

11/25/79
Breshner of

Paul Tsongas

June 15-17, 1979

Steve Rothstein 223-5780 or 7240

From News Clips:

Herald: "Do Government Super Workers Leave Themselves Time To Think"
by Wayne Woodlief.

"Tsongas is trying to stretch himself among 4 areas of obligations: Massachusetts problems, national issues, family time and personal time when he can reflect and not simply react. "Time management has gotten away from me," he said, "I'm tired, and I just can't go on at this level of physical tiredness. Eventually all 4 areas will suffer... You run faster and the treadmill moves faster." 6/3/79

Globe: "A Question of Tsongas' Priorities" Rachelle Patterson.

✓
"Will Massachusetts lose its point man in the Senate on housing and urban affairs?... His interest in Africa is undisputed. However there are those people in Massachusetts--interested in housing for the poor, decaying sewers and streets and other domestic urban issues who would hate to see Tsongas give up his seat on the Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs committee for one on the Foreign Relations Committee. They would rather see Tsongas become the Senate's urbanologist instead of the spokesman for African policy... Tsongas has said he willingly would give up his Senate Banking seat for the other... Tsongas is seen as the perfect candidate to lead Congress in the '80s in the revitalization of older neighborhoods and other urban concerns. But those are in the United States, not Ethiopia." 6/3/79

When asked what happens if Kennedy wins a primary and Carter won't step aside: "Then it becomes a great tragedy--you all."

PT comment on Carter's State of the Union is now widely reported as "dull and forgettable."

"Tsongas makes his way in the Senate His Way." Michael Green. 5/21/79
"The 'other senator' appears natural and unguarded. In fact, for his first months in office, Tsongas has been shadowed constantly by a tall professor with notepad who scrutinizes the senator's every thought and word for a book-length study of congressional behavior. If Tsongas minds the constant surveillance, he doesn't show it. Nor does he seem to hold anything back because of it. Scooping a lunch of vanilla ice cream out of a cup in his office the other day--with the beady-eyed professor in the background writing down everything--Tsongas reviewed a TV program he'd seen on California Governor Jerry Brown."

Re legislators, he's quoted elsewhere as saying they are "a bunch of fools concerned with examining the beach when a tidal wave is on the way." Springfield Republican.

"I've been preaching my energy message for 5 years. Everyone in the Merrimac Valley has heard it. I'm beginning to feel like chicken little." Lawrence Eagle Tribune. 5/20/79

Probably the story that got the most play in the ^{newspaper} ~~film~~ clips I looked at in the Holiday Inn (5/10-6/12 roughly) was his challenge to debate Bok on divestiture and Bok's refusal. Great press.

After the talk at Andover, Lowell Dyet talked with me. When he first spoke of PT, when Paul introduced me, he called Paul "Massachusetts' favorite son" and Paul said "Second most favorite." In the papers, he is known as "the other Senator"--which is what he calls himself.

Dyet said "Paul Tsongas defeated the only black senator in the United States. Brooke was a very important symbol to us. Yet he is almost forgotten now. There is still some bitterness and rancor about his defeat. But as I move around the state I find that Brooke is forgotten. It isn't that Paul

Wanted to
Shrug
Bum
5/16

Tsongas has taken his place. He hasn't. It's a critical time in this state. It is taking a hard turn to the right. People see in Paul Tsongas someone who may be able to help those who are less fortunate. They see his position on Africa. People don't take him seriously, not yet. He doesn't have the power to stop a Haynesworth nomination at the last moment. He needs experience; he needs seniority. The question is: will he become "senatized." It's a tough game down there. Pretty soon every Senator gets to be like every other Senator. They get "senatized." He looks like he can be a leader. We'll have to see. He has already hired more blacks on his staff than Brooke ever had."

Issac Graves' background is that he worked for 4 years as manager of one of Kevin Whites' little city halls--the one in Roxbury--through the busing controversies. "I wouldn't have missed it for the world, but I wouldn't go through it again for anything." Then he worked for the Department of Transportation.

At one point during dinner he said "I have the job I've wanted ever since I was a little boy in high school."

He says PT is easiest person to work for that he's known; that staff gets along and is "low key, following Paul's style."

PT asked Issac in interview "How would you feel working for the man who defeated Ed Brooke?" Issac said: "I said the first thing that came into my head. I said, 'Will my not working for you, bring him back?' If I don't work for you, I'll be pushing for the things I've always pushed for." Talked about his past as organizer of rallies etc. and how he can be more effective in this job - he's gotten more conservative.

"When that lady from East Boston called today, I practically called her a racist before I put down the phone. I wouldn't have done that unless I

knew Paul would back me up. If he ever started saying 'we have to compromise with the people', I'd say 'so long brother.' But he won't." Lots of faith in Paul on part of highly issue-oriented staff.

