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Pease, Allen and Violet "Vi" oral history interview

Andrea L'Hommedieu

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Interview with Allen and Violet "Vi" Pease by Andrea L'Hommedieu

Summary Sheet and Transcript

Interviewee Pease, Allen Pease, Violet "Vi"

Interviewer L'Hommedieu, Andrea

Date January 31, 2002

Place Hollis, Maine

ID Number

MOH 327

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Biographical Note

Allen Pease was born July 10, 1925 in Wilton, Maine to Howard and Azubah Pease. His father was a farmer and his mother was a teacher. He attended Wilton Academy, spent three semesters at Ohio University, one year at Farmington State Teachers College (Now UMF) and finished at Colby College. He served in the Marine Corps during World War II. He was an Administrative Assistant to Ken Curtis and a Professor of Political Science at several Maine state universities.

Violet "Vi" Pease was born February 24, 1927 in Levant, Maine to Evelyn and Elmer Call, a farming family. She attended Higgins Classical Institute in Charleston, Maine. Vi and Allen met at Farmington State Teacher's college, where she majored in Home Economics. She was a Democratic candidate for state representative in 1966, a long time member of the York County Democratic Committee from 1968 to 1978, a member of the Maine Democratic State Committee from 1968 to 1974 serving as Vice Chairman from 1968 to 1972 and Chairman from 1973 to 1974, and a delegate to Maine State Democratic Conventions from 1964 to 1996.

Scope and Content Note

Interview includes discussions of: 1968 vice presidential campaign; 1969-1972 presidential

campaign; Vietnam War; Republican Party in Maine; Democratic Party in Maine; Maine Legislature; Big Box ballot; term limits; campaign financing; Paul Hazelton; Jim Longley; Ken Curtis; and Maine income tax.

Indexed Names

Beliveau, Cynthia Murray Beliveau, Severin Brennan, Joseph E. Brennan, Mary Kay Carson, Everett C. "Brownie" Coffin, Frank Morey Colbath, Ken Conley, Gerry Curtis, Kenneth M., 1931-Curtis, Polly Donovan, John C. Dunfey, Robert Dutremble, Richard "Dick" Freeman. Anne Freeman, Joe Gartley, Mark Harding, Floyd Hathaway, Bill Hazelton, Paul Humphrey, Hubert H. (Hubert Horatio), 1911-1978 Johnson, Lyndon B. (Lyndon Baines), 1908-1973 Kelley, Peter Kennedy, Robert F., 1925-1968 King, Angus Levesque, Emilien Lipez, Kermit Longley, James, Sr. Martin, John McGovern, George S. (George Stanley), 1922-McIntire, Clifford McMahon, Dick Mitchell, George J. (George John), 1933-Mitchell, Libby Mitchell, Robert Monks, Bob Muskie, Edmund S., 1914-1996 Nicoll, Don Pease, Pamela Ross, Linwood

Scribner, Rod Smith, Margaret Chase, 1897-1995 Truman, Plato Violette, Elmer

Transcript

Andrea L'Hommedieu: This is an interview with Al and Vi Pease on January the 31st, the year 2002, and this is Andrea L'Hommedieu. We are at their home in Hollis, Maine, 33 Salmon Falls Road. And, I guess today's session is a follow-up to our first interview and I'd like to just fill in some of the gaps that we talked about before. I know you talked about Ken Colbath's 1956 congressional campaign. Could you talk about, you mentioned it, but could you talk about it in a little more detail, what was your role?

Allen Pease: Well, Ken Col-, I was teaching at Aroostook State College at the time, Presque Isle, and Ken Colbath was, he was from Presque Isle and he was induced to run. I helped him a little bit by writing, writing his radio speeches and things like that. That was about it. Of course he didn't run, he was running against Cliff McIntire who was quite popular in a Republican area, which was then called the third district, congressional district, but he was rewarded eventually by being placed on the Maine Liquor Commission for his efforts.

AL: Well what kind of guy was Ken Colbath? And do you remember what he did for work?

AP: I'm not quite sure what he, he was in business, I'm not quite sure what he, he was a tall, fairly laid back guy, he was not a particularly strong public speaker. And, you know, he was a nice kind of a quiet person. I don't think he planned to be elected for, when he ran, since he was very much lacking in any funds. About all the campaigning he could make, other than personal appearances, was a few radio addresses, you know, bought some radio time. So it was a pretty, a pretty small campaign.

AL: And how long were you in Presque Isle teaching?

AP: Two years.

AL: Two years? And did you get a sense of or you were in, did you get a sense of the politics in Presque Isle and how maybe people in the county, Democrats in the county, were different from Democrats in other parts of the state?

AP: Well, in Presque Isle the key person was Floyd Harding who became state senator, he was an attorney in Presque Isle. As far as the county's concerned, the northern part of the county, in Madawaska and St. John where the, and Van Buren, the Franco-Americans really ran those towns. And I do think there was quite a contrast between the Franco-Americans like Elmer Violette, Emilien Levesque, and John Martin, and the, those of French ancestry in Biddeford and Lewiston. It's almost as though they were more confident that they were running their towns, because they were the majority people in their towns instead of a minority. And they often handled their public offices and their business offices, and they ran farms, and they were not just

families that worked in the mills for the Anglos. It was an interesting contrast, I always thought, between the, some of the, those of French ancestry in northern Maine and the ones down in southern Maine that worked in the, who were, who came down from Quebec to work in the textiles mills and pulp mills. Aroostook, as a separate county, you know, called itself 'the' county, 'the' county, and it did have a more of a mid-western flavor. Vi and I had been in graduate school in Ohio and we felt there was an attitude of optimism and sort of a gambling, based on the potato crop, you know. If you had good years, the kids would go to Harvard. If you had bad years, why, the kids would go to the state colleges, and things like that. And if they had a good year the wives in Aroostook would fly down to Boston and shop. And

Vi Pease: Or New York.

AP: You know, and so it was a kind of somewhat more open society than most of Maine.

VP: Very friendly, Presque Isle was an extremely friendly town. I mean it – unlike you know some little provincial towns in Maine. You have to live there all, since you were born, before you're accepted. But we found that the, we always felt it was because, of course that was before the highway was put in and it was a major trek to get to Bangor, so they were somewhat isolated. And we always felt that it was partly because of that that they were so friendly. And, of course we knew no one really when we went up there, and became friends, as a matter of fact we had dinner with some friends from back there just the other day.

AL: Neat. Did you know Anne and Joe Freeman?

