

Paul Tsongas

March 13, 1980

Back in the office he made a call to someone back home (Eva) about staff change. "We need someone who knows we'll need these people 4 years from now."

"I'm going to Switzerland in May to make a speech on energy." (Have you been abroad much?) "From December 28 to January 12 we were in Southern Africa. (he listed countries). (Did Chris go with you?) Chris and a guy from the African Institute. I thought I might get to go to Zimbabwe for the inauguration, but I probably won't." (You're on the wrong side for that - re Kennedy.) They are being so petty about it. And they need every Democrat they can get-- even more so after they get reelected. They aren't doing anything to hurt me. And the agencies are fine. I'm having no problem with the agencies. But the White House...."

Then he returned Reston's call and they talked about Ted Kennedy. On the matter of PT running as a surrogate, he said that "all the time he and I were doing a ritual tribal dance," indicating that they never really talked about it. And, later, when I said TK "talked down" to the students at Iowa, he said to me. "He dos that all the time to me, too." The indication was that TK and he never quite get on all fours.

In the voluneers meeting he said, "The best way our society has of dealing with outsiders is to bring them in."

When they discussed Conscientious Objectors he said "I'll take you to any blue collar community in Mass. and sit down with the VFW, and you'll hear a different point of view."

He talked often during my trip of "budget balancing fever" and said they can cut inflation 1% if that makes them happy.

There's going to be a trolley museum

After Reson grilled him on TK, he told Reston about his interest in a newspaper museum in Lowell and got someone to call. He called Lowell Sunday and told em about it. Talked animatedly about Lowell Park Plan "Phase II." "Wang's expansion is so great that it makes the question of new industry irrelevant. We've achieved Rostow's takeoff point. It's amazing. I'm going to make a speech on Phase II."

They want to build housing near the cove entry and bring people back.

He talked about planting trees and money for them.

He and Mike Harrington talked about brining Marriott, etc. H: "Who will be the driving for ? T: "You're looking at him. If I can worry about planting trees, I can certainly supply the push at the top."

Walking to lunch.

"How's Bill Cohen doing?"

"I like the Senate. It's a good place to be." (Do you still compare H & S?) "All the time. I'd be interested in seeing whether his views coincide with mine. I can imagine staying in the Senate for as long as I can. But not over here. I was already prepared to leave, as you know. There's so much more power in the Senate. But it's lonelier...." We were interrupted at that point and didn't get back to it. The themes were the same as before--so far as I could tell.

"So you know Barber Conable." "Yes, he's my congressman." He's one smart son of a bitch. And a good paddle ball player."

"I can imagine he's enthusiastic, but I can't picture him as really good."

"It's all relative. It's not like we had 100 Arthur Ashes here."

He's going to Chicago to campaign for Kennedy this weekend. But in his conversations with Reston and with Harrington, he made it clear Kennedy wasn't going anywhere. He thinks it ironic that people agree with Kennedy's positions and yet don't vote for him. He doesn't think it's all Chappaquidick,

but just that people don't trust him and he can't overcome it. Paul thinks a Ford-Anderson ticket would be touch for Carter, but that Carter will beat Reagan--because Reagan's negatives are worse than Carter's. He sees everyone as having negatives.

"I've written an article about Africa for the Atlantic Monthly. I don't know whether they'll print it. We gave it to them 2 weeks ago. Manning runs that show; but I don't want to pressure him. I can pressure city councilmen, majors, bankers, businessmen, city managers--but when it comes to editorial writers, that's another proposition."

Re Tully the Lowell City Manager. "I supported him in the first place because I thought he was the kind of person who could get things done. If he likes the idea, he says 'let's go with it and we'll get the money later.' I like that way of operating. It's the way I operate." He said this with respect to getting the trolleys from someone in Europe for his museum.

"I'm studying French again after 20 years. I have two books I take with me when I go over to preside. I'm going to Sierra Leone next December and I've promised myself to bring my french back." No idle hands here.

What to do about Kennedy. "See it through. Then you'll know that you did your best, no matter how it comes out." He was going to Chicago to campaign.

