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## Hare, Roger C. oral history interview

Greg Beam

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## **Interview with Roger C. Hare by Greg Beam**

*Summary Sheet and Transcript*

### **Interviewee**

Hare, Roger C.

### **Interviewer**

Beam, Greg

### **Date**

August 21, 2000

### **Place**

Buxton, Maine

### **ID Number**

MOH 224

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### **Biographical Note**

Roger Hare was born in Houlton, Maine on December 27, 1927. His parents were Hilda Porter and Donald Hare. He grew up in Houlton and attended Monticello Elementary and Middle School and Houlton High School. When he was seventeen, he contracted tuberculosis and spent two years at a sanitarium in Hebron. After that he went to work for the Maine Turnpike in 1947 as one of the first toll collectors. He worked for the International Association of Machinists as a field staff person for twenty-four years and as a union representative for forty years.

### **Scope and Content Note**

Interview includes discussions of: Hare's education and family background; Houlton, Maine; Hare's illness and recovery from tuberculosis; Teamster's Union; Maine Turnpike; Hare's political background; Maine Democratic Party; Democratic Mid-term convention in Kansas City 1977; Hare's introduction to Muskie; Muskie's 1972 campaign and William Loeb; Ken Curtis; Ted Kennedy's campaign in 1980; Hare's introduction to Gloria Steinem; Hatch Act of 1975; Maine Democratic State Committee; Maine AFL-CIO; Hare's relationship with Muskie; Jane Muskie; Hubert Humphrey; David Hastings; Al Page; Wagner Act of 1935; Ronald Reagan; and Maine labor issues.

## **Indexed Names**

Albright, Madeleine Korbel  
Brewer, Teresa  
Bustin, David W.  
Buxton, Anthony Wayne "Tony"  
Caddy, Douglas, 1938-  
Carter, Jimmy, 1924-  
Curtis, Kenneth M., 1931-  
Dorsky, Benjamin J. (Benjamin James), 1905-  
Dukakis, Michael S. (Michael Stanley), 1933-  
Ford, Gerald R., 1913-  
Good, Lee  
Gore, Albert, 1948-  
Harding, Floyd  
Hare, Donald C.  
Hare, Hilda (Porter)  
Hare, Mary  
Hare, Roger C.  
Hastings, Dave  
Hathaway, Bill  
Humphrey, Hubert H. (Hubert Horatio), 1911-1978  
Jackson, Henry M. (Henry Martin), 1912-1983  
Johnson, Lyndon B. (Lyndon Baines), 1908-1973  
Kennedy, Edward Moore, 1932-  
Kyros, Peter N., Sr.  
Loeb, William  
Longley, James, Sr.  
McKernan, John  
Mitchell, George J. (George John), 1933-  
Mondale, Walter F., 1928-  
Muskie, Edmund S., 1914-1996  
Muskie, Jane Gray  
Nixon, Richard M. (Richard Milhous), 1913-1994  
O'Neill, Tip  
O'Leary, Charles J., Sr.  
Pachios, Harold  
Page, Al  
Reagan, Ronald  
Schoonjans, Mike  
Smith, Margaret Chase, 1897-1995  
Snow, Roger Vinton, Jr.  
Steinem, Gloria  
Wallace, George C. (George Corley), 1919-1998

## **Transcript**

**Greg Beam:** This is Greg Beam and I'm here interviewing Roger Hare at his home in, is this Bucksport?

**Roger Hare:** Buxton.

**GB:** Buxton, Buxton, that's fine. Buxton, Maine. The date is-

**RH:** August 21.

**GB:** August 21, 2000 and it's approximately 10:00 A.M. All right, to start could you state your full name and spell it?

**RH:** Roger C. Hare, H-A-R-E. Roger I think is pretty easy to spell, there's no -D- in it. I live in Buxton, Maine.

**GB:** All right, and where and when were you born?

**RH:** I was born in Houlton, Maine. Come next Sunday, this coming Sunday, December 27th, I will be seventy-three years old. I, after, at the age of seventeen I went into the sanitarium with tuberculosis and was at Hebron for two and a half years. From there I went to the Maine Turnpike and I worked the International Association of Machinists as a field staff person for twenty, pretty near twenty-four years. I served as a union representative for a total of forty years.

**GB:** So, did you live in Houlton right up until you were seventeen?

**RH:** I lived in, I was born in Houlton, went back to Monticello, and attended one through eight school of Monticello. Went back to Houlton High School and from Houlton I moved-. I went to the sanitarium in Hebron, which is just out of Lewiston, and from there I went to the Maine Turnpike the day it opened, Friday the thirteenth, 1947.

**GB:** Right. Now, where is Monticello located?

**RH:** Approximately thirteen miles north of Houlton.

**GB:** North of Houlton, all right. And what were your parents' names?

**RH:** My mother's name was Hilda Porter, her maiden name, and my father's name was Donald C. Hare.

**GB:** What were their occupations?

**RH:** My mother was a housewife until during WWII. She came to Portland to work in the

shipyards and from that point she developed cancer and she died at the age of thirty- nine. My father was a farmer in Monticello, and he also worked for the state as the road commissioner repairing the Maine highways. After his employment with the state, he went to work as a, in the lumber bus-, camps, cutting wood. He died at the age of fifty, by the way, of cancer.

**GB:** So when your parents were, when you were growing up, rather, were your parents involved in the community that you remember?

**RH:** No.

**GB:** No.

**RH:** No, in a small community like that they pretty much, we lived on a farm and they pretty much had to use the in town people rather than the farmers for their political activities, their church activities and things of that nature.

**GB:** How small of a community is Monticello?

**RH:** Well, I think that the maximum that I can ever remember was approximately seventeen hundred, and that was total residents. So it, I don't know what it is now. I haven't had too much of an interest in checking it out.

**GB:** So what was life like growing up on a farm in this very small community?

**RH:** Well, life was good as far as I was concerned because as a young person I did everything that it was possible to do, some good and some bad. My parents were divorced at thirteen and that's. The two years after they were divorced we moved to, no, one year after they were divorced we moved to Houlton and that's when I went into the Houlton High School system. I quit high school Christmas vacation of my senior year because I was informed that I had failed the last quarter of my freshman English, and consequently I was not going to be able to graduate. So I decided that the smart thing for me to do, and I was living alone, living at a rooming house through my high school years with the exception of the, about the first year and a half. That was prior to my mother coming into the shipyard.

**GB:** So how big was the Houlton High School when you were attending?

**RH:** Oh golly, I just, that again is something that I don't have. I have no idea.

**GB:** Sure, sure. What kind of things were you interested in when you were in high school?

**RH:** Work, because I pretty much worked my way through high school as an assistant to the movie projectionist at the Houlton Theater, which is no longer in existence. But that, and after I had, I quit school I started driving a truck and that was of great importance at that time because the war was on and there wasn't too many lively bodies around.

**GB:** Now I've heard that that was very difficult and dangerous work, being a movie

projectionist.

**RH:** No, it, well we never had any trouble. The film was supposedly very highly explosive from the standpoint of if it got caught into the machine or something of that nature, but we never had any problems so I had no idea. I was just told to be very cautious around, where open flame and things like that. You weren't allowed to smoke. Of course I wasn't smoking at that time anyway, but you weren't allowed to smoke in the projection room.

My task there was pretty much rewinding and checking the film because the projectionist, the only thing that he did was took the film from my hands, loaded it into the machine, and gave me the cartridge that had already been run. I would rewind it, check it to make sure there was no breaks or cracks in it, and then ship it back to the next place it was going to be shown.

But I worked there for, well, two school years and during the summer I had taken off. And at sixteen I went to Presque Isle to work on the airport up there, and I drove truck again. But at the, at seventeen when I went to the sanitarium I was driving a, rebuilding Military Street in Houlton.

**GB:** Oh really, what did that involve?

**RH:** The, well driving the truck? Hauling away the road base that was in there which wouldn't hold up and consequently hauling in new materials for laying a new foundation for the road, so. And one morning I woke up with severe pleurisy and went to the hospital and found out that I had tuberculosis. Went to Presque Isle for an x-ray, I had an x-ray in Houlton but they just sent me to Presque Isle. And they informed my mother and I in Presque Isle that I would be in the sanitarium from four and a half to five years. They had no beds. From there I went to, approximately a month later I went to Hebron where they did have beds. And my mother and my grandmother took me to, down to Hebron.

And I didn't find this out until, as a matter of fact after I had been discharged from the sanitarium and my mother had passed away, that, my grandmother told me this story. That when I went into the sanitarium they told my mother and my grandmother that I would not survive over three months because tuberculosis had infected the lungs so bad that they was afraid that I would go into a hemorrhage and there was no way to-. But that has nothing to do with the Muskie Institute but it's an interesting story I think.

**GB:** Well let me ask you, was tuberculosis fairly common at that point? I thought it had started to peter out by then.

**RH:** Very common. No, no. Well, let me go on with the story and then you just stop me if, because it's . . . . The reason that I think it's an interesting story, I went in on the seventh. I'm sorry, I went in on a Wednesday which was the 7th of August in 1945 and I went in for pneumothorics where they collapse the lung. And at that time the, Maine, and I don't know if they still have the law or not, but they had a law that anyone coming in, any medical person coming into the state of Maine, if they worked for the state for five years they didn't have to take the state medical test.

And at that time the Americans was bringing a lot of Russian Jews from German prison camps. And, with the exception of the administrator of the, of Hebron, all of the doctors that they had at that time were these German war prisoners that the Americans had brought over.

And the doctor that I had on my first treatment, which was on a Friday, made a slight mistake. He gave me, he put the needle in and was supposed to give me 50ccs of air. The mistake was, he ended up with 500ccs, and the lung collapsed instantly, needless to say, and I don't know if this is, is probably, I'm going to say that it was true, his mistake saved my life. Because the infection that I had, it was like grabbing a, with the lung collapsed. It was like taking a sponge full of water and squeezing all of the water out. So consequently, I had so much infection in my lungs that the, I expelled, for about three days it was just continual raising of phlegm and the disease itself. And from that point on, that lung was down for five years.

I got out of the sanitarium to go home to my mother's funeral, went back to the san and that's how I got involved in politics as a matter of fact, so I'll tell you the political story.

**GB:** Oh, really, yeah, please do.

**RH:** I was living with my grandmother and next door to her was a, I think he was a second cousin. His name was Lee Good, a Methodist. I'm sorry, he was a minister, I don't remember what the church. His church by the way is still in Monticello. He lived next door and I was out on the porch this particular day and he come over and he wanted to know how things were going. And I happened to read in the *Bangor Daily News* that the Maine Turnpike was going to open and they was taking applications.

Now this was in July of '45. And when, I asked him if he would see what he could do about getting me an application because at that time we had a governor's council in the state of Maine, and Lee was a member of the governor's council. And being of the religious beliefs that he was, his comment was, "What have you done about this?" And I says, "I have done nothing because I just read it in the newspaper." And his comment, which I'll never forget, was, "Don't you know that God only helps those who helps themselves."

So he suggested that I go into Kennebunk and speak to a lovely gentleman, which I did. And he informed me that they was only going to hire thirty-two toll collectors and they had over three hundred applications at that point in time. And being very discouraged, because that meant that I had nothing that I could do because I couldn't do physical labor. So as I was leaving, and this by the way was the time in 1947 when Maine was burning up with the fires like they're having on the west coast now. And it was down in this area, New Hampshire and this area.

