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Oral History Interview of Barney Frank (OH-075)

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Oral History Interview of Congressman Barney Frank

Interview Date: May 19, 2008

Interviewed by: Robert Allison, Suffolk University History Professor and Joseph McEttrick, Suffolk University Law School Professor.

Citation: Frank, Honorable Barney. Interviewed by Robert Allison and Joseph McEttrick. John Joseph Moakley Oral History Project OH-075. 19 May 2008. Transcript and audio available. John Joseph Moakley Archive and Institute, Suffolk University, Boston MA.

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Interview Summary

Congressman Barney Frank, who has served the Fourth District of Massachusetts since 1981, discusses his early interactions with Congressman Moakley and his own entrance into politics. Frank also describes Boston's busing crisis; Moakley's leadership style; the dynamics of the Massachusetts congressional delegation; and hallmark issues of Congressman Moakley's career. His interview ends with a humorous account of Moakley's campaign advertisements.

Subject Headings

Boston (Mass.)

Busing for school integration

Frank, Barney, 1940-

Massachusetts Politics and Government

Moakley, John Joseph, 1927-2001

O'Neill, Tip

United States. Congress.

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This interview took place on May 19, 2008, at Suffolk University's television studio in Boston, MA.

Interview Transcript

JOSEPH MCETTRICK: This is May 19th, 2008, and this is an interview with Congressman Barney Frank by Robert Allison from the Suffolk History Department and Joe McEttrick from Suffolk University Law School. So Congressman, we really don't have much time and it's really kind of difficult to go over things that you would think would be important in terms of your contact with Joe Moakley. We're doing this for the Moakley Archives, principally, but we'll try to do the best we can in a limited amount of time. So, Bob, I guess the thought was that in the interest of time, we should start kind of going in a chronological order and talk about your arrival when you got to D.C. when you were first elected to Congress when Moakley was already there. We thought perhaps we could talk about that era for a while. And then if time permitted, we'd really like to—

CONGRESSMAN BARNEY FRANK: I think we should stop talking about time so much and talk substantively, and then we'd have more time.

MCETTRICK: All right. Okay, good.

ROBERT ALLISON: So when did you first meet Joe Moakley?

FRANK: Well, I met him when I was working for Kevin White.¹ I went to work for Kevin White in 1968, and of course Joe was a major figure. People forget that Massachusetts has been one of the leaders nationally in affordable housing and rental housing. Joe really did remarkable work in that regard when he was in the legislature. And that's when I first met him, and he was a very significant figure.

¹ Kevin White (1929-), a Democrat, served as mayor of Boston from 1968 to 1984. He ran unsuccessfully for governor of Massachusetts in 1970.

And then I worked very hard for Joe the year he got elected to Congress [1972]. It was the year I got elected to the legislature and he was running as an Independent, a very smart and courageous move. And I and a lot of others worked very hard to help him win that one. In fact, I'll tell you a story. My sister, Ann Lewis, who later went on to become communications director for Bill Clinton, was helping run the McGovern campaign. And George McGovern² came to Massachusetts in 1972, and of course Louise Day Hicks³ was the official Democratic nominee, Joe was running as an Independent against the Democratic Party. And kind of a rare case of Joe, but very smart, I think, and of course he was always going to be a Democrat. And my sister helped get Joe onto the platform. Congresswoman Hicks at the time, said, "Look, I'm the Democratic nominee and you McGovern people are telling all the Democrats you got to vote for McGovern because he's the Democrat, whether you like him or not. How come that doesn't apply to me?"

So my sister did engage in a little bit of guerilla warfare and helped Joe get up on the platform with George McGovern, and of course I'm glad she did. So that was my first sort of sustained work with him, which was trying to help in that campaign.

ALLISON: Now, those were turbulent years in Boston, a lot of big things going on.

FRANK: Yes.

² George McGovern (1922-), a Democrat, represented South Dakota's First Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1957 to 1961, then represented South Dakota in the U.S. Senate from 1963 to 1981. He was the Democratic presidential candidate in the 1972 election, but lost to incumbent Richard Nixon.

