

GERRY STUDDS

July 20-21, 1974

Saturday

9:30 Breakfast at Mardee Xifaras'  
10:30 Open meeting - Dartmouth  
12:00 Lunch with Mayor of New Bedford  
1:30 Open meeting - Fairhaven  
3:30 Open meeting - Acushnet  
5:00 Dick and Ginny Walega's home  
6:15 Greater New Bedford Labor Council Clambake at  
Gaudettes, Acushnet

Sunday

12:00 Strategy meeting with Betsey Frawley and Don Ferris  
1:30 - Open meeting - Cohasset  
3:30 Open meeting - Marshfield  
7:30 Open meeting - Scituate  
9:30 Mary Lou Butler's house

Most of the weekend was spent in the 6 open meetings--which he regards as the centerpiece (along with the 3 constituency offices) of his constituency operation and of his reelection bid. In everyone the format was the same. He would walk in and express surprise at the number of people who were there. "Why aren't you fishing?" "You must be crazy to be here on

such a beautiful summer day." Then he thanks them for coming, takes off coat, rolls up sleeves, says that purpose is to answer questions and to fact that in many cases that there are no answers. (Letter that is sent out in advance to every postal patron invites them to "have at" their congressman). He tells them that this is the 4th round of such meetings and that he intends to keep them up. He introduces staff and says that those people who have individual cases with federal government should talk to a member of the staff. 'We don't always win with the bureaucracy. But we always give 'em a good fight.' Then he says "the only ground rule is complete informality--please feel free to come and go." Then he asks for questions and if there are none he says "If there are no questions, I'm likely to give a speech, so that ought to be sufficient incentive for you to speak up." And they do. And the session goes for an hour and a half.

The 6 meetings covered nearly every topic under the sun. No topic, save perhaps inflation came up every time. But fishing, impeachment, energy, environment, taxes, mass transit, seniority, were staples. He always got a goodly number of knocks in at Congress. The Right to Life group in Cohasset was the most intense. He was pushed on gun control in Acushnet on Top O'Neill in Scituate. I was surprised how few of the questions were local--that is involved one town or two. They really did involve the questions of the day and the concerns of the average voter. He exhibited a good deal of factual knowledge, a quick wit and a disarming

frankness. When he disagreed, he said so. He did seem quite "at home" (in the setting, not among friends) in this "forum" (his word) and I think it suits his abilities well. He moves easily from question to question and manages to get his message across very adroitly as he turns questions to his advantage. "You get by by being something of a faker." The impressis one of great openness.

In Cohasset at end of the session, "I don't want to pat myself on the back, but there aren't too many congressmen who would do what I am doing here today. Most of them dig a hole and crawl in it. I respect your opinions and I hope you will respect mine.") He said "That was fun." after each of the ones that had lively questions (Scituate) and/or had a friendly atmosphere (Marshfield). It's more fun when there's some hostility.

He massages the ego of his audience by telling them how articulate and concerned they are as a constituency, how most congressmen look down on and talk down to their constituents and how he doesn't because he assumes they are intelligent and concerned. At every meeting he told how his senior colleagues told him his questionnaire was too long and how people would never answer it and yet he had 5,000 returned already and all of them hadn't even been sent out. He also told story of "One of the first pieces of advice I got from a senior member of my party was: 'send out lots of news letters, but don't mention any issues. The next thing you know, they'll want to know how you vote'. Well, I don't believe that." He always ends by thanking them and complimenting them on their concern. Flatters them and underlines his own accessibility in same breath. A subtle way of wooing

votes by telling them that they and he are capable of carrying on a particular style of politics--highly verbal, intelligent, open, rational, participatory, articulate, aware.

For him his ability to "perform" this way comes from his teacher's background. And he does do some "teaching." "Sometimes it's like a civics lesson"--in reference to the man in Dartmouth who asked him what a Congressman's day was like. Also, in Scituate, when man tried to get him to denounce Tip O'Neill for holding up campaign finance bill, where he lectured people on problem of being effective in the House. "He was very useful as a foil." ("He's pure and he wants to keep his purity by going down fighting. He loves to lose; if he won he'd feel he must be wrong. He wants to keep us phony liberals honest. Probably won't vote for either of us.")

