

✓

*Murray Hill
Hutchinson
- Can I
back ground assets of this int.
more individuals he, but
highlight exp. of background.
gives becomes exhibit A.
But all these people
have background.
So Ben's breakfast
beginning is 20*

BILL COHEN (D.D. Gray)

October 17-19, 1984

*This is not Bill's assets
make a section out of*

How are you doing? "Going flat out and still making an ass of myself playing basketball. Our high school class played the Class of 1980 and I spent most of my time on the floor."

Read Bangor story in the paper. Said his father would be upset at being called "Russian-Jewish". He said that was his grandfather, that his father was "an American citizen born in N.Y. City."

*I think
I ran track
app. in
D.C. too*

On way to Maine Municipal Association. "These guys are a colossal pain in the ass. They'll want a balanced budget and then they'll want me to support all these programs. They come down once every year and ask 'Why haven't you done this, why haven't you done this?'"

RE D.P. "He's gone underground in the past year."

Walked in "Where's Channel 5; I saw their truck outside."

The session is Q & A - Cohen and Mitchell together. A candidate's forum.

Bill talked about Bangor experience - Atty for Housing Authority, ^{City} Council. Mayor - "chastening experience." "faced constituency, without a bureaucracy to blame." local was best form of government, but had to raise revenue from elsewhere and had to give up some local discretion to "arbitrary and forceless bureaucracy" - he brought skepticism and distrust of federal government to Washington with him, ^{He} supported, ^{therefor,} revenue sharing, ~~Has~~ tried to reverse flow of money and power.

Other philosophical experience was need for consensus, need for compromise, problem is "between right and right" and what we have to do is find out how to adjust so as to meet both needs "legitimate arguments on both sides."

He sets a philosophical framework *via these opening remarks.*

Mitchell ticks off the programs MMA supports and she wants to support all of them.

Questions ^{from the audience} are local - where will money come from for teacher's salary raises, anti trust liability for municipalities, UDAG & EDA,.

Cohen - MMA came to Washington and asked support for UDAG & EDA and Maine delegation has supported you - Admin does not want EDA ^{intend we saved it. Problem was: urban areas got into EDA} instead of rural areas and Admin. didn't like that.

"I speak on behalf of entire Maine delegation when ^{I tell you we are} ~~tell you're~~ committed to EDA above and beyond anything admin. does."

Will the feds. keep excuse tax on tobacco - yes and I vote vs. tobacco subsidies.

Would you increase revenue sharing? Yes, he thinks so.

and
[Mitchell agrees with Bill on almost everything/ says so.]

And when she makes a strong statement on non-taxpayers, he agrees with her. And tries to go farther on cutting waste.

Takes pride in ^{authorizing a} ~~authority~~ bill that will save 6B by forcing competition in bidding. ^{his authoring of a}

Re interest rates and deficit - BC goes back to concern re inflation in 1980. Cohen's paints vivid picture of what world was like in 1980. What RR did - and things are better. "We've got some hope out there...a measure of hope." Press is wrong to say that there is no connection between deficit and interest rate - will take bipartisan group after election--combination of factors - "Congress will respect because it has to respond."

Abortion - supports Supreme Court decision - M agrees. [An observation: there is no animosity here that I can see. Very occasionally, there's a Repub. vs. Dem. line quoted by one or the other. But it's very polite and a lot of the politeness is based on agreement.]

Balanced budget amend - too many exemptions will be put in - need to cut spending - she agrees.

His experience speaking on floor vs. balanced budget - next vote was vote

to lift cap on federal employees. Within 20 minutes of each other 17 Republicans voted both ways, for balanced budget and for lifting cap. He got letter vs. both his positions, but he says he's consistent. She agrees. But he gets to tell stories about what it's like to be in the Senate.

Medicare - originally thought 8B now 115B predicted. What we are trying to do now is curb growth - setting limits on services - need more HMO's and health competition and health education. He wants "wellness programs."

Fishing industry problems re George's Bank, ^{world court} ~~would~~ decision - can do something via ITC. "This would decision gave us most of the ocean and the Canadians most of the fish" - want ITC to take it into account to restrict flow and prices of fish.

Moderator - ITC record is not good - can we trust them? Bill says he's thought of impeachment "in thinking of ITC - He's faced it in shoes and potatoes - will bring about contempt of law if "livelihoods are vanishing in front of their faces" - our best recourse is our government-- president, secretary of state, ITC - should follow rule of law till we decide it doesn't work - re shoes, we took action in legislation to try to reverse ITC decision.

RR age? Bill quotes Oscar Wilde and says "he's tapped into of optimism that runs beneath this country's earth--he has regenerated spirit of optimism..." rejects Schumaker's view.