AP: Yeah. Joe Freeman was either with Coca Cola or Pepsi Cola bottling -

AL: Pepsi, yeah.

AP: Yeah, and he was very, he was, he contributed money and also time to the Democratic Party, and he was a strong part of the Aroostook party.

AL: And Floyd Harding was pretty visible at that time, too?

AP: Very much so in Presque Isle. And in Van Buren, why, it would be, you know, it'd be Elmer Violette and his wife, they were both very strong, you know, some others.

AL: You mentioned John Donovan in the last interview, and you talked somewhat about his roles in the Democratic Party. What was he like as a person?

AP: Well, he was a professorial type, as you know he'd been chairman of the department at Bates College. And the - So he was a outspoken person but, in a sense. A quiet person, he didn't force himself. But he had, if you talked about the organization of the Maine Dem-, the revaluization of the Maine Democratic Party, it has to center around John Donovan, Frank Coffin, Ed Muskie, and Don Nicoll, that group that kind of got the thing started. And so, and those people stayed together for quite a while, and Donovan went down, after he left Bates he went down at, with the patronage of the Democratis in Washington to head up, I think he was the

first Manpower commissioner really in Washington, and then eventually came back to Bowdoin College and headed up the department there for many years. And I knew him quite well when he was at Bowdoin because I was teaching political science and he was teaching in government. He had a good quiet sense of humor, always had very accurate sense of a meeting, what was going on and who was promoting, and he wrote quite a few books and was sort of this, after he came back from his trip in Washington he did help Ken Curtis a good deal. He and I co-chaired the research for Ken Curtis campaign in 1966 for governor, and kind of put together the, sort of the research materials and, that led to his campaign, I guess you'd say his campaign plan or campaign platform. But, John was more of a, at that time John became more of a senior advisor, kind of a sage, rather than big activist, you know, he didn't tear around to all the meetings and so on any more. Just became more of an academic, writing about writing about, what was going on, and teaching. Yeah.

AL: Now, was Paul Hazelton there at that time as well?

AP: Yeah, he was.

AL: What memories do you have of him?

AP: He was a very, very amusing type of person. And it was a - he had a lot of interest in quite progressive government. He held a unique position on the Bowdoin faculty; he was really committed to education and taught whatever education courses they had, which was unusual to have a person like that in a liberal arts college. And he didn't have, he also was unique in that he didn't have a terminal degree. But he was well liked and respected so that he was able to serve his career. He also was good in organizations, and after Curtis became governor, why, he served on a number of education type organizations, task force and things like that. Again, he had a quiet way, good sense of humor, and kind of an academic appearance, sort of a tweedy type of professor

AL: Did you ever know Dick McMahon?

AP: Yeah, I did, I didn't know him very well, yeah. I don't have a strong, I don't have strong associations with Dick, no.

AL: Now, you talked somewhat in the last interview about the Longley years. What was your role during the Longley years?

AP: Well, I helped organize for Ken Curtis, and helped recruit Jim Longley to head up the management cost survey. And that was a business group that studied Maine government, supposedly to make things more efficient and make some cost savings. I used to go over to Longley's house and finally talked him into doing that, and I was quite instrumental in that.

VP: At that time he was a Democrat.

AP: And---, Longley was, yeah, Longley's whole family was Democrats at that time and had been quite active. After the cost survey was done, Longley became very determined that the

recommendations that were made by this group should be put into place, and a lot of us felt that parts of it were unrealistic, or they were non-politic-, or they were political non-starters, or that they weren't too soundly based. And we thought, you know, if you could pass, adopt, seventy percent or seventy-five percent of the recommendations, that was pretty good effort. Not, not for Jim Longley, you know, he wanted, "Why not a hundred percent? why not ninety-nine percent?" And so there became some friction between Curtis and Longley, who had been very good friends, really over the implementation of this study which Curtis had really got started. And so, when the legislature in 1974 didn't adopt a number of the cost survey stuff.

That's when Longley decided that he was going to change state government and he ran as an independent. And he was a very attractive candidate to a lot of people, and as you know, he won. After he won, and I had gone back to the university at the conclusion of Curtis' administration, you know, at the end of 1974, he asked me to work, to help in the transition of his office. I had organized a, when Curtis came in in 1967 there was really no organization to the office of governor, and so we put together, for whoever was going to be the next governor, we put together a kind of a book, a kind of a manual of the governor's office. And of course that was turned over to you know Longley and his people coming in, and he was impressed with that and he all his liked me pretty well and he asked me to stay on, on a part-time basis during that transition, which I did. And I was still teaching at that spring of 1975 in the University of Maine on the Portland campus, and he asked me to become director of state planning office, and so I did that for four years when Longley was governor.

AL: What did you, give me a comparison, I think, would be maybe the best way to ask, to say it, between being in Curtis' administration and being part of the Longley administration, how were they different, what, was there anything alike?

AP: Well, I think you'd have to really be a student of history to realize how much of a progressive, how many changes that really took place in the Curtis administration. There's no question that probably the modern Democrats wouldn't have really got going if it had not been for people like Ed Muskie, but Muskie was much more conscious in his, in a sense probably more tactful in his dealing with Republicans and business people, and the public at large. And Curtis, Curtis was much more spontaneous and progressive and sort of, he was a, kind of a bolder figure and you would just have to, you could just, there's a whole litany of things, the changes that took place under the Curtis administration. And to some people, many people, that was kind of an excess, you know, we had the income tax, and we had all kinds of changes that took place in conservation, regulations of business, and so on, and there was, there developed a kind of a tax payer and sort of a business concern that was essentially conservative and also kind of libertarian kind of, you know, get government off our back. And so that was kind of, that was sort of, Curtis' style was using government in a, to solve a problem. And he created, the Curtis administration, in those eight years there were about seventy-five studies done in Maine government, and at least twenty, maybe twenty-two, were major task forces that Curtis you know appointed to study a certain problem. And then when they would make their report he'd usually try to implement at least part of it, you know. And we didn't expect a hundred percent. Jim Longley, he thought a hundred percent on the cost survey would be a good number.

Longley was a very attractive person, very articulate, and a very, very, determined person. And

he was his, he was a very smart person, but his, and his views were that government had got too large, had got too, had been, that things had gone too fast and he was looking to cut the cost and so on. He was also extremely outspoken, and he was, he didn't like politics really, he didn't like politicians. He thought it was kind of a, he referred to the legislature one time as prostituting, or being pimps, for some special interest. I know one of the legislators, Jerry Conley, made some pins up that said 'Pimp', you know, for the legislators as kind of a joke. And he didn't, he didn't, he vetoed an awful lot of legislation in that four years. But he, and I used to tell him, I said, "They're going to override your vetoes on some," and he says, "I don't care," he says, "I'm just, I don't care if they do override it." But he, half of his vetoes probably were overridden; very unusual.