Gerry's style is a very verbal style. When I asked him about McKaye's style he said "They say he's a lot more articulate than Weeks. I felt sorry for Weeks in our debate. He was so slow." That's what he emphasized. He looks forward to debating McKaye and was chuckling all weekend about how he had stolen a march on McKaye by writing to all League of Women Voters chapters asking if they could hold debates and then writing McKaye telling him that he'd done this. He noted that most of the advice he gets is that incumbent should not debate opponent. But that's his strength. He enjoys verbal combat. "I think my tack in the debates will be to welcome him to the fraternity and commiserate with him, to keep it low key and stick to the issues."



If you wanted to be romantic about it you could almost say there was a lot of the old town meeting character in his open meetings. The settings are very interesting ("You could write a book about the town halls in this district. Truro's is very quaint."). Cohasset's old white wooden town hall on the village green was pure picture book New England. Fairhaven's was old stone and marble, ornate and massive--like a fortress built against the nearby sea. Marshfield's and Scituate's were suburban modern and we met in "hearing rooms" rather than the open hall. In Plympton, they meet in a general store, some the library, senior citizens, schools. Attendance was: Dartmouth-40; Fairhave-20; Acushnet-20; Cohasset-45; Marshfield-25; Scituate-45.

He talked about the problem they had getting them started on the Cape. "We had meetings with the selectmen to explain to them what we were doing. The startling thing was how little they had to say to us--especially on Cape Cod. They didn't know what to say to a Democrat--they probably hadn't met one except for the people who fixed their toilets. In Harwich they held a special meeting to decide whether the Congressman could use the town hall. Then they said 'OK, but nothing political!' They couldn't understand what we were trying to do. They probably figured, 'He's not our congressman; he's a Demmycrat.'

I think this style of Gerry's is one that he has imposed on the district. I don't think you could say the district imposed it on him. (1) If had no tradition of such a style. (2) It's too heterogeneous a district to generate a style. (3) If it is a style of any particular

area in the district, it is a style of the South Shore. (4) It is an enlargement of the coffee hour style which was, also, a South Shore style. But it is a good one for the Cape.

He notes that Cape response is good and Cape has been his most fertile hunting ground. "We targeted the Cape for 33% in the first campaign and got 35. In 1972, we got 41%. We've had better turnouts proportionately at the Cape open meetings.... They're usually pretty lively. When you get a consumer attacking the oil companies you've usually got a retired oil executive or two in the group and they go to it... We get a heavier proportion of mail from the Cape...and the questionnaire response from the Cape is the best... Maybe that's all they do down there is write letters and fill out questionnaires. "He's proud of the Cape people and their independence. Gave example of two letters from Cape people in response to his questionnaire." Why don't you partisan Democrats get off the President's back. Here's \$10--nobody ever asked my opinion before." "I've seen everything and here's \$5." He also talked about Sunday morning meeting in the Plympton General Store...as people came in to get papers. "One old codger with scruffy clothes got up and said, 'What's happened to the Bolling Martin Report?' The Bolling-Martin Report! Can you imagine that? Who ever even heard of Dave Martin?"

I think the Cape is his hunting ground--the place where he thinks he has most chance to pick up ground--and with his style, not his votes. Except, perhaps, his vote vs. federal spending might appeal, i.e. vs. foreign aid, defense procurement, space, farm programs.

After the Marshfield meeting, a very pleasant meeting of about 20,000<sup>→</sup> people, no hostility, good range of questions, special praise for his work by nice old lobster man's association spokesman (for getting lobster recognized as a creative of the continental shelf so they could move to keep Russians from taking breeding stock). "That was a nice forum. They were all new faces. Of course, we have no idea what the ripple effect is in these towns when these people talk to others."