So as I was leaving, pretty discouraged, I got to the door with this gentleman and his wife. She was making pies for the fire fighters, so I decided this would be the time to pull the only thing that I could remember of pulling and that was the political influence of Lee Good. So I suggested to the gentleman, and I've lost his name but I'll get it eventually, that I was to bring the regards of Lee Good to this man and his family. "Oh, you know Lee Good?" And I said, "Yes, he's a relative of, a cousin of my grandmother's." "Well why don't you come back in and have a glass of milk and a piece of pie?" Which I was starving to death because I had no money,

long ways from home.

So I went in and had the piece of pie and he left the room while I was eating in the kitchen, and by the time I'd finished the pie and milk he'd come back. And he said, "Do you know where the Kennebunk town office is?" And I said, "No," this is the first time I was ever in this town. So he give me instructions on how to get from his home to the town office in Kennebunk. And he said, "Go to the basement, which is around on the side, go in and ask for a gentleman by the name of Byron Hanson." Well, I was at work probably a week or so before I ever filled out an application as I remember it.

Now this was in July and the turnpike opened on Friday the 13<sup>th</sup>. December, Friday the 13<sup>th</sup> 1947, about five and a half months later, or something, six months later. But in the meantime this Lee Good got me back into the sanitarium. They did not want to take me in but he had again the influence. So with those two things in mind, of course I didn't know that I had a job, but I did have the interview. But in December, early December or later November I got the call that I was to come in for training, into Kennebunk, to become a toll collector. So the day that it opened I was one of the first toll collectors to have gone to work out of the thirty two they hired.

Stayed there four and a half years and they asked me to resign with two weeks with pay because the Teamster's Union had tried to organize and there was no law in the state of Maine at that time for any state employees. And the Maine Turnpike was a quasi municipality that was set up, consequently come under the state law. I had nothing to do with it, but anyway, that was my first experience with the union.

Eventually a gentleman by the name of Williams B. Getchell come down and he offered me a month off with pay. And I explained to Mr. Getchell which was, for some reason or other he accepted me as a lost soul I guess because the first two weeks that I was with the turnpike I worked in Biddeford. At midnight each night when I got through work he would be there to pick me up to take me to my rooming house. I had to hitchhike to the toll house to get to work during the day, but nevertheless this was a guy that I owed a lot to because he had done a lot to help me. So I thought that it was necessary to explain to him that I did not start the union.

I knew nothing about the union, a guy come to the toll house and said that I was the last one that hadn't signed so I signed the card and he wanted me to withdraw the card. My position was no, that the only thing that I had in my, to my name was my name. I had made the point of signing the card, and if I asked for it back it was, would show some immaturity on my part because I didn't know really that, it was a mistake. And whether it was a mistake or not I was going to live by it, and I told him exactly that.

So anyway, he went out the door, shook my hand and went out the door and I never saw the man again. But the interesting part of that story and the reason I brought that up, from that day until the day he died, which was probably eight years later, I think it was probably eight years later, each Christmas I received a Christmas card. I never received a card before from him, the years that I worked there, and needless to say I never received another card after he died, but the point was was that eight years I received a Christmas card from Williams B. Getchell.

I left there and went to work at a union shop. Portland (*unintelligible word*) Works in South Portland, and instantly became a union officer, recording secretary. And I worked there thirteen and a half years, and was offered a job for the International Association of Machinists. And I stayed with the International Association of Machinists until I retired in January 31, of 1990.

**GB:** All right. Let me back up for a second, ask you a few questions and work back up to where we just left off. So, let me make sure I understand this correctly, the Maine Turnpike Authority had asked all of the unionized workers to resign, anyone who had signed?

**RH:** I don't know, I don't know if they ever asked anyone else. I was accused of being the trouble maker. I was the one who had supposedly, Getchell was told that I was the one that started the organizing. And I knew nothing about organizing until this Teamster come in and said that I was the last one that hadn't signed. Well I eventually found out that it was my good friends at the Portland toll house, one of them told Getchell under questioning that I was the one that started it.

But that's all behind the, behind us now. That's, and that's what, that I guess was the reason that I became so pure and decided that since I signed the card I wasn't going to-. If I was accused of, falsely, of starting the union I figured, well, I may just as well stick with it. And, because I assumed that the other guys had been requested. But none of them ever told me and I never asked any of them if they-. I refused to take the two weeks. I refused to take Mr. Getchell's four weeks with pay. And about six months after that episode, or, in other words when he come into the toll house to make the offer, I just voluntarily resigned and got my last week's pay check. I didn't take any of their bribery or whatever you want to call it.

**GB:** So when you did sign the union card, was that something that you were very actively interested in or was it just sort of something you kind of went along with.

**RH:** Never, never, never knew anything about a union. In Aroostook County they didn't have unions. I know, or knew at that point of no union people. I had never, never even read a story about a union. The guy that come in, his name was Eaton, that lived in Sanford, Maine. I don't know what his first name was. But anyway, he gave the union pitch about job security and wages and all the things that normally would appear in a union contract. And at that point, I have to tell you very frankly, not knowing whether unions were good or bad, it sounded awfully good to me. So I decided, well what the hell, how can you go wrong with all these promises.

But the union did not go in at that time, as a matter of fact. The employees became unionized with the state employees union probably, I don't know, fifteen or twenty years ago. I don't know how long it's been. But I never went back to, I never tried to organize. When I became a member of the machinist's union I . . . .

The Pennsylvania turnpike was organized at that time and if you ever went down the Maine turnpike and have ridden down the Pennsylvania turnpike, you'll notice that they're identical. Well, the Pennsylvania turnpike was the very first turnpike in the United States, and Maine was the second. And they used the same engineering firm to build both highways.

**GB:** I didn't know that, did not know that. Wow.

**RH:** As a matter of fact, it, that's one of those things that has nothing to do with your tape but I have to get it off my chest. I'm so, excuse the language, pissed at the Maine Turnpike Authority and our politicians because the Maine turnpike was paid for in 1949 or before, and look at the tolls that we're having to pay today. So it just irritates me to think that they feel as though, well, never mind now.

**GB:** You're not the first person I've heard say that, and it is an interesting issue.

**RH:** It's a very interesting issue. For example, if you remember the state of Connecticut, their politicians finally decided that there was no reason whatsoever. They're charging gasoline tax for highways, federal and state, and then turn around and,-. It's nothing more in my personal opinion than the Turnpike Authority protecting themselves and perpetuating their own job protection. Stop and think of it. What, for what other purpose?

Other than when Governor McKernan was in. I don't remember the exact figures but it was, someone told me at one time that they bought from the Kittery toll house, the York toll house now, back to Kittery which was five miles, and the turnpike sold that to the state for something like eighty thousand dollars or whatever. And when Governor McKernan was in, he and the legislature decided to buy it back for something like sixteen million dollars, the same five miles. But the reason for that was because they had so much money in the Turnpike Authority coffers and the state needed money pretty bad so they decided that they would sell the five miles back to the Maine turnpike and, to help dig them out of a financial bind that the state happened to be in. Now that's within your life time, because that hasn't been that far back.

**GB:** Yeah, yeah, oh wow. Yeah, it certainly is an interesting issue. All right, now you had mentioned that some three hundred people were applying for about thirty-two positions as toll collectors. Was that because it was a very appealing job, or just because there was, jobs were at a premium at the time?

**RH:** Well, the war was over in 1947 and there was a hell of a lot of service men coming back, and there wasn't the need for war production as there was earlier. Most of the production that was, that took care of an awful lot of people was in the-. For example, United Technology building engines and so on and so forth for airplanes because airplanes became very important to this country at that time. Automobiles as a matter of fact became very important and they were putting automobiles out and hiring these people. Because I think in 1942 they stopped making automobiles because of the war effort, and I think that it was 1946 they started making vehicles again so, you know, that took a lot of help. But Maine just didn't have that type of production in the state. Remind me before you leave, I want to show you my seventy-five year old car that I got about six weeks ago.

**GB:** Sure, I'd love to see that, yeah.**RH:** But the political aspect of it was, as I tried to explain, was that the, by approaching my grandmother's cousin, that was pure politics that I got in on the Maine turnpike. It was pure politics that I got back into the sanatorium. Now, I didn't have to go back. It was, it was the, in other words my health hadn't, my health had improved.

Because again my mother at one time, for a very short time, worked for Dr. Madigan in Houlton. This was before she went to the shipyard, right after the divorce, and she worked there for, oh, probably maybe three or four months, four or five months, something like that. And she just felt that she was part of that family. They were strong Catholics at that time and it was just, she liked their way of life from the way that we had. I didn't know any better at the time, so. But Dr., after my mother had died, Dr. Donovan was contacted by my grandmother. I'm guessing this, I don't know how it come about. But about a week after I got out of the sanitarium I went into the Madigan Hospital in Houlton and took supposedly the very first streptomycin that was ever given to a patient in the state of Maine.

Now that was the first tubercular cure supposedly that had ever been developed. And I was supposed to have had a hundred thousand units as I remember. This was a long time ago, but anyway the, it wasn't by mistake, it was, this one was by design. He gave me, or the hospital gave me two hundred thousand units. And they were, part of the lung that had never cleared up was in the left lung. And within a month after I had taken streptomycin that particular, they call them shadows, had cleared. In other words, had totally left.

And then when I went to work on the Maine turnpike I had a Dr. Davinson from, was one of these Jewish prisoners of war that come over here. And she was at the sanitarium for five years, got her license and started practicing. And she doesn't practice any more, she retired about a year or so ago, she lives, still lives in Portland. I moved down here and I had my pneumothorics from her every week for the other two and a half years that I wasn't in the sanitarium.

They come out with a second drug, and I have no idea what the name of that one was. But I remember that I had to buy it by the bot-, there was a thousand a bottle and I had to take seventy-two a day of these pills. They were about the size of aspirin, tasted like aspirin as a matter of fact. But they, it was the second and a different type of drug than streptomycin. But at one time she told me that I had the clearest tubercular free body of anyone in the world, or anyone that had taken these two medicines.

*(Unintelligible phrase)* you asked the question that, you know, how prevalent was tuberculosis at that time and how it could be developed. We had one of these prisoners of war, again an excellent physician, told me that any person alive at the age of nineteen years old in 1945-6 and prior to the medicine, if they went to the clearest mountain, mountain air, there was in the world and allowed their bodies to get overtired, not eat the proper foods, up on that mountain they would end up with tuberculosis because everyone at nineteen had the tubercular germ. The tuberculosis came about only when the body was allowed to. Just improper foods, improper rest, and going to school for example for those two years that I worked at the Houlton Theater. I had to work nights, you see, and go to school during the day so that didn't do my body a hell of a lot of good. I got excellent food at the rooming house because they kind of adopted me. They were excellent, excellent people. But nevertheless they, I had to pay my own room and board but, I mean they didn't offer that for nothing, they couldn't afford to give me something for nothing.

But, the, as I said, the politics thing. When I got into Portland I went down to register on my twenty-first birthday. And I registered, filled out the little white card, and there was a lovely

elderly lady, pure white hair, she must have been sixty-five or seventy at that time. She gave me a Republican enrollment card and I just asked a simple question, "Is this the only party there is?"

And she was very, very disturbed over that question. So she gave me a Democratic card, so I took both cards and threw them back at her and I said, "Maybe this isn't the time that I should be discussing this," walked out, and I remained as unenrolled.