But, so he had his own style and he was, he was not really very well-liked by the bureaucracy because the bureaucracy in Augusta were interested in their own programs, whether they were education, human services, what have you. And the legislators of both parties, you know, they had to live with him but they didn't really identify with him very much. So he had a hard roll on programs that he wanted, or whatever he wanted to do, so he was not completely successful. And one of the things which he had promised when he came in was to cut taxes and there would be no new taxes, and over his veto the income tax was increased in two years, you know, the legislature increased the, so actually the taxes increased under Longley though he would never kind of admit it because he never supported it. And Reader's Digest had an article on Jim Longley, and it was probably in 1978, (unintelligible phrase) 1978, you could dig that out somewhere, but it also had a little picture of Longley in cartoon forms. It was called "The governor who kept his word", and when he won the office, he said that he could clean up, or he could do the job in Maine government in a four-year term and he wouldn't run again. So, he was very popular statewide in 1978, and he was being asked to run for office again by a lot of people, a lot of his supporters, and he was quite torn by that. But because of that promise, he decided not to run. It may have also been affected by the fact that he, he developed cancer. He didn't last, I think he died in maybe April of the following year after he left office, I mean he went down pretty fast. But, he fought the cancer hard, but I mean it was all through him.

But he had a lot of admirable qualities, like, and he took very seriously things, but he did some, you know, he was, he did some unusual things, too. One thing is that if he had, if there was a state prison inmate who was trying to get, up for a pardon or a commutation, he would interview him. This is very unusual for the governor to interview an inmate; usually it would be a probation officer or parole board type of function, he would take their word for it one way or the other. But he would, he would go down and interview him. Also, he would, the University of Maine objected to some of his proposals, and since they didn't go along with them he called for the resignation of all the trustees. The chancellor of the trustees at that time was a guy named Don McNeal, a very interesting, attractive, capable person, and he came to me in the fall of that year after Longley was elected, so it probably was, you know, November, December, and he said, "I'm going to have to leave," he said, "I can't stay." I said, "I know," you know.

VP: Al, mention those early morning meetings.

AP: Well, another thing, yeah, another thing, he, so he really intimated everyone, including the

people on the Cabinet. He would say, he would call these Cabinet meetings at seven o'clock in the morning, and he told them, he said, "I want to meet with you occasionally," you know, I guess normally it was once a month they had the Cabinet meeting, but he says, "I don't want to take out of your busy schedule, don't want to take it out of your working day, we'll from seven to eight in the morning before your day starts," you know. And he said, he would say things like, "I don't expect you to be in the office all the time, but I want to know where you are," he said, "I want to know how I can reach you." So there was this kind of feeling that big brother was watching you.

AL: That you were on call? Yeah.

AP: It was interesting, in January after I left, I was back (?), I was teaching at Portland, and he called up, actually he called this number here, and he asked me to, and this would be January of, what would that be? Seventy-nine, I guess. No, wait a minute, he was elected '74, right? So that would be '75, no, when he run that was '74, that would be '79. That doesn't sound right. He was elected in '74.

AL: So he took office in January of '75.

AP: Yeah, so he would be, yeah.

VP: So that would be '79.

AL: Seventy-nine.**AP:** Yeah. So he asked me to write to a head of a, well, to really write a newsletter for him, a nationwide newsletter, to continue his interest in nationwide politics. And, so this newsletter would be going nationwide; he had this network of people around the country from these governors, and the fact that he'd been on the Million Dollar Round Table as an insurance agency, and he was president of the Million Dollar Round Table before he became governor, and so he was all politics and very much interested in the fact that he did something in Maine and struck a chord of independence and he, I think he thought he could do it nationally. And I think Jim McIntire, who was his speech writer, he really, McIntire said after Longley left, he said, "I've written seven hundred speeches for that man," and he said, "I'm really whipped." But I think that he agreed, he and I talked about it, I think he agreed that he really was interested in going nationally and become a, going independent nationally and, you know. And he had that Reader's Digest thing, "The governor who kept his word" which was all, all laudatory comment on him, and in public opinion he was high in Maine, even though, you know, the Democrat and Republican activists were, shook their heads, you know. But he was kind of a phenomenon. We used to say he could do, he could talk so fast and so kind of articulate in a way, that they could sit down with a camera and he could do a sound, he could do a thirty, you know, he could do a thirty second sound bite one right after the other, just like, you know, as if it just came right out of him.

And his, one of the things we took a lot of pride in was supporting and eventually getting a Constitutional amendment that allowed eighteen year olds to vote in Maine, that was one of the things Curtis pushed. The Republicans felt that was going to help the Democrats so they organized and had another referendum to raise the level to twenty, thinking that, you know, a

younger person might be more attracted to a more active Democrat policy. Well it turned out later that a lot of those young people were kind of libertarian or, you know, kind of rebellious, and Longley got a lot of those young folks, a lot of the young people really jumped on his bandwagon, campaigned all over the state. He brought them into he brought them into his office, you know, and half a dozen people that were, you know, college students or just graduated from college. And that's, that has sort of happened; there is kind of a, there's been a lot of conservative young people. So, politics full of these unintended results, so you say you've got to bring, let young people, eighteen year older vote and that seems like a fair thing to do, but also, what's going to be the result? And it depends on, you know, they're kind of impressionable; they can go either way.

There was another thing, one of the things that really killed the Democratic Party in Maine, in effect it killed both parties, was getting, changing the ballot. In 1968 Muskie made such a great impression on the country and on the party by his campaign as vice president with Hubert Humphrey, so everyone thought that Muskie was going to become the presidential candidate in 1972. And of course in Maine, that meant to the Republicans that with the straight ticket ballot, which gives people an option to vote the so-called 'big box' and you wouldn't have to bother to check anything, just vote all Democrats and all Republicans. Jesus, The Republicans could see they were going to be really wiped out like they were in 1966 when Lyndon Johnson did so well, and that elected a whole Democratic government in the 102nd legislature for the, you know, all Democrats for the first time in, ever. And then, so Bob Monks and some other Republicans, I think Monks put up a lot of the money for this campaign to put on the ballot a change from, to the office tied ballot which takes, like for a certain office, lists candidates regardless of party by alphab - alphabetically. So you have to go down through each office and make your vote.

