and it affects only Maine. Thus it was a very much a "one on one" situation" for him and therefore he felt more strongly about it.

He spoke at some length about the military caucus that he has joined. Tower didn't like him joining the "reformer." He told Tower there had to be some balance "We are spending more and more money on fewer and fewer weapons." Pretty soon we will not be able to fight a real war. Need for balance, flexibility, etc. They kept "the flakes like Schroeder out of it."

On way back from Lewiston Ted said something to Bill and he said "Time is on my shit list. Isn't that something when I can say Time is on my shit list? But their reporter was the one who sat there shaking her head. And they were the ones that printed the rumor in the magazine." (He went through the conversation with the reporter about the dining room episode) Point is AWACS still stings and smarts and sticks in his mind in January. (At dinner lawyer says it was most controversial decision of his term.) Ted agreed. You bet it was. We have an overnight machine that accepts calls. Usually, we get 4 calls a week. The morning after his AWACS vote we had 10 calls waiting for us on the machine."

At Gardiner school today, I saw Bill talking to a youngster and rumpling his hair affectionately. It was very uncharacteristic action. Bill said that his father had died recently and that the father had been in Bill's Hancock St. poem.

Lil said re her support of Bill "People said it was courage. I said it was loyalty. He helped us with our problems more than anyone else... I'd step in front of a gun for him. That's how I feel about him." She said she'd change to Republican and Bill said he didn't care and that she should stay Democratic.

Ride back to DC with Bill

He made out "the form" for me. He asked "re important." "Do you mean for Maine or for me or what?" "For you, politically. That is, if you had to give up one which would you give up first etc."

"The meeting with the fishermen(1) was most important in the long run because they know somebody is working for them. In the short run, the press conference (2) was more important. But it's one day's worth of coverage and then it disappears. So the meeting with the fishermen had the greatest long run importance."

"Schools are always important.(3) How many kids were there, 400? Four hundred times two is 800 people. The kids will go home tonight and tell and what we talked about and there their parents that I was there/will be a good feeling about it. People ask me 'why do you go to schools. They can't vote. But the kids talk at home about what went on in school and the parents vote... A talk to 400 students is 100 times better any day than a talk to 200 lawyers."

Re Vets (4) - "It's hard to say. If I can do something for them, it will

turn out to be very important. If I can't well that will be it."

He then marked 5, 6, 7, 8 without saying much. He did not comment on 5 . Office opening (6) or Quimco(s). Of WGAN (7) "It was not very important 30 seconds on the nighly TV. I didn't want to do it because I was tired, it was the end of the day. I had a speech to prepare. I just didn't feel like doing it."

Re Bar Assoc. (8) "Either they are with you or they aren't. You don't change anything. Besides they are all wrapped up in their little world. Even if they vote for you they won't do much else."

Re comfortableness he said of "Bar speech (8) "That's the most uncomfortable I've felt at any speech in a long time. There was no warmth in there. The tables were spread out too far from the podium. People just sat there and listened and measured me. I never felt any sense of communication. When that happenes you begin to wonder whether or not it's you that set that mood. You never know."

Re comfortable. "I like meeting with the fishermen (1) and I like press conferences. (2) I like to answer questions. And, except for Gordon Manning, they usually ask good questions. They aren't looking to be critical. Except of course, in a campaign year. That's different."

"I enjoyed myself at the school" (3) "I liked the old man at Quinco (4). You don't meet many people like him--with the patience to work at a hobby that many people might think was frivolous. (making model ships). They don't make them like that anymore."

Re breakfast (5). "I was a little uneasy with one of those guys. He seemed a little schizoid to me, right on the edge."

WGAN (6) - said nothing.

Lewiston (7) - "I dislike office openings."

Bar - see earlier comment.

He handed it back to me saying, "you can't print this." I said it just helps me to summarize the trip. He said "It was a good trip-- pretty typical. I was pleased the way things were set up. If we had gone to Bangor and Presque Isle, it would have been more hectic."

When did you first think of running for Senate? "Somewhere toward the middle of 1975, when I was at the height of my popularity. *Public opinion* ✓ polls showed that I had a good chance against Muskie. That was the time he decided he wasn't going to be defeated by any young whippersnapper, and he dug in."

"When I ran for Congress I had no idea what a congressman did. I didn't know what the pay was or the job. I ran because I was bored with my law practice. Oh, once in a while you try a case before the Supreme Court, but otherwise it was boring. I thought I had a talent for exercising reason in hostile situations. I had proven that to myself on the city council, and yes, even on the zoning board as was mentioned facetiously last night. But what could be more emotional than taking away property. I found that in very emotional confrontations, I could appeal to people's better nature. I guess I felt I could use that talent in Congress too."

"I think I made a big mistake when I first went to Washington. I hired a very smart aggressive press secretary. He now runs a consulting firm and drives a Mercedes and makes a lot of money. It was his idea that we should get around, go to things and meet people. We met reporters and we attended every social function there was for about 4 years. What did we know? We were hicks from Maine taking it all in. If people invited us to their house, we would invite them back. We got the butterfly image. And it stuck. David Broder was one person who never changed his view. He doesn't

like me and he's never come back. I admired him; and I can remember thinking 'Me, out with David Broder. This is just great'.... Now we don't do any of that. We stay away from social functions. We just go our own way... Diane was burned too. She was a free spirit, independent and several of her friends who were reporters quoted her when she thought they would not. I told her, they are not your friends, they are reporters. It's been a great learning experience."

Hungate on why he retired. "You remember when you first campaigned, how people would come up to you with a bucket of shit and tell you to eat it? And you remember how you would gobble it up and say 'That was good. I loved it. Can I have seconds?' Well, I got tired of asking for seconds."

