

Paul Tsongas

May 16, 1979

I got to the Worcester Chamber of Commerce breakfast late. I got wrong time and wrong room. Tip O'Neill was speaking when I walked in.

same  
with  
a ha.

Paul gave excellent, short speech on energy--we're using it up and children will suffer--couldn't overestimate seriousness of the situation and life style is the problem. "People talk about producing oil. You don't produce oil, you extract oil. And because you extract it, it is a finite resource. The only way you can produce oil is to get some dinosaurs, kill them, put them on the ground and let them rot for 20 million years." We will run out of oil and question is whether or not we will change our life style. He's afraid the scarcity will tear the fabric of society. He picked up a napkin as he talked about the "fabric of society" and how it can only stand so much pressure until it explodes--and, here, he tore the napkin. "Pregnant women are being shot at in gasoline lines in California. Would you shoot a pregnant woman under normal circumstances. Of course not. But people who wait in line for gasoline two hours every few days are doing that. I'm afraid it will be region vs. region. We will ~~send~~ the fabric of society--absent a consensus on the fact that we are in a crisis." The enemy is ourselves and <sup>our</sup> ~~new~~ life style and he doesn't want to look for parochial scapegoats. He said that "The two greatest issues of our time are energy and the SALT Treaty."

He was, I thought, very effective. He is serious about what he says and thoughtful. He shows his wit, but it is a wit in keeping with his seriousness and intensity. There's nothing frivolous or "joke telling" about his wit, yet he shows people he has it. The man who introduced him said "in order to save time he wasn't going to make a long introduction and so he'd just say Senator Paul Tsongas." Paul replied "Of all the introductions I have ever

✓ | received, that one was the most recent." People laughed and then he hit 'em hard. At the end he said he knew he had been very pessimistic, but that he had to tell them the truth, that things were very serious.

When we fell in to walk together to the Senate, he said "How's it going" and I asked him how it was going. He said "You should have been here yesterday. We had a busy day all day on the Rhodesian problem. We went down in flames. The Administration is saving all its <sup>ammunition</sup> ~~information~~ for SALT. I can't say I disagree with that strategy. The Senate is a very cautious institution--much more so than the House."

I said that the old wisdom was that the Senate was more liberal. He said "The classes of 1972, 1974 and 1976 made a big difference in the House. It became much more liberal. The people who came into the Senate this last time were conservative."

I said I had heard that he and Max Baucus were calling Bob Edgar all the time to talk him into running for the Senate, and it sounded like he wanted company.

"I have talked to him about it, but it's his decision, of course. But I don't call him up all the time. You wouldn't want to convince someone to run and then have them lose. But the 94th class was a remarkable class. They were kindred souls. It is lonely without them. So I'd be happy to see more of them in the Senate. If I were to go to the movies--if I went to the movies, which I don't because we bought a new house, those are the people I'd go with--Bob Edgar, Don Bonker, Steve Solarz, Butler Derrick, people like that. Those relationships will never change. They will always be there. I still go over to the House every week or so just to visit with them." Later that day he rode over with Don Bonker to House to see how Alaska Lands bill came out. In the middle here (just before he mentioned the movies, I had interjected that I had been looking at his books and noticed how much time he spent with the 94th Club.

"The big problem here is time. The demands are much greater than in the House. And you still have to find time for your family. In the House I tried to do everything I was <sup>asked</sup> ~~asked~~ to do, go everywhere I was invited. The problem is: how do you learn to say no. I haven't figured that out yet. I'm doing 14 commencements this spring. Can you believe that?"

I said it was interesting that he felt just as rushed as ever even though he had 6 years in between. He said "Part of it is my own doing. After the campaign, I never stopped. I went around thanking everybody. So I never recouped from the campaign. And I haven't stopped since. The result is, I feel tired all the time. I've decided that in July and August I'm going to recover. I haven't scheduled anything in those two months except the fourth of July weekend and a trip to the Soviet Union in connection with SALT. Other than that I'm going to stay here in Washington and rest--as much as I can. Last night I was at the White House for a SALT briefing. I got home at 10:00 and went to bed at 10:20. This morning I got up for this 8:00 breakfast. That's unusual though. I usually try to spend time each morning and evening with my family."

At that point, we had walked and ridden from the Rayburn building to his office.

One other thing he said at some point in that first walk. He asked me how Cohen was doing. I said I thought he liked it and was trying to figure out how to fit in.

"On Wednesday mornings, I meet with a small group. It's a serious meeting, not exactly a prayer breakfast but it's a place where we get to know each other intimately. We discuss issues, but also things like our families."

That is interesting--it was on his schedule this morning. Paul said at one point. "I haven't met a single member of the Senate that I don't like." I asked if he knew them all and he said yes.

He only nodded to Orrin Hatch in the elevator, but Hatch said "Hello Paul, how are you." In the Energy committee markup, he stayed pretty much aloof from the banter involving Ford, Bumpers, Domenici. On the floor, when I watched him, he didn't do a lot of the clutching and squeezing that went on constantly. Yet he likes them all. And he obviously is reaching for something with the "prayer group."

