

BOWDOIN COLLEGE

Government 2035

Introduction to Maine Politics

“As Maine Goes...?” ****

Fall 2017

Government 2035 looks at politics in the State of Maine since World War II. Subjects covered include the dynamics of Republican and Democratic rivalries and the efficacy of the Independent voter, the rise of the Green and Reform parties as well as the Tea Party Movement, the growing importance of ballot measure initiatives, and the interaction of ethnicity and politics in the Pine Tree state. Students are expected to follow contemporary Maine political events on a regular basis.

Office hours:

Mondays and Wednesdays

12:30pm – 1:00pm and 4:00pm – 4:30pm,
and by appointment.

DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT AND LEGAL STUDIES

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Contact Information

For phone messages at Bowdoin: 725-3539 (x3539) and my email is cpotholm@bowdoin.edu. Email is best.

Please make sure you leave your full number, not just your extension since Bowdoin now has more than one telephone exchange.

My office is on the second floor of Hubbard Hall room #201. The Government Office is on the same level, telephone 725-3295 (x3295). The Department Coordinator is Lynne Atkinson.

Because of the paucity of books on recent Maine politics, some of those available will be kept on reserve to ensure that all members of the class have the same opportunity to use them.

Students are encouraged to look beyond Bowdoin's resources and utilize materials from such archives as the Edmund S. Muskie School of Public Service at the University of Southern Maine, The Muskie Archives at Bates College, and the Margaret Chase Smith Library in Skowhegan. Also, Bowdoin has the George Mitchell papers, and the University of Maine the William S. Cohen papers.

These are all primary sources which are fabulous opportunities for any graduate, let alone undergraduate. You are encouraged to make good use of them.

Required Readings

C. P. Potholm, This Splendid Game: Maine Politics from 1940 to 2002 (Washington: Lexington Books, 2003).

Catherine M. Shaw, The Campaign Manager (Boulder: Westview Press, 2004).

Also Recommended

C. P. Potholm, Maine: The Dynamics of Political Change (Washington: Lexington Books, 2006), a follow-up to This Splendid Game.

Part I: Understanding Maine Politics

- Aug 30 **Lecture #1: Introduction and Maine Political Axioms**

Syllabook and Axioms Handed Out

Recommended Readings:

Note: “Recommended Readings” are additions to the works on the relevant topics covered in Christian P. Potholm, Maine: An Annotated Bibliography. This research tool should be consulted as well. Several copies are in the Bowdoin Library on two-hour reserve and available in the Bowdoin Bookstore. It is also on E-Reserve with the call number Z1291P62012.

Note: The comments on the readings by your professor are meant to stimulate you to think critically about these works. These comments are NOT meant to be definitive, depository or conclusive. Form your own opinions by consulting the works yourselves.

Note: The following books and monographs are in the library on 2-hour reserve for Government 2035:

Christian Potholm, This Splendid Game

-----, Maine Election Outcomes and Analysis: 1900-2008

-----, Maine: The Dynamics of Political Change

-----, Maine: An Annotated Bibliography

Catherine Shaw, The Campaign Manager

Best Maine Political Axioms

1. “The Wild, Wild East lives.”
2. “Ethnicity matters.”
3. “In the present is the past, in the past is the present.”
4. “In Maine, each era has a defining Titan.”
5. “All the big mistakes are made early.”
6. “In politics, as in deer hunting and love, it’s better to be lucky than good.”
7. “Don’t expect the press to do your work for you.”
8. “Polling rules the roost, but only if you read it properly.”
9. “Two things can be true simultaneously.”
10. “In politics the only good advice is that for which you pay.”
11. “Those who don’t vote have no complaints.”
12. “The center holds.”
13. “If it isn’t on TV, it isn’t real.”
14. “An unanswered charge is a true charge.”
15. “In campaigns, time is speeded up by events.”

16. “Voters get the politicians they deserve.”
17. “Politicians get the consultants they deserve.”
18. “Voters are rare on the Jerry Springer show.”
19. “Those who say they hate negative advertising respond to it the most.”
20. “Fear drives out favor.”
21. “Ballot measures are different from candidate campaigns.”
22. “Fear drives out favor.”
23. “The dogs bark but the caravan moves on.” (with apologies to the Tuaregs who invented the saying and art form!)

