

3/16/90²

Bill Cohen

October 28-30, 1990

Doug Jones (press secretary), Jan Anderson (Augusta staff), Jed French, Jim Wallace

- I got to Portland in pouring rain, about 8:45, and called Bob Tyrer and went to headquarters.
- "'About two weeks ago, the bottom fell for the Republicans, and all of us have been scared shitless ever since. The anti-incumbent, anti-Congress feeling is more intense than its ever been. Hatfield is a goner, Helms' is behind, Boschwitz is in trouble, even Domenici has dropped to 57%. I don't think Bill is in trouble. But the days of yore--like last summer--when we thought about 70% are dreams now. We have wires clipped to every part of our anatomy waiting for the slightest change now, but we don't feel it. Bill's favorable rating is still about 76-12. Our opponent is a millionaire--he and his wife are worth about \$60 million--and he's spending a couple of million of his own money--mostly on television. His ^{name} recognition is up from 50% in June to 90% now. He's saturated the television. If he'd run a better campaign, he could have given us alot of trouble this year. But he has stuck to only one issue-health care. It's an important subject, but that's all he talks about. Still, this is such a bad year that anything can happen.'"
- Re TV: "'We decided early how to do it and as it turned out, we did it right. Our TV didn't show Bill in Washington, only in Maine. People know he's active in Washington, but what they want to know is whether is he still interested in Maine. So all our ads show him in Maine, wrapped in Maine people, working for Maine interests. 'Washington? Never went there, never go there.' We are talking about the bond between Bill and the people of Maine.'"
- Their logo is "'Bill Cohen--for Maine--for America.'" The woman in the office said after they decided on this "'because Bill is so good on national issues,'" they did some polling and found less support for this one than they did for "'Working for Maine'".
- So Bill does have to work against that image that he's gone Washington--still, I think.
- We watched Bill's ads. (1) early bio, (2) man with no arms, (3) Lenny with new hip, (4) Bath Iron Works and jobs, (5) medical test pap smear, (6) environment "'the environment has disappeared as an issue this year. That's too bad. Bill is strong with environmentalists.'"
- Nothing negative - "'Our ads are all positive; we are staying above it all.'" He played on radio a spot attacking Rolde's health plan - very mildly done, however.
- Bill was on Today show on the War Powers Act - see article he wrote for

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WP on it. He spoke of S2 and bill calling for consultation-- "introduced by Senator Byrd, Senator Mitchell, Senator Nunn and myself," which calls for consultation regularly with the President.

- I met Bill at the TV station and we went to breakfast--an Egg McMuffin. I said we had done that in 1978. "Did I do that? I guess I still do."
- I asked what had changed over the last six years, and he answered, "Well, I've been more prolific" and he talked throughout breakfast about his new novel. We talked about his schedule for writing, how he got on authentic middle-eastern data, his talks with John McCain about his prisoner of war experience.
- On ride to Augusta, I aksed him how it was going. "I feel good about it. Two weeks ago the bottom fell out. I dropped from the seventies to the low sixties--61%. It happened to alot of Republicans--even Pete Domenici dropped into the high fifties. My opponent is spending \$2 million, probably a record for the state of Maine--most all of it his money--\$25,000 of his own money every day. He just writes a check to himself to cover expenses. One-and-a-half million is on television. He's on TV all the time. His signs are everywhere in the state. He has a staff of 38. Several of them do nothing but put up signs (375 a week, Doug told me). He has one issue--health care--and he'll get 40%-35% of the Democratic hard core and maybe 5% more on the health issue. I'll be happy this year with 61-62%. In years gone by, that would have been a very good story, but in the last year, we've been used to the 70's. These are volatile times. I'll be happy with 60% this year."
- Driving through Portland, I asked him whether Maine had changed in 12 years. "This district has changed. It's just like Massachusetts. A lot of Mass. people have moved up here. It's a lively cosmopolitan, more liberal city than it used to be."
- "The St. John's Valley is solidly Democratic. Fort Kent, Van Buren, Machias. It should be my most solid area of strength. But this year, who knows what will happen."
- Again and again, the sense that "this year" is different--the anti-incumbent, anti-politician, anti-Congress feeling is thought to be very strong and hurting Republicans all across the board. Hence, with a rich opponent, they are wary and they are setting low expectations for Bill.
- When I asked him what were the highlights of the last six years, "my divorce" and he said "this is not for your book" and discussed the situation. "Diane was not happy in Washington and never was." She wanted a career and Bill's political life kept her pinned down at home "doing the dishes and raising the kids, while I was away all the time." "I'd call and say, Bob Dole is keeping the Senate in session tonight and I can't make it home till late. I'll see you tomorrow."
- It didn't work out and Diane couldn't find fulfillment as a

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politician's wife. They split 'very amicably.'