Mitchell - "happy talk" - "philosophy of government is the issue, not age. - RR budget not best for Maine people. Cohen final statement - starts with ~~Mencken~~ ^{Mencken} - re defense, most of budget is manpower - not nuclear. "We're

talking about a direction". "What is appropriate extent and limit of government." - "technology has made the world a ball spinning on the finger of science."

Toffler's Megatrends - technology will make federal government less important - because people want more humaneness and will get it at local government - will be exciting and he wants to be part of it.

Channel 2 at night calls it "the friendliest debate yet" between the two.

Bill talks about the 2 debates as "testy" and as the day goes on and people talk about them, it becomes clear that they must have been. After this appearance, some guy "told me to go easy on her next time, or there might be a sympathy vote."

"I'm having an interesting time running against a woman" was one of the first things he said to me. Then, in the plane to Lewiston, he said "I treat her just like I would treat a man. I am polite. I am respectful. I run a positive campaign. I will not attack you. But if you give it to me, I'll give it to you. That's the way I've always done it so it's easy for me."

neg. camp.
With respect to the debate. "She came on very strong and very negative, hitting me on two issues--the nuclear freeze and PAC contributions. But it has hurt her. She started out on the theme that I was a nice person and that it was a campaign between two good people. Then, in the debates, she began to attack. It backfired, because her negatives went way up. Maine people do not like a negative campaign. They don't like you to build yourself up by tearing someone else down. That's why I've always run a positive campaign, on my record. I don't want the job badly enough to do negative campaigning." It doesn't mean that much to me."

The pilot of the airplane said the same thing, that Maine people don't like negative stuff and that it hurt Dave Emery.

"I think she has decided to throttle back and go more softly as she did today. I hope so. I think she wants to keep the image of a capable positive campaigner, so that she can run for governor next time. That's what she wanted all along. She was planning to run for governor when Joe Brennan decided to run again. And she was pressured into running for the Senate. I think her object was to run a good race for the senate so that she would be the front runner for governor next time."

I asked him if 50.1 or 60.1 would make a difference in his career. "Not much. Except that a lot of people would line up and start salivating for 6 years from now. I'd be disappointed at 50.1. And it might make a difference in my decision to run again. That would probably be the most important result-- affecting my decision for next time. But she is a lot more capable campaigner than people give her credit for. And she gets 40% just by putting her name on the ballot. There are that many Democrats. If it were 55-45, that would not be a bad result for me. I got 56% last time, so that would not be very different. If it were 50.1% then everyone would think I had run a much poorer campaign than I was supposed to or she had run a much better campaign than anyone expected. I don't think she has run a good campaign. It's been too negative. With a strong positive campaign, she could have done very well. Right now I would win--it would be 60-40, possibly even 65-35. But that will narrow as time goes on. We only have one more debate. It's a half hour; and I can talk on two questions for that long. So I should be able to stay out of trouble." *Hogit 732*

He went into some length about how she accused him of taking PAC money, and he hit back that she was Geo. Mitchell's campaign manager when he took PAC money and that the money she was getting from the Senate Committee was PAC

money, only it was laundered. And he pressed her over and over to admit that Mitchell got PAC money. She kept saying she wasn't running vs. Mitchell and finally moderator made her answer and she said yes.

That, I guess was when she pushed him hard and he pushed back harder and the Lewiston paper told her in an editorial to get off the PAC kick.

"She's hitting me on the freeze and PACs, and in both cases, she has the easy side of the issue."

He talked about stages of the campaign, his career and AWACS.

typical Cohen action - inner meditation

"I almost decided not to run again." ("You're kidding!") No, I was deeply depressed about the way the Senate was grinding away day after day and not accomplishing anything. *I asked myself, with Peggy Lee, 'Is this all there is?'* I took the month of August off, told my staff not to call me under any circumstances. I thought about it for a month, and decided there wasn't anything else I wanted to do or could do and so I'd try another six years and see what happened. Another factor was that I wasn't going to be forced out of the race by Joe Brennan. My pride would not let me quit if he was going to challenge me. I had taken a poll that showed me 25 points ahead of him, so I wasn't worried about him. I got letters from Slade Gorton and Warren Rudman, and I had a long talk one night with Howard Baker. Gary Hart told me whatever decision I made, not to look back. I felt better after my month away from Washington; and I decided to do it; and I never did look back."

I asked him what thing gave him the most visibility. "My trip to Russia. (Not the build down) It was all connected with the build down. Joe Biden and I went there to explain the idea to the Russians. When we came, Time did a story on it, ~~on~~ BC never did a story on it, several of the major papers did stories on it. I talked to many groups about it. It took five years before I got to that point. It was a five year process of building up my self confidence.

