Joe Moakley's colleagues applaud as President George W. Bush pays tribute to him during an address to a joint session of Congress in February 2001 after Moakley had announced his retirement.

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CELEBRATING A LIFE OF SERVICE,
A LEGACY OF LEADERSHIP
“Government is doing the best for the most, and that’s what I try to do.”

– Joe Moakley
Joe Moakley was the rare politician who could fight for his principles while showing respect and trust to those who disagreed with him. He never balked at reaching across party lines to work toward the common good.

He always remembered that he was in politics to serve the people back home and firmly believed that government should be a force for good in the lives of citizens and their communities.

Moakley comported himself with dignity and honor, grace and good humor, always exemplifying the ideal that public service is a noble and worthwhile calling.

The nation benefited from Joe Moakley's leadership while he was alive, and it can learn from his life now that he is gone. The mission of the John Joseph Moakley Archive and Institute is to examine history while carrying on this remarkable man's legacy.
The John Joseph Moakley Archive and Institute celebrates the life and legacy of Joe Moakley, the longtime U.S. representative for the Ninth Congressional District of Massachusetts and a Suffolk University alumnus. The Moakley Archive and Institute was established through the congressman’s 2001 gift of his personal papers to Suffolk University and with the support of grants from the U.S. Department of Education in 2002 and 2003. The mission of the Archive and Institute is to preserve and record the history of Congressman Moakley’s life and to foster his legacy of service and leadership.

“Joe Moakley is the epitome of a Suffolk University graduate – from humble beginnings, he rose to great heights in his chosen calling. But even when he was one of the most powerful politicians in the nation, he never forgot where he came from. I believe no other politician, mayor, senator, or congressman has had a more pronounced impact on the average citizens of the city of Boston in our history than Joe Moakley.”

– David J. Sargent, President, Suffolk University

When Congressman John Joseph Moakley was serving in the U.S. House of Representatives, he spent most of the week in Washington, D.C., but on weekends he returned to his lifelong home in South Boston. His Sunday routine involved breakfast at the Galley Diner, a stop to pick up the day’s papers, then a short drive over to Castle Island, a park that juts out into Boston Harbor.

There he sat, one of the nation’s most influential and powerful politicians, reading the newspapers and chatting with constituents who knew they were welcome to drop by for a quick hello or to ask about a job or an electric bill. More than anything, this easy and friendly accessibility defined Joe Moakley – and he was always just “Joe” to everyone he met. Even as he evolved from a politician concerned with local issues to a statesman influencing events on the world stage, Moakley never forgot that he was a public servant. Listening and helping people in need wasn’t his obligation; it was his calling.

Moakley’s life of service started at a young age. He was born in 1927 and raised in “Southie” during the Depression. He bluffed his way into the Navy at age 15 and served as a Seabee during World War II. After the war, he completed high school and took advantage of the GI Bill to attend the University of Miami and, eventually, to enroll at Suffolk University Law School.

In 1950, he began two lifelong passions – a romance with Evelyn Duffy and a career in public service. His friends urged him to run for public office “as someone who represents us.” He lost a bid for the Massachusetts House in 1950 but ran again two years later – and won. He worked during the day as a legislator and attended law classes at night, earning his law degree in 1956. In 1957 he married Evelyn, who hailed from Cambridge, Mass. While she did not share his fascination with politics, she supported his political career and was seen by Moakley’s colleagues as the strong but quiet presence that grounded him.
“Joe was happiest when his phone was ringing or somebody was looking for something... He’d get on the phone himself when somebody would call him with a problem. Where most politicians are trying to duck it, he’d want to get on and talk to the people and say: ‘Look, I’ll find out about it. I’ll get it done.’ He loved helping people.”

— Robert Moakley, brother
Oral History Project interview, 2003

Moakley served as a state representative from 1953 to 1960. He spent several years in private legal practice after losing a bid to move up to the Massachusetts Senate. Moakley ran successfully, serving in the Senate from 1965 until 1970. Some of the major themes of his career began to emerge during these years, such as his support for affordable housing and the commitment to constituent service, the environment, and historic preservation.

In 1970, Moakley ran for the U.S. congressional seat opening up due to the retirement of longtime Speaker of the House John McCormack of South Boston. In a crowded field, Moakley lost in the Democratic primary to Louise Day Hicks, who was nationally known for her opposition to court-ordered busing. Undeterred, Moakley jumped into the race for city councilor, won with the highest vote total in the city’s history, and bided his time.