- 'From a professional standpoint, it was very liberating for me. Now I can throw myself into my work and not feel guilty about what it was doing to my family. I can give much more of myself to the job. And I'm more fulfilled by the job than ever before.'
- Similarly, he said, 'I looked forward to running again. I was actually eager to run again. Maybe if I were deciding next year with all the disgust with politicians in the state, I might not have run. But as it was, I looked forward to it. I was philosophical about it, though. If, after all the time and all the work and all the energy I've put in, and all my accomplishments, people decided they didn't want me, then I'd rather not stay. It was an ego thing. I wasn't going to be forced out by some guy with money. There are plenty of other things I can do. I can go on to do anything.'
- The divorce, it seems, liberated him from a schizoid existence.
- Of his last six years, he noted earlier in our conversation, that the novel took one year and the Iran Contra took nearly two years.
- When I asked how he became an expert in defense, he said: 'You learn the acronyms and then you go there and see the things for yourself. You fly in the planes, you touch the guns, you ride on personnel carriers, you ride in the tanks, you fire the bazooka guns, you visit on the ships, you do it all, see it all, touch it all, and that gives meaning to the acronyms. People know you understand. I've got a little following now of people who trust what I tell them, who listen to me and accept what I say. Going to the Persian Gulf will be necessary if I expect to have people listen to me. And they do.' He cites examples.
- Then he talks about his six years almost wholly in terms of what he has accomplished on the AS Committee - reorganized joint chiefs, got a central command structure (the one they use in the Gulf now), B-2 fight. 'I got 42 votes against the B-2 bomber. We almost won. We couldn't have gotten that number without my leadership and credibility. Pat Leahy just doesn't have credibility on that subject. Next year we'll win.' Editorials cite this as this season's example of his 'independence'. He always has something of this sort.

Still the basketball player. Some game with HS alumni members of the team - he was hit and injured his knee to the point where he needs surgery. 'Tore a ligament and tore a cartilage' where a guy fell on him. 'I'm so competitive. I lay there for awhile; they put a plastic bandage on it and I went back to play some more; I scored four points before I collapsed and had to be carried off the floor.'

The doctor told him he needed either bed rest, or a cast, crutches or a cane. He refused all of it and went to Persian Gulf with his knee all bashed up. 'I didn't want to appear, at election time, in any sort of weakened condition.' He goes into this at length; his argument with

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the doctor and his "signing off" that they were not responsible--dragged self around in sand-128 degrees in desert-gulf water 95 degrees.

- The points he was making about the desert--"miles and miles of sand, 128 degree heat, stamps that wouldn't stick to envelopes because of humidity"--were that "it was important that I went there and saw these things so that when I came back, I was more believable."
- Re Pell in Gulf: ^{in pussy cat gentleman} "He was just as ineffective there as he was in Washington. We had some real news hounds in the group and they trampled him in the rush to get to the cameras."
- Re the cycle: He goes to D.C. to meet with Bush after one day of campaigning.
- We went to "Senior Spectrum," the senior citizens group in the area (I have news clip). When we said Lord's Prayer, saluted the flag and then sang the Stars Spangled Banner, I knew I was on the road, out in the country again!!"
- McKernan told story of M.C. Smith--to keep the linkage going--that when she went to fourth grade at the M.C. Smith School, some kid asked her "how does it feel to be named after a school?" Nice.
- Brennan said "old traditions die slowly." Republicanism of Maine. Bill said later "did you hear Brennan say 'old traditions die slowly?'" I don't think you ought to use the word 'die' in that group. Story about guy who turned Dem. yet hadn't yet told his father. Spoke of "walking together" when he was governor.
- Bill started with joke about "creativity" - 3 date booths at a fair. "Love an economics major: we supply on demand". "Love a history major: I'll be a date to remember." "Love a classics major: we've had 2000 years of experience."
- Said he joined aging committee in 1975 - joined Claude Pepper - one of his first bills was "nursing home patient bill of rights" - passed finally in 1989.
- Mandatory retirement - wrong policy - Will Geer: "a person has to have a podium to pound on. Don't take away the podium." Don't put people on the shelf.
- Spoke of his father who at 81 still works 18 hours a day, "still trying to make the perfect roll." And he told story of his 43 points and father saying he could have had 45. "You can always do better. Still at the age of 87, he's trying to bake the perfect roll."
- Wants earnings cap for social security recipients removed.
- Talked about home health care-he worked with Pepper to make point that people didn't need to be in nursing home, that some went there because