Personal Axioms

1. “Living well is the best revenge (in life as well as politics).”
2. “If you get the result you want, never mind who gets the credit.”
3. “Since it’s so easy to do so, there is no excuse for non-participation in Maine politics.”
4. “I can teach it flat or I can teach it round.”
5. “It is more fun to be in politics than out of it.”

Some Consultant Political Quotations

Remember the consultant's defense: "The marvel of it is not how far the buffalo flew, but that the buffalo flew at all."

Remember the media firm's credo: "Right doesn't make might unless it is packaged properly."

Remember the classical political adage from Ralph Waldo Emerson: "If you strike a king, you must kill him."

Remember the political consultant's hypothesis: "You can fool some of the people all of the time and all of the people some of the time – and those ain't bad odds."

Remember the statement of Bill Clinton: "Your opponent can't talk when he has your fist in his mouth."

Remember the dictates for any consultant during any given campaign cycle: "Because there were no horses, we put a saddle on a dog."

Remember your professor's favorite polling statement: "The best polling doesn't tell you what to do, it tells you HOW to do what you want to do."

- **Sept 4 Lecture #2: Politics as Idealism**

Film: "The Candidate"

We begin our study of Maine politics by examining the roles political consultants play in modern campaigns. It is surprising how many students are themselves surprised at the various roles

political consultants play in any campaign. “The Candidate” shows the optimistic, idealistic view of their activities and those of winning candidates. The course ends with “Ides of March” which shows the more pessimistic, although perhaps even more realistic, side of things. Both will be important to your understanding of politics in Maine and in general.

Note: Please bring your Syllabook to class and note the axioms and consultant insights as you watch the film to get a deeper insight into the process of political campaigning.

Required Readings:

C. P. Potholm, “The Door Yard of Broken Dreams,” Maine: The Dynamics of Political Change (Washington: Lexington Books, 2006), pp. 124-126. What politicians SHOULD be doing and worrying about – but usually aren’t.

Film, Readings and Lecture Questions

“The Candidate”

1. What does this film tell you about the nature of campaigns as campaigns?
2. What class axioms best helped you understand what was going on and what were the “transferable” aspects of this particular campaign?
3. What were the biggest surprises to you about the process and structure of campaigns?
4. With which character(s) did you identify? Why?

5. Why is the ending of the film so perspicacious with regard to the difference between campaigning and governing?

Potholm, “The Dooryard of Broken Dreams”

1. Why does the author feel that much of rural poverty is “hidden”?
2. What are some of the challenges still faced by Maine today that have been present for the last 100 years?
3. Using your imagination, try to think of innovations – such as the Internet – which might help improve the quality of life for rural Maine and which might not.
4. Why should political leaders have to take the realities of this portrait of Maine into consideration when making decisions?
5. How does the “Maine” portrayed here differ from the “Maine” promoted to tourists and those who live in Portland, Camden, Rockland, Cape Elizabeth and Kennebunk?
6. What are the demands of rural life as opposed to suburban or urban life?

• **Sept 6 Discussion: “The Candidate”**

1. With whom did you identify in the film? Robert Redford or his campaign manager or someone else? Think about if you saw “The Candidate” in 1972, the year it came out?
2. What dimensions of campaigning as presented in the film surprised you?

3. What elements of a modern campaign such as polling, media manipulation, commercials were on display?
4. What were the dynamics of the actual campaign? Why did one side lose and the other win? How much was under the control of the campaigns themselves?
5. How relevant is the saying “The enemy gets a vote” to an understanding of the film and real life campaigns?
6. Why was the campaign’s outcome rather anti-climactic?
7. Why did the film end on the note “What do I do now?” and what does that suggest to you about politics?

- **Sept 11 Lecture #3: The Wild, Wild East Lives**

“Maine was and still is a frontier. Maine people continue to be engaged in a battle with nature and an austere environment,” and “Perhaps only in the Deep South does there exist today a hunting tradition comparable to Maine’s, a love and a lore that has been passed down from father to son uninterruptedly for generations.”

