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Case, Jim oral history interview

Marisa Burnham-Bestor

Interview with Jim Case by Marisa Burnham-Bestor

Summary Sheet and Transcript

Interviewee
Case, Jim

Interviewer
Burnham-Bestor, Marisa

Date
March 3, 2000

Place
Topsham, Maine

ID Number
MOH 169

Biographical Note

James W. "Jim" Case was born on June 21, 1945 in Chicopee, Massachusetts. His father was a firefighter and his mother was a homemaker who raised seven children. His parents were involved in local politics. James was the fourth of the children (there were 5 boys and 2 girls). His family was Irish-German Catholic, but mostly identified with the Irish community in the town; they had strong community values. The town was a blue-collar mill town with a good public educational system that James graduated from. He then went on to Clark University (in Worchester, MA) where he majored in psychology. Then, he was drafted in November 1968 and served two years in the army during the peak of the Vietnam War. In the army, James served as an administrator in a physical therapy clinic at an Army hospital. After the Army, he returned to Maine to attend law school in Portland at the University of Southern Maine, and became active in politics as co-chair of the local Kennedy campaign committee, and became interested in labor law (his father had been a union leader, but didn't influence him much in that sense). He also worked on George Mitchell's campaign for Governor. After law school and after he finished working on the Mitchell campaign, James Case went to Washington to work in Muskie's office, first as assistant counsel to the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works. He worked on the Public Works Committee which involved economic development and environmental policy. Later, James Case's title changed from Counsel to Legislative Director, for Ed Muskie. James Case married in 1971. He is currently a labor lawyer in Maine.

Scope and Content Note

Interview includes discussions of: economic atmosphere in Chicopee, Massachusetts; ethnic groups in Chicopee, Mass.; Sputnik influence on education; Ben Dorsky; meeting Muskie during law school; first impressions of Muskie; Dickey Lincoln hydro-electric project; Public Works Committee; Northern Maine Economic Development District; Eastern Maine Economic Development Program; Bath Iron Works; Estelle Lavoie; Charlie Jacobs; Madeleine Albright and her relations with Muskie; Bob Rose; Gayle Cory; Charlie Micoleau; Clean Water Act; Clean Air Act; Leon Billings; Clyde McDonald; Al From; Muskie's political ethics beliefs during the 1976 campaign; Budget Committee; and Muskie as Secretary of State.

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Transcript

Marisa Burnham-Bestor: The date is March 3rd, 2000, we are in Topsham at the law offices of, can you say all the names for me?

James Case: I'll try, it's McTeague, Higbee, Case, Cohen, Whitney & Young.

MB: Thank you. Present are Jim Case, and Marisa Burnham-Bestor is interviewing. Could you please state your name and spell it for me?

JC: James W. Case, C-A-S-E.

MB: Thank you. Where and when were you born and raised?

JC: I was born on June 21st, 1945 in Chicopee, Massachusetts and was raised there as well.

MB: Can you tell me a little bit about your family background?

JC: Sure. It was a large family, my father was a fire fighter, and my mother worked at home raising seven children. And, five boys and then two girls after the five boys, and we all went on from there.

MB: Where were you in the breakdown of the first five boys?

JC: I was dead middle.

MB: Third one?

JC: Number three, yeah, actually no, I'm sorry, I was number four in the boys which made me dead middle in the mix.

MB: Oh, I see. And what have your siblings done?

JC: My eldest brother is a musician, and lives in Fairfield County actually, and he works in New York at the Lincoln Center. My second eldest brother was a pharmacist; he's deceased now. And the third is a teacher, actually superintendent of schools now in Newburyport, Massachusetts. Then there's me, I'm an attorney. My younger brother is a florist also in Fairfield County in . . . . What's that yuppy town again, they're all yuppy I guess, right on the coast, right on Route 1 there.

MB: Greenwich?

JC: Well, not quite as yuppy as that.

MB: Westport?

JC: The next, Westport, yeah, you've got it, in Westport. And then my sister, my oldest, you know, the oldest of my two sisters is a teacher, and my younger sister works in Washington, D.C. for the government.

MB: Oh, wow. And you mentioned that your father was a fire fighter?

JC: Yeah.

MB: And was that for your town, your home town?

JC: Yeah, it was a city, he was a fire fighter there.

MB: Oh, wow. So could you tell me a little bit about the make up of the city?

JC: It was a mill town. It was a blue collar mill town which was, grew up, when I grew up there were a lot of factory jobs there. Westinghouse had a big factory there. Johnson & Johnson had a big cotton textile mill there. U.S. Rubber, that was Fiske U.S. Rubber had a big tire manufacturing facility. Spaulding, the athletic products, had a big facility there. Savage Arms made guns, sporting shotguns and that kind of thing, they had a big plant there. And there were smaller facilities as well. It was very much an industrial community with a very, you know, dominant ethnic communities.

MB: What were those dominant ethnic communities?

JC: The most dominant ones were Polish, Irish, and French, French Canadian.

MB: And was there any sort of hate crime tension or racism?

JC: No, I mean, it was before that. I mean it was, the communities were still very, they still had a lot of integrity so there wasn't any sense of hatred or anything. Everybody just dealt with their own community. I mean as, my generation was different, I mean we all mingled. But our parents, they just, they ran their own church, their own clubs, their own everything. So there wasn't any, during my time there wasn't any, there wasn't anything noticeable. There'd been a history of it, I mean my parents talked bitterly about when they were younger and shops would have signs up saying "no Irish need apply" and things like that.

MB: And so your family was of Irish descent?

JC: Actually pretty mixed, because my father was Irish-German, I mean his father was Irish, his mother was German.

MB: So which religious faith church did you attend with your family?

JC: Catholic.

MB: Catholic? And did you, did your family identify with the Irish population, the Irish sub-community?

JC: Pretty much, although frankly the Irish community wasn't as, the stronger communities in terms of ethnicity in Chicopee were the Polish and French Canadians because they were more recent groups. The Irish in Chicopee tended to be third generation probably. It was. . .

MB: And you had mentioned that obviously there was a lot of industrial work available. And did all of the various ethnic groups apply and work in the mills?

JC: Yeah, just a mix. There was also a big Air Force base there, too, which was a fairly important part of my youth because it was so big, there was a fairly big part of the high school community.

MB: Oh wow. So, tell me a little bit about your educational background from, you know, youth up.

JC: I thought I had a very good education in the Chicopee school system. They have very strong public schools there and education, as I think was true at least at that point in time, was viewed as the key for everybody to move on and up, you know, in the sense of opportunity. You know, I entered high school sort of right at the time of Sputnik. Which I don't know if it means anything to you, but that was a big, big factor in America in the late fifties because the Russians launched the first satellite which orbited the earth, Sputnik. Which, you know, implied, and this was at the height of the Cold War as well, that, you know, they were ahead of us in the space race. And so there was a huge infusion of resources into education and particularly into math and science education. And so, it's just there was a very strong push towards education. So I did very well in high school, I think I was third in my class of five hundred, and went on from there on a full scholarship to Clark University. And then, at the time I graduated in '68, I was drafted and did two years in the military, in the Army, and then came out and went to law school here at the University of Maine on the G. I. Bill.

MB: So tell me a little bit about when you were going through high school. What were your plans for the future, I mean, clearly you got drafted (*unintelligible phrase*).

JC: Believe it or not, I wasn't too worried about the draft, but I think pretty much throughout my high school career I wanted to be a lawyer, which was odd, looking back on it, but I did. And then when I went to college, I went to Clark University, again thinking I was going to major in government or something like that, but they had a very, very strong Psychology department at Clark, they had some really good professors. I just, you know, I think I took an introductory, and I really was motivated by some of those professors. So I majored in Psychology, and thought right up until the last semester, I think, that I was going to go to graduate school in psychia-, psychology and thought I'd be a professor or experimental psychologist or something like that. It's hard to believe, looking back on it, but I did, I enjoyed it and was really into it.

And then I became more focused I think, you know, started thinking seriously and decided I really wanted to go to law school. But then the United States government made plans for me instead.

MB: Tell me a little bit about your experience in the military.

JC: I was drafted and served two years in the Army. It was right at the peak of the Vietnam war. I was drafted in November of 1968 and went to basic training in South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina at Fort Jackson, was there for two months. And I was shipped from there to Fort Polk, Louisiana, which at the time was the- in the Army you go through basic training for two months and then you go to advanced training for whatever your specialty's going to be, that's the normal course for two months after that.