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no place else-should be at home-helped pass "'Household Care Act'".

- Spoke of rural health care-said he had helped a doctor stay in rural area - Night Haven (?) - promised Older America's Act.
- Spoke of budget agreement just passed. Social Security not touched, no cuts, no COLA cuts, "'I resisted all cuts in Medicare and I do not support the budget because I had made that promise to you.'"
- "'When you drink the water, don't forget the people who dig the well.'"
"'You have dug the well and we will not forget what you have done for us.'"
- Afterward. "'We'll do well with the senior citizens. At least we always have. We'll have to see, though, how the health issue plays with them. The elderly in Maine are not well off. They are mostly poor. The wealthy ones who go to Florida, they are in good shape. Whether the poor understand what the Canadian system is really like, I'm not sure.'"
- A car goes by with a 'York County Loves Bill Cohen' bumper sticker. Cohen says, "'they loved me in September. Well how about now?'" He's musing all the time about the potential fall-off.
- The right wing is still with him. At some point he noted "'there was a motion with Republican State Committee to rule me out of the Republican party.'" He laughed. Then there was a Republican senator in Augusta--
"'One right winger is on my case. He's a Ku Klux Klan and a Nazi as far as I'm concerned. He called and was hinting around for some money. We won't give him any more and I won't make a tape supporting him.'" At the fund raiser, several of the Maine House candidates thanked Bill for his support and for making a tape for them. The senator (Norm Weymouth) never mentioned Bill. Coming out, Bill said "'did you hear those candidates talk about the tape I did for them. I wonder what Norm Weymouth was thinking.'"
- He also noted that one vote he cast "'caused resignations from my Finance Committee. But I don't think it was my vote. They used it as an excuse to do what they wanted to do anyway.'" But one constant in 12 years is the very conservative Republican opposition to Bill.
- News conference at White House - all the key comments are reported in John Day's article in BDN.
- "'I've tried to be a multidimensional senator and a multidimensional candidate.'" He used this phrasing often to compare himself to his one-issue opponent.
- "'Or, what would Rolde do for Aroostook County about potatoes, fish, shoes, Bath Iron Works, Portsmouth-Kittery, Navy yard, blueberries, the hard products industry?'" (mentions me and nods in my direction)
- "'The Maine Teachers, the Sportman's Alliance, the League of

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*The cons. Repub.
problem*

Conservative Voters have supported me. I've demonstrated my ability in all these areas. Has my opponent?"

