

I hope people in RI are going to be able to make it?

"Translate **ideas** into events and help people - "what politician's mission in life, etc.

Learn
Trade for exercise you are seeing. *Learn* "Learning life - don't need it for financial reasons" - "guff you have to take."

Treaty important - no one here knows about that.

"Hard covers is only *stability* immobility we have" - his books--father's influence.

"The polls indicate that I'm doing pretty well but I have been behind, and know things can change."

"How much money do you make?" "57 or 58,000--somewhere in there, about \$57,000. *he didn't know when someone asked him in school.*

"Sponsored any bills?" - Educational programs, "Pell Grants", Arts & Humanities, Sea Grant College - High Speed Ground Transportation.

Committees are: Rules, FR, Human Resources, Subcommittee on Arts & Humanities, Subcommittee on Arms Control, Oceans and Environments.

"You can't be on all committees when they meet simultaneously. You do the best you can."

On taxes, he notes problem that people want programs and lower taxes.

How much time spent in Washington? "This last year--election year--every weekend at home." "As a general rule I spend 9 or ten months in Washington--10 months."

Did you work hard to win primary? "I campaigned fairly vigorously in the primary. I came in through the back door--unendorsed--in the primary. So I've always had an idea that an unendorsed candidate can win. So I worked hard."

Do you like your job? "I like it very much. In many ways it's not all that agreeable. You work 9-12, *have a day,* you take a lot of criticism and a lot of guff. So

you have to like the job. What makes you like it is that you can implement your philosophy. A lot of my colleagues are quitting partly because you live in such a gold fish bowl with regard to disclosure of your finances."

"I was always interested in politics. I had five forbears in Congress. My father was in Congress. ⁴¹ Said he wanted to be a minister, publisher, diplomat first.

"If you believe in your philosophy of life, there's no better *fulcrum* to implement your philosophy than the Senate. Where can you have an opportunity better the Senate. ² You could be President of G.M. or the Archbishop of Canterbury but the Senate opportunity is greater."

"Drive ~~drops~~ down" re desire to be president - had thought he would like to be VP (in 1972 ⁶⁸ ~~I think he said~~).

Re women - he says Women don't "present themselves" enough as candidates.

"Most important thing I've done re treaty saying environmental modification can't be used as means of war" and others. (*heats*)

"These things I don't talk about in RI because people are not interested in them. But these treaties are probably the most important things I've done. For Rhode Island, I think the most important thing would be the opportunity grants--the Pell grants."

Mrs. Pell "He used some awful long words with those children" 6th graders.

"It doesn't look good when he doesn't know what his salary is. I do, but he doesn't."

She seems very savvy, more so than he does.

Stopped at elderly citizens centers. "For goodness sake, vote." he told them - also he told all of them that they had made SS system solvent for 15-20 years, even though it has angered their children and grandchildren. Now he

"75% of what we do we do to keep people from getting mad. Was glad to be at Bryant, Mike Lehby said, "because it was place where people wouldn't get mad if he didn't." At elderly project - "No one was there - someone will be mad."

"You keep the problems of Rhode Island ~~far~~^{foremost} in mind--especially economic problems. If you don't represent Rhode Island, no one will--textile, fishing. The senator from Montana won't protect them. In larger problems like Viet Nam, I took a chance, I didn't represent my state at the time. But history came around and people forgot. I was running vs. the feeling of my time--you have to have a balance. I'm reminded of Edmond Burke's adage - () You engage me to exercise my judgment, if you ask me to represent your interests I serve you badly.' But you have to remember he was defeated."

"I try to figure out the economic interests of my state. If it's a moral issue--war or peace--I try to think of national interest."

"Rhode Island voters are independent voters. They vote for the person. I sometimes think that's the influence of the founder of the state--Roger Williams, the independent man." That is the statue on the state capitol--

"the independent man--but it's not Williams."

