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MR. SPEAKER, MR. SENATE PRESIDENT, HONORABLE MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL COURT:

THANK YOU FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO ADDRESS YOU ONCE AGAIN FROM THIS ROSTRUM IN WHAT HAS COME TO BE A NEW HAMPSHIRE TRADITION OF EXECUTIVE TRANSITION.

APPROXIMATELY SIX YEARS AGO, ON A SNOWY DAY, I STOOD IN THESE CHAMBERS AND ENJOYED THE HONOR AND PRIVILEGE OF BEING SWORN IN AS GOVERNOR OF THIS GREAT STATE. SINCE THEN, THESE PAST SIX YEARS HAVE BEEN THE MOST GRATIFYING, MOST SATISFYING YEARS OF MY LIFE AND I THANK THE CITIZENS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE FOR THE PRIVILEGE OF THOSE THREE TERMS OF SERVICE.

TO YOU, THE HOUSE AND SENATE, AND TO EACH OF YOU INDIVIDUALLY, I EXTEND MY THANKS AND APPRECIATION FOR THE COOPERATION AND SUPPORT WHICH ALLOWED US TO BE SO SUCCESSFUL AS A STATE.

TOGETHER WE CAN LOOK BACK WITH PRIDE AT OUR SUCCESSES IN DEALING WITH THE NEEDS OF OUR CITIZENS. THOSE SUCCESSES REFLECT THE QUALITY OF PLANNING, THE GIVE AND TAKE OF IDEAS GENERATED BY WORKING TOGETHER, AND THE ENORMOUS EFFORT THAT PRODUCED THE POLICIES, LEGISLATION, AND BUDGETS THAT SERVED US WELL.

THE COOPERATION, SUPPORT, AND LEADERSHIP PROVIDED BY SPEAKER SCAMMAN AND SENATE PRESIDENT BARTLETT AND THEIR PREDECESSORS SPEAKER TUCKER AND SENATE PRESIDENT ROY HELPED MAKE THE DIFFERENCE.

YOU ALL ARE AWARE AND I HOPE EQUALLY PROUD OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THOSE YEARS. IN THAT PERIOD WE HAVE REBUILT ALL OUR INSTITUTIONAL FACILITIES AND SERVICES, EXPANDED OUR SUPPORT AND COMMITMENT TO EDUCATION, AND DEVELOPED STATE-OF-THE-ART MODERN PROGRAMS TO DEAL WITH CRITICAL AREAS OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND SOCIAL SERVICES.

OUR EFFORTS HAVE ALSO TARGETED OUR NEEDS FOR THE FUTURE: OUR TEN YEAR

HIGHWAY PLAN, OUR LAND TRUST, OUR SUPPORT FOR WATER AND SEWER SYSTEMS AND OF COURSE, OUR INSTITUTIONALIZING OF AN EFFECTIVE, RESPONSIVE SYSTEM FOR FISCAL MANAGEMENT.

WE HAVE MET OUR RESPONSIBILITIES BY CONVERTING THE DEFICIT OF SIX YEARS AGO TO A CONTINUITY OF SURPLUSES. AND YET WE REALIZE THAT TO CONTINUE THAT MEASURE OF SUCCESS REQUIRES A CONSTANT EFFORT AND DISCIPLINE. THE CURRENT MARGIN PROJECTED TO THE END OF FISCAL YEAR 1989 IS A BIT OVER \$10 MILLION DOLLARS. TO MAINTAIN ANY POSITIVE MARGIN WE MUST CONTINUE TO BE VIGILANT AND PRUDENT IN THE OPERATION OF GOVERNMENT.

I AM CERTAIN YOU AS A LEGISLATIVE BODY AND MY FINE SUCCESSOR WILL CONTINUE THAT DEDICATION AND FOCUS. WITH THAT HELP AND GUIDANCE OUR DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES CAN WORK THROUGH THE LAST HALF YEAR OF THIS BIENNIUM WITH THE DAY-TO-DAY DISCIPLINE NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN OUR FISCAL INTEGRITY.

CERTAINLY THE EFFECTIVE COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR EXECUTIVE BRANCH, INCLUDING THE COUNCIL, AND THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH WERE SIGNIFICANT REASONS FOR ALL THESE ACHIEVEMENTS. BUT TRULY LITTLE COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE'S GREATEST ASSET, THE CITIZENS OF OUR STATE THEIR CHARACTER AND SPIRIT PROVIDE THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT WHICH MAKES NEW HAMPSHIRE SO UNIQUE.

IT IS THEIR CHARACTER AND SPIRIT THAT HAS PRODUCED OUR GREAT HISTORY AND OUR ENVIABLE TRADITIONS.

IT IS OUR CITIZENS WHO HAVE ESTABLISHED THE ENVIRONMENT AND STRUCTURE WHICH ALLOWS US TO GOVERN MORE EFFICIENTLY AND EFFECTIVELY. THEIR INDEPENDENCE, STRENGTH, AND SENSE OF UNITY DEFINE THAT WONDERFUL RELATIONSHIP AMONG OUR CITIZENS, OUR COMMUNITIES AND STATE GOVERNMENT.

AS YOU CONSIDER THE LEGISLATIVE INITIATIVES THAT ALLOW US TO MEET OUR EVER-CHANGING NEEDS AND RESPONSIBILITIES THERE ARE SOME BEDROCK NEW HAMPSHIRE PRINCIPLES AND AXIOMS WHICH ECHO IN YOUR DEBATES:

LOCAL CONTROLS

NO SALES TAX OR INCOME TAX...THE PLEDGE

CITIZEN LEGISLATURE

LOCAL SUPPORT...LOCAL BOARDS

PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS

VOLUNTEERISM

CONTRARY TO THE SELF-STYLED EXPERTS WHO DO NOT UNDERSTAND JUST HOW THIS CHEMISTRY WORKS, AND WHO YEARN TO CHANGE THIS MOST EFFECTIVE SYSTEM, THESE PRINCIPLES ARE THE BASIC "STUFF" OF WHICH OUR UNIQUE SUCCESS IS MADE.

IT IS AMAZING WHAT SWEET RHETORIC COMES FORTH ARGUING TO CHANGE OR WEAKEN ONE OR ANOTHER OF THESE BASIC TENETS. WITHOUT FAIL THOSE MIS-DIRECTED ARGUMENTS MASK A LONG TERM EROSION OF THE STRUCTURE BEHIND THE TEMPTING, TANTILIZING GRATIFICATION OF SHORT TERM POLITICAL GAIN.

SO FAR, WE HAVE RESISTED.

SO FAR, WE HAVE PERSERVERED WHERE OTHER STATES, TO THEIR REGRET, HAVE YIELDED.

IF I MAY, THEREFORE, LEAVE YOU WITH ONE ADMONITION DISTILLED FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF THESE SIX WONDERFUL YEARS: STAND FIRM. OUR NEW HAMPSHIRE TRADITIONALISM IS A MARVELOUS BLEND AND PATTERN FOR RESPONSIVE GOVERNMENT. DO NOT LET IT FRAY, FOR ONCE UNRAVELLED, IT IS VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO REWEAVE THAT WONDEROUS FABRIC.

THESE SIX YEARS HAVE TRULY BEEN THE MOST REWARDING UNDERTAKING I HAVE EVER HAD THE PRIVILEGE TO EXPERIENCE. THE OPPORTUNITY TO SERVE COUPLED WITH THE SATISFACTION OF ACHIEVEMENT IS A GREAT REWARD INDEED AND AGAIN I THANK YOU ALL FOR THAT PRIVILEGE AND YOUR HELP.

I WOULD, HOWEVER, BE REMISS IF I DID NOT ACKNOWLEDGE AND EXPRESS MY APPRECIATION FOR THE MARVELOUS OPPORTUNITIES AND MEMORIES WHICH TAKEN TOGETHER HAVE BEEN AMONG THE GREAT DIVIDENDS WHICH COME WITH SERVICE AS

GOVERNOR. THE REGULAR, DAILY TRAVELS AROUND THE STATE THAT ARE AMONG THE NICEST OF RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE OFFICE HAVE PROVIDED A SCRAPBOOK OF MEMORIES WHICH FRAME MY TENURE AS GOVERNOR.

BUT EVEN MORE, THOSE MEMORIES ARE A CONTINUING REMINDER OF OUR PRIDE IN NEW HAMPSHIRE AND ALL THAT IS RIGHT.

NO MATTER WHERE I GO OR WHAT MAY COME NEXT, VIRTUALLY NOTHING CAN EVER MATCH THE GREAT VIEW AND FEELING WHICH COMES FROM STANDING ON THE BROW OF THE OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAIN IN FRANCONIA NOTCH.

OR THE TINGLE THAT COMES WHEN SKIES CLEAR UP AND MOUNT WASHINGTON FRAMES THE PICTURE POSTCARD VISTA IN BRETTON WOODS.

OR THE AWE OF NATURE'S MIGHT THAT FOLLOWS IN THE WINDS OF STORM ALONG OUR SHORT BUT PRECIOUS SEACOAST.

OR THE RECURRING SENSE OF HISTORY AND TRADITION I FELT IN MEETING WITH VOLUNTEERS ON THE WELL-KEPT GREENS AND SQUARES OF OUR CITIES AND TOWNS.

OR THE AMAZING CONTRAST OF SUMMER'S CLEAN BLUE WATERS AND WINTER'S FIRM EXPANSE OF ICE THAT MARK THE YEAR ROUND WONDER OF OUR LAKES AND RIVERS.

OR THE SENSE OF OPPORTUNITY SEEN AND OPPORTUNITY TAKEN WHILE WALKING THROUGH THE NASH STREAM ACREAGE OR OUR WONDERFUL PARKS.

OR THE SENSE OF CONTINUITY AND TRADITION THAT GOES WITH SERVICE IN THE GREAT CONCORD STATEHOUSE.

BEING GOVERNOR OF NEW HAMPSHIRE IS ALL THOSE AND MORE.

TOGETHER THEY FRAME THE WORK AND THE JOY OF MY YEARS IN THE CORNER OFFICE. TOGETHER THEY DEFINE WHY WE ALL ACCEPT OUR CHALLENGE TO SERVE THE STATE.

AND, OF COURSE, TOGETHER THEY MAKE IT CLEAR THAT NEW HAMPSHIRE IS THE GREATEST PLACE TO LIVE, AND RAISE A FAMILY, AND WORK.

FINALLY, I HAVE A CONFESSION TO MAKE...NOT ONLY WILL I MISS NEW

HAMPSHIRE, I WILL ALSO MISS YOU...ALL 424 OF YOU. I KNOW I WILL BE WORKING NOW WITH ANOTHER LARGE LEGISLATURE IN ANOTHER CITY, BUT I AM SURE THAT OUR EFFORTS HERE TOGETHER, WILL HELP ME IN THAT JOB AS WELL. YOU ALL, IN FACT, HAVE MADE ME THE PUSSYCAT THAT I AM.

NANCY AND I AND ALL OUR CHILDREN ARE GRATEFUL FOR THE PRIVILEGE YOU HAVE GIVEN US THESE PAST SIX YEARS. WE LOOK AHEAD TO THE CHALLENGE OF THE NEXT FEW YEARS WITH MIXED EMOTIONS, BUT THE CLEAREST OF OUR VISIONS IS THAT NEW HAMPSHIRE IS OUR HOME AND ALWAYS WILL BE.

TO ALL OF YOU, FROM THE BOTTOM OF OUR HEARTS.

GOD SPEED AND, OF COURSE, THANK YOU NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Philip Weiss file 212-473-9793

KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR SUNUNU AT NAAA TWELFTH ANNUAL
CONFERENCE IN 1984

May 4-6 1984, Washington D.C.

"Thank you. Thank you very much. To all the diplomatic and corporate dignitaries here, to all the friends of NAAA, and most important to those of who are members of NAAA, I really do appreciate your patients and I will try to compress a little bit my remarks this evening. I must say it has been very pleasant sitting here through the Bob and Sam show. (laughter) However, after having listened to Sam, Bob, where are you now that we need you? (laughter).....

I would like to talk a little bit this evening about what the basic theme of this conference is. The theme of impact in 1984. Without a doubt, one of the reasons we gather together as Americans of Arab heritage, is to make sure that those values and those principle, the ancestry that we come from, the culture that we came from are all retained and that the perspective that comes to us from that culture is at least heard and made part of the debate and we hope a significant part of the decision making process. In talking about that, I think we need to place into context what we really mean when we say we are an Association of Arab Americans. We are Americans first and foremost. We are Americans who have had parents or grandparents or in some rare instances great grandparents who came to this country either recently or as much as 100 to 120 years ago and brought with them a dream. And one of the things I think we have to emphasize and at least understand for ourselves is that part of that dream was to become part of America. And to a great sense, one of the problems we, Americans of Arab heritage, have is that we and our ancestors have done that and succeeded much to well. We have become very much assimilated into the process to the point where when we stop and take a few moment and try to take a census we often have difficulty identifying ourselves. Sam spoke of coming in out of the closet. That fact is is that we have taken a long time in recognizing ourselves identifying our cousin coalescing, getting together, remembering our heritage, emphasizing our culture, and coming together in a way that reminds people that not only are we here, but we intend to make a difference.

As Americans of Arab ancestry, we bring to the process a perspective on international affairs that we have an obligation to make sure is heard and to make sure is understood. It is not just satisfying our own internal feelings. It is not just that we gather together to vent our spleen, it is not that we gather together to relieve our frustration, it is that we understand that in the best interest of this nation, we have an obligation to bring this message forth and to remind people that there is a far different side that for all to long has not been heard, has not been understood and to the detriment to the foreign policy of this country, has not been made part of the decision making process that we undergo. We gather together in fulfillment of our obligations to this nation to make sure that we can put the inputs in, to make sure that we can flex the strength, to make sure we can influence the process. That will produce in this country a foreign policy that is evenhanded and balanced and that promotes peace and justice.

Now the question that we have to answer and one of the aspects that we have spent time on at this gathering, and one of the messages that we will continue to carry until we have achieved a point where not only can we make a difference, but we will be making a difference. Just to talk about how we go about doing that. You know the answer is quite simple. I think all of understand that in the last few decades in this country others have been involved in that political process and have had great success. There are others with perspectives very different from us who have influenced the

decision making process in this country to the detriment of this nations foreign policy. And so when you ask how can we participate, how can we influence and how can we get results, the answer is quite simple. Mimic the success formula of those who have opposed these policies. And that's all we ask you to do. We ask you to make the commitment of self of time of money, of participation -- a little bit of boll, sweat, tears and money. It's not very complicated That is the secret. What it does take is more that a passing interest.

The process of politics is not complex but it does require dedication. It is no fun to campaign 18 hours a day for 5 or 6 months for a job that pays about 1/5 of what you can make in the private sector. And yet, if you feel a commitment to the process, if you feel a strength within you that says there is a cause that must be served, it becomes very easy. It becomes even easier when you sense and feel and see and hear that there are dozens and thousands behind you who are supportive of what you are trying to accomplish. What we are asking through NAAA, what we are encouraging through NAAA, what we are providing through NAAA, is a mechanism for those of you who sit in front of the t.v. sets at night and watch the news and get that knot in the pit of your stomach and say something must be done, what we are doing is providing the vehicle for you to convert that frustration into positive action, constructive effort, a process in which a difference can be achieved.

Politics is no more than a process of communication, a process of information delivery, a process of personal contact, a process of bringing a message home that carries with it a feeling that someone can represent the cause of the majority of the people that are there. It is not that difficult. Believe or not, people use the very same process to sell soap and cars and magazines and newspapers. And yet in that process, we have found a system in this country that serves the democracy. And a system that is fair, providing us an opportunity to do the same and a system on which I feel until very recently we've turned our backs on.

Now we've had some workshops, a presentation of materials on how to do the grassroots organization, on how to get together, on how to participate in the mailing and the phone calling, on how to support candidates, on how to make contributions. But let me emphasis one thing in that whole process it can not be a token gesture. It can not be a half-hearted attempt. Someone once asked how much they should give to a political campaign. My answer was that you have to give until it hurts a little bit because if you don't do that, than all you r trying to do is buy off your obligation for participation. If the cause doesn't mean any more to you than that, than don't even bother with the token gesture.

The commitment of time has to be more than just entertainment value. The process of participation has to be more than just filling in the empty hours. There has to be a sense on your part that you want to get a result -- you want to achieve the election of somebody who believes in issues as you do. So that you can stand back and say all the time, and effort, participation, contributions was worth it and look what we have achieved. In fact, token participation, participation for the sake of merely saying you were there, participation merely for tweaking the issue is worse than no participation at all.

If all we do is give the opposition cause and reason to double their efforts , if all we do is inspire an aggressive response, if all we do is target ourselves, instead of putting enough effort into it to achieve a success, that would have been worse than doing nothing at all. And so I ask you to understand that political participation is important, political participation can make a difference, but political participation means that you have to commit, spend the time and effort, put the resources and money in the process and sometimes do it enough to the point where you begin to ask yourself whether the process is really working. I guarantee you, that only when we begin to get that level of participation, only when we begin to raise that level of money, only until we are able

to coalesce that strength, only until we are able to be seen as a unified force we will be seen as not for prime time players.

I think that as an organization, as Americans of Arab heritage, we are ready to begin to participate in that process.

There is a saying that in unity there is strength. Let me tell you that in numbers there is clout and when you back those numbers up with big money, there will be success. Grass roots means getting out there and doing it. 1984 is an election year. The key to the process is breath of participation, intensity, and a focusing of resources on a given number of races across this country. And I am absolutely convinced that NAAA as set into place a process that will allow that to happen. I am absolutely convinced that those of you that want to participate can within the structure that we have available to us; to begin to see results. Let me point out to you that if all we do is achieve a handful of successes each election for the next decade I guarantee you that that will be enough to make a significant difference and begin to allow you to watch the news at night without that same knot in the pit of your stomach. You can make the difference.