So that did away, that was a great blow to the political parties that could appeal to party unity. And the candidates all began to run on their own, rather than as a party candidate. A lot of candidates never listed whether they were Republican or Democrat after that, you know, just, they were on the ballot, you know, so Joe Blow for sheriff or for legislature, they, just making a personal appeal.

In 1972 that referendum was, Curtis opposed that, the Democrats generally opposed it, but again, it had a Democratic feel to it, you know, that it was a fair thing to change, and that referendum passed two to one to change the ballot. Well, here we have a situation in Maine where the Republicans were tickled that this, they figured that Muskie was going to get the nomination, and this was a, Hathaway had committed to run for the Senate against Margaret Chase Smith and he was distraught because he knew that that was, you know, he felt that would be the death knell of him, he planned on riding into the Senate thing on Muskie's coattails. Well, so the ballot office was changed, everybody, and there was a lot of criticism of Curtis, he didn't, he didn't immediately post the results, and in fact they went to the Supreme Court to try to force Curtis to make a decision on putting it into effect for that fall, and finally he had to do that. And then that summer, instead of winning the election, like Muskie kind of fell apart in the primary, in the National Convention in Miami. McGovern was appointed, was nominated by the Democrats to run, and McGovern was of course not as popular in Maine as Muskie would be, even though he was popular anywhere in the country, probably, as Muskie might have been in the fall. But, because he was considered, you know, more liberal or, than Muskie. Not as much mainstream,

not as well known, he was kind of an odd thing.

And the, part of the result of that (*unintelligible word*) the ballot laws, that weakened the ballot in a sense for both parties, and the first result of it was Hathaway beat Margaret Chase Smith, see, so the lack of the big box made the difference. And Margaret Smith hardly campaigned during that time; she just figured she was a shoo-in, and Hathaway worked hard. So Hathaway had worried about the change, and yet he was able to win (*unintelligible word*). The next results that happened that hurt both parties was the election of Jim Longley as an independent. That would never happen if they'd kept the big box. We would never have had Angus King if it had not been for the office tied ballot.

AL: Now, you know there are people trying to get the big box back. Do you think that will happen? I know I've seen them at the polls, trying to have petitions signed for the big box.

AP: They are? No, it'll never get back. I mean, they may get enough signatures, but people aren't that political to want to strengthen the political parties, you know.

AL: So you think that probably has a significant impact on the change of the role of the state party and politics?

AP: Oh yeah, that really knocked them, it really knocked them out. Before that, before the change, like when Vi was chair and Severin Beliveau before, they were able to really run as a team, they really run as a Democratic team, and -

VP: Although that went, Muskie was not in favor of that, Al, when, that year that we had that statewide.

AP: Well, the major candidates that were popular always felt they might lose something by identifying just as a Democrat (*unintelligible phrase*).

VP: Because he didn't want to give us money, you know, we needed money to run the statewide campaign which was very, very successful, I mean, probably the best run campaign statewide ever in the history of the Democratic Party. And we had candidates in every, every seat, and a lot of them weren't extremely good candidates but if you have a candidate running, my premise always was, it helps the other candidates and it also brings people in that might not be brought in otherwise. And Muskie sort of resisted that, but he finally gave in. And god, I'm sure Ken Curtis probably never would have been elected if it hadn't been for that drive, would you agree to that, Al?

AP: Ken Curtis, in the second time, you mean?

VP: Yeah.

AP: Well, second time, on the second election of Curtis 1960, see, he had passed an income tax.

AL: That was a close race.

AP: He had supported and urged income tax to support larger programs of education reform, increase to higher education, increased subsidies to the towns for schools, and a number of other expensive social services. And to pay for those, pay for a huge budget request, a hundred and, which you know, the number seems small now, but they were big then, like a hundred and fourteen million more than the current revenues on that budget, he called for increased revenues. He said he was open-minded in this budget, to live with the budget he was open-minded on the sources, but he recommended corporate (?) personal income tax. And it was to get the hundred and fourteen million, it would have been about five percent of the federal, not five percent, it would have been about one, about one fourth of the federal liability. Well, he had an awful time in the se-, but finally that income tax was passed. It was a, it was not the income tax exactly that Curtis had recommended, it was a, it wasn't tied to the federal, it was a separate Maine income tax, but it was a graduated tax, and it was a corporate (?) tax, and it would raise less money, more like seventy-five, maybe more like sixty-eight or seventy million rather than the hundred and fourteen million, but still it was a very substantial thing and a big change.

And so the Republicans had to agree with Curtis that they needed the money, and so the Republicans in the legislature adopted it as well as the Democrats. But we have to get, in order to really pass that budget and tie it to the budget, we had to have two thirds of both houses, and that was a hard thing to get because the Republicans still had a majority in both the senate and the house. And I can remember the senators coming in, it passed the house, and then the senators, they needed one more vote and senate leaders and so on, they're all, Republicans, Democrats, all down in Curtis' office and they're trying to figure out how are they going to get the vote, and who they could get and they could work on, and calling this guy in, that, it was really an interesting little thing, and a great show of political cooperation rather than just partisanship. So, it finally passed. It was adopted on the day that the Thomas Point picnic for the Democrats was being held, and I stayed until the vote and, I went down to the Thomas Point picnic and Muskie was there and I spoke to him, and I said, "There's quite an event that's happened here today," I said, "Maine government has adopted an income tax." And Muskie says, "The hell, they have." And you know what question he asked? He said, "Will I have to pay it in Washington, D.C.?"

VP: But back to Muskie on that campaign that we worked with him on, I think in the final analysis he was most appreciative of our efforts, because after the election was over he gave me his book there, and wrote and made a nice comment and thanked me for, you know, I was co-chairman of the statewide Get Out the Vote at that time.

AP: It's kind of interesting that Angus King was representing -

- **VP:** (Unintelligible phrase).
- **AP:** Angus King was representing Hathaway in that time.
- **VP:** That's right, yeah.

AP: You know, he was an aide to Hathaway.

AL: Yeah. That's how he came to Maine, right?

AP: Yeah. Well, he was recruited out of wherever he was, you know, Virginia or someplace, and of course he was a very able guy.

VP: I loved Hathaway. I'm sorry that he didn't hang in, but those were the political casualties.

AL: Now, I wondered if you had any other thoughts about the state party. We talked about the big box, do you think there are other factors that weakened the role of the state party, such as maybe term limits, or the way campaigns are financed?