He spent 1 hr. with a Mr. Revson, an army supplier who had had contract cancelled by army. When Missy was briefing him beforehand, she said she had laid out an agenda to keep meeting from going too long. But Paul said "Revson has to have his day in court. That's very important. His life is over; and we can't cut him off like that."

After the meeting with the Mass. exporting company and the guy from the Commerce Department, Paul said to the company officials. "I could have beaten that guy over the head on your behalf and let you think what a great Senator

I am, but I know it wouldn't do you any good. That guy would leave here and sabotage everything I want from here on. I made that mistake once as a Congressman and so I know how the bureaucracy operates. I deliberately tried not to put the heat on that guy. They were terrified when they came over here, because they thought I was going after them. Now they'll wipe their ~~br~~<sup>W's</sup> and feel better. And they'll help you more than they would before because they know we're interested. But it isn't that guy's fault. The administration just won't make the policy decision." A Mass. company with 48% export trade and 10% of its business with China, was having trouble getting export licences because the Commerce Department wanted trade, defense didn't and White House was keeping it all in limbo.

And Paul also said to these men. "I completely agree with you. We only have two major exports to the world high technology products like yours and grain. Our state exports high technology and that's our future--not shoes or textiles. <sup>W's not new laws & the ones.</sup> I'm on the International Trade Subcommittee and someday I want to be chairman of that subcommittee--however long it takes. So I'm going to be dealing with export problems for a long time. I want to build up a reputation in the field that will stand me in good stead way down the line. We've already started. We passed everyone of our export amendments in committee, because we put out good work products. Bob will be the expert on that. We didn't do as well on the floor, because Scoop Jackson was opposed to us on most of them. But we got something."

He told story (off the record) about one amendment of his on "indexing" fo some sort. He heard Jackson was going to oppose him on indexing. "I went to see Jackson, told him I heard he was going to oppose my amendment on indexing and asked if we couldn't work something out. He turned to his staff

man and said 'What's indexing?' So there I was, a Senator, arguing with his staff man."

✓ He talked all day about the "budget balancing fever" he sees governing everything these days. "We're going to balance the budget and cut about 1% off the inflation rate. And in the process we're going to cut programs like energy, that we need more than anything else in the country if we are to save ourselves in the next 20 years. But we'll balance the budget by God because that's what the American people want right now. The trouble with politics is that it produces short-run solutions to long-run problems. The trouble with short run solutions is that they are good only in the short run. When the Iranians seized the hostages--said 'We'll give them 72 hours to give those hostages back.'" That's a great 72 hour solution; but what do you do when the 73rd hour comes." He mentioned the olympic boycott too as a short-run solution. He was doing this talking to the businessmen at the end.

The students asked him if he got back to Mass. much. "Too much. I tried to do it every other week, but I find it's more like 4 in five." Then he went into the family crunch.

✓ Re the job, he came back to it later with me and with the students. "It's the best place to be. I can't imagine wanting to leave the Senate the way I wanted to leave the House. You have so much influence. You can influence things regardless of whether you serve on the right committee--like my influence on Africa. You can't do that in the House. On the International Development Subcommittee, which was the only one of my subcommittees I really liked, I could look ahead for 8 or 10 or twelve years before I could get to be chairman of that Subcommittee. There were 7 or 8 guys ahead of me, most of them in my class. If I had been on the International Relations Committee and been Chairman

of the African Subcommittee like Steve Solarz, I would never have run. But I'm glad I did. Professionally, this is a better job. It's the best place to be if you're issue-oriented. ~~§~~ But it's lonlier. (There isn't the comradeship that you had with the group of 60 in the Class of 1974.) You are isolated over here. You don't get to know your colleagues well. But here you have more staff, more expert staff. And you get much more visibility. I told you my commencement story--one commencement in 4 years in the House, 13 in my first year in the Senate."

I asked re difference in coalition formation. "You don't form coalitions over here. It's all done on a personal basis. The idea of a northeast midwest coalition is a House idea more than a Senate idea. You don't need coalitions here. You just deal with Senators personally."

