

PS 3 p45
1 enb

RICH ARENBERG

August 3, 1982

I asked Rich what Paul's legislative interests have been since the book. "There was the El Salvador; Central America phase; then there was the Japanese challenge phase, then there was the nuclear freeze; then he came back to the Japanese issue; then there was the ERA phase; and now there is the Lebanon issue... It may be trite but it's like the Endless Summer. He keeps looking for the perfect wave. He's a great political surfer. He's got fantastic instincts for finding the wave just as it is beginning to form and getting out ahead of everyone else on the crest of the wave."

"There is not much opportunity for a Senator in the minority to have an impact on the kinds of legislation he was interested in--energy, the environment. He could go over and wave his arms. But he doesn't get any satisfaction out of doing typical minority things, adding a little flourish here or a small amendment there. There hasn't been much going on here. It's all been budget, and he doesn't have any leverage on budget issues. So he has turned more to foreign policy this year. On the Foreign Relations Committee, you can have an impact."

Why the issue orientation? "That's how he gets his satisfaction. You can take the 100 Senators and ask, for one, what gives him the greatest satisfaction. For a lot of them, satisfaction comes from the prestige and power of just being a Senator. It is enough. They like to push the buttons and turn the lever. For Paul, that is not satisfying. He likes to get out front on an issue, analyze it, and work out a position on it and then dig in to explain it to others. Often, the product of his analysis leads him to take a position that is not politically popular. He thinks that if people

know that you came honestly to your position they will support you whether or not they agree with you... He likes to take positions that are seen as
✓ courageous. He hates hypocrisy. On Lebanon, he finally said, I can't stand this hypocrisy any more. I'm going to speak out."

Rich thinks that will cost him politically with Jews in Mass.

✓ who will want 100%. "They will never forget."

Re his desire to change committees. "His interest is in the issues. He will go to any committee that will enable him to take a bite out of the issues he's concerned with. He doesn't mind giving up seniority by changing committees. The trappings of power don't interest him."

But, over time, those trappings produce chairmanship.

✓ "He's good at winning outside elections; but he would not be good at winning inside elections. He wouldn't spend any time on the preconditions to getting elected to a leadership position."

I meet Randy Naiman leaving the office. We commented on how Paul treated staff like family, gets involved in personal lives, can't fire anyone because he's too close. He said Paul's family was not at home but in Harwich. He likes to talk. Finds companionship in the staff that he misses on the floor. Finds it with a young staff--sees as young.

✓ "He wants his own amendment on every bill. I don't think the staff is aggressive enough with ideas. We don't feed him enough. He keeps saying bring me some issues. He wants to be out front on everything."

It's as much an intellectual thing as a legislative thing with Paul. He wants to be fed; and he wants to be the issue expounder. I said to Rich that Paul is a teacher and he agreed. He likes to explain, analyze and, thereby, change the terms of public debate. He wants to define issues.

Will he stay with them to the end?

✓ We talked about his restlessness on the issues. "It's the way his mind works. He's as restless within each issue as he is among issues. You've talked with him. He'll be interested in something for a few minutes and then you can see boredom set in. When you deal with him, you wait for that one window to open and then you pile everything through before it closes again. That's the first thing I tell every new person on the staff--when you talk to him, always say the most important thing first. It may be all the time you'll get. It drove me crazy when I first went to work for him. I wanted to talk for twenty minutes to explain the nuances. I'd just be getting into it when he'd be on the phone with Nikki. I read where Muskie would take long memos home over the weekend to read. Paul never took a long memo home with him in his life. If you have to write a memo, make it half a page. But the best way is to talk to him. That's the way he takes in information. He likes to have people walk with him from place to place. That's the best chance to talk to him. He's a captive--no phones--and you can plan just how much time you have to say what you want."

Re Lebanon. "I think I've mentioned to you Paul's ability to reach to people on the other side of the issue. He has success with opponents, he has trouble with allies. That's what he's done in Lebanon. The question is What is he going to do now?"

✓ This reaching out to others is part of desire to be independent or out front. Maybe out front is better. But he doesn't mind being caught in unconventional positions--he turns it into courageous. "His votes are perfectly predictable. But his sequence--going first--"out front"--is what explains a lot about him. There's so much that is characteristic of Paul that you can't tell from looking at his votes. Even though the votes make policy. Do the other things make policy, too?