AP: Term limits is, the struggle over term limits was obviously about power, and people who didn't want to take part in traditional party politics and sort of work their way up and pay their dues resented it, and they also resented the people who were established and had been in state, in the, you know, running their towns or the legislature for years, and kept going back because they were well known as the incumbents, and so it was, the struggle was about power. And Democrats, after Curtis' administration, the Democrats began to control the legislature, and sort of a, so we began to have a Democratic senate president and a Democratic house speaker, and that speaker turned out to be Johnny Martin. And so Johnny Martin, he's from a very safe district, you know, his home town, Eagle Lake, you know, had a little business up there, so he was assured of winning every time. And then he was an extremely adroit parliamentarian in running this, and -

VP: Very capable.

AP: Very, so he ran a very capable, yeah, as Vi said, very capable house office. But he was a partisan and sometimes he would come down very, you know, very hard on the opposition one way or the other. And so, it was a power struggle of people who wanted to find a way to where a new people like themselves might get in. And again, this was presented, like the office tied ballot, the end of term limits, the term limits was presented as a reform to open up government, so it made it very attractive to a lot of people. They thought, yeah, that's a good idea to open up government. But the term limits, you know, are really kind of a bad idea in a sense, if you had a good person in, why not keep them. And it did hurt both parties' organization because it made it less, in a sense it made it less attractive to make a career out of the legislature or some government position if after a certain number of terms you were going to have to drop out. Sure, I think that hurts. It brought some people in that were probably good people, but it's, and it -

VP: Well the other bad thing about it really is that on some of these issues, I feel very strongly that term limits restrict any continuity of, you know, and people that are good and have served on committees, I mean there's no memory there in some situations which is bad.

AL: Let me just flip this over.

End of Side A

Side B

AL: We are now on Side B.

AP: The point that Vi made on that is one that you would hear from the experienced people, like for example, someone like Rod Scribner who has held a number of offices in the legislature and administration up there. And I know, he told me just a couple of years ago, he said, "You wouldn't believe the lack of knowledge that a lot of the new people had when they came in." They throw out the old guys that kind of knew what was going on, had some, as Vi said, some memory of what has gone on, and they would be going back, advocating for (*unintelligible word*) that had been, you know, discarded years ago, didn't understand this or that, didn't understand the school subsidy formula, that's very complicated, the whole history and so on, or whatever the subject was and they had. And so in, you know, in my judgment, it has not contributed to better government in Maine or the other states where they've had term limits.

AL: Yeah, someone had talked about maybe if you just put term limits on leadership positions so that there was some turnover, but the others wouldn't have term limits, that that might solve part of the problem that was the reason for in-.

AP: Well, yeah, I don't have much interest in that either. See, I, as a basic attitude toward government policy, I believe that the party government model holds more responsibility than what we are doing in the country now, which is tying our elections and our policies to individuals. And this, like we have in Maine now, we have a man without a party who is the governor and he is directing whatever administrative policy, and his recommending policy to the legislature, that are his own, that have no. And that is put forth as a virtue to some people but it's hard to hold anyone accountable for what goes on. You can't hold him accountable, he's not going to run again, has no party, has no (*unintelligible word*).

And so I believe that if you're going to, every person doesn't have time and in some instance interest to read or to study or to be involved in government. Only about maybe three percent of people are that way, that will take the time to go to a party caucus or town, even the town meetings and so on. So it's, what we're moving to is just a government sort of for, where people think they're voting for the best man rather than the best party, and so therefore the only way you know who the best man would be would to know what policies they're standing for, and there's no way really of knowing the individuals. Now, in our state government we have in the legislature, in the statutes, we have a requirement that each party present a platform every two years. And those platforms are, you know, some people say now they've become just eyewash, or irrelevant. Now, under the Curtis administration we tried to translate the party platform items into proposals. We didn't always agree with everything, but we took it as responsibility that as elected as a Democrat we would try to make it possible for that to be heard. That attitude doesn't prevail now, no, we lost it. And at the national level, the Congress do have, you do have, in the legislative bodies you do have kind of a last vestige of party government, as you have in the state legislative body, but they pretty well eliminated it on, you know, for a lot of, as far as the country's concerned, the party is over, I think.

VP: That's kind of an interesting point there, that Al made. Well, the last, I think it was Ken's

last term when, as he said, they tried to implement as much of the party platform as possible. And I was chairman then and just fortunate enough to have a volunteer. She was a college student and she was there for a semester, so she worked directly with the governor's office that whole semester to help implement the party platform. She was a very bright, capable gal, and I think did a good job. But back to this term limits, my premise, one reason I was against it and still am, is I feel very strongly, if there's someone in there that they don't like or they don't agree with, vote them out. I mean, that's the democratic way, as far as I'm concerned. And that's another reason that I opposed the term limits, but -

AL: Do you think that term limits will ever be thrown out, do you think we may go back to the way it was. What's your sense?

VP: Very doubtful. I'd like to see it, but I think it's pretty doubtful. There are so many independents now that, you know, I don't know what it is statewide now but it may be a third, a third, a third. I know it is in this town.

AL: If a young person came to you and said, "I'm really interested in politics, how am I going to get involved in this day and age?" what would you say, how do you think young people would have the best way to really get involved in the political process?

VP: Well, we probably, what we do out here in Hollis actually is, if there's someone that's interested, we encourage them to come to meetings, and the gal that followed me as chairman of Hollis here, when she came in town, she was from New York, I just, you know, went out of my way to welcome her and she's been a real asset, not only to our town but to the county. And I'm sure that wouldn't happen perhaps in every county, or every town rather, but it should. And also, there's always an opportunity for them to serve on congressional staffs and things like that, you know, when they're running for office, and do any number of things (*unintelligible phrase*), as you well know, from sorting papers to sealing envelopes, but it gets them involved and sometimes it's, it works out that they stay with the candidate in some position or other.

AL: George Mitchell, if I switch gears here a little bit, what, tell me about what you remember, meeting him and how he got involved, and were there any things that you worked with him on?

AP: Well, the first time that I really met George Mitchell was, it was at a, it was during the Curtis campaign for governor, '66, and the, Muskie made available several people on his staff to help Curtis, and Mitchell and Don Nicoll in particular. And when we, we put together what was a, we put together a ten-point Maine action plan, and like point one would be, say, education, point two, state government, point three, judiciary, things like that. And then the idea was to release one of the chapters maybe each week during the, each week one or two of them a week during the campaign to try to add substance, Curtis being really a still a very young guy, thirty-five years old I guess. And so, Mitchell contributed quite a bit to that Maine action plan. And I kind of was, was sort of organizing and writing part of it but kind of organizing it getting produced and all that, and so.