³ Louise Day Hicks (1916-2003), a Democrat, served on the Boston School Committee from 1962 to 1967 (serving as chair from 1963 to 1965), ran unsuccessfully for the mayoralty of Boston in 1967 and in 1971, and served on the Boston City Council before being elected to the United States House of Representatives in 1970 where she served one term. It was in the 1970 election that Moakley lost his first bid for Congress, in part because Hicks was an outspoken critic of forced busing in Boston, which helped her gain support in South Boston. Moakley defeated Hicks in the 1972 congressional election when he ran as an Independent in order to avoid a run against Hicks in the democratic primary.

ALLISON: You were in the legislature during the busing years.⁴ Does that play any role in—?

FRANK: Well, Joe was a remarkable man and here he was with his political base being the center of the turmoil. He had as his strongest political supporters, starting when he was a state representative and moving up, people in South Boston who were very angry and felt very much abused by this. And Joe had this tough job of showing that he understood their feelings, and of being a Representative. You know, sometimes people think that we're elected to office and we are then somehow able to just ignore the voters. One of my friends, some on the left, they're all for democracy until it starts to move people in directions that they don't like, and then they want us to ignore the voters, which you can't do and shouldn't do.

But what Joe did was, I think, remarkable in the sense that he gave the people he represented the understanding that he knew what troubled them, but he was responsible. And there were many, I think, who were very critical of him because he wasn't one of those advocating much more militant resistance. And it was a very tough line to walk. I think there are few people who had the respect of individuals, who had Joe's integrity and character and sense of dealing with people that allowed him to walk a very fine line. And I mean that in a good sense; to be a representative of his people, but at the same time uphold the law.

MCETTRICK: Did Mayor White have similar difficulties in that period? Because he was at the center of the—

FRANK: Well, the mayor was less able to maintain that balance. And, of course Joe Moakley had represented South Boston and he was one of them. I think there was—the people gave the mayor less slack. Also because, of course, Joe was in Washington, in

⁴ In 1974, a federal judge, W. Arthur Garrity, Jr. ordered the Boston school district to remedy its racial imbalance by sending students, usually by bus, to schools outside their racially homogeneous neighborhoods. The plan went into effect in September of 1974 and sparked fierce debate and violence throughout the city of Boston.

Congress and he wasn't as much on the firing line. You know, if he'd been mayor, he would have had some of the same trouble. He wasn't the one making the decisions as directly. So no, it was much tougher on Mayor White. It took much more of a toll on him, I think personally and politically.

MCETTRICK: Can you tell us a little bit about your arriving in Congress, your election? I guess it was after Father Drinan⁵ had to step aside and then it was a rather contested environment. What was that like?

FRANK: Well, it was really extraordinary. The Pope had to intervene and make me a Congressman. I'm not sure that was his primary motivation, but that was the consequence. (McEttrick and Allison laugh) I think it made him the objective cause, if I remember my logic right. He told Father Drinan he couldn't run. It was May of 1980; within two days, I was a candidate. It was a very contentious primary. And then actually, a week before the primary, then-Cardinal Humberto Medeiros⁶ issued a statement saying it was really almost an occasion of sin to vote either for me or for then-Congressman Jim Shannon⁷ because abortion was very much the issue, so there was a lot of turmoil about it. And Senator Kennedy⁸ rushed in on my side.

And after I won the primary, it was kind of a difficult primary -- so I had six weeks to try and unify people. Joe was very helpful to me, Joe Moakley. I remember meeting with Joe and he got me some help. Actually, he even began to help in some ways before the primary. And I remember being envious of him, because here I was in this terribly difficult primary situation which was consuming my life. And he and I met, and he said to me, "Now, when is the primary, anyway?" (McEttrick laughs) And I said, "That's what

⁵ Father Robert F. Drinan (1920-2007), a Democrat, represented Massachusetts Fourth Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1971 until 1980. An ordained Catholic priest, Drinan left Congress in 1980 following a call by Pope John Paul II for priests to withdraw from political positions.

⁶ Humberto Sousa Cardinal Medeiros (1915-1983), a Roman Catholic cardinal, was appointed Archbishop of Boston on September 8, 1970; then appointed a cardinal on March 5, 1973.

⁷ James Michael "Jim" Shannon (1952-), a Democrat, represented Massachusetts Fifth Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1979-1985.

⁸ Edward Moore "Ted" Kennedy (1932-2009), a Democrat, represented Massachusetts in the United States Senate from 1962 to 2009.

I want to be, I want to be someone who a month before the primary doesn't even know when it is.”

MCETTRICK: So what was it like when you arrived? I guess Tip O’Neill⁹ was Speaker at that point?