I call it disenfranchised today, but, because you can't participate in the selection process at the primary. Moved to South Portland and the first thing that I did in South Portland was to go down and register. And I was given both cards, no questions, you fill out the card that you want. I filled out the Democratic card and I've stayed with it ever since.

I joined the South Portland committee which is very easy I assume. If you're familiar enough with politics to know that it's all you've got to do is show up, you're automatically a member. I belonged to the South Portland committee real early in life. From there I went to the caucuses and became a member of the county committee, Cumberland County. And I remained as a Cumberland County and a South Portland member for, well, until I saw fit to leave from up here. I was a delegate to probably every convention. Again, it's all you had to do was show up and you was a delegate to the state conventions.

I became a state committee member in 19-. I can't remember, David Buxton [*sic* Bustin] was the chair, I think it was something like 1972 or '73. And at that time I only was a visiting member, I was not elected as a delegate to the state committee. But I felt as though that I had a full voice and there was no reason to try to become a state committee member because-. And then when Harold Pachios took over he and I got along real well with the exception of he thought that I talked too much. So consequently he put a muzzle on me until I could run for state committee, which I did run and win, and that way he couldn't muzzle me any longer. But Harold in my opinion was probably one of the better chairs that I had served under. This was before Ken Curtis, I'm sorry, this was after Ken Curtis when he became chair.

But I went to the convention in 1975 and that's when I, I had met Ed Muskie by the way back in 1964. I think it was in, at a fund raiser in Lewiston. Mr. Muskie and I, Senator Muskie and I, for some reason or other he apparently didn't particularly care for me. I don't know why, but I attended every function. But we would be closer than you and I and he wouldn't speak to me and I wouldn't speak to him.

And in 1975 we went to the, my wife and I went to the convention as delegates in New York City. We stayed at a flea bag somewhere. But anyway the senator was there and to this day I don't know why, but I was at the convention, when I got back to the hotel I went to my room and the key wouldn't fit. So I went back downstairs and they had told me that, my wife was at the hotel by the way, she was an alternate, and went to the desk to find out why the key wouldn't fit and they told me that Senator Muskie had requested that my room be changed down to his floor. I was on eight, ten or whatever the floor was, but anyway I was moved down to his floor, second or third or fourth, whatever it was, in a room next to him. And I can never understand why that that was ever done.

But again, we socialized for the next . . . . And that was when he was Jimmy Carter's, on Jimmy

Carter's list of being, becoming the vice president. And after, well we had talked probably twice. I was with, along with the entire Maine delegation when he was informed that he was not the choice. And that really upset him because being the type of a politician that he was. Which in my opinion later on in life, I determined that he probably was the absolute best that we ever had in this state, until George Mitchell. But again, it, the two or three times that we met it was in the hotel. After we had moved down to his floor, it was very casual, I mean there was no conversation.

In 1975, and I, not in '75, 1977, the Democrats, that's when they became very liberal. And, you know, we accepted the whole world in, except the Republicans and so they had the mid term convention because they thought that by having a mid term convention we were going to be able to control the congress. I guess that's what the thoughts were because they had the platform and all of that. And that was in Kansas City.

We went to a, what they called a TraveLodge. David Buxton [Bustin] was the chair at the time and we, the Maine delegation, Virginia, and I don't remember what the third state was. It was kind of a small hotel anyway so it took the smaller states. But I got a call from David Buxton [Bustin] this particular afternoon. I was in my room, it was the first or second day that we were there, and said, Senator Muskie is coming to town. He wasn't scheduled in. And, now this is David's story, I don't know if you've interviewed him or not. But anyway the, as I understood it he went down to the desk to get the senator a room and the desk clerk said that he could accommodate, I guess he wanted to know who it was. When David Bustin told him that it was Senator Ed Muskie, he said, "We don't have any rooms at the inn," or words to that effect. But he picked up the telephone and he called over to a hotel, and I can't tell you what the name of it was but it was owned by the Hallmark Card Company. And there was a story behind that but I won't go into why they built this hotel.

But when Muskie got to town and was at this hotel, Bustin come back again. Tony [Buxton], yeah, Bustin, Bustin, Buxton, I get them mixed up, come back and said that Senator Muskie had invited me and I can't remember the man's name from York and his wife out to dinner. Well needless to say I, again, another one of those mysteries, I couldn't figure it out. But the interesting part of this story is when I again woke up to the world, in tune with the world that Senator Muskie was a person that was extremely well loved in this country.

He took us on a tour of this new hotel that hadn't been completed. The rooms were all built but there was a lot of construction going on still, the corridors, the exits and so on and so forth. And he took us through the shopping mall, it was on the third, fourth and fifth floor. That's all it was was little tiny shops, but nevertheless it was a shopping mall. And it was closed, no business was open. But they was, the hotel was full of people and as we walked down the corridors, which was probably as wide as this, from the kitchen wall to this wall. In front of us people would separate, not talk and back up against the walls. And I thought, what the hell is going on, is one of us, you know, a zipper busted or something? I just couldn't, couldn't figure it out. And this happened for two of the corridors that he had taken us through, this shopping mall. And no one approached him and, a lot of whispering but no talking. And when we got to the exit, he decided that we were going to walk down the steps. Now, as I said, these steps were unfinished, in other words they were just -

**GB:** Can I stop you for a second and flip the tape?

*End of Side A, Tape One*

*Side B, Tape One*

**RH:** . . . . Trying to prove that you did a good job, huh?

**GB:** All right, so go ahead, you're on the stairs. Continue.

**RH:** The stairs hadn't been finished, but anyway we were starting, started down and after we had gone through the exit door there was a young couple that followed us. And they would speed up and then they would slow down on the steps, because we had two flights of stairs to go down. And as we were getting down to the landing I was watching this young couple. They probably were, I'm going to say probably not over nineteen, either one of them, a boy and a girl. And she finally found a pencil in her bag, or he found a pencil, and they found a piece of scrap paper or something and I assume that they was going to ask Senator Muskie for his autograph. I knew sure as hell it wasn't going to be me. So they come running down the steps, of course you could hear them because again, it was on concrete and they had the steps, just the minute you touched them, I mean the gravel or the concrete, you could hear the footsteps. So they come down these steps extremely fast. So I turned around to look to find out, well at that point they apparently got nervous or something and run right straight by us with their paper flying in their hand, they never stopped.

But at that, I finally come to, got thinking about the hotel manager at the, at the, where we were, and I thought to myself, Roger Hare, what a God damned idiot. Here is probably one of the most respected people in this entire country and you have trouble talking to him, or you can't talk to him, or you don't get along or whatever. I mean, it was my problem, not his, it was my problem.

And we went to dinner and by the time we got done dinner we had all kinds of conversation. But again, I don't understand why that he ever, he ever asked for my wife and I to move down to his floor. I don't understand, never did understand why that he invited the, had the fellow's name, I lost it. At that time he was a money, a man of apparently quite a lot of money, lived in Kittery, Howell, Jack Howell. And it was Jack Howell and his wife and myself that Muskie had invited over for dinner. Now the whole delegation, the Maine delegation, we had probably twenty-five or thirty people. And why that we were selected is a total mystery, so he's as much of a mystery to me now as he is to you. Uh . . . .

**GB:** Well it sounds like he may have liked you more than you thought he did.

**RH:** Well there was something, I don't know what it was. But anyway, as I said, that, the senator and I, and this again was at his request but it was up in Augusta and it had something to do with an AFL-CIO function. I can't remember what it was other than the fact that it, when we left the hotel it had just started to rain. And Muskie was dressed, needless to say, in a suit. And I had a race horse at the time and my son had bought two of these yellow complete slicker, rain slicker suits. And, I have a picture, I don't know where it is but I have a picture of Muskie and I

and I had my suit on and he took my son's because my son is six foot six, so he's a little larger than I am. And Muskie took his suit and we went on this labor walk to wherever the hell it was. I don't know if it was a picket line, I just don't remember what it was. But it, it was, I had been to the senator's office when he was senator for a number of times and that's where I met Madeleine Albright.

**GB:** Oh, really?

**RH:** Madeleine Albright worked for the senator at one point in time. And she was a lovely, lovely lady. She was a great aide to him because she knew how to handle people. But, you know that, I don't know of too many other stories that I could tell about my relationship with the senator.

**GB:** Sure. Well let me ask you, when you did have a couple of personal encounters with him, what were your impressions of him? What was he like face to face personally?

**RH:** Well, based on my attitude and based on the way that he either read me or I read him or we read each other, I would say that he was very cold to start off with. But he, as you've already pointed out, he very well could not have been as cold as I thought that he was or he wouldn't have requested on two different occasions that I be in a very, very small group, the Jack Howells and myself. Can't get much smaller group than that, that was four of us for dinner. And as I said, the entire Maine delegation, whatever the numbers may have been, thirty or whatever, the delegates and alternates, at Kansas City at that mid term convention.

**GB:** And so when you ended up having conversation with him and being a bit warmer to each other, did your impressions change at that point?

**RH:** Oh, my imp-, when my impressions changed at, that hotel, whatever the name of the hotel was in Kansas City when those two young kids went by and the light come on of why those people were separating, why they were whispering. You know, you walk down the corridor or I walk down the corridor of Maine Mall for an example and people don't even know that we're there unless they push us or bump into us, or we bump into them. In this particular case, they opened the corridor so that we could have freedom to walk down the corridor uninterrupted, and it didn't change his conversation at all by the way. But I just couldn't, I don't even remember what the conversation was other than he went into the explanation of explaining this mall in the hotel. And where in hell he got so much information about it all of a sudden is a mystery to me. But I don't really remember too much more about his conversation, and the hotel and the mall, than what I've already told you. It was just, as I said, when I come to to the fact that this man was just, it was a rotten, rotten shame that -.

Getting back to, I don't know, I'm sure that there's someone who's already told this story, why this crying episode went on at the, on the trailer up in New Hampshire. When, before I became a state committee member, one of the things that got me well fitted with the state committee was they had to have a fund raiser because that was part of the task at that time was the state committee members had to be fund raisers and we had to see that there was enough funds coming in. Well I come up with this idea that, of a raffle. And the raffle was to get as many gifts

as we could get from donors, in this particular case I can remember some of them.

There was a fellow by the name of Levine that had a, had a slaughter house in Winslow and he gave, that was the first prize, by the way, a half a side of beef. Day's Jewelry Store gave two wrist watches, a man and a woman's. C.E. Noyes, which is out of business now as far as I know, they was a tire company, they gave, we asked for two tires, they gave us a set of four tires. And we had gifts, just unbelievable numbers of gifts. And I didn't do it but I suggested that we should have a gift for every county so that at least every county would feel as though they had some support. And a grocery store, and I can't remember, seems to me it was Shop 'n' Save or whatever Shop 'n' Save's company is, I think it's Hannaford's, but they gave a food basket or, they had made these bags of food up anyway, for each county. So it was supposedly at that time the largest fund raiser that Maine ever had from the standpoint of pure profit. And all sixteen counties participated. You've heard the name Floyd Harding?

**GB:** I've heard the name.

**RH:** Well, I'll never forget. I went to Caribou because it was part of my task, since I started this, was the visit the county committees and explain. Went to Presque Isle, to the North Eastland Hotel at the, at their meeting. And I made the presentation and Floyd Harding got up and spoke against it. And he spoke against it, which happened to be true, but it was my understanding then as it is now, you can't have a raffle ticket unless you name an official that's the sponsor.