In 1972, Moakley again ran for the congressional seat, outmaneuvering the incumbent by running as an independent. Hicks faced a bruising primary against multiple opponents before Moakley easily defeated her in the general election. He would serve as the representative for the Ninth District for the next twenty-nine years.

Once in Washington, Moakley returned to the Democratic fold, and Speaker of the House Thomas P. “Tip” O’Neill took the rookie congressman under his wing. With O'Neill's support and his own astute political sense, Moakley gained stature and influence on the House Personnel Committee and on the House Rules Committee. Moakley assembled dedicated teams in his district and in Washington, D.C., and he readily acknowledged that his accomplishments as a congressman depended heavily on their support.

The Rules Committee, sometimes described as the “traffic cop” of Congress, controls how and when legislation reaches the House floor for debate. When Moakley became its chairman in 1989 he said that being the chairman didn’t give him the power to say “no,” it gave him the opportunity to say “yes.”

“Serving in Congress is like living in the neighborhood. You can’t impress your neighbor unless he’s got some faith in you. You’ve got to build relationships. You’ve got to let people know you. You’ve got to do a lot of listening, and you’ve got to realize that nobody has a monopoly on new ideas.”

— Joe Moakley
Oral History Project interview, 2001
“You look at Boston, at the skyline, the courthouse, Boston Harbor – that’s Joe Moakley... I can take you on a tour of Worcester and show you Joe Moakley in Worcester. I could take you to show you Joe Moakley in Springfield and Joe Moakley in Fall River... in Lowell and Lawrence. So much of what is positive in this state, so much of government investment, is because of Joe Moakley.”

Oral History Project interview, 2003

The federal courthouse on Fan Pier in Boston is named after Joe Moakley – a fitting honor, not only because of Moakley’s commitment to justice, but also because the courthouse would not be there, part of a thriving neighborhood, without his efforts.

The Boston Waterfront

Boston Harbor, once a major center of marine commerce, became obsolete and dilapidated over time. But over the past twenty years the components of the waterfront’s bright future have come together like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle – and Joe Moakley’s hand guided their assembly. Moakley pushed for the federal government’s purchase of Fan Pier as the new location for a courthouse. He worked with state and city officials to provide critical infrastructure improvements. New businesses, residences, and cultural organizations now make their homes on the waterfront, bringing to fruition the revitalization started by Moakley.

Boston Harbor Cleanup

Before the 1990s, Boston Harbor was so polluted that it was a national disgrace. Now clean waters have resulted in an economic boom for commercial shellfishing, tourism, and recreation. Behind this transformation is a twenty-year, $20 billion restoration made possible by Moakley and members of the Massachusetts congressional delegation.

The “Big Dig” and the Third Harbor Tunnel

The largest public works project in U.S. history was the replacement of downtown Boston’s elevated highway with a tunnel. The ambitious “Big Dig” project opened up acres of land for development, reconnected the waterfront to the rest of the city, and served as another example of Joe Moakley’s ability to gain support for Massachusetts and his district.

Economic Development

Moakley firmly believed that ensuring the economic prosperity of Massachusetts was a major responsibility for elected officials. Throughout his career, he was a booster for Massachusetts businesses – whether handing out Gillette razors or introducing legislation to protect the local footwear industry.

Preserving History: Commitment to Boston Harbor

The roots of Moakley’s stewardship of Boston Harbor can be traced through documents that date from his early political career in the 1950s. His successful opposition to using the islands as a site for the 1976 World’s Fair and to legislation that transferred ownership of the islands to the state are documented in committee records, draft legislation, speeches, and news clippings. This early action set the stage for the 1990s cleanup and the 1996 designation of the Boston Harbor Islands National Park.
“I believe that compassion is a strength, not a weakness. I believe that helping people is our obligation. Many would call this old-fashioned politics. For me these actions are the proper responsibilities of our federal government.”

