

hasn't been people
with whom he's had
shared - pol experience
Physically with people
with whom he's had
shared mind experiences.
first ball, family,

Studds. like Jordan - person
with eyes a bunch of things
became very recognizable
last then by intuition.

If you can't (walk)
walk across to him - corner
personally.

GERRY STUDDS

Thursday - July 27, 1972

7:00 Coffee - Hanover - Mrs. Waterman
8:00 Coffee - Norwell - Mrs. Meyers
9:00 Coffee - Norwell

Saturday - July 29, 1972

11:45 Marshfield Fair
1:00 Old Home Day, Carver
3:30 Clambake for Studds at Frank Bell's, Dennis
5:00 Dick Kendall's (State Representative)
6:30 Dinner - Kate Daly's
9:30 Mary Ann Fernandez
Brass Band Ball, Hyannis Armory

Don't Dig

New Bedford
Coffee
Breakfast Pk
Coffee Yd.
Kenny's Prof.

Shopping Center Caf.
Coffee
" Downtown
" Armory
" Business

Facsimile of Face Sheet of Studds Schedule for Saturday:

<u>Depart</u>	<u>Arrive</u>	<u>Elapsed Time</u>	<u>Mileage</u>	<u>Event</u>
11:26			9 mi.	Marshfield
	11:45	30 min.		
12:15		48 min.	21 mi.	Carver
	1:03	60 min.		
2:03		90 min.		
	3:30	60 min.		Dennis
10:00				Hyannis

He gets this time, miles "advancing" down to minute everyday. Silly!
But emblematic of the heavy organizational thrust of the campaign.
Overly so.

I drove to Hingham - Jim Litton (my contact man, former student)
wasn't there. I sat and talked with Steve Mott and Judy Nathanson. Then
left on my own to find first coffee; got lost; arrived late in Hanover.

Then followed Gerry (driven by Phil Stern) to next two coffees in Norwell--three in all, where I listened to Gerry (pronounced Gary) talk and answer questions. He's very smooth and quite at ease in the living-room with 15 or so people. Deep voice, articulate and self confident. He is the product of private schools and has that veneer. Yet he does seem to be trying to reach out to put his Groton-Yale-Foreign Service-Domestic Peace Corps background to use in service of people not like him. Something of a Kennedy style--except that he looks like the guy next door and doesn't have charisma, not in the livingroom anyway. Filled with statistics in manner of Kennedys--and trying to gain a kind of image in New Bedford that RFK had with chicanos and blacks--of someone who really cares about them. He said "I've spent days and days and nights just walking the streets in New Bedford." And of course, learning Portuguese.

From what he said, he seems to see district as in three parts--New Bedford, Cape Cod and the South Shore. That's where he has announced he will place 3 regional offices if elected. But see later description.

He handled the two coffees I saw in their entirety in a similar way. He comes in, greets the hostess, asks if he can take off his coat. "Can I get rid of my Republican disguise." Then he shakes hands all around. Then he sits down and rolls up his sleeves--which is his way of signaling informality. I don't think he is by nature informal, so that it's a bit stylized, but, still, well done. (When he leaves and gets in car,

he hangs up his coat in the car and rolls down his sleeves. Then gets out at next stop, puts on coat and enters the house--ready to remove coat and roll up sleeves again!)

He began last two by noting how close they came in 1970. "In 1970 we started completely from scratch. I was about as little known in the district as anyone could be. In New Bedford, the only city in the district I knew exactly 2 people. And in Weymouth, the second largest community (55,000), I didn't know a single person. From that we came up to where we lost by the second closest margin in the United States. We lost by 3/4 of a percentage point. For those of you who are masochists; that means a change of six votes in each precinct in the district would have changed the outcome. And Norwell is one precinct."

He noted that the organization work was the key to success--4,000 volunteer workers. And he noted that this time they planned to make personal contact with every Democrat and Independent in the district--"161,000 of them." Complained that Norwell was poorest organized of the towns--when I asked him who we were going to be talking to and he didn't know. "We're supposed to have a coffee coordinator who briefs us on those things."

The talk was mostly on the issues. He began by emphasizing that war and defense spending were the main issues--since reordering of priorities ("a cliché which like most clichés has become one because there is so much substance to it") must await action on those two. "Sadly, the issues this

year are the same as they were 2, 4 and even 6 years ago." But can't get to them--medical care, housing, jobs,--till we solve war and defense. "I wish I could put quotation marks around defense when we talk about defense spending." Then launches into reminder that Ike warned against military-industrial complex and that big corporations are making fat profits off the defense spending and the complex that supports it.

Most of time spent on either medical care or tax reform or the ramifications of oil--corporations pay low taxes, St. Oil Ohio--200 in profits and taxes. Gulf 1.6 billion profits, taxed at 8%. "I'll be there isn't anyone in this room who doesn't pay taxes at rates two or three times greater than this. That tells you where the power is in this county. The big oil companies own half the coal industry of the country and most of the uranium in the county. So the big oil companies run the energy industry of this county. That tells you where the power is and where it isn't. It is not where the books tell us it is--with us." On several different subjects, he took opportunity to blast big corporations. "I'd like to run a campaign against the telephone company." N. E. Tel & Tel had just petitioned for big rate increase.

"I can't think of a single issue on which Bill Weeks and I agree. He supports Nixon on the war; he supports Nixon's so-called family assistance program. He is opposed to Senator Kennedy's Islands Trust Bill. And those are the only positions he has taken so far. Oh, he does support the White House Conference on the Elderly--because he was a delegate. But I supported it before he did. So there is as complete a difference between

us as you could imagine. We have completely different philosophies on what this country ought to be." Here in marginal district he is escalating the issue difference every chance he gets.

Attacks Weeks. Has asked him to debate in all 45 towns and one city and is using Week's refusal plus Weeks' own remarks when he tried to get Keith to debate in the 1970 primary against him. He paints Weeks as not speaking out on issues, making silly statements--like complaining that Studds discusses international rather than local issues. To which Studds says (1) Congress deals with national and international issues "We're not running for county commissioner." (2) International and national issues are local issues "If you have an 18 year old son in Viet Nam, that's a local issue."

It seems that in a close race, you are willy nilly, brought face to face with your opponent and, per force, must take issue positions that differentiate you from him.

*real mark
of hypocrisy*

Studds spoke twice about "culture shock" when he moves from one part of district to the other. "I get culture shock when I go from New Bedford's south side to the livingrooms of Duxbury." "We spent all afternoon talking with the Teamsters in ^{New Bedford} Brockton. And then we went to a cocktail party in Cohasset. That's the kind of culture shock I get all the time in this district--bam, bam, bam, bam." As he rattled off these "bams" he stabbed his finger in the air in a different place with each "bam," to illustrate his moving around. He "belongs" in Cohasset,

but his heart is in New Bedford--or at least his pride is very much tied up with his efforts and success in New Bedford and with the unions.

When he spoke of the Teamsters Union and how they were supporting him despite their leadership (which can't speak for rank and file "I couldn't repeat in this room what they said about Nixon and Fitzsimmons") he said twice. "They're great guys" and he said it with all the boyish enthusiasm of someone who just shook hands with the train engineer. A union man doesn't discover that union men are "great guys"--but a Groton boy does. He carries his union endorsements with great pride. "We have the support of every union in New Bedford--all the AFL-CIO and the independents, the UAW, the UE and the Teamsters."

He had all those, but the Teamsters last time in 1970 and had them before the primary. This really shook people up he said. So the unions are a part of his primary constituency. And, quite literally, were in 1970.

"I have strong, enthusiastic support in New Bedford." "I feel intensely about the situation in New Bedford. I've taken a great interest in it. I just walked the streets for days and nights getting acquainted with the people there." Two keys I guess are unions and portuguese.

"I made three promises in the 1970 campaign. First I promised that if I was elected, I would learn Portugese within 6 months after the election. I made that announcement at our South Side Headquarters with Senator Ted Kennedy standing there. He went around and told people, not that I was going to learn it, but that I spoke it. I said to him that I said I would

learn it if I was elected. He said "I didn't hear that part." (Laughter) Two thirds of the people of New Bedford are Portugese, and many others too, in this district. When I campaigned there in 1970, it was the United Nations. I had to have an interpreter. I would say a few words and then the interpreter would translate into Portugese. It was terrible. I felt that no one could pretend to represent these people unless he could speak to them in their own language. So after the campaign I took a six week trip--one week in Cape Verde, one week in Madiera, two weeks in the Azores and two weeks in Portugal. I spoke nothing but Portugese, and when I came home I felt comfortable speaking Portugese." He's going to have a once a month, bilingual newsletter.

The first coffee in Norwell was attended mostly by blacks and it was there that he talked most passionately about New Bedford. On the way out he said "Those people were Cape Verdeans. Half the people in Norwell don't know they have black people living here. They come from a tiny island 300 miles off the coast of Guinea and they've congregated here. You can see they live in the woods--very tightly knit. And Bill Weeks doesn't even know they exist." Implication was that he knew and cared.