MB: Do you get to select your specialty?

JC: No.

MB: Okay.

JC: If you are, theor-, I mean, it's different now, I mean everybody's a volunteer now and I think there's, I think you do if you qualify and they need your selected specialty. But if you were drafted back then you didn't get to select anything, and, even if you were recruited back then you might sort of indicate what you wanted, but I don't think the guarantee was very strong that you'd get it. They needed infantry soldiers at that time and that's what everybody was being tracked for.

So anyway, after I finished basic training, I was assigned to Fort Polk, Louisiana which I assumed meant I was going to be in the infantry because that was the infantry training post for Vietnam. But when I got there, my orders sent me to the hospital and I was actually assigned to the Army hospital there as a psychiatric social worker. So the psychology degree all of a sudden surfaced, and I was assigned to be a psychiatric social worker, which I really did for only like three days because there became an acute need for someone to administer the physical therapy clinic at the hospital. There was a tremendous manpower shortage in the Army at the time. So they identified me as a candidate for that, and I was transferred to the physical therapy clinic, of which I knew nothing, and I was put in charge of administrating it, not of treating patients but administrating the clinic which was a paper work kind of job, and promoted right away to D5, gained four ranks instantly, and spent the next two years essentially running that program.

MB: Wow. And then you mentioned that after you left the Army?

JC: I left the Army and came back and went to law school in Portland at the University of Southern Maine.

MB: Now, backing up for just a second, did your parents have strong values about education?

JC: I think they did, yeah. I mean, neither one of them had much education, they're both high

school graduates. But, you know, all of my siblings went on to, you know, four year college degrees and beyond, and it was both my parents and just the times and the community I think.

MB: What about some other values that perhaps your parents might have stressed as important?

JC: Well, I mean, I think, you know, when you grow up in a large family and a pretty tight community, you know, you have a sense of shared community values and, you know, strong, you know, I think there was a strong sense of, you know, you stick together and work together and you make it work. And you take care of your neighbors, that kind of thing.

MB: Did your parents have any political involvements?

JC: Yeah, actually they did. Not as much as I did, but my dad was actually fairly active. He was active, always active in local state legislative races. And my mom, very often that was the only job she had when I was a child was she'd go to the polls on election day and work for the party. You know, they pay people to go, and you watch people vote, and she always, basically always did that.

MB: Wow, wow. So, at what point did you become involved?

JC: I really became involved when I came back from the Army and there was about, well I got out of the Army at the end of November, and I couldn't start law school until the following September. In that period of time I became quite active. I had, I'm trying to think, I was very active for Robert Kennedy in the (*unintelligible word*) months before he was killed, and I was co-chair of his local campaign committee.

MB: So you were, had chosen the Democratic Party.

JC: Yeah, oh yeah.

MB: Do you think that that choice was largely influenced by your parents, or . . . ?

JC: I suppose, I mean it was a natural thing to do. But also I think it was just the war. The war was such a big factor back then. It's hard to appreciate how much that was a factor in politics in that period of time. And it was only the Democratic Party that was involved in trying to address the issue.

MB: Do you feel that your time in law school changed you, changed the course of where you wanted to go?

JC: Well, in law school I became even more politically active than I had before, I think, and that was a factor. Yes, I think it was during law school that I developed an interest in labor law, which I, you know, didn't really have an interest in before that time. My father was a union leader, but, you know, I didn't get involved in that. I didn't, it was just sort of a, that was just routine stuff in Chicopee. Everybody was in the union and my father just happened to be

president. But it, in law school I really became interested and active in politics on a pretty serious level.

MB: So then when you graduated from law school, what did you look to do?

JC: Well, I thought, I guess, during law school I thought I'd go into practice. And actually I was clerking with this firm at the time, which was (*unintelligible phrase*). So I thought I would move right into this firm and just practice what is a basically labor and personal injury law firm. But then Ed Muskie came looking for me, so.

MB: And why did he come looking for you, do you think?

JC: I'm pretty sure it was because Ben Dorsky from the Maine, who was president of the Maine AFL-CIO at the time, told him to.

MB: And how did you know -?

JC: I knew Ben Dorsky really through the work I was doing with this firm at the time. The firm represents, and did then, the Maine AFL-CIO, and I had come to know Ben really working with a senior partner as a clerk. And he, Ed Muskie was always very close with Ben Dorsky. And at that point in time Muskie was sort of winding down from his presidential campaign in '72 and realizing he had to run for reelection in '76, and sort of needed to get some people on board who were active in Maine and could sort of cam-, (*unintelligible phrase*) come around I guess.

MB: Can you tell me a little bit about Ben Dorsky as a person? I don't think I've heard of him.

JC: He's deceased now. Ben was, I don't remember the dates, but he was president of the Maine AFL-CIO from I think when it became the AFL-CIO, I'm not positive about that, but I think that's true, in the early fifties. Ben was actually a Republican, which was a very pragmatic thing to do in Maine during that time since there really hadn't been a Democratic Party until Ed Muskie basically created it. And Ben was from Bangor, children of Jewish immigrants. Ben was a projectionist at the theater in Bangor and became head of the projectionists' union. And moved in and became head of the AFL-CIO and ran that, ran Maine AFL-CIO for . . . From the early fifties until he retired, which I think would have been about '78, I think, or '79. He was very effective, was well respected throughout the state, smart, committed, and fiery, a real fiery leader. He did a good job.

MB: Now, can you tell me a little bit about, if you remember, your first encounter with Ed Muskie?

JC: Well, my first encounter with Muskie. I thought, the first time I remember really having a conversation with him was probably the second year of law school, I think I'd met him a couple times, just to say hello and stuff. But it was an event where a lot of, just a bunch of law students were invited, people who had been sort of identified as Democratic activists had been invited to have cocktails with Ed Muskie. And that was, you know, a couple hours at a professor's house

and there was probably a dozen of us, we, you know, got to have a pretty good visit.

MB: What was your impression of him at that time?

JC: Frankly, my first impression was, he's a little defensive. Because everyone there really liked him, you know, they were all Democrats and law students, you know, had a lot of respect for him. But my impression was that he came across as a little defensive, I couldn't figure out why, couldn't figure out why is he defensive, you know? People were asking him questions, you know, law students are trying to think of some intelligent question to ask this great man and some of them may have been stupid questions. But still, he, I don't know, and I never have answered that as to why at that occasion he seemed to come across that way. That was my impression.

MB: And up to that point, what had you known about him and his career?

JC: I knew that, I knew a lot about him, I think, because I'd been very active in Maine Democratic politics over a few years, couple years anyway, I guess, at that point. And I knew that he basically, you know, took the Dem-, it's hard to identify what I knew at that point because I know so much now, so I can't really answer that question too clearly, but I guess looking back I knew for sure he'd just finished running for president and didn't win, but had done a great job and was, you know, deserving of the highest respect. I knew he was active, very active in environmental issues. That's, I guess, it's hard to sort out what you know now versus what you knew then.

MB: Right, right. So, he came to you, and what did he say when he was interested in recruiting you onto his staff?

JC: As I remember the interview it was under unusual circumstances. The interview took place the last day on the Bar exam after I'd finished law school, and I'd gotten a call a couple days earlier saying Ed Mus-, Ben called me weeks earlier. I was working at the time in, George Mitchell was running for governor at that time, I was studying for the Bar exam and working in George Mitchell's campaign and was contacted a few weeks earlier, and said, you know, Ed Muskie's got a staff opening for a lawyer (*unintelligible phrase*). I sent out probably some, something, a resume or a letter or something.

And then a couple days before the interview I got a call saying Muskie's going to be in Maine, he'd like to see you at the airport in Portland at five o'clock, whatever day this was. Which was the last day of the Bar exam, which was a three-day exam. The exam ended at five o'clock in, at the law school in downtown Portland (*unintelligible phrase*). I ended up having to rush through the last section of the Bar exam so I could leave at twenty minutes of five and get out to the airport.

So anyway, I got out to the airport and Muskie was actually on time for once in his life. I met with he and Maynard Toll, who was his staff director and administrative assistant at the time. And we sort of chatted and, sort of like who are you and, you know, sort of, not too much unlike the first part of this interview I guess, and what I was interested in. And he said, well, I

remember the, what I remember most is sort of the conclusion of it, he said, "Well, Ben Dorsky says you're good. I guess that's good enough for me." So that was it, and he sort of went on, he was between planes, that's why it was at the airport, and Maynard said, "Well I'll give you a call and talk about when you start." And so that was that.