When ^{Paul} ~~he~~ read over the speech he ^{had} prepared for him in the car, he said "It's dull" and he didn't give it. They had made copies of it and two people showed up who wanted it on Lawrence Eagle, Tribune reporter and a Dover, N.H. radio station guy. As we walked in, he made a wry comment about the media crush that would surround them, looking for copies. When he spoke he said "I have a written speech that I know you are all dying to hear. If you want to, you can get a copy afterwards." Then he proceeded to ad lib his talk.

The ^{written} speech was wooden, and I have a copy of it. People say he does this often. (He did it again at the Northeastern Commencement. He read the speech prepared for him, didn't like it, sent Steve back to the office to get an earlier commencement speech and then ad libbed that one.) WPEP radio call-in show in Taunton.

What stand are you taking on hazardous waste? "1st time hazardous waste came up as an issue in Massachusetts was in Lowell. It was where I played ball and 300 yards ^{from} where I grew up. First time they took ^{aerial} picture of the site in Lowell they took picture ^{of} around my house. So obviously I'm very concerned."

✓ → "The Earth is a biosphere and we have to come to grips with fact that everything we do has consequences. My view of this subset of that larger problem is that recycling is the only answer."

"World is too complex and mechanized to have everyone go his own way."

"We're not passing anything these days, let alone anything that makes sense."

One thing he said everywhere he went this weekend. "My wife spent an hour and a half in a gas line two days ago. She came home and said, 'Paul, you've got to do something about the energy crisis.'"

"What we're coming to is what I've been predicting for a long time. I hate to say 'I told you so.' I've been accused of being a chicken little on this issue... If we had cars that were 5% more efficient we wouldn't have gas lines today." He proposed an amendment forcing efficient cars and banning gas guzzlers/⁶years ago and said if we'd acted 6 years ago, wouldn't be in fix.

"These resources are finite and the longer we put it off the worse it's going to get." Worse next year.

✓ "What does it take to get a democracy to mobilize? I've given more thought to that problem in the last 5 years than any other one. I think it's when it begins to hit home. It's always the other person's problem until it happens to you."

Only answer is leadership. "We elect the President, the Senate and the House provides us with leadership. Our performance to date has been dismal. The administration's performance has been terrible and Congress has been worse.

✓ "My strongest supporter in the solar lobby (calls self part of solar lobby) is not a liberal from New England. It is Peter Domenici, a conservative Republican from ^{New Mexico.} ~~NE~~. His philosophy and mine couldn't be farther apart. We've finally come to the point, ^W where we are dealing with this issue across ideological and party lines, that's because we're all scared. That is encouraging."

"It's possible to say there is no energy crisis. These oil companies are irresponsible; they have always been irresponsible. But individuals have got to try to isolate themselves from the coming crisis. It's no answer if the ship is sinking to say he's not bailing, so I won't bail--however aesthetically pleasing that is. People can put themselves in a position to make themselves immune from the crisis. To the extent that individuals

can, they should make decisions to insulate themselves from the crisis-- in their own lives--decisions about cars, mass transit, where they live. That's the only solution I have for individuals."

Africa. "a vacuum" accounts for his leadership. "I think I know more about Africa than anyone else in the Senate. I'd like to be chairman of the African subcommittee."

divestiture
Harvard/- "We are trying to get people to think of this in the long run - 15, 20, 25 years. You're going to have to black majority rule in Africa. The question is whether we are going to be out front on it when it comes. It's like pulling teeth to get people to take the long term view of it."

SALT - his advisory committee = hard lines on both sides - met twice - won't take public position till committee meets and goes over it line by line. "I'm disposed to favoring the treaty." I would like to vote for a SALT treaty. Two key points will be (1) verification (2) here's treaty and this is what it will be like if we have no treaty. SS-18 with treaty Soviets have 10 ^{warheads} ~~missiles~~; without treaty they could have 30 or 40 warheads on these missiles.

I drove with Charlie Zgonis from Special Olympics to the WPEP interview. I had noticed that Paul didn't pay much attention to Charlie's briefing and Charlie said it was frustrating to brief Paul because he didn't seem to listen. "We worked from 11:00 till 6:00 yesterday on this stuff. Then when you tell him he doesn't seem to be listening. He carries on two conversations at once. It's frustrating. I told him that once and he told me that he does it all the time so I shouldn't take it personally. You know, you learn in philosophy that there are certain basic principles. He understands those principles ⁱⁿ of each of his issue areas; and then ^{he} treats specific problems according to those principles. So he doesn't have to know everything about

the specific problem. But he has an amazing ability to retain facts. He'll come out with the facts I gave him when the time comes." When Paul mentioned the Governor of Louisiana being receptive to wastes (something Charlie told him during the briefing in the car) I turned around and winked at Charlie and he grinned back.

The point is that Paul is a more deductive thinker than many. He has a general stand on issues and then he fits specific items into that coherent whole.

Charlie thinks of himself as a "friend" of Paul's. He ran vs. Paul for city council and lost - was a city planner and joined staff after Paul's election. Did not work in congressional office. Did work in campaign.