During that coffee he said, "The people on the South Shore didn't know New Bedford was part of their district. Then attitude used to be, who cares about New Bedford. But now they do know and they care. There's a little bit of decency in everyone." Implication was that he was telling them, that he was welding together a coalition of New Bedford

unions and portugese with suburban housewives of the South Shore. That's his unlikely coalition.

The Momma of an Philby - the Mass. union about Mass. - the pt. students and long job are not an organization

He noted that hard hats and long-haired students "talked to each other" and campaigned together in 1970. "It was an exciting thing to watch-- union men with hard hats and youngsters with long hair, neither one thinking that a human being existed underneath--actually campaigning together and talking to each other. The two groups weren't supposed to be communicating; but here in this microcosm, they were doing just that."

His second campaign promise of 1970 was "I'll come home to the district once a week. People who elect you to represent them--at a handsome salary-- have the right to see, criticize, swear at and talk to the human being they sent to Washington to represent them. The third promise was not to make any more promises. We broke that one, or stretched an old one this time by announcing that we will have three regional offices--one on the Cape, one in New Bedford and one on the South Shore. Keith never had more than one till he got a primary challenge and opened up an extra one in Norwell. Some of my best staff will be on these offices, not in Washington, so that people with problems can deal with a human being and not with someone in Washington-- where they can answer letters without anyone ever touching it. And these regional staff members will visit the towns in their region." One of his themes, echoed several times was that of humanizing or "bringing humanity" into the system.

He often scoffed at Washington and at politicians and House of Representatives and took pot shots at all these easy targets. When he used

word politician he said "If you'll allow me to use that word in your livingroom." "They asked me to talk about the politics of pollution--the reverse of that would be even more interesting maybe." "The House of Representatives is where the action isn't. It's the least representative part of the government, the one that needs the most changing and the one that changes the slowest and is the hardest to change."

Blast at seniority systems and "old guys" who get in and stay there and protect themselves. Sees McMillan case as hope, also the new younger type of congressman coming in. Speaks of "great guys" like Bill Clay and Ronnie Dellums (to the black group) and of his friends in DSG and how they are moving on seniority--but won't be easy.

"People don't make up their minds on the basis of reading all the position papers. We have 26 of them because some people are interested in them. But most people get a gut feeling about the kind of human being they want to represent them."

His people were split between Muskie and McGovern so he stayed out of primary. He backs McGovern strongly, but said every time he was asked that he didn't understand McGovern's welfare proposal and that McGovern didn't either and that he has told his staff to pester McGovern headquarters twice a week till they explain it to him and to his satisfaction.

The staff is very young, as young as Zions--more women than Zions, it seems. (I guess they are "libera~~ted~~"--they swear a great deal!)

Re coffees. "They are a very effective campaign technique in these

towns. It's a good thing they are, because that's all you can do now. Most people don't know there's an election, except for the Presidency."

Can I see his press?
Re Keith. "Subjectively, from my 18 months of campaigning and from our polls, which were objective, I knew that the positions I was taking were more representative of what the people of this district were thinking than those of the Congressman. Yet he still was. But we came a long way. In the previous election, he hadn't even had an opponent." This was appropos of HR being less representative than it should be.

His literature and his endorsements made much--implicitly or explicitly--of the nature of his coalition. Many endorsements note how he talks to suburban women about the plight of people in New Bedford and about their common destiny. His slogan (1970) "He's younger, he's tougher" or "Younger, tougher Studds" etc. calls attention to his youth, hard hat combination he is trying to forge. It's a rich-poor; youth-hard hat coalition he's got. And that's not an easy one. The war, of course, unites them; so does the general manifestation of concern. But at the point where the pie really has to get divided, it's hard to see how the coalition would work. The suburbanites are going to have to pay (and he talked about making all taxes more progressive though he blasted the property tax at the same time!) through the nose to help New Bedford! And the young do not have much gut sympathy for the hard hats. Perhaps, as in most of the congressional campaigns I've seen, energy overcomes all. Or, maybe he can hold these coalitions together precisely because they don't rub each other raw in a daily sense. Hingham is a hell of a way

from New Bedford, and the competition between them for the share of the pie is quite remote. People of Hingham want, abstractly, to help New Bedford. And they respond sympathetically and humanely so long as the arguments are given to them abstractly and "on the issues." An issue oriented campaign may not, in the end, be as concrete a campaign as it seems to be. Social distance may enable him to keep his coalition afloat more than any concrete feeling of a commonality of interest.

"There are 1500 immigrants a year into New Bedford--Portugese from the Azores or the Cape Verdes coming to join their families. They come, most of them with a fourth grade education--which is all the Portugese Government in its wisdom sees fit to give them. They come from some lovely little island, completely rural--they come with all dreams which every immigrant group has about how things will be in America. And they land right in the middle of an area with an unemployment rate that is officially 8 to 10% but in reality is more like 15 to 20%. Parts of New Bedford look like Berlin after the bombing in World War Two. This is inhumane and unacceptable and I have some very intense feelings about it." His answer--in short run publice service jobs and in long run business and retraining. He's been talking to First National Bank people to find out " what industries in the area have best growth potential in terms of jobs.

His brochures seem to emphasize and I think it's true that he has tried hard to overcome fact that he is not "one of them" in New Bedford

*emphatic
ID*

by educating himself to their problems and their world. He cares, and they probably sense it.

He wants to and seems to think he has got his opponent on the defensive. He's pushing issues, asking his opponent where he stands, asking him to debate, asking why he won't debate, why he won't develop positions on the issues. From the GS perspective, Weeks is relying on traditional Republicanism to pull him through. That is, he does not seem to be picking apart Studds' coalition. Probably, if Weeks had beaten Keith in 1970 he'd have been unbeatable. It was Studds' luck that the incumbent had given up the fight by 1972 and Weeks has neither momentum nor incumbency to help him this time.

When suburban ladies started to idealize the young, he turned them aside by saying he was disenchanted with their activism--not that many weren't active, but that a few more could have made the Difference. "There are 18,000 people in this district between the ages of 18 and 21. And we lost by 1500 votes last time. They could be the ball game. But I can tell you what they are doing. We have Cape Cod in our district. And if you go down there you'll see what they are doing--lying on their backs in the sun getting a tan! And they are probably denouncing the system to each other. They aren't getting involved in politics, I'll tell you that." Yet his campaign is heavily based on the young--it is youthfully directed, but he has no illusions. That's one thing that comes through. He's not dreaming, but he is idealistic. He's a hard organizer and he gets upset at people who won't get in and work and organize.

Lots of praise for League of Women Voters. "The League takes a long time to work up their positions, but they come from the grass roots

and are thorough throughout. That's something that scares politicians to death--a group of women who know what they're talking about." "Ten years ago there were 24 shoe factories in this district; now there are two. Ten years ago, there were 21,000 people employed in the shoe industries of this district. Today there are 800."

After Saturday's trip, I asked him to rate the day. Earlier he had exclaimed, "All I can say is, if you've seen a typical campaign day, I give up." Another time he called it "a blah day." "I guess we showed you a pretty screwed up day. The most important thing that heppened was Bob getting together with the NEA people. For me, Marshfield was a complete bust; Carver--minimum impact; Dennis, a bust. The most necessary thing I did was to meet with Dick Kendall, the State Representative in Falmouth. It was a delicate meeting that had to be held. You couldn't call the Cape Verdean dance necessary. But it was a good thing. Mostly reenforcement of our very solid ties with the Cape Verdeans. But you always meet a few new people. Tonight I met some of the leaders of the Harwich Cape Verdeans I hadn't met before." Stella, who had waltzed Gerry around at the dance introducing him from table to table had said when she left them, "He's with the Harwich crowd now. I don't know them." She's from Wareham. And it was she who told Gerry that they had discovered 200 unregistered Cape Verdeans in Onset (Wareham). He was agog at that rich vein of untapped voters. The Cape Verdeans are in pockets all over the district.

A constant theme of the day was his contempt for the old pals-- (his mimicing of Secretary of State John Davoren was one highlight). It came out best, I thought when they talked about the next days' schedule which wound up with a speech to the Marshfield Town Committee. "It will be a stirring speech. 'My fellow hacks! We politicians are gathered together to find every way possible to avoid talking about the issues.' In 1970 I had a fine toned speech which I gave before every town committee. It was full of statistics to convince them that a Democrat could win in this district. It had nothing in it about issues-- nothing. I would give the speech and then ask for questions. There never were any."