Gaudet's - same speech he gave at fundraiser plus "a pitch for sacrifice along lines of Carter's inflation talk which is tonight. (He was briefed on this talk of Carter's early.) First point is that country is better off than it was when Carter took over, it was "very very awful" (his manner of speaking). His second point was that we should add to quality of our life and we also need to lick inflation. He doesn't know how to lick inflation, he says, except that people have to be willing to sacrifice. At times he speaks of private sector as being too willing to go into debt, too. Does not seem to know what to do about inflation.

When he and his wife talked about Carter's liaison effects, Pell was pretty complimentary.

When I told him I was hoping to follow Cohen and Tsongas as they experienced the Senate, he said "They have already been in the House so they know their way around. When I went to the Senate in 1960 I didn't know anything about it. And no one took me aside and offered to help. They hold a week of school for House members. The only one who even showed me around was my step-uncle Leverett Saltonstall. I was completely baffled by it. ~~As~~ result, I laid low for two years while I learned the job. During that time every national talk show--Meet the Nation (sic) and the others invited me to appear, but I turned them all down. I had just been through a hard primary and election which focused on the problems of Rhode Island, and I wasn't sufficiently prepped on national question. Now, 18 years later, when I would give my eye teeth to get on those TV shows, they don't ask me. Every one of them asked me that first year. They looked upon me as an odd duck because I had come completely from the outside."

On the way home Fred made a number of points about him. When he's made up his mind he hates to compromise. Wouldn't deal with Howard Cannon for a secret Capitol Hideaway and waited 3 years for one instead.

On Rules Committee, he cut budgets of committees and wasn't too popular.

He likes to hand out buttons because they are cheaper than brochures. He likes to say "Let me give you a button to match the blue in your eyes." (I heard him say this to a lady in a car in a shopping center. So one day he asks Fred if they can make up some brown buttons so he can say same thing to women with brown eyes. Fred says they'll cost too much--so Pell says he'll think of something else.

He's a serious man --rarely jokes. One joke he told was that a new Pope was elected and name was Secola. "Pope Secola." Thought that was funny.

His wife told me that after we left Tuesday, they went to Club 1025 Party and Claiborne "to my horror told a joke--big success!"

Like to be punctual. Several times during the day he would say "Good, we're on time." Or "Let's get there two minutes late." "I like to keep to the schedule." (and for a while in the morning he got upset because we were going to too many senior citizen centers, and he wanted to get to Bryant College.

He's very even tempered most of the time. He goes from group to group--cultured to poor without shifting gears much. Stays the same with all.

He's very much a gentleman and values--as he said once--"civility."

He was upset at his opponents charges today and after he had made phone calls at Club 44 (to be briefed on inflation speech by Carter among other things.) he said "My opponent emptied his trash can again today. I suppose we'll have to endure this unpleasantness every day for the next 10 days."

He and Nuela then talked (under her prodding) how he should "never" mention his opponent's name or react to his opponent's charges but that if newspaper called him about Reynolds charges he would have to talk to reporter. He does not seem to like any of the face to face give and take. He will debate his opponent--once on educational TV--but his opponent is carrying around a yellow chair that signifies Pell's refusal to debate. Pell said he didn't think the chair was a very attractive color.

The first thing he said to me when he asked me to get in the car was how his main interest was in putting across his philosophy and that what he had been doing (walking into stores in Centreville, North Providence) was the "end product" of a philosophy and "not as some of my colleagues that's an end in itself." He talked about how 'you have to take in a lot of guff' on the job, that "I don't need it financially" and that "I'd been accustomed to a leisurely life." But that what makes it worthwhile is to accomplish something

his "third definition" "Translates ideas into events and helps people."
 i.e., That ⁿ it is the rationale for the exercise you are watching today

And he listed his accomplishments especially the treaties--of which he is most proud. He spoke of the book he has written.

"Hard covers is the only immortality we have."

"My father was a great influence on my life." He was in Congress as were five of my forbears."

Another personal note about Pell is his dress--he dresses in clothes off the rack, usually rumpled and they are not in any sense tailored. His aides kid about his seersucker summer suit that always looks like he jammed it into a ball before putting it on, soup stains on the front of his suit, etc.--all of which is to underscore the lack of ^{anxiety} ~~variety~~ about looks. I noticed a thread hanging down from his suit coat. He wears patches on his coat sleeves--like professor.