PAUL TSONGAS

(Press Conference - July 30, 1982)

Caucus Room - 30 reporters

7 cameras - 12 mikes

Rudy Boschwitz comes

Is PT a clarifier of issues? He sees categories well. "The question is: Is Arafat a survivor or a ~~causist~~ ^{OK causist?}" I think he does clarify distinctions. Is fond of making distinctions. I'm not sure the end product is to clarify.

He does seem comfortable before the cameras. But, surely, he mumbles.

It's not clear what he learned. And he speculates a lot. What Israel will do in West Beirut. What Arafat's choices are: Does he take a position now that he would not have taken before he went.

He was asked how trip changed his feelings.

- 1) Strong distaste for ~~the~~ PLO
- 2) very strong ^{uneasiness?} ~~inversion~~ about Lebanese central government
- 3) much greater sense of division in Israel

his feelings about problem are sharpened - seeing bombing, etc.

What is first thing you'd do if you were President? "Redecorate the Oval Office."

Pres. ought to fall on his ~~ground~~ ^{sword} on this issue and not just middle east "as just another issue." nothing will happen.

So in the end, what he is trying to do is put the issue higher up on admin. agendas--and the trip has pushed it up further on his agenda.

Talk about seeing 12 year old kids who went through 10 days of carnage when Lebanese areas around camps were "blown to smithereens." There's no way they will grow up to be moderates. They will be terrorists." Always that generational view of the future. Which gives him the long view "You can solve the problem for 5 or 6 years, but not in the long run."

He gets better as he goes along and gets more personal in reaction. Best as a teacher by example, almost, than analyst."

I went to Paul's office to hear his report to the staff yesterday. Most interesting observation was that he would come off the plane, at midnight Jerusalem time, with family waiting, and talk about them for 2 hours. It was warm, witty, moving all at once. They had a large 'Welcome Home' sign tacked up in the reception room. Marsha had fixed turkey and cheese and wine for the party. Dennis said later she did all that because she knew he would come to the office. He's done it several times before! His staff is his family. There were about 35 people there--including interns and even a reporter Mary Ann Spivak of Springfield Republican. He kept looking at her and occasionally would indicate that this was private. He told stories about ^{Larry}~~Larry~~ Payne at which they all laughed--how he lathered up for a shower and the water went off, how he oogled the girls in Israel and Paul said 'Let's stop and ask her if she'd be interested in dating an aide to a U.S. Senator. That would blow her mind.' Then how it was traumatic on Larry to see Israel at one of the worst periods of its history and how he told him to stay there for a couple of weeks and see the real Israel. Very sensitive here. Said it would be like him touring Greece for first time under the Junta. Talked about Chris in terms of how "Chris said I should have gone after Sharon harder than I did. I may have made a mistake. Maybe I should have had it out with him." He said that several times, treating Chris with great respect. Sensitivity toward Larry. All very family like. No other Senator of mine would have done that.

The most interesting thing he said was "It was exciting. We've got the issue now for a while, because the next group has been told by the State Department that they can't go." The idea of "getting the issue" is very central to Paul's way of thinking.

He offered a toast "to a free country," and they all drank it.

If he did not have that nearly incandescent wit, he would be hard to take, because he is serious to the part of being solemn, and sometimes a little preachy--not in any evangelical sense, but in the sense that I feel so ddeeply about that that you've got to listen to me. Also I've got so much bad news that I've got to be taken seriously. Let me tell you how bad it is.

I ran into Dennis and Rich later and I said "Paul seemed real depressed about it all which meant he was pretty happy." They laughed. "He can't be real happy unless he's discouraged and depressed." They laughed and said "we know what you mena." There's a lot of the real Paul in that quip I think. He's only up when he's down. He's most excited when he's bringing the bad news. He is, also, a teacher--the most intellectual of my bunch.

Rich, Dennis and I talked re Globe. Doug Pike: "We get fairer coverage in relation to Kennedy in the Washington Post than the Boston Globe."

Dennis and Rich say it's a lousy paper--between a local and a national one. Think of selves as national but don't make it. No one covers PT. Rogers thinks national, i.e. budget.