Earlier at the Dennis Clambake, he had exclaimed "We don't want any old pals or town committees. Give me housewives--who have never been in politics before." Bob F. talked about them on way home. He said "Housewives are amazing and many of them have never had one bit of political experience. From one standpoint that's good because they will do what you tell them needs to be done. If you say, we've got to canvass, they'll go out and canvass. Will they ever! They don't argue with you. Of course, they agree with Gerry on the issues and that's why they're there in the first place. If they weren't with him on the issues, they'd just tell him to go screw."

Bob saw "the old Demmys as the most unstable part of coalition and mentioned rivalry between them and the Studds people in Hull. He called the latter "the flames." "They are passionate on the war and they are

really something. You can't tell them to stop. But you don't want the old pols bad-mouthing you either. So you try to neutralize them, by talking to them, asking their advice and putting in someone as town coordinator and area coordinator who can talk to all sides." He called Hull "a classic case of the old Demmys versus the flames."

Staff is 20 full time, 4 operating offices, 12 areas with coordinators and 45 towns and 1 city each with its coordinator. Says Bob, "We complain about our organization, but I guess if you compare it to other congressional campaign organizations in the county there aren't many like it." He's right! ~~A~~ Great stress on organization--in absence, I think of a natural community. You reach non-natural communities via organization. You reach natural communities by other methods maybe--charisma vs. bureaucracy.

Talk at Kate Daly's of coffees. GS called them "spectacularly successful." "We should do mostly that from now on--not duffing around like we have today."

Re Franey. He was a conservative Democrat. He wouldn't endorse Studds. A candidate for Attorney General wanted Studds supporters to help him and Studds said if you get Franey to support me, my people will work for you. "He begged with Franey to support us. But he wouldn't budge." "He didn't understand the primary. He always had run by putting on his straw hat and going to clambakes. He thought of Plymouth as one of his strongholds. We beat him 900-100 there. He was shocked. After all, he had gone to the Plymouth Clambake." Another

This is like Paul Petersen's pt. 4 in his article.

example of his disdain for "old politics." But "Franey may have cost us the election. You can't tell. Our people will get him this year. He's running for county commissioner and our people can't wait to see him get his. They'd rather beat him than work for me!"

We lost Barnstable by more than we lost the election--the same thing in Yarmouth. They are typical Cape Cod towns. But we didn't organize and work them as well as we should have."

"We lost Falmouth 3 to 2 in 1970. That's much better than Democratic congressional candidates have ever done. But we should have done better. It's a portugese town. This time we're better organized, and I think we can carry it." Kate Daly, who was campaign manager in 1970 is working Falmouth for summer, and they are canvassing every Democrat and Independent this time.

Re 1970. Primary hunt "a local New Bedford boy, not a serious candidate." Other one was "a plant--I think he was for Keith. He was a peace candidate, Irish, from Weymouth." Franey was 4th and he was only one with a constituency and who wouldn't support Gerry.

At Kate's talk about the ripple effect--"rippling a community" said GS. How you can do it in South Shore towns, but not in New Bedford. Earlier he spoke of coffees. "We send out 75 attractive invitations to get 15 people. But the invitations are good advertising and word gets around that we've been there. There's a ripple effect in each community--

They let him
play to strength -
the ones -
who keepin'
contained within
an organization
his
Coushanguy
He keeps 4
builders rolled
from one
another this
way.

especially in the smaller ones. I think they're a spectacular success--
at the heart of the campaign."

Bob Francis later noted that some communities are better organized
than others--mostly depending on the town coordinator. "Scituate, Hingham,
Cohasset, Hanover and Duxbury are very well organized. Norwell and Pem-
broke not as good. And we've had trouble in Hull." "So we put Hull in a
different area than it should be geographically. Geographically it should
be in the area with Scituate, Cohasset and Hingham. But we put it with
Pembroke, Hanover and Norwell. There's a good area coordinator there."

GS displayed this same preoccupation with organization everywhere
he went--as I've indicated with his comments on Barnstable, Yarmouth and
Falmouth. As we headed for Dennis, he said "Dennis is a big hole in
an organization." And the day before, in telling me where we were going
in Dennis, he said "It probably won't be much, judging by the town it's
in." (It wasn't!)

Another clue to organization emphasis is that Bob Francis goes with
him and tries to meet people everywhere and get names. GS felt Bob's con-
tact with Dick Marshall and Dick Dunkin of the NEA in Dennis was the most
important event of the day. They are in process of reaching out to form
an organization, of building the organization--and they do it constantly.
Mary Ann Fernandez took Bob around to meet potential organizers and workers
at the Brass Band Ball. The wonder is that they are still doing it so
assiduously after 3 years! But the sense that they are building is

stronger than I've gotten in any other campaign. More so than Barbara J.-- who had a senatorial organization. GS had none to start with and that makes his feat all the more remarkable.

"We organized and ran a campaign in 1970 the likes of which people in this district had never seen before. Neither party had ever done anything like it."

The theme of the morning was Gerry's upset at the failures in staffing and "advancing." First we went to the Studds booth at the Marshfield Fair and we were supposed to have gone to the shopping mall. There was one woman at the booth. "I compounded the error by not even recognizing _____ at the booth. She's my key person from Scituate and I was thinking of Marshfield. I'm awful at putting names and faces together. We'll have to send her a letter apologizing."

We had paid \$4 to get the car into the fair and had to leave. But the trip had two side events. We learned that Bill Weeks' booth had blown down the night before--cause of merriment. And he saw a picture of himself at the booth that he didn't like. "I told Bob I don't care how you do it but get it out of there within an hour."

Then we went to Curtis Farms in shopping mall where his supporters were leafleting and his calliope was riding around in the parking lot with an old guy playing it on back of pickup truck. One of the greatest campaign gimmicks I've seen. A distinctive sound that could be heard at a great distance with a huge sign on top. Old man from Lawrence in

in candy striped jacket and straw hat was playing away. He told me "not many people play the calliope anymore." It was a great attention getter as the workers handed out leaflets. "I asked Bob if he needed us and he said how much time have you got. I said five minutes and he said we might as well go on to the next thing on the schedule." Always the sense of being in a hurry and having to keep a schedule--which is laced with starting and leaving times like 11:26 and 1:03!

His eleaborate schedule--"I'll bet you don't find many campaign schedules as thoroughly planned and advanced as this one." (he said handing me the set of directions for the day)--called for him to go from Marshfield to Carver by way of Route 3A--which would be heavily travelled on Saturday, instead of the expressway Route 3. He was livid, directed that we go via Route 3 and complained about Judy's boo-boo all day. When Bob met us for lunch he said "Our advance men had routed us through the center of Kingston, the center of Duxbury and the center of Plymouth--on Saturday morning. Do you know what that traffic is like? If we had gone that way, we would still be there--and the people around us wouldn't even be constituents. They'd all be from New Jersey. What a fuck-up!" More furious "I discovered to my unspeakable horror" that his schedulers had left him with 4 unscheduled hours in the p.m. and hadn't told Katie in Falmouth that he was available during that time. He called Kate himself and she arranged a schedule.

He was so upset after the Marshfield routing foul-ups and Falmouth that he stopped at a phone booth and called Jim Litton. When Bob arrived,

GS said "I broke rule number one this morning. I called Jim Litton and blew my stack. I had to or it would have built up inside me all day."

At lunch he said wistfully and whimsically, "Oh, I wish I could run a campaign."

The trouble is I have run a campaign myself and so I know how it should be done. I ought to pull out and not worry about these staffing and advancing problems and save myself for the big promotional stuff, the position papers and fund raising calls. And I've directed the staff to keep several blocks of time each week free for that purpose. Actually with all the troubles, we're incredibly better organized than last time. When I think of it I wonder how we ever did it in 1970. Instead of comparing this campaign with the last, I blot out the last one. Our expectations are much higher this time and I guess that's why I'm such a bear on inefficiency."

We went to Old Home Day in Carver (a Republican town)--noted for number of cranberry bogs--mostly Ocean Spray (which is big Republican contributor). When I asked him if cranberries constituted the agriculture of his district, he said "That's about it." And when I asked when they harvested cranberries he said "In the fall, I think." Not exactly a son of the soil! He called Carver "a poor town--not exactly poor but less well off than the others we've been in."

They had the clams, etc. cooking under a big tarpaulin and the tables were set in long rows in a cool grove of huge white pine trees across from the town hall. They heat rocks, put seaweed over them, then the clams, then corn, sweet and white potatoes, hot dogs, sausage on top. The water from the clams drips on the hot rocks, makes steam and cooks the stuff. It smelled good--the New England equivalent of the hog barbeque in South Carolina and the fried chicken barbecue in Indiana.

