

Paul Tsongas

August 10, 1978

7:00-12:00 TV spot filming in front of Springfield City Hall
12:15 Visit to Sy Becker and Radio Station
12:30 Businessman's Fund Raising Luncheon at
The Oaks
2:00 Steering Committee Meeting
3:00 Headquarters Opening (covered by several TV stations)
4:30 Radio Interview - WUSR
5:00 Visit at Home of President - Springfield City Council

Lou Barlow, Fred Woods, Fred Faust, Kerry Maghan,
Alex Kidaloski, Chris Bryant, Judy
~~Dennis~~, Dennis Kanin, mother, Cindy, Toby D. Worth

Second trip to Tsongas campaign - left Truro at about 1:00 and got to Headquarters at the Park Plaza Hotel about 4:00. Jeff Apfel wasn't there-- his assistant Judy *Tonah* talked to me about leafletting the key areas in the state. She figures about 200 volunteers are doing the work. She stresses that some coordinators are better than others and that it's not just like doing 12 congressional campaigns--the scope is something else again. I need to think about scope as key difference between House and Senate races.

We were chatting when some guy came in and said they needed an extra person to hand out leaflets at Government Center--so I volunteered and we got on the subway--Judy, Kerry and I rode to Government Center and handed out Tsongas Express leaflets for about 1 1/2 hours. Picking up dropped ones on subway steps and platforms was the "pits" of the campaign!

Then I rode to Springfield with Fred Faust, Fred Woods and Lou Barlow. They are the media people and they believe that TV is the whole ball game. Some of

the figures. It costs them \$2000 to produce a 30-second spot. It costs them \$20,000 a week to stay on TV. It costs Paul \$40,000 a week to stay in business. He has to raise 6-7,000 a day.

They first did a name identification spot - then 3 issue spots (tax, energy, Lowell park) and are waiting till last week to hit an issue of some kind and will just let that issue emerge.

Lots of talk of difference between print (cognitive and linear) and TV (subconscious, Gestalt).

Certain rivalry between print and TV people. Globe people come and want to read script of ads---just like me!---and "the Freds" think that is hilarious and outrageous.

Fred F. talks of Paul's "Subdued ambition" since it doesn't come through at all. Said at dinner that one reason Paul ran for Senate was that if he killed himself this time he wouldn't have to do it for six years. He says Paul does not like a lot of the campaigning and backslapping. He talks straight to the people and tells them what he thinks. Their analysis is a lot like mine--that he will wear well. They think Guzzi's support is soft and that right now people don't know what they are going to do. But they come from about 38-11 to 38-27 after the ID TV spot had run for a week or two.

First thing they did was run ad in Boston Globe - one full page - 8,000 - to reach potential money givers and volunteers. (Got Lou Barlow)

Re Paul. "He has no charisma." Problem of getting him to smile - he did, once on TV. "after an hour of Kathleen Sullivan Alioto stories." The production man (one they use in Dedham) said "If you could get him to smile, he'd warm up the TV and win hands down."

Story about interviewing all the big media types and how they are "stuck on the 1960s, with Kennedy walking on the beach." Toby Schwartz says you've

got to hit people with what is on their minds--that impresses Fred Faust.

In the a.m., we went to City Hall Square and spent an hour trying to establish the spot, the sequence, lighting, background for his spot that emphasizes his intention not to neglect Springfield. Sen. Brooke closed his Springfield office and Paul is capitalizing on this with a local Springfield shot in front of a mobile van like the one he uses in Lowell.

Lou talked (in answer to my questions as to "what kind of candidate have you got" by emphasizing that he's not articulate (Fred says "he mumbles") that he's warm "inside, but not superficially," that he's "honest". Lou has strong sense that you go with what you've got. Paul won't get people upset.

The TV spot:

"Western Massachusetts has always been the most overlooked, (neglected - in but taken out) part of the state. When Senator Brooke closed his office here in Springfield, it didn't help. I'm Paul Tsongas, In my congressional district I've had a mobile van to reach out--to help more people. As your Senator I'll use this van to serve this area. I want to be a Senator for all of Massachusetts."

Sitting on the park bench Lou¹ talked about the polls and how they went up after 2 weeks of the ID spot 36-27 -Tsongas in 5th, 8th and 11th District. After 2 weeks recognition went from 12 to 42%. They throw numbers around so much that I've lost track of the true ones. (see later)

Talk of Paul' assets - "comfortable" TV a "one on one medium" and they think he comes across in that circumstance. He had a Jewish name for it-- began with it.

He noted that it was a big advantage that Paul went on TV early - got good rates earlier in summer. He noted that woods will be full of candidates later on--"the ambience" of the later campaign.