Re open meetings on the Cape. "It's a big event on the Islands. We were 3/4 of an hour late getting to Martha's Vineyard last week--the boat broke down--but there were 75 people still waiting when we got there."

Mayor of New Bedford: "Are you going to keep these weekly visits up?  
Studds We'll try to keep it to once every other week and keep a more humane schedule. I want to do the 42 town meetings--twice a year. The trouble is that so many other things come up that are 'absolute musts'. Like the <sup>Dart</sup>~~Portsmouth~~ Policeman's Ball. We didn't go this year for the first time in four years and all hell broke loose. So you get locked into things like that." Some imprisonment here, from which he is struggling to free himself. "We're getting better at saying no."

"Politically, these open meetings are pure gold. Fifty may come, but everyone in town gets an invitation. You get a diversity of views: whether it's the diversity you can't be sure. How do you know whether it's representative? I do know that none of our loyalists come to the meetings. They know the meetings are strictly non-partisan. Maybe one

or two of our supporters will show up, but mostly they are new faces. The only thing we don't do is try to get a crowd. Burke and Moakley hold office hours and see people one at a time. That would be a horribly inefficient use of my time. Besides they don't want to get involved in a give and take. I can reach 50 at once. If 50 out of 3000 voters come out, is that good? I don't know. Sometimes it's hard to get 50 people out to anything."

Don Ferris: "Do you want to make a campaign pledge to keep up the open meetings?" Studds: "Yes--Oh, Jesus!"

In the discussion of campaign themes, he said "The image is that I'm hardworking and that I'm getting all over the place. The open meetings are the key. The other image is that we're trying to humanize the bureaucracy--with the 3 constituency offices." So he thinks of his image very much in terms of style. He said to Don, "A Congressman lives in two worlds --the one back home and the one in Washington. A freshman congressman can do more good at home than he can in Washington."

Indeed, one of the striking things is how much he identifies with home and not Congress at this stage. One major theme of the meetings and one of the campaign themes that he will push is his criticism of Congress. He constantly speaks of Congress as "those guys" and "they"--sometimes "the Congress," only once in a great while "we"--and then as if it were a slip! He does have a toe hold in the "other world" and he wants it and he talks about it--but that's a minor theme to the main thrust of criticism of Congress and sense that he's apart from it.

A sampling from the six meetings:

1. "As you know, I'm one of the greatest critics of Congress in Congress. It's an outrageous and outmoded institution."
2. "All Congress has ever done since I've been in Congress is pass the buck to the President and then blame him for what goes wrong."
3. "Congress is not in a hurry to do anything at all. Hurry is just not an attribute of Congress."
4. "Let me tell you how out of touch Congress is. The people understand but the Congress doesn't."
5. A man in the so-called House of Representatives got up last year when we were debating a provision in the pension reform bill and said 'This plan is not for the very rich or the very poor. It's for the average man making 30-35,000 a year. And nobody laughed. We've got a lot of problems down there.'
6. Re farm subsidies. "There are incredible things going on down there."
7. "The question is, who does the Congress represent? Look at the tax laws. No representative body would write tax laws like that."
8. Re oil companies. "The Congress is gutless beyond my power to describe to you."
9. "Most Congressmen think that most people are clods who don't care about anything and on't want to do anything."
10. Re mass transit. "That's common sense and in the public interest. The question is whether either of those reasons will get anything done in Congress anymore."

11. Re price control. "They are continually abdicating their responsibility--spineless."

12. "Usually Congress takes August off. They've worked for 7 months and, therefore, they are completely exhausted."

13. "Most of the guys down there are out of touch with their own districts. They haven't had an opponent in 10 years. So why should they go home."

14. "You know what happened to Fullbright. He forgot Arkansas. He didn't even maintain a legal residence in Arkansas. They used to truck him back for 2 weeks every 6 years to wave at people. I like him; and he's a nice guy. But it was a refreshing reminder of who it is we are responsible to. The Washington reaction was 'How dare the people of Arkansas take him away from us.' They've forgotten who sent him--and the rest of them--there in the first place."