Steve Rothstein (student of Jim Burns at Williams) joined campaign after the primary. Says he's never seen any differentiation among people who were with Paul early. Says Governor King is like that. Says that staff is made up of people with congressional office, some who weren't some with campaign, some not (at all points in campaign) that some on campaign wanted place and couldn't get it. Says all have access to Paul. I.e., Issac drove last night, Charlie this morning, Steve this afternoon.

When we got to Lowell, Paul drove into ^a friend's yard and yelled "Rick". Looked around yard and kept yelling "Rick." No one came "There goes my dinner for tonight." He had no plans and wanted to eat with a friend. A very human thing. Said all they had in his refrigerator (his father's house--his father is in Greece) were popsicles. Steve says he acts different in Lowell. I.e., people introduce him by saying "Here's Paul." Yelling in the driveway and back yard was like that. When we got to the house he said "The lawn needs to be mowed." And ^{"T"} the neighbors are complaining about the flag. They think it's

too tattered and fading. We'll have to measure it and get a new one."

When we finished the Taunton interview, Paul said of the radio reporter there "He's pushy, but he's the best local reporter in the state. He's personally interested in what goes on locally and not just interested in getting another job. And I like the way he is absolutely without fear in dealing with public officials." At the close of the program he had said he hoped Paul wouldn't be so long between visits. Paul said "You are my most ardent suitor."

✓ I asked him how he described Massachusetts when asked: "I wouldn't trade it for any other state in the union. It is ideal for someone like me. It is issue oriented. It is traditionally liberal, so that liberal is not a dirty word. It tends to be involved in advanced thinking, high technology for example. It has an incredible university base, which I enjoy. I like its traditions, its life style. I was never as big a booster of New England as I've become since I left. I'm committed to it. Another way of saying it is to ask if I weren't a senator, where would I be living? Here. My impression is that a lot of my colleagues would be living in Washington. If we had lost the election, as I told you, we were going back to live in Lowell."

I asked him if his 5th District was a microcosm of the state. "Exactly. The only difference is Boston. Once you break Boston down into neighborhoods and digest them, it's easy to understand. The state is not as complex and as unknowable as I had thought. I, for one, am optimistic about the future of the state."

I then asked if he thought the people of the state were equally optimistic. "No, the state has been down for such a long time that people have a mind set. They don't think it's coming back. So they have to see it coming back before they change. Lowell is coming back. Other cities will too, because housing prices are coming down and because of the gasoline crisis. When I was a

congressman, I used to worry about New Hampshire enticing industry away from Massachusetts. I don't worry about that anymore. Our cities are coming back."

I asked him if any of the votes he has cast in the Senate would have been cast differently had he still been in the House. He thought about it and said: "No."

He talked about how diverse Massachusetts is and then said "Can you imagine trying to understand Texas." I said N.Y. was tough and he agreed. "How would you go from Brooklyn to Nasau County to the Adirondacks." He asked me how far ~~from~~ ^{was from} Buffalo ~~to~~ NYC. Then he said Cohen had it easy with just two districts. But he concluded by saying "Small states are easier, but they aren't as interesting."

Again and again during the weekend, he returned to the theme that he was running himself ragged with his trips home.

Walking out of the special olympics he said "I've learned a lot about how not to put it together."

Shortly after, in the car, he said "I remember after my first congressional primary we took a weekend off and went to Hampton Beach. It was before the season opened. That time alone was so precious. We savored every moment. I remember stopping to sit under a tree with the baby. I got the same feeling yesterday even though I knew I had to get on the airplane. I stayed home and painted the shutters."

Earlier he noted that he had promised his wife that if he won the election they would fix up the house. Said he wasn't going to get a new roof tile he had had done things that were more visible--like the interior walls."

I said something about people leaving the house because they were frazzled. "People are leaving the House to run for the Senate. They're not

leaving the Senate. You have the same downside problem as in the House. But the rewards are greater in the Senate."

Steve gave him a fat folder of letters thanking him for his appearances. When he put them in back seat, he said, "When you accept appearances like these and do them well, the recognition is tremendous. So the temptation is to keep it up. If you don't, you don't get letters like these. So, politically it's fantastic but personally it's devastating. You do it week after week after week after week. And you end up not liking your job. It's insane."

He said they got 200 invitations a month. I asked him if these weren't same principles he used to base acceptances on. "We have principles and they all get violated. The basic principle was that we would do it every other week and accept only things that fell on those weeks. But people call and say 'this is special' and the whole system breaks down. We are going to have to establish some priorities. We will do town meetings, economic development meetings downtown in the cities, and advisory committee meetings. Everything else we will do if it is convenient."