Now let me add one other point which almost brings me back to the very, very beginning of what we started to say. In this entire process, I think it is essential that we stress that our participation is as Americans. And that we stress that our interest is in this nation's interest and that we stress that our concerns are concerns that we are undertaking policies that do not serve this country. And that in our process of communicating we never forget the fact that there was a reason our parents, or our grandparents, or our great grandparents came here. And all we are doing in participating is as Sam Phillips said, returning that back to the system; giving thanks for what has been achieved and expressing to that system that there are principle that have been forgotten or ignored that we wish to communicate. I promise you that once each and every one of you gets involved in that process, once we can point to an audience full, in which everyone participated in a little bit of the mailing or a little bit of the telephone calling, or a little bit of the stuffing of envelopes and everyone has made a contribution and that they are proud of claiming as their own in terms of dollars and cents; I guarantee you that the day we fill this room with people for whom we can make that statement I guarantee to you that not only can we make a difference, but on that day, that will be the day that we will have made a difference. Thank you very much.

\$6.00

WINTER 1985

ISSUES

IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

File

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

AN AGENDA FOR THE REST OF THE 80s

*Hans H. Landsberg on energy, John H. Glenn
on nuclear proliferation, William B.
Schwartz and Henry J. Aaron on medical
costs, John H. Sununu on acid rain,
Nathan Keyfitz on population growth,
J. Clarence Davies on toxic substances*

ANTITRUST POLICY AND INNOVATION

William F. Baxter

COOPERATIVE R&D: A NEW STRATEGY

William C. Norris

COST CONTROL AND DOCTORS' ETHICS

Arnold S. Relman

NUCLEAR WINTER

THE STATE OF THE SCIENCE

George F. Carrier

STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE

*Commentaries by Michael M. May, Albert Gore, Jr.,
George W. Rathjens and Ronald H. Siegel,
Theodore A. Postol, Richard L. Wagner, Jr.*

ACID RAIN: Sharing the Cost

John H. Sununu

PROLOGUE: *With each new report of acid rain damage in the northeastern, and more recently, southeastern United States, calls for government action increase. Although numerous scientific uncertainties remain concerning the exact mechanisms and effects of acid rain, the overriding political issue is not so much whether to control as who will pay the cleanup costs.*

This argument has pitted region against region—indeed, it has forged new political alliances among the states—and stalled any action in the 98th Congress. In this essay, John H. Sununu, governor of New Hampshire, examines the environmental, economic, and political geography of acid rain: who stands to gain and lose from control legislation, and which regions will control the votes. He ends by describing the compromises that may have to be struck if any agreement is to be reached on acid rain controls.

Governor Sununu, a Republican, was chairman of the National Governors' Association (NGA) Acid Rain Task Force and is now chairman of the NGA Energy and Environment Committee. He is also chairman of the New England Governors' Conference, Inc., and of the Coalition of Northeast Governors. A mechanical engineer by training, Sununu received a Ph.D. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1966. From 1968 to 1973, he served as associate dean of the College of Engineering at Tufts University. Sununu was a state representative in 1973–74 and in 1977 and 1978 chaired the Governor's Commission on New Hampshire's Future. Until he was elected governor in 1982, Sununu was president of his own engineering firms.

This funding dilemma promises to be the major obstacle to any agreement on an acid rain control program.

In February 1984 the National Governors' Association (NGA) adopted a position statement calling for a major program to control acid rain. This agreement among political leaders representing the nation's diverse constituencies is evidence of the growing consensus among both policymakers and the public that something must be done about the acid rain problem.

This consensus reflects both ecological and political concerns. Acid rain is clearly damaging lakes and streams in eastern North America, although the full extent and severity of the problem is not known. Increasing evidence implicates acid rain as a major factor in the widespread decline of forests along the East Coast. And acid rain and its precursor pollutants also pose risks to crops, man-made materials, and human health.

The political concerns are at least as persuasive. Even those politicians who are not convinced that the risks from acid rain are very large concede that much of the population sees the need for controls—and that therefore some political response would be appropriate. In this situation, policymakers become vitally interested in ensuring that the control program is done "right"—that is, as efficiently as possible or with the greatest possible advantage to their particular constituencies.

There is still lively debate on how stringent the control strategy should be, where it should occur, and at what pace. Nonetheless, the governors were able to agree last year on the broad outline of a control program. Their goal was to reduce sulfur emissions, the major contributor to acid rain, to 10 million tons below 1980 emission levels within 13 years after legislation is enacted. This would translate into nearly a 50-percent reduction in emissions in the eastern half of the United States. Admittedly, the NGA agreement did not come easily—it was six months and many heated arguments in the making. But it was finally adopted with more than the required two-thirds vote.

The governors were unable to agree, however, on the specifics of an equitable funding formula—that is, who should pay the cost of control. Moreover, this funding dilemma promises to be the major obstacle to any agreement on an acid rain control program. The problem arises in large part because the regions that produce the pollutants that cause acid rain are not necessarily the same regions that suffer the ecological damage. Thus, if the traditional approach to pollution control were adopted, the costs of reducing emissions would be imposed primarily on source regions, while the benefits, as now popularly perceived, would accrue elsewhere.

Acid rain—or more precisely, acid deposition—occurs when sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides return from the atmosphere to earth as rain, snow, fog, mist, or dry particles. The primary sources of sulfur emissions are coal-burning utilities and industrial boilers; for nitrogen emissions, highway vehicles as well as utilities and industrial sources play a major role. (The contribution of nitrogen oxides to acid rain appears to be significant as well and will have to be carefully assessed. Most control proposals to date, however, have focused primarily on sulfur emissions, both because sulfur's ecological effects are better understood and because in the East, where acid deposition is highest, sulfur compounds are thought to cause more ecological damage than nitrogen compounds.) Once released into the atmosphere, these

pollutants travel varying distances, depending on both the weather conditions and the pollutants' chemical interactions in the atmosphere. Some return within a day or so, relatively close to the source, while others may remain aloft for several days, traveling 500 to 1,000 miles from the point of origin before being deposited. Generally, in areas near pollution sources, most of the acid deposition occurs in dry form; in remote areas, the situation is reversed.

The broad patterns of atmospheric transport are known: the pollutants generally follow the prevailing winds from west to east and south to north. However, given the variability in weather patterns and the complexity of atmospheric chemistry, it is not yet possible to precisely link emissions from one source to damage at a particular site. The fact that each region receives emissions from many sources, both local and distant, complicates the task of determining culpability.

The transport issue is further exacerbated because not all regions are equally vulnerable to ecological damage from acid rain. The industrialized Midwest is responsible for a significant portion of the approximately 27 million tons of sulfur dioxide emitted annually in the United States. Yet lakes and streams in the central Midwest are generally not sensitive to acid deposition. (Sensitivity is determined by the ability of soil and bedrock in the surrounding watershed to neutralize acidity.) Some of the midwestern emissions, however, are transported to the Northeast, the Appalachian chain, the upper Midwest, and the Rockies, where the soils have limited buffering capacity and the aquatic resources are thus more easily damaged.

When this regional variability is considered in conjunction with such scientific uncertainties as the difficulty of predicting long-term ecological damage from short-term data, the complexity of atmospheric transport, and the limited understanding of the effects of acid rain on terrestrial ecosystems, the stage is set for a sincere debate about both the science and who should pay the cleanup costs.

Moreover, the costs of control—both direct and indirect—would fall on different regions and economic sectors. A program to reduce annual U.S. sulfur emissions by one-third to one-half is estimated to cost \$2 to \$6 billion per year. While significant, this amounts to only a small percentage of the more than \$120 billion that utilities collect each year. Much of the control cost would be borne by the consumers (in the form of higher electricity bills) in the regions required to cut emissions. An indirect cost of control would be the loss of mining jobs in the high-sulfur-coal regions of the Midwest and Appalachian chain, should utilities choose to reduce emissions by switching to coal with lower sulfur content rather than by installing expensive pollution-control technology.

Efforts to relieve these burdens tend to shift them to different economic sectors or geographic regions. For example, mining jobs in high-sulfur regions can be protected by legislation that mandates the use of technology such as coal washing or scrubbers to reduce the sulfur content in coal, either before or after burning. Yet for many utilities, fuel switching is far less expensive in the short term than installing control technology; thus, mandating the use of technology would increase the cost of a 10-million-ton control program by one-third to one-half.

The uneven distribution of the costs and benefits of control has pitted region against region in the debate over acid rain. Each constituency has distinct perceptions of the seriousness of the problem and of the equitable allocation of costs. Some favor a straight "polluter pays" approach; others think the costs should be widely shared through such mechanisms as a tax on electricity use or emissions, which could then be used to defray some of the capital and operating expenses of control. There is no agreement in sight.

Lacking an agreement on funding, we will probably have difficulty agreeing on the other elements, such as the exact schedule and location for emission reductions in the various regions. Conversely, if we can solve the problem of "who pays" and "how much," agreement on a specific control strategy will be easy. For that reason, this article focuses on the funding question rather than on the ecological impacts of acid rain or the various emission-reduction scenarios. And the key to the funding dilemma lies in the characteristics of the states and regions.

II

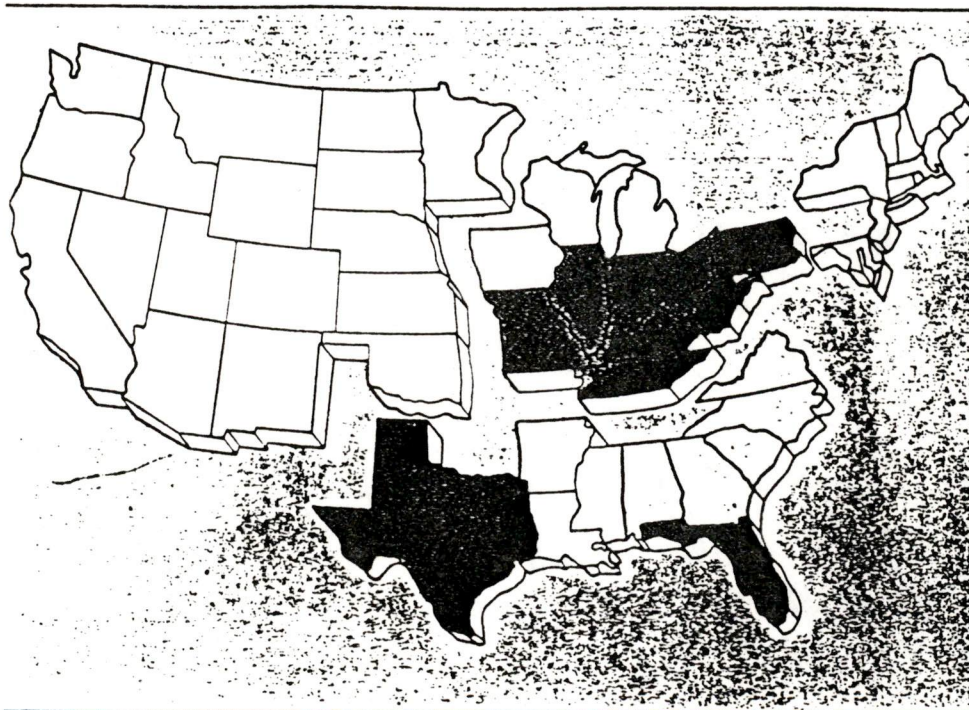
Each constituency has distinct perceptions of the seriousness of the problem and of the equitable allocation of cleanup costs.

The regional patterns of sulfur dioxide emissions are perhaps the best indicator of why the debate has developed as it has and where and how control costs might be allocated. Figure 1 shows the *total* annual sulfur dioxide emissions from all sources for each of the 48 contiguous states.¹ Figure 2 shows the *emission rate* from electric utilities, expressed in pounds of sulfur dioxide released per quantity of fuel burned.² (Electric utilities account for two-thirds of sulfur dioxide emitted in the United States.) Both the total and the rate are important. Total emissions, which indicate total sulfur loading, determine the extent of damage to an ecosystem. Most proposals, however, allocate emissions reductions largely by emission rate, not by total. The rate is key in estimating the cost of control for a region because the marginal cost per ton of reducing already low emission rates is much greater than the cost of reducing high emission rates. Populous states may have high total emissions because they burn a lot of fossil fuel, yet they may have low emission rates because they have imposed stringent air-quality standards. Conversely, less populous states that have been able to meet federal air-quality standards without imposing pollution controls may have both high emission rates and high total emissions.

The Northeast has relatively low total emissions and a low rate of emissions. The two exceptions are New York, which has high total emissions, and New Hampshire, which has a high emission rate. The region has no significant indigenous energy resource, and its energy costs, which have always been among the highest in the nation, more than doubled during the oil crisis of the 1970s. The key characteristics in understanding the position of the Northeast in this debate are that its policymakers perceive that acid rain has inflicted both short- and long-term ecological and economic damage in their region, and that the region has already imposed stringent and costly restrictions on sulfur emissions. Because of this, the Northeast demands that acid rain controls be enacted to reduce emissions in upwind areas, and it is even mildly receptive to paying a portion of the costs of emission reductions

in other regions (though, of course, it would rather not). Given the region's high energy costs, the Northeast has little sympathy for those whose rates would rise 10 percent or so under an acid rain control program.

The Midwest has a high rate of sulfur emissions and the highest total emissions of any region of the country. In fact, eight states in or near the Midwest—Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Illinois, Kentucky, West Virginia, and Tennessee—are responsible for nearly half of the sulfur dioxide emissions in the entire country. This is not surprising, given the population densities of the region, its industrial base, and the natural occurrence of large quantities of relatively cheap and convenient high- and low-sulfur coal. This has enabled the Midwest as a whole to produce energy much more cheaply than most regions, an advantage it obviously wishes to maintain.



THE GEOGRAPHY OF ACID RAIN

FIGURE 1:
TOTAL SULFUR
DIOXIDE EMISSIONS*
FOR 1980

*utility and industrial sources

Key:  <250,000 tons
 250,000-1 million tons
 >1 million tons

Yet under all proposed control programs, the central Midwest would bear a major share of emission reductions and thus of the costs. For example, a 50-percent reduction in utility emissions would translate into an average nationwide increase of 2 to 5 percent in electricity bills. But as usual, the averages mask the extremes. Consumers in states with low emissions would pay nothing, while those in states with heavy emissions would pay far more. Some midwestern states could expect electricity rate increases of 8 to 10 percent or higher. Midwesterners view this as an added—and unwelcome—burden, given the region's existing economic difficulties. In addition, the high-sulfur-coal industry is a significant part of the region's economic base; consequently, the Midwest is vitally interested in ensuring that acid rain legislation does not adversely affect it.

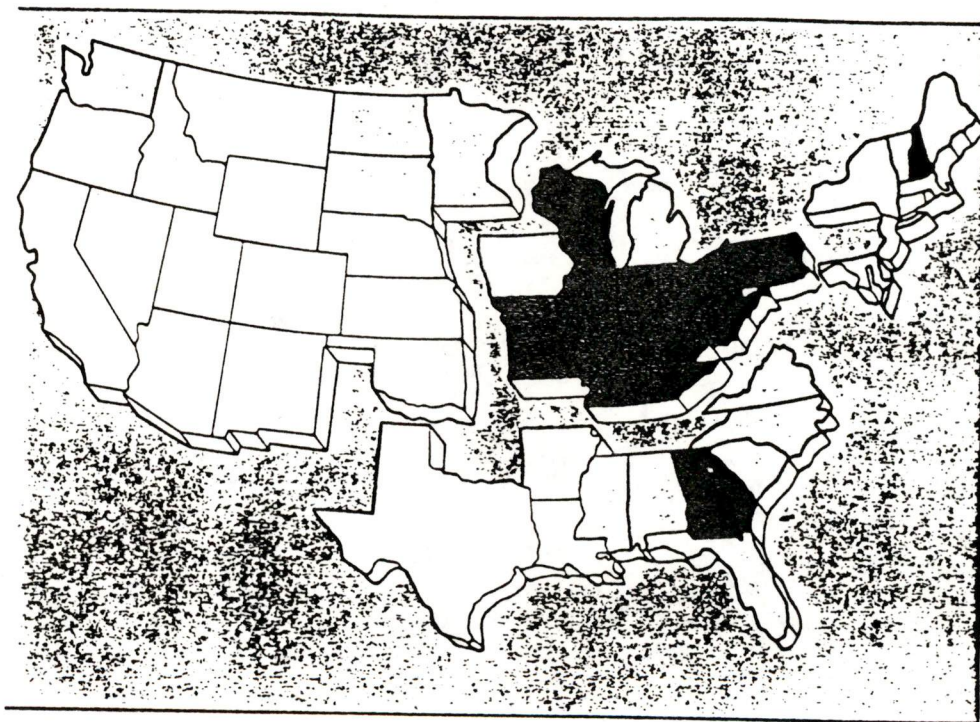
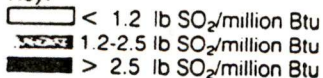
Nor would the Midwest benefit directly from the controls it would largely finance, if only ecological damage is considered. (Health and materials, however, can be damaged by the high levels of sulfur compounds found in the Midwest; emission cutbacks would reduce those risks from local sources. Yet to date, ecological concerns have largely driven the debate.) Not surprisingly, many midwestern political leaders have refused to acknowledge that acid rain is a problem and have opposed all control bills in Congress.

The Southeast is a mixture. The eastern, high-growth states have moderately high emission rates and total emissions—and they would thus bear a significant share of emission reductions and control costs. Energy costs in the region vary but are generally somewhat below the national average. Nonetheless, the Southeast has become increasingly receptive to acid rain controls

THE GEOGRAPHY OF ACID RAIN

FIGURE 2:
1980 SULFUR DIOXIDE
EMISSION RATES
FROM ELECTRIC
UTILITIES

Key:



because of the evidence of damage to streams in the Appalachian chain—and quite recently, to the forests of Georgia and South Carolina.

With the exception of Missouri, Iowa, and Washington, the states west of the Mississippi River have the lowest emission rates in the country as well as relatively low total emissions. Like the Northeast, the West has already enacted rigorous environmental regulations, which have been financed by electricity rate increases. Thus, many western states—except the northwestern states fortunate to have an indigenous hydropower resource (much of which was developed by the federal government)—feel that they are already paying a premium for pollution control, although, in fact, their energy costs are at or below average.