Unlike RZ he didn't sit down to eat in Carver--instead, we rode off and ate in Howard Johnson's where we met Bob. Actually we "wasted" nearly an hour getting served in HJ (which nearly gave Gerry fits) and the time could have been spent sitting at the tables and being seen by folks in Carver. But he was not comfortable there, or maybe he was not comfortable sitting down and eating with "the folks" as Roger Zion was in Otwell--which was just as unfriendly territory for him. Instead of plunging in, Gerry waited for a Carver contact to meet him--one of his workers--and then went around with him to shake hands with the people his contact knew. Afterward, he said of this man "He didn't seem to know many people." And he sure didn't! I asked why he didn't plunge in. "It's better to have someone who knows the people take you around. (Jack) didn't know many people, so that didn't work out. If it had been later in the year, I would have left him in the district and shaken hands all around. But it's too early for political handshaking. I think people would resent it."

He ran into Weeks at Carver. (Weeks probably stayed for clambake!) "Did you see our encounter with the opposition. I asked him he had come to debate me. He said, Humph, Humph. It probably surprised him to see me here campaigning in a little Republican town like this. I think we shook him up a little."

Bob later gave their estimate of Weeks. "His trouble is he isn't very bright. He can't debate the issues, just goes around with a smile on his face. The NEA people said he went to their convention and said the only thing he would talk about was education. Can you imagine that! If we lose, it will be the classic case of an election being bought. He spent \$185,000 last time in the primary; he's got a lot more this time; and if he puts on a TV barrage in Boston, he might get enough name recognition to win."

They see that as only way they'll lose. They feel insulated from Nixon because he won't carry Massachusetts by landslide and because they have their own organization completely. Lots of overlap with McGovern, but they are not dependent in any sense on McGovern. He can't drag them down to defeat.

Gerry tells story of Maurice Donohue's. "You know what it's like to be President of the Massachusetts Senate. It's having to deal with 26 men and one old woman--and I don't mean Mary Fonseca. I mean Bill Weeks." (Maurice Donohue will come to New Bedford to help GS with "the old pols" there--with whom they are having trouble).

After Carver we went to meet Bob at Howard Johnsons. Gerry fretted about the service all during our wait--which was unnecessarily long. "They need some management consulting here. This is the most inefficient operation I've ever seen--all these empty tables, people waiting and unbelievably slow service. I wish we could have these people to run Bill Weeks' campaign." And on and on and on.

Then to Dennis where we got caught in a 3 mile traffic jam prior to Bourne bridge. "I don't want to be scheduled again on Cape Cod till after Labor Day--except for fund raisers. There's just no point campaigning on Cape Cod in the summer time."

Later, he talked about the small turnout at Frank Bell's clambake in Dennis. "Poor Frank, he'll be eating clams for a month. He expected 70 people and I guess there weren't more than 25 to 30 there. And most of them were his relatives from outside the district. I gave up when I kept running into relatives. Dick Marshall invited 15 of his best teachers, but they all had to work--tending bar, working in the store or the gas station. They can't take time off during the tourist season." At another point, he said "I can't wait till Labor Day."

He reminded me a lot of Barbara Jordan and her signs as he looked for bumper stickers. "There's a Studds sticker! That's two to one over Weeks in Marshfield. I'm an inveterate bumper sticker watcher." He jumped out of his seat as he saw each one. And wherever we went, he tried (as Phil did) to get people to put bumper stickers on. When we would see some bumper stickers in an area he would say "We're getting organized here"

as if bumper stickers were an index of organization. At one of the coffees on the 27th he said "There's an old saying that 75% of what you do in a campaign is worthless, but you don't know which 75% it is, so you do everything. I'm that way about bumper stickers. I don't know whether they work or not but I like them. Maybe they just raise the morale of the candidate--not an unimportant result, I might add."

He called Marshfield "The fastest growing town in the district. We carried it last time--the first time any Democratic candidate for Congress ever carried it."

It may be that he does best in fastest growing towns. "These people are pouring out of Boston. They are Democrats but they are pressured to become Republicans in the towns they move to." Many register independent I guess. Figures now are about 67,000 Democrats, 60,000 Republicans and about 95,000 Independents in district. "The figures are moving with us" he said re population figures and redistricting figures. My guess would be that independent percentage has gone up and that he's pushing hard there--among people he calls "vote switchers"--people who will vote one way for other offices and different way for Congress.

Phil took a lot of pictures wherever we went. GS talked with a policeman in Carver and Gerry said afterwards, "Whenever you see me with a policeman, snap pictures like mad--policemen and nuns." Not a part of his normal constituency. That is, he is neither catholic nor a hard law and order type.

At Dennis clambake, (which was really pretty seedy despite the great lobster) Bob met Dick Marshall and Dick Dunkin. NEA has decided to organize politically this year for first time and back candidates with money and help like COPE. Dick M. is the New England-New York voter project chairman and he told us that Gerry's was their 3rd priority contest in the area. Bill, Morse's seat and Gerry. He gave Bob 15 or so names of key active teachers who would work in the campaign. And he talked of inviting Gerry to speak at an NEA function--the Massachusetts Teacher's Association--I think. He also talked of helping to pick out a few young housewives to help on the Cape. Gerry found the news that he was a priority target heartening and thought the offer of campaign, organizational help was the day's highlight in terms of meaningfulness. "Thank God for the MTA. That conversation was worth the trip. It was the whole ballgame."

After Dennis, we went to Falmouth where Bob and GS had meeting with Dick Kendall, a new State Representative for Falmouth, Mashpee and some other town. First Democrat in the area to win. "He's leery of coming out for us because he's in a Republican district. But he could help if he would tell his people that it's all right to work for us. He says he has no organization." Afterward, GS said it was "very successful" but later conversation between him and Bob didn't seem to bear that out. Apparently Kendall gave a little but not very much. This ties in with

the big effort in Falmouth this time, trying to turn it around completely, with Kate here, the office here, etc. GS described Kendall as "not as bright as he seems," "a local boy who knocked on every door in the district."

In terms of likely competitions there are 2 State Senators in district. Al McGinnis, who was at one coffee and who took Weeks' seat, when Weeks vacated it to run vs. Keith. He's safe, GS thinks. And there's an old pol type from New Bedford, who seems like no threat. The State Senator from the Cape, Senator Aylmer wants to run for Congress, says GS. "There's some question whether he'll help Weeks, because he wants to run for Congress himself sometime. We had some Democrats who sat on their hands in our race in 1970 because they wanted to run (in 1972)."

Re budget. Last time they raised \$110,000 and spent \$130,000. Paid off debt with a party. This time they budgeted \$200,000 but cut it to \$185,000 when no primary contest developed. They will go in "very heavy" for radio ads, very little TV--maybe Channel 6 in New Bedford. "Television is too expensive. They want \$15,000 for 30 seconds in Boston. That's prohibitive for us."

Several times he showed he was not a one-issue candidate, i.e. the war. He got sore because some kid was leafleting for an anti war protest and vigil at the Dennis clambake. "What the hell were those kids doing handing out those leaflets there. Great! They were leafleting all those fascists for Studds sitting over at the tables. If the war stopped today,

those kids wouldn't know what the fuck to do with themselves. I'm down on kids these days." Another time we passed some kids drinking beer beside the road. And he muttered sarcastically "That's the right way to change the system!" He wants voters and workers--not purely anti-war or apathetic kids.

Difference between perception of kids - poor, tender (like from back home of his again) and kids generally who need to rilly. - portray is reflection of that

Basic description of district. "It's a microcosm. The only thing it lacks is a major university. It is four worlds. I has New Bedford with 100,000 people which is urban disaster. It has the suburbs of the South Shore, the fastest growing part of the district. It has Weymouth, a town of 55,000--an extension of South Boston. It is blue collar--Irish and Italian. And it has Cape Cod, which is a place unto itself. I could refine it more--some of the towns are very rural, we have two islands and so forth. But that's essentially it--four very different worlds."

and not pay.
I asked him how one person could represent it. "That's the fun. I talk about New Bedford in Duxbury--it works. It started not deliberately but when I got mad, going from New Bedford to the silver tea service in Duxbury. It turns out to be politically fine. If you want to be cynical you could say "You've got enough; you can afford it!" But there's a touch of decency in everyone, I find."

One clue, perhaps, as to how he can get away with this social distance and perceptual distance among the elements of the district. They don't rub each other raw, because they don't exist in proximity and don't even

perceive of each other as part of a ~~single~~ district.

"Actually, the people in each of the four worlds don't know the others are even in the district. They are four separate worlds. In New Bedford, they call it the New Bedford district. On Cape Cod they call it the Cape district. And both of them are shocked when they are told that between them they make up less than half the district. New Bedford has 100,000; the Cape has 97,000 and there are 470,000 in the district. They just about balance each other out politically. So you can see that the real battleground is in the South Shore suburbs. That's where we have targeted our major efforts."

as to culture shock -
They have "target areas" which they designate by "a computerized, complex mathematical formula" that includes registration figures, past voting in congressional races, voting in 1970, vote-switching propensities. A nice thing to see.