✓ Paul re Fall River. "When we were in FR the first time no one at the factory gates knew who I was. Now, after the TV ad had run for two weeks the difference is phenomenal." Their Bristol County polling showed Guzzi at 35% and Paul at 5%. "We're two points behind Guzzi in Springfield and over 20 points behind in Brockton, New Bedford and Fall River. We can't let them have that margin." Why? TV "We haven't run the ad there. If people don't know who you are they won't vote for you. No TV and no leaf-letting." They see FR and NB as tough territory still.

What about day in Fall River? "We were just trying to establish a presence and we accomplished that--with the elites. Television will move us from the elites to the rest."

I'm beginning (standing here in front of uopened Tsongas headquarters) to believe that Fred Woods is right when he says "Television is everything." They really are relying on it. They talk about it constantly--it and the poll results from it.

✓ In front of Headquarters. "Our polls show Guzzi 20%, myself 18% and Alioto 15%. I'm up from 11%; and I'm taking support from Guzzi. The poll shows that my support is the most solid of any of the candidates. What's happening is that more are moving into the undecideds. But a 23 point shift in the middle of the summer is unheard of."

It all boils down to money really--for him to keep up this pace.

He's talking polls all the time--his whole speech to businessmen at lunch was polls-momentum-money. He raised \$1000 at the lunch at 60.00 per head. Not^{as} related as Congress^{man} would be. He needs so much; that's one-seventh of a day's quota. Is it because people want to be with a winner or just that they want to feel someone is credible? I think for PT it's latter.

He's still battling idea that he's not electable--but he's already thinking about front runner status.

Ray LaPorte - fund raiser I met at the Oaks Luncheon (with Tom Martinelli) says they have now raised 275,000 and will raise 450,000 by primary day.

Paul stopped by to see Sy Becker, owner of a radio station. "I was very late in giving him my first interview and he was upset. I wasn't scheduled to see him today so I stopped by to show him that I was sensitive to the fact that I wasn't so sensitive to him the first time."

Tsongas is incredibly laconic. He does not talk to me spontaneously--he does not generalize much. (He got a little better in the car.

I'm now eating by myself across the hall from the \$60 a plate dinner and eating alone. First time that ever happened. Toby joined me. Also, waitress came by later and said there were 2 places empty. But we were left hanging.

Springfield talk: "On June 24th I was 25 pts. behind Paul Guzzi. It didn't bother me. I've been in that position before. But it ^{wild hear} scared the hell _A out of my campaign workers so we didn't tell them."

In June ^{against Cronin} he was 22 pts. behind and he beat him by 21 pts. ^{i.e. momentum} "So I know what movement is all about." His plan was to be 10 points behind Guzzi by Labor Day and he now thinks he'll be ahead of Guzzi then.

TV ad. 40,000 in two weeks. "It was a chancy ad because it was humorous. The first thing when you have a name like mine is to get recognition. It ain't easy. We decided to turn the name into an asset. And it worked."

5th and 6th and 11th district = 12 pts. ahead of Guzzi.

Present picture by their 475 person poll is: 20-18-15.

"He's coming backwards and we're going forward and ^{we're} he's not far behind.

The momentum is ^{ours} ~~over~~ and it's ours because we've spent 200,000. My opinion

has always been if I could get known and get my record across we could win. You can't penetrate people with a record if they don't know who you are." He said several times he didn't think Alioto's heart was in it.

Money: 100 people contributed \$1000 apiece. His message is that "momentum is ours". Other pt. re poll is that "My support is strongest." The poll asked people if their support was strong - moderate - shaky and PT came out best.

"We are now 4 pts. behind Guzzi in Western Mass. When we took our first poll they had to lower the chart to get us on it. After 60 days in oblivion it's nice to hear people's voice rise on the telephone instead of drop."

"One ad on Boston television costs \$1200. Thirty seconds and it's gone. I can't watch those TV ads because I keep thinking of the people who contributed the money. Forty dollars a second. No one is articulate enough to warrant that kind of money."

Lou says they bought more TV time in Springfield than anywhere because they think that area is up for grabs. He said the first ad (the ID ad) was in prime time 52 times there. That meant that 81% of the people saw the ad an average of 6.5 times. The figures for the Boston TV audience was that 65% of the people saw the ad an average of 4.5 times. He said that the early August rates were better and so that helped. There are TV rules that you must give the political candidates the lowest rate available from a certain number of days till the election. There is also a rule that if you sell one candidate X hours of prime time you must offer candidate Y (the opponent) the same.

I'm picking up bits and pieces of this. But it's overwhelming in its complexity. (531 lines on a picture--more information. Film versus video or live, etc. etc.)

PT at luncheon. "The knock on me has always been 'good congressman,

✓ would make a good Senator, can't be elected, can't raise money, can't organize.' That's buried. The last nail in the coffin are these poll results."

