

Paul Tsongas

July 26, 1978

6:30 - 8:00	Handshaking at Shelburne <sup>Shirts</sup> <del>Streets</del> , Globe Manufacturing and Anderson Little plant gates
8:00 - breakfast	Breakfast with local leaders at Quequesham Club
10:00	Interview at Herald News
11:00	City Hall - mayor and others
12:00	Lunch at Gangplank
2:00 - 3:45	Talking with Pat Foley and Jerry Fallon at Jerry's house  Pat Foley, Jerry Fallon, Elaine Baltus, Toby Dilworth, Maria K , Jeff Apfel

Today I drove to Fall River to meet Paul Tsongas--up at 3:45 a.m. and got to Fall River at 6:00 a.m. in time to hit factory gates.

It was a kind of first day I've had before, in which I get initial exposure to someone and he to me, but have no personal contact. We exchanged almost no words all day. When I got there and was introduced outside Shelburne Shirts, he said "Welcome" and went back to handshaking. When he left at about 1:15 to drive to Boston to catch plane, he said "I hope you had a good time." Then, in reference to the fact that I had handed out brochures at Anderson Little, he joked "You'll have to get a little faster handing out brochures." I said "I'll be back" and he said "OK". And that was almost "it" as far as any exchange was concerned. He is either shy, rude, uninterested, aloof or insensitive. I'll have to figure out which. But the fact that he did not seize any one of a number of opportunities to say a few words of personal greeting indicates something. (Jerry Fallon--who was seriously trying to

decide whether to support him--said PT said nothing personal to him either; and Jerry was around all day).

In partial explanation, it was his first trip to Fall River, he got up at 3:30, too, and there was a multitude of staff following him around and trying to get to him. Anyhow, he seems not to be good at personal touch; but he's got an easy smile and is not without some warmth. He reminds me some of GS--but quieter.

✓ The description I first came to (and Jerry did, too, independently) was that he is very low key. (Jerry says he's so low key "you don't know what you've got"--and I agree.)

At this stage, he seems obsessed with the problem of recognition and assumes that television will make the difference. They put 40,000 into TV ads which will start to run tomorrow.

When he got into car after factory gates, I asked "Was there any recognition?" and he said, "No, why should there be?"

Later he talked about it at breakfast, newspaper and lunch: "My problem is recognition. People don't know who I am or what my record is. Our polls tell us that among people who know all the candidates, I am favored. But I'm way behind Paul Guzzi in name recognition. Television can change all that."

"I haven't been in Washington in two weeks. That bothers me, but I don't see how I can balance the two. I have so little recognition that I get campaign paranoia. We have to organize to make literature drops in 65 cities and towns. And we have to raise money for television. I can't do it any other way. If I had the recognition Ed Brooke has, I could spend 3 days in Washington and four days here. Anything he does helps him. But I can't do newspaper advertising or radio. They are static media. They don't penetrate. With television you can say it all in 30 seconds. People will have a sense of who you are. I remember listening to Howard Phillips radio ads and wondering

*This idea is present throughout... when you have visibility, then people will love it what you do. But visibility means 11/8 10p-- some with Guzzi a Brock: One you get visibility, you are: Chumley, make better sense?*

afterwards what he was really like. I don't want to leave people with that impression. That's why television, and the money for television, is so important to me."

✓ He went on to say that just after his best TV ad on a scaffold he stumbled and fell--"not the kind of impression you want to make as a Senator."

Elaine says their plan is to do 3 weeks of TV, take a poll and see where their weak spots are and use last 3 weeks to shore them up.

His positive pitch during the day revolved around his work in getting Lowell named an urban national park--the first in the country. He spoke of how he did it and said that other cities--like Fall River--could do similar things to promote economic development. The theme was community participation, community consensus, and economic partnership to change the "image" of a city, give it an "identity" by deciding what its "destination" is to be. The end is that "when you think of Fall River you'll think of something, it will have an identity." Or "What will get people to turn off the highway and come in?" "What's going to cause a student who graduates from Fall River H.S. to want to stay in F.R.?"

✓ His idea is not that you go to Texas or some place to encourage industry to come to your city, but that "If you build a better mousetrap, turn the city around and change its image, industry will come to you and will want to associate themselves with you." He noted that "the housing stock and the work force are there already" but noted that "I wouldn't be so presumptuous" as to tell FR what it wanted to be and wouldn't impose his ideas on them. Just that he would do what he could to help them formulate their consensus and stick to it.

He noted how the bankers in Lowell had never been in the same room before he got them there (I doubt that!) to form a Development Corporation and he could do the same as Senator. "A United States Senator can take a lot of flack. So

✓ what if I get 20 bankers in southeastern Massachusetts mad at me. It's a big state. I can take that... A Senator can get the people of a community together. My argument with Ed Brooke is that he's had that opportunity and never used it."

✓ Re TV ads he said. "A person shouldn't forget where he came from. That's the theme of the campaign. We expect to win the primary by carrying Lowell, Lawrence, Fall River, New Bedford, Worcester, Holyoke and the other cities whose problems are identical with those of Lowell."

He talked some of what he'd done in Lawrence, too. That's in his tabloid sized literature, which is what they will use in literature drops. "The others are for handing out at plant gates, but the bigger one tells people about the issues."