And George was a very good writer as well, you know, he was an aide to Muskie, and I can remember riding in the car with Muskie and Mitchell, and at that time Muskie kind of, kind of needled Mitchell quite a bit because, you know, Mitchell was young, on his staff, and so on, and he had a way of kind of needling people. Muskie had this sort of imperious, dominating appearance, you know, and at every meeting he was kind of the dominant figure, you see. Quite a contrast to the way, say, Ken Curtis would meet with a group would be just more kind of affable and joking and so on. But Muskie had a lot of reserve, and almost a kind of a proud way of, he kind of de-, as if he were demanding respect. And he was demanding respect from the people that worked for him, including Mitchell and Nicoll. So that was, that was kind of the, that's how I initially knew him. Then Vi was quite involved with him, and she supported him when he ran for national chairmanship against Bob Strauss, you know.

VP: No, I didn't.

AP: Well, she did.

VP: No, I didn't.

AP: She did, yup.

AL: So, Mitchell ran for governor. Were you -?

AP: He ran at the same time that Longley ran, and

AL: Right. So you were more on the Longley end of it than the Mitchell?

AP: No, I was with, I was accused by one of Mitchell's brothers, Robbie Mitchell, of supporting Longley, because I'd been friends with him, but, and associated with him afterwards. No, I voted for George Mitchell and -

VP: Yeah, we both did. I was so mad at Longley that I put a -

AP: And so the, during, at election night in the Eastland Hotel, there was Lin Ross, and George Mitchell, Lewis Johnson, Ken Curtis, myself, and I think some of the wives, I'm not sure just, probably Polly and, and we watched the election returns, you know, and about eleven, eleven-thirty, it became quite apparent, you know, that, we was always hoping that the cities would come in and Mitchell would pull out, but it was quite apparent about, you know, eleven, eleven-thirty, that Longley had this lead and he wasn't going to lose it.

VP: Well, the reason I was so angered with Longley is when I was state chairman, and here he'd been a Democrat and had switched gears, and actually I called him up and he wasn't very happy with the conversation, I'm sure. But it didn't turn his head, he still ran. But he became to like me again, though.

AP: Now, Longley's attitude towards Vi and to me was that, that was too much for one family, you know, for her to be strong in the party and for me to be in the governor's, running the governor's office. So that was just a personal thing. And he did send a kind of a, well, you know, we call it a nasty letter (*unintelligible phrase*), you know, he'd write a paragraph that

would be, if you tried to diagram it, it would be about a hundred and fifty words long, you'd think you were back into reading German. It was quite a phenomenon, really.

AL: Well, you talked a little about why, what Longley had going for him that led him to win the governor's election, the election for governor. Were there any things that you can recall from Mitchell's campaign that might have, he might have done or not done that contributed to his losing?

AP: Well, I've kind of mentioned that, that it's the increase of taxes and regulation of business, and so the attitude in, that government was becoming excessive, you know, it was kind of a libertarian reaction. But it maybe probably wasn't, probably it was more of a, I don't know that it was really libertarian completely. I think he, I think Longley generally was quite sympathetic on social programs, helping people that were ill or unfortunate and so on, and -

VP: Well, I think he was better organized really, than George unfortunately, which can make a difference in an election.

AP: But it was, it was his, his campaign, he sort of had this, he had these, he did a lot through television and through kind of recruiting, as a fresh face, he seemed to be quite attractive to a lot of the younger people, and he had this business crowd in his pocket for money, you know, bankers and insurance people and so on. And most of his close advisers during his administration, the ones who were closest to him, most of them were businesspeople, normally Republicans, but some of them were kind of independent. You know, people like John Daigle and Bob Rene, so people like that. And I'd say those were the people that he had respect for and that supported him.

So I think the conditions were that took advantage of the change of the ballot, took advantage of the eighteen year old kind of an idealistic young person who would be amenable to some change and, you know, are most responsive to if you talked about the old time politicians being crooks or being, you know, being pimps or whatever. He was kind of a, it was really a populist campaign; he was a populist. He really, he was talking about improving education, this or that, doing things that were good for people. He wasn't talking about hurting people, there was a certain idealism to what he was talking about, but he was also talking about saving money and criticizing bureaucrats and so on. So he wasn't popular with the bureaucrats and he wasn't popular with the politicians. But he was, of course he didn't win a majority of the vote, I mean he won with a plurality (*unintelligible phrase*). But he was a, you know, he would have won, if he'd run again he would have won like King did, he would have won with a majority.

AL: Vi, I have a question for you. You're credited in Maine history with being very successful in recruiting a lot of candidates statewide for the Maine legislature during the years that you were in the state party. How did you go about, how did you find all these people everywhere and encourage them and get them, what was your method?

VP: Well, well, this sort of started before I was chairman actually. When Severin was chairman, I was vice chairman, and I thought I had this responsibility to, well, he and I and a whole panel of people from the state committee. We went to every town in the whole state, you

know, as a group from this Democratic Party, and we went way, went to Aroostook, we went to Washington county, and it was like a county meeting type of thing, you know. And we'd present issues and talk about campaigns, and of course hope to secure someone right then and there that might be interested in running, and telling, encourage them, telling them what we could do for them and what it's all about to be a candidate. And in quite detail, actually. And that's how we really managed to fill every position in the whole state. It was unprecedented; it had never been done before.

AL: Yeah, now, you went to different areas of the state, different counties' meetings?

VP: Every county.

AL: Every county, and it was sort of a county thing, so you had sixteen different areas to go to?

VP: Right.

AL: And would people have these things in their homes, or, would you go to someone's home, or how?

VP: Well, it depended. Sometimes it was in the school, sometimes it was, it could have been in a public building, you know, it was various places, you know, depending on where the county usually, it varies from one county to another where they meet. And, because in some counties they meet in one town one year, one month, and another town another month. So, it was, you know, wherever the county met was all right with us, you know. Because they represented all the towns and urged everyone to come, and that's basically the base of, but it was also, the base of getting these people involved, but also trying to educate them how important it was to have a candidate from their area, their you know, their district. And if we couldn't find someone, we'd encourage them to look hard and we'd follow up by phone calls, so they'd never get away with not having a phone call from us. And that's basically how we did it, we just, after we had visited all these counties we just laid on the phone.

AL: Now, and Severin, what was he like to work with, what did you learn from him?