FRANK: It was a great day for Massachusetts, a great era. You had Tip O’Neill and Joe Moakley, who was then a very influential member of the Committee on Rules. Ed Boland,¹⁰ who did great work in foreign policy, was the second senior guy on the Appropriations Committee. So, it was a little bit like arriving in high school. Congress is a lot like high school, I think. And it was a little bit like arriving in high school as a freshman, but being a friend of all the most important people in the senior class because I had helped campaign for Tip in 1976 when he was opposed in the primary. I’d been elected to the Massachusetts legislature in 1972 with Tip’s son, Tom, who remains a good friend.

So yeah, you got to kind of tag along with the big guys. I remember my first year, I got to have lunch with President Reagan and the prime minister of Ireland because they met all the Massachusetts people on Saint Patrick’s Day. But Joe was a great source of friendship and help. Let me tell you, I haven’t talked much about this, I’m gay. I knew I was gay when I got there. I was, at that point, hoping that a lot of other people didn’t know, although I think more did than I realized. And I was worried about people’s reaction. Joe was a very perceptive guy and he could sense things.

And early on, I had a conversation with Joe in which he made it clear to me that he knew I was gay, and was not at all bothered by it or troubled by it and wanted to be supportive.

⁹ Thomas P. “Tip” O’Neill (1912-1994), a Democrat, represented Massachusetts’ Eleventh and, after redistricting, Eighth Congressional Districts in the United States House of Representatives from 1953 to 1987. He served as Speaker of the House of Representatives from 1977 to 1987. He also served in the Massachusetts House of Representatives from 1936 to 1952.

¹⁰ Edward P. Boland (1911-2001), a Democrat, represented Massachusetts’ Second Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1953 to 1989.

He said, “You know, everybody doesn’t like vanilla. That’s why Howard Johnson’s has 28 flavors.” I don’t know if people don’t remember Howard Johnson’s anymore.

(McEttrick laughs) But, I was, of course, touched by that. That this very influential guy, this guy who represented a socially conservative area, really went out of his way to tell me that he pretty much knew I was gay and that he hoped that I wouldn’t let it bother me too much, and so it didn’t bother him. That was very helpful.

And he knew a great deal. Joe was an example of character in politics. He wasn’t a guy who spent a lot of his time reading and theorizing, and you need people to do that. But he was such a decent man, he was such a—he had such a drive to bring out the best in others, that he was influential by his character. And when he shared that with you, you became a great beneficiary.

ALLISON: It’s hard to tell from day to day what Joe Moakley’s position on an issue would be; he seemed to be more about personal relationships. Is that something—is that a difference?

FRANK: Oh yes, he was not an ideologue. And again, I don’t mean to denigrate ideology, I think it’s very important. He had a general—not a general, he had a very strong sense that he wanted to help people. You know, he’d come up, he lived in public housing. Let me put it this way, what I thought was very important about Joe. Sometimes I’ll say of a politician, “Well, he never forgot where he came from.” And that’s true; Joe never forgot where he came from. But too many people who don’t forget where they came from didn’t think about the next step. If all you can do is focus on where you came from, you’re going to get into trouble. Joe was able to—he was rooted in his own history and past, but he was able to go forward and take that background and say, “Okay, here’s what we got to do.”

So no, he wasn’t a great theoretician, he wasn’t a great economist, but he understood that the average person needed help. And there was a generosity of spirit, and there was a generosity of fairness—and this is what’s interesting. Sometimes, you’ll hear people say,

“Oh well, you know, he’s a great liberal for the masses, but boy is he a son of a bitch in person.” And there were people who would be hard to deal with individually. Moakley had this great generosity of spirit, as I said, that was the same whether he was face-to-face or with a whole bunch of people. He was really a guy who cared about trying to help people, and partly because of that, he brought out the best in people. People responded to him. He was such a decent man and it was clear that he wanted to help people.

So on the issues, he was on the side that was going to help fairness, he was going to help working people. He was going to help diminish unfairness in this society.

ALLISON: Speaking of where people come from, Massachusetts has a reputation of being somewhat insular. And here you are, a guy from New Jersey and you've managed to really become part of this political world. Is that something you struggled with, was it—?