When I began, I didn't know squat about defense systems. I spent the first year just learning the names; then I went to the Indian Ocean to watch the carriers, I flew in fighter planes, I went to the Mideast and visited with Mubarak, I went to Central America, I lectured in Europe and talked to NATO officials I did things my constituents could care less about. I was instrumental in the idea of the Snowcroft Commission. Members of the Wednesday Club said, we want you to carry our position on dense pack to the administration. I did. It failed. I was active in the military caucus and ~~was~~ⁱⁿ the ~~SL~~^{SL} program at Georgetown. But it all culminated in the build down proposal. There was a vacuum in the administration ~~after~~^{after} dense pack and we moved in. So my most important accomplishment came in my sixth year. The timing was perfect. But, in the fifth year, I never thought anything like it would happen... It gives me a lot of satisfaction to have a little bit of influence."

He talked in several contexts about the admin not negotiating with him at all, or giving a damn what he thinks or thanking him when he helps them (AWACS).

The other important thing he noted was 'Roll Call'. "It was very important to me that I wrote Roll Call. I don't think about it now. But it was important to record my thoughts when there was a tabular rasa. The things I wrote are things I know now. But I didn't then. I wanted to write that book. That and build down were most important.

"I did a lot of things on governmental affairs that took time, but were satisfying. Carl Levin and ¹ ~~worked~~^{advocacy legislation} for two years holding hearings, fighting the administration, fighting Russell Long, until finally it was passed and signed into law last week... And competitive bidding, that took a lot of time." He does have a lot of accomplishments.

NB - He lists clothespins 1st in his brochure of accomplishments.

Re AWACS "It's still there, but it's softened. When I talk to Jewish groups, they bring it up. Last week, up in Bangor, the group asked me if I had it to do over again would I vote the same way. I said that if the circumstances were the same as they were then, I would still vote the way I did. And the vote was right. We would not have the defense relationships we have now with the Israelis if it had not been for that sale. You eat from the tree of knowledge. The Israelis contacted me and told me what they were thinking. If I had not known what they told me, I would have gone along with my original position and opposed the sale. Once I knew what the Israelis wanted, I could not pretend I was ignorant. The people in Bangor wanted me to say I was wrong and that I would vote differently now. But I told them no, I did ^{it once.} ~~one~~ and I'd do it again. I took more flak from that vote, by far, than any I cast in the Senate. Impeachment and AWACS were my two toughest votes. Impeachment had some negatives amid some positives. AWACS was all negatives. Even my father opposed it; and he had a terrible time explaining it to his Jewish friends. My wife is a closet zionist. But I have strong support in the Jewish community. I guess they think I have their best interests at heart despite my AWACS vote. I had a big fund raiser in California and a couple in New York with the Jewish community. In fact, I've raised most of my money from Jews this campaign. ~~Do~~ you know, the admin never thanked me for helping them on that vote, never gave me anything, never acknowledged that I had helped them. I didn't do it for them... But they might have thanked me for the help.

no
mult.

On leadership of Republicans in Senate. "I like Bob Dole. He's Dirty Harry. Every party should have a Clint Eastwood--a guy with a 45 mgnum in his

head ready to fire and blow people away." McClure - "a Howard Baker without Howard's charm" "a very nice guy, but too nice, too soft spoken, a gentleman, but a dull gentleman."

Stevens "like a rocket, you never know when he's going to shoot through the roof; the more he talks the shriller he gets...but in the talk I hear lately, people seem to be coming back to Stevens as the safest. He does favors for everybody and protects everyone's ass."

Lugar "a good guy, bright but is too much the water boy for the admin."

Domenici - "a capable guy, but just not cut out for majority leader."

(nothing more about PD)

He wouldn't want job - "I don't want it. I'm not running for anything. All my friends are running for something. They ask me why aren't you running for something. I say, because I don't want to lose what I've got. I can vote the way I please. I have influence on some things--enough to give me votes on occasion. I don't have to carry water for the administration, and I can vote the way I want. You can't go down to the White House every week as part of the team and then come back up to the senate and vote against the team. Now, I don't have to vote for all that shit the admin. sends up."

Said he and PT were "very much alike--we each like the pleasure of our company occasionally." Said he didn't get to know Paul well at all.

Talked about senate as an institution in which "no one is in charge"--the whales are gone. There are just a bunch of *minnows* running around... Some are strange--Zorinsky--in 6 years I've never said more than Hi Ed to him. Then some are naturally gregarious, like Al Simpson. He gathers people around him, tells jokes, makes everyone feel good."