- His campaign gave \$5000 to Governor Jack McKernan. He's helping him all he can and that is the race that's getting all the attention. He thinks McK. has turned it around after being down 12-13 points. McK, at the fund-raiser, attributed the turnaround to an ad on TV that told story of the financial condition at state capitol. Better than Brennan's "financial mess" had portrayed it.
- In terms of his career, the circumstances of the election--general disgust and Republican misery--the challenge now is to survive. "Just to win would be a major accomplishment this year. It's a challenging race to say the least. It's tougher than the last one, probably the most expensive race in the history of Maine. I'm campaigning hard." No more talk of big margins. But he could win by a margin so slim that he would no longer be seen as "an institution" and that would hurt.
- His explanation of his budget vote was couched in Maine terms--that summit agreement was had and they had to struggle to make it more fair--even though he voted against it because of Medicare and gas tax "which I thought would impact too heavily on the people of Maine." Of the summit, "there was a two cent tax on heating fuel, double the gas tax, plus \$60 million in Medicare reductions." Second was more fair and he praises Mitchell, but could not support it. Had told Bush in 1989 that he would not support any cuts in Medicare, told Dole that too. Bush, he says, originally wanted \$100 billion in Medicare cuts, then down to \$60 billion, now \$44 billion. Bill wanted 33% top rate plus surtax. Re one reporter, "I saw him wince when I said 33%, and I saw him wince again when I proposed a 10% surtax on millionaires."
- At the new conference, he went into great lengths about the War Powers Act--that's what he really likes to talk about--war and peace. Some reporters drifted away, some stayed and listened. It was a great lecture--like the one he gave later at the Waterloo Sentinel. But there was not all day any similar comment about a Maine problem. He often ticked off the Maine accomplishments-BIW, blueberries, etc. But that is not where Bill Cohen lives. It's foreign policy-defense policy that lights him up.
- He talked in the car, and again in other settings, about Alvin Toffler's new book and how he is always ahead of the curve. Cites the title "Power Shift" as evidence that we are in "volatile times", "changing times", "in transition", "seismic changes across the globe."

Radio Taping - WFAU/WKOG

- He used all these terms during the radio interview with woman who seemed, he said later, "pretty disenchanted with the world." She quoted the apocalyptic things from Roll Call.
- On way to the taping, a guy pops out of van and says, "I'm Bob Dow. I

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did the play-by-play when you were playing basketball for Burger High School. Those were great days, weren't they. I still have the tapes.' They reminisced a little. An example of how things continue and reverberate and thread together in a small state. The station was in Augusta.

- He told the radio host--among other things--that 'I don't believe in single issues' and ticked off his Maine accomplishments.
- They have large segment on health issue-15 minutes of 35! It had become clear by now to me that the challenger had set the issue agenda for the campaign--that Bill would have to talk about health everywhere he went. When people start on 'the campaign' they go right to the health issue raised by his opponent. Bill goes into it at length and he has his own health bill now (put in in September as a backfire, I'm sure), but he also makes his multidimensional pitch. And he gets better as the day goes on in exposing the downside of the Canadian health system--which is Roldes' only issue.
- His questioner takes cause or big issues from Roll Call--from first section re disenchantment, one on energy and one on nuclear war (Wiggins quote).
- On disenchantment, 'I want to continue to be the voice and the vote of the people of Maine.'
- On energy, 'We forget the lessons of the 70's. It took me 15 years to get that law passed to give tax credits for energy conservation.'
- He ends on upbeat note. 'We should look forward to these times. They are exciting times and we should not be discouraged. We should not live by the discouraging Chinese Proverb, 'may you live in interesting times'. I believe we can look forward to a time of regeneration, not a time of decay.' Part of his own more upbeat mood at this time of his career.
- At one point he said of the budget battle, 'This is democracy at work. A great deal is at stake. Interests clash. It isn't easy and you can't work things out quickly. Part of the legislative process is waiting. Sometimes you can't push it.'
- One of the more interesting constants of travelling with Bill is his running spontaneous complaining that reporters want to find out 'what makes me tick.' He knows that there is something different about himself--or I assume he knows--that puzzles reporters. And he keeps bringing it up--but in the context of a critique of reporters and the press. He will never be at ease with the press.
- It all began when, after state House press conference, Jan showed him the Kennebec Journal endorsement, which she said was 'a surprise. I never thought they would do it. They are so Democratic.' He read it and commented on one phrase, 'Not a warm and confiding person'. 'You're damn right. Every time you confide in them, they stick it to

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you." That was all he said then. But he came back to it when a reporter from the Waterloo Sentinal phoned in a request when Bill was at the Sentinal later that afternoon for a half-hour interview, in Jan's words, "to talk about what makes Bill tick." That set Bill off.

