

Gerry Studds

May 20, 1974

I've just come back from having spent the afternoon in Studds' office taking down some figures on his trips to the district in '73 and '74. I don't have any formal interview with Gerry but I do want to get down a few things that occurred when I was in the office and also when I went out to dinner with Gerry and Pete.

When I first got there, Bob Francis told me about their opposition. It's a man by the name of MacKay. He is a very strong conservative, a young man of about 38, who works for a company in Boston that makes carbon black called Cabot Enterprises or something like that. He's a lawyer and all of his political career has been spent within the Young Americans for Freedom. He apparently intends to run against Gerry on the social issue--abortion, amnesty, busing, school prayer, etc., also larger defense spending and otherwise government economy. When I heard this, I laughed and asked Bob whether they hadn't picked him themselves. I said that if I hadn't known they were in debt, I would have thought he was getting his money from the Studds people. He laughed about that and Bob said, "He has left us everything to the left of Attila the Hun"! We later learned that he had gotten his money such as he had reported it from the conservative union, from some guy in Texas and from somebody in Boston.

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Bob then went on to say that all the political signs looked good, that they were getting no complaints at all. He said Gerry had been quite active with groups that had not supported him last time and had been less active keeping his own organization people in touch. "Take the fishing industry, they were for Weeks and they've done a complete flip flop. Now they are our strong supporters." "We have worked with people interested in transportation and ~~we have~~ gotten along well with them. The savings banks--they have been doing some consumer-oriented things and we've worked very closely with them." We've gotten Gerry around to speak to a lot of business groups, to Rotary Clubs and Chambers of Commerce. They tell him, we don't agree with you on the issues but you're back here all the time acting like a congressman. We haven't turned them into strong supporters but we've gotten them to cool it. Gerry's gotten around so they can see he doesn't have four heads--which was what Keith and Weeks had been telling them.

"We've neglected our own organization--you remember Gesture the publication we used to hold our organization together between 1970 and 1972. Well, we haven't put that out at all, and I think that's been a mistake. So we're going to send one out soon to a list of twelve or thirteen thousand volunteers in our campaigns."

At the staff meeting, later on, Gerry noted that they have \$4,000 in the bank and are still \$20,000 in debt from the last campaign. He

kept saying, "how are we going to raise money?" And kept throwing up his hands as if it was almost too much to think about. He came back to this theme again several times during dinner, that he didn't know where he was going to get the money to run again.

At dinner there were three major themes. One, was his continuing dismay at the operation of the institution. Two was his continual complaint that he was going morning, noon and night. The third was his lengthy conversations about Tip O'Neill and Jimmy Burke--mostly Jimmy Burke with lots of high hilarity.

With respect to the continual strain he said, "The one thing I didn't appreciate when I came here was the drain, the physical drain. Campaigning takes 25 hours a day, working in the Congress takes 25 hours a day. Where do you find time to do anything else. I don't even have time to buy toothpaste--by the time we get out of the office at night all the stores are closed. I've lost the last five years of my life for what happened during those years that I was campaigning for the job. I don't want to lose the next 30 years of my life too and not be able to account for them. I don't know why I'm doing it. Oh, I know people say the first two years you're just a freshman. But I can tell you if I get reelected, the next two years aren't going to be anything like these. Some of the Freshmen Congressmen are being very philosophical about it--if we get beaten next time, so much the better. I told the Boston Globe the other day that not only would I never run for the Senate, but if the Governor offered it to me on a platter I wouldn't accept it. Nobody believes me, but that's the truth. There's one thing I care more about

than I care about the issues and that's the survival of me. This job is bad enough; the pressures in the Senate would be much worse. I just wish someone would give me back my last ten years." He complained about this constantly, but he is not morose about it. His complaints are sufficiently vigorous that I would guess he is not likely to vanish from politics.