When he said no one is in charge, I said someone is at certain ^{points} parts of

time and he said "It depends on external events, a change in mood, a newspaper article, a moment in time,"....the idea that timing is critical.

"I delayed an announcement because I didn't want to have a long campaign and I didn't want to lose my influence in the Senate. You can't form coalitions with your friends in the other party once you start running. They begin to see you as a candidate running against their party and they won't have anything to do with you. It's just like the guys running for president. Once they declare they can't get *squat* done in the Senate."

In the meeting with the Great Northern leaders, they asked about Canadian competition in several products and in general. "We can't get relief against Canadian subsidies. The only way I can get anything done on the Canadian competition is to say I won't vote with you on the deficit, I won't vote with you on taxes, I won't vote with you on your defense budget--unless you give me some help. I hate to do that. It's not responsible. I'd be voting against my own position. But it's the only way. You have to say 'I'll vote against you, even though I know you're right.' I don't like trading votes. But I did it on the MX. I said I'll vote for the MX if you will support the build down. It was the only way I could get the build down. It's the same with lumber, potatoes and fishing. I don't blame the president for doing what he's doing. We have a healthy trade balance with Canada. I wouldn't upset that for one state. I wouldn't hurt a country to help a state. So what we've got to do is get more than one state. That's what we did with shoes. We got 32 Senators, including Bob Dole and Jack Danforth, Chairman of the full committee and the subcommittee, and we carried a provision over the objection of the administration to help the shoe industry. We need a coalition or one of us holding out on a key issue. I ~~didn't~~ *don't* want to, but I may have to."

• When we drove into Howland, Bill said "This is a very depressed area--not much to be said for it."

When we drove into Lincoln he said, "In Lincoln the Republicans walk on one side of the street and the Democrats on the other. It's a very partisan town. I walk right down the middle." Compare that with David Pryor's comments on ~~leaving country town.~~ Searcy County town.

We did a brief sidewalk tour with the Republican woman running for State Rep. - very short.

As we left, he said "I walked up to a lady and do you know what she said, "I'm a hard line Democrat, but I've always voted for you. Do you know why? Watergate." That thing lingers and lingers. I never bring it up. It just never occurs to me any more." But, at the Millinocket H.S., he was introduced and his role in impeachment was specifically mentioned.

He talked at the H.S. and then at the VFW about his trip to Russia and the build down idea. Then he said Russian trip gave him greatest visibility - he likes talking about the two societies in general.

"Every time I walk through the St. John's valley I walk by a cement plant and the guy comes out and says to me "I can't sell my cement to Canada, but they send their cement in here and undercut my price. Is that fair?" "No." "Can you change it?" "No." The State Department negotiates these agreements beforehand. I talked to John Block today. He is going up to Canada and I wanted him to put potatoes on the top of his list. The Canadians have begun dumping potatoes and depressing our market already. I told him he should do something or we'll have a revolution in my state."

He's done some walks this time, but just occasionally. He and Diane did

one for 10 miles in 3 days and he did one in the valley. "I walk in the valley every year. I haven't missed a year. They wait for it. If I stopped they'd say, he's forgotten us."

78 leg
I asked re change in mood in Maine in 6 years. "I don't think there has been much change. Except for the Indian Land Claims problem. There was a lot of worry about that, and it became the key issue of the campaign. Bill Hathaway jumped at the Carter administration's proposal of 5.00 an acre, when the going price in Maine was 2.50 an acre. That act symbolized the fact that Hathaway had gotten out of touch with Maine. I think people are content with the way things are going now. They were upset with Carter six years ago, because he seemed weak. Before the debate, Regan was up by 15-20 points in the polls. Now he's down to about five."

He told Ted O'Meara what he told Ted — yesterday. "I got an excellent reception at Great Northern. It was all positive--people saying Hi Bill, How are you Bill. They are all Democrats. Sometimes plant gates can be pretty ugly. "You son of a bitch, you're against the working men" that sort of stuff. But there was none of that--no negatives. That's the up side. It's the best reception I've ever gotten there."

I asked him whether he learned anything from Emery campaign. "I learned something I already knew--don't release polls. I learned something else I already knew--that Maine voters do not like negative campaigns. And I learned a third thing I already knew--get your facts straight before you start talking." (The veterans vote flap.)