Managing issues
✓
I asked if he hadn't given some thought to the Dick Clark problem, since he was following in Clark's footsteps. "I have thought about it, and I see three differences between Clark and myself. First, I'm from Massachusetts, not Iowa. Second, my interest is not startling, because I spent 2 years in the Peace Corps. It is consistent and not unusual for me to talk about Africa. ~~And~~ I talked about it in the campaign. Third, in keeping with our interest in economic development and constituent service, people don't have the idea that we are depriving the state. Our aggressive economic development work and our constituent service team frees me up to deal with issues like Africa. I don't think we've had any letters saying I was spending too much time on Africa. (Steve says there have been a couple). In any case, it's a price I'm more

than willing to pay. If you can offset the negatives by appearing on the McNeil-Lehrer show, and reenforceⁱⁿ the perception among opinion leadersth then you are having an impact."

I asked him about the negatives of his Africa interest within the Senate. "It all depends on how you pull it off. My speech on Rhodesia was fine, but my reference to the Gulf of Tonkin was a mistake. The last time it worked out well. I deferred to the Foreign Relations Committee. They offered my amendment and I supported them. It worked out fine. When a group of us went down to the White House afterward and came out of the meeting there were the microphones and the cameras. They got Church and Javits and I stood behind them waiting my turn. Then I said to myself, "What am I doing here?" And I walked away. I think you can have an impact if you are not perceived as a media hog. But my Gulf of Tonkin comment cost me with McGovern. He'll get over it, but it will always stick in his craw. You can't take remarks like that back once they are out of your mouth."

"One of the nice things about being a Senator on the Cape this summer will be that I'm among my constituents. I wonder whether I'll be able to be on the beach and still be anonymous." He said this when we were getting ice cream and he was feeling a little mellow (with his "sherbert cooler") and I think he was just reflecting pleasure at being a Senator, having a larger constituency, being noticed. It's an example of where I didn't catch his meaning. I thought when he said it that he wanted anonymity. He didn't at all. He was looking forward to being a Senator in Harwichport.

When a reporter after Boys State asked him what he wanted to accomplish in 6 years, he said "I would hope that on the issues we worked on, energy, the cities, Africa, we will be seen to have been credible. And secondly, I hope at the end of six years to have held my family together, which by Washington standards isn't easy."

✓ After he had urged Boys State kids to get into politics I asked him when the very first time was that he thought of running for the Senate. "At the time of the Panama Canal." Never before that? "The United States Senate? I had never, ever thought in those terms. How the hell does anyone run for the Senate from Lowell?"

health
SALT
Africa ✓
"Of all the things we do, I enjoy the advisory committee meetings most. They are mind expanding. They are like graduate seminars... And on my terms." (smiled)

We went back to the idea that he could attract them as a Senator, while he couldn't as a Congressman. He added that "I also think they have an obligation. I'm a Senator and I ought to be educated."

✓ Yet, we noted, there must be some reason they don't respond in same way to the Congressman. And he said "There's too much competition over in the House. There are too many bright young guys. In the Senate I'm one of six or eight on my issues. Maybe I'm the only one. When they asked me to be on the McNeil-Lehrer report, my reaction was, 'of course, they should ask me.' That would never happen in the House. When McNeil-Lehrer did a report on Ethiopia, Don Bonker got it. I thought maybe next time, they might get around to me."

What's interesting here is that he's making a strictly quantitative argument. It's numbers, not quality or staff or anything. That's the same argument Clark made re Tsongas and Bonker.

✓ Re energy, he noted that "We get a lot of people who are thinking seriously about energy because we are out front on the issue."

When I recalled how the Ambassador from Nigeria had sought him out, he said, "That would never happen in the House." Senators attract attention because of numbers--independent of quality or ideas."

✓ "It's a political advantage for me coming from Lowell, because I understand the other cities in the state. You saw that in Fall River. You take away the

the cities and then you break up Boston, and digest it and you don't have too much to learn. I represented small towns like Ashby and Shelburnham and suburbs like Lexington. I understand them. That's most of the state."

Said he loved to listen to Moynihan speak.

Of Cohen "What are his issues?" "How does he like the Senate?"

I said "He's keeping his nose down." Paul said, "I gathered that!"

I asked him if his advisory groups wouldn't get too high expectations and then ^{be} let down when he says how little he can do." "It depends. On SALT, I'm going to vote on it, so that keeps them interested. On Africa, they know I'm the point man. The Health group is more informational than operational. The energy group has always felt that it is worthwhile. The capital formation in high technology companies hasn't met yet." So he has 5 of them.

At one point he said "The SALT groups is the most interesting. They all know each other. They've been adversaries for years. They go at each other and I sit back--for 3 hours."

"I'm intrigued by House-Senate differences, and of the different perceptions people have of the two. They do have different perceptions. There are several indices. House members run for governor; Senators do not run for governor--that sort of thing. Another is that the kind of people you can get to help you differs. I said that to a member of my staff and he said that if I had been a congressman he wouldn't have applied for the job. I thought that was pretty frank. My SALT group is an incredibly talented group. My staffer asked some of them if they would have come for a congressman. And they said, "No, why should I?" There's a sense of difference in this power a Senator has."

He said they'd do town meeting in Dudley area. "This would be a good place to do a town meeting--Southbridge and Milford. The people would appreciate it--not like Boston where nobody comes. We don't ordinarily get out to this part

use Senate to attract talent - still private

of the state. I didn't even know about that school." Said they had done 7 town meetings so far. Steve R. says Paul likes those a lot.