VP: Oh, he was wonderful. We had a very good relationship, still do. He was a very good chairman, really. I felt he was one of the better. And, I'm probably prejudiced, but I got to know Severin really very well because we were on the National Chairman's Association together also. And he was chairman of that one year, well I guess the first year it started, that's right, and then a little while later I became vice chair of the National Chairman's Association, so we went to those meetings together. And, so I really got to know how he thought.

AL: And his wife Cynthia has been quite involved as well, hasn't she?

VP: Yes, yes, she's a fine person also, yeah.

AP: Well, there's another thing that really hurt the political parties as a whole and helped

individual candidates, and that is the, that was the change in the campaign financing laws to allow political action committees. And so you had leading Democrat and Republicans create their own political action committees, you know, Johnny Martin had them, you know, Libby Mitchell had them, you know, some of them, most of the, Sam Shapiro had one. You know. So most of the people who were kind of, or many of the people, had their own political action committee. Well, they would be able to, if they could raise a little money, they could help contribute money and help finance other candidates, and that meant that that would help them win positions in leadership but it didn't necessarily work to the overall benefit of the party. It was almost as though they were replacing what the political parties used to do, you know, by raising money and contributing and supporting candidates, it kind of replaced the political party headquarters structure.

VP: Yeah, this was after I left, and I think that probably during Severin's and my tenure the party organization, state party organization, probably was as active as any state party organization as far as actually working to get the word out, why you're a Democrat, and how can we do this and that, and so on and so forth, you know. Because we really worked at it. I mean, so many chairmen are there, prior to our coming anyway, were there just to, as a figurehead pretty much, you know, as a stepping stone to run for some office or whatever, and neither Severin nor I had those interests in that time.

AL: Did either of you know Brownie Carson who was active during the Vietnam War years, was he visible in state politics as an activist?

VP: I never knew him very well. I knew him, you know, I knew him briefly, let's say, but I never knew him very well. But he was, you know, a figure that we had to contend with, obviously, because he had a different -

AP: I just, I had just framed this and haven't put it up yet.

VP: Well, why don't you wait until we're over, Al.

AL: You can describe it to me on the tape.

AP: Sure, well, on the back you can see, well this is Governor (*name*), there's myself, this is Mary Kay Gagne [Brennan] who is [was] Joe Brennan's wife.

AL: Okay.

VP: Former wife.

AP: His first wife. And Mark Gartley who ran for Congress and then, he'd been a prisoner of war for, he'd been buried by the Vietnamese for four years, a pilot over there, a POW, ran for Congress and then he became Secretary of State. Faye Broderick from Lincoln, she'd been national committee woman. That's Vi and Joe Brennan over there, and Peter Kelley from Caribou, he also ran for, Peter ran for governor one year.

VP: Norm Drew is in that picture, too, isn't he?

AP: Let's see, that would have been back when, that probably was, that probably was back, you know, '72, '3, something like that.

AL: Does Mark Gartley still live in Maine?

AP: Far as I know. I think he, he went to work for -

VP: I kind of lost touch with them.

AP: I'm not sure, he went to work as kind of a personnel officer for Cianchette, you know, and I'm not sure, the last time I talked to him he was, that's what he was doing. But I'm not, I haven't seen him in a long time, haven't seen him for five years or so.

AL: But he probably would be somebody that could give me some insights on Maine politics and - ?

VP: Yeah.

AP: Yeah.

VP: Yeah.

AP: Yeah.

AL: Well, I've run out of my -

AP: He didn't, see, he didn't use his POW experience as, you know, he didn't do, he didn't use it as a, in the campaign, although it was known. He was a very, very, you know, attractive person and, I don't know. He was not a very good can-, he was not a very good politician.

VP: No, but we thought we had one heck of a good candidate, though, because he was young, energetic, attractive, and, but it didn't -

AP: Well, he had a number of mistakes that, one of them had found out that he was, he had been registered as a, he wasn't a Democrat. I'm not sure whether he was Republican registered originally, but he had to switch and that got some negative publicity. And he didn't want to spend a lot of money, you know, he didn't definitely didn't want to go in debt for himself. And I remember at the convention in Portland that year, he didn't set, he decided not to set up a hospitality room, and he had stuff to set it up, he had liquor and drinks and so on, but then for some reason he decided not to set it up. At that time, they did, you know, the candidates did set up hospitality rooms where they had free drinks. For some reason he decided not to and he kind of left, you know, and that left kind of a sour (*unintelligible word*) from some people (*unintelligible word*) and just wondered about what he was trying to do. But he was an awfully good guy, and good Secretary of State far as I know. And, but he wasn't an especially good

politician.

AL: Now, I've asked all the questions I had on my list, but are there any other areas you think I've not covered that we should add?

AP: Well, the Vietnam War was kind of a split, had a split effect on the Democratic Party. And there were, in 19-, see, by 1968 there were, the younger, more progressive group had kind of turned against the war. And at our Democratic delegation in Chicago that year, there were only two or three of the Maine delegation that really were strongly against the war, against the Vietnam War. That included Bob Dunfey, and Joe Brennan. But of course Muskie was slow to turn against the war, and that hurt him and it, and he stayed, you know, as he was a candidate with Humphrey and so on. And Muskie would have, Muskie admitted before he died that that was kind of an error in, that he didn't take a leadership on that, and it probably hurt him a great deal when he ran for the presidency in 1972 because he was running against a group that, you know, very much against the war. Curtis eventually, Curtis turned quicker. I don't think he had turned in '68, but he turned quicker against the war and he supported the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. And that was, that was a factor that kind of split the party some.

There was another, there was another split in the party that was healed but probably permanently had some effect, and that was Curtis' decision to support Bobby Kennedy in the primary in 1968. And George, and Don Nicoll called me, as AA from Muskie, and very upset about Curtis going with, declaring (?) with Bobby Kennedy. And his idea was that there was a lot of talk about Muskie for vice president, and that he wouldn't, certainly wouldn't be a vice president with someone from the Northeast, they'd be looking somewhere else. So his chances were to stay with the Johnson or Humphrey people. Well, eventually when Muskie got the nomination in the fall, that kind of smoothed it over a little bit. And George Mitchell, actually George Mitchell and I were asked to write Curtis' nominating second for the vice president, at the Chicago convention. Mitchell, you know, being so familiar with Muskie's deals, Mitchell really did almost all of that. But, so the breach was sort of healed at that time, in a way, but there was resentments from the Muskie and Curtis people because of that break at that time. I don't know.