David Bustin was the chair of the Democratic state committee and during the raffle you have to have three different pieces of information: you have to have the sponsor which was David Bustin, Maine Democratic committee; you had to have the price of the tickets; and you had to have them numbered, that was number four; and you also had to have the date of the drawing. Now that was written into the law, that you had to have these things on the ticket.

But Floyd Harding thought that because David Bustin was running for governor, and he hadn't announced at that time he was running for governor, that Floyd Harding had heard through the circuit that he was going to run, and Floyd Harding got up and spoke against it. I'll never forget Mr. Harding for that because (*unintelligible phrase*). And my presentation after he sat down was we're talking about the Democratic Party and I informed the people that I thought that they had enough intelligence that they was going to vote for their candidate regardless of who it was and regardless of what, where their name may have appeared whether it was on a raffle ticket or a personal check. And we did, we raised quite a lot of money in Aroostook County, not because of that by the way. But I mean the people participated. So what else have you got?

**GB:** All right, well when you first came to Portland and registered as a Democrat, what made you decide to register as a Democrat?

**RH:** I just explained that, because the Republican lady that insisted that I only had the, they only had one card. When I went to South Portland I registered as a Democrat. As a matter of fact, to, the machinist's union, which I was an officer of at that time, had endorsed the Democratic ticket. Now that was in, that would have been back in '5-, either '52 or '53. And I

think that Ken Curtis, Ken Curtis was involved I think at that particular time.

Anyway, it went way back, it went way back then. Ken Curtis, I had a good relationship with him throughout all the years. And I met him because his daughter that just died a couple, three years ago, his daughter and my daughter were born at the hospital at the same day and our wives shared the same hospital room in Portland. So it, from then on I mean he and I just were I would say very close because it, uh, we had social lives together, but that, you're not interested in Ken Curtis at this point.

**GB:** Oh no, sure, sure, sure you can tell me about him. I'd actually love to hear about Ken Curtis.

**RH:** One of the things that has to do with my union career, I have the book where the, shut your machine off for a minute and I'll go dig the book out.

*(Pause in taping.)*

**GB:** All right, so The Hundred Million Dollar Payoff. **RH:** The Hundred Million Dollar Payoff was written by Douglas Caddy, C-A-D-D-Y. And Douglas Caddy was the very first lawyer that Richard Nixon hired when the, as I understand it there was the Watergate. And this book is written on the, from the court records when Douglas Caddy found an individual. And I'm not going to, I don't remember what his name is but anyway, a machinist union member, when they took the case to court where union dues was supposedly used in politics.

And this was, as far as I'm personally concerned, is what ultimately is, caused the problems between the, around the, on the PACS. Because the machinist's union in 1947, when the Taft-Hartley law went in, started a political PAC. And at one time only unions was allowed to make contributions. And then, and I don't remember the president, but anyway one of the Republican presidents got in and they passed a piece of legislation where management or corporations could have political PACS.

Prior to that they could contribute all the money that they wanted, the companies, the executives, and so on and so forth, but it was on an individual type basis. And the individual type basis was based on the maximums as I remember it that the trade labor movement was stuck with. And at that time it was five thousand dollars an election, or a maximum of ten thousand dollars. I'm sorry, yeah, election because it would be five thousand in the primary and five thousand in the general. So consequently, and I think that it was, that was for a PAC, where individuals I think was limited at that time to a thousand dollars maximum as an individual gift to a politician.

And so, that's why I brought that up was in this book. I wrote a letter to Ben Dorsky for an example, and which appeared in the . . . Ben Dorsky at that time by the way was the president of the Maine AFL-CIO. And I wrote a letter to Ken Curtis from the standpoint of, I don't remember what was in the letter, it's in here somewhere. I don't remember exactly what page it's on. But anyway the book itself, as a matter of fact here's my vice president's at that time. They had all these letters that was printed or in that particular court case because they went, Caddy went to the International Association of Machinists, or went to court, and got an order that every

document of every representative for the International Association of Machinists had to be turned over to the court.

And the reason for that was that the requirement of the machinist's union then, as it is now, is that we had to make out a projected report of what we were going, every Saturday we had to make out a projected report of what we were going to do next week. And we had to make out a detailed report of what we have done this past week. And they required that on, as much of an exact projection and report as your total activities. In other words, they just didn't say, well I'm going to go to visit Ken Curtis today, they had to state what time you was going to see Ken Curtis and what the issue was and so on and so forth. So all of that appeared in this particular book. It had, so these letters that was reported out appeared in here, but the entire text of that court suit is based on this book.

I was given that, as a matter of fact, I wouldn't have bought, it come out in hard copy but I wouldn't buy the son of a bitch. The first book that I ever saw was a hard copy and it was loaned to me by a person that worked for the AFL-CIO. And the only library that I ever knew that it appeared in was in Bangor because that's where the book came from. But then it come out in soft copy and I ended up with this one.

But as I said, the, with Ken Curtis and the, our relationship, we had a number of just personal meetings that had nothing to do with anything more than our children or any of the fund raisers or whatever. Mary and I always attended to those. It, I think that my political involvement, as a matter of fact, from 19-, can't remember the year.

I'm going to say probably in the mid seventies. I was appointed by the International Association of Machinists as being the political liaison for the vice president in eleven states because that was what the territory covered was eleven states. So I worked on political activity for a number of campaigns. As a matter of fact yesterday I was looking at a video tape that we had made. Can't even remember what it's name is but I have it out in the garage, for a politician from Pennsylvania. We had a, he visited a labor group and they put the questions to him. And it was professionally made, it was put all on video tape. I think his name was Edgar, I'm not positive. But anyway, he didn't win, it was a-

But as far as my activity in politics it, when I was assigned, I think this is an interesting story. Again, it's interesting to me to the extent that the International Association of Machinists. I received a call one day and it was a friend of mine that, he and I had the same working title but he was assigned to the New York office. And the conversation went similar to this, "Roger, I just got a call from Sal." Sal Iacia, which was the vice president on the territory. And he says, "You're going to be involved in, as a political liaison and his message from him to me, and from me to you, is that you have no choice. So there's no need of whining or crying that, you know, that you don't want to be involved in politics."

I love politics. So consequently I get a job that I really, really enjoyed for a lot of years with this organization because when they had special campaigns, and I'm talking about congressional campaigns, in any of the eleven states, I was normally assigned. In 1980 for an example when the, Kennedy run against, as a matter of fact I got a gift downstairs, shut it off again and I'll go

down and get it for you.

*(Pause.)*

**RH:** . . . those things around, so you hold that for some memorabilia sale and I'll bet you could have some fun.

**GB:** So this is a record, what is on this exact-, oh, okay.

**RH:** It's a record -

**GB:** I'm not familiar with this, um with this recording.

**RH:** No, it's a record that Teresa Brewer, I can't remember what her fav--, what her, not her favorite song but one of her most popular songs. But someone had written lyrics. Used the same music but the, had written lyrics for the Ted Kennedy campaign, presidential campaign in 1980.

**GB:** And the song's called "Teddy".

**RH:** And the song's called "Teddy".

**GB:** Wow that's great, that's great.

**RH:** Well, wait until you hear it. I, as a matter of fact I have to tell you that, it's, I think that it was-. I've never, I heard it on the radio just once and I don't know how many of those things was ever printed but I know that I got, I got three or four of them. But it's, that one's never been used.

**GB:** Wow, that's fantastic. All right. So, oh boy, where do we go from here? All right.

**RH:** I got done telling you that I was assigned to the political activity for the National Association of Machinists. Got a couple of interesting, again, all of these stories are interesting to me but they may not be to you. But I went in to Washington on a political assignment. And on Friday, this was in 1980, on Friday I was informed by my boss that I was going to have to stay over for an extra four days because they needed a host for the Ted Kennedy platform committee group.

So I didn't have enough clean clothes to put me through. So after I had moved in to the suite that had been assigned to me before that, the room that I had on the tenth floor in the Mayflower was a little two-by-four and now they moved me out of that for the next four days into this luxurious multi room suite. And so I moved all of my things down and the, decided that I was going to go next door because there was a men's store just, right next to the, in the same block as the Mayflower Hotel. Went into the Mayflower, went into the men's clothing store, bought the clothes that I needed for the next four days, and went back to the room.

Well, when I had left the room, or the suite, I left the main entrance open and I had closed the

bedroom door, or the bathroom door, because there was a corridor into the bedroom and the bathroom was the other wall of the corridor. And when I got into the room I noticed that the first door, which would have led into the corridor, then there was the bathroom door and then there's the bedroom door.

Well I noticed that that door had been closed. So I took my clothes, opened that door, looked down to the end of the corridor into the bedroom, and the cover was folded over. I thought, "What the hell's going on?" So I snuck down in to see what was going on, went down to the foot of the bed. I saw that it was someone that had their head covered up but they was under the covers anyway. Put the bags down, when I put the bags down on the floor they made a noise and all of a sudden this cover come down off of this face. It was Gloria Steinem.

I made a real hit with Gloria Steinem because she says, "Is this your room?" And I said, "Yes." And I introduce myself, she said, told me who she was. And she had come in on the redeye and she was exhausted and her room wasn't ready so she had come down to the Kennedy because it was all posted, you know, where the Kennedy reception room was, or the platform committee's room was. So she just decided that she was, found a bed and she was going to have a little nap. So she was going to get right up and I said, "No, no, no, don't bother to get up." I says, "I'm going to be extremely pleased to go home and tell everyone that I had Gloria Steinem in my bed." And she didn't like that at all.

Well, I can understand why after I said it. And that's my problem, I say things sometimes when I, I should be listening instead of talking sometimes and that was one of those times. But anyway she ended up to be quite a lady at the, I saw her a couple or three times after that at different functions and reminded her of having her in my bed. But the, I was the host for the machinist's union for the Ted Kennedy platform meeting. I was on the Democratic drafting committee in 1976. I was on the national platform committee and the national platform committee chose me one of fifteen people. This is, now, this is for my posterity rather than Muskie's -

**GB:** Sure.

**RH:** Yeah, sure. I was on the, the full national committee elected me to serve as a member of fifteen people to serve on the drafting committee. And it was the first time apparently in history that there was ever a Democratic platform that come out without a, what the hell is it they call it when there's one particular group a descending, minority report. It was the first time in history where the, apparently that, and to finish up on that particular story of the minority report, after I got home, by probably a week and a half, I got a telephone call that they couldn't go to convention without having a minority report.

So the minority report come in with, on two issues, one of them I can remember and the other one I can't because it hasn't been that long since the law's changed, and as I said this was 1975. The Hatch Act was the issue that they was going to make the minority report over. But the process itself was, we had to attend hearings throughout the United States. And just to give you an idea of my thoughts on that one was we had to go into congress and listen, for three days, and listen to the congress people. Tip O'Neill come in and everyone that come in to testify had to

have their presentation in writing and we all got a copy of it. I ended up at home with just a little over three feet of materials that I had received in the mail and paper work that I had received from the presenters throughout these hearings. Tip O'Neill come in with one, it was on eight and a half by sixteen. There must have been, probably a hundred and fifty, two hundred pages printed only on one side of things that he felt as though that should go into the platform.