MB: So, was that disruptive to your initial plans to join a law firm? How did you feel about this whole thing?

JC: Well, I was pleased. I mean, I was pleased with the idea of going to work in Muskie's office in Washington, I thought it was a good opportunity and it was, so, no, it wasn't disruptive. I couldn't go right away because I had committed to Senator M-, or then George Mitchell, that I would stick with him through the campaign, which we did. And then right after the campaign ended, I went down to Washington in November.

MB: So can you tell me a little bit about your experiences and your positions and so forth in the office?

JC: Sure. I was first assigned to the committee on, over environment and public works to work on the economic development end of the committee and, and I mean not environmental side of the committee. Muskie was chairman of the subcommittee on environment, or Air and Water I guess it was called then. And he had his own staff for that, but he didn't have anybody to help him do the non-environmental side of the committee, which was all of, all the highway bills, all the economic developments bills, those are the two important areas that I worked on. And he also didn't have a lawyer on his staff, so I was a lawyer, and I handled that end of the public works committee work.

That involved a big project which was pending in Maine at the time, which was a big hydro-electric development between, had been planned for northern Maine, it was called the Dickey Lincoln Hydro-Electric Project. If you've been through the archives, they must have reams of material on it over there. So I handled, and that was authorized by the Public Works Committee, and there was an annual appropriations struggle to get enough money to move that project ahead. And I worked on that, and I worked on a lot of the big annual event, and did a lot of work in between to keep the thing moving.

And then the other big area in that committee was economic development programs funded through various federal agencies with a lot of it through the Department of Commerce, the Economic Development Administration. That all came through the Public Works Committee so we had a lot of, we were well positioned to write those bills in such a way that Maine would benefit from them. They were, and they were, there was a whole program designed to try and enhance the economic viability of remote areas, Appalachia, Maine, and other areas of the country that were economically underdeveloped, lacked infrastructure. So we fit those categories and made sure that the way those bills were drafted, that the money would be available to areas in Maine that needed help.

MB: And what was some of the outcomes? Are they still in existence and so forth?

JC: Yeah, I mean, any industrial park you see around is a product of that. I mean, all those, all the industrial parks were funded through that program. There's regional, all the economic development you see of community ac-, CED programs, all over the state, those all essentially started with that, and they're still going. You know, you've got the Northern Maine, (*unintelligible word*) Northern Maine Economic Development District, which was funded, created and funded under that program and still goes. And we've got the Eastern Maine Economic Development Program which was created and funded in that program, which covers Penobscot county and all the areas in eastern Maine.

And so all those programs, and, well, and they fund, what they do is they sort of, when someone's interested in developing a local resource they help them identify the initial resources and provide loans for infrastructure. If you need to bring in power lines and sewer lines and all that stuff, so, they give you loans for that. And give you intellectual resources as well, people with expertise. So that was all, all those programs were created in that committee.

I also came very quickly to become responsible for the defense end of Muskie's office, and did a huge amount of work with the Navy in terms of directing programs to Bath Iron Works principally, but also the shipyard in Kittery, to make sure that those jobs were healthy, stayed intact. And we built a huge work force at Bath Iron Works over those years. It probably went from about fifteen hundred to about seven thousand employees, had some very good jobs there at Bath Iron Works because the Navy was persuaded to put their programs at Bath Iron Works. It was good for the Navy and good for the people here. And they're still going very strong because that's continued since then. That was Ed Muskie's commitment, he was very, very effective at understanding what was needed, what could be done, and getting it done.

MB: So what was your title at that time on Muskie's staff?

JC: We're talking about when I first started I guess, and I think my title was actually assistant counsel to the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works. Then I became, and then they changed the, they changed sort of the staff structure for the whole Senate, so then I became counsel to Ed Muskie and the legislative director for Ed Muskie, and that was the title I carried for the balance of my career there.

MB: And did your responsibilities change, or?

JC: They did, because as legislative director I became responsible for all areas of legislation, which really meant that, I admit I had people working for me. Madeline Albright worked for me, Estelle Lavoie, Charlie Jacobs, have you interviewed Charlie?

MB: I did not interview Charlie. I interviewed Estelle, though.

JC: And there were a number of other people. And they, but they did their own thing but I was technically in charge of making sure it got done and coordinating it. A big part of my role at that time was to coordinate with the committees that Muskie was on to make sure that what they were doing was consistent with what Muskie wanted to have done from the Maine perspective. And that was particularly true vis á vis the budget committee, which Muskie chaired as the first

chairman of that committee, and which, you know, very quickly became an extremely powerful committee in the Senate and had a huge amount of resources. They tracked, on their own, they tracked every piece of legislation in the Senate because everything potentially had a budgetary impact and wanted to position Senator Muskie on many, many bills in the Senate from the perspective of the budget committee, which wasn't always a hundred percent consistent with the perspective of Ed Muskie's interests as a senator from Maine, at least on the first take. But after we washed it all out, it became consistent. But that was I think, a big, probably the biggest part of my function, aside from the areas where I had direct responsibility, such as defense which became a very big area. And economic development, was to coordinate with the budget committee to make sure that the positions they were recommending that Muskie take were consistent with his historic positions and were consistent with what would be in the interest of the people here in Maine because they didn't have that perspective on the committee as such (*unintelligible phrase*).

MB: How well did you get to know Madeline Albright and Charlie Jacobs and Estelle Lavoie while -?

JC: Very well.

MB: Can you tell me -?

JC: I mean, we worked in the same space, I mean, it was like one big room we all worked in at various times.

MB: Can you tell me about each of those people one at a time?

JC: Sure. Estelle had started work there, I think, shortly before I did, maybe a year, when she was right out of Bates, actually. And very smart, and very, very hard working, very committed, she put in long hours. She did a superb job with everthing she was asked to do I think. She not only worked hard and long, but also went to law - I don't know when she started but after she'd been there three years or more, she started, she went to law school at night while she was working in the senate, which is hard. I mean, she had a very demanding job and attended law school at the same time and certainly didn't shirk any of her responsibilities at the office. And she was al-, you know, so she was always there to do whatever had to be done. I think she was just amazing. It took a lot out of her, but she did it and did a good job.

Charlie Jacobs was a very good friend of mine. Charlie came down from Maine; he had been very active in Maine politics. Actually Charlie and I had been in law school in the first year, because Charlie started law school with me, and he left after the first year and decided he didn't want to be a lawyer, and he went in to, I think he got a master's in public administration or something like that. I know he did. But Charlie had, was very active in Democratic politics. He was on the executive council, he got active as a student at Orono, became active, and was elected to the governor's, well it was called the executive council, but it was a go-, we had a, it doesn't exist any more.

But it was a powerful organization which was, which served to approve gubernatorial

appointments, served in that capacity as the Maine senate does now. If the governor appointed someone for a job, they had to be approved by the executive council, which was in itself elected by the legislature. And I can't remember how many there were, I think six or seven members and Charlie was one and he did a good job on that. I'm trying to think, he came on I think, first got involved with our organization directly during the 1976 senate campaign, and if my memory's correct came to Washington only after that, and that's when, so he was in Washington from January '77 through the rest of Senator Muskie's tenure. And Charlie was fun, he was single at the time so -

MB: He would what?

JC: He was single at the time so he enjoyed Washington, it was a fun place for him. But he also was a very good worker and got along well with Ed Muskie. Madeline was different, she was more mature, and she was, she had known Muskie from the presidential years where she had served in a major fund raising capacity for him in those years. And then she went to graduate school and was getting her Ph.D. at Columbia under (*name*), that's all before your time, but he was in foreign policy. And she was, she lived in Washington and was commuting to New York for her studies and working on her thesis I guess. And so she came to work to handle foreign policy, she was an LA for foreign policy while I was legislative director, so she worked for me in that regard.

And Madeline was just, she was wonderful, I mean she was, she had a lot of, very smart, and she always was, you know, taking care of people, she was always good about that. And she was very well connected in D.C. because she'd been there a long time. She was married at that time to Joe Albright, who was, had a lot of resources in D.C. He was good to have around. She was very close personally to Muskie, just, they developed a personal relationship years earlier, so it was easy for her to handle her responsibilities that way.

MB: What about some of the other people who worked in Muskie's office, were you familiar with, any other names come to mind, or?