The generally low sulfur emissions in the West stem from a combination of factors, including that region's self-imposed environmental regulations, an abundant low-sulfur coal resource, and a relatively late period of growth (which means that their newer power plants were designed to meet more stringent federal pollution-control standards.) Therefore, although the West favors an acid rain control program that will require the high-emitting states to match western performance, they insist that they be given credit for their own expensive environmental regulations, and they have little desire to bail out regions that have not taken similar measures. Nor can they support funding formulae that in effect subsidize the high-sulfur-coal industry—by mandating the use of control technology rather than fuel switching—to the detriment of their own low-sulfur-coal producers.

Given these regional concerns, it is easy to understand why many states can agree that sulfur emissions must be reduced but cannot agree on an equitable cost-sharing formula—or, for that matter, on whether cost sharing is even warranted. The difficulty of finding an acceptable funding strategy is compounded by the Midwest's refusal to accept any emission-reduction plan, even those plans that have included generous cost-sharing provisions.

The reasons for the Midwest's resistance are clear. Political leaders do not want to endorse initiatives that raise electricity rates in their regions. And even with cost sharing, the Midwest would still face a steeper rate increase than the rest of the nation. It does little good for representatives of other regions to point out that their bills are already much higher than those of the Midwest: to midwestern policymakers, it is the size of the rate increase that counts. Moreover, if representatives from any region are going to endorse an initiative that raises electricity rates, they must be able to convince their constituents that the program will bring some benefit to the area as well. Obviously, the benefits of control are not clear to the Midwest. In the Northeast, the situation may be reversed. Although northeasterners believe that the Midwest is the source of the problem, they recognize that their own region would benefit significantly from acid rain controls. For that reason, the Northeast is willing to shoulder a broader share of the costs. But even in the Northeast a nagging suspicion remains that rate increases—if and when imposed—will not be popular.

Even in the Northeast a nagging suspicion remains that electricity rate increases, if and when imposed, will not be popular.

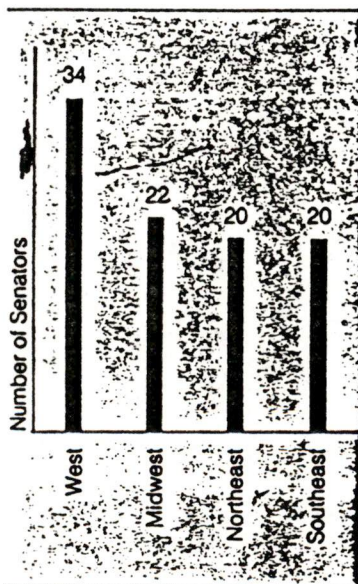
III

One might ask why the advocates of acid rain controls do not simply discount the concerns of the Midwest and develop legislation with funding provisions that satisfy the rest of the country. At first glance, this would seem to be possible—after all, only the central Midwest has consistently voted against acid rain legislation. The answer lies primarily in the differing regional balance of power within the Senate as compared to the House, shown in Figures 3 and 4. Although perhaps elementary, these power bases deserve some attention.

In the Senate, the low-emitting western states, which have 34 percent of the seats, hold the power. Simply by calculating the proportion of senators from the other regions, it becomes clear that if a bill is to gain a Senate

FIGURE 3:
THE POLITICAL
GEOGRAPHY
OF THE SENATE *

*Geographic regions as defined in
Figures 1 and 2



majority, it must represent the concerns of the Northeast and South as well as the West. In addition, the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works, which has jurisdiction over acid rain, is largely composed of senators from the Northeast and the West. By contrast, in the House the Midwest is heavily represented. And when key committee posts are considered as well, the midwestern influence becomes especially formidable. The chairman of the House Committee on Energy and Commerce, which has jurisdiction over acid rain, is from Michigan, and the ranking minority member of the Subcommittee on Health and the Environment is from Illinois. Obviously, if the House is ever to agree on a bill, it must include significant cost sharing to ease the burden on the Midwest.

These regional influences were clearly evident in the last session of the 98th Congress. The Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works passed a bill (S. 768) that called for significant emission reductions but provided no mechanism for cost sharing. The House Subcommittee on Health and the Environment, however, could not accept any bill, even one (H.R. 3400) that provided massive funding assistance through a tax on electricity use that would pay 90 percent of the capital costs of control.

Despite these very real and often conflicting regional concerns, I believe that it is possible to pass acid rain legislation. But first, legislators must realize that these concerns, more than traditional political alliances, set the agenda for this debate. Thus, they will have to frame a bill that is responsive to the distinct regional power bases in the House and Senate.

In addition, policymakers must recognize that the solution rests as much with coal policy as with environmental policy. The coal industry has a large stake in acid rain decisions and much influence over the shape of any program. Coal-fired power plants now produce about 56 percent of our electrical power, and that share is expected to expand. Although total coal production would probably not be affected by an acid rain control program, the market could be disrupted if utilities switched from high-sulfur coal, located primarily in the Midwest and Appalachian chain, to low-sulfur coal, which comes largely from the West. Hence the concern.

The coal industry is really two industries. It is the unionized, high-sulfur-coal industry, whose views are represented primarily by the National Coal Association; and it is the nonunion, low-sulfur-coal industry, much of which is represented by a newer organization called the Alliance for Clean Energy. High-sulfur coal's view of the future is much different from that of the low-sulfur segment of the industry. Moreover, on the issue of acid rain, the United Mine Workers and the National Coal Association see eye to eye.

In general, the high-sulfur-coal interests refuse even to acknowledge that acid rain is a problem. Both the coal association and the union have actively resisted all legislative proposals, even one that would have mandated the use of control technology—that is, scrubbers—and thus would have preserved significant high-sulfur-coal markets. The United Mine Workers has calculated that an acid rain bill could easily shift 39,000 mining jobs in high-sulfur-coal regions to low-sulfur-coal regions. The union and industry strategy for protecting jobs and the value of high-sulfur reserves appears to be to maintain the status quo.

The low-sulfur industry, on the other hand, stands to benefit from acid rain legislation and sees the advantage of working toward a favorable bill. The industry predicts that in any event it will increase its market share substantially because demand for clean energy in the United States is expected to climb through this century. And if an acid rain control program is enacted that leaves the utilities free to choose the method of compliance, many will switch to low-sulfur coal—and that could add 20,000 to 40,000 more mining jobs in low-sulfur-coal regions.

Jobs are not simply a West-versus-East issue, because the East also has significant low-sulfur reserves. But opponents of acid rain controls claim that the dislocation of jobs from high-sulfur to low-sulfur regions, even within the same state, would create unacceptable social and economic hardships. Nor does it seem to matter to policymakers that on a national scale, the high-sulfur-coal industry is relatively small. The high-sulfur-coal industry maintains a degree of influence in Congress that far exceeds its numbers. This influence stems from a long tradition of effective lobbying and, to a certain extent, from the power the senators from high-sulfur-coal regions have held. Clearly, if a bill is to pass, the concerns and conflicts of the coal industry will have to be carefully considered.

IV

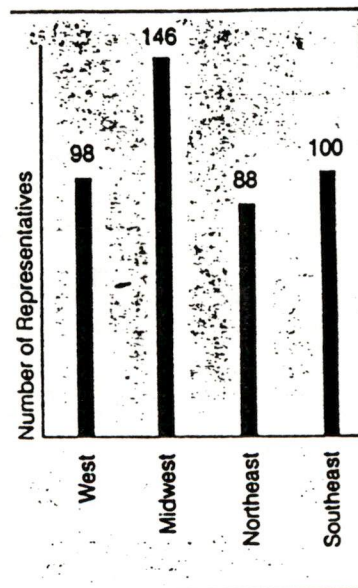
The control programs proposed in Congress and by the National Governors' Association represent different approaches to balancing the competing regional and industrial interests. Not one of these programs, which would vary tremendously in both cost and administrative complexity, was able to gain the necessary constituency; neither the House bill nor the Senate bill, for instance, made it to the floor.

In the 98th Congress, the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works has supported a bill (S. 768) calling for an annual 10-million-ton reduction in sulfur emissions to be achieved by the mid-1990s. Under this proposal, the states would assign reduction requirements to individual utilities, and each utility would choose both the method of compliance—technology or fuel switching—and the means of raising the capital. All costs would be borne by the utility and its customers. Once the reduction allocation was made, implementation would be relatively straightforward. Some utilities, however, would have difficulty raising the capital costs, and consumers within the service area could face significant increases in electric rates. On the positive side, the program would be administratively uncomplicated and cost effective in the aggregate because it would allow utilities to choose the least-cost approach to emission reductions. In addition, the bill is based on the particularly morally satisfying principle that "the polluter should pay." Unfortunately, aggregate cost effectiveness may, in the disaggregate, impose some significant burdens within regions of the country or sectors of the economy, as a comparison of Kentucky and New York will illustrate.

Both states emit a total of about 1 million tons of sulfur dioxide per year from all sources. New York's average emission *rate*, however, is less than half of Kentucky's. This is because New York, given its population, uses far more

FIGURE 4:
THE POLITICAL
GEOGRAPHY
OF THE HOUSE *

*Geographic regions as defined in Figures 1 and 2.



energy than Kentucky. Thus, to meet ambient-air-quality standards established by the Clean Air Act, New York has had to impose stringent limits on the amount of sulfur dioxide emitted per unit of fuel burned. The cost per ton of further emission reductions in New York will be much greater than the cost of significant reductions in Kentucky because the cost of removing a ton of sulfur dioxide is generally lower when a plant's emission rate is high. It makes sense to recognize at a national level that there are minimum rates of emission, below which the cost of further reduction is absolutely unacceptable. But Kentucky would probably fail to appreciate this logic if it were mandated to reduce emissions and New York were not.

Regarding the loss of jobs in high-sulfur-coal regions, the Senate does not seem to regard the potential impact as unacceptable; the bill that was reported out by the Environment and Public Works Committee does not address the issue. The House, on the other hand, has dealt mainly with bills that take a protective stance on high-sulfur jobs. H.R. 3400, which has been debated in the Health and the Environment Subcommittee, mandates that certain plants install scrubbers rather than switch to low-sulfur coal to achieve an annual 10-million-ton reduction in sulfur dioxide emissions by 1993. Moreover, the bill would finance 90 percent of the capital costs of building scrubbers. The money would be raised by a one-mill fee on electricity use, which would be used to generate a national trust fund. The bill also calls for a four-million-ton reduction in nitrogen oxide emissions.

Critics have claimed that this approach would create insurmountable administrative problems and would lock in today's environmentally questionable control technology. (Scrubbers generate large quantities of waste sludge that must be carefully disposed of.) They also maintain that it would create technological obsolescence, as it would assure the continued use of plants that would otherwise be retired and stifle the search for cleaner and more cost-effective and efficient ways to burn high-sulfur coal.

The National Governors' Association accepted a two-phase program that would obtain about half of the required emission reductions within the first five years by relying on currently available, essentially nonstructural techniques such as coal washing and fuel switching, and by using clean plants more often than dirty ones. This approach holds down initial costs, as expensive technology is not required, and also allows time for improved technologies to mature. After a reevaluation period of a maximum of three years, the states would have four years to achieve the remaining emission reductions, unless research had demonstrated conclusively to the Environmental Protection Agency administrator that further reductions were not necessary. By the second phase, more cost-effective and environmentally acceptable means of burning coal or controlling emissions should be available, as should at least preliminary ecological data that would help in judging the effectiveness of the program.

The stumbling block, of course, was funding. The debate within the National Governors' Association illustrates the degree to which this single issue influences the overall decision on what to do about acid rain. The NGA plenary session rejected a call for the development of a trust fund that would have paid all of the capital costs of the most cost-effective program. Instead, it

adopted a provision, proposed by the western governors, that called only for "the development of an equitable plan for financing emission reduction strategies and mitigating economic disruption and job losses."

There are good reasons for being skeptical, as the NGA is, of such massive funding programs as a trust fund. The trust-fund approach to cost sharing poses two distinct but associated administrative and policy issues: how to raise the money and how to spend it. Each is complicated, but as disbursement is less so, I will deal with it first.

The way in which the money is spent will determine to a large extent the response of the two segments of the coal industry, the states, and the regions to the program. For instance, if the funds can be used only for scrubbers or for capital investments, the program will be seen as favoring the high-sulfur-coal interests. Moreover, states that had no alternative but to switch to low-sulfur coal would be at a disadvantage. If the funds are not earmarked for any purpose, the high-sulfur industry will perceive that the program promotes fuel switching. Finally, states that have to contribute to the fund but that may not need to impose reductions will get nothing if funding assistance is allocated on the basis of a state's share of the total mandated emission reductions. To many, this nothing-for-something situation is unacceptable.

Nonetheless, the disbursement issue is not unsolvable. The National Governors' Association came close to an agreement on disbursement, but it was abandoned when the group could not agree on how to raise the money for the trust fund. The NGA Acid Rain Task Force had proposed that a fund be earmarked for three categories as follows:

This trust fund should be allocated to the states on the basis of their respective shares of the emission reduction target. Each state should be authorized to spend up to 100 percent of its allocation on the capital costs of reducing emissions, except that no more than one-third of a state's allocation should be authorized to be spent on the capital costs of coal switching. In addition, each state should be permitted to treat an amount not to exceed 1 percent of the total annual national allocation from the trust fund as a block grant to be used to finance any reduction strategy the state may decide to pursue.

I think this rather simple approach could have worked for several reasons. First, the nine states (Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Missouri, and Illinois, Kentucky, West Virginia, Tennessee, and Georgia) that would have to make more than three-fourths of the emission reductions—and whose interests would be largely served by installing scrubbers—would receive more than three-fourths of the trust fund. However, a significant share of the fund would still be available to finance fuel switching. Furthermore, the allocation formula could be fine-tuned to provide equal treatment for both the low- and high-sulfur coal interests as well as to provide some assistance to every state.

The other question—how to raise the revenue—is far trickier. The funds could be raised in several ways, including:

If funds can be used only for scrubbers or for capital investments, the program will be seen as favoring the high-sulfur-coal interests.

Many states believe that a national electricity tax strays too far from the "polluter pays" principle.

- A national tax on electricity use, probably one or two mills per kilowatt hour. Certain energy sources, such as nuclear or hydropower, might be excluded.
- A tax on sulfur emissions. This could be assessed to all sources or to utilities only.
- A fuel-use (or Btu) tax, which could be assessed against some or all fuel users.
- General-fund revenues, either as appropriations to a trust fund or as tax credits.

If an agreement on a revenue mechanism is to be reached at all, it will probably come from some *combination* of the above. Many states believe that a national electricity tax strays too far from the "polluter pays" principle. Nonetheless, there would be some hope of gaining their support for an electricity-use tax if the funds were disbursed in a way that helped to create markets for low-sulfur coal, treated each region fairly, provided some—if only token—return to each state, and did not cause excessive economic disruption or administrative burdens and costs.

There may be other, simpler mechanisms that meet these criteria. For example, in 1983 I suggested that if utilities were to pay the full costs of mandated emission reductions, some broad cost sharing could nonetheless be provided by helping consumers directly. First, emission reductions would be assigned by each state in the most efficient way for that state, given its economic and environmental imperatives. Utilities would be given maximum flexibility and freedom to select the appropriate means of achieving those reductions. The cost of control would be included in electricity rates. Yet if this expense were identified as a separate item on the electricity bill, the federal government could offer a tax credit or a rebate on a percentage of consumers' acid rain payments. This approach would ensure that the polluter still pays an appropriate share of controls but would also reduce the burden on consumers. Moreover, a portion of the taxes utilities pay could be set aside in an acid rain trust fund to provide funds for these rebates to consumers. By relying on the tax structure already in place, we would not need to establish a new and politically contentious fund-raising mechanism. And we could avoid the administrative complexity of an acid rain trust fund—as well as the significant and unintended market distortions that such an approach might introduce.

New Jersey officials are now working on a proposal to provide low- or forgivable-interest loans to utilities. Not only would such loans offer needed capital up front to utilities that might otherwise have difficulty raising funds for pollution-control technology, they would in effect subsidize the utilities, because interest payments are estimated to account for half of the capital costs of control.

In conclusion, although the funding issue continues to be the major obstacle to an agreement on an acid rain program, several options show promise because they allow some cost sharing but do not depart too much from the "polluter pays" principle. Moreover, a flexible disbursement strategy could preserve the existing market shares of both the high- and low-sulfur coal

industries while giving each a fair shot at future markets; both would be crucial to gaining the necessary support of the coal industries. All of these are essential ingredients if a bill is to muster and maintain the constituency that will carry it through the House, the Senate, the inevitable conference committee, and the White House.

One more point should be kept in mind during the search for an equitable solution to the acid rain problem. Acid rain is an exceedingly complex issue, both politically and scientifically; and the tendency is to look for complex solutions as well. This is a mistake we have often made during the 15 years in which we have been writing environmental legislation. Superfund, designed to clean up hazardous waste sites, is a prime example of a highly structured and centralized approach that has proved difficult to administer. We should be wary of embarking on a massive new program when a simple approach, relying on existing mechanisms, might be more effective, predictable, and expeditious. ■

NOTES:

1. Emissions, Costs and Engineering Assessment, Report of Work Group 3B, *United States-Canada Memorandum of Intent on Transboundary Air Pollution*, June 1982.
2. E.H. Pechan & Associates, Inc. *Estimates of Sulfur Oxide Emissions from the Electric Utility Industry*, prepared for the Environmental Protection Agency, 1982.

JHS - WBZ PETER MEADE SHOW

MARCH 21, 1987

MEADE: WE ARE TALKING ABOUT AN ARTICLE IN THIS MONTH'S NEW ENGLAND
MONTHLY AND IT IS WRITTEN BY A GENTLEMAN WHO IS WITH US
HERE IN THE STUDIO, ABOUT A GENTLEMAN WHO IS ALSO WITH US
IN THE STUDIO, PHILIP WEISS, AUTHOR OF "THE MELTDOWN OF
JOHN SUNUNU," AND JOHN SUNUNU IS HERE AND HE DOESN'T LOOK LIKE
HE'S MELTED DOWN ANY.