– Joe Moakley

**Preserving History: Promoting technology and health care**

Project files and grant records in the Archive document Moakley’s efforts to secure assistance for the following projects in Massachusetts:

- The John Joseph Moakley Center for Technological Applications at Bridgewater State College, which offers technology training to teachers, students, and members of the workforce
- The Miles Standish Industrial Park, an important center for jobs and business development
- Boston Medical Center and its center for sickle cell research
- The nation’s first community health center, in Columbia Point, Dorchester
- The Boston Veterans Outpatient Clinic, the Ambulatory Care Center at the Jamaica Plain VA Hospital, and the New England Shelter for Homeless Veterans

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**Historic Preservation**

Many cherished Boston sites were at risk until the 1970s. Moakley was able to obtain federal recognition and funds that were critical to protecting and restoring important locales, such as:

- Boston African American National Historic Site
- Boston Harbor Islands National Recreation Area
- Charlestown Navy Yard and the USS Constitution
- Dorchester Heights
- Faneuil Hall
- Old South Meeting House
- Old State House

**Snob Zoning and Affordable Housing**

Moakley was a driving force behind the Snob Zoning Act of 1969, also known as the Comprehensive Permit Law. As chairman of the Massachusetts Senate Urban Affairs Committee, he pushed for the landmark legislation, which removed restrictive zoning in the suburbs and has resulted in the addition of more than 40,000 units of affordable housing.
“There is no such thing as half justice. You either have justice or you don’t. There is no such thing as half a democracy. You either have a democracy in which everyone – including the powerful – is subject to the law or you don’t. That’s why I believe it is so important that the whole truth emerge in this case. Truth is not the enemy.”

– Joe Moakley

THE NATION

Moakley often came to an issue through a local event or constituent need and was inspired to address it on a national or international level.

Fire-Safe Cigarettes

In 1979, five children and their parents died in a tragic house fire sparked by a smoldering cigarette in Westwood, Mass. In an effort to prevent similar tragedies, the congressman fought for a federal law requiring the tobacco industry to develop a self-extinguishing cigarette. He obtained passage of two bills that laid the foundation for a federal law. The Cigarette Safety Act of 1984 established congressional committees to determine if a fire-safe cigarette was technically feasible. Then the Fire-Safe Cigarette Act of 1990 required the government to develop a test to assess how “fire-safe” a cigarette was. As of 2008, there was still no federal law mandating fire-safe cigarettes, but sixteen states, including Massachusetts, have regulations in place. Massachusetts Congressman Edward Markey has continued the fight, submitting to the House in 2002 and 2004 a fire-safe cigarette bill called the Moakley Memorial Act.

Nutritional Labeling

Many of Moakley’s priorities and accomplishments have their roots in protecting people from harm, including his fight for consistent and accurate labeling on food products and advertisements. Moakley was a major supporter of the Nutritional Labeling and Education Act of 1990, which called for clear and concise information and prohibited misleading nutrition information and health claims on food labels. He also introduced legislation to extend these requirements to food advertising.

THE WORLD

El Salvador – Immigration and Human Rights

Joe Moakley often held open office hours in towns in his district, meeting constituents, answering their questions, and hearing their complaints and requests for help. These meetings gave ordinary people direct access to their government while helping Moakley keep tabs on constituent concerns.

In 1983, at a post office in Jamaica Plain, Moakley heard from Salvadoran refugees who feared being deported. El Salvador was mired in a bloody civil war, they told Moakley, and death squads were murdering or “disappearing” tens of thousands of civilians. The refugees feared that they would be harmed by the Salvadoran government and its allies if they returned home. Moakley verified the accuracy of these stories, then took action.

For six years, he fought to pass legislation that would allow Salvadoran immigrants to live and work in the United States until it was safe to return to their country. Finally, he used leverage as the chairman of the Rules Committee to amend the Immigration Act of 1990 to grant Temporary Protected Status to Salvadorans who had fled their country. The bill passed, implementing measures that have saved hundreds of thousands of lives from potential harm – and which are still in use today.
El Salvador – The Moakley Commission and the Jesuit Murders

His reputation for fair dealing and a genuine willingness to cooperate across party lines made Moakley one of the most popular and trusted leaders in the Congress. So when Speaker of the House Tom Foley launched a congressional investigation into the 1989 murders of six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper, and her daughter in El Salvador, he appointed Moakley to lead it. Congress had authorized billions of dollars in economic and military aid over the years to El Salvador, and, with the Salvadoran army and the leftist guerilla group FMLN accusing one another of the atrocity, U.S. legislators demanded answers.