And he took an entire day and he hadn't got started more than probably, probably four or five minutes, and the, again that lightbulb that I remembered from Muskie's story, popped on. Now, here is the leader in the United States house of representatives. He controls everything that goes on on the floor and is presenting us with two or three hundred pages, maybe even four hundred pages, of things that should go into the platform and he's explaining them page by page. And what the hell was the good of us wasting our time because he isn't going to put any of these things that he has written or his staff has written and prepared for us to review. He isn't going to support any of this stuff when it gets into the congress. But it happens to be a good liberal, you know, give everything.

I had all of that material by the way up until about probably five or six years ago and I decided that that was the end of it, there was no reason to save that junk. And I'm talking about the, all of the materials from that 1975. But that was probably one of the most interesting things that I was ever participated in in my entire life was the drafting of that committee. Or being on that committee because we went, we started the actual draft, drafting work, on a Friday. And that Friday, I can't remember all, I can't remember all of their names, but there was five presidential candidates at the time. George Wallace was one, I've lost his name, from Washington, D.C., oh, from the state of Washington. Scoop -

**GB:** Oh, Jack-, Jack-, why am I thinking Jackson?

**RH:** No.

**GB:** No, no, that's not his name.

**RH:** Anyway -

**GB:** I know who you're talking about, I can find out and we'll write it into the transcript there.

**RH:** There was five of them that decided to resign, or withdraw. They didn't resign, they withdrew all that day. But the interesting part of the drafting process was Friday when we went in each presidential candidate was entitled to have a spokesperson at the table to debate their issues with the platform drafting committee. And Carter had a fellow by the name of Tom Downey I think what his name was. He was a college professor at that. He was the executive director of the college professors association or whatever they, whatever group that they particular had. He sat at the table, and then there was an attorney from Atlanta.

And the attorney from Atlanta, and I can't think of his name, he's still in Washington, but I didn't like the son-of-a-bitch to begin with and he liked me even less after I got done. Because he asked me to move away from the table so that he could move in to my spot, so I asked the

chair which was Dukakis at the time. I said, "Mr. Chairman, you stated who was to be at the table," and I said, "My question is, is that didn't you state there's supposed to be one presidential representative?" Dukakis had to say yes, and I said, "All the committee members are supposed to be at the table. Would you agree that a duly elected committee member . . .?" "Yes," so I said, "well this guy," and again I can't think of what his name was, he was the, Jewish. And that has nothing other than the fact that, Jewish name anyway, I don't know if he was a Jewish person but it has nothing to do with the religion itself. It was just a, some, and I guess he was the very first one that I ever met in my life that was this arrogant, oh, he was an arrogant son-of-a-bitch. But anyway, Dukakis asked him to leave the table so he had to go back in the corner and from that day on he and I never got along. And every time that he wanted to interrupt I would remind the chair that Downey, which sat right directly across from the table from me, was the elected spokesman for Jimmy Carter.

But we worked all day long on a platform that, and we had agreed on a number of things. Most of it just, it was pretty much these five presidential candidates arguing on each other were, but in the areas where they could meet, that was made part of that particular day's work. And at the end of the day when we ended up, we were informed that the following day that now everything had changed. Now it was Jimmy Carter only. And that was the day, by the way, that I had the dispute with this character that-. He was Jimmy Carter's attorney when he was in Washington, his personal attorney, or worked for the state but he was nevertheless the-.

And we ended up with, as I said, with the platform that didn't have any minority reports until we got the telephone call. And the only thing that they did was they told us what it was going to be. They, and again I think the whole thing, the whole process is ridiculous because the staff leads you down the path of where the, because they write what they interpret as what the committee has said. You get one interpretation as you understand it when you're sitting at the table, but the next morning you read it, it's what the Democratic Party and the staff want.

So it, but the, they, I had quit the Democratic Party, and I'll close my comments with this. I didn't quit the Democratic Party, I apologize for that. I failed to serve on the state committee. And with the exception of four years since 1972, I don't believe I had missed up until this past convention, I don't believe that I had missed possibly, probably four meetings total in all that period of time, minus the four years that I was assigned to Washington to work because then I couldn't attend the meetings. And because of my own rule that I had put on the floor real early in my state committee activity was that if you missed three consecutive meetings you were automatically off the committee. Because prior to that they used to list all the names of the state committee people and everyone run for the state committee because they want their name on the letterhead. Well, that was the last year of that because now with this adoption of this rule, and it passed unanimously, that meant that they couldn't change the paper, the stationery every time that someone quit.

But I was one of the first ones, or the first one that got caught up in my own rule of if you miss three consecutive meetings, and that was because I was assigned to Washington. I lived down there for those four years. But the years that I served on the Democratic state committee we went through all the liberalism that it was conceivable to go through. We got rid of the back door politics, smoke filled rooms, supposedly, I mean you've all, I assume you've heard all of those

stories of how things were all directed. They're still all directed, even more so now though. But we met twelve times a year, there was forty nine of us, we had to have our nomination papers signed by I think it was twenty-five people, we had to go to the convention, and we had to be elected by the county at the convention, and then we had to be reaffirmed or installed or whatever by, or ratified by the full convention that we were state delegates. Today I think that if you call them and ask for a roster you probably would end up with a hundred and some odd people. If you're a committee chair appointed by the chair of the state committee, you don't have to run for election, you don't have to be anything except the chair of the committee that you've been appointed to chair. If you want to serve on a committee you can serve on a committee without even having been elected, just volunteer that you want to be on the fund raising committee or whatever and you're on that committee.

This year, 19-, year 2000, we're down to a meeting every other month. Next year there's going to be only four meetings the entire year. You're talking about back door politics? Who's going to run the state Democratic committee? Who's going to do the fund raising which we don't do any more anyway.

The three, missing three meetings is still a rule for state committee people. The twelve, the sixteen county chairs is now members, voting members of the state committee. They're allowed to have an alternate. State committee members are not allowed to have alternates. The county committee chairs are elected by the county to chair the county meetings. But now they're automatically, they have more power than the state committee itself, the sixteen members, because when they go into session if they decide that they want to establish a rule or a law or anything they just have enough power so that they can implement it.

So it, it, to my knowledge there's no fund raising any more within the committee. And I'm talking about committee members going out and soliciting funds which we were at one time required to do, they don't do that any more. That's all left to the house reelection committee or whatever they call it, and the senate reelection committee whereby that they have their PACS now and they do all of the fund raising. And the executive director, if that person has influence with those two leaders, then the leaders might decide that they will (*unintelligible word*) out some money for. So that's the end of my story from the standpoint of being in the Democratic Party and going through the process, and why that I got out of it. I'm still a member of the town committee, and I'm still a member of the county committee but I have no desires of having anything to do with the state committee.

**GB:** Well, that is a fascinating story. All right, so I'll leave that there and change gears and how about I ask you some labor questions now?

**RH:** Okay, okay.

**GB:** All right. Oh boy, let me switch tapes before I do that.

*End of Side B, Tape One  
Side A, Tape Two*

**GB:** We're now on tape two of the interview with Roger Hare. All right, to begin with you had mentioned I think some contact you had with Ben Dorsky who was at the time the president of the Maine AFL-CIO. Did the machinist's union have a lot of contact with other unions like the AFL-CIO or perhaps some of the craft unions?

**RH:** Oh yeah, sure, because the, the, the, the uh unions through the AFL-CIO executive board was made up of delegates from different unions. So the answer to that was yes. As the liaison as such, I had to deal with Ben Dorsky almost on a, well I'll say continuing basis. Because if there was any legislative issue, if there was anything that had to do with politics period, then, in relationship to the machinists, and the machinists bragging about it, and we're not the only ones, so.

But I just want to make the point, that as far as Democrats were concerned, I can't think of a Democrat since 19-, probably '50 or maybe, maybe back as far as even '52, somewhere along in there, that didn't receive the maximum contribution from the International Association of Machinists. We call it MNPL, Machinist Nonpartisan Political League, and it is non partisan to an extent. For an example, as far as Maine is concerned, the machinists supported Margaret Chase Smith for two of her terms because Margaret Chase Smith is on record as not protecting the machinist's union but protecting the rights of working people which is unusual for a Republican to do anything for working people. There was a national airline strike and the Republicans tried to get an injunction along with the airlines that it was, national defense was involved. And they wanted to come in under the national defense, some law that, where no one could refuse to work to protect the defense of this country. And Margaret Chase Smith lobbied, didn't lobby, she, what do they call it when they get up and speak and never stop?

**GB:** Oh, filibuster?

**RH:** Filibuster, she filibustered the senate with the argument that there was no such thing as the defense of this country because the only thing that was down was passenger airlines and all of the federal planes were flying and everything was working with the exception of the passenger carriers. So they supported Margaret Chase Smith for her two terms. The last term, when she was defeated by Bill Hathaway, but they supported Bill Hathaway because Bill Hathaway had been a congressman and a fairly good congressman.

Getting back, and you want union stories for an example that affected Muskie, in this particular case it affected Hathaway, too. The first convention staff conference that the international president Wimpinsinger held, and I don't remember exactly what year it was but it was back in probably seventy-, I'm going to say probably it was back '76 or something like that when Bill Wimpinsinger went in as president of the International Association of Machinists. But anyway, he had a national convention out in Chicago, a staff meeting. And at that time there was a, the gas deregulation, or I think it was gas deregulation, or regulation or whatever. But the point was that Muskie and Hathaway went against the Maine convention because the Maine convention had already gone on record as supporting, or being opposed to the, and I think it was gas deregulation. They were opposed to the gas deregulation. And I put a call in to Muskie and to Hathaway to, from the convention, trying to convince them that the machinist's union was in opposition, plus the fact of the Maine convention.

And, but the point that I was getting at was that as far as Muskie was concerned, he had invited the Maine state committee down to his Kennebunkport home and we had our state committee meeting in his garage. Well it just so happened that all of that came together at the same time. I had returned from the machinist convention and we were at Muskie's home. So I got up and made apparently a terrible presentation because it didn't go over very well with too many of the delegates pertaining to the state convention voting a platform that was going to be totally ignored by Senator Muskie and Bill Hathaway. And I just used the Maine congressional, I didn't name them as individuals but the Maine congressional group at that point was going to be in opposition to the platform.

Well, Senator Muskie, when I got done Senator Muskie went after me and he didn't use my name but he went after me with venom because he felt as though that, and rightfully so, he was the United States senator, he had information that no one else had except the congress, and this is why that they should vote with the information rather than information that someone else contrived. So anyway, that was one time that Senator Muskie didn't particularly care for Roger Hare. And telling that story reminds me of another Muskie story that, and then we'll, because this still had to do with the union.

**GB:** Please, please, go ahead.

**RH:** I got a call on, I'm going to say Wednesday, and I don't even remember what year, don't remember anything about it other than the story that I'm going to tell you. And it had to do with, I lost the term, economic conversion. And the call was that they wanted, Senator Muskie was going to have a public hearing to be held at the Reicher School in Portland on Saturday, and they wanted me to make a presentation. So I asked what it was about: economic conversion. I couldn't even spell it let alone speak on it.

But I happened to remember that I had a speech on economic conversion that I had scoffed off in the machinist's union that President Wimpinsinger had made before some manufacturing group that he was invited to speak to. And I took that speech and read it over and, this is true, I've already told you I dropped out of high school. There was words in there that I had no idea what the hell they meant. But my beautiful wife, just to get it into the record, I lost her thirteen years ago, in '87, yeah, thirteen years ago, she and I went through the speech and Webster's dictionary and we found the meaning. She knew the meaning of a lot of them, but I wanted a word substituted that I could pronounce and have some idea of what the hell it meant. So I wrote on a legal pad my speech after having the corrections that my wife had put so that I knew what the words were and I could pronounce the words.