"How many times have we been in the Western part of the state, ten?"

(Yes)

When I asked him if he attended some Greek function 2 weeks ago, "You name it, I went to it."

I asked him what the most important event for him politically--of the weekend. "The Northeastern Commencement--far and away. Commencements give you incredible exposure. We'll do the same thing next year, but Saturday and Sunday only--not these four day things."

All afternoon, he kept trying to get Red Sox game on radio. It was a night game!

We picked up Paul in the morning in Lowell to go to Northeastern Commencement. "I had a fun evening. I mowed the lawn. Then I called Rick Williams. He has a recorder and I said 'We were supposed to have dinner. Where are you, you son of a bitch.'" He was in Marblehead and he called back in ten minutes and said we would barbeque hamburgers in his yard. Then the Eliades came by and invited both of us to have a barbeque with them. So we had steaks and we ate like pigs. Then I watched the ball game. I went to bed and lay awake for an hour and a half thinking about Lowell--downtown reconstruction. The clock struck twelve, then one."

Northeastern. "It's my job as a teacher of sorts to tell you what is out there."

Citation: "Quiet and unassuming and lacking in affection...combining the granite of Dartmouth and the bulldog of Yale."

Despite what people feel about politicians, there's a love-hate relationship." (What made you think about it?) I think about it all the time--like that kid waving." *A kid had waved to him in the car.*

✓ I asked him how he got interested in energy in beginning. "My first opponent, Paul Cronin had made it his issue. He was out front on it. I got into it. I was a member of the Environment and Energy Subcommittee. It had jurisdiction over nuclear. There was no one thing."

After Northeastern speech he said "If I had given the other speech, I'd have put them to sleep. You have to keep it short and keep them awake--in reverse order. I've never read a commencement speech. In fact I don't read speeches at all. I only read one speech--on solid waste disposal. I gave it to a group of solid waste disposal engineers, people who knew 100 times more about it than I did. Instead of talking about something I knew something about I read this long speech telling them what they knew. I couldn't wait for that fucking speech to end. It went on and on. They were paying me \$200, one of the biggest honoraria I got as a congressmen. So I thought I had to give them a real speech showing them how much I knew. I never read another speech after that."

✓ Interview in his office with North Shore Reporter. Energy. "It's like telling people they have a fatal disease. They want to be told and get on with it--I hope."

His town meeting map - pins - show 43 events, in Boston will have.

✓ "You can focus on the waves or you can focus on the ocean." *re. Oil companies.*
~~Re oil companies.~~ "I said I would support decontrol if the tax went into a serious program of alternatives--weatherization, things like that. *Absent* that kind of program, I'm opposed to decontrol. People will accept short term pain if there is a long term solution. Decontrol and the administration program promises short term pain and no long term solution."

He wants Manhattan Project, Appollo type commitment from the government.

He speaks of balanced budget - cut government spending type economics

✓ "bumper-sticker economics."

SALT group has met twice. Re vote prospects. "I finally sat down the other day and made up a list. There are 23 who are absolutely opposed to a treaty. So you only have 79 who would conceivably vote for a treaty. And that includes people like Bob Dole, Howard Baker and Sam Nunn. So you have to geat ~~950~~ to have any chance of success."

SALT "beginning to bubble up. In the early town meetings, it never came up. Now it comes up as an after-energy question."

"I probably spend more time on urban revitalization than anyone in the Senate--in what I do back home and with amendments in committee. I think people elected me to use my head. When the time comes when they don't like that, they can vote me out."

People say: "Stay out of foregin affairs and get me gas." The problem of inconsistency and not thinking things through—*Nigeria our second largest oil supplier*

"If Kennedy ran and were elected I'd be the senior senator from Massachusetts. I've told the White House that if he goes, I'll be with him."

"I'm simply over-scheduled. I made too many commitments early and had to keep them. It hurts the family. I've been gone 6 to 8 weekends in a row. I'm playing out the *string* now and plan to spend more time with my family. It's a strong family and can stand stress better than most. So many of the people I came to Congress with have gotten divorced. I'ts fantastic."

Senate. "It's a much better forum than a congressional seat. In energy - we have introduced 14 amendments and all have passed--95 million dollars worth... Trouble is time management. It's a much bigger constituency.

Re his schedule. "It just wasn't thought out."

"I spent 7 months in campaign with 3 days off. That became defined *as* normal. *But* was *not* *making*. There are so many places I haven't been that I ~~wanted~~ to get established. But this pace cannot be sustained nor will the family survive this kind of pace."

Wife: "She went once to a Senate wives meeting. But she did not go again. She's not into those things. *Rolling* bandages is not her thing."

✓ Again he described his last night. "Such a delicious three hours of normalcy doing what everyone else does."

"Younger people instinctively know something is wrong. Older people say 'I've got 15 years left in this world, leave me alone.' *Pro* Hope for change lies with the young people."