With his knowledge of El Salvador’s recent history, his willingness to speak to anyone in pursuit of the truth, and a dogged determination to find justice, Moakley was able to prove that the murders had been carried out by Salvadoran soldiers. The Moakley Commission’s final report hinted that culpability could extend to the highest levels of the government of El Salvador. Moakley Commission reports were used as trial evidence in the first-ever convictions of Salvadoran military personnel for human rights crimes.

Congress used the commission’s findings to cut military aid to El Salvador, forcing the government to negotiate with the FMLN to end the war. Moakley then became a significant figure in the peace talks, most notably through a historic visit behind the lines to meet with FMLN leaders. His willingness to trust the guerrillas was a breakthrough moment on the road to peace – the FMLN finally believed that the United States would back an agreement – and, in January 1992, both sides signed accords that ended the violence.

The Cuban Embargo

Moakley believed that the U.S. embargo against Cuba was a relic of the Cold War that was harming ordinary Cubans without producing meaningful progress in relations between the governments. Moakley said that an open policy, including expanded trade between the two countries, would do more to change Cuba in a few years than 40 years of sanctions – and lessen needless suffering for Cubans. In exchange, Americans could benefit from Cuban medical advances in treatment of diseases such as meningitis and hepatitis.

Moakley introduced bills in Congress to lift the embargo on food, medicine, and medical supplies, but, despite mustering considerable bipartisan support, he was unable to win their passage. Nonetheless, he attempted to keep the spotlight on the plight of the Cuban people through his trips to Cuba in 1996, 1998, and 2000.

Man of the People

A self-described “bread-and-butter” politician, Moakley devoted himself to the bedrock concerns of his constituents: education, jobs, housing, health care, veterans’ benefits, and the prosperity of his city, his state, and his region. In the 1990s the congressman championed this agenda while enduring personal battles that included a liver transplant, the death of his beloved wife, Evelyn, and, finally, incurable leukemia. Despite these challenges, he continued to ably and energetically represent his district until his death on May 28, 2001.

“All he ever wanted to be was the congressman from the Ninth Congressional District. And I remember when he was dying, I went out there one day and he was on the phone ... trying to line up jobs for kids as lifeguards, a couple of days before he died. He never wanted to be anything else, ever.”

— John Weinfurter, Moakley staff
Oral History Project interview, 2005
The Moakley Archive is a unique resource for the study of the central issues of Congressman Moakley's life and career. The Archive has two priorities:

- To gather material on, preserve, and protect the historical record of the congressman's life
- To make the collection available to the public, scholars, and other researchers

The Archive introduces Moakley’s example of good government in action to new audiences. It has hosted a wide variety of researchers, and Archive staff members reach out through classroom presentations to encourage young people to do original research and to explore the congressman’s life and service.

Congressman John Joseph Moakley Papers, 1936-2001
The Moakley Papers consist of 522 boxes of material that document the congressman's early life, his World War II service, his terms in the Massachusetts House of Representatives and Senate, and his service in the U.S. Congress. These boxes contain the tangible memories of a lifetime: 8,000 files, 10,000 photographs, 600 pieces of memorabilia, and several hundred audio and video recordings.

The bulk of the materials relate to Moakley's congressional career from 1973 to 2001. Of special interest are the documents related to Moakley’s legislative and policy campaigns centered on human rights, the Moakley Commission, fire-safe cigarettes, and his promotion of district projects such as the Boston Harbor Islands, the “Big Dig,” and preservation of historic sites.

The John Joseph Moakley Oral History Project
Oral history interviews provide firsthand testimony and unique perspectives often missing in the written record. Recording interviews with the congressman’s colleagues, staff, family, friends, constituents, and others affected by the central issues of his career allows the Archive to develop a complete and nuanced picture of Moakley’s life and service. Researchers can access oral history interview recordings and transcripts online at www.joemoakley.org.

Interviewees include:

- Congressman John Joseph Moakley, D-Massachusetts
- Congressman James McGovern, D-Massachusetts
- Congressman Peter King, R-New York
- Former Congressman Marty Meehan, D-Massachusetts
- Congressman Richard Neal, D-Massachusetts
- Retired U.S. House Parliamentarian Charles Johnson
- Former Massachusetts Senate President William Bulger
- Members of Moakley's congressional and district staff
- Moakley family members

SMART Online Catalog
The Archive has developed an online catalog to simplify searching across the collection. The Suffolk/Moakley Archives Research Tool, or SMART, allows researchers anywhere in the world to browse through the Moakley Papers, oral histories, and related resources. A simple search, such as “Moakley and Big Dig,” will bring up citations to digital images, oral history interviews, correspondence, press releases, and other documents.