JC: A lot of names do. Leon Billings comes to mind, Charlie Micoleau I mentioned before on record here. Maynard Toll, Gayle Cory, Leslie Finn, I'm trying to think. Oh, and Bob Rose, Bob Rose was Muskie's press secretary all the time I was there. Bob was a great guy.

MB: Tell me a little bit.

JC: Bob started, again, I think probably about a year before I did. And he had been an AP reporter here in Maine at the State House and was hired to work for Ed Muskie as press secretary. And he was just an outstanding press secretary. A wonderful writer, he could write so beautifully it was amazing. And he had very, very good relations with the press, particularly the Maine press but all the press in general. Smart and honest, dead honest, you couldn't get him to manipulate anything to save your life. But he, and he, you know, and plus he was just a lot of fun, he had a great wit, and was a good person.

MB: Will you tell me a little bit about some of the people that you mentioned before?

JC: Gayle Cory?

MB: Yeah, sure.

JC: Gayle was a person who I think was absolutely the closest to Muskie personally. She was from Bath, and I think went to Washington about the same time that Ed Muskie first went down in 1958 and stayed, virtually stayed with him for his entire career in the Senate and at the State Department. She was, she was actually Duane [Buzz] Fitzgerald's sister, he was the president of Bath Iron Works in recent years. Not then but in very recent years. And she was, because she'd been with him so long and been with him when he was just a freshman senator and didn't have the kind of power he had when I went down, and was there when he had a lot more time to do things, and had become very close to him and his entire family, and was almost like a second mother to his children.

She was his executive assistant, which means she sort of ran, or the most important thing she did, I guess, was run his schedule, which is an incredibly difficult job for someone in that position. There are so many demands on his time and his brain, that even demands that he wants to meet, that you can't meet them all. So it was her job to juggle them and schedule him on a day to day basis so that he would meet the people he had to meet with, go to meetings he had to go to, and still have some time to make it meaningful to do it, I mean, not just walk from one thing to another if you don't have time to study and prepare. And so her job was to run his schedule, and so everything that had to go on schedule had to go through her, and she'd go in and sort of (*tape blip*) with him. But her judgment was just excellent in that regard, she knew him so well, and she really had a good understanding as to what his priorities were and how much he could do and how much he could push into one day. That was a constant, the schedule is a constant effort, it is in any, for anybody in that situation I guess. There is never enough time to do what they are asked to do, what they want to do, and what they could do.

MB: So who were, you had mentioned a whole bunch of people.

JC: Okay, Charlie Micoleau.

MB: Right.

JC: Charlie Micoleau is now in Portland as an attorney. He was, I'm trying to think what his job was when I first got down there. When I first went down there Maynard Toll was the administrative assistant, which is the chief of staff job. Charlie was sort of like, I'm trying to think of him as the assis-, I don't know, he wasn't the assistant, (*unintelligible phrase*), but he was the guy I worked through pretty much, except Charlie didn't do legislation. Charlie did projects. It was Charlie's job to make sure that specific, a whole range of specific constituent requests and interests were addressed, whether it be making sure that the five hundred people that wrote a letter every day got answered, or making sure that the guy in Winslow who needed two million dollars for a woollen mill got some money somehow, you know. And Charlie was, that was his, that's what I think of as his broad area of responsibility. He was sort of the guy in charge of Maine in a broad sense. In a sense I moved into that position. Charlie, when Maynard

left Charlie became the administrative assistant and really, that happened during the senate campaign, or the campaign for reelection in '76. Charlie stayed, Charlie ended up going to law school at night as well, and then left after that, basically, I think, after he finished law school.

Leon Billings came down and became administrative assistant. Leon had been staff director for many years for Senator Muskie on the committee, on the environmental subcommittee there. It was called initially the air and water subcommittee, and then it was the environmental pollution subcommittee of the courts committee. And so he had worked with Senator Muskie to write the Clean Water Act and the Clean Air Act, and was really the guy that, he had a staff there of about three hundred people. And they really did the legislative work principally on those two bills. But they went through a cycle, they were always being reviewed and revisited, sort of kept going on. And that was, those were, you know, the two biggest areas of Senator Muskie's legislative focus until the budget committee came along, and they were for, you know, a couple of decades.

MB: I'm going to flip sides.

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

MB: We are now on side B of tape one, on the interview with Jim Case. You had just finished talking about Leonard?

JC: Leon Billings.

MB: Leon.

JC: No, you can never finish talking about Leon, we could spend four days here and longer talking about Leon.

MB: Were there some things specific about his personality?

JC: Not something but many things. And he's, again, a brilliant guy who was totally committed to Ed Muskie, and Ed Muskie was very committed to him, too, they had a very close relationship as well. More on the policy side, he used to be Gayle Cory's, which was on the personal side to the extent there's a difference. Leon came down and became administrative assistant after Charlie Micoleau left and stayed there until Senator Muskie went to the Senate, went to the State Department, and went there with him. Leon just had a lot of energy, a lot of drive, a lot of commitment. He's still pretty much involved. He was involved, he's now in the Maryland house of delegates I think, got elected to that on his own after he left government employment. And he's actually the head of the Muskie Institute now, too. And he's probably over at the archives all the time, but, because he comes up a lot, I think. But he was one of the key players throughout, not all of Muskie's career because he didn't span it the way Gayle Cory did, but next to Gayle, I think, in terms of longevity and influence I would have to rank Leon right up there.

MB: Were you familiar with Clyde MacDonald?

JC: Do I, am I familiar with Clyde MacDonald? I certainly am, Senator MacDonald.

MB: Was he a senator at that time that -?

JC: No, but that's the way Senator Muskie always referred to him, and Senator Mitchell, too, for that matter. Clyde, I knew Clyde in 1974, we both worked together on George Mitchell's campaign for governor back then. And it wasn't very long after I went to work for Ed Muskie that we made, we had some, had to make some decisions about how we'd use resources, and there was a decision to expand Senator Muskie's official presence in Maine. Up until then he had only one office in Maine, which was in Waterville, which at that point was not unusual since, because Senator Margaret Chase Smith had had no offices in Maine; she just dealt with people by mail. But Senator Muskie had always kept an office in Waterville to be sort of his home office. But then, you know, things had started to change and I think there was an expectation of greater presence. And so Senator Muskie was recommended, and he decided to pool some resources into Maine in terms of staff and open an office in Bangor and Portland initially. I think there was probably, there were others after that but initially Bangor and Portland.

And Clyde MacDonald was, became the field representative, was hired to be the field representative in Bangor, in northern, which really meant all of northern Maine above Waterville. And he was a very effective field representative, got out there and got to know everybody. He had been a professor at the University of Maine before that and, I think a professor of government, was very knowledgeable and had very strong views on history and government and very good perspective. And he had been very active in Democratic politics in that area as well, so he knew the personalities, knew the economy, knew government institution, how they work, and set off pretty much functioning entirely on his own. And the office in Waterville traditionally was sort of just a funnel of information material into Washington and would be dealt with down there.

But when Clyde started up in northern Maine, he very quickly became his own operation. And so you wouldn't hear much from him and then something, he'd be getting, he'd take some issues and some personal projects that tended to be more issues, and work them all pretty much up to where they were ready to, for final action by the senator, and then they'd be presented to him by Clyde, usually when Ed Muskie was in Maine, or up in Bangor, particularly. And Clyde would have worked an issue or worked a project to a point where it was really ready to get the senator to do something, sort of a final decision point, and Clyde would get him in the car when they were driving someplace or getting him, having him come in to the Bangor office and sit him down, explain it to him, and sell him, and have him go. And then, and which was great, I mean Clyde had excellent judgment and knew everybody, and that's a little bit of a simplification obviously, but. And so Ed Muskie and also George Mitchell used to call, refer to Clyde as the senator from Bangor. He didn't need a lot of guidance and direction and wasn't amenable to it I don't think anyway, in thinking, he didn't. But for people who have more of a structural view on these things, it was a little frustrating.

MB: Was Marjorie Hutchinson?

JC: Marjorie was in the Waterville office when I first came in. And she didn't, she didn't, we didn't overlap too much. I don't know when she left, retired. But she was, she had been Senator Muskie's personal secretary as an attorney.

MB: When he had lived in Waterville?

JC: When he was practicing in Waterville, and stayed with him ever since. He kept her as the person in Waterville. And that really, the only time that changed was in 1975 when we added the Bangor office, the Portland office, put additional staff into the Waterville office, and then ultimately opened a bigger front office. I think that was all we opened under Ed Muskie.