MR. WEISS, THE OVERRIDING SENSE THAT I GET FROM THIS ARTICLE IS
THAT GOVERNOR SUNUNU IS NOT THE SAME PERSON HE WAS MANY YEARS
AGO WHEN HE WAS ELECTED GOVERNOR. HIS PERSONALITY HAS CHANGED.
HIS WAY OF DEALING WITH PEOPLE HAS CHANGED. AND THE REASON FOR
THIS IS SEABROOK AND WHAT IS HAPPENING WITH NUCLEAR POWER.
NOW, WHEN WE GET TO THE GOVERNOR, I WANT TO TALK ABOUT WHETHER
HE THINKS HIS PERSONALITY HAS CHANGED, ETC., ETC.
WHAT I DIDN'T SEE IN THE PIECE WAS A QUASAL LINK WHERE YOU SAY
"AH HUH, THIS IS THE WAY THE GOVERNOR DOES THINGS DIFFERENTLY AND
HERE IS HOW I SHOW NUCLEAR POWER IS THE REASON." IS THIS A
SUPPOSITION ON YOUR PART OR IS IT A POSITION OF SEVERAL
SUPPOSITIONS YOU FOUND IN NEW HAMPSHIRE?

WEISS: I DON'T THINK IT'S SUPPOSITION. I THINK IT'S A PERCEPTION THAT
VARIOUS POLITICIANS COMMUNICATED TO ME AND I HAVEN'T BEEN IN NH

OVER THE YEARS, I'VE CERTAINLY READ A LOT OF THE PRESS IN NH OVER THE YEARS, SO THERE IS A PERCEPTION BY POLITICIANS THAT THE GOVERNOR ON THE SEABROOK ISSUE IS SOMEWHAT INTRANSAGENT AND HAS SOMEWHAT EFFECTED HIS POLICAL DEMEANOR GENERALLY IN SOME CASES. I DON' T, I MEAN I GUESS I WOULDN'T MAKE THE CASE THAT IT'S THE KEY CHANGE IN PERSONALITY THAT YOU'VE SUGGESTED IT IS. I DON'T THINK I SAY THAT ANYWHERE, ALTHOUGH BECAUSE IF YOU WANT THE GOVERNOR, YOU SEE THE GOVERNOR, QUOTE "OF OLD," IS THE GOVERNOR OF NOW, HE IS CHARMING, BRILLILANT, EFFECTIVE, PUBLIC PERSON. BUT THERE ARE AN INCREASING NUMBER OF INCIDENTS THAT SEEM TO RELATE TO SEABROOK AND THE CHANGE IN POLITICS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

MEADE: YOU MENTIONED THAT WAS INTRANSAGENT ON THE SEABROOK ISSUE, AND I'M OPPOSED TO SEABROOK.

WEISS: SO I GATHER, YES.

MEADE: I'M NOT FOR NUCLEAR POWER AND IF WE'RE GOING TO PUT IN A NUCLEAR POWER PLANT, I WOULDN'T WANT TO PUT IT IN SEABROOK.

WEISS: I DON'T TAKE A POSITION ON THAT.

MEADE: RIGHT. BUT, I'M ALSO OPPOSED TO ABORTION AND I'M OPPOSED TO CAPITAL PUNISHMENT AND I HAVE BEEN FOR THE LAST TEN YEARS AND YOU KNOW, THE MOVEMENT OF POPULAR OPINION HAS MOVED AND SHIFTED ON BOTH OF THOSE ISSUES. I STILL HOLD THE SAME POSITION AND PEOPLE WHO AGREE WITH ME ON THOSE POSITIONS WOULD SAY LOYAL,

STEADFAST, UNSWAYED, ALL OF THAT. SO ARE YOU SAYING, YOU KNOW, FOR PEOPLE LIKE YOU AND ME, WHO ARE SORT OF WINNING THE NUCLEAR REACTOR ISSUE THAT THE REAL PROBLEM WITH GOVERNOR SUNUNU IS - HE DIDN'T COME WITH US ON THE ISSUE.

WEISS: WELL, NO. THAT MAY BE TRUE IN THE OPINION OF SOME PEOPLE IN NEW HAMPSHIRE, BUT I'M NOT SURE. BUT I THINK THAT WHEN WE TALK ABOUT NUCLEAR POWER, WE'RE TALKING ABOUT ENERGY POLICY: AND OBVIOUSLY, SEABROOK IS AN ELEMENT OF ENERGY POLICY. IT'S NOT - WHEN YOU USE THE ANALOGY OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT OR ABORTION, THINGS ARE MORE MORAL QUESTIONS, WHERE EVEN A POLITICIAN...WHERE WE GRANT A POLITICIAN, THAT IS HIS MORAL BELIEF. WHAT WE HAVE HERE WITH GOVERNOR SUNUNU IS THAT NUCLEAR POWER OCCUPIES THAT SAME SORT OF TERRITORY OF BELIEF, SAY ABORTION, CAPITAL PUNISHMENT MIGHT FOR SOMEONE ELSE. THAT IT IS ALMOST SOMETHING SPRINGING FROM SPACE RATHER THAN FROM.....AND WHERE IT IS A PUBLIC POLICY QUESTION IT IS SUBJECT TO CHANGING OIL PRICES FOR ONE.

MEADE: OK. LET ME GO TO THE GOVERNOR.

MEADE: ONE OF THE THINGS, GOVERNOR, I'M REMINDED OF THE STORY MY FATHER TOLD ME WHEN I WAS GROWING UP. MY FIRST DANCE, YOU KNOW.... YOU SAY SOMETHING NICE TO A GIRL, THEN YOU ASK HER TO DANCE, AND THEN YOU DON'T DO SAY, FOR A FAT GIRL YOU DON'T SWEAT MUCH. I MEAN MR. WEISS SAYS YOU ARE ONE OF THE SMARTEST PEOPLE IN THE WORLD. BUT YOU DON'T SWEAT MUCH...I GUESS....OR SOMETHING. IT'S SORT OF LEFTS AND RIGHTS HERE.

YOUR REACTION OVERALL TO THE PIECE.

SUNUNU: WELL I'M PLEASED TO HAVE A CHANCE TO BE HERE, PETER. I GUESS I DON'T FEEL LIKE I'M MELTING DOWN AND I REALLY DO WANT TO SPEND A LITTLE TIME TALKING ABOUT THE ARTICLE BECAUSE I REALLY THINK THIS IS AN INTERESTING CHANCE FOR ME TO HAVE COME IN AND TALK TO AN AUTHOR ABOUT HOW HE CAN SPEND SO MUCH TIME ON SOMETHING AND REALLY NOT SAY VERY MUCH.

I REALLY FEEL THAT THE SEABROOK ISSUE IS ONE OF THE OVERPLAYED POLITICAL ISSUES AND WITH ALL DUE RESPECT OF THE THRUST OF THE PIECE, I THINK I'VE MADE IT CLEAR ALL ALONG THAT I WOULD BE JUST AS HAPPY IF SEABROOK WERE NOT A POLITICAL ISSUE, THAT MY LIFE WOULD BE A HECK OF A LOT EASIER IF I DIDN'T HAVE TO DEAL WITH SEABROOK.

I THINK REALITY IS IS THAT IT'S THERE, PEOPLE ARE GOING TO MAKE SOMETHING OF IT, I HAVE TO TAKE A STAND ON IT. I FOUND IT INTERESTING IN THE ARTICLE THAT AMONGST THE INCONSISTENCIES THAT I FOUND IN WHAT MR. WEISS WAS DOING, HE SPENDS A LONG TIME TELLING ME THAT A LOT OF POLITICIANS ARE SMART ENOUGH TO PUT THEIR FINGER IN THE AIR AND WET THAT FINGER IN THE AIR AND DETERMINE WHAT WAS POLILITICALLY CONVENIENT AND ARE MOVING AWAY FROM THAT TAR BABY REA AND THE GOVERNOR HAS THE GALL TO SAY THAT MOVEMENT IS POLITICALLY EXPEDIENT.

SUNUNU: WELL, I THINK THAT'S AN ACCURATE DESCRIPTION.

I THOUGHT THAT THAT WAS TYPICAL OF THE INCONSISTENCIES THAT WERE

THERE. AS TO WHY MR. WEISS DID SOME OF THE THINGS THAT HE DID IN THE ARTICLE, I FOUND SUCH A LEVEL OF INCONSISTENCY IN A NUMBER OF AREAS, THAT I THOUGHT THAT HE WAS ALMOST DELIBERATELY EXPOSING HIMSELF TO CRITICISM.

ONE OF THE REASONS I CAME IN TODAY WAS TO ASK SOME OF THOSE QUESTIONS.

MEADE: WELL, WE'LL DO THAT IN JUST A MOMENT.

HERE ARE SOME OF THE QUESTIONS I HAVE.

MICHAEL DUKAKIS IS NOT THE SAME GOVERNOR TODAY HE WAS WHEN HE WAS FIRST ELECTED

JOE BLANE, LEAVING THE BLANE HOUSE IN AUGUST, MAINE WAS NOT THE SAME.....

GOVERNOR O'NEILL IS NOT THE SAME.....

SUNUNU: OH, BUT I'M STILL THE SAME SWEET, LOVEABLE PERSON I WAS.....

I'M SUCH A SOFT, SWEET PUSSYCAT NOW.....

MEADE: HOW HAVE YOU CHANGED? SERIOUSLY,.....WE ALL CHANGE.

SUNUNU: I'VE AGED A LITTLE. I'VE GOTTEN A FEW GREY HAIRS....

MEADE: NOT AS MANY AS I HAVE.....AS LONG AS YOU'VE BEEN GOVERNOR...

SUNUNU: IT TAKES ME LONGER TO RECOVER FROM LONG PLANE RIDES.

MEADE: ARE YOU QUICKER WITH PEOPLE?

SUNUNU: I HAVE A TWO-YEAR TERM. YOU KNOW, I AM IMPATIENT. THAT IS SOMETHING THAT I ALWAYS TRY TO DEAL WITH.... THAT IMPATIENCE. I HAVE TWO YEARS EACH TIME I'VE BEEN ELECTED. I THINK PEOPLE GET ME ELECTED TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT THE STATE. I FACED A TERRIBLE DEFICIT THE FIRST TIME. WE HAD TO DEAL WITH THAT QUICKLY. I LITERALLY HAD ABOUT A 90-DAY PERIOD AT THE FRONT END OF THE LEGISLATIVE SESSION AND I TRIED TO CRAM EVERYTHING IN THST PERIOD OF TIME IN ORDER TO GET EVERYTHING GOING. SO IN NEW HAMPSHIRE, WITH A TWO-YEAR TERM, IF A GOVERNOR DOESN'T HAVE IMPATIENCE, THEN HE'S PROBABLY NOT GOING TO GET MUCH DONE. I DON'T THINK I'M ANY QUICKER WITH PEOPLE THAN I'VE EVER BEEN. I USED TO MAKE A LIVING AS A CONSULTANT. MY JOB WAS TO COME IN AND DO SOMETHING EFFECTIVELY FOR PEOPLE WITHIN A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME. I THINK PEOPLE UNDERSTAND THAT I CAN TURN ON AND TURN OFF RATHER QUICKLY AND GO ON, AND OUR RELATIONSHIP, REALLY IN THE LONG RUN, FOR THOSE THAT KNOW ME WELL, ARE NOT EFFECTED BY IT. IT'S AN EFFORT TO GET A JOB DONE.

MEADE: TWO QUESTIONS ONLY TANGENTLY RELATED TO THE ARTICLE. THE PLEDGE, THAT MR. WEISS MENTIONS IN THE ARTICLE. FOR NOW, THROUGH THE BEGINNING OF THE NEXT CENTURY, DO YOU THINK GOVERNORS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, THOSE CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, WILL HAVE TO SUBSTANTIALLY RAISE TAXES?

SUNUNU: PROBABLY. BUT MR. WEISS DIDN'T EVEN UNDERSTAND THE IMPORTANT
ISSUE OF MY RACE AGAINST HUGH GALLEN. IT WASN'T THE PLEDGE.
THE RACE AGAINST HUGH GALLEN HINGED ON HUGH GALLEN'S MIS-
MANAGEMENT OF THE STATE AND I CAMPAIGNED ON THAT.

MEADE: UH HUH.....

SUNUNU: THE FACT THAT WE HAD A \$40 MILLION DOLLAR DEFICIT. THE FACT
THAT HE HAD FOLKS IN GOVERNMENT THAT REALLY HAD NO EXPERIENCE...

MEADE: MAYBE IT'S BECAUSE I'M NOT IN NEW HAMPSHIRE. BUT IT SEEMS TO BE
THAT A PRE-REQUISITE.....

SUNUNU: OH SURE.....YOU HAVE TO DO THAT. AND THE TROUBLE IS, OF COURSE,
IS THAT HUGH GALLEN, THE FIRST TIME HE RAN, TOOK THE PLEDGE AND
THEN WAS UNABLE TO DELIVER ON THE COMMITMENT. I THINK THE KEY IS
TO HAVE SOMEBODY RUNNING, THAT NOT ONLY TAKES THE PLEDGE, BUT IS A
LITTLE BIT BELIEVABLE AND IS CAPABLE OF DELIVERING ON IT.

LOOK, WE HAVE A SURPLUS NOW. WE DON'T NEED A SALES TAX. WE DON'T
NEED AN INCOME TAX.

MEADE: I WAS JUST CONCERNED ABOUT IT IN TERMS OF THE POLITICS.

SUNUNU: ARE YOU COMING UP TO RUN, PETER?
SHOULD I WORRY?

MEADER: YOU SHOULD PRAY.....THE ANSWER IS NO.

SUNUNU: I WAS KIND OF COUNTING ON IT!

MEADE: PRAY THAT YOU GET A LIBERAL DEMOCRAT FROM BOSTON.

SUNUNU: IF I CAN SWING THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION, WILL YOU TAKE IT?

MEADE: YOU GUYS SUCKED CHUCK PEABODY IN THAT WAY.

BUT NO, NO THANK YOU.

ONE OTHER QUESTION. THE SORT OF WHOLE TAXACHUSETTS BUSINESS.

THE FASHION THAT MASSACHUSETTS GOVERNORS TAKE FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE GOVERNORS. HOW MUCH OF THAT IS GOOD NATURED AND US VERSUS THEM POLITICS.

SUNUNU: PEOPLE LOVE THEIR HIGH SCHOOL FOOTBALL TEAM. LET ME PUT IT IN EVEN A MORE PERSONAL CONTEXT WITH REGARDS TO MIKE DUKAKIS AND MYSELF.

I THINK MIKE DUKAKIS AND I HAVE A REASONABLY MUTUAL RESPECT.

WHAT WE'VE TRIED TO DO AS GOVERNORS IS FIND THE THINGS WE AGREE ON AND WORK TOGETHER AND DEAL WITH THOSE. WE'VE WORKED TOGETHER ON ACID RAIN; WE'VE DONE IT ON THE PROMENADES FOR DRUNK DRIVING IN NEW ENGLAND; THE DRUGS ISSUE. SURE, WE COULD HARP ALL NIGHT ON THE THINGS WE DON'T AGREE ON; AND CERTAINLY SEABROOK IS ONE OF THE THINGS WE DON'T AGREE ON. BUT WE HAVE TO, I THINK, BE FAITHFUL TO OUR PERSPECTIVES ON IT. BUT, IN TERMS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE AND MASSACHUSETTS, THERE'S A LOT THAT WE ARE MUTUALLY DEPENDENT ON.

THOSE ARE THE THINGS WHERE WE EMPHASIZE COMMONALITY, AND WHEN WE DISAGREE ON THINGS, WHEN THINGS WORK OUT BETTER, I'M VERY PROUD. NEW HAMPSHIRE HAS THE LOWEST UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IN THE COUNTRY AGAIN. FOUR YEARS IN A ROW. I WOULD BE REMISS IF I DIDN'T MENTION IT....AT LEAST TWO OR THREE TIMES TONIGHT.

MEADE: YOU HAVE A BIG SMILE ON YOUR FACE.

MR. WEISS...ARE YOU HAPPY WITH THE ARTICLE?

WEISS: OH YEAH....I'M VERY PLEASED WITH IT. I HAVEN'T GOTTEN ALL THE REACTION YET TO IT. IT HASN'T BEEN REALLY OUT ON THE STANDS YET. AND THAT'S ALWAYS CRITICAL TO MY PERCEPTION OF IT. BUT, SO FAR THE REACTION I'VE GOTTEN HAS BEEN VERY FAVORABLE AND I'M HAPPY ABOUT IT.

MEADE: IT'S NEW ENGLAND MONTHLY; IT'S "IS THE SMARTEST POLITICIAN IN NEW ENGLAND COMING APART?" IS HE REALLY THAT SMART?

WEISS: APPARENTLY.....MY EXPERIENCE WITH HIM.....I SAW HIM MORE IN A SORT OF POLITICAL/SOCIAL SETTING SO THAT THE GOVERNOR'S SKILL OF WORKING A ROOM WERE MORE IN EVIDENCE. BUT, UM, CERTAINLY WHAT I'VE READ ABOUT HIM AND WHAT HIS FRIENDS HAVE TOLD ME ABOUT HIM... YEAH, HE IS THAT SMART.

SUNUNU: PETER, ON THE BASIS ON YOUR ARTICLE, YOU SHOULD NOT ALWAYS BELIEVE EVERYTHING YOU READ.

MEADE: THERE'S A PIECE IN THE ARTICLE WHERE THE GOVERNOR IS IN THE STATE-
HOUSE AND HE WALKS BY SOMEBODY, AND THE WOMAN WHO HE WALKED BY
BELIEVES ITS BECAUSE SHE WAS OPPOSED TO SEABROOK.....DID YOU GET
A CHANCE TO....I MEAN....UH.....I'M AM MORE OF A GREGARIOUS SORT,
AND MOST OFTEN SAY HELLO TO PEOPLE. YOU KNOW, I'VE GOT A BAD BACK
THIS WEEK, I'VE GOT OTHER THINGS I'M DOING, I'M THINKING OF GOING
TO THIS, GOING TO THAT, I MEAN, ALL OF THOSE THINGS. I MIGHT WALK
BY SOMEBODY.....IT DOESN'T MEANI MEAN.....WBZ RAN AN
EDITORIAL THE OTHER DAY SAYING THAT GOVERNOR DUKAKIS OUGHT TO
RESIGN IN ORDER TO RUN FOR PRESIDENT. AND I GOT ON THE AIR AND
SAID NO WE SHOULDN'T. I MEAN, IF I WALKED BY SOMEBODY IN
MANAGEMENT, IT WASN'T JUST BECAUSE WE DISAGREE ABOUT WHAT MICHAEL
DUKAKIS OUGHT TO DO.....I MEAN CAN YOU SAFELY ASSIGN CAUSES TO
GOVERNOR'S HAVING WALKED BY THIS LADY?