He speaks in the aristocratic ~~tones~~ of a New England Brahmin--which he is--and he is always called "Senator" or "The Senator" or "Senator Pell" by his aides. His wife calls him "Claiborne"--but she is the only person who addressed him this way the whole day. The very opposite from Dick Clark. "I cannot imagine CP sitting in a motel in bare feet and track shorts with his staff having a drink." *or 6/6/77 - CP can't get a drink out of a hotel - and he's not a talker*

yes this is Hartford
 Apparently her family was connected with A & P ~~or some big store~~ and she had more money than he did. Her family owned one of the big mansions in Newport and she talked to me very animatedly about Newport's revival in terms of 18th century type artisans returning and the restoration of 18th century homes there. Sees it as a center for the arts now. The Pells now live in his family's house there, which the aides say is one of the smallest ones on Newport's fanciest streets, overlooking the water. Mrs. Pell (Nuela)--only he

calls her by her first name, of course, stays in Newport from June to December every year and "The Senator" commutes on weekends. "I find it's getting harder and harder every year to leave Newport for Washington" she told me.

In 1966²², against Chafee, they had separate schedules and CP and his wife campaigned separately. He speaks of that election as a tough fight in which he was "running against the tide. Rhode Island was gung ho for the Viet Nam War. and I was called New England's leading dove. Rhode Island was going for Richard Nixon. History has proven us right, but my views on the war were not popular." --called self "anomaly" "running against the tide"--at other points.

She watches over him during the campaigning: NP - "You should never mention your opponent in any way, ever. At the radio station, you said "as my opponent says." You should never say that. CP - "You're absolutely right. I shouldn't have said that. I won't do that again. But if the newspapers ask me about his charges, I have to answer them." NP - "Yes, you have to talk to the newspapers, but you shouldn't comment directly on your opponent."

Dennis Riley, his campaign manager talked about how the real campaign of 1978 was the campaign to keep opposition out of the primary (Michaelson) and the general election (Cianci). They started organizing in March of 1977, in August of 1977 they put on a week of harder campaigning, in May 1978 they put on TV program plus great organizational effort. When Michaelson declined to run, they felt the campaign was over.

"If there's a ^{bell} hall for me, it's Rocky Point." Quote from CP by Fred. It's a garish amusement park hall where most large events take place--cavernous and made for big speeches.

Another quote from CP by Fred re. fact that so many politicians are lined up to run for his seat when he retires. "I'm the cork on the bottle of champagne."

Pell to Dick Frank head of NOAA. "We want you to think we have the best Sea Grant program in the United States." Frank - "You got an awful lot of money; and it was your idea."

Pell pushing on Insurance Company to salvage Lobster I, a boat that went down in September and has not been recovered--5 bodies not recovered. He's been pushing on Coast Guard to keep investigating.

When I told him Pryor was not campaigning much, he said, "They say that I could do that here. But your standing and respect in Congress are much greater if you win by a big margin. Your influence with your colleagues is greater when they think you'll be around forever and forever."

How to describe Rhode Island? "It's a blue collar, veterans, hawkish defense oriented state. That's why my interests are a little esoteric--sea weed and choo choo trains they call it. But I think these things will have a greater impact on people's lives in the long run than some of the more mundane things. I'm the only politician who belongs to the Club of Rome. Most of them are economists and scientists. Maybe there's one other politician--a Canadian. I enjoy that kind of cerebral activity--not that I'm so bright myself but I enjoy listening to people lay out the theories. Then my practical work comes into play--putting the ideas into practice. I gave you my 7 word definition of the job. "Turning ~~my~~ ideas into events and helping people." "That's all there is to it, really."

Said he came in originally from the outside. "I was a woodwork candidate-- I came in from the outside. We were worried about a woodwork candidate this time, but none came out to challenge me."