MB: Judy –

JC: And in Augusta obviously, (*unintelligible phrase*).

MB: In Augusta? Right. Judy Catarat?

JC: Judy Catarat. Judy Catarat was brought in to run the Biddeford office. And she was our field representative in Biddeford, now works in Lewiston for John Baldacci running his field office in Lewiston. She probably came in in '75, maybe '76, but I think '75, and stayed with Senator Muskie throughout his tenure and then throughout George Mitchell's tenure also stayed in that office and ran that office. And then went to work for John Baldacci in Lewiston I think after Senator Mitchell retired. She was a field worker, a caseworker, I don't know exactly what her title was. She was, again, a very good find, very committed, hard working, brilliant woman who took care of individual constituent requests and more, rather than, more often than an institutional issue. She would take care of individuals who had a problem with the Social Security Administration, the Defense Department, or any kind of individual problem Judy would address and take care of. And there were many, many of them.

MB: Now, were these all the people that you were coordinating from Washington?

JC: Yeah.

MB: So, these were some of the people that you were in contact with frequently, or?

JC: I would be in contact with them almost on a daily basis I think, by phone. Maybe not that often but certainly a couple times a week.

MB: And were there any other people who ran offices?

JC: Larry Benoit ran the Portland office once we opened that, I think that was '75.

MB: And?

JC: Larry had been, prior to that he'd worked for the first district congressman, probably at that

time it was Peter Kyros. And then he came to work for Senator Mitchell, I'm sorry, Senator Muskie in '75, and stayed on and went to work for Senator Mitchell in the Portland office. When Senator Mitchell became majority leader, Larry became sergeant of arms of the Senate and moved to Washington to be sergeant of arms for the Senate and held that job until Senator Mitchell retired. He's now also working for Congressman Baldacci.

MB: Oh, wow. You had mentioned a few other people. Was there anyone else that you worked particularly closely with or got to know particularly well?

JC: Well, I'm trying to think of who I haven't talked about. Let's see now. Al From, Al From was, I used to think of him as a wizard. His, he was the staff director for the subcommittee on intergovernmental relations, which is a subcommittee of the governmental affairs committee. That was a subcommittee which Senator Muskie chaired and so Al worked for him, but Muskie had to give that up, Muskie had to make a choice, I believe it was at the beginning of '76. He had to make a choice as to whether he would keep the (*unintelligible word*) subcommittee or the intergovernmental relations subcommittee because once the budget committee became fully established as a full powerful committee, first ranking I guess they call it, and, then you couldn't have, then you could not also chair two subcommittees, so he had to choose. And it was a very difficult choice for him, but he had, he ended up giving up the governmental affairs subcommittee, which was intergovernmental relations. That was the committee that Al had been the staff director for. Al was an interesting person, and still is.

That subcommittee had no specific jurisdiction, but had by its nature very broad jurisdiction because it didn't have a particular area it worked in and sort of worked on intergovernmental relations which could mean it had to, could deal with anything under the sun. And so it was in that committee, subcommittee that the revolutionary program was drafted, that was a very important piece of legislation in the sixties and seventies. It was in that committee actually that the Budget Act, which created the budget committee, was drafted, or out of, at least the people in it did it, I think it came out of that committee.

And Al was just a very, very creative person when it came to governmental issues. He had a tremendous amount of creativity and he was always, that's why I thought of him as the wizard, he always was coming up with ideas and there weren't many bad ones, they were often very good ideas. And a lot of them moved ahead and became public policy by virtue of his ideas and Ed Muskie moving ahead with them. He left when Muskie had to give up the subcommittee. He then, and he is now running, is one of the more powerful people in this country, running the, what do they call it, I can't think of it now. It's a Democratic, sort of the centrist Democratic organization. Sorry, it's just escaped me right now. But he was very instrumental in Clinton's campaign and a very close advisor to President Clinton. And you see him on the talk shows and news all the time.

MB: Can you -?

JC: Phil Merrill is another person you should interview if you haven't already.

MB: What's the name?

JC: Phil Merrill?

MB: I don't know if we have.

JC: Phil Merrill was the campaign manager for the 1976 senate campaign, and he came on about a year and a half before the election and put together and ran that campaign and did a brilliant job. He's still in the Augusta area.

MB: Can you tell me what issues were most important to Muskie at the time of the '76 election coming in?

JC: Winning. That's the most important in any election. But it's not really fair to say that about Ed Muskie, because Ed Muskie was always interested in winning not just to win but for the, but to win based upon the policies and programs that he believed in. And Muskie was, I think, always essentially a New Deal Democrat. That's what he grew up in, that's what he, that's the way he viewed government. But he was also extremely smart, extremely well studied, and very open to new ideas at all times. So he was always reexamining his own philosophy of government, government programs and issues. I think you'd have to say, I'd have to say that particularly in 1976 because the Clean Air Act and Clean Water Act were on the agenda at the time, that those issues were foremost for him at that point in time.

It's a little hard to say because the budget committee actually consumed more of his time. It was a brand new committee and extremely powerful committee, and it sort of had to prove itself. It was proving itself right then, it really just became a real committee, and it was in a sense in a direct conflict with the appropriations committee, which had traditionally had free rein in that area, and the finance committee, which had free rein on the revenue side of that arena. And it was potentially, and realistically it challenged every other chairman because the idea of the budget committee was it was going to coordinate everything, coordinate the revenue side through, which was the finance committee, the spending side, principally the appropriations committee. It also meant you had to watch the authorizing committees which are the subcommittees of the Senate because they could spend money on you into the future even though it didn't get appropriated any given year. It could make commitments which required expenditures (*tape blip*).

And so that required a tremendous amount of his time and energy and I guess one could say that getting that committee up and running and getting it established as a successful entity was a very, very big priority for him at that time. I answered your question on the environmental side because in terms of specific policy areas, that was where he I think had the most commitment. But it's hard to define the budget committee as a policy issue, but in a sense it was because it was trying to bring fiscal discipline into a, into the operation of government that wasn't there before. He was sort of ahead of his times in that sense.

And he was very often ahead of his times. I think Muskie, Muskie used to give a lot of speeches at that time, sort of the fundamental scheme of which, there's nothing liberal about wasting money. And he, that was one of the lines he used, too, but Muskie was very, very committed to

the traditional liberal idea of government, government can do a lot of good for people, it can make a difference in people's lives, that you really need government to balance people's interests against the massive private interests, the accumulations of wealth in this country. As I said, the traditional New Deal approach to government, he believed strongly in it. He thought you needed good broad ranging effective government programs to make the world right for people, but he also understood that good ideas can get translated into bad programs and you can waste a lot of money in bad programs. And you could create programs which, well intentioned, made people's lives miserable.

I heard him say many times, you know, as he'd review a new program or a new initiative or a revitalizing or reauthorizing an old program, he said, "I just hate to think of them, of the dictatorial bureaucrats we create when we write these programs." I think it was a very realistic view because he understood government, he understood how it works, and when you give people power it tends to, you know, bureaucratic power can be abused. And so he worried about that and did what he could to make sure that the reviews were effective, but it's hard for, sitting in Washington, to know what's happening at the local level. But that was a big focus, he, that was a tension he always understood. So those are the two areas that come to mind at that particular point.

MB: How would you say that his career developed over the years you were with him?

JC: Well, I was with him when the budget committee wasn't even a committee really, until it was a fully established major controlling entity in the Senate, which was a big shift in time and resources for Senator Muskie. And he became one of the most powerful people in the Senate, one of the two or three most powerful people in the Senate at that time. It was really over the course of the late seventies. I mean, he had a lot of . . . . power I guess is a fair word to use. He had a lot of stature because he was well respected, and because he'd run a good, done a good job in 1968 as a vice presidential candidate, and because he had done a good job in many ways as the presidential candidate, or seeking the nomination in '72, so he had a lot of stature in the Senate. But I think the real power came as he put the budget committee on its feet. That's the way I see it. So, I think that was a big development in his career. He never, while doing that he never turned his back at all, or I don't think ever neglected the issues which had really been his first interest in the Senate, which was the environmental area. He kept that subcommittee and he kept, kept those bills moving the way no one else ever could I think, until George Mitchell came along anyway.

MB: Do you have any vignettes that you wouldn't mind sharing, stories that stick out in your mind about him?