So I went to the meeting and the speakers were scheduled to speak as they were signed in. Well I was awfully close to being the last speaker that signed in because everyone knew what was going on. I didn't know until I got there about the speakers' list. So consequently that's why that I was late, and on top of being nervous because again I had tremendous respect for the senator. And still do, because it, and I never did finish my story by the way on the crying episode. Remind me and I'll get to that one.

**GB:** Sure.

**RH:** The, I was talking to a fellow by the name of Tony Armstrong. Was a young attorney that had just graduated from law school and he and I were pretty good friends, and we were up back while Muskie was making his presentation. He went on for approximately an hour. And I knew that I was thirty-eighth on the list that was going to speak, or I don't know how far down but it was a long, I was next to the last on the list.

So when Muskie finished we all applauded politely and I hadn't heard a word that he said because of this conversation with Tony Armstrong. And the Chair, and I don't remember what the Chair's name was, but anyway, stated that Senator Muskie was going to have to leave because he had another appointment some other place. And, but before he left, and this is almost an exact quote, "I would like the senator to hear from Roger Hare of the machinist's union." Well I didn't even hear that part of it, but Tony said, "Hey, you're up, man, you better go."

So I headed for the podium and I got up. And I'll never forget the first part of it, it had to do by the way with, a lot of Muskie's presentation had to do with the atomic bomb and our future fund raising to make sure that this bomb was going to work and so on and so forth. So I got up and I said, "Senator Muskie," I said, words to this effect, "that I have more respect for you than probably any person on this earth. But," I says, "I don't agree with your presentation." And I said, I don't, oh no, prior to that Muskie come back to the microphone and said, "Any time that Roger Hare has to speak I'll listen." That was the key, that was the key. And he, that was when I knew that I was supposed to go because Tony told me that the moderator had suggested that Muskie was going to listen to Roger Hare.

So I said, "I apologize to you now, senator, you're not going to like probably anything that I have to say but I'm here for a purpose and I may just as well make it as it comes." And I said, "This past Sunday," I said, "I went to church and there was a tape recording from, he used to be on television, can't think of what his name was, Monsignor something. He was a weekly, had a weekly program, and his particular program that particular week had to do with a statement that hit me right between the eyes, that the entire world had enough atomic power to blow itself off in the, blow the earth totally up one hundred times." And I turned and looked him right in the eye and I said, "Senator Muskie," I said, "I would like to ask you a simple question," I says, "after we blow it up the first time, if we don't do a good job someone might do it the second time." But, I says, "Who's going to push the button for the third start?"

Well, Jesus, that place went berserk. So anyway, I finished and it wasn't all as bad as that, I mean, I thought that was, that slapped him pretty hard, or at least in my opinion. But the rest of it was facts and figures that I had taken off from this speech of president Wimpinsinger's, and every bit of it was fact. Every bit of it could be verified and Senator Muskie knew it.

Now this is going to be the hard part probably for you to believe but it's the, again, it's the truth. Senator Muskie, having to leave the hall for another commitment, come back to the podium and said, "I have to respond to Roger's statements." One solid hour right to the second he responded. He, his memory, he took every word, every sentence, and responded to every individual word or sentence that I had stated, any figure. And you'd be surprised. I was

surprised, I'll put it that way, of the number of times that he said, "Roger's statement here is correct but, Roger's figures here are correct but." But it took him one solid hour. So that was the story that I missed on Senator Muskie.

**GB:** And he did that all without notes, just responding to -?

**RH:** Right off, right off from the top of his head.

**GB:** That's fantastic.

**RH:** Well, Senator Muskie had no notes to begin with, but on my notes he followed verbatim, he did not miss. I could have taken and marked off, check marked every sentence or every word and he had it all prepared right in his head. He was a brilliant, brilliant man, he really was, regardless of what I initially thought of him.

**GB:** That's amazing.

**RH:** He was a brilliant man. When I got off my story, because I do get off periodically, on the fund raiser. The state Democratic committee put a prize up for whoever sold the most numbers of raffle tickets. And my wife and a lady from Buxton that has since died, can't even think what her name was, but she was the political Democratic leader in this town. And when she said Democrat it was a Democrat, I mean, this lady was a working fool. But she and my wife tied for the selling of the most numbers of tickets. Now this fund raiser raised, I think I've already said, over twenty-five thousand dollars, supposedly the largest fund raiser at that time that the Democrats had ever had. And the, their prize was, the prize was supposed to have been for one person to go to Washington, and they was going to be hosted by Senator and Mrs. Muskie. And the senator participated, they was down there I think two days, maybe three days, but anyway the senator participated in that. But my wife had always thought that Muskie was the man politically, and she loved, I can't remember Mrs. Muskie's name.

**GB:** Jane.

**RH:** Jane. But Jane took them around to different places and showed them the city of Washington. And my wife being the person that she was, if she had a question she asked it, and she asked a question of Mrs. Muskie of what was so moving. Well that, I'll have to clean my language up, the fellow that run the New Hampshire newspaper -

**GB:** William Loeb.

**RH:** William Loeb, and I won't go into any more than that because I could get wound up on that no good bastard for hours and hours. He apparently had either supported a document, letter, or something that went into a book where Mrs. Muskie was a very promiscuous lady, and that was the issue that caused the senator to break. If it hadn't of been for that, and that's why he went there in the first place is because this no good lying whore, Loeb, got down into the gutter so deep that he made a particular statement that was written into a book. And as far as I know the book was never published. But Mrs. Muskie at that time supposedly told Mary and this other

lady from Buxton, I can't think what her name is, that that was the, that was the thought instantly because Senator Muskie was an extremely strong person. But he could not take, and apparently the instant that that flashed into his mind about that document is the only time that he broke. And if you ever saw that tape, by the way, and if you never did and want to get a copy -

**GB:** I have seen it, yeah.

**RH:** Senator Muskie, in my opinion, most certainly broke down. But from the standpoint of the news media and his crying and so on and so forth-. I say that he did not cry, he cracked, his voice cracked. But Gerald Ford's did, Nixon's did, every president since then, since that episode, has shown that they were, had some part of being a human being.

I have a tape of Hubert H. Humphrey, his last political appearance before a labor organization prior to his death and if you saw the tape you would, if you had any concern or knew the individual, you most certainly would have tears in your eyes when you got done. I've seen the tape probably fifteen times and the last time I saw it I welled up as much the last time as I did the first. Here's a man that said he was, he come to the podium and says, "I apologize because I couldn't be here day before yesterday, which was the first day of the auto worker's convention, of the AFL-CIO convention." And he says, and again, he said, "I apologize, I was supposed to have been here yesterday and I couldn't make it," he says, "but today I'm going to, I'm going to make my presentation to the trade labor movement." And he took a tissue from his wife and he wiped his eyes and his wife said, "No senator should shed tears before they, or at a presentation like this." And Hubert Humphrey's comment was, "A man that cannot shed tears at a time like this is not a human being." The most moving thing that I have ever heard in my entire life.

But that was, again, a true Democrat. He and Muskie, if they could have been here we would have had a different world today. And I say as good as, I think that this country is in, as good a condition as it's in today, I think that we would have been far superior to what we are. And I don't know how we could even do it, but I'm positive because these two people-. That's one thing they both had was a heart and they loved people and they was very, very honest in anything and everything that they said.

That's one of the reasons why that Lyndon Johnson would not endorse Hubert Humphrey in the early days because Hubert Humphrey was a person that could not stand the type of honesty that Hubert Humphrey would have projected as a member of the vice president. He would not have lied as Johnson did, and that's terrible because Johnson in his own mind. I was present at the presentation when he stated that, made the official announcement that he was no longer going to run for the presidency and I'll tell you, that was a moving speech too. But the point is is that he was trying to protect. What he thought was protect the people of this country in Vietnam. But again, now how about that, is that good enough for the end or you got some more questions?

**GB:** Well, if you don't mind I have a few more questions.

**RH:** No, no, I have no problem, I'm just running out of -

**GB:** Sure, sure, yeah, I have several more things I'd like to ask you. So did Muskie have a

pretty good relationship with the labor organizations?

**RH:** I would say that he probably, with the exception of Hubert Humphrey, I would say he probably was equal to, almost equal to, -. Hubert Humphrey is, is had the best relationship in my opinion with the trade labor movement as a whole. And I'm talking about all of the AFL-CIO affiliated unions, and at one time I think there was seventy-six different international unions, or national unions. But I think that Hubert Humphrey, but Muskie most certainly was, most certainly was up there. He had a, I would have to say an excellent, he and Ben Dorsky for an example. Ben Dorsky if you didn't know it was a Republican.

**GB:** Yeah.

**RH:** He and Ben Dorsky as far as I'm concerned was in at least weekly communications. And that was communications that the machinist's union, the carpenter's union, the electrical union, and all of the other unions had projected to Ben Dorsky that, of issues of concern. And to my knowledge Ben Dorsky was probably one of the strongest supporters of Ed Muskie in the trade labor movement because Ben Dorsky could talk to him by picking up the telephone. Or he could walk into a room and go immediately to uh Ben uh the senator and have recognition. So it, I would say that, I've already said it, with the exception of Hubert Humphrey I think probably no one was any better respected than Ed Muskie.

**GB:** Now you mentioned that Ben Dorsky was a Republican which is obviously very interesting. Do, could you tell me about the political affiliations of other union leaders? Was that a real stand out kind of a rarity that this labor leader was a Republican? Did you know other labor leaders, or could you tell me about their political affiliations?

**RH:** I can't think of any other, well, for an example the Teamsters has always been leaning toward, toward the Republicans. And interestingly enough I think that when it come to union leaders, and I shouldn't say this because I don't have any fact of it, but it just appears to me as though the way that some international unions or national unions presidents has gone in the past, they've become almost Republicans because the Republicans stood for the issues that they was interested in as individuals. In other words, they didn't want to pay higher taxes like the working people because their salaries was very lucrative and that type of thing.

We, I don't think that we ever had that problem in the machinist's union because the machinist's union, our salary basis was always set by convention and conventions was only held once every four years. That has been since changed, by the way, but, I apologize, salary base now is set by convention. Prior to sometime in, conceivably even as late as eighties, no, it was earlier than that, it was back, it was back sometime in the sixties, the, any action that happened at a machinist convention by, I don't think they ever had less than fifteen hundred delegates but they've gone as high as four thousand depending on the membership. Because the selection of delegates to the convention is based on the membership itself within a particular local and they, those locals could send as many as the proportional number. Prior to that the grand lodge staff which I was a part of and the international, the executive officers of the internationals, their wages was always adjusted at convention. But at convention, all of the issues that had passed then went to referendum by the entire membership. So consequently our officers never reached the salaries of

some other officers.

But as far as Ben Dorsky was concerned, there was some suggestion that we were going to have a change and get a Democrat and I was in opposition to that. I think that this country has done extremely well with the two-party system, and I will go to my grave thinking that the two party system is the only thing that we should live on. I mean there's people that likes the, in New York for an example right now I think that they got seven different political parties. We came close to having three parties here. We did have three parties here, we had the Green Party. Longley for me would have been a party if he had held a convention, that's the only thing that was required by law, that he have a convention. And then he would have been the third party in Maine. The Green Party lost out by not hav-, not getting enough votes I guess or something, but they would have been an active party. And I look at Canada, I look at the, some of the other countries where they have all of these different coalitions that they have, you talk about back door politics. I'd rather have a two party system and have the majority rule, and I think that this country is based on majority rule.