15. "Washington is a pretty strange place and pretty far away. They have tunnels and you don't even have to go outdoors when you're on Capitol Hill. People can forget what they're there for."

16. "If you think your clock is slow, you should see the clock in the place where I work."

17. "We aren't living in the 30's anymore. Of course, some members of Congress are."

18. "I wonder if the mind of man could conceive of a more inane way of choosing leadership than seniority--worst of all in the most powerful nation of the world. Next to the President, the chairmen of congressional

committees are the most powerful people in the government. Seniority is one of my favorite subjects in a perverse sort of way. You don't have to be concerned or intelligent or even conscious. You just have to live."

19. "I could never understand the lack of congressional sensitivity to the problems of the elderly--there are so many of them there."

He described the budget reform bill as "one cheery note, one thing Congress did right."

The consistently and intensity with which he attacks congress reflects what he thinks is a winning strategy against McKaye. He thinks one of McKaye's best issues would be the failure of Congress to act and he wants to preempt the issue. Also, it must be that he sees it as one lowest common denominator stance in his district. Often, the open meetings seemed to be the unhappy talking to the depressed--a kind of union of unhappiness, a "bringing the bad news."

His antidote is to tell people to "keep fighting." "Let's get up on our hind legs and take back the county." And he said at one point there were so many good people in Congress. Also he kept saying that voters could send 100 new faces next year and things would be better. "If you don't send us more new congressmen, we've had it."

"A lot of people in government think we are clods. They assume we are very stupid or unconcerned. Have you ever seen a TV ad. They assume we are absolute idiots. We are not clods. But we are apathetic. If we weren't, half of the government officials wouldn't be there. My greatest fear is that people will just chuck it and not vote. I'd like to see 100 new faces down there next year to turn things around."

He said Massachusetts people were particularly suspicious of the government and edgy about what was going on. "When you represent Massachusetts, people start making allowances for you. The way they look at you you've got to get paranoid. It's like the man who asks the doctor 'what do you call it when you think everyone is after you and they are?' But I console myself with the thought that this was the only district in Massachusetts carried by President Nixon. So I say, the rest of Massachusetts may be peculiar, but we're just like the rest of the country here."

Dartmouth a mixed community - wealth in South Dartmouth, some, rural, some Portugese and very middle class. Afterwards, "That was a good picture of Dartmouth, from the economics professor to the poor old lady."

He said the Democratic committee was all Portugese there; but, typically he couldn't remember the name of the town chairman. He asked Mardee if it was Oliviera--and it was Ventura. "Very conservative guy but nice."

In handling questions, he often says "I'm no expert; and the experts disagree."--on the safety of nuclear reactors, inflation, Dickey Lincoln, danger of oil drilling off Cape. He even used idea that leaders of Christian faiths differed on abortion when the abortion brouhaha broke out.

Mayor of New Bedford supports Gerry in lukewarm way. He's an "Irish pal" who won as a new face, doesn't dare do anything and is very conservative. "He disagrees with us on every policy issue."

Acushnet had "the best town committee in the district." We met in the senior citizens drop-in center and he said he expected to see "the elderlies."



He noted that you get less hostility in the New Bedford area and more politeness. People respect the Congressman more than, say, on the Cape.

Re campaign financing. "Did you ever grow up to believe that every little boy or girl could be President? Hah! That's a myth."

Re seniority, he noted everywhere--as a way of letting them know he was getting to be important--that "I already outrank five Democrats on the committee and three senior Democrats are retiring. Next year, I'll be getting close to being a subcommittee chairman. If I get to be chairman of that subcommittee, you'd better believe we'll have trains in this district! I'm having a little trouble with my staff. They keep asking me how long I'm going to maintain my opposition to the seniority rule."