His complaints about the institution centered on both the performance of its older members and on the performance of the Caucus over the Bolling report. "Nobody came here with fewer illusions than I did--but I am constantly disillusioned and appalled by the performance of the institution. What a place this is!" At one point he ticked off the difficulties with a number of the chairmen--Mayhew didn't understand the point of the debate on the Vietnam portion of the defense bill, Teague as chairman of the Caucus made the wrong ruling on the Bolling committee report. He complained that the Caucus voted to deal with the Bolling Report by a secret ballot. He complained that the Caucus, in general, did not make its record votes public. He said that he went home every weekend and criticized Congress. "I go home and lambast the Congress in my district. Then I come home on Monday, come back to the House on Monday and Tip O'Neill comes over and puts his big paw on me and says 'Well, what did you say about us this time, spineless are we?' I criticize the things he likes the most, but still he likes me. I don't know why. I remember when I voted with the Republicans--I was one of 13 or 14 Democrats--on the matter of minority staffing. Tip

thought he was going to lose the vote. There was the Speaker with his gavel poised in the air about to close the vote, waiting for somebody to change his mind. Tip came up to me and grabbed me in a bear hug and started hustling me down the aisle. I need a vote he said. I know, I said. But the Republicans are right. I don't care about that. I've got to have a vote he said as he hugged me and moved me further down the aisle. But I represent Cape Cod I said to him. I don't care who you represent, I need a vote and he pushed me further down the aisle. Just then the Speaker's gavel fell and the vote was over. As it turned out, Tip had been wrong and he had won by one vote, so they didn't need me. Afterward Joe Waggoner came up to me and said, I don't agree with most of the things you believe in, but I respect you for what you did. And, you know, I gained some points that day. I don't know why Tip still likes me but he does. Tip and Jimmy Burke say Studds votes with Drinan and Harrington but he's different."

With respect to Jimmy Burke he did lots of funny interpretations of him and said that they were total opposites and yet they were "just like that". "I think he sees in me what he was when he first started in politics. When Tip O'Neill was Speaker of the Massachusetts House, they tell me he had to work hard to keep Jimmy in line because he was such a fire brand." He talked about how "Jimmy's idea of the best electorate is an uninformed electorate." He said that whenever Jimmy is asked to explain his votes on the issues, he always says that the

unrecorded votes are much more important. He talks about Jimmy's effort to distribute free seeds to people in order to deal with the food shortage. He talked about Jimmy's scheme to put Social Security under general revenue and when you ask him how he's going to pay for it he says "We'll tax the fat cats". He spoke of Jimmy as the last and the best of his type of politician in Massachusetts.

As we left the restaurant, he asked me whether I had thought he was going to win during the campaign. I said yes, I had because the re-districting helped and because he was working very hard. He said, "If I had had \$300,000 to spend, I would have beaten me." He still thinks of Weeks as his most formidable candidate this time around, and he and Bob seemed quite pleased that the rumor had it that Weeks was going to be in Europe for the next month--which would take it just about past the filing date.

One of the things he said when he was talking about the burdens of the job was that he had decided to cut down on his activities. "In Washington we have just cut it all out--all the evening affairs--cut them out. Last week the Massachusetts Chamber of Commerce came to town and the whole delegation went down to dinner with them. But I said no, if they want to see me, they can come around to the office. We're beginning to do the same thing in the district. Two weeks ago, I had two open meetings on the South Shore and they had scheduled me at a Union meeting way over in New Bedford. I said, cancel it. My staff said, what? You've got to go to that meeting. I said cancel it, I'm

going to stay on the South Shore for the evening. It's taken us exactly a year and a half to get to that point."

Another thing he said in connection with his weariness with the job was "In all the retirements that have been announced this year, you've noticed the one common theme haven't you? They say it's just not as much fun here anymore. The pressures are just too great. It's not the lark it used to be--although for a lot of them it still is a lark."

Toward the end of dinner he asked me to remind him sometime to talk about the people that he had come to respect while he was here. He mentioned two particularly. One was Bob Giaimo. He said Giaimo had come as a kind of, or at least had the reputation of being a kind of a machine politician, but he had led the fight on the anti-war movement. Another one he mentioned was Bill Green. He admired Green for the same reasons that he admired Giaimo. Green had also come out of a machine background in Philadelphia and yet on the anti-war powers bill veto, Green was one of those Liberals who voted to sustain the veto on the grounds that the bill gave the President 30 days of power that he did not have under the existing situation. "That shows you how far he had come and where he was at and how smart he was on that vote." He likes to gossip about personalities. He was very curious about Barbara Jordan. "She's as hard as nails. And she gets along with everybody--even Wayne Hayes. I don't know how she does it. But she got up on the

Floor and praised Wayne Hayes--I thought that was a little bit too much. A couple of times she has spoken on the Floor and held everybody spell-bound, very emotional. Where do you suppose she got that manner of speaking? It's almost Oxbridge! She has a big reputation in the House already, that was the gist of his comments.