One target area is Weymouth. "We ^{carried} ~~earned~~ it by 4,000 votes last time. But a part of Bill Weeks' senatorial district and he's very popular there. So we are making a big effect there this year."

"Duxbury is the wealthiest town in the district--along with Cohasset. It may have the highest per capita income in the state. Usually, Democrats lose it by about 2500 to 500. We lost it by only 1800 to 1400. We canvassed the whole town. Usually we canvass only Democrats and Independents. If you canvass Republicans, you only alert them to the election."

But in Duxbury, if you won't talk to Republicans you won't talk to anyone. We had a great organization there."

Redistricting influence. "None that I am sure of. And none publicly. But privately we had many phone calls. And the Speaker of the House, a cousin of Rep. Michael Harrington, helped us out. Things went our way."

After the meeting with Kendall (which I didn't attend) we had dinner at Kate Daly's house in Falmouth. Jim Litton came--also 2 of Kate's brothers and a sister and a campaign volunteer King _____ and a friend of Kates, Maggie _____. Lots of hilarity about past campaign. Best story was told by Paul, Kate's brother, of time when Gene McCarthy came to Woods Hole cocktail party to endorse Gerry and when it came time to leave, Gerry's driver, Charley, was no where to be found. He had gone off into the woods with a girl. And Gerry's plaintive, desperate cry "Where's Charley?" became campaign watchword for the insiders. Everytime Paul cried "Where's Charley" everyone broke up. Good humored reminiscences. Some talk of current staff and much about coffees, their value, scheduling, response rate, where to try them, etc. GS enthusiastic--but on the whole, quite quiet.

Next stop Mary Ann Fernandez' Brass Band Ball. Gerry taken around to shake hands and pulled lucky ticket out in raffle. A little publicity --picture was taken which he hopes will appear in Cape Verdean newspaper. There were about 400 Cape Verdeans there. He is in solid with them and

and they seem to like him. Some great clothes--male and female. Lots of gaiety, charm, warmth. "These are really great people." They tend to be clustered in each town. Lots of intermarriage. "Half the people there were related to Mary Ann." "Mary Ann carried Kingston for us in the last election. She was the town coordinator--even though there are just a few Cape Verdeans in Kingston. She carried it--the first time ever for a Democratic congressional candidate." Cape Verdeans are black. Other Portugese are often lighter. Some rivalry between them; and you have to be careful in campaigning. These Cape Verdeans speak English. Where the language skill counts is in New Bedford. Since family ties are so strong and everyone knows everyone else within each community, you gain politically by contacting and dealing with leaders of the community. Gerry seems strong here--and I guess with Portugese in New Bedford.

"We should clobber Weeks in New Bedford. If we don't, we've had it. We did well against Keith, but he had 12 years of incumbency in which time he had gotten entry visas for half the families down there. They don't have that loyalty for Weeks."

Third Studds trip--Truro to Cohasset, 1 3/4 hours travelling time; started 5:45, arrived at Mobil station just down street at 7:20.

He lives on Black Horse Lane in Cohasset, a lovely woodsy dead end street, with a scattering of houses. Lots of medium sized maples on street.

Coffee--Finn's--same emphasis as before. War priorities, medicare, mass transport, oil, started recalling close race before--difference with Weeks--oil.

After outside. "Who was that guy with the McGovern button? He came up and said he didn't know how the energies of the liberal community would be divided this year. I felt like asking him; 'who, you or your wife.' The liberal community of New Bedford could meet in the bathroom of that house."

"New Bedford reminds me of Berlin in 1945."

To Beauregard Park, part of Model Cities. Lots of kids in recreation program.

In New Bedford the biggest issue was inequity of taxes--not fair. "Welfare for wealthy." Not based on people's ability to pay. Middle and lower income people are bearing unfair burden. This is big difference between Republican opponent and me. He has even put in his brochure that he's against tax reform. It's no coincidence that he's a millionaire. Maybe if I was, I wouldn't be in favor of tax reform either."

Medical care. "Only country in world where ability to get medical care depends upon their income and where you can line up a group of children and tell their parents income by looking at their teeth."

"A great deal of money is being spent in this campaign by the other side--radio, TV. But there are more of us than there are of them. It's

a hard thing to canvass a triple decker, as you know. But if you care enough it can be done. We did it before and we're going to do it again." In New Bedford, it's a constant theme of rich and poor, them and us, millionaires vs. others. N. B. is very poor.

Hard core? "Where do you mean? They range from Scituate housewives to Portugese stevedores in New Bedford. In the one case they are held in by the issues and in the other case, it's more of a personal, emotional sort of approach."

And Bob F. added "If we play our cards right, it could include a large part of the elderly," i.e., in the coalition. I kept asking whether it wasn't an unstable coalition. He said "It's a representative coalition as far as the district is concerned." I asked if he thought it could be held together. He said 'yes.'"

"If this friggin war isn't over in a year, it won't be our fault." Great frustration.

Re his 1st campaign and in connection with not being taken seriously. "People knew I was against the war. They thought it would be one more naive, ineffective campaign where we threw flowers at people and released doves all along the eastern seaboard."

"This is a people's campaign. The heart of the campaign is a door to door canvas of all the Democrats and independents in the district-- 165,000 of them."

Campaigning at BPM supermarket, a woman refused to speak to him.

"Some people are unable to handle any intrusion into their private space--any unexpected intrusion. It's a funny thing but people here in New Bedford are much better about this than in the small towns. They are used to the unexpected and are more relaxed with other people. People in the city are friendlier than in the small towns. You walk up to a lady in a supermarket in Cohasset and she'll get all upset and tense. 'What are you doing here. This is my supermarket.' It's fascinating."

Re supermarket campaigning. "You can't imagine what the difference is psychologically between this kind of campaigning last time and this. Now some people recognize me. When we began, no one knew who you were or what office you were running for or what you were saying. Studds didn't even sound like a name. It was awful."

"A policeman just offered his wife's services as a typist. A policeman! I told him, hell no we don't want you. I'm soft on law and order." A little whimsy.

He also indulged himself as we laughed during dinner about how he could liven up his coffees. "I could walk in, undress and say, 'any questions' or 'I could walk in and hang from the chandelier.'"

"The Republicans were elected from the small towns on the Cape and the small towns on the South Shore and they didn't care about New Bedford. They could lose New Bedford 3-1 and not suffer. They didn't need N. B. And no one suffered more from Republican domination of this district than New Bedford and the surrounding area." (said in

In all his coffees, he makes point that we have to make "hard choices," make "commitment" to do certain things--medicare, mass transportation. "We have the resources to do it if only we made the decision to do it." Sense that we need to choose.

"A lady from Kingston came up to me the other day and said she didn't understand the need for national health insurance. She said she had no trouble paying her bills and she didn't see why we needed any change. The lady beside her said, 'Aaah, don't pay attention to her--she's rich.' She explained it all, right there. I suppose you could have had a dozen doctoral dissertations accepted that explained that. But that lady tagged it in two words--'she's rich.'"

Weeks' ads "Be selfish." "There have been nobler calls to public service. If I had my choice, I'd say 'Give a damn.'"

Heavy on opposition to property tax--as something that appeals to middle and lower income people.

In every coffee, he mentioned that Weeks ran vs. Keith in 1970 because HK didn't support Nixon strongly enough. "That's a pretty breathtaking statement to make about the Congressman. People in Washington keep statistics on those things, and they found that Congressman Keith was the 3rd highest supporter of President Nixon in the Congress. I cite this because it gives you some idea of the

philosophical nature of the opposition." Also adds that Weeks called Keith a dove. Not "fair" Keith last remaining supporter of Nixon War policy in Massachusetts. But Keith not hawkish enough for Weeks. Again, he uses this to paint Weeks as very conservative.

Weeks not supporting Task Force on Aging--Nixon not--Studds is.
"These businessmen give me a pain in the ass." (After evening coffee hour)

I'm recording now as I'm driving along on Rt. 3A on the way home from Gerry Studds' house and I'm trying to recollect some of the things he said when we talked this evening at his house after we came back from New Bedford.

He was talking a great deal about his past, about his teaching experiences at St. Paul's School and in West Haven, Connecticut where he taught in the public schools.

When I asked him what kind of a day it had been, he said "It was a trial day done to determine the usefulness of coffee hours in New Bedford and it was done over the kicking and screaming bodies of my New Bedford staff as you can see. It was a good day but there may be a better way to use my time in New Bedford. I thought the morning at the park was excellent." Bob said "the best part of the day was finding out that the recognition was so good in Dartmouth. If the recognition is good in Dartmouth, it should be good elsewhere in the district." He was very pleased (Bob was) with the performance

in the shopping centers and during the shopping center experience Gerry was also very pleased with the recognition. At one point he said "Recognition is really great."

I asked him when we were back at his house, how he came to run the second time. He said that he had absolutely no intention of running the second time; that he was "dead" after the first race, that "a campaign does something to a human being and I don't like that. There was very little human being left in me after the campaign and very little in the members of the staff."