There was the underlying complaint all during the Springfield visit that he wasn't around enough. He answered by saying that according to congressional district and time spent in each, the Springfield and Worcester districts have gotten the most time. In the home, later of the President of Springfield City Council, he elaborated that every early in the campaign he spent 3 straight days in Springfield. Then when Guzzi entered, he felt he had to stay in the Boston area and in the Newton Brookline Lexington belt in order to "neutralize" the situation there. He described the Newton Brookline northern tier to Lexington arc as his natural constituency and later--when I asked him if Lexington was in his district he said "yes, thank God. It's my ideal community." That's his liberal base. The districts he thinks he'll have trouble in are Burke's and Boston and maybe Markey's (Revere, Chelsea area).

He sees, or talks about the state in terms of congressional districts plus the 72 most popular^m cities--where the leaflet drop is taking place.

Each worker has a story about PT that's indicative. Kerry Magnan (Boston coordinator) has story that in meeting of top labor people, after they had endorsed Brooke, PT tried to get them to make an endorsement in the Democratic primary. When they refused, PT left and said to Kerry "OK, the hell with them, when we win we won't owe anyone anything."

Toby's story was "When he ran for city council, every bumpersticker he saw he knew who the person in the car was and everything about them. The other day he saw a bumpersticker and had no idea whose car it was. It bothered him."

On the scope of the campaign again, Paul said that "Cocktail party fund raisers are almost a waste of time. So you raise 400 dollars in an hour and a half. That's not one eighth of what we need to keep going for a day."

At the end of the day leaving the City Council President's home, he said "we've had no wasted days for quite a while now. The first two weeks were a disaster. We'd get places late, nobody would be there, we went to the wrong place. You wanted to blow your brains out." Now he noted they have 3 advance men who go over every step of the route beforehand.

Then later in the car, he expanded on the theme "That was a great day. When I think there are only 39 or 38 or 37 days to the primary, I get nostalgic. It's been the most enjoyable race I've ever run. We've had more money, we've made great progress. And, it's the big leagues. I can't believe we've only been going 90 days." He's obviously feeling pretty good about the turn of events and it's creeping through. He noted that he'd only been in the race for 90 days and a lot had happened in a very short time. In fact he now talks a little about the danger of being the front runner.

He talked about Guzzi's situation--borrowed 50,000 recently, is ^{shifting}~~stuffing~~ his strategy to go on TV earlier than planned, is having money trouble, will leave campaign broke and in bankruptcy. Says he, PT "I'll still be a lawyer" (and be able to recoup). I have plenty of offers already.

He says he, PT, will borrow 30,000 pretty soon--and he sounded as if that would be it--to keep the thing going.

"I used to say that I'd feel terrible if I lost. I don't feel that way anymore." I can't recall context of that remark.

✓ "I returned to Lowell with the idea that I would run for Congress someday, serve ten to twelve years and then get out. The first time I ever thought of the Senate was this spring. I got mad at Brooke for the way he was handling the Panama Canal issue. One day I called Dennis and Rich into my office and asked them, ^{what}~~would~~ would you say about a Senate race?" They freaked out. Later we took a poll. After that the district staff came down to our annual meeting and I put the question to them. It was 13-3 to ^{go}~~no~~. My wife was opposed. If she had said no, I wouldn't have done it. Before, whenever anyone ever mentioned the Senate I always said "I'm in the wrong state. You've got Kennedy and you've got Brooke."

✓ I asked him if any conceivable restructuring of his situation in the House would have made him look favorably on a long House career. "No. Number one, it's hard on my family. You run for reelection all the time. You win one race and a month later you find out who you're next opponent will be. You go to bean suppers eight days in a row. And we've had financial difficulty keeping two homes. Number two you have to raise money every two years. That's excruciating. Third there are the numbers. In the Senate you are one of a hundred; in the House one of four hundred thirty-five. You spend so much time just walking over to answer quorum calls. It's hard to accomplish anything. I would have stayed in the House for only two more terms. A lot of the younger people are opting out."

✓ Re Guzzi situation. "On May 24(?) the day before Guzzi entered the race, I called Dennis and Rich in and said 'If Guzzi gets in, we'll have to get out.' We all agreed. We thought he was too strong. But when he did get in, I decided I'd rather lose than quit." I couldn't get him to say more--so I volunteered by asking if it was competitiveness, disappointment, or anger that prompted that decision and he said "A little of each." I'd like to pursue it. At some point he mentioned people already getting ready to

run for his seat maybe as as prod to keep him from quitting. - so did Rich, later.