JC: I've got a million stories about Ed Muskie. The best ones I. . . I think, you know, I was thinking at lunch about this interview today. I sort of went back to what I, it's not a vignette, just a reflection. What was most remarkable about Ed Muskie, and he was remarkable in many, many ways, was the fact that he respected every human being equally. He was no more impressed by the president of the United States or the Pope than he was by the guy that washed his car or the lady that did his laundry or anything else. He, it wasn't just a, human quality to him wasn't just something of a legal concept, it was a basic fact of life.

And it had interesting permutations, because it really meant that when someone approached him they got a full and fair hearing the same as whoever, regardless of who they were. But they were also expected to be able to explain themselves, and have, how can I put it, the, if somebody came up to him with a harebrained idea that wasn't well thought out, if I was with Muskie, I may think well that's a waste of time, that's a harebrained idea. That would be my reaction. Ed Muskie would sort of pick it up and treat it as a legitimate idea, and say, "What do you mean?" and enter a dialogue with the person and I think frankly most of the time (*unintelligible phrase*) some harebrained scheme that someone presented to him. But he would never dismiss it that way. He was open, as I said earlier, but he also respected somebody, you know. Just because I think it's harebrained doesn't mean it's harebrained. Explain what you mean, explain what your idea is.

And so (*unintelligible phrase*) particularly in Maine you'd notice it because people would come up to him with weird complaints and ideas and I'd say, "Oh God," you know, and politicians now would give them some kind of a glib answer you know, "Yeah, we'll take care of this one." Muskie never did that, he never dismissed it out of hand, he never gave them a glib, you know, "Great idea, I'll get back to you." He always said, "Well, I don't understand, you better explain it to me," you know. And he would, he would often I think, I mean it was I think the ultimate measure of respect for people, to give them that hearing, give them a chance to really explain their ideas. But people who weren't used to doing it or people who hadn't really thought through their own ideas at all became sort of like put off by it, thought he was being rude because he was questioning them to explain themselves. But that was the way he was with everybody, it didn't matter if you were Henry Kissinger coming in to argue some foreign policy issue or somebody he met walking down the street who came up to him and started complaining about something. He expected if you have something to say, he wanted to hear it and he wanted to understand it, and if he didn't understand what you were talking about, you'd be embarrassed, but it wasn't because he didn't give you a chance.

And I don't know if I've explained that well, but it was a very unique trait I think. It would be much different, so much different than what you see today where politicians feel so little inclination to communicate their own ideas effectively, or to allow anybody else to do so either, or to listen. The Senate changed, started to change, I think, during the last years of Muskie's tenure. To a time when you had to be an effective spokesman and you had to really know what you were talking about if you were going to take the, stand up in the United States Senate and talk about anything, because you would be challenged, and you would expect to be challenged, and you'd expect to be able, you'd know you'd have to be able to deal with those challenges. I don't think that's true any more, I think it's, if you watch them on C-Span, it's ships, so often ships passing in the night. They have no interest in exchanging ideas or arguing with each other, it's just taking shots, go up and make a speech and sit down and go away. There's no dialogue, there's almost no dialogue back and forth, which is a real loss. A lot of the people who seem to have the spotlight now would I don't think ever have maintained it back in the time when Muskie was there, because there was much more emphasis on being able to carry your own weight with your colleagues. That started to go away and started to diminish because the sound bite became much more, you know, more and more a factor all the time.

I remember a debate on the floor of the Senate once. They used to have, I said, annual

appropriations debate on the Dickey-Lincoln project. And Senator [Patrick] Leahy, who I respect, but he was a brand new senator at the time, and he'd come in and (*unintelligible word*) probably the only issue that Ed Muskie won the other side of the major environmental group side. They were opposed to this project and Muskie was firmly committed to it. Senator Leahy came down as an environmentally oriented senator and decided that it couldn't be a good project because the environmental groups told him it wasn't.

So he stood up on the floor when Ed Muskie was moving the bill to fund the project and challenged Ed and basically read some lines which had been distributed by the opponents. Senator Muskie started to respond and challenge him on that, which was the nature of debate in the Senate back then. Somebody challenged what you thought, you responded and said, "What do you mean? I don't understand what you mean, but it's not true, look at this, look at this, look at this." And Senator Leahy said, "Well, I'm not going to argue with the Senator because he knows much more about this than I do, and he's much smarter than I am so I'm not going to argue with him, but I just think I'm right." He's like, like I think after that debate Muskie almost thought of quitting. He's like, what is this body coming to, you know. It's not only being in that position, but think they could just admit it and still end up on the floor of the Senate and challenge you, admitting you know more about what you're talking about than they did. And that was sort of like, that was a brand new thing, and I think since then it's become accepted. People don't know what they're talking about, they just take positions. But anyway, I haven't given you a vignette, have I? I'm not, one doesn't, there are so many that nothing jumps out at me.

MB: Well, if one does as we go along just, you can say, "Got a vignette." And, I was wondering, what do you think were some of his weaknesses? We've talked a little bit about what were some of his strengths.

JC: Not too many. I guess at the time I used to think that perhaps he took too long to come to a decision and often might have been able to advance certain issues better if he decided faster which direction he wanted to go in. But I don't think that was a serious, that was not a serious issue. He was a careful, he was very careful about making decisions. And when you're, when you've already made up your mind as to the right decision is, and you're trying to advocate it to him and are firmly convinced that he should take that course, he'd become concerned that delaying makes it harder to win the day. So that was, at the time, at least, you know, he started to struggle with that. But in retrospect given what he had, the huge agenda that he had to carry, I think he was probably smart to be careful. Weaknesses. It doesn't come to mind much when you think of Ed Muskie. I don't know, I think you'll have to go on to something else. I'll think about it and sort of come back.

MB: Okay. How did you experience his temperament?

JC: That sort of brings up some vignettes, now that you mention it. I thought his temperament was great. He was very human. He shared joy and he shared anger, and he shared disappointment and he shared success, so I thought he was just very legitimate, very human. He had the reputation for having a bad temper, which I didn't think was true. He had a good temper which meant he had a real temper. It also meant he knew how to use it.

I would staff him in a lot of committee meetings and he used to call, they're still called mark up sessions. A mark up is when, after all the public hearings and all the public debate, the committee goes in to actually write the language of a bill and make decisions, and that's where the laws are actually made. It's in there where people, personalities tend to really come out and be demonstrated, where you really learn what people are committed to and what they're not committed to, and how effective they are at dealing with their colleagues. And in any situation like that, particularly in the legislative body, you learn that time is very critical because there are time pressures to do certain things. There are deadlines, artificial or real, to get things done by, and so the pace of events and how things move and how you time your activities is critical. And Ed Muskie, I thought, was a master of using time, and using his temper.

I can remember, and I don't know which year it was, but it was probably 1977 or '78, the budget committee was well established and had accumulated an enormous amount of power, and they were having what they called mark ups, which was the final round of trying to frame the budget for that year for the whole government. Actually, it wasn't a mark up session, it was a conference committee, which is the absolute final round. That's when the Senate and the House get together and they send over half a dozen senators and half, they actually probably more congress people, and they get together, and that's where the two bills from the House and the Senate are combined to become, basically, the final version. And so that's when the rubber really absolutely meets the road, and that's what's going to be the law of the land. And when you're dealing with the entire budget, it's just an enormous amount of pressure. As chairman of the budget committee, Muskie ran that conference committee. And I can remember, I went to most of them, and I remember Muskie would sit down with the other senators and House members, this is the opening day I think, "All right, we're going to make some tough, tough choices here, there's not enough money for what everybody wants to do. Got to make some tough decisions on the revenue side, got to make some tough decisions on the spending side. Now we're all here with programs we're heavily committed to, heavily invested in because of our interests, because of our home states. We cannot focus on those this year, it's not the year. This year we have to all look above and beyond that. First thing I'm doing before we even start this session, I'm taking all the money for the clean air and clean water programs, I'm taking them off the table. Can't afford it this year, that's it. You all know it's been fifteen years developing those programs; this is more important. This is the budget, we're going to be serious or we're not going to be serious." Whew.

They were looking just like you are, all the House members and all the senators. So he got to them right there, you know, he's giving up his stuff. So then they went on and had the mark up session which probably lasted a week or two weeks, it was a conference committee, and different people managed to get different things that nobody, hell, nobody had taken everything off the table the way Ed Muskie had. But he held, he limited, you know, what you might call the spending initiatives by that opening. Then it comes to the final day of the conference committee. We've done a good job, it's hard to keep our feet to the fire here, we've done a good job. It's the last day of the session, everybody at this table, gotten our own programs in here, not the way you started it off but you got all your programs in, well, I'm not going to be the only guy who lets his programs suffer. Boom! Every penny back in.