WEISS: YEAH.....I THINK IN THIS CASE.....YOU ARE RIGHT IN FOCUSING
ON THIS POINT IN THE PIECE, IN THINK. WE MAKE SOMETHING OF IT.
DEFINITELY. I THINK IT IS SIGNIFICANT IN THIS CASE. IT'S NOT
JUST ONE INCIDENT. IT'S IN CONTEXT OF OTHER INCIDENTS IN WHICH
THE GOVERNOR SORT OF GAVE SOMEONE THE COLD SHOULDER, GAVE HIM A
HARD LOOK, REFUSED TO ACKNOWLEDGE THEM, THAT SORT OF THING. SO I
FEEL SAFE WHEN ROBERTA PEVEAR SAYS, "I HAVE THE SENSE THAT WE
WERE GETTING TO HIM." I FEEL SAFE IN GOING WITH THAT.

SUNUNU: WHEN WAS THAT SUPPOSED TO HAVE HAPPENED, BY THE WAY, PHILIP?

MEADE: IT HAPPENED LAST SUMMER, GOVERNOR.

SUNUNU: LAST SUMMER?

MEADE: YES, SIR.

SUNUNU: WELL, I SUGGEST TO YOU THAT IN THE CONTEXT, I DON'T REMEMBER
THE INCIDENT, PERSONALLY.

MEADE: UH HUH....

SUNUNU: SECONDLY, EVEN AS YOU DESCRIBE IT, ROBERTA SAYS SHE WAS BENT OVER
A WATER FOUNTAIN. WITH ALL DUE RESPECT TO THE POP PSYCHOLOGY
HERE, I DON'T REMEMBER THE INCIDENT. IF THE LADY WAS HURT BY THE
GOVERNOR WALKING BACK AND NOT SAYING HELLO TO HER, I'M AWFULLY
SORRY ABOUT THAT. BUT TO CREATE THE PUFF PSYCHOLOGY.....THAT'S
THE OPENING PARAGRAPH IN THIS ARTICLE. I THINK YOU ARE BEGINNING
TO GET THE SENSE OF THRUST OF WHAT THEY ARE TRYING TO SHOW THAT
THERE IS SOME DEEP, DARK SINISTER...

WEISS: LET ME DESCRIBE MY FIRST PARAGRAPH A LITTLE BIT MORE, SO THAT
YOUR LISTENERS HAVE A BETTER IDEA....UH.....THIS IS A SITUATION
IN WHICH, AND AGAIN IN MAKING SOMETHING OF A MINOR INCIDENT WHICH
I THINK HAS GREAT SYMBOLIC SIGNIFICANCE. THIS IS A SITUATION
WHERE THEY ARE THE ONLY TWO PEOPLE IN THE HALLWAY IN THE
STATEHOUSE. AND THE GOVERNOR WALKS DOWN THE HALL....IT'S A GOOD
HUNDRED FEET, AND ROBERTA PEVEAR IS BENT OVER, BUT SHE STANDS UP,
SHE'S A REPRESENTATIVE.....AND.....

MEADE: ONE OF 400, IS THAT CORRECT?

WEISS: ONE OF OVER 400 REPRESENTATIVES, AND IS SOMEONE WHOM THE GOVERNOR HAS ACKNOWLEDGED IN OTHER SITUATIONS, IN HIS CHARMING, APPLICABLE, GREGARIOUS WAY, WHICH GENERALLY CHARACTERIZES HIS DEALINGS WITH PEOPLE. HERE'S A SITUATION WHERE SHE IS LOOKING AT HIM AND HE AVERTS HIS EYES AND THERE'S A BLANK LOOK ON HIS FACE. AND TO HER HER.....AND AGAIN, THIS PIECE IS ABOUT NEW HAMPSHIRE POLITICS... AND THE PERCEPTIONS ABOUT THE GOVERNOR, AND HOW THEY'VE CHANGED OVER THE YEARS. TO HER, THIS WAS.....THE ICE BROKE. SOMETHING INSIDE.....SOMETHING WAS DIFFERENT. SHE SENSED SOMETHING WAS CHANGED. AND WHAT SHE PERCEIVED AS HIS REFUSAL TO ACKNOWLEDGE HER, SIGNIFIED TO HER THE SORT OF CHANGE IN THE POLITICAL CLIMATE. AND THE REASON I CAN USE AN INCIDENT LIKE THIS IS THAT.....UH... THERE ARE STATISTICS AND OTHER EVIDENCE THAT THIS CLIMATE REALLY HAS CHANGED. SO, OF COURSE, I GRAB ON TO SOMETHING, THAT IN ANOTHER CONTEXT, MIGHT APPEAR AS INSIGNIFICANT.

SUNUNU: LET ME CONTINUE ON THAT BECAUSE THIS IS INTERESTING.

I DON'T REMEMBER THE INCIDENT. BUT IF IT WAS SUPPOSED TO HAVE HAPPENED LAST SUMMER, ONE OF THE THESIS OF THIS ARTICLE IS THAT I WAS RIDING HIGH IN THE POLLS IN THE SUMMER; I WAS LEADING MY OPPONENT BY TWO-TO-ONE, AND ALL OF A SUDDEN AND SOMETHING HAPPENED IN THE ELCTION AND I ONLY WON BY EIGHT POINTS. AT THE TIME THAT WAS SUPPOSED TO HAVE HAPPENED, I WAS RIDING HIGN IN THE POLLS. THE FACT IS, I THINK THAT THEY MAKE TOO MUCH OF AN INCIDENT LIKE THAT.

I'M CURIOUS, PETER, AS TO WHY PHILIP, IN HIS ARTICLE, MADE SUCH A CONSISTENT PATTERN OF ERRORS ON THINGS THAT ARE EASILY CHECKED.

I GOT THE FEELING THAT HE WAS TRYING TO CAST ME INTO SOME KIND OF A ROBOT-LIKE INDIVIDUAL, WITH NO FEELINGS, THAT ISN'T SMART ENOUGH TO WET MY FINGER AND SENSE WHICH DIRECTION THE POLITICAL WINDS ARE BLOWING, AND GO ALONG WITH THOSE WINDS, AND YIELD ON SEABROOK, AND THEREFORE, REAP ALL THE BENEFITS OF POLITICS. AND THAT BY BEING SO STRONG ON THIS ONE ISSUE.

IT'S INTERESTING. HE'S TRYING TO CREATE THIS ROBOT-LIKE PERCEPTION. AND THERE'S ONE TIME IN THERE WHERE HE QUOTES TIME MAGAZINE. HE SAYS TIME MAGAZINE SAID, "THE GOVERNOR TAKES HIS COMPUTER IN THE CAR EVERY DAY."

WELL, I WENT BACK AND READ THE TIME MAGAZINE ARTICLE. IT WAS A VERY EASY THING TO CHECK. TIME MAGAZINE DOESN'T SAY THAT.

NOW WHY WOULD ANYONE MISQUOTE SOMETHING SO EASILY CHECKED IF THEY WEREN'T TRYING TO PUT A LITTLE BIT OF BIAS AND IT WASN'T IMPORTANT TO DO THAT.

MEADE: TO OBJECT TO BEING CAST AS BEING SOMEONE WHO IS THAT SMART?

SUNUNU: WELL, I'M NOT SURE I AGREE WITH ALL THAT'S IN THERE, BUT THE FACT THAT EVEN WHEN HE'S TRYING TO BE NICE OSTENSIBLY, AND SAYS THE GOVERNOR WAS THERE SPEWING OUT NUMBERS FASTER THAN THE COMPUTER THAT WAS THERE WAS DOING THE CALCULATIONS. THAT IS A FICTITIOUS INCIDENT. I DON'T EVER REMEMBER THAT.

MEADE: UHHMMM.....

SUNUNU: SO WHY.....I'M JUST CURIOUS AS TO WHY HE HAS CHOSEN TO FIRST
OF ALL, MISQUOTE A TIME MAGAZINE ARTICLE, AND SECONDLY,
CHARACTERIZE AN INCIDENT THAT IS INCORRECT?

WEISS: PETER, CAN I RESPOND TO THAT?

MEADE: YES, PLEASE DO. BUT I WANT TO GET TO THE LEGISLATOR BECAUSE I
HAVE A QUESTION THAT RELATES TO A LOCAL INCIDENT HERE WITH
ANOTHER GOVERNOR.
GO AHEAD.

WEISS: I JUST WANTED TO SAY THAT I DON'T THINK WE MISQUOTE THE TIME
MAGAZINE ARTICLE. WE CHECKED AS WELL. IT IS NOT A LITERAL
QUOTATION FROM THE MAGAZINE. IT'S STATEMENT ABOUT WHAT THE
MAGAZINE'S IMAGE OF THE GOVERNOR WAS.

SUNUNU: WHY DON'T WE FIND IN HERE WHERE IT SAYS I TAKE THE COMPUTER
IN THE CAR EVERYDAY. I HAVE THE ARTICLE RIGHT HERE. IT'S
NOT THERE.

MEADE: I'LL TELL YOU WHAT. WHY DON'T WE GIVE THAT TO PHILIP AND
HE'LL HAVE A CHANCE TO RESPOND.

SUNUNU: AGAIN, IT'S A MINOR POINT. BUT THE FACT IS WHEN SOMEBODY
GOES TO THE TROUBLE OF MISQUOTING ANOTHER ARTICLE JUST
BECAUSE IT SATISFIES THE PERCEPTION THAT THEY ARE TRYING
TO CREATE.

MEADE: YOUR SAYING YOU DIDN'T QUOTE DIRECTLY.....

WEISS: I DIDN'T QUOTE DIRECTLY FROM THE ARTICLE. IT'S A FAVORABLE STATEMENT ABOUT THE GOVERNOR. I DON'T UNDERSTAND WHY.....YOU KNOW.....THE PICTURE HERE.....WE'RE TALKING ABOUT POLITICAL PERCEPTIONS AND THE GOVERNOR'S SORT OF CHANGING STATUS IN THE POLITICAL MINDS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE. HE HOENING IN ON THIS MINOR POINT.

SUNUNU: LET'S TALK ABOUT ANOTHER PERCEPTION THAT YOU TRIED TO...

MEADE: BEFORE WE GO ON, I WANT TO GO BACK TO THE LEGISLATOR. GOVERNOR AGAIN, THE PRESUMPTION IS SNUB CREATED A SUPER. MICHAEL DUKAKIS, NOW I KNOW THIS STORY FROM ONE OF THE TWO SOURCES....MICHAEL DUKAKIS IS ALLEDGED TO HAVE WALKED BY A LEGISLATOR PROTESTING WELFARE COSTS IN MASSACHUSETTS OR LACK OF INCREASE IN THE DUKAKIS ADMINISTRATION IN WELFARE BENEFITS. AND ONE OF THE PEOPLE DEMONSTRATING OUTSIDE THE STATEHOUSE, SO THE STORY GOES, IS A STATE LEGISLATOR, WHO IS BORN IN BROOKLINE, AND THE GOVERNOR WAS MIFFED AT THE LEGISLATOR, SAYING, "WHAT ARE YOU DOING OUT HERE?" AND SORT OF WALKED BY THE LEGISLATOR. I MEAN, THESE PEOPLE HAVE KNOWN EACH OTHER FOR OVER 30 YEARS. THE GOVERNOR'S UPSET THAT THIS PERSON IS OUTSIDE BANGING AT HIM. THE NEXT TIME THESE TWO PEOPLE SAW EACH OTHER.....I DON'T KNOW IF IT WAS THE NEXT TIME.....BUT SHORTLY AFTER THAT THESE TWO PEOPLE SAW EACH OTHER, WAS THE DAY MICHAEL DUKAKIS ANNOUNCED HE IS RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT,

THESE TWO PEOPLE EMBRACED. ISN'T THAT JUST SOME OF THE NORMAL....

I MEAN, THE GOVERNOR WALKED BY THIS LADY, HE DID NOT.....

ISN'T THAT SORT OF THE NORMAL HEAT OF BATTLE OF WHAT GOES ON
AND SORT OF THE NORMAL BIAS BETWEEN THE LEGISLATIVE AND
EXECUTIVE?

WEISS: AGAIN, I DON'T WANT TO CONTINUE HAMMERING ON THIS POINT, BUT I
THINK THIS IS SORT OF A GLIMPSE OF WHAT'S GOING ON. YOU KNOW,
I THINK ONE THING THAT I SHOULD MAKE CLEAR IS THAT THIS IS A
MAGAZINE ARTICLE. IT IS NOT A NEWSPAPER ARTICLE WHERE THE FIRST
PARAGRAPH IS THE MOST IMPORTANT NEWS IN THE PIECE. THIS IS
AN ARTICLE THAT STARTS WITH AN IMAGE THAT, I THINK, CAPTURES
THINGS. YOU KNOW, THERE ARE A MILLION IMAGES IN EVERYONE'S
DAY, BUT I HAVE CHOSEN ONE THAT REALLY SPEAKS TO WHAT IS HAPPENING
HERE.

MEADE: I'M LOOKING HERE AT THE END PARAGRAPH WHERE THE YOU SAY THAT
THE ANTI-SEABROOK FORCES WERE GETTING TO JOHN SUNUNU. AGAIN,
ROBERTA PERVEAR'S PERCEPTION, AND SOME SENSE OF WHAT HAS
HAPPENED IN THE STATE IN THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS.

WEISS: THERE'S NO QUESTION ABOUT THAT. AND ALL THROUGH THE ARTICLE
I BOLSTER THAT POINT.

SUNUNU: I THINK MR. WEISS HAS REALLY TOUCHED ON WHAT I THINK IS THE
THE INSIDIOUS PART OF ANY ARTICLE LIKE THIS THAT HE'S TRYING TO

CAST AN IMAGE. AND THAT'S EXACTLY WHY I'D EVEN TAKE THE TIME TO COME IN HERE. BECAUSE WHAT'S HE'S DONE, AND HE DOES IT VERY WELL, IS HE'S GOT SOME NICE INCONSISTENCIES IN HERE, BUT ALWAYS DESIGNED TO CAST AN IMAGE.

HE TALKS ABOUT AN INCIDENT IN RYE, IN THE CAMPAIGN, WHERE....

MEADE: I'LL TELL YOU WHAT, GOVERNOR, CAN YOU HANG ON FOR JUST A SECOND? WE HAVE TO BREAK FOR A

SUNUNU: COMMERCIAL? SURE.....PAY THE BILLS.....

MEADE: YEAH....WE'RE ACTUALLY NOT GOING TO PAY ANY BILLS. WE'VE GOT AN HOUR WITHOUT ANY OF THAT. WE JUST NEED TO TAKE A QUICK BREAK.....AND TELL PEOPLE THAT THEY'RE LISTENING TO WBZ AND I'LL HAVE THE WBZ ACU-FORECAST IN A MOMENT.

(WEATHER FORECAST HERE.....)

MEADE: OUR NUMBER HERE IS 254-5678. MR. WEISS HAS WRITTEN A PIECE... NEW ENGLAND MONTHLY.....THE SMARTEST POLITICIAN IN NEW ENGLAND... IS HE COMING APART?.....AND THE SMARTEST POLITICIAN IN NEW ENGLAND IS HERE WITH US.....JOHN SUNUNU....AND HE THINKS HE'S IN GOOD SHAPE. WE WERE ABOUT TO GO TO THE INCIDENT IN RYE...

SUNUNU: SURE...IT WAS IN THE CAMPAIGN.....IT WAS A REPUBLICAN NIGHT IN RYE...ONE OF THE STRONG, VOCAL ANTI-NUKES GOT UP AND MADE A POINT THAT WAS ABSOLUTELY INCORRECT. I RESPONDED IN RATHER STRONG

LANGUAGE, AND MR. WEISS DESCRIBES THAT. BUT AT THE END OF THE PARAGRAPH THERE'S IS AN INTERESTING PAIR OF SENTENCES THERE. HE SAYS, "THE AUDIENCE WASHED OUT THE END OF MY SPEECH WITH ANGRY APPLAUSE." NOW I HAVE NEVER HEARD OF ANGRY APPLAUSE. I DON'T KNOW WHAT IT MEANS. AND HE SUGGESTS THAT AS A RESULT OF MY STRONG LANGUAGE, THAT ANGRY APPLAUSE, AND HE USES THE SENTENCE, "BUT THE EVENING HAS BEEN STAINED." NOW ACTUALLY, THE INCIDENT WAS ONE IN WHICH THE AUDIENCE VIRTUALLY GAVE ME A STANDING OVATION, AND THE FACT IS, IS THAT MR. WEISS HIMSELF, ABOUT A DAY LATER, CAME TO ME AT ANOTHER EVENT, AND REMARKED AS HOW ASTOUNDED HE WAS THAT IN RYE, WHICH IS OSTENSIBLY AN ANTI-NUCLEAR TOWN, THAT MY COMMENTS HAD RECEIVED SUCH STRONG COMMENDATION FROM THE PEOPLE THAT WERE THERE. NOW HOW DOES MY COMMENTING ON MY RESPONSE TO SOMEBODY AND GETTING A STANDING OVATION, FIRST OF ALL, STAIN THE EVENING? AND SECONDLY, INDICATE ANY KIND OF DETERIORATION IN MY CAPACITY TO DEAL WITH THAT PARTICULAR ISSUE. I FIND THAT VERY INTERESTING.

WEISS: FIRST OF ALL, LET ME SAY TO THE GOVERNOR, CHARACTERIZING THE RYE MEETING, I DON'T REMEMBER.

SUNUNU: IT WAS AT THE RAYMOND/CANDIA MEETING A DAY OR SO LATER, AND WE WERE STANDING OUT FRONT, AND YOU CAME UP TO ME AND COMMENTED ON THE RYE EVENT.

WEISS: SIR, YOU HAVE THE WRONG PERSON. I WAS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE IN OCTOBER

AND IF YOUR MEMORY OF ME IS AS GOOD AS YOUR MEMORY OF THE RYE EVENING THEN I DON'T KNOW HOW MUCH STOCK I CAN PUT IN THE RECOLLECTION OF THAT STANDING OVATION.