He then said that they, all the members of the staff, wanted a recount. He said that the entire experience with the closeness of the race and the fact that they had gone home the night before thinking they had won and continuing to think they had won until about four o'clock in the afternoon. He said that was terribly traumatic and that he himself was completely exhausted and doneⁱⁿ by that experience. But then he went on to say that people wrote in and asked him to have a recount and that all the best people in the campaign wanted him to have a recount and that he had to do it for their sake, that they had put so much into the campaign that he had to go along with their request for the recount. And yet, he then said that they had to crank up the whole operation again. They had to get ten signatures in every precinct and they had to train forty lawyers in order to do the job and they kept the recount going until they realized that there

was nothing left but the Cape and they couldn't win and then they called it off.

He then said that quite unbeknownst to him that there was a meeting of twenty town groups all of whom said that he ought to run *again* and tried to persuade him to run. That they had even put out a newsletter called "Gesture" and the first issue of the newsletter went out without him even knowing it. Said that he didn't want to run but that everyone assumed he ~~would~~ run.

He said that [^]people think you can wave a magic wand and turn over a 4,000 volunteer force to another candidate but it just can't be done. [^]He said he would much rather manage the campaign of the fellow who took his organization. He used to tell people that he'd like to manage the campaign and they all thought he was kidding and said, 'oh, no, he had to be the person that ran.' So gradually he became interested in the newsletter and he said that in order to keep your options open, he had to indicate some interest if he... otherwise the whole organization would collapse.

He also said that if he wanted to pay off his campaign debt of \$20,000 that he would have to stay in the race or at least keep his options open. So he did that for that reason too, so that he could keep a fund raising operation. And he said that his intention was to keep his options open but not necessarily to run and that just gradually he...well, he never really made a decision; it just sort of happened that he became the candidate again. He said "it's

very difficult to explain this to people; they think you're just being coy and you want them ^{to} urge to run." But he said he honestly didn't want to run; but he also said that because he came so close it made it difficult to give it up.

He talked some about his staff. He said that he had about 40 not paid staff but about 40 staff in the last campaign, and swore that they wouldn't have as many in this campaign, but they're already up to a couple of dozen. Most of them get \$25 a week which amounts to expenses and there are five people that are actually paid--about five. He said Jim Litton was not paid and that that gave him--put him in a strong position with other people. One of the things he noted with the staff, "I don't think there's another campaign in the country that has the kind of staff problems I have." He said "Every one of the staff wants to take the time to get to know me; they want to have long bull sessions in which the candidate bears his soul and they want to talk about their personal problems."

And he talked about one of the staff, who after the Norwell debate, monopolized 15 minutes out of the half hour he had to talk with 150 voters to ask him what he thought about the abortion and to find out what his position on the issue was. He talked about this in an exasperated but semi-humorous tone. He said that he thought that this was because he had a volunteer staff. That if you paid

people, you could tell them what to do. But if they're a volunteer staff they have to be motivated and one of the ways they're motivated is that they want a lot of the candidate's time. In fact that's the way he put it. He said "The members of my staff all want part of the candidate's time." And this fits with my observation earlier in the day, that everybody wants a piece of the candidate. He said "They want to get down and just really find out what he thinks about everything." He is very close to his young staff and this was appropos of the fact that all of the people in New Bedford were sitting around waiting for a bull session and Bob was the one who had laid the groundwork and made it possible for us to get up and get out of New Bedford on time.

But when we were back at Marty's house, her husband and Faith and Bill were all there and they wanted to have a brainstorming session-- as Bob put it. But Gerry got out early. Gerry said that they want to sit up all night and get drunk with the candidate. It's noted that Bob was very unpopular because Bob was the one who always had to pull him away from the staff.

He talked very interestingly about when I asked him how he decided to run. He said "I've been thinking about it for seven or eight years. I've collected ~~a long~~ a big box of clippings on Congressman Keith's record when I was in Washington in the Foreign Service. Part of the Foreign Service officer's training was that he had to go around and talk to his congressman and I went around

to talk to Keith and I found that he was a complete asshole." And he said "I'd been thinking about running against ^{him} since I was 26 years old. I remember back in 1962, the other Foreign Service officers were sitting around looking at the ticker tape to see what had happened in Uganda and I was interested in what was going on in politics, ⁱⁿ and Teddy Kennedy's race and other races. Congressman Keith could have been beaten in 1964, probably not by a twenty-six year old Foreign Service officer. Some turkey ran and almost lost New Bedford even though Goldwater was heading the ticket. I can remember sitting in the livingroom here back in 1963 and looking at the map of the 12th district of Massachusetts and saying to myself, Mattapoissett? Mashpee? I didn't even know there was a town called Mashpee in this district. Is there a town called Mashpee? Is there a town called Mattapoissett? I didn't know anything about the district." But he said he'd been thinking about it.

And then, in 1970, he said he listened to Nixon's first Vietnamization speech. "I was at Harvard enjoying myself. I had a year off. I was reading on psychotherapy and I listened to that speech. I guess I drank a whole fifth of Vodka and when I woke up, I decided I ought to do something about it. I decided to run. The people in Cambridge can think of such delightful ways of spending their time and having fun and dropping out." But he felt that he ought to take some other course. And he says that even now he has

the kind of ambivalence about dropping out and not. He gets very upset at the kids who do want to drop out, saying that they ought to do something. At one point he said that the young kids were more pitiful than the adults and they disturbed him infinitely more than the adults with their dropping out kinds of attitudes.

Then he started talking about how the campaign started in a motel room in Plymouth with Paul Nace and Katy and himself. "We didn't know anybody. We knew how to run a campaign but we didn't know anybody to help us run it. The phone would ring in the motel room and Katy would say 'This is Studds for Congress.' And she'd say 'I don't know whether he's here or not' and then she'd ^{put her} hand over the phone and say 'are you here?' It was wild and it was crazy. And that's the way the campaign began."

I asked him if he didn't feel funny coming out of Cohasset and so forth. He said "Yes, the headmaster ^{at} ~~for~~ St. Paul's School ~~had~~ called ^{me} ~~him~~ a traitor to ^{my} ~~his~~ class." But he said, "If he'd known ^I ~~he~~ went to Groton on a scholarship he might have had a different opinion." He noted earlier, after the campaign of 1970, that "I didn't have a penny in the world." He expressed considerable disgust with a lot of his classmates at Yale. He said that they went to law school without having any idea of what they were doing, of what was involved in the law. He shudders to read the Alumni magazine and see that his classmates are now selling Scott paper in Arizona

and New Mexico, vice president in charge of that. He also mentions that as a younger man he went to a wedding where people had pictures of Roosevelt on the toilet paper and they thought he was a socialist.

And a good deal of his early training--or not training--, but it seems to me as though his ideas about the rich and so forth came from quite early in life. I don't know where they came from but it doesn't seem to be anything new. Of course, he taught at the St. Paul School. He said that they used to think he was a radical. He said, "Me, a radical with my gray suit and necktie on? If they met a radical, they wouldn't know what to do."

He talked at great length of how status quo oriented St. Paul's was and how upset they got with him for his innovations--teaching and in the dormitory--and how he tried to trust students; how he tried to get ^{the administration} ~~them~~ interested in drugs and ^{how} they wouldn't acknowledge that there was a drug problem; how he wouldn't lock his liquor cabinet; how he got a student extra time to write a long thesis on the New Hampshire primary and that got them all upset. He also said that they agreed to buy him off, that he didn't want to go back there and that's why they sent him to Harvard. That was the clear implication --he said he'd tell me the story sometime after he was out of public life. But it was clear that that last year at Harvard was paid for by St. Paul and he was not going to go back to St. Paul under any circumstances. I think he was really edged out. He seemed to have a great deal of difficulty there as he had in West Haven where he

talked about how he was asked to make blotters, potholders or wastebaskets at Christmastime. He had every kid make a map of a country of the world, put a flag on it, bring in stamps from those countries; how the principal got upset at that; how the principal wouldn't let him tutor especially bright students after school and how he had to take them to his own home three nights a week, how he had a Polish and an Irish boy. He said that he remembered a conversation between the Irish boy and the Polish boy when he was driving them home one night. One boy said "When I grow up, I want to be a teacher because I think ignorance is the root of all evil." And the other boy replied "Yes, but knowledge is the cause of so much sadness." Gerry replied "I haven't seen that kind of human wisdom from any of the people that I knew at Yale." One of the boys went to Yale and one of them went to Princeton. Said he was proud of the boy that went to Princeton.

He talked at some length about how he wanted to write "Up the Down Staircase" and how he thought "Death At an Early Age" captured the entire problem of the public schools and the private schools. He said the private schools were a little more dressed up but they had all the problems of the public schools which Jonathan Kozal wrote about and what the girl "Up the Down Staircase" wrote about, and He had wanted to write that book.