"The 200 mile limit and mass transit are the two things I've focused on these first two years--because of the jurisdiction of my committees and the district we have. I'm not on Ways and Means so I can't deal directly with taxes. I wish I could."

When he talks about 200 mile fishing limit, he talks very knowledgeably --about species of fish, international law, etc. And he routinely blasts seniority rule for Dingell "from Suburban Detroit" and Sullivan "from St. Louis" into key positions to block 200 mile limit bill--when a majority of committees are co-sponsors of the bill.

In Acushnet he was questioned strongly but not in unfriendly way by President of New Bedford Rod & Gun Club about gun control. It was a good case of an issue Gerry had feelings about but had never really thought about very seriously. When Gerry answered the first question re his position on

gun control by saying "I'd ban the Saturday night special" the man pressed him to define what he meant by a Saturday night special. Then Gerry started to back track and asked the man what he thought good legislation would be. "I have a genuinely open mind on that subject. Less charitably you could say on blank mind. I've never owned a gun, never shot a gun, don't know anything about guns. We didn't have any gun ~~control~~ legislation up this year and so I had no reasons to develop a strong position." The man ended by saying he had never believed in any poli in his life, but had finally found one he could believe in. Riding in the car afterward, Gerry said, "I wish I had had a question on gun control in the questionnaire. Must write one on position paper on gun control! It's probably a good thing I don't know any more than I do. Those guys wouldn't like my position if I had one." It's not likely to be an anti gun control district and he probably will decide on basis of his own strong feelings--which he retained. He talked often about the traffic jams in Washington and Boston when he's trying to get home Friday. "Anybody in Washington who says to me on Friday afternoon, 'Have a good weekend,' stands in danger of being physically assaulted."

Re the job and ID: "There's a certain glamour to the job. When you're in Washington, policemen wave you into your parking place. You begin to think you are God's gift to the world. There are 435 chairs there and the only reason you are there is that 500,000 people won't fit. That's the only reason. When you come back home, you are reminded/<sup>of</sup>that. So that's what you can do for me in these meetings--make me feel a lot less special." A version of the

'I'm one of you' theme. He can't really use the socio-economic or ethnic ID route which is available to others. So he reaches for other linkages. One is this one; another is 'I'm as fed up with government as you are.'

On the way to the clambake at Gaudettes Pavilion with the labor leaders of New Bedford, he said "I think they'll appreciate the fact that my 100% COPE record won't go over too well in Cohasset and Duxbury." He was introduced by Arnold Dubin, head of the ILGWU in New Bedford as a man with a "100% AFL-CIO COPE voting record." And when Gerry got up he said he was going to tell a story that is "all in the family". And in his talk he said how no one thought a Democrat could ever win in the district and they did and the message he had for them was "two words--thank you". It was a "thank you" speech, "all in the family". They support him strongly but they are not like him. He said later that all the key leaders were there--that he did not see it as a must performance that would have got him out of Washington if he had planned to stay there; but that, given fact that he was in district, there was no doubt he should go. They give him money and he needs their money. He referred to them afterwards with some affection: "That was the union leadership of New Bedford. They are good troops." (The clambake was not great. Gerry hates Gaudettes. "We've had about 80 of them there. They are awful. No more this year!")

The local wording for these outings is "time." "Gerry had a time at Gaudettes." "We are going to Studds' time." Or, they use "functions" more euphemistically. "We've been to a lot of functions." "This is the room where they have a lot of functions." But "times" is the SE Mass. equivalent of New York City's political "affairs".

Gerry always ends day with a drink or two. But never drinks during the day. Says he has "never never had a drink campaigning or during the daytime. But it's one of the relaxers and he looks forward to it. He'll look at his watch during the day and say, "Only 5 more hours till drinky-poo!" "Six and a half hours till drinky-poo."