✓ "I try to stress this wherever I go. We have to find bipartisan solutions to our problems. We have to find common ground and solve problems on bipartisan basis. That's where I tend to function best, at finding compromises. On

reform of the disability system, I worked with Carl Levin, a Democrat from Michigan... On the military caucus reforms I worked closely with Gary Hart...I went to Russia on the build down with Joe Biden, a Democrat from Delaware." This was at the Lewiston fund raiser breakfast. And in fact, everywhere he went he talked about "there is no one right and one wrong, there are two rights. Both points of view are legitimate. The problem is to find the common good." Or "the way we find truth is to test ideas in the marketplace." Lots of J.S. Mill. The bipartisan approach is very strong in Bill --so is it in Pryor--but Bill has more to really talk about than David.

I asked Bill about the clothespins episode. "The quota extension expired in April. They never came back or contacted me again. Maybe they know it was a hopeless case. But they did make improvements and they seem to be holding their own. None of them has gone under and no jobs have been lost. It was an example where the government stepped in and helped carry them over a rough spot. In the long run, I think a lot of these industries will not be able to make it. They won't be able to compete with the Chinese--whose average wage is \$400 per year. The other day, I met with the editorial board of the Portland paper. They are ^{going to} ~~going~~ before free trade--all the way. They asked me how I could argue for quotas and other kinds of protection for our industries. I said I thought there was a role for government to ease the burden of transition for the older generation while at the same time educating the younger generation in the skills necessary to live in the information age. You can't take people who have worked all their lives and just cut them off like that. There's too much human suffering involved. Government has to step in and soften the blow. Well, they didn't buy it. They just sit behind their desks and argue an abstract idea. I disagree with them. I see the people whose livelihood is being taken away. I feel we should help them."

Difference between this election and the last one. "The incumbent thing makes a difference. Last time, I knew that the polls told me I was doing well. But I don't have any faith in polls. I never read them and I never pay attention to them. Tom uses them to tell me 'you're weak in York; you've got to go down and campaign in York.' He uses it to determine where the candidate's presence is needed." To me, they are only snapshots of a moment in time. If the Georges Bank decision comes or something else, everything can change. I knew the polls said I was well ahead in 1978, but there was still a great deal of anxiety and uncertainty. I felt I had to go all out and campaign as hard as I could to win. I had to prove I could do it. People kept asking me why did I give up a safe house seat to run. Why was I running anyway. If I had lost, there would have been a great deal of pain. There is none of that questioning this time. Once again, I know that the polls say I'm well ahead. But I do not have the same anxiety. If I were to lose, I could walk away without feeling any pain. I would say, 'I did the best I could at the job, and it wasn't good enough.' If I had lost last time, I would have felt that I never had the chance to prove myself in the job. So there's much more inner serenity about it all this time." An interesting and typically inward looking view of the difference between 1978 and 1984.

Tom "The two issues Mrs. Mitchell picked were the wrong two--arms control and PACs. On the first one she chose to hit him in the area of his greatest expertise and strength. If you have a fast ball hitter, you don't put in a fast ball pitcher. On PACs, first of all nobody really cares. And, second, when you have a man who voted to impeach his own party's president, you don't attack his integrity. That just won't wash."

"We had a lot of excitement ~~doing~~ during the two debates, and since then everything has gone flat. From now on we have two weeks of handshaking, in which we can

go no place but down. The Democrats will come home, and she'll pick up a little. But unless Bill gets hit by a truck, we're in."

Ted O'Meara - "As the challenger, the burden of proof was on her to prove that the voters should throw him out.. Maine voters want a reason before they vote out an incumbent. She hasn't given them a reason. She has come on very negatively. All the negatives in the race are from her. And neither the freeze nor the PACs attacks have stuck. She should have taken a moderate stance. She had the freezeniks anyway from the start. And the PACs ^{thing} ~~they~~ haven't caught on. She held her own in the debate, but that wasn't good enough. Things are going so good, we can't believe it. But they have been good since the beginning. Since summer we've been saying, we have no place to go but down, but we've stayed up."

Bill - "Things look so good that I wish we could vote now. We've got to run hard and hold back so that we don't create sympathy for her. I just have to keep from making any mistakes. And you make mistakes when you're tired. That's why I bitch and scream about the schedule."

Bill at Portland Club - M. Twain "quiet confidence of a Christian holding four aces."

Says that at Maine Telgram someone complained that "Every question, you turn into a speech."

"One of the things I've tried to do in my six years is to make myself as expert as I can and help build coalitions that can support a consensus on arms control."

On the way back from an abortive attempt to appear at a doctors group, Betsey Levinson asked him if he didn't "get tired of taking positions that went against the popular tide and explaining them to people." Bill said "After AWACS I almost decided that the whole job just wasn't worth it."

~~[Note: Peggy Lee - is that all there is? Way back in his depression period he noted]~~ I took such a beating from Jewish groups on that vote. For two

years, I was hit over the head with a baseball bat. My attitude became one of 'I'm going to explain to you why I did it and if you don't believe me, the hell with you.' It was very discouraging."