He talked a little bit about--toward the end--about how he

wanted to have a little freedom. "I can't say what I really think."
"Someone once said that freedom was the ability to say --- --- to
someone you don't like. And I don't have that freedom!" He prac-
tically screamed that latter. And at another point shortly thereafter
he said "Sometimes I feel like I'd like to let my hair grow, take all
my clothes off and say --- --- .) "But I can't." "People come
up to me," he said, "and say 'why don't you get away from it all. Go
to Matha's Vineyard or Nantucket.'" (Then he screamed) "Martha's Vineyard
or Nantucket? God, that's the district!" "Well, then, Provincetown."
(He said) ³ "that's the district--I can't get away from it." Then he said
how much he liked Provincetown. He said he'd like to go and be half
hippy and half fisherman and live there. He said that it was a unique
community; there wasn't anything like it; that Studds' stickers were
a status symbol there in 1970 and that the hippies and the fishermen
were so close together--yet they tolerate each other. He thought
that was a remarkable sort of arrangement. The artists, the Portu-
guese fishermen, the hippies, the yankees--they manage to live with
one another. Thought that was a unique arrangement. He kept saying,
"I love Provincetown; I love Provincetown." They even manage to get
along with tourists, ~~and he has~~ ^{Thus} a special desire for freedom that he has,
I think, is sort of interesting. And I think maybe it goes along with
the desire to...that he mentioned earlier when he said the campaign was
such a dehumanizing thing, there's so little humanity left in him after

a campaign, that he didn't like what it did to him. ^{That} But you get automatized. ^{Also, perhaps, related to his pride in getting unlikes into working arrangements with an another ^{with} ~~unlike~~ and labor). A bit of idealism here in his Durbin-Narbered valuation.}

I saw him tonight at a number of coffees again and I don't think he's a terribly warm person but I do think he's sincere about the attitudes he expresses and I think that comes across to people. The speech that he gives at the coffees is a ^{fairly} ~~free~~ pat, settled speech and it seems to be the same most everywhere. But he ranges a little bit when he answers questions and he shows that he understands a good many issues. Though his really gut response to questions when he gets into difficulty is that the Federal government should step in. For example, when someone said that the smaller industries were likely to be killed by pollution ^{control} and that that would put people out of work, he said the Federal government ought to subsidize these smaller industries, that the big corporations could take care of themselves. Also when someone asked him about trying to hire people and having difficulty hiring people even though there was unemployment, he said the Federal government ought to subsidize wages for those people so that the wages would be higher. The idea being that you had to get wages higher than unemployment compensation in order to get people to work. His answer there was federal subsidy and I think the same thing is true of the fishing industry. I think he wants federal subsidies there though I never heard him address himself to the fishing industry except that he did say that he wanted a much greater limit within which the offshore control of the states would extend--this in

answer to the Russian challenge to the fishing industry. He said that at a couple places. And there is this very gut liberal response which is to try to see what the government can do. He doesn't really ~~ignore~~ ^{involve} ? private industry in the way that Bobby Kennedy did. At least I can't see any of that. He took a lot of swipes at big corporations--the public utilities during his New Bedford stay frequently called his opponent a millionaire. Frequently said that he didn't have any money and the other fellow is spending a lot of money. He pursued this theme a good bit. I've written some of this in my notes already.

He and Bob talked with great hilarity about the fact that there was an "abortion coup" in the office. He said that the staff confronted Jim and held him a prisoner in the office while they discussed his abortion stand for two hours. The question was whether his literature should include his stand on abortion. He got really furious with it and I don't think he really wanted the literature to include it because he thought about places like Weymouth and New Bedford and how much difficulty it might cause him there. But his young staff debated abortion at great length and he said; "I was in the other room trying to deal with scheduling and trying to deal with fund raising. I called my scheduling girl and she was in the conference on abortion; I called my fund raising person, he was in the abortion conference. Here was my whole staff talking about my position on abortion, what it should be and whether I should publish it or not and they weren't consulting

me at all. I was enraged and I just left and went home. The upshot was that they decided that they would publish it. I had to decide whether to publish it or to lose any number of my top staff people. So we published it. Now I can imagine Mrs. Riley in Weymouth and the Mrs. Foster in New BEDford, carrying that around door to door and saying how would you like to hear about Gerry Studd's position on abortion. Oh, my God! " He called it "the abortion coup." But it's interesting that a young staff could have that much influence on him. He also said, "when they gave me the draft of my literature, there was my statement on abortion. ^{But} they didn't have a single thing in there on inflation, about unemployment and welfare. My God--nothing about welfare!" The idea was that his young staff is concerned about certain issues like amnesty and dropouts and abortion and women's rights and not with the bread and butter issues of his district. But the interesting thing is that they could put the squeeze on him in that particular fashion and that they could have that much control really over the campaign. I can't imagine anybody--any of the other candidates that I know--giving up that kind of control to the staff or getting put in that kind of position.

They also talked about how they'd like to write a book about the campaign and how, if they had won in 1970, starting absolutely from scratch, it would have been a classic. And then they said that all the little things would be lost. One of the little things that

be lost...one little thing was that they talked about in his position paper and this was a good example of how the staff couldn't care less.

"^{had written} They ~~talked~~ about blue tail flounder when there is no such thing as a blue tail flounder; it's a yellow tail flounder. I ^{told them,} ~~said~~ 'There's no such thing as a blue tail flounder.' And they shrugged their shoulders and said 'Ah, who cares?' " Something to that effect.

He also talked about the sewage prices in Falmouth. They got hilarious over this. One of the ways you can handle sewage if you don't want an outflow into the bay, you want to return it to the earth, is what they call a 'living filter.' And as he and Bob put it, "you just spray shit all over the place;" and in his position paper on the environment, ^{he} ~~they~~ had talked about the possibility of a living filter, ~~as they do in Falmouth.~~ And then ~~he~~ He said that Falmouth had been in a tremendous uproar over how they were to solve this sewage problem and when they saw this, half the people in Falmouth thought that Gerry Studds was proposing that they spray shit all over their houses and so forth. He said that he had to spend a whole day calming everybody in Falmouth so that they would think that he didn't really want to spray the ^{feces} ~~species~~ of the people in Woods Hole all over the Portuguese people in Falmouth! He said that's what they really thought that he was trying to do. They laughed and thought this was hilarious.

And he also talked about little ways that people raised money, how they had barn sales in one place, and how some women had tours of kitchens in Hanover and brought in money that way. The different ways that people pitched in, the sort of volunteer way that they raised money. He said that at one point today that he had 4000 contributors and he thought this was a very broad base of contributions. Bob talked about the money situation on the way back. He said it had been desperate a little while ago, but it wasn't so desperate anymore. That a few weeks ago they had gotten contributions to tide them over, but that in a few weeks it was going to become desperate again if they couldn't get more money and they were on their way tomorrow up to Boston to get a check from Harry Gold of the ILGW. Said there was more coming from the Democratic committee, the Democratic National Campaign Committee. He also said the unions had been pretty good this year and, of course, he was headed for two fund raisers with Edward Kennedy of Hyannis and Woods Hole on September 2nd, this Saturday. They hoped this would raise some money. But he's obviously got a money problem--it's a hand to mouth kind of operation. But he's running a fairly expensive operation.

There was one rather hilarious coffee which I think ought to be recorded. They really varied throughout the day. At the first coffee, I guess we had about 15 people in the morning. It was in

this large, very old and very interesting sort of ginger bready house in the living room--a cross section of people. Some of them complained about welfare and some were quite eloquent in defending welfare.

The next coffee was held in the yard...no, I guess the next coffee was the one where we went into this Al Hill's place. He's a professor and there were about three of them there; they were watching the chess match between Fischer and Spassky. That's all they were really interested in. I went around the corner for about ten minutes and slept, sitting up in a chair. I was exhausted. Apparently nothing happened and Gerry left pretty early. He was pretty upset. He said that in the last campaign he got really no work at all out of academic types. He said they all sat around and talked about esoteric things and asked picayune questions at some coffee hour and then he never heard from them again the rest of the campaign. And he said this Hill didn't know what he was talking about. That when he asked him how were things at SMU, he thought he was talking about educational policy and he waved his hands and went "whee! whoopee!" a couple of times to indicate that this Al Hill is totally out of it. He didn't know what he was doing and so forth. It was an absolute bomb as a coffee, but we used the time to go over a brief TV interview. It was valuable for me because I was able to get my second wind.

Then we went to a coffee out in the yard where there were a lot of kids playing and there were about 30 people, mostly women. It went very well and Gerry was pleased with it, but the New Bedford staff said that they sent out 1500 invitations in order to get 30 people.