I'd like to add to his comments about how he thinks Weeks should have beaten him--in there somewhere he said "If I were a goodlooking guy and had \$300,000 and was running in a district that was carried by Richard Nixon--you know ours was the only district in Massachusetts that Nixon carried. He carried it, he carried it by 8,000 votes--I certainly would have beaten me."

Gerry Studds - May 7, 1974

I began the interview which we held in the Members Dining Room in the Capitol by putting question 1 to him in this fashion: "Obviously at the time you were elected you had one of the toughest districts in the country to win and to hold onto. Looking back on it, what do you think of as the most important things you have done since the day you were elected, to help you hold onto the district."

"You have to differentiate the political from the substantive. To the extent that you do the job well, you get helped politically. Having three offices in the district met both criteria--because of the distance people felt from the government. Hasty had had only one district

office, though he put up another token office when he was criticized in his primary against Weeks. I decided to have half my staff there in the district, whereas Hasty had only had two people there and all the rest in Washington. Some people criticized this, because they felt that Parkinson's Law would set in--that the more people you had there the more cases you would generate for yourself. We handled 8,000 cases in our first year--even though we didn't get fully organized until May and even with people not knowing we were there. You do get some crazies, but most of the requests are legitimate--Social Security, veterans' problems and so forth. I could put sixteen people there and still not cope with the load. I wanted to have the district people ride circuit but they can't do it--they're just too swamped with work in the offices. If you service 8,000 people, it can't help but benefit you politically. Even where we aren't able to help, people appreciate being able to talk with someone and knowing that someone tried. These top flight people in the district give us a presence. They are me. This was a campaign promise that we had made, feeling that people did have a great sense of distance between themselves and their government. We have also put in a district AA--unheard of as far as I know. He circuit rides the three offices and does a lot of work dealing with federal grants from all over the district. Organizationally he is subordinate to Bob, but he has the leeway to do almost anything he wants."

"The second thing was a concept that I developed after we were elected--the idea of open meetings. In every town. These are the most

extraordinary things we have ever done. We do two rounds in a year. One in each town except on Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket for a total of 41 in each round or 82 a year. These meetings are preceded by mailings to postal patrons telling them when we are going to be there and where. We are just completing round 3 and we're going to start round 4. I take my local district office staff with me so they can take care of any problems that come up. The meetings range in size from 4 to 300. On the island of Nantucket, we had 200 people! The proportion is higher in the small towns. But we hold one in New Bedford with a population of 100,000 and one in Truro with a population of 700. The concept is that we are in everyone's town. We have given the impression of being all the Christ over the place. It's backbreaking but it is the impression of being accessible. People think we must have a magic carpet."

"The third thing is our newsletters--although we are behind in them now. We sent out one newsletter-questionnaire--which also asked for money to continue the newsletters. It came out at a very emotional time, we got 34,000 responses and we raised almost \$10,000 in one and two dollar contributions. Then we set up a constituent services committee for the district. We wrote a Charter for it and had five trustees--a Republican banker from Cohasset, a Republican from Orleans, a Saltonstal, a labor leader and a lady from Hingham. We have published a complete list of our contributors and made it available to everyone--though the only person that has asked to see it is a reporter from Iowa. All the checks have to be signed by the banker from Cohasset. I cannot touch the money.

We have announced what every penny of it has been spent for--for printing the newsletters and for some printing of the postal patrons letters. We have said the money is to be used for anything that facilitates communication between the Congressman and the district. We have said that no funds are to be spent within 60 days of an election in order to take the politics out of it. We have said that whatever is left in the fund shall be continued over and used by the next person to hold the office. We were criticized by only one paper, the New Bedford Standard Times. All the other papers have praised us. Nobody's attacked us on it. Maybe my opponent will scream about it, but it couldn't be more open. Without it we could not have sent the newsletters. We'd like to send out another questionnaire and then a newsletter with the results of the questionnaire. That would mean six newsletters and four postal patron letters going into every home in the district in the two-year period. Each mailing costs us \$2500 each, because they can be franked and we do not have to pay the postage. I remember the agony I had raising \$12,000 to make one mailing before I was the incumbent." He said he wants this kind of franking privilege extended to the non-incumbent. He also says that it is now illegal to ask for money in his newsletters as they had done the first time. He said however that his constituent service committee can raise money on its own. Rich Norling told me later that in Connecticut this committee would be illegal. But it looks as though he has managed, by his total openness on the matter, to turn something that is potentially pretty seamy into almost a good government measure.