MB: He got all the clean air and clean water money back?

JC: Everything back in. So he got everybody else to make compromises based on his, taking his own off the table day one. And at the end got all his back in.

MB: Had he arranged it so that there was enough left over for that, or?

JC: Of course he did.

MB: Oh, that's sneaky.

JC: Oh, I didn't tell you, he didn't say this as softly as I did, he threw a little tantrum along the way. "Oh, you people have gotten everything! My program's over here with nothing, took them off the table. Well it's not going to be like that." And nobody dared say a word, just kaboom. He was often in those situations and he'd be demonstrating what people thought was extreme temper, he'd turn around to me to talk to me about something -

MB: Just wink at you and -

JC: Yeah. He'd just been in a fit of rage and he'd turn around and . . . He knew how to use his reputation to intimidate people, which, you know, which you have to do at a certain point during those very heated negotiations. And it worked.

MB: Wow. Do you think he had at all a genuine temper, not a strategic temper?

JC: Oh yeah, I mean I said that, at the beginning. He had a real, he was a real human being and had real emotions. And I didn't consider it a bad temper, as I said I considered it a good temper. He would react angrily to things that were wrong. And he'd be frustrated. I mean he had a lot of things to get frustrated about, mostly because demands and the opportunities were so overwhelming, and he couldn't squeeze it all into one day. And that was, I think, the thing you saw most commonly on a day to day basis was, you know, it was finding enough time in a day to do everything. It was a legitimate complaint.

MB: What did you do in 1980, when he went to the State?

JC: When he went to the State Department? I stayed on. I, my, I, actually I was, here's a little vignette for you, this is a good vignette. I was traveling with Ed Muskie, Senator Muskie, in, when was it, March, I guess, 1980. We had gone out to Arizona on a trip to support Governor Babbitt, or the candidate for governor, who was Babbitt at the time, he's now Secretary of the Interior. We flew out to Phoenix and stayed at the former governor's house there in Phoenix, Sam Goddard. Ironically, Babbitt had won a primary against Sam Goddard's son, so this was sort of a heal-, Muskie was out there to play a healing role between the two factions of the Democratic Party. He and Sam, Sr. had been close friends for many years. Sam, at that time, I think was ambassador to Mexico.

Anyway, we went and spent an evening at Sam Goddard's house and the next day we all, the

Goddard family and Muskie and I went down to Tucson where there was a small fund raiser in a home for Babbitt, I can't think of his first name, Bruce Babbitt? Whatever, Secretary Babbitt, who was running for governor for the first time at that point, he'd just won the Democratic nomination. And we went to this fundraiser in somebody's back yard, and during the fundraiser somebody came out and said, "God, the TV's on, they just had this rescue mission to Iran fail." And all went in and watched the TV, and concerned about the news there.

And then that night we went back to Phoenix and we flew out heading back to, I guess we were going to Memphis, for an event in Memphis, and long, and it was a funny flight, I don't know how. But I think it went from Phoenix to Denver, from Denver to Cincinnati, and from Cincinnati to Memphis, just a terrible flight, you know, (*unintelligible phrase*) I guess. But anyway, we took off and when we landed in Denver to change planes, there wasn't much time. And there was a gate agent there saying, "Senator Muskie, Senator Muskie, the president needs to talk to you." And so we went, he took us to a one of these (*unintelligible word*) suites, and we tried to get the White House on the phone. We couldn't get the White House on the phone; the switchboard was busy. So we had to leave because the flight was taking off, and so we got on and flew to the next, which I think was Cincinnati, and the same thing in Cincinnati, "The president urgently needs to talk to you." So we go in, I call, the number's busy, and so I called the operator and said, "I'm with Senator Muskie and we need to get through to the White House, the president's been trying to reach him." And the operator says, "Don't give me that. I know you guys all have your own special codes, numbers to get through." I said, "We don't, the president's trying to call, we're between flights, we need to get, break through to the White House for us." She wouldn't do it, and the plane's taking off, so we flew on to the next stop and, oh, I called Gayle Cory actually at that stop, too, because when the operator wouldn't let us through I called Gayle Cory because Gayle had an inside line for the White House because all I could remember was the general switchboard number. And Gayle gave me I think Bob (*name*), who was a counsel to the president, but that line was busy, too.

So we go on to Memphis, then we get to the Memphis airport and there the same thing you know, "You've got to call the president (*unintelligible phrase*) call from the hotel." So we get to the hotel and the president's on the phone when we get to the hotel. So we go up to Muskie's room and he takes the call. The president asked him to become secretary of state, explained that Cyrus - you don't know all this history probably because you're too young. But the hostage rescue mission took place after they took all our embassy people hostage over there, and they were held hostage for a number of days and it was a very, very intense political thing and, an international political (*unintelligible word*). And there'd been attempts to negotiate their release with the Ayatollah Khomeini for at least a week I guess, and with no success.

And so the president had approved an attempt to send in a military force, President Carter had approved an attempt to send in a military force to go in and rescue the hostages who were held at the United States embassy. And the plan was to ferry in helicopters to the desert outside of Iran, and then jump off with the attack helicopters and rescue helicopters and go in and land in the compound of the embassy, take the hostages out, and I can't remember how many there were, there was a lot of them, and they were going to have to send in a lot of choppers, and then go. Well, it turns out that the then Secretary of State Cyrus Vance had not been included in the planning for this mission, he was negotiating not knowing anything about it, is my

understanding, and so when the mission failed and became public, Cyrus Vance was offended or whatever, and he resigned.

MB: As secretary of state?

JC: As secretary of state, okay? That day. And it sort of created a crisis with the government, a crisis of confidence, not just domestically but particularly internationally. And so President Carter decided he needed right away to name someone of great standing to be secretary of state who would, you know, remove that appearance of big, big failure of the government. And so that's why he was just desperate to get Muskie to take the job, instantly. Well, Muskie doesn't make decisions instantly in any event, so the president got him on the phone and talked to him in his room and he said, "Well, I'll have to talk to Jane, talk to some people, and I'll get back to you."

MB: Hold on one second and let me change tapes and then we'll continue.

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

MB: This is side A of tape two of the interview with Jim Case. So, you were telling me a story.

JC: Okay, so anyway, he finished talking to the president from the hotel room and we were having dinner with Lindy Boggs, the congressman from New Orleans downstairs. And so we talked for a minute and he told me that the president (*unintelligible phrase*), he couldn't tell anybody, it was a secret request. We went downstairs and we're going to the dining room and we're going by the front desk and the desk person comes out, he says, "Senator, the president's on the phone." He says he hasn't talked to him five minutes ago. And so Muskie didn't want to talk to the president, so I talked to him. He said, "Well, I need to see Ed, I need to see Ed, I'm flying to Texas tomorrow, I guess it was, the next, tomorrow morning, and I'll stop in Memphis and pick you guys up. We'll go on to Texas, I want to talk to Ed, I want to get him face to face and twist his arm." Because he's going down, he's going down to see the soldiers who had been wounded or like burned I guess in this hostage rescue mission who were going to be flown into the burn center in Texas. And so anyway, I said, "Well, he's not available right now but I'll convey the message and get back to you." Muskie didn't want to talk to him right then, didn't want to be forced into a decision that morning. It's a very serious decision to give up your Senate seat and become secretary of state and basically it was pretty clear then that Carter was not going to be reelected. It would mean giving up his Senate career to serve as secretary of state for seven months. Well, it was pretty obvious that that was the decision he had to make, it's a big, hard decision.

So we didn't go, he didn't go on Air Force One the next day. We flew back to Washington, conferred with a lot of people, realizing, for many reasons, not the least of which the country's interest, he had to become secretary of state because somebody of serious stature had to do it to preserve our standing in the world. So he did that and resigned from the Senate and became secretary of state. And my role, which was the initial question, he asked me to stay on in the

Senate because George Mitchell, he had, we had, he had gone up and discussed with Governor Brennan, who was governor at the time, who would be appointed to replace him because it was an interim appointment. And it turned out that George Mitchell, who was then, he was a judge in Bangor, would be appointed, but there would be a lapse before he could take office because he had to finish up his job as judge. And so we arranged to keep the office intact and I would stay on and run the office in the interim, and then I ended up staying on with Senator Mitchell.