MEADE: YOU WERE AT THAT RYE MEETING.

WEISS: NO I WAS NOT AT THE RYE MEETING. I HAVE A TAPE OF THE RYE MEETING. MY CHARACTERIZATION OF THIS IS ANGRY APPLAUSE. YOU KNOW, I THINK IT'S SORT OF FUNNY THAT WE ARE GETTING INTO THESE REALLY MINOR POINTS. I'M HAPPY TO DEFEND THAT POINT, THOUGH AND I WANT TO DRAW IT OUT TO A LARGER POINT, TOO. ANGRY APPLAUSE, WHEN PEOPLE ARE SAYING, JEERING..... THERE WAS SOMEONE WHO WAS QUESTIONING THE GOVERNOR IN AN AGGRESSIVE FASHION; FAIRLY CALM, BUT AGGRESSIVE AND REALLY, SOMEWHAT ACCUSATORY I SUPPOSE. PEOPLE WERE JEERING HIM WHILE HE ATTEMPTED TO SPEAK TO THE GOVERNOR. AT ONE POINT SOMEONE WAS SAYING TO "SHUT UP." WHILE THE GOVERNOR WAS SPEAKING, TOWARDS THE END, THEY WALKED OUT WITH WHAT MAY HAVE BEEN A STANDING OVATION. BUT I CHARACTERIZE THAT AS ANGRY.... THE WAY THAT THEY RESPONDED. I USED MY JUDGEMENT AND THAT IS SOMETHING I DID THROUGHOUT THE PIECE. LET ME BRING IT OUT TO THE LARGER POINT IF I COULD. THIS WAS "A MEET THE CANDIDATE'S" NIGHT.

SUNUNU: ARE YOU SUGGESTING THAT APPLAUSE INDICATED DISFAVOR WITH WHAT I SAID, OR WITH WHAT THE GENTLEMEN WHO WAS SPEAKING TO ME SAID?

WEISS: OH NO, I THOUGHT DISFAVOR WITH WHAT THE GENTLEMEN THAT WAS SPEAKING TO YOU SAID, SIR.

SUNUNU: IT DOESN'T COME ACROSS THAT WAY. IT DOESN'T COME ACROSS THAT WAY.
THAT IS WHY I SAY IT IS A WELL-CRAFTED, INSIDIOUS ARTICLE.

MEADE: I UNDERLINED THE "FINALLY THE AUDIENCE WASHED OUT THE SPEECH IN
ANGRY APPLAUSE." I DIDN'T KNOW....I HONESTLY DIDN'T KNOW WHAT
THAT MEANT, WHEN I READ THE PIECE.

WEISS: WELL, I'M SORRY, EVIDENTLY THE GOVERNOR MISUNDERSTOOD IT, TOO.

SUNUNU: WELL, WHAT ABOUT THE NEXT SENTENCE? "BUT THE EVENING HAS BEEN
STAINED." THAT'S IMPLYING THAT I HAD DONE SOMETHING TO STAIN
THE EVENING.

MEADE: OK. YOU WANTED TO GO TO THE LARGER PIECE ON WHERE THIS GOES.

WEISS: WHAT I MEANT BY "THE EVENING HAS BEEN STAINED" IS THAT....AND
I WOULD BE HAPPY TO GO THROUGH THE ARTICLE SENTENCE BY SENTENCE
.....AND.....

MEADE: I'VE GOT TO BE AT A COUPLE OF PLACES TOMORROW, SO, UH....

WEISS: OK, OK....AND I'M GLAD.....AND I WANT TO THANK THE GOVERNOR FOR
SAYING THAT HE THINKS I DID THE PIECE WELL, EVEN IF HE DISAGREES
AND FINDS IT INSIDIOUS.

SUNUNU: I THINK IT IS EXTREMELY WELL-CRAFTED. I THINK IT'S A GOOD EXAMPLE
OF THE KIND OF THING THAT KEEPS GOOD PEOPLE OUT OF POLITICS.

..... LAUGHTER.....

WEISS: OK.....THE EVENING HAS BEEN STAINED. THIS IS A SITUATION IN WHICH WE'RE IN A CAMPAIGN SITUATION HERE. THIS IS DURING THE REPUBLICAN PRIMARY, AND THE GOVERNOR IS RUNNING AGAINST A FELLA WHO HE IS WELL WAY OUT IN FRONT OF, AND HE IS GETTING INTO A SITUATION WHERE HE IS SCREAMING AT SOMEONE. I QUOTE ANOTHER INCIDENT WHERE THE GOVERNOR WAS CHALLENGED BY SOMEONE IN A SIMILAR CONTEXT, IN A CALM WAY, BY A COUPLE OF LADIES, ONE OF THEM WHO IS ELDERLY, THE GOVERNOR BEGINS SCREAMING. NOW, THE POINT OF THIS IS, WHY DO I BRING THESE UP? THIS IS DURING A REPUBLICAN PRIMARY RACE. THE GOVERNOR IS WAY AHEAD. IT'S LIKE ROGER CLEMENS BEING UP BY FIVE RUNS, IN THE EIGHTH INNING, WORKING ON A TWO-HITTER, AND HE'S BRUSHING THE BATTER'S BACK; HE'S THROWING AT THE HEAD. IT JUST DOESN'T COMPUTE. THAT'S WHY I FOCUS ON THIS. FOR A GOVERNOR WHO IS JUST SO FAR AHEAD, WHY IS HE REACTING SO ANGRILY? AND THAT IS THE HEART OF THE PIECE.

MEADE: LET ME HAVE THE GOVERNOR RESPOND TO THAT.

WEISS: I'M TALKING ABOUT A PASSION....

MEADE: GOVERNOR, JUST HANG ON ONE SECOND.....

THERE'S BEEN A GENTLEMAN WHO'S BEEN HANGING FOR A WHILE...I WOULD LIKE TO GET TO HIM; AND I WANT TO REMIND FOLKS THAT WE WILL GO TO CALLS.

IF YOU WANT TO JOIN US, THE NUMBER IS 254-5678. HERE THE AREA

CODE IN BOSTON IS 617.

GOVERNOR, WHY DON'T YOU GIVE US YOUR SENSE OF RYE AND THEN WE'LL
UH....

SUNUNU: OH, I JUST THOUGHT THAT

MEADE: IT'S A TOWN IN NEW HAMPSHIRE...

SUNUNU: IT'S A TOWN IN NEW HAMPSHIRE ON THE SEACOAST....AND I JUST FOUND
THIS UNBELIEVABLE THAT A COMMENT THAT RECEIVES THE APPROVAL OF THE
AUDIENCE AS OVERWHELMING AS THAT DID, HE'S TRYING TO MAKE OUT THAT
THAT INDICATES A NEGATIVE SITUATION. I THINK THAT'S
CHARACTERISTIC OF WHAT HE'S DONE IN A LOT OF PLACES HERE. HE
TAKES A SITUATION AND RECASTS IT, REPACKAGES IT, USES SOME
LANGUAGE IN A VERY INTERESTING WAY, AND CREATES THE IMAGE HE WANTS
TO CREATE. I APPLAUD HIM FOR HIS TALENTS.

MEADE: WHAT DO YOU THINK, GOVERNOR, THAT MR. WEISS WAS TRYING TO DO. DO
YOU THINK SET UP TO NEW HAMPSHIRE TO GET YOU?

SUNUNU: OH, I DON'T KNOW. I THINK THE INTERESTING THING THAT I WOULD LIKE
TO ASK MR. WEISS IS HE OBVIOUSLY INTERVIEWED A LOT OF FOLKS. WHAT
DID YOU TELL ALL THOSE FOLKS WHEN YOU CALLED THEM UP? I MEAN WHAT
KIND OF AN ARTICLE DID YOU TELL THEM YOU WERE GOING TO WRITE?
THAT MIGHT TELL US WHAT HE WAS TRYING TO ACCOMPLISH.

WEISS: WELL, I TOLD THEM I WAS DOING AN ARTICLE ABOUT THE GOVERNOR AND TO

SOME DEGREE, ON HIS BACKGROUND. WHEN I WAS DEALING WITH THE
GOVERNORS BACKGROUND...

SUNUNU: AND WHEN A COUPLE OF THEM ASKED YOU ABOUT SEABROOK, DID YOU SEEM
TO INDICATE TO THEM THAT THAT WASN'T YOUR INTENTION TO WRITE
ABOUT, ISN'T THAT CORRECT?

WEISS: GOVERNOR, I DON'T RECALL THAT. IF YOU'RE MEMORY ON THIS.....WELL,
YOU WEREN'T THERE, FIRST OF ALL.

SUNUNU: WELL, THEY'VE CALLED ME AND SUGGESTED THAT THEY WERE ASTOUNDED
THAT THIS TURNED OUT TO BE AS

WEISS: WHY DON'T THEY CALL ME, GOVERNOR?

SUNUNU: THEY PROBABLY WILL. THEY'VE ALREADY CALLED ME.

WEISS: FINE. THAT'S FINE. I'M HAPPY TO DEAL WITH THEM IN A DIFFERENT
FORUM FROM THIS ONE. SO, BUT.....CALL ME. I MEAN, I'M UP FRONT
ABOUT WHAT MY ARTICLE'S ABOUT. I SAY THAT IT'S ABOUT SEABROOK TO
SOME DEGREE; BUT WHEN I CALL SOMEONE.....

SUNUNU: YOU WEREN'T UP FRONT WITH ME.....

MEADE: EXCUSE ME.....

SUNUNU: YOU WEREN'T UP FRONT WITH ME WHEN YOU CAME IN FOR THAT INTERVIEW

WHICH YOU CLOSED THE ARTICLE WITH, WHERE YOU TOLD FRANK HALEY THAT YOU WANTED TO CHECK SOME BIOGRAPHICAL DATA AND IT TURNED OUT TO BE A GRILLING ON SEABROOK.

WEISS: OH COME ON, GOVERNOR.....OH, THIS IS RIDICULOUS. I MEAN, I SAID AT THE VERY OUTSET OF THAT INTERVIEW THAT, I CAN REMEMBER THIS VERY CLEARLY, THE GOVERNOR SAID TO FRANK HALEY, "WHAT'S THIS ABOUT?", AND HALEY SAID, "GROWTH." AND I DON'T KNOW WHERE HE GOT THAT IMPRESSION, BUT I IMMEDIATELY SAID, "GROWTH? POLITICS, BUT ALSO SEABROOK." AND LET ME SAY SOMETHING HERE. WHEN I CALL SOMEONE AND ASK ABOUT THE GOVERNOR'S ACHIEVEMENTS IN HIGH SCHOOL, I TELL THEM I'M INTERESTED IN THE GOVERNOR'S ACHIEVEMENTS IN HIGH SCHOOL. IT'S FOR AN ARTICLE ABOUT THE GOVERNOR. I DON'T THINK I WAS MISREPRESENTING THE ARTICLE THERE. I DON'T KNOW THAT SEABROOK CAME UP. IF IT DID, I CERTAINLY WOULD NOT HAVE MISREPRESENTED THAT.

MEADE: GOVERNOR, WOULD YOU NOT HAVE MET WITH THE REPORTER IF HE SAID HE WANTED TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT SEABROOK?

SUNUNU: NO. BUT WE GOT INTO THE MIDDLE OF A CONVERSATION, AND WE HAD A LIMITED AMOUNT OF TIME, AND ALL OF A SUDDEN WE STARTED TALKING ABOUT SEABROOK, AND FRANKLY, I DO LIKE TO KNOW WHAT PEOPLE WANT TO COME IN AND TALK ABOUT.

WEISS: WELL, THAT'S WHY I SAID SEABROOK AT THE START OF THE INTERVIEW. I THINK THAT IT'S CURIOUS THAT YOU SHOULD HAMMER ON THIS POINT. I

SAID AGAIN, I MEAN I DON'T WANT TO REPEAT IT. THE LISTENERS OF
WBZ HAVE HEARD IT ONCE, AND....FIRST OF ALL....THE GOVERNOR
REMEMBERS....

SUNUNU: PETER, I THINK YOU UNDERSTAND THAT I'LL TAKE ABOUT ANY ISSUE, ANY
WHERE, ANY TIME. I'VE NEVER AVOIDED TALKING ABOUT SEABROOK. I
JUST FOUND THAT VERY INDICATIVE OF THE MISREPRESENTATION DURING
THE WRITING OF THE ARTICLE, AND NOW IN RETROSPECT, HAVING READ THE
ARTICLE, IT IS VERY INDICATIVE OF THE MISREPRESENTATIONS IN THE
ARTICLE. IT'S NOT A CRUCIAL POINT. IT'S JUST CONSISTENCY.

MEADE: I THINK THE LYNDON JONSON THING WAS THE TOUGHEST THING IN THE
ARTICLE. MAYBE BECAUSE IT'S BECAUSE OF MY VIEW OF LYNDON JOHNSON.

SUNUNU: WELL, LET ME TELL YOU WHAT I THOUGHT WAS THE TOUGHEST THING. AND
OF COURSE, I'M SURE THIS IS SOMETHING NOBODY WILL NOTICE, EXCEPT
THE INDIVIDUAL ABOUT WHOM AN ARTICLE IS WRITTEN. HE WAS WRITING A
COUPLE OF SENTENCES IN THERE, TALKING ABOUT THAT OMNI TEST I TOOK.

MEADE: THIS IS THE I.Q. TEST?

SUNUNU: YEAH, THE I.Q. TEST. AND IN THE NEWS REPORTING ON IT, I POINTED
OUT THAT I FOUND THE TEST IN A MAGAZINE ARTICLE ON THE AIRPLANE.
HE PARATHETICALLY ADDS, "THE GOVERNOR WORKED ON IT A WHOLE MONTH",
WITHOUT EVER ADDING THAT THAT WAS THE RULES OF THE GAME. THE OMNI
TEST WAS DESIGNED TO BE TAKEN HOME AND WORKED ON FOR A WHOLE
MONTH. I FOUND IT INTERESTING BECAUSE THE WAY HE CAST THAT, HE

WAS TRYING TO INDICATE A DISHONESTY ON MY PART.

MEADE: JOHN, I'LL TELL YA, I DIDN'T GET THAT. WHAT I GOT IN THAT WAS
THERE WAS A STORY AROUND THE STATEHOUSE ABOUT THE OMNI TEST...

SUNUNU: YEAH.....

MEADE:AND HE SPENT A COUPLE OF MINUTES ON IT, AND CAME IN SECOND
AROUND THE COUNTRY, AND 10,000 PEOPLE.....

WEISS: I DON'T GET THAT PERCEPTION. YOU KNOW, IF THE GOVERNOR EVER WANTS
TO PROVE TO SOMEONE THAT HE'S INTELLIGENT, I DON'T THINK THAT HE
COULD FIND A BETTER WITNESS OR TEST THAN I AM. I SAY THIS AGAIN
AND AGAIN; AND I'M NOT TRYING TO UNDERMINE.....I'M SORRY IF THE
GOVERNOR'S VANITY WAS EFFECTED BY THAT...

SUNUNU: NO, NO.....I WAS WORRIED THAT YOU WERE EFFECTING MY INTEGRITY.
IT'S NOT MY VANITY. I THOUGHT THAT YOU WERE SUGGESTING THERE THAT
I HAD DONE SOMETHING IMPROPERLY OR DISHONESTLY.

WEISS: OH NO, NO.....

SUNUNU: AND THAT'S WHAT I WAS CONCERNED ABOUT.

WEISS: NO, NO.....AND LET ME MAKE CLEAR TO THE LISTENERS, TOO. THERE'S
NO IMPLICATION IN THIS ARTICLE THAT THE GOVERNOR HAS EVER DONE
ANYTHING IMPROPERLY, OR ILLEGALLY, OR DISHONESTLY. I HAVE THE

GREATEST RESPECT FOR THE GOVERNOR'S HONESTY. BUT THE POINT, I MEAN, THIS WAS A STORY.....THE STORY THAT PEOPLE TELL ABOUT THIS IS THAT HE JUST DID IT ON THE PLANE, AND I WAS JUST SAYING THAT IT WASN'T THAT WAY.

MEADE: LET ME, UH.....I PROMISED PEOPLE.....THEY'RE GOING TO SAY THAT I'M RUNNING A CONSPIRACY HERE.....UH, IF YOU CAN USE YOUR EARPHONES, FOLKS, WE'LL GO TO SOME CALLS, AND CONTINUE DISCUSSION ABOUT ALL OF THIS....

I JUST WANT TO TELL YOU THAT THIS IS WBZ IN BOSTON, AND MONDAY THROUGH SATURDAY, 5:00 TO 9:30, DAVE MAYNARD IS HERE.....CAPTAIN OF BOSTON'S NUMBER ONE MORNING TEAM.....AND, UH.....HE HAS SOME SECRETS TO TELL YOU ABOUT NEXT MONDAY, ABOUT SOME GREAT PRIZE GIVEAWAY THAT HE'S INVOLVED IN. AND BY THE WAY, HE SAID TO SAY HELLO TO YOU, GOVERNOR.

MEADE: MURRAY. GOOD EVENING. WELCOME TO BZ.

MURRAY: HOW DO YOU DO.

MEADE: GOOD. THANK YOU.

MURRAY: I WAS ONE OF THOSE INTERVIEWED, AND SO I LOOKED FORWARD TO SEEING THE ARTICLE, BUT I WASN'T VERY MUCH IMPRESSED. I THOUGHT THE FIRST PARAGRAPH PRETTY SILLY, AND IT INDICATED WHAT THE REST OF THE ARTICLE WAS GOING TO BE LIKE. ANYBODY CAN BE PREOCCUPIED.

THE GOVERNOR HAS SOMEWHAT OF A REPUTATION FOR GETTING SO DEEPLY INVOLVED IN HIS THINKING THAT HE MIGHT NOT EVEN NOTICE A FRIEND. AFTER ALL, HE WAS A PROFESSOR, SO PERHAPS HE CAN BE FORGIVEN FOR BEING A LITTLE ABSENT-MINDED.....

.....(LAUGHTER).....

SUNUNU: YOU HAD TO BRING THAT UP, DIDN'T YOU?