"We also send out a weekly report. Every Friday we send about a two-page report of what is happening to every radio station and newspaper in the district. Some print it entirely and some in parts. We send out tapes to the radio stations. We probably put out more press releases and radio beepers than our predecessor. We have done everything we could to keep my name before the public. We have explained every difficult vote. Anyone who gives a twit about how I vote has the opportunity to know it. We have explained our votes on all the toughies. We have asked every paper to print my voting record. Contrary to people who say "Send out all the newsletters but don't tell people how you vote" and who would be happy as clams if no one knew how they voted, we have done everything we can to let people make up their own minds. I don't know what else we could do to let people know everything we have done.

Then he added that he had 99.9% attendance record on votes while at the same time he was at home one-third of the time.

I asked him about his committees. "They were wisely chosen. More wisely chosen than we knew at the time. Merchant Marine and Fisheries is tailor made for our district. It has the Coast Guard, oceanography--Woods Hole, the environment--NEEPA is under us, Merchant Marine--the Merchant Marine installation at New Bedford. Fishing is the great industry of the district and we have turned the fishing industry completely around. They opposed us in the last two years and now they support us completely. We have a major bill with our name on it in the first term--

~~which is a great forum~~ the Studds-Magnuson bill. It has given us a great forum in which to talk about the fishing industry. We are ^{championing} ~~changing the~~ industry of the district. There may not be that many people employed in fishing, but psychologically it is the industry of the district.

I went to talk to a group of senior citizens in Weymouth, and the first question they asked me is "What are you doing about the fishing industry?"

Only ~~seventeen~~ ^{not} of my 46 towns are on the seashore, ~~yet~~ ^{(they are all in-} ~~tensely interested in the fishing industry.~~ For hundreds of years this

has been the major industry of the district. They have all read Mobey Dick, ^{psychologically} and they are all fishermen." (Every time meely he went to, he began "Why aren't you fishing?")

"The Public Works Committee, again, is tailor made for our district.

It has transportation--which gives us our other forum for yelling and screaming about mass transportation for the district. It has also water pollution, the economic development administration and federal buildings--which may not be much now but might be bigger later on."

He summed up by saying "Politically, we have pulled the teeth of Weeks' biggest argument in the last campaign. You'll remember he said, We have 434 representatives; let's have one representative from this district."

He then started talking about the election this year in terms of issues, and the one he brought up first was abortion. "Obviously that is the hottest issue. He said that a state representative in Weymouth, which is overwhelmingly Catholic, took a poll and found that 53% of the people were against the Hogan Amendment and in favor of the Supreme Court decision.

He said the representative was "shocked, because he had been demagoguing the issue all over his district." "People are writing me saying that we supported you before but now all of our family will have to vote against you." He said he's getting petitions in favor of Right to Life. He is supporting the Supreme Court decision and he's concerned about these voters. "They are single issue voters and most of them are Democrats. They are very nasty and there will be a net loss for me there. A hefty majority of Democrats in the district are Catholic. I may even get a primary opponent. The worst primary opponent I could have would be a 'yelling, screaming Right to Life--at least in terms of nastiness.'"

He talked about his opponent and he said his opponent will use all the social issues against him--busing, abortion, school prayer, capital punishment, "I voted against military procurement; he would probably say Studds is against any national defense." He said the newspapers were billing the entire contest as "a classic confrontation between a Conservative and a Liberal." When I pushed him on that, on whether he accepted the label of Liberal, he said that he was very annoyed by labels. I kept pushing him to see whether the liberal label annoyed him and he said, "The best label in that district would be moderate. The liberal label upsets the Democrats more than it does the Republicans. But I'm annoyed by all these labels. I hate them." My attitude is "cut the shit and tell me what votes you like and what votes you don't like and why."

He said his opponent was talking as if he had a lot of money but "he's not off the ground so far as we can tell. You can't rally the troops in the absence of a real threat."

