

By being the state party chair I obviously was a delegate to all of the national conventions, and other state conventions, and I did, started to do a lot of traveling around the country because I was helping other chairs in their states organize, and actually Massachusetts is, is a great state in terms of organization, Democratic party is very strong, we've always had a good structure. It's gotten larger and larger and larger, which makes it a little, little more difficult, but it's been a solid, has a solid base. So I did a lot of traveling around.

I was a superdelegate so, so I would be invited to all the parties, and get to know other people, and by doing that, that's when I became elected to be the President of all the chairs in the country. I had an office at the DNC, and so part of my job was to go around the country to talk to other chairs, to have regional meetings, and to help the national candidates. So that was pretty exciting.

There are some delegates that are called superdelegates and, and part of the reason that they decided to carve out this category of superdelegates was because they didn't, it was very uncomfortable for me, as the party chair, to be running against a rank and file, hardworking Democrat, who maybe had never been to a convention. And it was almost, I almost didn't want to do it, yet I knew I should be there, to lead my delegation, to you know, sort of work with other delegations to do things. But the, the relationship between the regular state committee members and people who wanted to be delegates to the convention would have been really splintered and if, if all of the, and there are several superdelegates, would have been running against them so.

A commission was put together to figure out how to fix it. And as often happens, sometimes how to fix it is to have more. And that's how some of our conventions have become larger and larger and some people think a little more unwieldy, and, but it's sort of an exercise in democracy, and it's not just important to the people who "think they're important," sitting around in some beautiful hotel in some great city making decisions of who's going to be the candidates. It's rank and file Democrats who are chosen all over the state and are chosen then at a central caucus and then are able to go to the convention.

Well I, I was on several site selection committees and it's a really difficult, really difficult, first of all the city has to want to be chosen to be the site of

the convention. And that means that they're going to have to put up with a lot of traffic, it's going to cost money, I think in the end although it does cost money I think in the end, the number of people that they bring probably offsets in terms of economics the amount of money that has to be spent by the city, and the state. And, but it is an enormous amount of work. And so we, I had gone to, I would say probably ten different cities from New Orleans to San Francisco to Los Angeles to Chicago to almost, to New York, to almost all the cities that eventually had either been candidates, and if they weren't chosen that year, very often they were put in a queue and chosen the following year or the year after that. And I think also with the site selection committees what happened would be, we were able to give the city information about what they needed to do. How much it would cost, what the parameters of their responsibilities would be, which are a lot. The city has a lot of responsibilities, and the party in that state have a lot of responsibilities by having the convention there. So, they are the hosts for the world, really, because the world's eyes are on the national convention. So wherever you go, you know I recall in Los Angeles there was a little sort of a mini-convention in the parking lot and I, I think Common Cause had a mini-convention in the parking lot, and it was, you know it was sort of a protest but when we talked to the people that were organizing it, saying, you know, we want to include you, we want you to be part of our selection. They were angry about something at the time, I'm not quite sure what it was, but choosing a city, it, first of all takes about three years. Getting them queued up takes probably about five or six or seven years, so they apply, they know they want to do it, they have to, they're informed about the hotel space, about the cost of the hotel space, about transportation needs, about an arena, about you know the convention center, where will it be. And I think, you know, police protection, fire, all of those things, protection for the candidates, you know, the Secret Service are going to be there. All of those things have to be taken into consideration. Some cities actually after the first go-around, will drop out. They would say we just cannot do that, maybe in three years we can do it, maybe, but we didn't realize the extent of what's required of us. And, you know it's nice to go to a city where there's something really exciting happening, or where there's, you know, like they'll take you to a baseball game. I remember going to the convention in Chicago and going to see a Chicago Cubs game, and that was pretty exciting because you hear all about the stadium and the ivy on the walls and everything, and it was really fun. And so, and I think for people all over the country, it's pretty interesting and exciting and fun for them to go to cities that they would never have an opportunity to go to. But again, it's a

huge commitment on the part of the city, and a lot of hard work for a couple of years, and then after, I mean I can't even imagine. We leave, and I can't even imagine the cleanup, I don't know what happens after.

It was a vote of the committee but it, it was also took a lot of conversations with the cities and what we tried to do was to make the cities understand why, number one, they might not be ready that year. But that they could be ready the following four years or the following eight years that they would be in contention, and that this city that we're choosing was just at this moment was the one city that could take on this responsibility now. So I think that, we hopefully left the cities with expectations and anticipation about getting ready to perhaps do a convention.

Well I have a, such a different relationship with Ted Kennedy because I've, I've been in politics in Massachusetts for so long. And he was always the, the person that we knew we could go to for almost anything in the Senate. And he was also a very interesting man, there are a lot of things about him that were very personal, with other politicians and elected people. You know you hear stories about his relationships within the Senate, and with Ronald Reagan, and people like that. His relationships with us, with I'll say me, were exactly, was exactly like that, his relationship was exactly like that. He would call, and you'd pick up the phone, "Hi Joan It's Ted," and just to say, I don't know, if something bad happened in your family, he would be the first one to call, and if something really good happened he would also, "Congratulations," you did this, you did that. If he introduced me to anyone, it would always be, "the best party chair in the world," you know? He was, he was larger than life, and so, I mean for me that personal connection, I had to be a Kennedy delegate. And I had met Jimmy Carter. I think the first convention I went to was in Kansas City, and I, I'm trying to think when it was. I think it was probably in '76, and I met him, and you know, he's a very nice man, but you know, he just wasn't Ted Kennedy. So uh.