A discussion followed in which Betsey said that the southern half of the state was way different and that Bill would have to come down and do a lot of explaining to win them over, but that he could and he was in the process of "flipping it over down here."

Bill said "In the northern part of the state, I walk on water. It's an emotional thing. We're redefining Teflon in the northern part of the state--nothing sticks. The southern part is much more difficult."

Betsey said "Up north you're the fair haired boy, the local boy. It's an emotional thing. Down here it's more intellectual. As she described Portland to me--as compared to Bangor--it's "exciting", "everybody is doing something" "very active city."

In the car Bill said "I've been thinking about what you asked me today. There's a quotation from Oliver Wendell Holmes which I'm fond of quoting: "We can never ^{live} ~~lose~~ our dreams...."

Holmes wanted to ^{write} ~~invite~~ 1000 more decisions; Napoleon wanted to conquer 10 more countries; Shakespeare wanted to write 20 more plays. We can never live out our dreams, but we do the best we can when we get the chance. If I had been rejected in 1978, I would never have had a chance. People would have said it was a case of blind ambition, a selfish desire for something unattainable. The question I kept getting was why are you doing it? Why are you giving up a safe seat? Why are you breaking up the delegation? Is it just ambition? I wanted my chance to live dreams. Rejection would have been painful; the reaction to my defeat would have been painful. Now I've had my shot and I have the satisfaction of having done the best job I can. I've worked as hard

as I can. I've learned as much as I can. I've come home as much as I can. If, after all that, after giving my best, I'm rejected then I don't want to be in this job. If I'm not appreciated I shouldn't be in the business. But I'll have the inner comfort of having tried, not the pain of rejection without having the chance to try."

His speech to the Portland Club was the most intellectual defense of build down and his role that I've heard. All of it without notes and with personal anecdotes from his Russian trip. It sounded like he was in the business of negotiation with the Russians and was impressive intellectually. There was no mention of the campaign, his opponent or anything political. It was a lecture on arms control. Of a sort that not many Senators could give. He has, indeed, become a senator who has learned in the field of weapons systems and arms control.

In Bill's discussion with me, he stressed that during the spring of his trip to Russia was in February) his campaign was "a rose garden strategy". He stayed on the job. And again during most of September, he followed "a rose garden strategy" being back in Washington on the job--getting disability bill passed.

Since he stressed arms control everywhere he went, I asked if he always talked about that since his trip to Russia. He said, no, he often talked about economic matters, or about military strategy especially as it applied to seapower.

He said the visit with Yevtushenko was "the highlight of his visit"--which underlines the importance of the literary side of Bill's life. For much of Wednesday, when we were alone, I couldn't get him off the subject of the novel. And he said writing the novel was very important for him in the past year. It helped produce his uncertainty about running. "On the one hand,

I had this novel I wanted to finish, and I said what am I doing wasting my time in the Senate. On the other hand, I said I'm a Senator, why am I wasting my time worrying about the novel. But I had to get the novel out of my system, and I feel much better now that it's finished. I'm finishing another book of poems and, then, that's it for my writing for a while." I said "Fat chance!"

Re the approval stuff, Tom says "The good part of it is that it's diffuse--2% for shoes, 2% for fishing, 2% for blueberries, 2% for defense. It's hard to concentrate your attack on any one thing. His strength across the board."

Both Tyrer gave me stuff on Caldicott and PACs. "The Caldicott visit caused a tremendous stink. That, together with our counterattack on the PACs put her on the defensive. She had been running some pretty negative spots on PACs. Someone had to say it was a non-issue. We did, even though it showed she was getting our goat. After that she went underground, pulled her negative TV, and the campaign pretty much turned around. When the debates came, she was on the defensive. Now she seems to have thrown in the towel and in cleaning things up for her governors race in 1986. She held a press conference the other day, pulled at the old arguments about the MX and got no TV coverage, no press coverage, nothing. The Maine press was only interested as long as there was a pissing match every other day, which there was for a couple of weeks. Now it's completely dead. The press no longer cares about the race and that's the way we like it. We want it off the front pages. If she is going to generate press from now on, she'll have to do it herself. She'll have to use up her credibility. She tried to go negative, it didn't work and now we have the new Mrs. Mitchell preparing for the future. At least that's what we think."

"The national press has had zero interest in the race. During the Emory campaign every national reporter was in here. That was a race that was supposed to be won, but got tanked. It created a lot of interest. This year one guy from the Sacramento Bee came in for a day! The Globe hasn't covered us except with a stringer from Searsport, who doesn't even work full time." It's not considered competitive.