- "I'm not going to talk to him. I don't have time, do I? We'll make sure I don't. I gave him half-an-hour on the phone and he swallowed Rolde's ideas on health care completely. He is so partisan and biased. I can't stand these reporters who want to know "what makes you tick. They all want to climb inside your head."
- "Do you want to talk about your divorce?" "No." "You are a very private person?" "Yes I am. Next question." "You are so complicated." "Isn't everyone complicated?" "You're two different people. In Maine you talk about baking bread, but in Washington you talk about foreign policy." "Do you want me to talk about baking bread with the Joint Committee on Intelligence?" "You're a loner." "Why do you say that?"

"When we went to the Gulf, we had a terrific guide. On the last night, we were going to have a dinner and we wanted to thank him. I offered to write a poem for the occasion. Everyone thought it was a great idea. So on our bus ride back to our hotel, on the last afternoon, I went to the back of the bus to compose a poem. A reporter wrote 'Cohen sat all by himself in the back of the bus for two hours.' They didn't ask me what I was doing--working on a poem on behalf of the group. Of course, it went over big with everyone that evening. But the story was 'Cohen is a loner.' Give me a break! They think there is nothing to a politician but ambition. No wonder I don't want to do an interview with this guy on what makes you tick."

- September 8-9 poll by Bangor Daily News/Capitol News Service - Cohen 69.1, Rolde 19.9, not sure 11.0.
- BDN - John Day, "Maine Delegation Avoids S&L Onus: States' Six Legislators Untainted by Bailout Scandal".
- I went to lunch in Bangor on Tuesday with Jed French and Jim Wallace. They talked about how down-home Bill is. "You have to know the people of Maine. They like someone who works hard, who is honest and helps people. They think that being senator is the greatest thing in the world and for him to come back from on high and shake hands with people--especially when he's not wearing a suit--they like that. They think he went to Washington, but he's still one of us. And if he's in a parade or just driving along and he sees a basketball game, he'll jump out and take his coat off and get into the game. People love that."
- This was in answer to my question as to how he does so well when he's not a back-slapper and is not particularly outgoing. I think they think Maine people respect someone who is a little independent.

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- So I asked whether their comments weren't more relevant to 2nd than to 1st District. Jed said yes. "The yuppies in Portland see him the same way as people from California or New York see him. They don't know whether he's in Maine or not and they don't care whether he comes back to Maine or not. They could care less about constituency service. They see him as a senator in Washington. They think he's smart, articulate, and he gets things done down there. They are impressed with him like everyone else is."
- Maine Blueberry Commission
- Blueberry Industry Commission Group
- They give him an award--small token - "1st ever--we've never done this before."
- "Extraordinary part of my job...so many diverse interests in this state...to start in White House and then come back here.
- "I saved clothespin industry. They were in danger of going out of business because of the competition with Chinese importers. I went to the White House and while I didn't get down on one knee and kiss the ring, I nearly did. I begged the President to give me three years of relief. He did, making it one of his few exceptions, and we saved the industry. Those are the great satisfactions of this job."
- "We had a trying time a few years ago and we had to get the government involved to solve a problem. And we not only saved the industry, its getting stronger...we not only produce berries, we have worked hard on solving the marketing problem--as the potatoe industry has not, or the lobster industry. I understand that other industries are asking you guys "how you did it?"
- People say why do you do it? Why do you want to stay in this crazy job? I say, "I am plugged into an electric socket and electrified by the diverse parts of the job. I not only deal with matters of war and peace at the White House, but I can come back and deals with things of every day interest to the people of Maine.
- On way from Blueberry meeting to his folks' home, he talked about press conference, Loring, clothespins.
- Clothespins. "It's an example of the little things you can do that mean so much to people." Interesting perspective.
- Loring, "It's still there. Every year they target it for extinction and every year it survives. To put it boldly, if I don't come back to the Armed Services Committee, it won't be there any longer. We have put \$600 million into Loring since I went on the Committee. They have a new dormitory, a new officer's club, a new runway to park the B-52's. If the base closed, Aroostook County would shut down, too."
- "I was very impressed with the caliber of the questions at the press

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time lines, hostages treatment, still pursuing diplomatic channels. But, hoping for peace. But, relying on the embargo.