~~Moakley to PT at Commencement. He said, "wouldn't you have to have that crowd on year?" I said, "Yes, if you don't blow it."~~

On the way to the parade in Charlestown - "I remember this parade last year. We shook every fucking hand in Charlestown--running back and forth from side to side. I enjoy parades. You get some sun and you get a lot of exposure." After the parade, as we walked to get ice cream at Kelly's. "I was pleased with the recognition--completely different from last year. I was especially pleased that people called me by my first name. I felt comfortable. Two ladies asked me to stop forced busing, two people asked me to get them some gas, one person told me to stop being interested in the Third World. But most of people were very friendly."

"During the campaign if I did two parades in a row, I was exhausted."

Re his speech. "If I made them think, I did my job."

"Joe Moakley said to me, wouldn't you love to have a crowd like that in an election year?" I said "Yes, if you don't blow it."

"There wasn't much intimacy there" (re Northeastern). And I said, "You got a very warm reception." He said, "That's because they are young and I am young. It's the age factor. They didn't feel that way about the 80 year old who got a degree."

✓ Someone mentioned that Leverett Saltonstall died. "That was another generation. I only met him once. It was at a dinner. I went up behind him and introduced myself. I said "I'm Paul Tsongas" but he didn't know who I was. When I walked away he probably had no idea what had happened. With his seat being taken by people like Brooke and Tsongas, no wonder he wanted to forget all about it."

1 He emphasizes the generational aspect of things often. Sees self as a man of a particular generation.

1 Everywhere he went, he was tough on Carter. His criticism of Carter ^{drew his} ~~does~~ only applause at commencement.

He met with an energy group in Springfield, who are looking for money and publicity. On money he said, "I'm sympathetic with everything you say. But people want a balanced budget.: On publicity "I'm having trouble getting my own name in the papers." Didn't promise anything. But told 'em to be in touch with Mitch Tyson re. the programs they think they can tap. He blasted Carter, Schlesinger (says he'll go and Paul is pushing a guy named Freeman of TVA). DOE as "a shables with no morale" Carter as man with no commitment. "Let's wait and see what he says next week on his commitment to renewables. Let's give him a shot."

Spoke of next winter as likely to be a "catastrophe" and "disastrous" for New England. Heating oil scarce, gas lines longer.

Carter smarter than Kennedy, but Kennedy can rouse people. Great need is leadership he keeps saying.

Sunday was a ^{just} ~~blast~~ for me. Steve got sick as we were leaving for a long ride to Springfield during which I had planned to ask whole bunch of questions. Result was Paul and I shared the driving while Steve slept and we couldn't talk because it would wake him up. I drove back from Springfield most of way and Steve

was sick again. Long day, but the human factor intervenes and blows it all.

Steve said Paul hadn't yet done work days."

✓ "Do you have any national ambitions--for President or Vice President? "No, that's one thing I promised my wife."

He gets asked about the favorite son idea a lot. Says it's very unlikely; but doesn't absolutely rule it out.

Calls Peace Corps "two best years of my life."

Nance ^{Quilmartin} ~~Good~~martin discussed fact that constituent service people find it a little harder to do their job now than they did when Paul was a Congressman since he was more totally dedicated to constituent service then. They could be more certain that he would follow up on constituent service area. It's something to follow up on.

But the point that's interesting is that when legislator's job changes, it affects the staff. If I need anyone's viewpoint other than member, it's probably the staff.

He has a map with pins in it showing his appearances around the state: red for town meeting (7 so far); blue for 5 appearances; green for 1 appearance. He had 44 appearances in Boston. Only other places with blue pins were Lowell (about 15 appearances) and Springfield (about 8 appearances).

1.42 graves
Steve Rothstein wears a bracelet for Anatoly Scheransky. Something of the issue oriented nature of the staff.

Paul takes softball very seriously and it is an indicator of his com- petitiveness. Bantering with Issac Graves, who told him that the Tsongas staff had been beaten by a state senator's staff team. "Who played ^{short} sports for you?"

✓ "I take baseball very seriously. If you're going to get out and play the fucking game you ought to win. The other night I was playing shortstop, I

✓ took a throw from the outfield, their guy was heading into third, I whirled to throw to third and nobody on our team was covering third. Three of them were covering home. My God! I like it when I win. I don't like it when I lose." One of the interns in the office said "I want to play. But if Paul is going to play, I'd just as soon sit on the bench. He takes it so seriously."

On the Rhodesia vote, where 41 voted not to lift sanctions, he ticked off 6 of 9 freshmen. "I got Bradley Levin....." showed some sense of leadership. He told story of Larry Pressler, who said he was undecided, then voted for matter, then voted to table his own motion. Paul was little disgusted. "He came up to me to explain himself."

Also when Issac told him of lady from East Boston who wants to stop forced busing and ~~got~~ pretty vehement--the one Issac said he nearly told off-- Paul said "They weren't with us in the beginning and they won't be with us in the end."