I reminded him that he had talked about the four different segments of the district and he said, yes, there were these four differences and he noted that they had three of the four covered in the district offices. He also noted that they didn't have enough money for a fourth. "I could make some more sophisticated breakdowns than just the four parts of the district. Provincetown has nothing in common with Barnstable. On the South Shore some of the towns we carried--like Hanover, Kingston, Pembroke, and Rockland--are different from the ones we get clobbered in like Duxbury, Cohasset and Hingham. Some of the South Shore towns are a lot more like Weymouth than others--towns like Scituate and Rockland, who are getting the spill-over from Moakley's district." "Every day good hereditary Democrats are moving into our District--spilling out of Moakley's district, into places like Scituate. That's what makes busing potentially such an explosive issue. That's what they think they're getting away from when they move out of south Boston onto the South Shore. The Cape too, is increasingly filled with retired people who have an Irish brogue. They are joining the Democratic party, going to meetings, and talking to each other."

The swing area is the South Shore. New Bedford and Cape Cod balance each other. Weeks was the archetypical South Shore candidate. He was a very popular State Senator from that area. I don't see how they could make

a stronger appeal than that to the South Shore. I ought to be able to pick up a good many votes from respectable, moderate Republican voters who will find Makay a bit much. I think we will also make inroads into the Cape. That was Weeks' classic error--putting too much time into New Bedford and not enough time on the Cape. I think he had reversed the emphasis, he would have won. I think we've stolen the horse on the Cape. We have gotten superb coverage out there. We get a lot of letters from people who say they disagree with us but who respect our honesty and independence. We still get one-half of our mail from the Cape, and it only makes up 20% of the district."

He added this comment about New Bedford, too, indicating he thought he would also do better in New Bedford next time. "The Democratic pol/~~is~~ in New Bedford never did support us. They have been stunned to find out how little Hasty Keith did when he was in Congress. He was supposed to be god-damn Mr. Fish, Mr. Environment, Mr. Ocean. And he did nothing--absolutely nothing. We couldn't tell how little he had done until we got down here and found out."

"Most members have their AA's run their campaign. This is patently illegal. Betsey is our campaign manager. We have four paid people so far. We are renting a car for \$200 a month for Betsey. We are opening a headquarters. We are \$20,000 in the hole already. It's unheard of for an incumbent to spend more than \$50,000. We'll spend between \$80,000, which is our mini-budget and over \$100,000 which is

our maxi-budget." The point of this the election.

After he had finished analyzing the various areas of his strength, he said, "The trouble with this kind of talk is it makes you over-confident."

I asked him the question about his very strongest supporters and he answered, "Do you mean supporters or workers?" Then he answered. "When we began, we had the true believers working their hearts out. It was just like a family. But the more you gain voters, and the more you broaden your constituency, the family is hurt. Our true believers keep asking me, "Why don't you drink with us?" "Why don't you talk to me personally any-more?" The people who were with us in January of 1971--I have to keep talking to them about the need to build a larger majority. I have to keep telling them that politics is not exclusive; it is inclusive. It is not something that can be done in the livingroom."

He then went on to talk about other groups of supporters. "We get emotional support from the senior citizens in New Bedford." "The fishing establishment is with us now--and they will give \$50 or so occasionally." "Those folks who agree with us philosophically are an emotional core of strength. We get many supportive letters, saying "You don't me, but I believe in what you're doing." "The unions--such as they are in our district--are strong supporters."

"I would like to get away without a campaign as such. We will continue our open meetings. But people have plenty of information and I'd like to tell them it is now up to you to make up your minds. Is this the kind of representation you want? If it's not the kind of representation

you want, so be it. I have plenty of job offers from other members of Congress. We will debate our opponent, because we made a big thing of that in our last campaign." His point was that he really didn't want to do anymore than continue the open meetings. We then talked at some length about the ability of an incumbent to tie up the other person in debate because the incumbent can always ^{cite} "situational circumstances and can always put any given vote in a certain set of circumstances that the challenger is ignorant of. In this connection, Gerry quoted Jimmy Burke's classic comment whenever he is asked about a vote that he doesn't remember. Burke thinks for a while and then says, "Oh! You're talking about a record vote! Ohh, those aren't the really important votes at all. The important votes are the ones that come before the record vote." And this is enough to throw the challenger off.