MURRAY: THE GOVERNOR KNOWS ME BY SIGHT, BUT HE DID IT TO ME AT THE NEW ENGLAND GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE IN PLYMOUTH.

SUNUNU: I'M IN TROUBLE AGAIN, RIGHT?

MURRAY: YEAH.....THAT'S.....NO YOU'RE NOT. I WAS HURT FOR ABOUT FIVE SECONDS, BUT I RECOGNIZED THAT THE GOVERNOR'S GOT SOME PRETTY SERIOUS PROBLEMS ON HIS MIND.

SUNUNU: LET ME ALSO ADD ANOTHER THING....AND THIS IS TRUE. I HAVE, IN THE LAST YEAR OR SO, STARTED WEARING GLASSES, BECAUSE OF AN EYESIGHT PROBLEM. THEY ARE BIFOCALS; AND IF I'M FOCUSING THE WRONG PLACE, I DON'T SEE THINGS.

MURRAY: WELL, I ATTENDED THAT CONFERENCE AND THE TASK FORCE CONCLUDED THAT WE NEEDED MORE SOURCES FOR ELECTRICITY THAT WERE NOW PLANNED IN THE EQUIVALENT OF SEVERAL SEABROOKS. THE REPORT DUCKED THE ISSUE OF SEABROOK AND IT WAS CLEAR FROM THE REPORT THAT THERE WOULD BE

EVEN WORSE TROUBLE WITHOUT IT. I WAS IMPRESSED BY GOVERNOR SUNUNU'S CALM IN SPITE OF THE IDIOCY OF THE CONFERENCE BEING AFRAID TO ENDORSE SEABROOK. I WAS IMPRESSED EVEN MORE BY THE OBVIOUS RESPECT THE OTHER GOVERNORS GAVE HIM. AND, I WAS IMPRESSED TOO, BY THE CARE THAT GOVERNOR DUKAKIS TOOK TO AVOID BEING TRAPPED INTO DEBATING THAT ISSUE WITH THE GOVERNOR BECAUSE HE KNEW THAT THE GOVERNOR COULD GIVE HIM A CALM, REASONABLE AND FACTUAL ARGUMENT.

MEADE: SO YOU FEEL THAT MOST OF US WHO ARE OPPOSED TO NUCLEAR POWER CAN'T TAKE A CALM, REASONED PRESENTATION OF NUCLEAR POWER?

MURRAY: WELL, YES I THINK THAT'S THE CASE. THEY DON'T HAVE.....
I DON'T SEE HOW.....

SUNUNU: NOW I FEEL GUILTY FOR NOT HAVING NOTICED YOU THERE.....

WEISS: WISHED HE NOTICED YOU...

MURRAY: I CAN'T SEE HOW HE CAN HELP BEING OUTRAGED AND IMPATIENT SOMETIMES CERTAINLY WITH PEOPLE WHO SIMPLY DON'T KNOW WHAT THEY'RE TALKING ABOUT; EITHER THE NUCLEAR ISSUE OR THE ELECTRICITY SUPPLY ISSUE, AND YET SAY THEY ARE OPPOSED TO NUCLEAR ENERGY. THE IGNORANCE AND THE MOUTHYNESS OF ANTI-NUKES IS SIMPLY MADDENING. AND I HAVE TO COMMEND THE GOVERNOR FOR HIS GREAT TOLERANCE.

MEADE: ALRIGHT....THANKS VERY MUCH FOR THE CALL.

WEISS: PETER, COULD I RESPOND TO A POINT THERE....

MEADE: SURE.....

WEISS: I JUST WANT TO GET THE LISTENERS BACK ON TRACK IN A WAY. I JUST WANT TO MAKE CLEAR THE PIECE IS NOT ABOUT THE GOVERNOR'S EYESIGHT. THE PIECE IS NOT ABOUT THE GOVERNOR'S I.Q. THE PIECE IS NOT ABOUT THE FACT THAT THE GOVERNOR STARTED WEARING GLASSES RECENTLY. THE PIECE IS ABOUT THE POLITICS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE. AND AGAIN, THIS IMAGE IS ONE THAT CAPTURES THE CHANGE IN THE POLITICS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE. IT'S SORT OF CHARACTERISTIC THAT THE GOVERNOR SHOULD COME IN HERE AND START TO HAMMER AWAY AT A PARTICULAR SENTENCE, WHEN THE THRUST OF THE PIECE, AND THE LYNDON JOHNSON IMAGE, IT'S A STATEMENT....IT'S A JUDGEMENT ABOUT WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN NEW HAMPSHIRE POLITICS.

SUNUNU: IS YOUR CONCLUSION THAT MY POPULARITY IS NOW ON THE WAIN BECAUSE OF THE STRONG POSITION I'VE TAKEN ON SEABROOK? IS YOUR SUGGESTION, THAT IF A POLL WERE TAKEN A MONTH AGO OR SO, THAT I WOULD BE IN TROUBLE?

WEISS: I DON'T KNOW ABOUT THE SECOND STATEMENT. THERE IS CERTAINLY SUGGESTION IN THE PIECE THAT YOUR POPULARITY IS THREATENED BY YOUR STRONG STAND ON SEABROOK. YES, SIR.

SUNUNU: WELL, THERE IS A BECKER POLL OUT, A MONTH AGO, THAT HAD A 75% APPROVAL RATING. AMONG REPUBLICANS IT WAS 90 TO 9. I'M NOT GOING

TO ARGUE POLLS BECAUSE I DON'T REALLY BELIEVE IN POLLS IN THE LONG RUN, BUT I THINK IF THE SUGGESTION IN THIS ARTICLE IS THAT SOMEHOW I'VE BEEN ON A KAMAKAZI TRIP BECAUSE OF ONE ISSUE, I THINK THERE'S A FLAW.

MEADE: I THINK THERE'S SOMETHING MORE DAMAGING IN THE ARTICLE, TO TELL YOU THE TRUTH.

SUNUNU: SURE.....

MEADE: WHETHER YOU WIN OR LOSE, OR YOU DO WELL IN THE NEXT ELECTION. UH, JUST A QUICK ASIDE, OUR POLLING AT BZ TV HAVE SHOWN IN THE ELECTION THAT A MAJORITY OF PEOPLE WE POLLED WERE OPPOSED TO SEABROOK; NEVERTHELESS, A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF THOSE PEOPLE WERE STILL WITH GOVERNOR SUNUNU BECAUSE THEY THOUGHT HE WAS AN EFFICIENT ADMINISTRATOR. WHAT I THINK IS THE DAMAGING PART OF THIS IS NOT THAT PARTICULAR GOVERNOR IS UP OR DOWN, OR IN OR OUT. BUT THAT HIS POSITION ON SEABROOK IS LIKE LYNDON JOHNSON'S OBSESSION WITH VIETNAM, AND HE WILL NOT TOLERATE THE SLIGHTEST DEVIATION FROM THAT, AND ABSOLVES AND INSULTS THOSE PEOPLE WHO ARE PART OF THE OPPOSITION, AND IS, YOU KNOW, CARRYING HIMSELF ASUNDER BECAUSE OF SEABROOK, AND DOING HIMSELF AND THE STATE ENORMOUS DAMAGE BECAUSE OF HIS POSITION ON SEABROOK.

WEISS: WELL, I THANK YOU FOR READING THE PIECE SO CAREFULLY, PETER. I THINK THAT THAT IS A FAIR REPRESENTATION OFTHE TEARING OF HIMSELF ASUNDER IS YOUR DRAMATIC LANGUAGE. OF COURSE, WE USE

DRAMATIC IMAGES.....

SUNUNU: I THINK THE LAST CALLER, THOUGH, PETER, SUGGESTS THE OTHERWISE. HERE WE WERE, IN THE DISCUSSION OF ENERGY IN NEW ENGLAND; WITH SIX NEW ENGLAND GOVERNORS; IT WAS IN PLYMOUTH; IT WAS IN DECEMBER; RIGHT AFTER THE ELECTION; RIGHT AT THE PERIOD IN TIME IN WHICH THIS ARTICLE IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE DEFINED THE PROBLEM; AND I THINK THE CALLER, EXTREMELY FLATTERING IN HIS COMMENTS ABOUT ME, AT LEAST PUT IT IN PERSPECTIVE THAT WHAT WE DID WAS HAVE VERY CONSTRUCTIVE DEBATE ON ENERGY, AND ENDED UP IN FACT WITH THE NEW ENGLAND GOVERNORS ENDORSING AN ENERGY POLICY THAT SAID, NUMBER ONE: WE'VE GOT TO HAVE SEABROOK AND CANADIAN HYDRO-POWER, AND THEN BEYOND THAT, WE NEED AN ADDITIONAL TWENTY-FIVE HUNDRED TO ELEVEN THOUSAND MEGAWATTS OF ADDITIONAL POWER.

MEADE: ONE OF THE THINGS THAT I LIKE ABOUT JOHN SUNUNU IS YOUR CHIPPINESS. NOW, AT A GOVERNORS MEETING IN NEW ENGLAND, I WOULDN'T EXPECT MCKERNAN OR BRENNAN, OR KININ, OR O'NEILL OR DUKAKIS....I MEAN, THERE'S SORT OF THIS PROFESSIONAL COURTESY THAT GOES WITH THE BUSINESS. YOU SEE IT SO MANY TIMES ON THE SENATE FLOOR. " I WOULD LIKE TO THANK THE DISTINGUISHED SENATOR FROM COLORADO, WHO, IF HE HAD A BRAIN TRANSPLANT, WOULD BE ABLE TO WALK AND CHEW GUM AT THE SAME TIME." I MEAN, YOU KNOW, THERE'S SORT OF THAT....YOU KNOW, WE BEGIN WITH THE SOFT EDGE OF THE KNIFE BUSINESS GOING IN. YOU DON'T HAVE A SOFT EDGE. I MEAN, THE BUSINESS....MICHAEL DUKAKIS AND MARIO CUOMO ARE GOING TO WASHINGTON TO OPPOSE WASHINGTON TO OPPOSE THE SEABROOK PLANT. YOU KNOW, YOU TAKE THE

SHOT, "YEAH, I'M NOT RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT." I MEAN, YOU DON'T
GIVE GUYS AN EASY TIME. IT'S RIGHT TO.... I MEAN, I THOUGHT MAYBE
YOU GREW UP ON TRAIN STREET IN DORCHESTER, ACTUALLY....I
MEAN....BUT THERE'S SORT OF THAT....

SUNUNU: MY WIFE IS IRISH...

MEADE: THAT'S WHERE HE GETS IT. WE'VE JUST FIGURED IT OUT. BUT THERE IS
SORT OF THAT CHIPPINESS FROM JOHN SUNUNU THAT YOU DON'T GET FROM
MOST POLS.

SUNUNU: IF I'M GOING TO BE IN POLITICS, I'VE GOT TO HAVE A LITTLE BIT OF
FUN....I'VE SAID, "I'M NOT GOING TO DIE AN OLD POLITICAN, I'M
GOING TO DIE AN OLD ENGINEER." I REALLY MEAN THAT. I'M HERE. I
WANT TO GET SOME THINGS DONE. I REALLY DO THINK THAT TRYING TO
ESTABLISH A STRONG ECONOMY FOR THE STATE THAT WILL GO A LONG TIME
IS AN IMPORTANT THING TO DO. BUT WHILE I'M THERE, I'M NOT GOING
TO WORRY ABOUT WHETHER OR NOT I'M GOING TO GET ELECTED, OR NOT
ELECTED NEXT TIME, AND HAVE THAT INFLUENCE EVERYTHING I DO. AND,
MAYBE IT GIVES ME A LITTLE BIT MORE OF AN OPPORTUNITY, OR AN
INCENTIVE, OR A CAPACITY TO SAY THE KINDS OF THINGS ACROSS THE
TABLE WOULD LIKE TO SAY, OR THE LADY DOWN THE STREET. YOU KNOW,
YOU GO IN AND HAVE A CUP OF COFFEE WITH PEOPLE, AND THEY'LL TELL
YOU WHAT KIND OF COMMENTS YOU SHOULD HAVE MADE HERE, OR SHOULD
HAVE MADE THERE.....AND YOU LIKE TO AT LEAST SATISFY YOUR OWN
VISCERAL FEELINGS, AND THEIRS, AT THE SAME TIME....AND I GUARANTEE
YOU, A LOT OF PEOPLE WERE THRILLED AT THE COMMENT THAT I WASN'T

RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT.

MEADE: RON, GOOD EVENING. WELCOME TO BZ.

RON: HELLO, PETER. I HAPPEN TO BE AT THAT RYE TOWN MEETING IN OCTOBER. AND THE FELLOW ASKING THE GOVERNOR THE QUESTION HAPPENED TO BE A FOUNDER OF THE CLAMSHELL ALLIANCE AND I THINK EVERYBODY IN THAT AUDIENCE WAS VERY PROUD OF THE GOVERNOR IN THAT HE RESPONDED TO VERY SERIOUS ACCUSATIONS AND A PERSONAL ATTACK. AND THE GOVERNOR RESPONDED IN A VERY CALM WAY, AND THE ALMOST STANDING OVATION WE GAVE THE GOVERNOR WAS TO SAY, "WAY TO GO, GOVERNOR," AND "GET OUT OF THE ROOM" TO THE OTHER GUY. SO THAT WAS MY PERCEPTION OF THE EVENING, AND I'M NOT SO SURE IT WAS PORTRAYED PROPERLY IN THE NEWSPAPER ARTICLE.

MEADE: IT WAS A MAGAZINE PIECE.

RON: I MEAN IN THE MAGAZINE PIECE.

MEADE: RON, THANKS FOR THE CALL AND YOUR PERCEPTIONS.

MEADE: I'M TOLD THAT THIS IS FRANK HALEY, THE GOVERNOR'S FORMER PRESS SECRETARY, I SUPPOSE WE COULD FIND THAT OUT AS SOON AS YOU SAY A COUPLE OF WORDS, FRANK.

FRANK: YES, IT IS. GOOD EVENING, GOVERNOR. HOW ARE YA?

SUNUNU: HOW ARE YOU, FRANK?

FRANK: FINE, THANK YOU.

SUNUNU: HOW HAVE YOU BEEN?

FRANK: GREAT.

SUNUNU: HAVE YOU BEEN BEHAVING?

FRANK: THAT'S NOTHING I WANT TO DISCUSS ON THE AIR, GOVERNOR!

.....(MUCH, MUCH LAUGHTER!!)

FRANK: BUT, AH....

SUNUNU: NOW BE NICE, FRANK.

FRANK: WELL, I JUST WANT TO DISCUSS THE GENERALITY OF THE WHOLE PROGRAM.

I THINK IT HAS BEEN A GOOD SHOW. BUT HEAVEN KNOWS YOU DON'T NEED
ME TO DEFEND YOU, GOVERNOR. BUT, UH....

MEADE: I'LL DO THAT FOR HIM, FRANK...

FRANK: OK....BUT I DO WANT TO SAY TO PHIL THAT IN OUR CONVERSATIONS
BEFORE YOU EVER MET THE GOVERNOR THAT DAY, MY UNDERSTANDING AND
MY RECOLLECTION IS THAT YOU DID WANT TO DISCUSS ECONOMIC GROWTH IN

THE STATES OF MASSACHUSETTS AND NEW HAMPSHIRE, AND WHAT THE DIFFERENCES WERE, AND YOU WANTED TO DO A BACKGROUND PIECE ON THE GOVERNOR, IN PROFILE STYLE.

WEISS: FINE.....LET ME FILL YOU IN A LITTLE, ON THE EVOLUTION OF THE PIECE, FRANK. UH....I THINK THAT MAYBE THE THRUST I HAD GIVEN YOU AT THAT POINT WAS BACKGROUND PROFILE ON THE GOVERNOR, WHICH YOU DID; AND ALSO THE THOUGHT THAT UH.....THE DIFFERENCES IN MASS.....UH.....I TALKED ABOUT CONFLICTS BETWEEN MASSACHUSETTS AND NEW HAMPSHIRE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE AND VERMONT. I THINK THAT, UH, EARLY ON, WHEN I FIRST CAME UP TO SEE THE GOVERNOR IN OCTOBER, ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL, UH, MY ASSIGNMENT AT THAT POINT WAS TO DO A PROFILE OF THE GOVERNOR AND I WAS REALLY IMPRESSED BY THE GOVERNOR ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL, AND WAS CHARMED BY HIM. I FOUND HIM EXTREMELY EFFECTIVE. AS THE PIECE.....AND IT MAY HAVE BEEN AT THAT POINT THAT THAT WAS MY PLAN.....THAT WAS THE PIECE WE PLANNED TO DO. AS I SPENT MORE TIME IN THE STATE, I FOUND THAT EVERYONE.....PEOPLE WERE TAKING ME ASIDE AND SAYING, "THE GOVERNOR IS OVERBOARD ON SEABROOK; THE GOVERNOR'S GOT A BLIND SPOT ON SEABROOK." I WAS NOT THAT AWARE OF THE ISSUE AT THAT TIME, AND I WAS TRYING TO STAY AWAY FROM SEABROOK....I KDON'T LIKE....I DON'T WANT TO TAKE A POSITION ON SEABROOK. BUT AS THEY THINGS BEGAN A REFRAIN A BIT, MY VIEW OF THE STORY CHANGED, AND THIS IS THE STORY. AND WHEN I CAME IN.....YOU KNOW, THE GOVERNOR....YOU BOTH HAVE BEEN AROUND....AND WHEN I CAME IN.....FOR THAT INTERVIEW ON DECEMBER 17TH, I WAS EXPLICIT AT THE FRONT OF SAYING "SEABROOK", FRANK. AND, YOU KNOW.....I MEAN I DON'T KNOW WHY THESE.....I MEAN

THIS IS SORT OF A CRYBABY.....

SUNUNU: PHIL, WITH ALL DUE RESPECT, YOU DIDN'T SAY SEABROOK TO ME. I
THINK WHAT FRANK HAS JUST SAID ON THE AIR RIGHT NOW IS YOU DIDN'T
SAY SEABROOK TO HIM, AND WHY DO YOU PERSIST IN MISREPRESENTING IT?