✓ "There's no mail coming in on Rhodesia. I don't think it's too much to ask the black community to organize like the Jews and the Greeks have." (to Issac as we walked through the airport)

NAACP speech - family came from other county - have special feeling for education as vehicle of social mobility.

✓ "I'm the only member of Senate still paying my tuition." (law school)

✓ "The problem with energy crisis is it is real and it's going to get worse... Has the potential of leaving it to our children...nothing but chaos. If we don't deal with it seriously we'll be the 1st generation to act without responsibility."

✓ "The energy crisis is cruel. It hurts the poor and people on fixed incomes. Admin is not doing its job and Congress is worse. The President

came up with a program, and it's the kind of plan that makes people want to Ted Kennedy to run for president."

✓ "We in New England have special problem and the Admin has a long way to go before it understands our situation... We're all going to regret the harvest of our inattention."

"If the average person had acted 6 years ago in keeping with crisis would have been isolated from what I see coming."

✓ On vote last week. "The Senate turned its back on black Africa."
Discussion of Rhodesian situation.

✓ "Remember the Oregon trail, the people who blazed that trail--the people whom we honor. Think of what they went through and we can't scale down?"

Tides - energy and US policy in Africa - in many ways similar - a test of national will. A test of what we're about. It's an open question...

Also was Valley Forge as example of racism

✓ "Reason we lost Rhodesia vote, the black community didn't organize enough, didn't have enough identification with Africa--read from statement by Hooks of NAACP. Re nationalism in Africa as major.

"Not unlike what Greek community has done on Cyprus, to identify, to realize that we have links with other people in other lands."

Hayakawa - makes crack about power and autos and his opposition to sanctions.

"The average person has not organized, identified, written."

✓ "The way the Jewish community identifies with Israel is the example. I think that's good. It's healthy. It's what the Greeks should do, it's what the blacks should do. It's what every community in the United States with link in other lands should do."

I wouldn't say there was anything different in this speech from a congressman's speech. Maybe he brought a slightly larger crowd out, but I don't know that it did.

When we picked up Paul at the airport and we were walking to the car, he said "I'm very un-up for this weekend. I seriously considered calling, saying I'm not coming and telling you guys to do it yourselves."

When we got out of the car at the meeting he said "Only two more weeks" of coming home and then... He's looking forward to a letup in the schedule. "Only two more weeks" became a refrain.

"This isn't a typical weekend. You should have been here last weekend," they often say something like this.

Meeting of Health Advisory Group.

Economist from Emmanuel College gives long talk re "shortage" - sums up to 2 problems: (1) Many of studies demonstrating strategies are poorly done. (2) Problem is distribution--re shortage in primary care and geography.

Ends up by discussing "trade-offs among accessibility, quality and cost."

The big discussion ⁱⁿ ~~on~~ which one ^{doctor} ~~doctor~~ says no one goes into primary care. They train for it and don't do it--especially not in needy areas. "The system reeks." Other guy says that we need to wait to see--that there is enthusiasm plus output increase plus emphasis on primary care and that we'll get it in time.

One point made is that we've got separate problems: (1) insure quality in medical school (2) help insure that all students can go to medical school (3) give financial incentives to get ^{doctors} ~~people~~ into the North End of Boston.

Reimbursement system is seducing people into certain procedural specialties." Doctors set own reimbursements.

Also doctors settling in communities near where they were trained, competing ^{with persons who trained them for equipment}

✓ Paul waits 50 minutes and speaks. "Now that I'm an old man, and am in the Senate, ^{It's come to the conclusion that} People do operate in their own self interest. I've gotten over

my Peace Corps background. If you fail to base programs on this you are holding back the tide. You have to channel the river where it wants to go. When I look at my classmates in law school and where they went...I went back to Lowell because I wanted to pursue a political career, but most of my classmates are in Washington / Wall Street or in big firms in big cities. People will go where they want to go. Anytime you artificially try to divert that you end up with things popping up all over the place that you don't expect. You can't get people to go into the North End because it's right. You have to make it in their own self interest." Examples of gas rationing. "If people 5 years ago knew that they would have to sit in gas lines, they wouldn't have bought gas guzzlers." ~~I've come to the conclusion that~~

His comments, "we
1) ^{the} Can guarantee access into system, ^{that} That, at a minimum is what we have to do." 2) Since you have dependence of medical schools in Washington, primary care is a problem. It's worth trying to deflect ^{some} ~~some~~ money into that direction. 3) Most of you would ~~vote~~ ^{be} for a balanced budget... Bumpersticker economics just want work. The system is so complex. There is a tremendous need to have reasonable assumptions and not on rhetoric on what is best.

We may be able to make things a little better. But the market will have to take care of ^{market} ~~the~~ Market is the underlying ocean and we are the waves. If we scale down our expectations, we may be able to accomplish something."

Discussion of hospice followed.

PT says often "what I find intriguing is..."