- Lew Dietz

Student Learning Experience #1: Team Portrait

Each team will put together a team portrait with individual and group photos **as if preparing a poster for campaign purposes**. Each poster will measure no more than 10” by 13.” Photos may be digital only if they are large, clear, sharp and bright (7 mp at least). If your digital effort produces dark, blurry and inadequate shots, regular 35 mm must be used. Excessive “Red-Eye” portraits will be rejected and plastic lamination is neither necessary nor desirable. Firm backing and clarity of design are critical, however.

Make sure name tags do not fall off when used by covering them with scotch tape!

2017 Teams

Team A – Senator Angus King

Team B – Governor Paul LePage

Team C – Senator Susan Collins

Team D – Congresswoman Chellie Pingree

Team E – Yes, Permit Assisted Suicide

Team F – No, Don't Permit Assisted Suicide

Note: Campaign posters will be due at the beginning of next class.

Required Readings:

Paul Doiron, “The Forest is Her Beat,” Down East Magazine, (November, 1999), pp. 66-69, 86. (on reserve) Also, ask the professor about the story of Deborah Palman and the Moose Hunt referendum of 1978. She is a real hero to those who love Maine as “The Wild, Wild East” and should be a feminist icon.

Diana Graettinger, “Hunting for Tradition,” Bangor Daily News, September 27/28, 1997, pp. A1, A6-A7. (on reserve)

C. P. Potholm, “The Wild, Wild East,” in C. P. Potholm, Delights of Democracy, (New York; Cooper Square Press, 2002), pp. 65-167. (on reserve)

Note: Always remember that Henry David Thoreau was more than a little frightened by the Great Maine North Woods and fled back to suburban Concord with relief. See Henry David Thoreau, Walden and Other Writings (New York: The Modern Library, 2000) and especially his Ktaadn (New York: Tanam Press, 1980) and The Maine Woods (New York: Digireads.com, 2006).

Readings and Lecture Questions

Mental Stimulation Presented by Team A

Doiron, “The Forest Is Her Beat”

1. What role do Maine’s game wardens play in the “Wild, Wild East” of today?
2. How can they cover such huge territories?
3. What are some of the oral traditions passed down from warden to warden?
4. Why is poaching bad?
5. Should there be more rules in the Maine woods?
6. How can rules be enforced in such a vast territory?

Graettinger, “Hunting for Tradition”

1. Discuss the background of this article.
2. What dimensions surprised you?

3. Describe the clash of values between modern environmental concerns and the rights of Native Americans.
4. What are “cuspies” and why is the hunting of them so important to the Passamaquoddy people?
5. Which bothers you more: Eating “Flipper” or taking away the right to pursue a traditional activity?
6. How does this incident fit into the archetype of the “Wild, Wild East”?

Potholm, “The Wild, Wild East”

1. What assumptions do you make about wilderness - is it there for humans or are humans there for it?
2. What are some of the aspects of the “Wild, Wild East” which attract visitors to Maine and yet actually repel them if they experience them first-hand?
3. What dimensions of Maine political activity are influenced by the assumptions about the “Wild, Wild East”?
4. Who would dare shoot at anything along Baxter Blvd. in Portland today?
5. How does “inner landscape” affect the way one sees political issues and candidates?

Recommended Additional Readings: “The Wild, Wild East Lives”

David Fahrenthold, “Town Shaken by Lobster Theft,” The Washington Post, October 9, 2005, p. A3. (on reserve) Drug

dealers turn a fishing town upside down by stealing hundreds of lobsters. Locals are relieved to learn the deed was done by out of town elements who once reportedly sold heroin in Bar Harbor.

Beth Quimby, “Three Boats Sunk in Latest Lobster Feud,” Portland Press Herald, August 6, 2009, p. 1. (on reserve)
Lobstermen have to be smart to defeat the elements, Mother Nature and each other. Some Lobstermen are less smart than others.

Chris Potholm, Tall Tales from the Tall Pines (Camden: DownEast Books, 2015) (F): A hopefully humorous series of short stories set in “the Maine beyond the streetlights” where dwell hunters, fishermen, game wardens and Registered Maine Guides. (on reserve)

John Richardson, “Matinicus Trap War: Regulators Walk a Fine Legal Line Between State Law, Territorial Rule,” Maine Sunday Telegram, July 26, 2009, pp. 1 ff. (on reserve) The Wild, Wild East lives on Matinicus Island.