- In the afternoon, he said, 'If the truth be known, Bush wants to bust their asses.' In the evening, 'If you ask which Bush would rather do, pursue sanctions or go to war, the answer is clearly go to war.'
- He said he didn't announce his candidacy until one year ago, and that he didn't start fund-raising until the last year. 'For the first two years after you are elected, you can forget about the campaign. But you still have to come home to the VFW, the legion, the DAV and other groups--every weekend from May to August. I deliberately kept away from fund-raising till last year. Not like Bill Bradley who raised \$200,000-\$300,000 every year. And I announced a year ago. That's when I began the campaign.'
- From the career standpoint, I suppose the important thing is that Bill was in the White House meeting and could partake at first-hand, in an historic event. Headlines are all to effect that there is more focus on war possibility, and he was asked to talk about it by two major networks. The press conference was close to the best ever in his view. So he was running on adrenalin, getting too excited as it turned out. The early morning meeting was so energizing to him and so preoccupying that I didn't get one good answer on any other question all day. He'd say 'I'm tired, weariness is setting in.' Then 'we're in a terrific mess.' And that produced adrenalin. He and Kathy Guest and Bob Tyrer were in touch constantly. They didn't seem to doubt that the more TV the better. But there was some damage that he'd be associated with war talk. A woman came up to him in Bucksport and said, 'I think it's important that you came here. I think it's important that I came to listen to you. But I think it's more important that you came here to listen to me. And what I want to tell you is to tell the President that I didn't want him to lead us into war.' Bill said after relating this, 'that's the kind of sentiment we are going to run into.' His whole emphasis in the meeting was that there was no new evidence from the Intelligence Committee that anything new was being done to the hostages.
- He rehearsed that with me when he got in and we had a snack in the airport coffee shop and again on the way back from Bucksport.
- Bucksport is a mill town on the Penobscot River with a huge Champion paper mill. I talked with Gene Churchill, who had taken Bill to the plant gate in 1978. He knew everyone in the mill. 'When I first came, he took me to the plant gate. They liked him, but they were all Democrats. It was rough. They are big guys who work in the mill and they could knock the literature out of your hands.' 'Have you made any progress with them?' 'Yes, some, over the years.' (An example of the trouble I was having with questions that day.)
- MA - I asked him what 'arrogant' might mean with respect to MA - said he didn't know him too well, but liked him. 'He's a big cigar-champing guy who spoke forcefully with the attitude that he knew what

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was right. And he usually did. He knew as much about farm issues as anyone. His attitude seemed to be that I will tell you, but I don't have to listen to you. I think the problem was that he didn't act like he wanted to listen to anyone else."

- He objected to the media using Roll Call in improper way. "They always quote the line when I wondered why I was involved in such 'silliness and stupefaction'. And they ask me why I'm still doing it. What they completely miss is what I was talking about at the end of the session."
- Bob Tyrer re Rolde. "He has 12 people on his staff who do nothing but put up signs--at \$375 a week. Our whole campaign staff is only nine. He has 38. The business of signs is a big campaign activity. Their store front in Bangor was like a wood-working shop, stakes piled high, plywood being cut. Rolde signs boosted higher than Cohen sign caused big discussion of how to top it."
- Re clothespins, "They survived. Forster, the biggest one, gave me a fund-raiser in 1984. And one of the women made me a clock out of clothespins. Forster is still going strong." (put with other comment.)
- Re AWACS, do you still hear about it? "Every Jewish group I speak to, they still bring it up. They ask me 'if you had it to do over again, would you vote the same way?' And I say, yes I would. That pisses them off. But they are major contributors to my campaign...no other vote of mine ever caused me as much trouble politically or lasted as long as that one."
- "I'm very proud of what we were able to do on the Intelligence Committee. We established new guidelines to cut-down leaks. And there was not one leak while I was Vice Chairman. I can't even take a document out of the document room and back to my office. I worked closely with David Biren, for whom I have tremendous respect. The new people on the committee have been very responsible too."
- I asked him whether there was a difference being in the minority? "It hasn't made much difference at all. I would have liked that title of Chairman of the Intelligence Committee. But I work very closely with David Biren, a smart, good senator. On the Seapower Subcommittee, I have no problem at all with Ted Kennedy. People like John Glenn are not partisan. David Pryor was a joy to work with in the Ageing Committee. My relationship with Sam Nunn has been strong except for one period--during the Tower confirmation fight. He was the leading opponent of Tower and I became the leading defender of Tower. But even the day before the vote, he was over in my office and I was trying to talk him into supporting Tower. During the debate, I never debated him head-on or clashed with him directly, nor he with me. It was an unwritten rule between us that we would preserve the relationship we had so that we could continue as we always had when the fight was over. If I had been in the minority in the House I would have left. But the Senate is a very different institution. I can do just about everything

in the minority that I could do in the majority.'" But, as he says, he's 'not a team player.'" And he's not in a position to be Chairman of Armed Services--which might magnify the difference.