✓ When the newspaper woman asked him why he didn't run for another term as Congressman, he answered: "Then what? I don't want to be a twenty year congressman. When I joined the Peace Corps I did so because I wanted to help my fellow man and all that, but I did it, too, because I wondered how I would feel if I hadn't done it. I don't want to be a twenty year congressman wondering whether I should have run in 1978. I have other things I want to do with my life. And I have family problems and children. I think I've done a good job as congressman and accomplished things. I could do that as Senator. The question was, "Should I do it?" We took polls and found out it was there to be had." That's an OK beginning, but I'd want to push a little more.

*This idea that if you can be well is product of opportunity structure*

In extension of last sentence he said. "We think Brooke's support is a mile wide and an inch deep--that he's vulnerable to a viable candidate. Some people are invulnerable, some don't work. We thought he was vulnerable before his troubles started. He's a classic case of the Washington-Caribbean shuttle. He can't make up for 5 1/2 years of absence in six months."



At the breakfast, he was asked in some detail about the timing of his and Guzzi's entrance into the race. He started with a little whimsy (alluding to fact that he'd been up since 3:30 and was hungry--standing there looking at his breakfast while he was speaking.) When 1st questioner asked "Aren't you and Guzzi going to eat each other up?" He answered "I'm hungry but not that hungry."

Anyway, he says that he was thinking of it in late April, early May and went around to talk to House delegation, heard Tom O'Neill was going to run and gave up the idea because he didn't want divisive primary. Then O'Neill drops out, he decides to run. Calls Guzzi to tell him and Guzzi gives him names of people who can help him--but no pledge of support. (PT leaves implication that there was some supportive private comments). PT announces May 14. Globe breaks the Brooke story on May 25. Alioto announces on May 31. Guzzi announces later. "That sequence has not been lost on the voters." He claims he got a 3 week organizing and fundraising jump on Guzzi and that people are for him because he got in when no one know about Brooke's troubles. At his May 18th press conference he was asked: "Why would the Democratic National Committee allow you to launch a Kamikase attack on Ed Brooke." Said that he and Guzzi were long time friends--"It's like brothers had parted."

Tsongas' basic argument against Brooke may be strengthened or not by the "problems" Brooke has. But his argument with Brooke has two basic parts. "Ed Brooke has to answer two questions. What has he done? When was the last time you saw him? His problems are performance and accessibility. He hasn't been in my district more than twice in six years. I haven't seen him there once, but I'll give him the benefit of the doubt and say he's been there twice. He's very much of a Washingtonian and all that implies. He's on the Washington-Caribbean shuttle. He hasn't done his homework." And he talks about his own town meetings and how he plans to have 30 town meetings a year.

These are the grand themes in legislative dialogue representation and legislation.  
PT - you don't represent  
EB - in 1970s

" Brooke's strength is a surface strength. Scratch it and there's nothing there. He has not done his homework; and that's why I'm running."

Other points he made were that he would be first Peace Corps Senator and that he, therefore, knew about third world attitudes.

Said, again whimsically, that Town meetings created the "Townsend Syndrome." First time he went there for a town meeting "they declared a holiday and 60 people came", the third time "2 people came." And he added "You'll get tired of seeing me." Also said he'd have a mobile van as he does in the district. But--if family problems are a reason for running, he's not likely to be as accessible as a Senator.

DT plays on this! → Fall River is interesting - it feels neglected, and yet has a certain parochialism <sup>i.e.</sup> ~~re~~ the strenuous assertion that it's totally different from New Bedford. That is, they feel isolated and taken for granted and yet they contribute to their isolation. Pat said "Boston is as far away as Mars" or something like that. They were once bankrupt and in receivership to Boston bankers--which fuels a lasting dislike of Boston. They had glory days and fell. Politics is intense and ethnic. People are immigrant, hard working, dominantly Portuguese. Man in mayor's office gave moving account of city of hard working people who love city and need leadership.

When I asked Pat how things went, he said "Considering that this was the first time he had ever been in Fall River--this was the opening kickoff--things went very well. We ran him ragged." When I asked if anything had not gone as well as he had hoped he said, "Yes, there should have been more city councilmen and school committee members at city hall. Only two showed up. I'll have to assess the meaning of that. Maybe they don't want to commit themselves; maybe they are on vacation; maybe they don't like me. Also the meeting with the mayor

and his people did not go as well as I had hoped. They seemed to be gasping for words. They all may be committed to Guzzi. He's done a lot of favors."

As I left Jerry's house, he and Pat agreed that Fall River "is up for grabs" and Pat said (with an exaggeration born of several drinks) "The primary will be decided right here in Fall River and New Bedford."

He talked about raising \$200,000 and said that it came from instate in 4-1 ratio to out of state. He noted that a lot of it was coming from the Greek community. "We raised 16,000 in Los Angeles last week. Ten thousand of it was Greek money."

The Greek flavor was strong in his entourage. Maria, Elaine were Greek as were most of the people at the luncheon. There was a good deal of talk about Paul's own second generation immigrant status (his father ran tailor shop, his mother died before he knew her.) He saw one woman at the Anderson Little factory who looked like his mother's pictures. "I couldn't keep my eyes off her--she looked so much like my mother's pictures. My mother died before I ever saw her.") There was also talk about strict discipline in Greek families, how second generation are moving into professional occupations and not taking over the restaurants. So Greeks are clearly a part of his primary constituency, a special and an intense part. (End of first trip)