FRANK: Yes, very much so. In fact, it’s kind of ironic. When I first ran for the legislature, I was in the—it was here in downtown Boston, not far from where we're now sitting, a couple of blocks. And all the time I was in the legislature, I was representing Boston, they said I was from New Jersey. And then when the Pope said Father Drinan couldn’t run again, I moved. I was not in that congressional district. When I was in the legislature, I was in Tip O’Neill’s district. So, I moved. And for the first time, people said I was from Boston. But they only said I was from Boston when I was running outside of Boston. (McEttrick and Allison laugh) So when I lived in Boston, they said I was from New Jersey. When I moved out of Boston to run for Congress, they said I was from Boston. God knows what they say now, I don't have to listen. (McEttrick and Allison laugh)

But yeah, it was a problem when I first ran. I think it’s eroded some, but I think people are a little skeptical at first. But I think it’s one of these things where once you get beyond it, you're okay.

MCETTRICK: It's difficult for people to understand from the outside looking in, how a congressional delegation works, how the Massachusetts delegation would function. And you'd hear discussions about, "Well, Joe Moakley was dean of the delegation," and there's some reference to trying to help other people from Massachusetts with their careers and placement, and so forth. Can you tell us a little bit about that piece of the job?

FRANK: Sure. You know, this may have gone back to John McCormack,¹¹ the first Speaker. I was not there. I worked for Congressman Mike Harrington¹² when that happened. But I do know with Tip, it was a very conscious thing. He wanted to make sure that we had a Massachusetts representative on every important committee. And when I got there, I got on the committee that deals with housing, which I wanted to. We had people on appropriations and ways and means. Thanks to Tip, we were well represented. And then Moakley was able to take that over. He wasn't Speaker, but he was Chairman of the Rules Committee,¹³ and Moakley very much was there to make sure that Massachusetts, as I said, was well represented. And if any of us had an issue that was very important for our own particular district, Moakley was there.

There was a little friction between him and Marty Meehan,¹⁴ that's not a secret. Moakley was a great institutionalist, and I support him in this very much, he understood that this is democracy. I mean, frankly, I think that Joe grew up in public housing, enters the Navy when he was sixteen¹⁵, to be chairman of the Rules Committee, to be sitting in the Capitol of the United States, the center of the world's hopes in many ways at the time, it

¹¹ John W. McCormack (1891-1990), a Democrat, represented Massachusetts' Twelfth and, after redistricting, Ninth Congressional Districts in the United States House of Representatives from 1928 to 1971. He served as Speaker of the House from 1962 to 1971.

¹² Michael J. Harrington (1936-), a Democrat, represented Massachusetts Sixth Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1969-1979.

¹³ The House Rules Committee, known as the "traffic cop" of Congress, is responsible for the scheduling of bills for discussion in the U.S. House of Representatives. Congressman Moakley was a member of the Rules Committee from 1975 to 2001 and served as its chairman from 1989 to 1995.

¹⁴ Martin T. "Marty" Meehan (1956-), a Democrat, represented Massachusetts' Fifth Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1993 to 2007. He is a trustee of Suffolk University. OH-035 in the Moakley Oral History Project is an interview with Meehan.

¹⁵ At the age of fifteen, Joe Moakley altered his birth certificate to enlist in the U.S. Navy in 1943. He served as a Seabee, the U.S. Navy's Construction Battalions (CB), in the Pacific theater during World War II. He was honorably discharged in February of 1946.

meant a great deal to him. He didn't wear it on his sleeve, but I know he took it very seriously. And he resented when he thought people were being denigrating of the institution.

But in general, he took over from—he was the beneficiary of Tip O’Neill’s advocacy and then typical of Joe, as I said, he was the beneficiary, but then he became the benefactor. And I think that was really a constant in his career that he would be someone who would both take and give in a kind of constant flow.

ALLISON: Is that something that continues now with other members of the delegation?

FRANK: Yes, we actually work very well together. Ed Markey¹⁶ is now our dean, we have a fairly senior delegation. Ed has taken the lead on global warming, I'm chairman of a committee,¹⁷ Congressman Richie Neal,¹⁸ people in the Boston area don't know as much about Richie because of our eastern Massachusetts provincialism, but Richard Neal is the chief tax guy on the Ways and Means Committee. Jim McGovern,¹⁹ very high up on Rules, Bill Delahunt,²⁰ very respected from his career as a lawyer, John Tierney.²¹ So yeah, we have a very—and we work very well together. There's a great deal of cooperation. Just last week, somebody from my district called on some tax issue, and I talked to Congressman Neal. I had an issue involving fishing and I could talk to Mike

¹⁶ Edward Markey (1946-), a Democrat, has represented Massachusetts' Seventh Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives since 1976.