To access SMART, visit www.suffolk.edu/archive/smart.

Living Legacy: Videos introduce Moakley to new audiences
Two videos created as companion pieces to the traveling exhibits John Joseph Moakley: In Service to his Country and El Congresista: Joe Moakley en El Salvador introduce new generations to Moakley’s endeavors. The content of the videos was drawn from oral history excerpts, documents, and images from the Moakley Papers. The films are shown in Suffolk University classrooms, distributed at events, and they may be viewed online.
“It would be a shame if Joe’s papers and his example wound up in a box, locked away in a closet. And I think the magic of Joe Moakley is in his example, and by sharing his example of public service, I think you really help the cause of public service as a whole.”

– Frederick W. Clark, Jr., Moakley staff
Oral History Project interview, 2003

**Joe Moakley’s life was** a statement of the power of government to improve the lives of citizens. The Moakley Institute carries on Moakley’s legacy of public service through exhibits and programs that promote a broad analysis of public policy and political history. The Institute strives to reach a diverse audience through its public programming.

**Exhibitions**
- John Joseph Moakley: In Service to His Country – the formation of a statesman (available as a traveling exhibit)
- El Congresista Moakley: Joe Moakley en El Salvador – El Salvador, its civil war, and the conflict’s impact on the Salvadoran people (available as a traveling exhibit)
- Campaigns, Conventions & Cartoons – America’s best political cartoonists
- Connections: Suffolk University Keeps Moakley’s Legacy Alive in El Salvador – photographs of service-learning activities in El Salvador and Boston

**Public Programs**
Among the public policy programs presented or co-sponsored by the Moakley Institute are:
- Current Climate Change Initiatives: The Carbon Summit, an environmental symposium
- The Fallout from the Subprime Lending Crisis, a panel discussion on housing
- Truth and Reconciliation Commissions: Do They Do Justice to Justice?, a three-day conference at the University of Massachusetts/Boston
- Implementing Human Rights in Massachusetts: Legislative Strategies and Responsibilities, an award-winning conference on human rights
- Moakley Institute Supreme Court Update: Alien Tort Claims Act: Advancing Human Rights or Threat to International Business?

**Massachusetts Legislature Staff Training Program**
The Moakley Institute and Suffolk University’s Center for Public Management have partnered with the Massachusetts Legislature to provide training for new and returning staff.

**Fostering Moakley’s Legacy in El Salvador**
Moakley singled out his fight for peace and justice for Salvadorans as his proudest accomplishment. The Moakley Institute is actively fostering his connection to El Salvador. Activities include:
- Service Learning in El Salvador, in collaboration with S.O.U.L.S., Suffolk’s Organization for Uplifting Lives through Service
- Remembering the Jesuit Martyrs in El Salvador: Community Forums and Folk Concerts
- Roundtable Discussions with U.S. Congressman James McGovern
- El Congresista Moakley: A Symposium on Congressman Joe Moakley and El Salvador

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The Moakley Institute brings students to El Salvador to learn about Moakley’s work there and to help rebuild communities torn apart by the civil war.

Living Legacy: Moakley exhibitions
The Moakley Archive and Institute’s traveling exhibition about the congressman’s life and accomplishments, *John Joseph Moakley: In Service to His Country*, has been displayed in more than twenty public venues across the state.

Viewing the Moakley traveling exhibit, 2003
The establishment and ongoing activities of the Moakley Archive and Institute would not be possible without the support of Congressman Moakley’s family, staff, congressional colleagues, and friends. Efforts to carry on John Joseph “Joe” Moakley’s legacy have been advanced by gifts of time, memorabilia, and financial resources, and the Archive and Institute thank all friends and supporters for their generosity. Making the Moakley Archive available online, co-sponsoring seminars and conferences, reaching out to inner-city students, training legislative staff, and supporting service learning in El Salvador are just a few of the ways that the Archive and Institute honor Joe Moakley’s lifetime of service and keep his memory alive. These activities are made possible by the generosity of the many individuals and organizations who have supported the Archive and Institute through the years.

THANK YOU
Contact us

To learn more about the programs at the John Joseph Moakley Archive and Institute at Suffolk University, please visit our Web site at www.joemoakley.org.

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