To the students "It's a cliq~~ue~~ Everyone calls everyone else by his first name. You fight with one another, but you never make it personal. I'll clobber some conservative Senator and then go over and shake hands with him just to preserve the personal contact. Then I'll go back and clobber him again the next day. Sometimes it can be a problem. You can be too friendly and not be as hard on someone as you really should be."

"There's more competition in the House. You may think of Senators as being higher on the totem pole and smarter because you hear more about them. But there are lots of very bright guys running around in the House. You just don't know who they are. Any Senator can get attention, whether they are smart or not. House members can't do that. It's tougher over there."

When they asked him who he admired most he mentioned Javits and Culver-- both of whom he described as people who said what they believed and no wavering. ✓  
"Culver is one of the few liberals running for reelection who says "I'm a liberal. I you don't like it, defeat me." The people I have no respect for

are the ones who will do anything to stay here. They will take any position they think is pleasing to their constituents. But sometimes those positions are ~~worrying~~<sup>worry</sup> for the country. Senators are thought of as statesmen but they are just as worried about survival over here as in the House. Just get reelected and stay here, that's what most of them want."

They asked him who his presidential choice would be ideally and he said Dale Bumpers and his ideal ticket would be Bumpers-Anderson. He's always liked Anderson since he went with 6 Democrats to protest death of Steve Biko-- at South African Embassy. Again, the idea that he couldn't win politically and he did it out of conscience. Paul thinks he's smart and nice.

He said how he liked to talk to students because they are persuadable. "I can't persuade their parents. If I go to a town meeting the parents may have respect for my intellectual grasp. But I don't change their minds. These kids are persuadable. I love to talk to them. But how do you ever know if you have an impact on any of them." He talked way over time to the students and was great with the young ones from F School and the older ones from Bridgewater.

To the Volunteers in the morning. "The best experience of my life was the 2 years I spent in the Peace Corps in Ethiopia. It also changed me more than anything else that happened to me in my life. I went into the Peace Corps as a Conservative Republican and came out as a Liberal Democrat. We can argue about the direction of the change, but it certainly was a change."

Talk re Jim Shannon and possibility of primary opponent, "His problem is the same problem I had. People would support me out of intellectual respect-- but not because I'm one of them."

PT believes and says often that "good policy is good politics."

Re difference between House and Senate, he added two new wrinkles when he talked to the Bridgewater students. "With a six-year term, I can do things



at a much slower pace and produce a much better work product. I don't have to worry about doing all the flashy things to get attention--like press releases. We don't put out press releases for every little UDAG grant. I don't even know what press releases are going out."

Also "There's only so much you can do in a congressional district, but in a state there is nothing you can't get into. Massachusetts is a state with such incredible diversity that it has every problem and every type of interest imaginable--much more than any one congressional district. I don't mean to say there's not plenty to do in a congressional district. But a statewide constituency is just a lot more stimulating." I'll have to ask him to say more about that. It's a note Bill Cohen didn't strike and one Dave Pryor wouldn't strike, since he was just a governor.

When he introduced me at the Volunteers Breakfast, he said "He's been following me, or better, he's been tracking me."

They talked a lot, at the Volunteers breakfast about the problems of disassociating the national service idea from the draft. Paul said that the draft issue "sticks to the national service idea like flypaper."

"Welcome march down the long road with our idea in a parade when we get to the reviewing stand someone jumps up and attaches some draft type idea to it."

"In all the legislating I've done, this is the first time I've gone the Presidential Commission route. We could get a consensus on the idea, but as soon as we tried to write out the details, the whole thing broke down. We got bogged down, badly bogged down. There were lots of interested groups with different ideas, so we cided to provide an umbrella."

Had a conference at Brandeis to discuss idea - conference atmosphere was negative. But when students returned their questionnaires, they were more



positive. "It turned out we were further along than we thought we were."

! ✓ He believes that "We're in the best position in our state that we have been in my lifetime. It's great to see." Unemployment is low, people will move back to the cities he thinks. Massachusetts has strength in human resources and can compete with any industries that are resource intensive. Need to have good energy program in place--he has a bill--community energy act.

During exporting company's discussion with him, he said that his office had been interested in export problems and had an amendment of some sort to the bill last year. "We aren't newcomers to this area." He says this often.

lot of phone work  
mass.