Tom - "From now on we have no place to go but down. The question is, will the Democrats come home. Between the last two polls, Bill dropped 3 points and she went up 4 points. So the gap closed slightly as the Democrats came home.⁴ We'd like to vote right now if we could. We'll get a poll tomorrow. If she's moved up, say, into the high 30's we'll do some tracking. If she doesn't we won't. My gut tells me she won't. So this is our last poll."

I talked with Tom about Bill's career, how he thought he would stay on Judiciary, maybe try for foreign relations, get gov'tal affairs and ended on Armed Services. "The first two years were spent getting adjusted; the second two years were spent getting used to being in the majority; the last two years were spent getting things done. Because of the last two years, he's got a record to run on--build down, disability, competitive contracting. That's a good record and one that's hard to attack--arms control, compassion, deficit reduction."

"He's still not comfortable with the backslapping bon hommie of the place. But he's not as much of a loner as he was in the House. He's made some friends on both sides of the aisle. He's not going to be elected president of the class. He's not going to run for any of the leadership positions. But he is getting respected as a Senator who knows something and can get things done."

"Essentially, the staff has taken care of the state of Maine for him. He's given us plenty of discretion and the results have turned out well. We've watched over Maine so he could have the time to work on foreign policy-- or defense policy with a foreign policy overlay--which is his real love. He spends about 75% of his time on defense policy and about 25% on governmental affairs. He's getting a little bored with the regular authorizations bills or Armed Services. Maybe he's ready to move to Foreign Affairs--but Armed Services has a different spin. It's much better for the state --^{Bath}~~both~~ iron ~~Work~~ Loring Air Force Base and so forth. Also, he has a chance to be the ^{leader} on his side of the aisle. With the exception of Tower, ~~x~~ they are not heavyweights. His 50 ^{IQ}~~IQ~~ points ahead of all of them. And he's the one the Democrats work with. So his chances for influence on A.S. are very great. He is a player of some significance."

"The trip to Russia was an immensely important growth experience for him. You read some of his early statements on the Soviet Union and they are very very strong. Having talked with them, his rhetoric has toned down a great deal. He's become more moderate. And he becomes much better informed. It's been a gradual learning process for her. At first, he was tutored in defense matters by the right wingers. The committee is very right wing. Then we began to get enough information to make independent judgments. And he moved a little more toward the center. The trip to Russia gave him a quantion jump in information, independence and confidence. He is now a player of some significance in the Senate."

Cohen's slogan "A Senator for Maine and for the Nation". Pryor's slogan is "Arkansas Comes First." The difference in interests.

If you look at either Bill's or David's career, you see something that is truly developmental. Bill's TV spots which I watched still contain 2 elements-- Watergate and basketball. The biographical spot has both; and one or two of

the others have basketball. Neither are now the current focus. But they are embedded in people's view of him. Similarly, DP's immense popularity can only be the result of a long pull through the various offices and the commensurate number of years of personal attention to people in Arkansas. He seems to personify Arkansas, but you only come to personify Arkansas through a long career.

Bill said that "The reporter who was doing a tongue in cheek article on basketball players in politics was on to something. When I first ran for Congress, I went to every high school and junior high school in the district. I would give a short speech and then volunteer to shoot baskets against the best shooter in the school--boys or girls. The roof would come off. They didn't care what I did on the issues so long as I could shoot baskets. And I was only beaten twice in the campaign--both times by girls, legitimately, too. Basketball has always been a bridge to people. It's something we can talk about to get a relationship started. It's been very important to my career." I think of the picture on ^{Munjoy} ~~Munjoy~~ Hill. No office there this time. But he has campaigned there. And that is true even though you don't get anyone mentioning "basketball" when you ask them why they vote for Bill. Or Watergate--
only 1% mention it now.

I asked Tom about what Bill could legitimately take credit for re. his accomplishments. "On the build down, Dick's and Aspin and _____ were certainly a part of it. Sam Nunn deserves credit as the original cosponsor. Chuck Percy will take credit because he was Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. On the disability bill, Carl Levin deserves half of the credit, because they did it together. On contracting, maybe the whole governmental affairs subcommittee played a part. That's a very good subcommittee, they're all pretty moderate, they work well together and have done a lot of good work over the long run."

Tom thinks the National Journal ratings peg Bill just right. "He's left ✓"

wing on social issues, right wing on defense issues and in the middle on economic issues."

"Most senators begin to think about reelection at the very beginning of the cycle. During the first year, he walked the plank on a whole series of votes on the economy. He did it consciously, knowing that he would not have done it in the House. He wanted to be supportive of the President. By the second year, he began to swing back toward the center or center left of the party where he is most comfortable--not as far out as Mathias or Chafee, but more like Danforth and Boschwitz. Enough time has passed since the first year, and the economy has done well enough so that nobody will bring them up."