VP: Well, we had a nice party anyway, to honor him after his speech, which was arranged, I'll tell you, pretty hastily. But back to Bobby Kennedy, this is just a personal vignette, but I think it's kind of interesting and I think it was true of a lot of young people, actually. My daughter, my oldest daughter, was active in Young Dems in Augusta at that time, and of course we, if any calls came to the governor's office and he wasn't there, they'd refer it to our house. And she, we weren't home either, so she answered the phone and it was Bobby Kennedy calling. And we were down here in Portland visiting someone, and she called and she was hysterical. I thought, "Oh my Lord, the house has burned down or something." And I said, "Pam, calm down, what are you talking about?" "I just talked to Bobby Kennedy!" She was pretty excited, she called up all her little Young Dems the next day and told them, you know.

AL: Oh, that's a great story.

AP: That was fun.

AL: Well, thank you so much for your time.

AP: I'd like to, I'd just like to give you, for you know, for your files if you don't have it up there, that's some of Vi's history.

AL: Okay.

- **VP:** I think we gave it.
- **AL:** I think I have it, actually.
- **AP:** Do you have that?
- AL: I do have this.
- AP: And do you have this -
- **VP:** Well, there may be some additions on that, actually.
- AL: This one?
- **VP:** Yeah.
- AL: Oh, then I'll keep it if it's all right.
- **VP:** On the tail end.
- AL: Okay.

AP: This is something that I sent up to the Democratic headquarters that's doing that 'Why I'm a Democrat' thing? I don't know whether you have that there or not, but that's a copy you can have.

AL: Okay, thank you.

AP: But I sent that to the headquarters, because they're doing, did you know that?

AL: No, they're doing what?

AP: They're soliciting from people that were active in the Democratic Party statements of why they are Democrat.

AL: Oh, okay.

AP: Yeah, so, and they're going to put it on a Web site or publish it in some way and make it available, so that would be a good thing, to keep in contact with that.

AL: Sure, absolutely.

AP: And I don't, do you have this in your file?

AL: Yes, I do.

AP: Yeah.

AL: Yes, I do, I have that. I think Ken Curtis gave us a copy, yeah, which is a great resource, too.

AP: It is, that was a, it really is from a factual point of view, that's all the history of the administration and of course the people who put it together, like myself, they, you know, we're, we thought most of the, a lot of the things that were going on were pretty good, but -

VP: Do you have that book that Kermit Lipez wrote, Andrea?

AP: <u>Kenneth Curtis</u>.

VP: About Curtis? Where is that copy at?

AL: I don't have that book.

VP: That, you should have that book because it's, he wrote it about Curtis. Where is it, Al? Have we leant that to someone that didn't bring it back? I thought it was right in here.

(Pause in taping.)

AP: Just as a, when Ken Curtis was elected governor there were, there was an interesting thing that happened. Because the 102nd legislature had been controlled by the Democrats, they made available the, to both party candidates' staff, all the budget requests of the state agencies that were prepared for the budget office to organize and eventually give to the governor and make available to the legislature. So, we had that during the summer of, or early fall of 1966, and Rod Scribner who had been the assistant legislative finance officer and myself went through that. And Rod did most of the work because he was familiar with the process and so on, and then eventually him and I kind of put together a budget recommendation for Curtis, so this is sort of unprecedented type of thing. They never made that, those documents available, it would be, you know, it would be a foot, two feet high, to the candidates before.

But we took full advantage of it, but at the same time there were two things about those budget documents which were missing that caused the Curtis administration a lot of trouble. And one was that the personnel office did not submit a recommended budget for increasing salaries of state employees, and secondly, the department of education did not submit a, kind of a blue collar part to a supplemental recommendation for increasing school subsidies. And so the budget which Curtis was able to present was deficient in not having knowledge of ten or fifteen

million dollars that had, that was really needed and had not been recommended by any department. So, for Curtis to tie himself to a budget which did not include recommendations in these in a few areas like this, eventually got him into trouble.

And, within the campaign staff, some of the people decided that if Curtis is going to win, he has to pledge that he wasn't going to raise taxes. That didn't, that wasn't anything that I was aware of at the time, but my understanding was that Bob Dunfey asked Rod Scribner if we could make the pledge of no increased taxes, and Scribner said, "Well, barely" or something like that. But anyway, there was an advertisement prepared which was signed by Dick Dutremble as treasurer who was sheriff of York County, which sort of headlined, 'Curtis pledged to no new taxes'. So this was, it was qualified that, saying initially he didn't see a need for tax, for increased taxes, but after review of state government if taxes were needed he would recommend it on ability to pay, that's income tax. But that got him into a lot of trouble. I don't believe that it won him the election, but once he had won the election, when he ran for reelection in 19-, once he had won the election, it put him in a bind with the Republicans who felt, in the legislature, that they needed to increase the sales tax in order to meet these demands that these budget figures had been left out. So there was a real stalemate between Curtis and the legislature for the first six or eight months, maybe the first, almost the first year. And then there was some kind of compromise with a half cent increase on the sales tax at that time. So later on, after these task forces came in and all these people, budget proposals were put forth, then Curtis went for the big, you know, became known as a big spender. So when he ran for reelection in 1970, Plato Truman ran against him in a Democratic primary, and his slogan was, he put up these stop signs that said, 'Stop Curtis taxes'. So all over the state you had these signs 'Stop Curtis taxes' in the Democratic primary.

VP: He had plenty of money to do it.

AP: And so, and the, kind of the threatening thing was, that in the Democratic primary, Plato Truman got a lot of votes, like thirty-seven or eight percent of the vote, so there was a lot of Democrats that agreed with this idea, 'Stop Curtis taxes'. Well, that's, that was quite an eye opener, really, and Curtis, that summer Curtis' oldest daughter died, and that, he was really shocked and, you know, there was month of, it was hard to really, for him to really organize his thoughts and carry on his business.

But during that time I remember sitting then, sitting down at the table for a luncheon in the Blaine House with Ed Muskie, it was just Ed and Ken Curtis and myself, and Ken said to Muskie, he said, "You know," he said, "I know I've been damaged and I may have damaged the party by pushing for the income tax which is awfully - ", but he says, "You know," he says, "I don't have any desire to run if there was someone that could run better as a Democrat in the fall," he said, "and I certainly have personal problems and I'd have a reason to withdraw if that was the best interest." And I always respected Muskie for his response. He said, "No," he said, "That's the essence of party responsibility, that we put the tax on, we put the spending on, and we got to go to the voters and defend it." And I always respected Muskie for that position because it, you know.

AL: Absolutely.

- **VP:** That's a pretty good statement really.
- **AL:** I'm at the end of the tape so I'll turn it off.

End of Interview