George Smith, A Life Lived Outdoors: Reflections of a Maine Sportsman (Falmouth: Islandport Press, 2014). A marvelous set of insights into family, Maine and the glorious hunting and fishing expeditions around which one can build a life. Especially poignant. (on reserve)

Commercials Shown (if time):

The Moose Hunt Referendum (1983): “Authority figures can make or break you.”

The Bear Hunt Referendum (2004): “In love and deer hunting it’s better to be lucky than good.”

Forest Practices Act (1997): “Cruiser beats clear cutting.”

- **Sept 13 Lecture #4: Ethnicity Matters**

Note: The Franco Americans (20% of the voting population of Maine) are a key group for anyone or any cause wanting to be successful. Places with the highest percentage of Franco Americans include Sanford, Saco, Biddeford, Westbrook, Brunswick, Waterville, Skowhegan, Caribou and the St. John's Valley as well as many smaller communities.

Required Readings:

William David Barry, "Fires of Bigotry," Down East Magazine, (October 1989), pp. 44-47, 77-78. (on reserve) Maine at one point in its history had a large KKK membership, and with virtually no black Americans to harass, they turned to persecuting Catholics, burning down a church or two.

William Finnegan, "New in Town: The Somalis of Lewiston," The New Yorker, December 11, 2006, p. 46 ff. (on reserve)

Juliana L'Heureux, "Franco Americans Include Five Cultures," The Portland Press Herald, April 21, 2010, C3. (on reserve)

C. P. Potholm, "Electoral Politics in Maine: Recent Trends, Enduring Archetypes," Changing Maine, pp. 315-330. (on reserve)

Recommended Readings for "Ethnicity Matters":

Jacob Albert, Tony Brinkley, Yvon Labbe, Christian Potholm, Contemporary Attitudes of Maine's Franco Americans (Orono: Franco American Centre University of Maine, 2013).

Office of Policy and Legal Analysis, Maine Legislature, Final Report on the Task Force on Franco-Americans (December 2012).

French-Canadians to Franco-Americans

https://www.mainememory.net/sitebuilder/site/2122/page/3514/display?use_mmn=1

Acadian Culture in Maine—French Language

<http://acim.umfk.maine.edu/language.html>

Readings and Lecture Questions

Mental Stimulation Provided by Team B

William David Barry, “Fires of Bigotry”

1. What are the sources of this bigotry?
2. Which groups were the targets and which groups were the perpetrators?
3. What forms did the persecution take?
4. What relevance do these attitudes have today?
5. Are people in every age doomed to repeat these negative patterns from the past?
6. How can ethnic stereotyping be discouraged?

Finnegan, “New in Town: The Somalis of Lewiston”

1. Describe the process by which so many Somalis ended up in Lewiston, Maine.

2. What was the reaction of locals to the Somalis and the Somalis to the locals?
3. What lessons are there in this situation for immigration generally in the United States today?
4. How did the federal and state governments help or hurt Lewiston's ability to cope with the situation?
5. What would have happened if this many immigrants suddenly showed up in your hometown?
6. What dynamics seem to be at play within the Somali community which help or hurt integration?

L'Heureux, "Franco Americans include Five Cultures"

1. The Franco Americans make up at least 20% of Maine voters, yet L'Heureux shows how they are made up of different groups. What are those sub-groups?
2. Which is the largest sub-group of the Franco Americans? Where did they come from and why?
3. Which is the next largest sub-group? Where did they come from and why?
4. What is the Arcadian connection to the Cajuns and Louisiana?
5. What is the Huguenot connection to Bowdoin?
6. Who are the Metis and how do they tie into Maine's Native American groups?

Note: The first confirmed European visitors to The Pine Tree State were members of a French expedition, led by the Italian nobleman Giovanni Verrazano, who in 1524 visited Maine's shores and sailed from the southern end of the state to its northern reaches. Here, off Bald Point at the eastern entrance of Casco Bay, Verrazano encountered the Native American Abenaki who, in a display of considerable insight, derisively showed their buttocks to Verrazano and his crew and urinated on them from a high bluff. He, in turn, called Maine, *Terra Onde di Mala Gente*, "The Land of Bad People." I have always wondered what Abenaki shaman so clearly saw into the future. For his part, Verrazano on a subsequent visit to the Caribbean was to meet some *truly bad people*, Carib Indians, who killed and ate him within sight of the rest of his crew when he ill-advisedly went ashore with a too-small and under-gunned landing party.