MB: And then can you tell me a little bit about whether or not you kept in touch with Muskie and in what capacity, and?

JC: Yes, I did, I stayed in touch with him sort of while he was secretary of state, I'd go down and see him a couple times a week. After that when he went into private practice, we talked for a while because I didn't want to stay in the Senate for too much longer. I thought about going into that firm, but I didn't really want to, it was more of a corporate law firm and not really what I wanted to do. So I came back here and got involved here, and Muskie always stayed very closely involved with Maine. You know, he'd spend his summers here and came up here all the time. So I would see him, you know, very often when he came up here, and I'd visit with him when I went to D.C. So it was just, at that point it was just a personal thing except for, you know, if somebody wanted Muskie to do something for a political thing, like, you know, a fundraiser or something I would often be the person who would arrange it.

MB: Oh, wow. And can you tell me a little bit about the short amount of time that you did spend in Mitchell's office and how that was different and so forth?

JC: I served with Senator Mitchell for a year, almost, about two years. And, I mean, Senator Mitchell was actually a colleague in a sense because he had been a Muskie staff person shortly before I joined, and we were close and worked together in the '76 campaign to get [Muskie] reelected. We were friends. Senator Mitchell was a freshman senator, and so he was just getting his feet on the ground when I started working for him, and we sort of had a, we had to sort of, I had to sort of adapt the staff to realizing that they weren't now working for one of the most powerful men in the United States Senate, they were working for a junior senator, and he had very much different means and different resources, fewer in a general sense. But in another sense he had time. I mean the nice thing was he didn't have the burden of running a full committee and two subcommittees, one subcommittee, so he had more time to work on issues and to work with his colleagues. And he was, George was extremely intelligent and extremely hard working and proved to be very, very good at working with his colleagues and, you know, did an extraordinary job.

So, I don't know, it was just different in every, in many, many different ways. They both basically had the same political philosophy, and Senator Mitchell was just as committed to environmental issues as Senator Muskie and made that a forte of his legislative agenda as well. But again, he started as a freshman senator, who was viewed when he was first appointed as having a difficult time to get elected because he'd lost the gubernatorial race in '74. This was 1980, he'd never been elected to anything and, you know, the first district congressman who was viewed as a very, very popular Republican challenged him. And started off way ahead in the polls, but lost by a margin of sixty-forty I think.

MB: What were some of their differences in personality?

JC: Senator Mitchell was not emotional at all. He, his, he obviously had emotions, I would say just, he was not demonstrative the way Ed Muskie was. I think probably, I always wondered if he reacted to the demonstrative nature that Muskie had or it he'd always been a quiet person. But emotionally his, you know, reading George Mitchell's emotions was tricky because there was, it's real subtle. But he was extraordinarily diligent, I mean very, very bright person, but totally focused and diligent. I mean he would just see something through.

One of the things, you know, we'd, we'd, one of the things you have to do when you're in politics is raise money; Ed Muskie hated to raise money. To get him to go someplace and make phone calls, to call contributors, which he was in an extraordinarily great position to do because no one ever said no to him. He didn't do it, he hated to do it, and we'd have to find our way around that. George Mitchell, he knew it had to be done, he'd sit down, it's a miserable job to call people up and ask them to give you money to run for election. He absolutely had to do it because he was an underdog. He'd, we'd bring him over, he'd sit down at the phone, the only question was, do you have enough names for him? Every name he'd call and do it just right and get very good results. He was very personable but not emotional. And, you know, was not, he didn't shirk away from that, doing grunt work.

MB: Can you tell me a little bit about what it was like for you to live in Washington versus where you, anyplace you had previously lived?

JC: Washington was, you know, a great place to work, particularly if you're in the position that I was in because, you know, working for Ed Muskie at the time was just wonderful because you had access to absolutely everything and tremendous resources to work with. Living there, it was, the work day was very, very long, particularly when the Senate was in session, which would tend to be weird times even then. But the thing, in terms of the family end of living down there, I didn't like it, which is really the reason why I came back. My kids were school age and the community, we lived in Virginia, in Arlington, Virginia, we were close in. But the schools were just very transient, so many people coming and going all the time and the neighbors coming and going. It just wasn't the way I was used to living and I wanted more stability for my kids I guess, was a big factor. And so, it's a great city. It's a beautiful city, and it's got a lot of resources and the climate's pretty decent, better than Maine anyway, but terrible miserable couple of months in the summer.

MB: When had you married and had children in all of this?

JC: I married before any of this, I married in '71. Our daughter, our oldest, was born, actually this is, our daughter was born after I started working at, like, about three weeks after I started working for Muskie. So my wife stayed home in Maine because we didn't want to change doctors and everything. I went down and started the job, came back I think a week or a few days before Sara was born and then we all moved down there when Sara was about a week old.

MB: Wow. And then, how many other children have you had?

JC: We've had two, I lost one, we lost one child as a baby, and we have a son now.

MB: So it's your daughter Sara -

JC: Sara and Dan.

MB: And what have they gone on to do, are they grown up now?

JC: Yeah, pretty much. Sara is the, Sara is in California, she's in the film industry in Los Angeles. My son is a senior at Wesleyan.

MB: All right. Now how did, after you left your position in Washington and decided to move your family back up to Maine, where in Maine did you move and how did you get back involved in working at this law firm?

JC: Well, I called up Pat and said, "What are you doing?" And we initially moved to Brunswick, the firm as I said was in Brunswick, so we moved into a rental house there. We sold our house in Virginia, moved into Brunswick, rented there for about thirteen months. We first thought we were going to buy, just buy an existing house and then we didn't find anything we liked so we ended up building a house, and that took a while. So we moved into Brunswick I think in March '82, and moved to Yarmouth in '83 or '84, maybe I'm a year off there. Anyway, I'd been with, as I said, I'd worked in this firm as a law student, and I'd stayed in close touch with Pat and with the labor movement in Maine, and labor was one of the areas that I handled legislatively for Senator Muskie and Senator Mitchell. And so I'd maintained all those contacts and some knowledge base, so. I didn't want to stay in the Senate, and then wasn't sure what I wanted to do. I had mixed feelings about Washington; it was a great place to work, but I didn't really like living there. And so it just worked out that this developed as something I could do.

MB: Were you ever interested in being political yourself, like a politician?

JC: Not, obviously not enough to do it. It's a, I think to do it right, and very few people do it right, but if I was going to do it, I wanted to do it right. It's an enormous commitment, and I never wanted to do that while I had children. I mean, Ed Muskie, no one believes this but Ed Muskie went broke during his tenure in the United States Senate. He was honest. And it's just a very expensive, I mean, I think senators, or at the time he left the Senate, were probably getting paid around seventy-five thousand dollars a year, which wasn't enough to keep a lifestyle that he had to keep in D.C., raise his family, maintain a home in Maine because it's his home state. He had to have a home, otherwise you're considered to abandon it, and he didn't want to. So, as I say, he went broke. He didn't go broke, but he actually, what he ended up doing, I don't know why I even (*unintelligible word*) this on the record.

MB: You don't have to, just don't discuss it.

JC: Okay. But he made, he was, he made real financial sacrifices to stay in the Senate, he didn't go broke, but it was a real sacrifice financially. Particularly compared to the money he

could have made, because he was of tremendous integrity and wanted to do right. But I guess the answer to your question is, it's a kind of commitment which I respect anybody that does it, particularly if they do it right.

MB: And when you did come back to this law firm, I see now that you are a partner, how did you come up to that position?

JC: I've been here a long time. That's the most important thing is survival. In a law firm usually if you're doing okay and carrying your own weight, after a period of years you become a partner.

MB: Does Jim Tierney also work for this law firm, or?

JC: No, he did. Jim and I were law school classmates together. Jim and I actually both clerked at this firm while we were in law school. When I went to Washington, Jim did come into the firm in '75 I think. He was in the legislature at the time, and he left to become attorney general in '79. And so we actually never, except for clerking here together, we never overlapped after that, but we've been close friends for years.

MB: Can you tell me a little bit about him?

JC: Jim?

MB: Yeah.

JC: He's a great guy, I mean, he's very bright, very quick, a lot of, good sense of humor, good family man, a lot of kids.

MB: I interviewed him.

JC: Do you like him?

MB: Yeah.

JC: He's fun.

MB: Okay, is there anything else that you could add, or would like to add?

JC: We could talk for four days, but we've probably spent enough.

MB: Okay, well thank you very much.

JC: You're welcome.

End of Interview