WEISS: WELL, GOVERNOR. I GUESS IT'S TWO AGAINST ONE AND, UH....BOTH OF
THEM.....I MEAN THOSE TWO ARE ON YOUR SIDE. I HAVE.....I MEAN I'VE
BEEN VERY UP FRONT ABOUT THIS. I HAVE A DISTINCT....I MEAN I'VE
BEEN VERY UP FRONT ABOUT THIS. I SAID SEABROOK. I MEAN, WHY...

FRANK: YEAH, BUT NOT UNTIL YOU GO IN THE OFFICE, PHIL.

MEADE: LET ME ASK YOU, FRANK, FROM YOUR PERSPECTIVE, WHAT...

WEISS: OH, COME ON.....

MEADE: WHY IS THERE SUCH.....

SUNUNU: I CAN TELL YOU WHY...

WEISS: I MEAN, I JUST DON'T UNDERSTAND...
THE PIECE DIDN'T TURN OUT THE WAY YOU WANTED.

SUNUNU: NOT AT ALL, NOT AT ALL.....I'M NOT CONCERNED ABOUT THE SPECIFICS
OF THE PIECE. I'M JUST CONCERNED ABOUT THE PIECE AS A PERFECT
EXAMPLE OF THE KIND OF THINGS THAT KEEPS GOOD PEOPLE OUT OF

POLITICS. YOU RUN THIS RISK OF WHATEVER YOU DO. YOU ARE GOING TO GET SOMEBODY THAT DECIDES THAT THERE'S AN EASY WAY TO JUMP ON WHATEVER THE LOCAL BANDWAGON IS, THE LOCAL ISSUE, OR THE LOCAL THING THAT WILL SELL A LOT OF PAPERS, OR A LOT OF MAGAZINES. AND THERE'S GENERALLY A LACK OF CONCERN ABOUT THE IMPACT IT CAN HAVE ON INDIVIDUALS. NOW I'VE GOT A RELATIVELY THICK SKIN AND I CAN LIVE WITH IT. BUT I CAME IN TONIGHT BECAUSE I WANTED TO TALK ABOUT WHAT GOES IN TO WRITING THIS KIND OF AN ARTICLE. AND THE KIND OF SLANTED LANGUAGE ONE CAN USE TO SET A DIFFERENT TONE, I THINK WE WALKED ABOUT THE FUNNY, INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPH AND HOW MUCH TO DO IS MADE OUT OF A TRIVIAL INCIDENT. I THINK THE ANGRY APPLAUSE LINE AND THE TAINTING OF THE EVENING REALLY HAS....IS A GOOD CLUE....TO THE KIND OF THINGS THAT PEOPLE WHO ARE AWFULLYn GOOD WITH WORDS, CAN DO TO PUBLIC FIGURES. AND I JUST FIND IT INTERESTING THAT WHAT WE'RE DOING HERE NOW IS SUGGESTING THAT THOSE AREN'T IMPORTANT WHEN THEY ARE VERY MUCH THE VERY TOOL THAT A GOOD WRITER USES TO BIAS AN ARTICLE TO HAVE WHATEVER FLAVOR HE WANTS IT TO DO.

MEADE: FRANK, I WANT TO THANK YOU FOR THE CALL AND GIVE MR. WEISS A CHANCE TO RESPOND TO THAT.

FRAN: OK, SURE.

WEISS: THANKS, PETER. I'M SORRY THE GOVERNOR DOESN'T AGREE WITH MY POINT OF VIEW ON THIS STORY, AND I THINK THAT'S THE PROBLEM HERE. AND, UH, I THINK, YOU KNOW, HE SAYS, "THIS IS WHAT KEEPS GOOD PEOPLE

OUT OF GOVERNMENT." THIS IS WHAT.... GOVERNMENT NEEDS PEOPLE TO
SCRUTINIZE GOV....UH....GOVERNMENT. AND THIS IS WHAT I WAS TRYING
TO DO. I DON'T ACCEPT THIS BIAS LINE, OR THIS SLANTED LINE. I
CERTAINLY MAKE A POINT, AND A TRY TO MAKE MY POINT FORCEFULLY; BUT
THIS IS A POSITION I ARRIVED AT AFTER SPENDING WEEKS LOOKING INTO
THIS, TALKING TO TENS OFA LOT OF PEOPLE....50, 60, 70 PEOPLE
AND, WHAT GOVERNMENT NEEDS IS IT NEEDS SORT OF VENTILATION. IT
NEEDS PEOPLE TO LOOK AT POLITICIANS AND SAY, "WHAT'S GOING HERE?"
THE GOVERNOR MAY BE USED TO A SORT OF A LAPPED-ON PRESS. I'M NOT
SURE.

MEADE: WE ARE GOING TO TAKE A VERY FAST BREAK, AND THEN WE'LL COME BACK
IN JUST A MOMENT WITH MR. WEISS AND MR. SUNUNU ON WBZ.

MEADE: WE'RE BOUCING BETWEEN 33 AND 34 DEGREES. CLOUDY, BRISK AND CHILLY
WITH SOME OCCASSIONAL SHOWERS FROM THE WBZ ACU-WEATHER FORECAST,
MIXED WITH WET SNOW. TEMPERATURES NEAR FREEZING.
THE GOVERNOR WILL BE JUMPING UP AND DOWN SAYING, "MORE SKIING!
MORE SKIING!"

SUNDAY - THE SAME. HIGH'S NEAR 40 TO 45.

SUNDAY NIGHT - LINGERING CLOUDS. LOW 32 TO 37.

ON MONDAY - INTERVALS OF CLOUDS. SUNSHINE. HIGHS 55 TO 60

INLAND AND 40'S ALONG THE COAST.

33 TO 34 DEGREES HERE AT WBZ.

SUNUNU: I DID GO SKIING TODAY, PETER. IT WAS QUITE GOOD AND I REALLY URGE
PEOPLE TO COME ON UP TOMORROW. IT'S GOING TO BE A GOOD DAY!

MEADE: MY SON WOULD LIKE TO HAVE YOU ADOPT HIM.

MEADE: TOM, GOOD EVENING, WELCOME TO BZ.

TOM: GOOD EVENING, PETER. HAVEN'T TALKED TO YOU FOR IN A WHILE. GOOD EVENING, GOVERNOR AND MR. WEISS. I JUST WANTED TO COMMEND THE GOVERNOR FOR HIS EXCELLENT DEBATE, REALLY. I WOULD LIKE TO ASK TWO QUESTIONS, THOUGH. I WAS WONDERING, WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE PEACEFUL USE OF THE ATOM, CONTRARY TO MR. MEADE'S

SUNUNU: YOU KNOW.....OBVIOUSLY, YOU KNOW MY POSITION. I'M REALLY NOT HERE TO DEBATE NUCLEAR POWER TONIGHT. I REALLY DO THINK THAT THIS COUNTRY, IN FACT, THE WORLD, HAS A SERIOUS PROBLEM IN THE LONG RUN IN TERMS OF GENERATING ELECTRICITY. WE'RE GOING TO END UP REALIZING AT SOME POINT WE CAN ONLY GO THROUGH THE NEXT COUPLE OF HUNDRED YEARS WITH COAL AND NUCLEAR, AND AT SOME POINT, WHEN THE BROWN-OUTS START COMING, PEOPLE ARE GOING TO WONDER WHAT THEY DID.

MEADE: TELL ME.....I WISH YOU WITH US ON THE SHOW EARLIER. PEOPLE WANTED TO TALK ABOUT THAT. WE DID HAVE A DISCUSSION ON THE EARLIER PART OF THE SHOW TO TALK ABOUT NUCLEAR POWER BECAUSE THAT'S ONLY PART OF WHAT THE STORY IS THE QUESTION IS, "IS JOHN SUNUNU REALLY MELTING DOWN AS A POLITICAL ENTITY?"

SUNUNU: I WISH I WERE. I'VE BEEN GAINING WEIGHT. IF THERE WAS A WAY OF TIE THE WHOLE THING DOWN TO A WEIGHT REDUCTION PROGRAM, I'D LOVE TO.

MEADE: GARY, GOOD EVENING. WELCOME TO BZ.

GARY: HI PETER. HI GOVERNOR. HI MR. WEISS.

SUNUNU: HOW ARE YOU TONIGHT?

WEISS: HELLO.

GARY: I CAME IN LATE ON THIS THING, BUT I AM SURPRISED. I HAVE TO AGREE WITH MR. MEADE. WHAT DOES MR. JOHNSON HAVE TO DO WITH SUNUNU? I'M REALLY SURPRISED. I TERM THIS MAN'S STORY A HATCHET JOB. THAT'S WHAT YOU CALL IT IN NEWSPAPER TERMS.....A HATCHET JOB. THAT'S WHAT IT IS, GOVERNOR.

SUNUNU: WELL, I APPRECIATE YOUR CALL. OBVIOUSLY, I DON'T WANT TO USE LANGUAGE THAT HARSH, BUT I THINK....

MEADE: HE'S GLAD THAT YOU DID.

SUNUNU: LET ME PUT IT THIS WAY. I DON'T CONSIDER IT A PUFF PIECE...

GARY: YOU KNOW WHAT IT DOES, GOVERNOR? IT TURNS PEOPLE OFF WHEN YOU HAVE A NEWSPAPER MAN LIKE THIS GENTLEMAN. YOU THINK ANYBODY ELSE WOULD LIKE TO BE INTERVIEWED BY THIS MAN IN THE FUTURE?

SUNUNU: WELL, LET ME MAKE TWO POINTS THAT I FOUND INTERESTING, TONIGHT. NUMBER ONE, MR. WEISS SAID THAT WHEN HE CAME UP TO THE CAMPAIGN HE

FOUND ME CHARMING, LOVEABLE, WHATEVER THE RIGHT WORDS ARE AND WALKED AWAY VERY, VERY IMPRESSED. AND THEN, WHEN HE CAME BACK IN TO THE STATE, HE STARTED TALKING TO POLITICIANS AND HAD HIS MIND CHANGED. I CAN'T BELIEVE ANYONE WOULD TAKE SECOND-HAND INFORMATION OVER FIRST-HAND, VISUAL PERCEPTION. AND THE FACT IS THAT WHAT HE'S TRYING TO SAY IN THE PIECE IS THAT DURING THE CAMPAIGN..... DURING THE CAMPAIGN.....I WAS MELTING DOWN. AND YET BY WHAT HE JUST SAID HERE, ABOUT FOUR MINUTES AS HE OBSERVED ME IN THE CAMPAIGN, HE WALKED AWAY WITH A FAVORABLE IMPRESSION.

TO TELL YOU THE TRUTH, WHAT I THINK HAPPENED, AND THIS IS JUST SPECULATION ON MY PART, AND IS HAS PROBABLY ONLY A SMALL CHANCE OF BEING RIGHT, IS HE WENT BACK, HE STARTED TO WRITE A PUFF PIECE, AND HE HAD A BUNCH OF EDITORS THAT TOLD HIM, "YOU GO BACK UP THERE AND FIND OUT WHAT'S WRONG," AND THEY TURNED IT INTO THE STANDARD ANTI-SEABROOK.....NOBODY CAN WRITE ABOUT JOHN SUNUNU WITHOUT WRITING AN ANTI-SEABROOK ARTICLE. UNFORTUNATELY, THAT'S REAL AND THAT'S GOING TO, YOU KNOW, PROBABLY BE ENGRAVED ON MY TOMBSTONE... SOMEPLACE.....

BUT THE FACT IS THAT I TRY TO BE AS EFFECTIVE AS I CAN. I TRY AND DEAL WITH ISSUES ON THE BASIS OF INFORMATION RATHER THAN EMOTION, AND I TRY NOT TO WET MY FINGER IN THE AIR AND FIND OUT WHICH DIRECTION THE POLITICAL WINDS ARE BLOWING WHEN I MAKE MY DECISIONS. I TRY TO MAKE THEM ON THE BASIS OF SOMETHING RATIONAL.

MEADE: WE'LL GIVE MR. WEISS A

WEISS: I JUST WANT TO BREAK AWAY FOR A SECOND ON THIS. I MEAN....THE GOVERNOR'S SPECULATION OF WHAT HAPPENED IN AN EDITORIAL CONFERENCE IS.....HE SAYS IT'S SPECULATION, AND, YOU KNOW....

SUNUNU: IT IS.....

WEISS: FAIRLY.....AND IT'S REALLY NOT WORTH RESPONDING TO. BUT I JUST WANT TO SAY, AS FOR THE HATCHET JOB.....I DON'T THINK IT'S A HATCHET JOB. AND.....BUT I DO WANT TO SAY, I'VE WRITTEN A LOT OF TOUGH PIECES IN MY TIME, AND I WANT TO TO JUST NOTE I REALLY ADMIRE THE GOVERNOR FOR COMING DOWN HERE. IT SHOWS HIS TOUGHNESS, IT SHOWS THAT HE BELIEVES WHAT HE STANDS FOR, AND I THINK THOSE ARE PARTS THAT COME THROUGH IN THE PIECE. AND ONE.....THE THRUST OF THE PIECE IS WHY IS A GUY WHO IS SO IMPRESSIVE IN SO MANY WAYS AND IS WILLING TO TAKE ON PEOPLE, HE DOESN'T DUCK, WHY IS HE SO INTRANSIGENT ON THIS ISSUE? AND I THINK THE READERS SHOULD MAKE UP THEIR MINDS ON THEIR OWN....

MEADE: SUPPOSING HE THINKS HE'S RIGHT.

WEISS: HE DOES THINK HE'S RIGHT. THERE'S NO QUESTION.

MEADE: UH, HUN....

WEISS: THE QUESTION IS THE INTENSITY. HOW RIGHT DOES HE THINK IT IS...HE IS. AND WHAT THE PIECE DESCRIBES IS A MAN WHO HAS A SORT OF A DOCTRINAL BELIEVE IN THESE THINGS.....AND WON'T LISTEN TO

CRITICISM, WON'T...

SUNUNU: LET ME ASK YOU AN INTERESTING QUESTION, PHIL, BECAUSE.....WHAT HAVE I DONE AS GOVERNOR IN TERMS OF A LAW THAT'S BEEN PASSED DURING MY TERM, FOR AN ACTION THAT I HAVE TAKEN THAT I'VE HAD A CHOICE ON THAT HAS ADVANCED THE CAUSE OF SEABROOK?

WEISS: WELL, I'M NOT TALKING ABOUT LAW SO MUCH AS PUBLIC STANCE. AND I THINK THE ARTICLE IS FULL OF CITATIONS OF THINGS YOU'VE DONE.

SUNUNU: THERE'S NO QUESTION THAT MY PUBLIC STANCE IS THAT NEW ENGLAND NEEDS ELECTRICITY, THAT WE'VE GOT TO GET IT FROM ALL THE SOURCES WE CAN. I'VE GONE DOWN TO WEST VIRGINIA TO TRY AND BRING COAL-FIRED ELECTRICITY UP HERE, I'VE TRIED TO GET CANADIAN POWER DOWN HERE, AND I SAID SEABROOK IS PART OF THE MIX. NOW WHAT IS INTRANSIGENT IN THAT? IF I HAD JUST BEEN SAYING SEABROOK ALONE -- NO CANADIAN POWER -- NOTHING FROM WEST VIRGINIA -- NOTHING FROM OHIO -- THAT WOULD BE INTRANSIGENT.

WEISS: WELL, I THINK IT.....THAT YOU'RE HEARING A DIFFERENT GOVERNOR RIGHT NOW THAN THE GOVERNOR OF....

SUNUNU: THAT'S NOT TRUE.....IT'S BEEN MY POLICY SINCE I RAN FOR THE U.S. SENATOR.....

WEISS: LET ME MAKE A POINT HERE....

MEADE: OK.....

SUNUNU: SURE.....

MEADE: MR. WEISS.....

WEISS: YOUR'RE HEARING A SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT GOVERNOR FROM THE GOVERNOR WHO WENT AND SUGGESTED THAT CONSERVATION SHOULD BE CONSIDEREED, SAID, "YOU ARE GOING TO RETURN US TO A FRUIT AND NUT ECONOMY;" A DIFFERENT GOVERNOR FROM THE ONE WHO BERATES THE CONSORTIUM OF NEW ENGLAND UTILITY, "WHY ARE YOU MAKING ME CARRY THE BALL ON SEABROOK? YOU KNOW, YOU GUYS GOTTA GET IN BEHIND ME."

SUNUNU: FIRST OF ALL, LET ME CORRECT TWO MISQUOTES.....

WEISS: THESE ARE PRIVATE.....

MEADE: OK. YOU'RE GOING TO HAVE TO DO THAT VERY QUICKLY.

SUNUNU: YEAH, I WILL. FIRST OF ALL MY ENERGY POLICY SINCE I RAN FOR THE SENATE WAS VERY CLEAR. THIS COUNTRY NEEDS ALL THE SOURCES IT CAN GET, AFTER CONSERVATION SETS THE PROBLEM AS SMALL AS POSSIBLE. WE NEED COAL, OIL, NUCLEAR, LARGE-SCALE HYDRO AND ALL THE ALTERNATIVES. AND SECONDLY, SECONDLY, THE PEOPLE I GAVE A HARD TIME TO WERE THE NEW ENGLAND ELECTRIC POOL EXECUTIVES. IT HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH NUCLEAR. WE WERE TALKING ABOUT THE GROWTH RATE IN NEW ENGLAND, AND I SAID, "I THINK YOU GUYS HAVE TO SAY PUBLICLY

THAT NEW ENGLAND NEEDS ELECTRICITY," RAHTER THAN JUST SAYING IT
PRIVATELY. IT HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH SEABROOK.

MEADE: WHAT WBZ NEEDS RIGHT NOW IS THE NEWS RIGHT NOW. WE HAVE TO GO TO
THAT.

I WANT TO COMMEND YOU BOTH FOR COMING HERE AND SPENDING AN HOUR.
YOU OBVIOUSLY BELIEVE IN YOUR POSITIONS AND IN YOUR ARTICLE.
IT'S AN NEW ENGLAND MONTHLY PIECE.

GOVERNOR, THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

MR. WEISS, REALLY APPRECIATE IT.

WEISS: THANK YOU, PETER. I HAD A GREAT TIME.

SUNUNU: THANK YOU.....

MEADE: I WANT TO THANK YOU FOR LISTENING.... GOOD NIGHT!