- We went to Waterville Sentinal Editorial Board. "Waterville is George Mitchell's home town. I'll bet there aren't 600 Republicans in the whole town. You won't see any Cohen bumper stickers here. This paper never gives me a break in their reporting. Their interest will be to support the Democrat. Pat McGowan's (Democratic candidate for Congress) mother is on the editorial board here. That tells you the kind of fair shake I'll get here."
- He talked (lectured) for 50 minutes about the Persian Gulf and 10 minutes about health. Jan called his lecture 'fantastic', and it was.
- "I took a little extra time on the Persian Gulf because I wanted them to see the difference between myself and Rolde. He couldn't do that. They may just support him anyway, but I wanted to make them think about it."
- "This may be my last term. I have the feeling that six years from now, people will be asking 'is that old guy still around?'"
- Waterville papers tracking poll 49.3-33%.
- Before I left I asked Bill his predictions--"Our latest poll showed 61-39. The next Bangor poll will show 56-29. I'll take a 25 point lead with one week to go any day. My own prediction is that we'll get 63%."
- 10/29/90 Kennebec Journal endorsement - a Democratic paper:
 - "something of a Maine institution"
 - "is reaching his peak"
 - "the best one-two punch of any state in the union"
 - "his independence and integrity have made him politically unassailable"
 - "Though not a warm or confiding man, is not made of marble either. He's shown an ability to change."
 - "A defense expert, he does know when to stop, as in recent votes against the B-2 bomber and military aid to El Salvador."
- Cohen on Intelligence Committee-leaks and change
- B-2 Leahy no credibility
- Madison Jr. High School, restless crowd

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- Bill kept waiting while all candidates spoke
- Bill - take care of your body - snowmobile, and set shots in commercials
- Walk - Valley knee problem - Persian Gulf
- Hathaway shirts - no Cohen bumper stickers here - Waterville - not 600 Republicans
- Maine - a Democratic state - was in 1978, too. Three of four national officials were Democrats
- In car from Wendy's-reporter asks whenever "what makes you tick?". Pisses me off - not friendly reporter - 1-1/2 hrs. with her _____

Waterville Sentinel - Poll 49.3-33.0. "I never get a break in their reporting." "No Cohen bumper stickers here."

- Persian Gulf - Soviets as key - Hussein's options and Mrs. Qubachor's
- "The mother of the Democratic congressional candidate is on editorial board! (McGowan) "That's what kind of a fair shake we'll get here."
- If oil was only problem, why would Soviets be in favor of embargo-- because of threat.
- 50 minutes on Persian Gulf!
- "What do you do about it?" "I talk to you, I hope you will print it. I talk to the President, the Secretary of State on the Today Show, on David Brinkley. I write about it. I do everything I can."
- After 50 minutes on Persian Gulf, "How do you combat the single issue of health care?"
- He goes into the bad side.
- No price tag, no sense for problems - ok on primary care, but trouble with surgery - long wait - crisis in health care - Canadians wait - no advanced technology
- Protection, preventative step 14% crack babies in (Kansas City, I think).
- "Would the American people really be comfortable sending 300 B to Washington and letting them take care of it?"
- Persian Gulf - "An aberration which will over, I hope." Then we will go back to budget problems: who pays for what?