Re Howard Baker's control over career? "No. There was a story by John Day saying Baker paid me back for my support by putting me on the Indian Affairs Committee. That wasn't true. It's done by the numbers. The only thing he can do for me is to send me on a trip, or make me an emissary of some kind. I don't know how I stand with him anyway. I don't really know how's he took defeat in Maine. After he lost, he held a press conference in Washington where he said 'Forget the Maine.' I wrote him a letter telling him why he should 'Remember the Maine' and learn from the mistakes that were made there. He was still running. He did not come to Maine and shake hands with the delegates. He had only been in the state once before in his whole life. He expected me to do it for him and I couldn't. He brought a whole plane load of press people to observe his great victory. It was a disaster. I look back and wonder if I should have done more. I didn't pressure people. When Con Collins called and said 'I want to go for John Connally; but if you tell me to vote for Baker, I will.' I wouldn't tell him to do it. I said, 'I'm not going to tell you

have to vote for Baker. I'm supporting him and here are my reasons.' Baker lost by only 20 votes."

Re Gastal story, he's still sore. 'He said statemen like Russell Long promised his vote to Baker in silence, while Bill Cohen rushes to the press gallery. Well that's not true. Russell Long had not promised Baker anything. That was the problem. As for me running to the press gallerys, I had never been in the press gallery before that day--and I'll never go back to the press gallery again."

"I'm very down on the Washington press corps--not because they are not bright but because they are so cynical. The only way you can have credibility with them is when, because of physical reasons or because you tried for the brass ring and failed or for some other reason they know you will always be in the Senate. If you are like Howell Heflin of Alabama, a big man who snaps his suspenders, chews tobacco and spits it out--then they take you for what you are. But so long as they think you might have and could have ambition, they don't believe anything you say. They assume you are conning them, that there is always an angle. I'm terribly sour on the Washington press corps. I try to stay away from them now. If they call, I'll talk to them. But that's all... They are among the brightest people around." That's part of what bothers him. He really does want the good opinion and the company of bright people.

Kaiser - "irresponsible journalist" from AWACS story by Day where he says he's going to get Cohen. Lots of talk re press. Thinks Day is lazy.

"The relationship has several levels." First, they have contempt for you because they resent you because they depend on you. Then they get a good quote from you and they talk about you with their peers and they say he's smart. He's not such a bad guy.' Then they want to psychoanalyze you. I say no. That's me. You can't know that. I'll deal with you; but on

Are you thinking about the campaign? "No. I haven't decided what to do. I'm inclined to run. But if I could find something else that allowed me as much of a challenge, as much stimulation, and a chance to travel, I might take it. I just can't think of any job as good as this one. Once or twice I consider the alternatives. I'm enjoying the job. I'm not climbing anymore. That gives me a good feeling. But I haven't decided what to do." Talked again about *ten* and motorcycle maintenance.

*7/8/82
ten*
Do you sense middle of 6 year term--he smiled, "Yes I do. I keep telling myself I have one more year of quasi-leisure before I begin a congressman's term. It's been a joy not to have to worry about each vote in terms of its narrow effects. And I haven't. I've been free to worry about the country. I think you get better state craft in the Senate for this reason--that you can spend 4 years as a statesman. You know it may catch up with you but for the moment you don't care. The House is there to reflect the popular will. Structurally the two Houses are different and that's the genius of the system."

✓ "I feel like I'm a participant; but at the same time I feel like I'm standing off looking down on men playing boys games."

I raised question of intensity and how you could judge it. He didn't answer the question really. But he said "Sometimes you are concerned by yourself and sometimes your concern gets ignited from the outside. I was outraged about the proposed closing of Loring Air Force Base. If they had come to me and explained I would have gone along. But they tried to fool us with arguments that were not so. When I found that out, I got involved."

When Reagan's man in Maine came back to our seats to talk patronage, he told Bill that there was grumbling about Maine not getting its share of

appointments. "I'm worried about your clout," he said to Bill. When he left, Bill says "I don't have anything to do with the party structure at home and I won't. Tom Daffron acts as a buffer with those guys, so I don't have to deal with them."

We talked about way the Press Herald had played the press conference. The headline read "Cohen says tax went too far" or something like that (I have it.) I said that I knew they'd use that headline because he had started that sentence by saying "If there is one thing I would criticize, it is that the tax cuts went too far, etc. etc." As soon as I heard the word "criticize" I knew that would be the lead. All this was appropo of his long discussion of the press and how critical they are of everything. He agreed, that he knew that's what they would pick up on. I said the problem was that that may not have been the real story of the press conference at all. I said I thought the real story was that he was sticking with Reagan and was not very critical. He was telling people, in his press conference, that Reagan's program would take time and that they should lower expectations. He nodded in agreement. Then he said "If the headline "Cohen supports Reagan" had appeared in the Brunswick Times Record that would have hurt me there." I said, "You have to know what audience the paper is directed at before you can judge what "the story" really is. And he agreed. Then he said, "If you want to be really cynical about it you could say that supporting Reagan is just the easiest thing for me to do right now, so I'm going along." Maybe that is part of it. It means he can wait to see what happens before he fires.

He said the only newspapermen he trusted were Neil McNeil and Henry Hubbard. Said that during Watergate he talked to Hubbard on agreement that his name would not appear. He said Hubbard kept that trust.

At some point I asked him if he ever had any "team feeling" in the Senate. "Yes twice a week. Once when the Wednesday Club meets for lunch, and once when the Republican caucus meets for lunch."

He blasted Kaiser as "irresponsible journalist" for his "get Cohen" statement.