What was hard core support? "It was negative support." "It was negative support from people who didn't like the iron-fisted way the organization had run things." Dennis Roberts, Howard McGrath and I were in the primary. I think *when you are a Yankee, you are in the minority in this state.* they liked having someone the same age as Kennedy. After I won the party was

very nice to me and endorsed me. And they allow me individuality--being a dove during the Viet Nam war. (When you are a Yankee, you are in the minority in this state.)

His note that supporters thought he was like Kennedy may explain why he said a couple of times yesterday that he hoped Teddy didn't run but that if Carter slipped, maybe Teddy would and then he'd see what he'd do. He feels like he came in as a Kennedy.

Afterwards, I talked with Leo and Fred about the Kennedy comment and the Kennedy connection. Jackie Kennedy's family has contributed handsomely to Pell's campaigns, as has Jackie. The Newport connection is strong and the Kennedy's went to private school at Portsmouth, which is very near Newport. They think Pell was more influential than he might otherwise have been because of Kennedy. Kennedy will come here in a week or so and they will do a media event of some kind.

In the car, when he spoke of going against the tide in 1972--as he spoke a number of times--he asked his wife what Nixon's margin was. He knew what his margin was, however--he said 53%. Said everyone thought he was "prime target" of Republicans.

"I can't get any mileage at home out of my Foreign Relations Committee work. It's just a hobby. No one in Rhode Island is interested in it. (Don't people have some general idea that you are doing important things?) I wish they did, but they don't."

He said he was "the first unendorsed statewide candidate to win in Rhode Island. There may have been only one since." Solomon?

As they campaigned he said to his wife "We're doing the same kind of campaigning we did 18 years ago, wouldn't you think?" And she said "We did more innovative things, but we campaigned the same way. In 1972, we split up." And Pell added "She had her *schedule* and I had mine."

Then he went on to speak of Rhode Island as free thinking state and influence of Roger Williams. "In Viet Nam, I was the anomaly. I was called New England's Number One dove. Rhode Island was gung ho for Viet Nam. I'm not true blue on abortion either. I support the ^{Supreme} Engerman Court decision. I don't think you should use federal money to fund abortions. But I don't think that's an issue in this campaign, do you dear?"

Again in the car he said "The definition of the job is turn ideas into events and help people that's the mission of the politician. That's all there is to it."

Now, on the plane from Providence to Little Rock, I think of this as much harder than travelling with House members. On the second day, the officials from NOAA were around all day. The head, Dick Frank, rode in Pell's car all day. Mrs. Pell rode in the 4th seat on all but one small leg when I was in the car and Pell marked up yesterday's schedule in terms of "electoral advantage" and "comfortableness." But I was cut out for one whole day really, by a high ranking government official. In one sense, too, the presence of Mrs. Pell was inhibiting for me in that she was with him all the time. I think she kind of watches over him. She says very little and never intrudes into things. She does not seem pushy with the staff or assertive with her ideas. She's interested in politics, but not the issues, really. Or, she bends over backwards to keep from upstaging him. Anyhow, I have relatively few pages of notes for a one and three quarter's day visit.

Why do I get fewer notes than a House visit?

Another difference I note that is related to the Senate. Everyone is much more interested in what other Senators I've travelled with and how they are doing. They all know each other--which is not true in the House.

Pell even asked me "what have you learned about what Dick Clark is doing that would help me in my campaign?"

But even the staffers all wanted to know who else I was travelling with and I soon forgot who I had told what about my trips.

Maybe there's a clue to Pell in idea that he calls self "odd duck", "from the outside", "a woodwork candidate", "unendorsed", etc. in his first race. And then in his 1972 race he calls self "anomaly" "running against the tide" "not representative of my state's interests, etc. There isn't a mold he fits. He's a Don Matthews "patrician," all right but I don't know whether that tells us anything. Maybe I'll ask ^{Don.}~~Dick~~.

Fred said CP's friends were EMK, Bumpers, Church, and Javits. He didn't really make a great deal out of any one of them--but mentioned these. Kennedy the old tie; Javits' office is next door; Church and Foreign Relations; Bumpers, I don't know why.