The speech, I mean that speech has lived on and all the years after that speech, when you bring up, when you say that, the dreams will never die, the dream will never die, all I can think of 25 times that I heard him say that, and 25, and 2500 times that I think about him and that, that speech. It was just amazing, I don't know if anyone has read his memoirs, but in that, in that book I thought it was the most amazing autobiography I've ever read. It

was, he talked about writing that speech, and he wrote a lot of his own speeches. But he just had that emotion, and he was a very talented writer.

It was very exciting, I was in the legislature at the time, and I actually spent some time campaigning for him. I went out to Iowa, and did some of the caucuses in Iowa and it's pretty, that's quite the experience.

*Off Camera: Do you want to describe that?*

Yeah, it is, it's like, you know, I went out, and someone met me at the airport in, took me in and so they scheduled me to talk to these caucuses, and now everything in Iowa is a caucus. So, everybody in Iowa that is part of the Democratic Party that is going to be a part of this caucus meets everyone. They meet Kitty, they meet Michael's mother, sister, brother, they meet everybody. Oh yes I had lunch yesterday with, with Kitty, or yes, oh yes I met Kitty's father, yes, oh yes, a very nice man. And so it's very, it's very strange because it's, everyone gets to meet every candidate. And, it's almost like going into everybody's living room. I, when I went I did a lot of labor stuff, and so, but I was there with the, you know, the President of AFL-CIO, and oh yes, we saw, met the President of the AFL-CIO yesterday, and I felt like, my gosh, what am I doing here? But, I did a lot of stuff with education people and a lot of stuff with women and, it's a very, very interesting experience. Very different, because it's not a primary, it's a caucus, there is no primary, it's just a caucus, and that makes it sort of everybody's living room becomes more and more important. That's where people are meeting, they're meeting in the, in people's living rooms. You invite 10 people and you say I'd like you to go to our caucus in, whatever city we live in, and come to that caucus, and I need you to vote for Michael Dukakis. And so he did a great job, I was thinking about the Los Angeles convention later, and Michael was doing some seminars for people, and they asked him, "oh, Mr. Dukakis, what can you tell us, what, what characteristics, what would make someone get elected to be President?" He said "if I knew that I'd be President." So, it, he was a hard worker.

Yeah that's exactly what it is now, it's sort of a beginning of the general election and it's a media event really. I've had the opportunity to speak at the Los Angeles convention, I had some other, it's very scripted, everything is you can't, nobody walks up on the stage, nobody goes here. You have to practice ten times, you know, you have to have everything, everything is

done appropriately, for national event, and you're right, they don't obviously want anything to get messed up. so it's very carefully planned.

I spent a little time at their home on several occasions. They're very spontaneous, and the truth is, she does have a drumset in the living room. She did, in the Vice President's house, and he would, if there were maybe 20 people there, he would be on the, on the stairs, and he would be giving, you know, welcome to my home, and blah blah blah, and there's Tipper's drumset right there. He's, they're very relaxed, informal, and even though they're, they're always on message, they know what to do, they still have that comfort, they're very comfortable with the media and with themselves.

I'll start with elected office on a local level. Money has become too important and it's become very difficult, if you can't raise money you can't run. So, you have people running perhaps for mayor of small cities or selectmen or state reps, state senators. I would say the first year I ran for the state Senate, a quarter of a million dollars, \$250,000 was probably what I raised and I probably didn't spend it all, but I, but I knew I had to do that. Now that's to represent about a 160,000 people, so there are 40 of me all over the state that are worried about raising at least a couple hundred thousand dollars. Now some people cannot do that, and they have a difficult time with that. If they are running in a race and their opponent can raise 250, 300,000 dollars they're at a very, very big disadvantage. Media is very expensive, when I say the first time I ran for state rep I went to every single door, I probably spent that year, if I had \$3,000, \$4,000 that was a lot. But very often people don't have the stamina or the volunteers to help them, I always had somebody with me, and they, or they just can't do that, and they have a job, they have a job that maybe they work to 5 or 6 o'clock at night, and they have a family, and they can't be on the road all the time. So money even for the smaller races has become very difficult. Now once you get into the national races it's totally obscene, it's just, I'm looking now at the U. S. Senate race in Massachusetts, and looking at the millions and millions of dollars that are coming and I still can't believe the Supreme Court said a corporation is like an individual because there's an endless source of money from people who have an agenda. And I understand that when people give me \$25 to run for a state rep seat they have an agenda also. They have things that they want me to support, but on the other hand now that you're getting into unlimited money, you're going to have maybe ten people in the whole country controlling elections. I think something has to change, I think it, I don't know how to go back on that, to revisit that, that

decision. But I think it has to be revisited and somehow there have to be some limits. I know that, that when I could only take \$500 from an individual, sometimes I would chafe at that and say, gee, you know, they could give me \$2,000 dollars. But looking back, in retrospect looking at it it's probably the right thing to do and probably the right way to do it. To limit in some way, not, not five dollars or a dollar or something stupid, but the reality is you have to spend money to win an election. You have to buy print, you have to buy radio, you have to buy TV, you have to buy all that stuff. You have to buy people to help you, you have to buy media experts, but to have to raise 3 or 4 million dollars to run a U. S. Senate campaign in one state, I think is just, just crazy. A congressional campaign, my congressional district, they will probably raise 3 or 4 million dollars in that congressional district. And I just think that it puts, it puts the ability for people to run for this office out of almost everyone's, you know, some people can raise money because they know a lot of wealthy people, but I like it when there's some kind of a limit.