The International Association of Machinists, their entire policy with the exception of strike votes is based on a majority rule. In a strike vote we have to have seventy-five percent of the vote carried for a vote in order to go on strike. That's a hell of a lot of people speaking.

**GB:** Oh yeah.

**RH:** There's, in all of our votes by the way on contract and strike are by secret ballots. Some unions still have a showing of hands, we don't, we have secret ballots. That in my opinion makes us a little bit different. In order to answer your question of why, that I think our union was, has been, maintained more of a Democratic rather than some of the other organizations. National Association of Teachers, for an example, they've waffled. The air traffic controllers was the only organization that supported Ronald Reagan and ended up by being put out of business.

**GB:** Yeah, that's, yeah, that's interesting.

**RH:** Well, you know, that's politics I guess is the best way to put that. Ben Dorsky, he was just, he was a dictator even though he was a Republican. But when it came to labor issues, which was all Democratic, there was never a Republican labor issue, but then Ben Dorsky was one time our only lobbyist and he fought the cause. He had no choice, if he didn't, you know, he would have been removed. But he never, he never changed his political affiliation. He asked me one time, that's why I made that statement, he asked me if I thought that he should return, turn Democrat and my answer was, "Absolutely no."

I think, I think that we should maintain and recognize those Republicans as we have because we had a number of, the paper mill industry you know. Our members was reasonably well paid, I'd say they was damn well paid in comparison with some other workers. And we had some machinist members that run for the house and senate and won their seats and I'll tell you, they was in total opposition, union members in opposition to union issues. So it, that's why we, we still have internal fights. We still have Republicans, and I think that we still, and my position is

that we still need Republicans to maintain a two party system. I don't want a dictatorship, so it, that answer your Ben Dorsky question?

**GB:** That does, that does. Let me throw out a few names at you of some other labor leaders I have the names of, see if you knew them and what you could tell me about them. Mike Schoonjans.

**RH:** Oh Mike Schoonjans was the, he was a nice guy. I think that his, I think that his, he could have done more for his organization than what he did but you never know what can be done unless you're there. That's one thing that I can truthfully say in support of Muskie when he went after me down in his garage at that state committee meeting. I've been in negotiations and I know what people want, but I also have some idea of what people can get. I have had a number of strikes, I've been in. I happen to be one of those individuals in opposition to strikes unless it was necessary.

But today for an example, I don't think that you could find a necessary strike. And the reason that I say that, the reason that I say that is because you look at the, it was on MSNBC just prior to you coming, that the wages between the working people and the executives is still spreading. When the guy from Disney can get up to, with stock options and everything, get up into forty-five million dollars a year salary, that type of thing. General Electric for an example has an extremely high CEO, high wage CEO. So consequently that's why I say that, it's the same as with that strike of Verizon or whatever? They have the money, but their money is going to go to their executives. And the record is written, I mean, it isn't, well you know I don't really believe what you're saying. That's all you got to do is look at the record which is public record. There's no reason in my personal opinion that there should be a strike today as long as there is reasonable requests.

Now you can get unreasonable requests, and I know, I've seen them. For an example, going into contract negotiations, ask for five dollars a day for General Electric. Or any company, because any company that has been established we have reasonably well taken care of and satisfied the membership, you follow me? In other words we, the trade labor movement has levels and they go by, they have a wage index as such and they try to maintain that.

And Mike Schoonjans, being in the, I don't know what his union was. And the reason I don't know what his union was was because the (*unintelligible word*) merged and changed three or four different times and I don't know what. But it was the needle craft if I'm not mistaken out of Biddeford and Lewiston?

**GB:** That sounds right, that sounds right, yeah.

**RH:** Next one.

**GB:** Sure, okay, yeah. David Hastings.

**RH:** David Hastings? I loved David Hastings. I become to know David Hastings just a couple of years before he retired. When he retired he became a state mediator during negotiations and I

have to tell you, this guy's experience in negotiations was just unbelievable. He resolved and helped resolve more bad situations with employees because of David Hastings' background. David was one of those people who can almost read the bottom line without ever, just sit and talk with management for a short period of time and he had the ability to find out where they were going.

Now this was before this runaway management wage thing, I mean they was down, at one time, I can't remember what the norm was but the plant manager was somewhere in the six or seven times the high wage person in the union. And then it kind of dropped down, for an example a floor supervisor may be double of what the person he was supervising was. Well all of that's changed now, it's just way the hell out of proportion. But Dave used those type of figures and being able to determine how far a company could go. Because if a plant manager for an example felt as though that he was worth ten times what the, what the worker was, now Dave had an idea that there was money there or otherwise this guy wouldn't be getting ten times when everyone else in the same position was getting a certain wage.

And so I had great respect for him and as I said, he bailed me out of some situations that had nothing to do with the membership. But by educating me of when there is, when to just stand up and say we've reached a point. You have two choices, we can either strike them or we can, and one particular place his advice was hit the bricks. General Foods, the largest food company at that time. They're not any more but at that time they were the largest food company in the world. And we had the Bird's Eye plant, the machinists had the Bird's Eye plant, a thousand people up in Caribou, Maine and his suggestion at that time was go for it. Didn't say strike, he said, "Go for it."

And we did exactly that. We had three negotiations. We changed negotiators three different times during those negotiations and the last time was the vice president of the co-, of personnel, was the third one. And he come in and said that we were going to go back to phase one and I just took the book and closed it. He says, "What are you doing?" I says, "I think that this union is prepared to go out and buy you the locks so that you can lock the plant while we're out." And his attitude changed very quickly. We sat and negotiated a contract and it happened to be a fluke, the television got him in trouble because he agreed to something that the, General Foods had never done before in their history and he got fired right at the table.

**GB:** Oh boy. All right, how about Al Page?

**RH:** Al Page was the most political union representative I ever met. I would like to have been able to say that I had the political influence as a union person. I never considered myself as a labor leader, but as a union person I wish that I had had the capabilities of Al Page. That man could talk to anyone from the president on down and just through his down home method of being able to present his case, he was a winner almost every time, and a perfect individual. For an example, when Peter Kyros run, we didn't have too much money and he put on his printing press a picture of Peter Kyros that we handed out at the plant gates; never charged a cent. The Teamster's union paid for it. Nothing more that I can say of him. And he was, he was, he was a true, he was like Dave Hastings. They were for their members, they were strong, strong union people. But they were also both very political. They could, they could have the same, or they

did have in my opinion the same influence as Ben Dorsky, they could talk to any of the politicians and, at any time. Most doors were open to them, no delay.

**GB:** All right. And how about Chick O'Leary?

**RH:** Well, I was the one that tried to convince Chick O'Leary to run. Chick O'Leary, he was not a Ben Dorsky. He was his own individual. He had problems, he relied on Eddie Gorham to do more of his political work than, but I think that under the circumstances in the era that he served as president he was a very good president. But he and I had our troubles. I had worked for so long with Ben Dorsky and Dave Hastings and -

**GB:** Al Page?

**RH:** Al Page, that I felt as though that Charlie didn't have that type of strength. He worked for Ben Dorsky a long period of time. When they set up the department of labor at the University of Maine Charlie went to work for them. They got rid of Roger Snow which was, I liked Roger Snow but not as a labor person. He was a good Republican if I'm not mistaken. But that's about it.

**GB:** For Chick O'Leary.

**RH:** Yeah.

**GB:** All right, I have - . . . .

*End of Side A, Tape Two*  
*Side B, Tape Two*

**GB:** Okay, so as far as you've seen in the last few decades, have the concerns or organizations of labor changed?

**RH:** Oh absolutely, absolutely.

**GB:** Really, how so?

**RH:** We've already talked about it. Not in detail, but the, when Ronald Reagan in 1980 or shortly after busted the air traffic controllers, the entire labor law that we used to know that was, was-. The record started in 1935 with the Wagner Act and Ronald Reagan by the stroke of a pen changed every bit of that labor law. So that when you're working with the national labor relations board as I did. The last four years that I worked for the machinist's union I was in Washington and I covered eleven states handling all of the machinist national labor relations board cases. Organizing unfair labor charges, anything that went before the board I was there.

And I guess the best way that I can sum it up was I was in Pittsburgh for a, on a discharge case. And the company had two attorneys, and again at seventy-three I'm entitled to lose a little bit of, you know they say what goes first in a man, well mine was the brain. Horowitz was, we had a

trial judge by the name of Horowitz and he had got himself in trouble with Ronald Reagan because Ronald Reagan had put a fellow by the name of Datsun in as chair of the national labor relations board. And Datsun is the one through Ronald Reagan that changed the history of labor law. And in this particular case there was a number of things such as hearsay information was admissible. Unlike in court, it was admissible and it was up to the, to the judge to whether accept it or, because he could question unlike a lot of judges. I mean he did the questioning of, so that he'd get clear in his mind on how to rule. Past decisions, past rulings for the board in most cases were, it was passed by the big board which was only five members. But, it's what they call the big board is the five members that sit in Washington and that's the highest appeal that you can make. So consequently they were the Supreme Court within the trade labor movement. And history has always had that when that five member board, especially if it was a full decision of all five which ordinarily was unlikely, but if it was a fair board periodically they, all five did rule. But that was a precedent that was set in guiding labor law, when Ronald Reagan again for the third time, when he had Datsun change that.

So during the process of this particular hearing that I'm referring to, the company had two attorneys and they would take turns and they would just jump on history, and Horowitz finally said, "Just a damn minute." And he went in, well the next thing that come out of his mouth was he said to the recorder, this is to remain on record, because you have a court reporter that records every spoken word. So he started off by telling the story of how he got in trouble by allowing a decision of his to be handed down based on what I've tried to explain, poorly probably, but tried to explain what the law was as far as national labor relations law. The law was established by the five member board voting unanimously that this is the way it should be. He informed the two attorneys and myself and the attorney for the national labor relations board. Because now the national labor relations board itself, you see, the regional office that made the prior decisions that led to the big board hearing, so consequently they, the board would supply an attorney to represent the union. In this particular case because they had rejected now the, or the appeal had been made and so on and so forth, they had accepted the unfair labor charge so that meant that they would go and defend as well as the union.

So he told these two attorneys and myself and the NLRB attorney that if any of the four of us brought up another case history that went back beyond 1980 that they would be ejected physically by him if need be from the hearing. That in itself answers the first part of your question.

The second part of the question, in my opinion, how it's changed, is that we've never been able to regain through congress some of the things. And if you remember Jimmy Carter for an example, was before Ronald Reagan, but Jimmy Carter won labor on his commitment for labor law reform. And labor law reform was needed at that particular point in time on a number of issues whereby that the employer could violate the law such as in a strike.

One of the issues was strike breakers. When the law is written, and it was written as I said, started in 1935, this portion of it, that a union was allowed, they never mentioned the word strike in a law, they could perform concerted activities against the employer as a method of equalizing. The law doesn't say this, the playing field, the, it says something else but to equalize, put them on an even balance with the employer. And the concerted activity was that terrible word strike.