✓ I asked him if, travelling around he got an idea of what people expect of a Senator and whether that expectation differs from that which they have of a congressman. "They think of a Senator as being very remote, someone who isn't involved, who is removed from their concerns. They will approach a congressman about a social security check but not a Senator. Nick Rizzo tells me that when you ask people for money they say "I'll give to Attorney General, Governor, Congressman--but why should I give money to a Senator? He's way off somewhere. Who needs a Senator?" I'll try to change that. I'll be concerned with particular towns and particular factories and the problems they are having."

That latter, of course, is the pitch he makes with his Lowell Park and with his mobile van and with his town meetings.

I asked him if the Massachusetts Congressmen were helping him at all. "Michael Harrington is. Of course he's retiring; but he'd help me anyway. He's crazy. No, they aren't helping me; and it makes me a little sad. But they have nothing to gain by doing so. I asked Drinan to sign a letter for me and he said no. Some of them desperately want to make their careers in the House--like Studds and Moakley. There's also a little bit of the feeling that they wish they could run--the left behind syndrome."

17p. After he had said what a great day it was I asked him to rate the things he did in order of their importance. "First has to be the media coverage--that's exposure. Second, was the taping of the TV spot. Then the luncheon was helpful with the elites with the talk that goes around."

✓ I asked him which he enjoyed the most. "I hate doing television commercials. The first one I enjoyed because it was new. I like shaking hands at factory gates. There's something about pressing the flesh. You've made contact. I enjoy the parades--handshaking during parades. But formal dinners

are not fun. Factory gates are fun. But when you shake 400 hands out of 6 million, you don't make much of an impact."

He talked about the factors that helped him beat Cronin. "He didn't take me seriously." "He was a person you couldn't like." "His finances were such that he wouldn't disclose them." "He claimed he brought 2 million dollars into the district every week(?) But we had a letter from the President of _____, which got the biggest grant, saying he had nothing to do with it. And we ran an ad that showed a guy shrugging his shoulders. 'At 2 million a week, how come I don't feel any better.'"

"That was a long campaign and election night was so sweet. The best part of politics is between election night and the swearing in. Everybody writes you nice letters."

He often refers to the Cronin campaign as one where he was the big underdog and came from behind. "In June I was 22 points behind in the polls. In November I beat him by 21 points--a switch of 43 points in 6 months. I've been in the underdog position before." I think he also goes back to his earlier campaigns for City Council and County Commissioner.

In the one interview I sat on--WSUR (or WUSR?) he struck some of the Fall River themes.

"If you can turn Lowell around, you can turn any city in the commonwealth around... The problem is attitude and credibility... The revitalization of Lowell is well underway."

"My hope is that, as Senator, I will know the problems of Holyoke as well as the mayor does. What a Senator can do is come into a city that hasn't got its act together and take the heat from telling people what ought to be done. A person with a localized base can't do those kinds of things. It's too much of a risk. But a Senator can take the heat, out-live the consequences and survive."

Why run for Senate. "My personal feelings and those of my family aside, I've served my apprenticeship and done my job. I've had occasion to see Mr. Brooke. And I think he has to answer questions about his accessibility and his performance. I had to give up a congressional seat. That wasn't an easy decision. And it's certainly a risk. I'm 37 and can be a congressman longer. But I'm in the race because I think I can beat him."

When asked whether the primary is going to hurt Democratic party - he said "I've spent a lot of time trying to find the Democratic Party, to be honest with you." He ran against the Democratic party when he ran for County Commissioner and against Cronin. So he's never run with Democratic establishment support.

"If anybody is going to beat Mr. Brooke it will have to be someone with a record. He has a record that appeals to many groups. My record appeals to many of the same groups. So I can neutralize him. And my record is better than his on a lot of things."

He points out ^{that} ~~at~~ he gets lots of business support--he does this often. He gets it, he says, because he knows how to bring business and labor together. He does it also because of Greek base, I think. He does it also because business plays all sides of the street.

Re the question about neglect of Springfield. "I'm from Lowell and I know just how you feel. Lowell isn't Boston you know. The only time people come to Lowell is when they are passing through on their way to New Hampshire. And then they go around the city on the turnpike. So Springfield and Holyoke and Fall River don't have a monopoly on feeling neglected." There's an anti-Boston feeling that he identifies with.

I asked him if he knew any Senators and he said no--except Kennedy.

(But he knows Sorbanes I think) I was trying to get him to say what image he had of the Senate and how he got it. But he doesn't seem to have one.

✓ Both Fred Faust and Paul noted how they had decided against hiring any of the big name, expensive campaign management firms. Someone noted that Guzzi hired the ^{at}Meenilla firm, which would be taking a lot of money up front. Paul said "We did have one poll done professionally. It cost us 8,000." They didn't tell us anything different from what our own polls told us. It was the biggest blunder of the whole campaign. We've done twenty polls." (since the first one, ^{when he first ran for Congress,} I guess).