One of the first things he said when I saw him--and he said it in a happy, sing song voice--"The abortion issue is going our way, it's going our way' We've only got 5000 questionnaires back so far but we're winning. It was a gamble, but we're winning." He sees this as the nastiest issue for him. He says (publicly) that he's personally skeptical about abortion --and I have no reason not to believe it. But his public position is that he supports the Supreme Court and that he wants individual woman to have freedom of choice. He strongly holds to this position and certainly his strongest supporters--the inner primary constituency holds to it. This is the issue his opponent will push hardest and it is issue that will drive away some of his Democratic support. A lot of the Right to Lifers are natural Democrats--Irish particularly.

In Cohasset the issue really got hot--by far the most emotional meeting. The depth of feeling is very great. One lady said that if his mother had had abortion available, he might not be here. (He answered "Maybe that would be a good thing.") He says sometimes people get up and say "I was a 6 months premature baby; if we had legal abortions I wouldn't be here." One lady did get up and say if the abortion decision stood, there would be no young people in the country to pay into social security to support the older people." But the guy who was the most

aggressive (and obnoxious) was the man who tried to pin Gerry down on the Hogan Amendment. Gerry's position is that he does not believe discharge petition is proper way to deal with a complex issue. It should have regular hearings. He says he's not hiding on the issue, that everyone knows how he will vote and what his position is. Said he'd like to have discharge petition on 200 mile limit, but it wasn't way to handle legislation. Finally the man, after shouting at Gerry and getting very nasty said "That's the fascist way of doing things. You are not a democrat, Mr. Studds." To which Gerry snapped right back. "If you'll tell the people of Cohasset that, I'd appreciate it." That broke everyone up and the man just glared. Afterward, the staff said that man had been around before to meetings, that they thought he was sick, that they thought he might physically harm Gerry and had followed him after the last meeting to make sure he didn't. Gerry said, "He'd made a perfect brown shirt. But he said "That was fun."

"I'd like to take them on on the issue of live fetuses. You should hear what the medical profession says about that. But I voted against experimentation, like everyone else, out of fear and trembling."

"What McKaye has going for him are right wing Republicans and the Right to Lifers. If I can get all the rest of the Democrats and cut into the moderate Republicans, I'll be in good shape."

When I asked him why he dropped in votes from 70-72 in Cohasset, Duxbury, Hingham, he said he thought it was because "In 1970 I received a local boy vote against the man from down in Bridgewater. In 1972, with

two local boys, they reverted to their national Republicanism."

He's very critical of Cohasset types--does not feel at home in his home town. As we drove there Sunday, he said, "We lost this stupid, fucking town by 1000 votes last time." It's a case of to know them is not to love them. "They are conservatives who think they are moderate. And they prove it to themselves every six years by voting for Ed Brooke!" "When we were discussing his Portugese language rustiness with Dee Rosa in Fairhaven, he said "The people in Cohasset are more impressed than the people in New Bedford. It's slumming to them, and they think it's great."

H He thinks of Cohasset, Duxbury, Chatham, Harwich, Orleans in same terms--as his weakest spots and as populated by people least like him on views. Since he is like them socially, there is a kind of "familiarity breeds contempt" attitude. He went to St. Paul and Yale and was friends in school with Ken Auchincloss. He also talked about his near wedding in terms that have some of this rebellion vs. his own upbringing. He said he wanted a December wedding on Nantucket and that his prospective bride arranged for big wedding in the Washington Cathedral. Then he said the reception was planned for the Sawgrave (?) Club which was so exclusive they wouldn't have blacks for waiters. When he protested they changed and planned to go to a less exclusive club, one that would hire blacks as waiters. He said he saw himself as being led around by nose--that he was not consulted and sometimes not even informed of the wedding plans. So he got out and regards it as a narrow escape. Does not want to get married. Said like he was being led into a socially desirable

is not  
at home  
where you  
would think  
he would  
be. Is  
at home in  
"setups".  
not happy.

marriage and he rebelled. Wants his independence. Turns out his mother was a Murphy, raised as a Catholic. He lives with her, so maybe he finds some sustenance in the Murphy side of the family. I don't know. There is some immaturity in his personality that is reflected in his attitudes toward his social past, marriage, mother, etc. But I can't figure them out!