I asked him about his vote in support of Vice President Ford. "The Ford vote was a very good political vote. It may have been a water shed vote for people who thought I was a crazy. It is considered a responsible vote. I think it was the right vote. People should have a say on this particular question. The questionnaire was overwhelming in showing that people make the distinction between the feeling about Nixon and the feeling about Ford. It offended some of the extreme believers. But I disassociated myself from the crazies in Massachusetts."

He continued this train of thought by talking about the difference between himself, Drinan and Harrington. "Unlike Drinan and Harrington,

I have never reverted to personality politics." He discussed, in that connection, Harrington's silly attack on Silvio Conte on the Floor the day before.

"My relations on the Public Works Committee, in spite of my position on mass transit, are personally fine. No matter how much I call them insane and unjustified in their protection of the highway fund, Blatnik, Bob Jones, and Jim Wright think I'm one of the troops. They make allowances for the fact that I'm from Massachusetts. You can play it that way. That's the way Tip O'Neill got away with his anti-war position with the rest of the party. He would say I have to do this, I'm from Cambridge. So, the fact that I'm from Massachusetts makes me an allowable exception in the club. It's a lot tougher with John Dingell. That's not my fault. Nobody likes him. Still, up to the time of the Bolling Committee, I was okay."

When he was faced with a choice on the Floor yesterday between a bill coming out of the Merchant Marine Committee and a bill coming out of the Public Works Committee--in a position where he was a member of both, he went with the Public Works Committee bill. "On the merits of the thing, you could have gone either way. But my bread was buttered on Public Works. I'm already fifth from the bottom on that committee and several above me will be retiring me. If I'm reelected, I will be within striking distance of a subcommittee chairmanship. Jimmy Burke laughs and points his finger at me and asks me if I'm still upset with the seniority rule."

"I'm so far out in front criticizing the Congress that the Republicans can't have the Republican issue against me. They can't get

in front of me in criticizing a Democratic Congress. I say the House of Representatives is not representative. I even criticize the Congress in Jimmy Burke's district. It bothers Tip terribly that I criticize the Congress. But I tell Jimmy Burke, "I'm just talking about the fat cats." My relationship with Jimmy Burke is incredible. He has adopted me. He counseled me for about twenty minutes every day. Some of his advice is good, and some of it is irrelevant--coming from another century, another world. You have to walk a very thin line. But Jimmy is why I got my Committee assignments." He went on to say that he had met Tip O'Neill first and Tip had introduced him to Jimmy Burke prior to the time he came to Congress. (There is one sentence in this quotation that I cannot decipher and therefore I've left it out.) "We are finally learning to say no to requests from the district. This weekend I turned down one-half an hour on WEEI in Boston. A year ago we would no more have done that--it would have been unthinkable. But this is a Washington weekend, God damn it. Last week I refused to be the advocate on the "The Advocates," program, because they insisted I be there at a certain time. I expected several votes would come up here--and they did, five votes."

"When I'm at home, the staff has pretty wide latitude in scheduling my activities. But a couple of weeks ago, they scheduled me for an evening labor meeting in Quincy. I had had four town meetings on the Cape that day and they wanted me to drive all the way to Quincy for Christ's sake. I told them, "Cancel it." They said, "We can't". I said, "I'm going to rest this evening. Cancel it." You create a pattern of expectation. For

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four years, we took every opportunity everywhere to meet "two more voters"-- sixteen hours a day. And my district staff still thinks in those terms. Marty feels the day has been ruined if she leaves fifteen minutes unscheduled. She still wants me to drop in on the fire house between formal scheduled events or tour three more Portuguese dances. We used to go to six dances in one evening, 300 people each, and shake hands with all of them. She will say to me, "You've never missed the Dartmouth Policeman's Ball." I'll say, "Stop it. We're going to miss the Dartmouth Policeman's Ball." I don't have to have every minute scheduled anymore. It's hard for them to change."

"As far as I'm concerned, I can continue the open meetings-- forty-two a year indefinitely. And that's all I'd like to do. What more can people ask than that you appear personally in their town. I might ask them on my questionnaire whether they want to combine meetings of several towns. But each one probably wants you to come to their own town personally. Except on Martha's Vineyard. There, we combine six towns in one meeting. But we take the seaplane every year to Cuttyhunk, where there are 83 voters. It's part of the image. I just paid the seaplane bill the other day--\$54."

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 Jim

says Ferris. Don and Gerry said they knew a lot of the things to 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.