That was one of the things that Jimmy Carter was going to correct. But that was where Ronald Reagan come in and he even destroyed what protection that we did have because he allowed strike breakers. IP up in Jay, Maine is a perfect example.

But the thing that I, I try to make a point is, and when I'm speaking as, I'll be going tomorrow as a matter of fact to Providence, Rhode Island to speak to a group of retirees. And this is the point that I try to make to them, why they should continue to be involved in the trade labor movement. Since Ronald Reagan, any person, any person under twenty years, I'm sorry, under forty years old, that allows them to have gone through college and get into the work force and have worked for twenty years in the system, has no knowledge of what the trade labor movement was prior to Ronald Reagan because now they have the new, I call it Ronald Reagan era. And we've never been able to give the same protection to union people. Plus the fact that union people, in the past twenty years there's been so few strikes. They have no idea. Everything today is given to an employee as a benefit of the company. They never go back into the history of how those people went out on strike and what they did in order to get certain things for job protection.

For example, a lot of companies would have in the contracts, as they try to do today, is departmental seniority. Well, there's enough, with the exception of the past possible year or so I guess, but there's always been enough employees available to take over any particular job that some employee already had. So consequently, the employers took the attitude, we don't need to train any more. If you listen to the news today, we don't have apprentice programs today like we used to have. Our, in the machinist's union every apprenticeship program that we ever had had to be a four year program for a regular machinist. But it was registered with the state and it was registered with, the individual was registered with the state and the federal government as an apprentice having served their time.

The machinist doesn't have, today the employer only wants a machine operator. A machine operator is an individual that can walk in and run one machine, where a machinist has to be trained to operate every machine. So consequently as the upgrade of machinery is coming in, there's just no, no trained people.

That's one of the reasons why, for an example, that vocational training, when they opened up the United Technology down in Berwick, this was a number of years ago, Southern Maine Vocational Tech had to go down there with their supervision and they even set up the satellite classrooms so that they could train the people from the Berwick area that had no knowledge of making airplane parts and how to run machines. They had to run classes either down there in, which the company did pay for it by the way but that's immaterial, the point was, was that they come into an area where they had no skilled help. Skilled help as I used to know it is gone, so consequently there's another change. So we've got the law that, the Ronald Reagan law where no one has, in the trade labor movement has any idea of the problems that their predecessors went through in order to get what they're getting today and they think is definitely from the company.

The trade labor movement basically did a lot of hiring. Blue Cross and Blue Shield is a good example. When I negotiated a contract in the state of Maine, I put Blue Cross and Blue Shield as insurance coverer, coverer. Now, anything that's in a written agreement is law until it's taken

out. So consequently, when Blue Cross and Blue Shield, as they just announced the other, yesterday I guess, they wanted to put in a twenty three percent increase on the root coverage. The company couldn't go out and negotiate with some other company where they only went up thirteen percent because they would have a ten percent savings, you follow what I'm getting at? So consequently that's why the HMOs come in was because the Blue Cross and Blue Shield type of insurance, which again is my understanding was a quasi municipality type thing whereby that they were under the control of the state. They were under tighter control than for an example other insurance industries. They could negotiate with doctors, they could negotiate with hospitals and, as a large blanket type coverage where individual doctors, for an example, and individual insurance companies didn't have that right. The federal government by the way established the first HMO with tax payers' money, and look where it's taken us. We have billions of dollars of fraud every year under the process that we have today because of the HMO process. So the trade labor movement is nothing like it was when I started, nothing.

**GB:** Wow, that's fascinating.

**RH:** Nothing. And it, I don't even think that we have, the young people today that's coming in, that are taking over jobs that I had for an example, have any concept and they're not interested in going back in history. That speech that I told you about that I have on, actually it's on, I can't find my video tape but it's on film, of Hubert Humphrey. Hubert Humphrey's speech- at the national Democratic convention that was held last week, if he had made that same speech that he made, by the way after he was before the AFL-CIO convention, his state AFL-CIO convention. If he, he went before the congress and made a similar type speech, left out the trade labor movement as such but he, the basic speech of all of the things that he felt as though that, his, his projected wants in congress for working people. Not union people, working people. If he had made that speech he probably would have had a walk out by the Democratic convention because he was an extremely, extremely liberal in the terms of Republicans and the type of power and what is needed for the working people of this country. It's, it's, it's just, it was his belief.

And Muskie had a lot of it, not all of it because Muskie was against Hubert Humphrey on very, very few issues, but Hubert Humphrey, everything was a human issue to him. Politics had nothing to do with it, your income, your power, that had no influence. If it was good for all of the people, the rich and the poor, well nothing was good for the rich if they had to give it to the poor, that was his philosophy.

**GB:** Well, that is a fantastic answer to my question. That's a great answer. I have a -

**RH:** I should add in that that happens to be my philosophy, the Hubert Humphrey philosophy.

**GB:** That's great. All right, I have one more Muskie related question here. From the point of view of a machinist and someone who's obviously very actively involved in labor and interested in jobs, what was your perspective on, or what was your perspective and other, and the perspective of other people who were involved in organized labor, view of Muskie's environmental legislation?

**RH:** They had to be in total support, and the machinists especially. We had union members working in plants where they had to sign, women, had to sign documents that they would not sue if their baby was born mutilated. I don't know if that's the proper term or not, help me on that one.

**GB:** Um- (*unintelligible phrase*).

**RH:** Minus arms, legs, hands, (*unintelligible phrase*) -

**GB:** Sure, sure.

**RH:** That's what I'm referring to. And I have to tell you very frankly, and I think that even the international organization would support my position because I-. I think that that in itself, by the way some women was asked rather than to sign the statement if they would have a hysterectomy so that they wouldn't have children, in order to work on certain jobs. Because the jobs paid pretty good money and people would love those jobs. The women, you see, of child bearing age was very vulnerable to having a deformed child or mentally ill, or, and they had to sign these releases in order to get a job. Get a job meaning into a, and I think, I guess that probably is the best statement that I can make, is point that out as an example. But it happened in a number of our plants where chemicals that men was involved in. But men didn't have the problem that child bearing women would have.

Men would have a problem, for an example my particular case, when I left the sanitarium I was told that I would never have a child. I mean, because of the x-rays. Because I, as a matter of fact after I got out of bed, which was thirteen months, I layed in bed for thirteen months when I, in the san. When I got out of bed and was allowed to walk down to the laboratory, the x-ray and, x-ray lab and where they checked all of your blood and so on and so forth, sputum. They used to use me as a guinea pig to train x-ray technicians. In other words, I would probably have four or five x-rays in one day.

And that is supposed to be, well, there's five of mine up there. And after I went to work for the union, because of at least two of those up there, the two oldest ones, my wife ended up with four others so at one time she had nine teenagers in the house. And they weren't state wards, they weren't, they were kids that my kids lugged home for one reason or another.

One of them as a matter of fact, I'm not going to mention any names, but one of them happened to be a son of a very wealthy man that was in the wood industry. And his son wanted to be a truck mechanic and his father wouldn't have anything to do with him. He was with us for only a year but he went- the SMTC vocational school year he stayed with us.

We had two that my daughter lugged home, two girls. They came to this state at thirteen and fourteen years old by their uncle because these girls, their mother was a lady of the evening and their father was a confirmed alcoholic and they went to a state institution for stealing food. And he brought them here because these girls he thought was deserving of a better life. But at twenty-nine years old he got married, and you don't put a thirteen and a fourteen year old strange kid in any marriage house that is new, it don't work. You don't put anyone, you don't put in-

laws, you don't move in with, you have an adjustment period between yourselves without bringing other people in, living with other people. So consequently the woman left her husband because of the two kids and her husband was very upset over the whole thing needless to say. So my daughter was walking one of the girls home from high school and as a matter of fact when he threw the kid's suitcase out into the street, it didn't do any harm but it actually hit my daughter's arm. And he just hollered don't ever come through this door again, so my daughter lugged her home. And three days later her younger sister moved in with us. But the, I don't even know where I was going with this story. The point is, is that, I guess that I had a pretty good wife.

But getting back to the issue again, the trade labor movement is all new. I only have one by the way that's a union member, that's my son, my oldest son. My three girls and the other three girls that stayed with us for a period of time, they all in my personal opinion have turned out to be perfect. They had no problems, I'm still in contact with them. One of, the boy that I was talking about, he worked at one time for a, he worked at one time for Hertz truck leasing and he ended up down in I think it was West Virginia with the company that bought Hannaford Brothers and he became a supervisor for them. And he was just laid off, he has since gone to work for even a better company than he had when he was working for, I can't even think of the name of the trucking company here in Portland that he went to work for. They bought out Hertz, or they took over from Hertz. But the world is different today, even you're different today. Think of the things that you heard today that you never heard before. Some of the things would be interesting to look into, you know, from the standpoint, I assume that you're doing some sort of research for, you going to be a researcher for the rest of your life, or?

**GB:** Well, maybe, probably not but maybe in some respects, yeah.

**RH:** Well, was that your last one?

**GB:** That was my last question, so do you have any final remarks you'd like to make, anything that we haven't covered that you'd like to add or anything you'd like to emphasize?

**RH:** Well, as I said, I, it's a little bit late doing it, I never apologized to him when he was alive but I have to tell you, I think that Ed Muskie is and was a great person and he was, he was a true Mainiac. He loved Maine and I think that Maine, the histories will indicate that they loved Muskie. And I think that Muskie would have been an excellent vice president, a hell of a lot better, and I think that he would have, I think that he would have probably could have done better under Jimmy Carter than Mondale.

But when you only have four electoral votes, look at them, what they're doing today. To hell with all states that, you know, who don't, they have some extremely good qualified Democrats that I think is going to be overlooked, I'll put it that way, or has been overlooked. Even though I have met the vice president and I have to tell you very frankly, I think that if Gore wins it's going to be with great help from our vice presidential candidate and I don't think that his faith or his religion is going to have a damn thing to do with it. I personally hope that because it, he is, he is another Hubert Humphrey-Ed Muskie good human being. Has some Republican philosophy in him, but -

**GB:** I certainly hope that our country that uh is evolved to the point that uh religion wouldn't be an issue in this election.

**RH:** Well, you've got to admit that in the southern states, and as the Republicans are trying to make us now, I mean, because, because of our president happened to have had some wrongdoings. I mean those type of prejudices, you know, they, they, they have ability to linger on in the thought process and when you get into the polls. And regardless of how good that either our president, I mean our president Democratic candidate, presidential and vice presidential is concerned, it doesn't take very much convincing from uninformed. I'll just leave it, I'll be nice and say uninformed people. And we have one hell of a lot of uninformed people in this country that is led strictly by the idiot box, the television, or by the next-door neighbor.

Or by the way, by school teachers. It's surprising the numbers of students today that is led by what they hear in the classroom, and I'm talking about politics. And the Democratic teachers, they will love this if they ever read it or hear of it, they have a stronger Republican philosophy than they have a Democratic philosophy. Very, very few teachers are strong Democrats. We have Democrat teachers, but you put them in a spot in front of a classroom, and I can think of two, which I'm not going to mention, but they're hierarchy in the state Democratic committee, that they have a philosophy that I would never accept.

**GB:** All right, well I think that's a good place to stop.

**RH:** Well, there's been a lot of places, you've been adding on here.

**GB:** Well I got quite a bit of information so thank you, thank you very much.

**RH:** You got three hours, two hours and fifty-two minutes.

*End of Interview*

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