Re mass transit. "I get standing ovations on the South Shore talking about mass transit. It's a very emotional matter." Talked about it in Cohasset quite a bit--that it was before his subcommittee, that the legislation has always been in urban-rural terms, that South Shore is mixed and qualifies for neither type of aid, that categories need to be raised, that he's hopeful of getting some amendments in re this and re protecting abandoned railroad rights of way.

His answer to inflation is to cut spending. Congress, he says, has contributed to inflation by its unwillingness to cut spending. He votes vs. and will cut foreign aid, defense, farm, space. And this cutting is popular with his constituents. He blasts military industrial congressional relationships. "How do you like the F-111 we are buying you for Xmas? The Air Force doesn't need it and doesn't want it, but you are getting it anyway because it's made in the districts of key congressmen." Vs. military, foreign aid, much of space program, paying farmers not to plant, etc.

"I couldn't stand 10 coffee hours a day anymore. It's horrible listening to yourself talk. It's the only way to do some of these towns. But we won't have the time to do it."

Re 200 mile limit. "We've gained strength. The Russians have come out in favor of it. Now only the Japanese and the President are against it. I think the Japanese will come around first."

Re Plymouth Holy Ghost Festival (which I missed). "Our key people in the community were there and they would have been horribly offended if we hadn't come. They had to fight to get us. I was scheduled in New Bedford that evening and we had bumped a smaller Portugese function in New Bedford to reroute me to Plymouth."

"If i don't get scheduled for a hair cut pretty soon I'll be in trouble."

When he was pushed by the pure liberal type in Scituate to get up and denounce the house leadership for holding up campaign financing, he showed the in-House side of him which has developed nicely. "I HAVE an obligation to the people I represent to be effective within the institution. As a critic of the Congress, I walk a tight rope down there. Last week the chairman of the Economic Development Subcommittee, Bob Jones of Alabama came to the district and he did it as a personal favor to me. Next year, he'll be the chairman of the Public Works Committee. We don't vote the same way on hardly anything but we have a good personal relationship. Some people have an utter lack of tact and diplomacy. They walk down the center aisle of the House with their fist held high and get a lot of headlines. But nobody pays any attention to them. They can get headlines, but they might as well not be there." Then he went on to praise Tip O'Neill on the war and called him "the best thing we have going for us in the House."



I asked him which was his toughest ~~vote~~ vote. "Do you mean ones that caused me to lose sleep or ones that hurt me most back home? (Both) The ones that kept me awake at night were my vote for the foreign aid authorization and defense authorization bills this year. The ones that hurt me the most, I don't know. The abortion votes maybe, but I've put that issue behind me and I don't care anymore. The first time I voted against the military procurement bill, I thought that might hurt-- there were only 39 of us. But the second time, I knew it would not. Once I came back and bounced it off a few open meetings, I knew it would go down easily at home. Bussing, (his mother reminded him!) I guess that's the most costly--my votes against the anti bussing amendments, the Esch Amendment. The liberal Massachusetts delegation voted 7-5 for the Esch Amendment. It hasn't come up much, but McKaye says it's one of the three most important issues."

One indicator of the youthful playfulness of Congressman and staff is the nicknames they have given each other: Gerry is Mucky-Muck; Chris (driver) is Under Muck; Betsey (campaign manager) is Mighty Muck; the finance chairman is Buck Muck; Lib is Mom-Muck; Gerry called me Academ-Muck. He constantly twits Chris, as a kind of tension reliever, "Muck, do this". "Muck, what do you think?" or just "Oh Muck." Chris takes it good naturedly as part of his service to the congressman. It would be hard to see many if any of my other congressmen engaging in such playfulness.