Then we went to a coffee in Acushnet where a lot of the members of the Democratic Town Committee were there and he praised that rather conspicuously. That was Mary Mieca's house. Then we went to a place where there were a lot of Jewish women and the rabbi eventually came in. That was the Schwartz' place. And that one went quite well. There were about 25 people there and then later in the evening after Acushnet~~4~~ we went to the Barry's and that was where he got into the argument with a businessman. There were about 30 people there--that was the biggest one. He liked that, though he wished he'd been a little sharper, a little more awake. He was pretty bushed by that time. In fact, he would start at the early morning coffee in New Bedford and the later ones--one in Acushnet and the last in New Bedford--by saying I'm operating under a disadvantage. Asleep.

The coffees were varied, but I think the receptions were pretty good. Acushnet was a working class group, the early morning one was a mixed working class and not; then there was a meeting at Headquarters where a few people would drop in and sat around and talked with him. That was before we went leafletting uptown on our way to Bunny's Restaurant.

I guess I really ought to reconstruct this day because I'm going to have to put it on a face sheet somewhere. I guess the way it went was that we began with a coffee, went from the coffee to ~~Bour~~^{ea}regard Park. We went from ~~Bour~~^{ea}regard Park back to the headquarters. We then did some in and out of the stores along Union Street in New Bedford with leaflets. We then went to lunch at Bunny's Restaurant. We then went to a radio interview. Then we went to have a TV interview but found that there was no camera man. Then to Marty Xifara's house; then down the street to the coffee at Al Hill's. We then went back to the television station, then to a coffee in the back yard with children and their mothers. Next, to a coffee in the Jewish neighborhood; then we went out to leaflet at the BPM Supermarket. Then we went to eat at the Newport Creamery. Next we bumper stickered and leafletted a little--mostly bumper stickered--at the Dartmouth Mall. Gerry and Bob shook hands and we weren't allowed to leaflet at that particular point. Then we went to Acushnet for a coffee, then to a coffee in New Bedford and then we came back to Marty's house. Gerry had a cigarette and then we left and went back to Gerry's house.

We got back to Gerry's house at midnight. We talked there for about an hour and a half and then I came along home. I can't exactly put times on all these events, but I think I might be able to reconstruct it if I had to. I think the first event was 9:30 a.m. and we sort of went on from there. The last coffee began at 10:00 and that was the candidate's day.

At this particular point in the campaign, he thinks he can win and he's really worried about ^{not} being the underdog. We are the favorite. And he said this is a very bad year for political favorites.

and I think he really does have to work to gain or to keep people from getting over confident. At one point he said his style and timing of the campaign was very different. He said, "In 1970 we began the only way we knew how and went that way throughout the campaign. The only way we knew how ^{was} flat out--we kept it up throughout the campaign. This year we're starting a little more slowly and we're going to build up and save some things for later on in the campaign." He talked about the newspaper and the radio interview at WNBH and the television interview at Channel 6 WTEB as routine matters. And he had great disdain for Channel 6. At one point he talked about Channel 6--he said if the universe were ^{breaking} in two, across the street, Union Street, they wouldn't send a person to cover it unless you sent them a press release." And when someone asked him if he had done a live TV broadcast or was going to do a live TV debate against Weeks on Channel 6, he'd say "yes, if you can call Channel 6 live." And at another point he said that, "You'd think this would be filled with young people going places but it isn't. It's filled with old people going no where." And he spoke particularly of the man who interviewed him, as not very bright. He also felt that the man who interviewed him on radio was not very bright. He said that he had his tax all wrong.

A little example of his whimsy came at the end when I was leaving and he thanked me for coming and admired my flexibility. He said "Imagine me going out bumper stickering" and then he sort of asked whimsically "Where in the Lord's cosmic plan do you suppose bumper stickers fit?" And then we had a joke about that, as to whether it would be a sin or whether it would be something what every man would have to decide within his own conscience. And then we made up commandments such as: "thou shalt not bumper sticker" or "thou shalt not sticker a bumper without wiping it off first or something like that and we just kidded about it, just shortly before I left.

He did say, also, with respect to his career at St. Paul's School, that Weeks was circulating certain rumors about his career there which could, I suppose, get kind of dirty. He also excoriated Weeks again for not debating him and along with this, at one of the coffee hours, he noted that being quick on your feet was a very important skill. "No Congressman can represent his people unless he's quick on his feet because you have to deal with 435 other people all of whom got there because they were quick on their feet." He said that's just one of the special skills a Congressman has to have. The point was that Weeks was demonstrating that he didn't have that skill by his unwillingness to debate.

It's interesting how he unwinds at night with a couple of drinks and indulges himself in a little fantasy and a little whimsy in an effort to keep his balance. When ~~we~~ were eating supper, he said at one point, "I guess I don't dare look forward to or start thinking about those drinks I'm going to have when I get home. ~~He said that he'd~~ ^{I'd} come unstuck^{ed}, ~~and he~~ ^{and} he said that in a kind of humorous way, as if the way he really relaxed was to have a couple of drinks. It was during these couple of drinks that he talked voluminously about his career at St. Paul and his year at West Haven and his early campaign, so forth.

I wish I'd had a tape recording of that because it would have been very interesting. I think probably I ought to go back and talk about ["]the abortion coup["] a little bit and just note that it illustrates how a man can be captured by his primary constituency, the part of which is obviously his staff or at least captured by his staff. He's got this huge volunteer organization and in order to manage it, it puts a certain drain on him. They want his time, everybody wants a piece of him, they want to help set policy and so these are the sorts of drains that Barber Conable would never have.

Gerry asked me whether I dealt with any other non incumbents and I said, only one other and that was ^{Barbara J.} He said that probably this made a big difference, that you use your own office staff once you're an incumbent. And I think that may be true for

some people but Barber Conable doesn't have any kind of a big staff like that obviously. And he'd never hostage himself to a staff. He would simply run it himself and there wouldn't be any great need to do it or at least he could rely on the party to do a certain amount for him. But there was another great story when they were reminiscing about the campaign--he talked about how this fellow Armstrong who is his coordinator in the middle Cape area around Plymouth works for Humble Oil and how Armstrong helps him and how he kicked off his campaign and announced his campaign by making a speech at a podium that was really a Humble Oil mock-up cardboard gas tank which they covered with a sheet. He said there I was attacking the oil corporations, speaking from a podium that was a Humble Oil gas tank. He said that Armstrong had helped him a great deal, that he'd given him extra oil and helped him with the car, and that any time that he needed anything by way of repairs, desks, typewriters, so forth, that he had obliged by producing from Humble Oil. He said that Humble Oil was really paying the coordinator for the mid Cape towns. He said Humble Oil has no idea the contribution they've made to this campaign. And they laughed about that. Of course, this is one of the problems in reporting on campaigns. There's just no way of doing that--here's a man who works for Humble Oil and who has all kinds of resources that he gives the campaign and there just isn't any way to trace this sort of thing.

At several of the coffees today, there was a reference to Weeks' statement that ^{Studds was} ~~startled~~ "an ultra liberal." He handled that by saying that "he thought it was an insult to people's intelligence to think that you could discuss the issues by calling somebody a name and then just letting it go at that. ^{That} ~~But~~ he didn't care what he called him as long as they talked about the issues, that what he ought to do is talk about the issues. He also noted that Weeks calls himself a moderate in New Bedford and a conservative on the Cape. And he said if he ever met him in a debate, one of the things he was dying to ask him was what he meant by ultra liberal; could he give him one example of what he meant by ultra liberal. He handled it very nicely. It was really a set-up kind of question and he handled it nicely by simply saying that he didn't think people were interested in that. That they wanted to talk about the issues. He said that Weeks' ads said "Be Selfish" --that that was his headline. And that what he kept saying was that in New Bedford he would be from New Bedford and in Cohasset he would be from Cohasset; and he said he wouldn't be a congressman, he'd be a representative." By that, he'd simply do as he was told. Or else look out for special interests in each group, whether they're contradictory or not. Studds really thinks of himself as much more of a congressman than a representative, but his idea of the regional offices makes it clear that he also has a strong feeling about being a representative. And again, I don't think that Studds sees any

distinction between delegate and ^{trustee} ~~pros~~ regarding ^{himself,} ~~want~~
to use those old distinctions.

An interesting piece of personal information Gerry noted this evening at one point, that he'd been engaged previously. He said a girl I was engaged to once (and then I've forgotten what connection it was in).

- Jim Litten at my house 4/8/73 said he liked the way I put it when, in emphasizing Gerry's absolute addiction to work, I said "he willed his election." And I think that is a key to holding his coalition together. He just worked. I'm agreed that geographically, they are isolated from each other -- the segments of coalition. New Bedford is particularly isolated. So is Weymouth. So Shore and Cape Cod are in a little more touch now with one another. Jim said you could double talk in this kind of description you wanted to -- which Gerry did not. But sheer work did it.