"In the last two years, we ginned up our staff beyond the generalists we had and hired a couple of experts, especially--Scarritt who is an expert on arms control from the State Department. We still adhere to the standard of political generalists on the staff, and we never wanted the kind of staff that would be judged by how many Ph.D.'s we had. But we have to have people who can keep ahead of Bill in the areas where he's getting more and more expert."

Re Mitchell campaign and the Cohen polls. "After a month of pummeling him, she drove his negatives up from 8 to nine, but she drove her own negatives up from 9 to 27. And Bill's positives came down a little."

Tom talked about Bill's strength in the 2 districts and their nature--triggered by the question as to whether or not he didn't see the state in terms of the 2 districts. "I see the state in terms of counties, because there are some special cases in each district. But generally, yes, I do divide the state into the two districts--or, everything south of Augusta. Androscoggin County is in the second district, but it isn't like the rest

of the district. So I think of it as a separate entity. It's very blue-collar and very Democratic. The second district has most of the old industries. The first district has new industry, the freeze people, the guppies, the liberals who have moved from New York and have lived there for 18 months, the potters and the weavers, the people who live off the land, the earnest young professionals who are rebuilding Portland and think of themselves as with it. The second district is more homogeneous; it has changed less. The same people have lived there for generations. It's a district in economic decline. Most of the depressed industries are there-- shoes, potatoes. There's little economic development north of Augusta and none north of Bangor. Ironically, the 1st district which has benefited from Reagan's policies is less strongly in favor of him than the second district which has suffered from his policies. In the second district, Bill's support has gone beyond the local ties. They are genuinely proud of him. We had a favorite son day in Bangor last week and it was a love-in. There is an affection for him that is deep and emotional. In Portland, they will vote for him, but there is no affection. He is really most comfortable with working class people, and with kids and old ladies. In the second district their perception of him transcends issues. If they place themselves on the scale as liberals, they think he is a liberal. If their self perception is conservative they think he's conservative. If they are moderate, they think he is moderate. They put him wherever they are. 'He helps us; therefore, he must be what I am.' York County is a place all by itself. They are oriented to Boston and they aren't interested in Maine politics. In Portland, they are always complaining. He's in Portland ten times more often than he is in Bangor, but they complain that he never comes around. If he gets a ten million dollar grant from Portland, they don't think it's enough. If Orono gets

a 100,000 grant, they can't think him enough. The two districts are very different. It's much easier to run statewide from the second than the first district. First, the second will give you a rock solid base and the first will not. Second, you have to go on Portland TV to reach Lewiston. So you get known in the first district. Olympia is much better known in the first district than Jack McKernan is in the second. And he was born in Bangor."

✓
Wed
12
In Bill's discussion of 1978, he said "The decision might have been different if people hadn't been so down on Bill Hathaway. People had become so disallusioned with him that he really ^{never} had a chance." Incumbents defeat themselves normally.

On clothespins - Tom said "No news is good news. They got some breathing space and they survived." Suggested I call Joan Gould, Ben Haugh, Don Penley and ask. Aside from the claim in the brochure, I never heard anyone mention it at all. In terms of hard hit industries, shoes now occupies their attention, with potatoes some, too. It was an interesting but not a significant case. But it's all I've got.

Tom laid out the stages of the campaign--which began early in 1983:

1. fund raising --early PAC, fall 83 - Dinner
2. media and polling
3. personnel
4. April-July organization
5. July- August media
6. Sept. - Nov. "campaign"

Each of these was punctuated by an event or a step up of some sort. Tom came up once a month for 3-4 days all through '84 and then came up for good the middle of August. Bob soon after. They had 2 staffers hired by time they planned Fall '83 dinner.

to run against Joe Brennan.

gh as ours--98%. The

on. It would have been an

was the worst case. We did

er of 1982 and the key poll

nd he knew what the polls said.

ace for him. He 'agonized'

in March of 1984 against Mrs.

se Mrs. Mitchell was not

he the first of October

ay."

has done it before--with the

ge is that it's hard to

reviewing committee that his

rms control, change procure-

work on defense, trade

omises I made in 1978 was

gotten the Agriculture

ch program and in military

by changing the law. We

o account the closing of

tions on shoes. Senator

blems apply across the

overnment to be more

tplace. The Canadians

to the richest part of

George's Bank. With potatoes. John Block is meeting with the Canadian minister of agriculture. They are dumping potatoes in the county--selling them at 1.75 a bag. We must work to protect Maine industries."