¹⁷ Congressman Frank assumed the chairmanship of the Committee on Financial Services in January of 2007.

¹⁸ Richard E. Neal (1949-), a Democrat, has represented Massachusetts' Second Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives since 1989. OH-032 in the Moakley Oral History Project is an interview with Congressman Neal.

¹⁹ James P. McGovern (1959-), a Democrat, has represented Massachusetts' Third Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives since 1997. He was a member of Moakley's congressional staff from 1982 to 1996. OH-013 in the Moakley Oral History Project is an interview with Congressman McGovern.

²⁰ William D. Delahunt (1941-), a Democrat, has represented Massachusetts' Tenth Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives since 1997.

²¹ John F. Tierney (1951-), a Democrat, has represented Massachusetts' Sixth Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives since 1997.

Capuano.²² Ed Markey came to me about a housing project in Malden that needed some help. So we are very mutually reinforcing.

MCETTRICK: How was life like when Newt Gingrich²³ and the Republicans took over after the Democrats had had primacy for so long? What was the impact of—?

FRANK: Well, I was less shaken by it than others. Look, a lot of my colleagues, all my colleagues, were Democrats. And when Newt took over, there were two Republicans in the delegation, nine Democrats at the time. The Democrats were a little bit shaken because they weren't used to this. They'd been in the majority all their lives. I mean, frankly they were Democrats from Massachusetts, and they were Irish Americans, and they were in the dominant part of the culture and the politics. I wasn't used to being in the majority. You know, I'm not from Massachusetts, I'm Jewish, I'm gay. When I was in the legislature, I found myself on the other side from Speaker McGee a lot. Some others did too, like Ed Markey, whose desk was famously put out in the hall, to his eternal political benefit.²⁴

And some of my colleagues, I think it took them a little while to gain their footing. You know, a little bit, frankly, some of them—to find themselves in the minority in this way. There's a great line in *War and Peace* where this character, I forget his name, the Prince who was very popular in Russian society, and he's riding into battle. And he says, "My God, they're shooting at me, who everybody loves." (McEttrick and Allison laugh) And I think some of my colleagues had a little bit of that feeling.

²² Michael Capuano (1952-), a Democrat, has represented Massachusetts' Eighth Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives since 1999.

²³ Newt Gingrich (1943-), a Republican, represented Georgia's Sixth Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1979 to 1999. He served as Speaker of the House from 1995 to 1999. Gingrich played a significant role in the "Republican Revolution" of 1994 in which the party gained a majority of seats in Congress for the first time since 1952.

²⁴ Massachusetts House Speaker Thomas W. McGee famously evicted then-State Representative Edward Markey from his own office after a fight about judicial reform in the 1970s. Markey countered by working from a desk set up in the hallway. Markey later used the campaign slogan, "They can tell me where to sit but not where to stand," in his successful bid for Congress. (*Boston Globe* 2/5/2009)

I was, frankly, better able to deal with it at first, and the opposition was okay for me. In fact, the leadership at the time, Dick Gephardt²⁵ and Dave Bonior,²⁶ asked me to sort of fight with those guys and that was fine with me. Although after a while, it got frustrating because they were so negative and it was very nice to come back to a point where we could be constructive, because we just saw things getting worse and worse in the housing area, where I care a lot. We just saw this year by year by year diminution of our efforts to do something about affordable housing.

MCETTRICK: The one purpose of the Moakley Institute is to collect information about Joe Moakley, but also to think about his legacy and the impact looking forward, as you describe it. How would you sum up Joe's contribution? What is it that we should learn from Joe Moakley?

FRANK: He clearly did a great deal for the city of Boston in terms of the waterfront and the area he represented, and that was, you know, at a time when you couldn't take that for granted. Secondly, I think he had a great impact on civility, on democracy. Look, this was a tough time in Boston in the seventies, and Joe's sort of walking that thin line I talked about, in the face of the really virulent anger, which was very important.

And you go back earlier, as I said, people don't remember, he was a big housing guy. Massachusetts has been one of the leaders in the country in affordable housing. One of my jobs today is to enact legislation that will preserve affordable housing that was built forty years ago with Joe Moakley's leadership. Joe was doing this in the sixties when he was the head of something there²⁷. And I would also say as the representative of South

²⁵ Richard Gephardt (1941-), a Democrat, represented Missouri's Third Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1977 to 2005.