Someone says that mere fact that McNeil-Lehrer report takes up "right to die" indicates that there is anxiety about the problem. PT ^{quipped} ~~says~~ "I was on the M-L report and there was no anxiety about that problem." ^(reference to Rhoades) Someone asked him how his amendment came out. He told story of how on M-L program Larry

Pressler was the undecided voter - he spoke for the amendment and then voted for motion to table--Pressler and Hayakawa. "It was an interesting example of political courage." Someone made a comment re. anxiety and death.

"If you see Hayakawa when he's sleeping you sometimes wonder..."

On the right to die, Paul keeps asking what the attitude is out there, how it's changing, what "the psychological market is like.

✓ "My interest in this is not legislative. I don't think anything is coming down the pike legislatively for a long time. My interest is as a window into our society. We are in a period of declining resources, and that is going to create great stress. I think your society is going to undergo the kind of stress it hasn't undergone in a long time... (Story of pregnant lady in gas line in California. Death and dying is a ^{unique window} ~~way~~ ^{into it} into the American psyche and that's why I'm interested in it.

20 people attended this meeting - doctors, blue cross, philosophers, psychologists.

His interest in preventive health - sports figures - getting women to think of long term physical care - soccer vs. football - get a ^{way} from John Wayne.

✓ Spoke wryly that what he really wanted from the next group ^{meeting} was someone to help with his calf ailment.

✓ "There are good people in Senate - Mark Hatfield is the most put-together humanbeing I've ever met. It's comforting that he can be elected. I'm disillusioned about Senate because I had expected more. The Senate is just like Lowell city ^{the} ~~ward~~ ^{council}. What you have are survivors - people interested in power. They ^{offend} /vote to ~~affect~~ the smallest number of people. They vote for fear of ^{the} right wing- for fear of what's out there."

"Anyone who takes ^{in my} generational view of what's happening has to be scared stiff. Andover talk, ^{I said that we} ~~we~~ are used to comfort and life style and

want to learn to pull back. I don't think we're going to make it. If that's disillusionment, well...."

Wants longer sessions. 1 topic per 2 hours.

"If I had tried to convene that group as a congressman, they never would have come. It's like my SALT group."

In car he read clippings - spent time on: (1) ^{hy} My past disagreement with past Lowell city manager who resigned and idea that he would become important in local politics again. (2) Story re lack of time (passed over ^{Patterson's} priorities article quickly). (3) ^(Name said this was serious article) Woodlief on PT and Carter's problems - "Greek tragedy - you all" article. (4) article on how well he's doing re publicity - quoting from Mike Green a lot - "You have to work harder when you're Number Two." Char. Gallagher. (5) Articles re his praise of Fall River attitude. (6) PT reconsiders mobile van because of fuel. (7) Article re his financial disclosure. Especially two showing PT and TK differences : "Rich man, Poor man" Ted and Paul". (Green article - flipped it by quickly - said nothing to me!) (8) Article on Jerry Brown. (9) Two articles on the debate idea (10) Article commending PT liberalism and accessibility from Leominster - Fitchburg paper.

After he finished, he put them in envelope and said: "It's incredible, the press. It can't last. I can't keep up the pace." (Are they fair?" "Yes, but the pace is too great. You can't keep it up...only two more weeks." The big press came from his concentration on home.

"Tell me about the special olympics... I've never seen it before."

You drive with energy ^{nut} and you drive in uncomfortable back seats-- Graves had Toyota - Zgonin has Pinto, PT said in an interview that all his staff drives small cars. Also they don't use airconditioning.

"We're trying to get ahead of these problems. That's why we're emphasizing bicycles. Gas rationing is coming. There's no doubt about it. Bicycles will be one answer. They've got to be." Said he would ride bike, but 14th Street Bridge was too hazardous. And therefore we need bike paths.

To Taunton to discuss hazardous waste and opposition to a land fill.
 "The same people who want these elaborate plans are the same ones who want a balanced budget. They can't have it both ways. That's what I'm going to tell them."

Most of discussion is of missile systems, SALT, then energy.

Some on drinking age, abortion, deregulation of trucking.

To Bury State "You can get an organization. You are willing to do the nitty gritty.

When I ran in my 20s, I knocked on every door in Lowell. If you're young you look honest. You may be as ^{corrupt} competent as the next guy but you look honest. Older people give younger people the benefit of the doubt. Those three assets are great resources. Get into politics. Good luck."

Boys State. Re energy. "I was born in the early 40s at the beginning of the nuclear age--Hiroshima. My life has been affected by that fact--the SALT treaty. You will be the first generation for which energy is the major problem." Then on to the general idea that we need to come to terms with finite biosphere and shrinking resources.

! ✓ "Dinosaur domestication program".

Go to oil in last resort. 3 infinite sources - nuclear fusion - hydrogen, solar - should push those.

Now we go to oil as first resort, deplete it and make problem worse.

*The hands to
 think a problem
 through to the
 end rather
 back up & discuss
 it with him and
 solution in
 mind
 "roughly"
 "faster"*