The sequence: 1) I go to sit in his office. He discusses "impact" re media and Africa. (see later)

- 2) He gets call from Senator ~~Skurr~~ <sup>Stewart</sup>.
- 3) He gets calls from several newspapermen on yesterday's events. (i.e. Rhodesia)
- 4) Mitch comes through to tell Paul what they have as amendments in Energy markup "What do we have to introduce?" ; <sup>Mitch then</sup> and goes over to meeting. "Call me and tell me what's happening on this."
- 5) Deborah comes in to ask if he'll have picture taken with friends from Charleston. "They're very political."
- 6) Radio station calls to ask about wire report about statement made in La. about nuclear wasfare.
- 7) Wife calls and says roofer says they need new roof. "Tell 'em to go away."
- 8) Marsha says "Energy <sup>needs a</sup> ~~leads an~~ quorum."
- 9) Susan ("Walk with me to committee.") walks with him to energy markup-- briefing him on Peace Corps testimony tomorrow. "Our main idea is that we want an independent agency--but if we can't have that we want more autonomy within ~~EDCA~~ IDCA? "Yes; the House report wants autonomy within IDCA." "Take the House report and..." "Pull out some language?" "Yes."
- 10) He sits in hearing (me with him) - protests Clinch river and gets MIT amendment through.



11) We walk back for lunch with Mike Green.

On way he talked about amendment success, 12 for 12 - McClure <sup>His joke to</sup> ~~joke~~ - "My people hate Arabs, but they hate Californians worse." Likes 'em all - Domenici - prayer group.

From Green interview on, things back up - Rhodesia hearing with Bonker's subcommittee is late and slow and Paul doesn't get to answer questions. Afternoon is hectic and at one point--back in office for Barry Gilbert interview, he said. "Here's that time squeeze I talked about."

On the trolley car going over to the Senate to vote and then meet Soviet students, he dropped his head on his lap. "I'm just tired," he said.

After the Soviet student meeting, he went to preside, he took me to family gallery and I sat there till he left the chair. Then I went home.

4-5  
✓  
"I'm clearly the most out front Senator on the African issue. There is an editorial in the Washington Post today attacking me on my Rhodesian position. We did an OP ED piece in the Post on Angola. They are the same views I had when I was in the House, but there I was one of several. I could never afford to hire an African specialist. I had a full page interview in the International edition of Newsweek. That would never have happened to me in the House. You can have as much greater impact in the Senate--by sheer dint of number, if nothing else."

His expression when he's mad is "Goddammit". Maybe not mad, frustrated.

Rich says Senate is fascinating and that there are cross currents. On one hand it's less parochial; on other hand people protect each other.

Some  
public  
After the Senate passed the gas rationing plan, Paul went over to the House. "I went over to the House and sat there. When my friends came up, I said "We gave you gas rationing. It's up to you." One of 'em said to me. 'You can take away a man's wife, but you can't take away his car.' They were very skittish."

(to Mike Green)  
He said in same connection. "I remember when I was an intern here. We went to visit the AA of a senior member of the House. He said two things to us. Our job is to get our boss reelected. And, every member thinks his reelection is in the national interest."

"Pete Domenici is as conservative as they come, yet he has worked with us on solar energy. He's thoughtful."

✓ H-5  
Comparison  
of  
Humphrey  
On the question of the comparison with Kennedy. "I'm not a tub thumper, but I think I can give a good speech. I can give a serious speech that makes people think. Kennedy's speeches are more emotional. I remember once campaigning with him in Fall River, he gave a tub thumping speech. He had them jumping up and down and applauding every sentence. By the end of it they were on their feet screaming. Then he turned to me, winked and said, 'Paul, They're all yours.' I collapsed."

When Mike Green said he couldn't get anyone on Kennedy's staff to answer questions on Kennedy's 1980 plans, Paul said "If anyone on my staff answered that question, I'd fire him."

✓ "I took the position after the 3 Mile island accident that we should not license any new construction until the accident had been investigated. Kennedy said same things two weeks later. Reporters <sup>would</sup> came up to me <sup>after that</sup> and asked, "Are you in favor of the Kennedy position?"

"When I was talking to Senator <sup>Deconcini</sup> ~~Domenici~~ the other day he said "If you think it's bad being the junior senator to Kennedy you ought to try being the junior senator to Barry Goldwater."

Telephone calls to two newspaper people re yesterday's Rhodesian vote. (Rich wrote explanation, which I have, if the parliamentary tangle.)

"What bothered me was that I wanted to vote on the Byrd amendment. We would have come very close. Byrd didn't want to lose to Helms and didn't have

votes. I wanted to vote. We wouldn't have lost by so much and wouldn't have given the impression that the Senate was overwhelmingly against sanctions. The Republicans said they could get 15 and we could have gotten 30 votes on the Democratic side. We could have gotten 45 votes, and given a signal to the House. I think the President will not recognize the government and it will come back to us. Maybe the black groups will get organized. We got croaked by Bayard Rustin and Allard Lowenstein. They are beyond the pale. They did us more damage than anyone else. People kept coming up to me--not liberals, but moderates--saying, 'I know Rustin.' The black community has got to decide whether it's important enough to them. They've got to make people accountable. But I can tell you, nobody feels any pressure. I had one Senator call me early this morning to say he had made a mistake and wants to help next time."