²⁶ David Bonior (1945-), a Democrat, represented Michigan's Twelfth Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1997 to 1993 and the Tenth District from 1993 to 2003.

²⁷ As a state senator, Moakley chaired the Joint Legislative Committee on Urban Affairs which dealt with issues such as affordable housing. His committee was involved in the 1969 passage of Chapter 40B, also known as the Comprehensive Permit Law or Anti-Snob Zoning, which allows developers of low-income housing to bypass certain zoning requirements in towns and cities in which less than 10% of its housing is designated as low-income.

Boston. Look, race has been the besetting sin of America. You know, we had slavery and we had official segregation and we had great slowness in acknowledging that. And to have someone like Moakley who represented an area which was in the cockpit of race troubles, be as benign an influence as he was, I think that's probably the single most important thing.

MCETTRICK: I remember Joe Moakley telling us he was proud of the fact that in his career, he hadn't really needed to use television advertising and modes of that sort because he was from a different era. Can there be a Joe Moakley in Congress today? Or have things changed?

FRANK: Oh, sure. No, there are still people who have—but let me go back a second. I did forget one other very important part of his legacy, and that's El Salvador and Central America. You know, people tend to stereotype him. Joe Moakley was the blue-collar district, kind of lunch-bucket Democrat. But one of the things he did, with Jim McGovern's aid, was to help crack a murder case in El Salvador²⁸ and very much to help defeat the right-wing reign of terror, not just in El Salvador, but also in Central America. He will always be a hero to the Jesuit community for going to the defense of the Jesuit community and in helping bring the murderers of Jesuits to justice. And that, again, it was not just what he did, but what he did being who he was. Being this blue-collar guy who went into the Navy at sixteen, he was a sheet metal worker and then was this great liberal on these things. He brought a credibility to that that otherwise you wouldn't have had.

But as far as—he actually did do some clever advertising. You remember when he ran against Louise Day Hicks? It was a three-way race; it was a Republican, a Democrat, and he was the Independent. And he had to make it a two-way race, he had to become the

²⁸ In December of 1989, Speaker of the House Thomas S. Foley appointed Moakley as chairman of a committee to investigate violence in El Salvador, specifically the November 16, 1989, murder of six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper and her daughter at the University of Central America in San Salvador. The committee is commonly referred to as the Speaker's Task Force on El Salvador or the Moakley Commission. The Moakley Commission investigation revealed that the Salvadoran military was responsible for the murders.

anti-Hicks. And I remember the ad, it was—somebody, there's this funny ad that said, “Throughout history, there have been great battles. There was David versus Goliath and this one versus that one.” And then—but you didn't want him to get too negative. And the punch line was, “And so once again, we see this great battle between good and”—and you kind of cringe, because you didn't want him to say good and evil, but he said, “Between good and not so good.”²⁹ (McEttrick and Allison laugh)

And the other one, he had a great ad, “Moakley Delivers.” Because he would stress his kind of blue-collar thing. The notion that earmarks were bad would have been incomprehensible to Joe. I think if he were alive today, he would just have a hard time figuring out what the hell they meant by talking about earmarks being bad. And he had one ad, he was—I said he wasn't an ideologue, but he was a committed liberal. But he wasn't comfortable running as a liberal. Maybe he got some votes from people who didn't know that. On El Salvador, on other issues, Joe was a great liberal, but he didn't like to talk about it.

And he had an ad that said, “Moakley Delivers.”³⁰ And you hear a phone ring and it said, “Moakley headquarters.” “I'd like a small pizza, sausage.” (McEttrick and Allison laugh) “No, no.” “But it said Moakley delivers. What is it you deliver?” And then they would say, “Well, he delivered this project and that project.” So he was able—he didn't use TV, he used radio in a very clever way.

END OF INTERVIEW

²⁹ Congressman Frank refers to a campaign advertisement made by the Moakley For Congress Committee in the 1970s. A copy of the audiotape is located in the Moakley Archives (MS100/09.01/15).

³⁰ Congressman Frank refers to a campaign advertisement made by the Re-Elect Congressman Joe Moakley Committee in 1994. A copy of the audiotape is located in the Moakley Archives (MS100/09.01/47).