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- He sees "a readjustment," a "sea change." "We are going through a transition process."
- "'Next year the B-2 will be no longer. We came close this year. It's a good system if we could afford it.'"
- Bath Iron Works "the largest employer in Maine when I went on Armed Services Committee. Chairman of Committee was from Mississippi. When I became chairman of Seapower Committee, I said one thing, "give me a chance to compete on an equal basis. Chairman used to have to approve changes. We asked for competition in contracting and have saved the taxpayer money--no preferential treatment anymore. One region doesn't get all business." (This is garbled and if I wanted to talk more about BIW and Bill Cohen, I'd have to ask him about it.)
- Last budget--"a beginning in turning the deficit around."
- "'Maine Talk'" with Matt Glavin - WABK - relationship with Nunn on the Tower nomination--an unspoken rule - we would not debate - we talked in the office - we wanted to preserve our relationship for future.
- Pryor "a joy;" Glenn "not partisan." Very different for House. Works with Ted K on Seapower Committee, Baren on Intelligence. Re Intelligence, "It would have been nice to have the title of Chairman. But Baren is fine."
- No such thing as free health care. No free lunch--someone has to pay. 300B, 25% of tax 15-29% on payroll tax - do you really feel comfortable sending the tax money to Washington on grounds that government will save you money. If so, it's the first time in the history of the country."
- McLeans "'Waiting to die in Canada.'" CNN, story of boy who died waiting for heart operation...Canada has run out of money...must wait, but even if you can pay, they won't let you. Canadian system builds false promises - run out of money - in debt
- October 30th Press conference - 3 cameras, 7 microphones, 10 reporters.
- White House meeting 1:15 - extraordinary, good exchange. "Baker got red tough. We had a touch exchange."
- Division of opinion between President and myself on War Powers Act
- "'Presidents don't like WPA, don't respect it, don't abide by it.'"
- "'Uneasy relationship in terms of who has the power to decide.'"
- S2 "'standing consultative group'"--consult on regular basis to have congressional advice.'" "President is surrounded by people he has chosen and those individuals are usually supportive. It is important for President to have an outside view from people who are not beholden to him for their political support.'"

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- ''Propsect is for future consultation.''
- President's patience is wearing thin. Barhantz (?) weighs very heavily on the President, who expressed moral outrage on the way our hostages and our embassy are being treated.''
- ''President will exhaust every option.''
- Calls Pell ''pussycat gentleman.''
- ''Good news from Maine'' - got a 3rd judge, potato farmers will be protected, at BIW ''four ships fully funded.'' ''There was last minute addition of 110M. I had to get in at the last minute to bring the four ships up to full funding. And I did that.''
- ''Bush is determined to put it (Gulf) back on the front page. '' It has been on the back-burner during the budget talks and we haven't paid attention to what Hussein is doing to people.
- President is convinced he has to make decision.
- Q: What circumstances would be a sufficient provocation?
- A: Attack, executing hostages, ''right to see family'', ''that in itself is an abuse.'' Needs ''more provocation than we have seen.''
- ''President feels that sufficient provocation and outrage has occurred to warrant further action if diplomatic initiatives fail and that's the big if right now.''
- President's job is to persuade, however.
- ''This is serious. We have a serious confrontation.''
- Is tide turning? The interesting thing is that this conversation is really about war. It was a gloomy report, I thought, even though Bill's posture with Bush is that he is a restraining factor. He told me before hand that when Bush said there was evidence of atrocities, ''I jumped in and said, there is no evidence.'' ''When I said that, Baker got red in the face and said 'you mean to tell me that keeping people away from their families is not abuse?'' ''I said, yes it is; I didn't say that. I only said there is no evidence that it has escalated. From this point on, it was all down-hill. I made Bush and Baker mad. It was the toughest exchange I've ever been in on...the President thinks only he can make this decision and he is in a great moral rage over this. That is not the way the Constitution is written.''
- Bill talked about representation and how ''we go into the coffee shops; we talk to people on the street. We are not some elitist group which decides whether we shall go to war or not without talking to our constituents. We are the ones who are in touch with the people of

Maine...so far the people of Maine are supportive. The President would have to make a very powerful and persuasive case before the people of Maine would want to go to war...Maine people will be supportive if there was no other options.'

- His health plan "An American Plan". "Pepper Commission has also rejected the Canadian plan." "That plan says send your money to Washington and let Uncle Sam take care of it." "We can do it the American way, not the Canadian way." "It's unrealistic to import the Canadian system."