When I got to Gerry's house Sunday, I met another one of the original members of the intimate group--Don Ferris. He told me a little more about the beginnings. There was a liberal reform, anti-war, new politics group in Massachusetts called Citizens for Participation in Politics. They were holding meetings to hear people who wanted to run vs. Keith in 1970. Gerry went to speak to the group and they ended up endorsing him. Don--a member of CPP--met Gerry at a meeting in Hingham for that purpose. He signed on and stayed working for Gerry for about 33 months through the first campaign and the second. He is an artist (looks a little like Jerry Colonna) and PR man who now works for some PR or advertising outfit I think. At that time, only Paul Nace had signed on. Nace had come back from Viet Nam where friend had been killed and was very bitter and wanted something to do. He had met Gerry at a Woods Hole coffee when Gerry was ostensibly thinking about running. Ferris said, all there was in the beginning "as Paul so warmly put it, was a candidate, a campaign manager and an artist." We set up headquarters in the Governor Bradford Hotel in Plymouth, across from Mayflower II--at off season rates of \$270 a month. That's where earlier story about motel room came from.

So Nace came out of anti-Viet Nam feeling; Ferris came out of CPP. Later Mardee came--she was at Fletcher School at Tufts. She knew 4 people in New Bedford when they sent her down there to organize New Bedford. (She met John Xifares there and later married him.)

Paul is now a partner in Matt Reese Associates and he was a "genius"

*for Janice*

says Ferris. Don and Gerry said they knew a lot of the things they do but couldn't do them and it was frustrating. But they'd had no experience. Paul had none; Gerry had some; Don had none.

The campaign began officially in a room in Boston on March 19, 1970. Gerry said that "The actual decision to run was made in a walk by the frozen over Charles River in Cambridge in December 1969." (by him alone)

After the Scituate open meeting we went to another party of the same sort I had been to in 1972 at Kate Daly's (se's Paul's sister) in Falmouth. It was a gathering of the clan at Mary Lou Butlers. Mary Lou was Hanover coordinator in 1972, went to work on Gerry's Hanover staff and left a few months ago to have baby. Baby was still born and they went around to cheer her up. ("Mary Lou and Kevin are the best of these kind in Scituate. They come from Irish-cop backgrounds, they are bright. They are good people.") Betsey and Jim Litton were there, Paul McCarthy (field coordinator), Madeline Sherry (who took Mary Lou's place) a fellow named Armstrong and his wife, who had worked in 1972, a girl who was President of Scituate LWV, another girl who had been the Chief Scituate organizer ("Scituate was the best organized town in the district.") They were all young; all enthusiastic and quite unlike any group I've been with. They told stories--mostly of the people that had come in with problems to the staff (as Dee and Mardee had done earlier). For example, the lady who thought her son had been abducted by a vampire; the lady with the pink wig etc. Gerry seemed more at home here than he had at the 1972 party. I think, as Betsey says "He's weathered well. And it could have gone either way. But he's fun to be with now." He thinks of them as "good people" and a family. And they

take a kind of personal interest in him that few intimate groups do. They do want a piece of him as few other in-groups do--in terms of intimate exchanges. But time is what they want, like all the others, and it's tough. (He was torn between going home to be with his Mother, who had just gone to her first open meeting and going with "the gang" to Mary Lou's house.) It will be interesting to see if the passage of time and political success puts distance between him and then. Maybe they'll grow old together like Jack F. has with his group. But the esprit is remarkable, and the warmth of the shared experience is palpable. This is where he is "at home," sitting around Mary Lou's livingroom, cross-legged on the floor listening to stories and laughing and drinking with the "good people"--the generation of young people who are both concerned and political.

Studds took "politico" stance in saying he though the vote on Ford as VP was one where constituents should speak and have their way--the election of a VP--provided only that they spoke decisively--which they did--3-1 pro Ford. Studds as delegate. He said vote on impeachment was one where "if ever there was a vote on which each congressman must examine the evidence and vote his own conscience, it is a vote on impeachment of the President." Studds as trustee. He explicitly differentiated the two votes. So, in sum, he takes "politico" role.