Note: In 1525, the Portuguese Estevan Gomes led a Spanish expedition to Maine and sailed up the Penobscot as far as present day Bangor. Incidentally, the first European to land on American soil was the Spaniard Juan Ponce de Leon who, in 1513, landed in what is now Florida (remember that Christopher Columbus landed in the Bahamas, not the U.S. mainland, in 1492).

Potholm, "Electoral Politics in Maine: Recent Trends, Enduring Archetypes"

1. What are the most important trends in Maine politics according to the author?
2. What political patterns have persisted?
3. What are some of the dangers the author sees in recent trends?

4. What is the importance of Margaret Chase Smith for not only Republicans but Democrats and Independents who wish to get elected to statewide offices in Maine?
5. Which pattern does your group think is the most important for politics today?

- **Sept 18 Lecture #5: Maine Media: “Free Media” versus “Paid Media”**

Work Session: Designing a 30 Second Commercial

Guest Lecture: “How to Make an Effective Commercial”

Note: No group discussions of reading

Student Learning Experience #2: Making a Commercial

All teams will be responsible for making a 30 or 60 second commercial (either candidate or ballot measure, depending on the election).

Each team must go to the media service center and reserve filming and editing equipment well in advance (by mid-September at the latest). **However, given the quality of today’s Smart Phones, you may want to use the best of your group’s for this project.**

Acquiring video equipment must be done by each team acting independently. Failure to secure equipment in advance is not an acceptable excuse for any subsequent inability to make deadlines.

Remember, in political campaigns, “Time is speeded up by events.”

To: Gov2035 Class
From: IT Equipment Services

This is about the video project that you will be working on. 3 Flip UltraHD video cameras are reserved for the class to use from Monday Oct 2nd until Monday October 23rd. Please follow these guidelines for borrowing the cameras:

1. Determine when your group will film.
 2. Have your group leader contact itloaning@bowdoin.edu with the specific date/time that the camera is needed and I will confirm if one is available for the period requested.
 3. Come to IT Equipment Services in Coles Tower to get your loaner and I will give you a quick overview of the camera (they are very easy to use!).
 4. Shoot the footage that you need, drag the files to a computer, then turn the camera back in.
- The office is open from 8:30am to 5pm Monday thru Friday so your pickup time must be between these hours.
 - Your project is only a 30 or 60 second clip so the cameras will not go out for extended periods.
 - Only one camera may be checked out by a group at a time.
 - Class reservations are made on a first-come, first-served basis.
 - You do not need the camera for editing so move your clips off the camera and turn it back in! If you don't understand how to drag and drop files, ask and they will show you.
 - If your filming is to be done in the evening, you will need to pick up the camera before the office closes at 5pm and return it at 8:30am the next day.
 - If you are filming over the weekend, the camera must be picked up before 5pm on Friday and returned on Monday morning.

- If all 3 cameras are out and a group needs one, they will give the names of who has the cameras and you will need to work it out. However, if a camera changes groups after hours, it still must be returned on time!
- If you have any questions or want to reserve a camera, please contact IT Equipment Services. Good luck on your project!

Bowdoin College, Coles Tower 2B

Open Mon-Fri 8:30am – 5pm

itloaning@bowdoin.edu

207-725-3612

Student commercials will be presented in class on October 23.

Class TV Commercials

Questions to ask your group as you think about your commercials:

- (1) Who is the **target audience**, i.e. who do you expect to follow the directions in your commercial? What do you want them to do? Remember the “**Yellow Dog**” voters of your opponents and don’t worry about them in your targets.
- (2) What are **the visuals** which attract attention?
- (3) What is the **new information** you want viewers to receive? What are your “**Influence Vectors**”?
- (4) Who is the **authority figure** carrying the message in your commercial? “**Voice of God**” to “**Person in the Street.**”

- (5) What music do you want playing in the background? Be very careful of sound levels which can detract. This is especially true when you are filming outdoors and doing interviews au natural.
- (6) What **visuals** will you be using? On camera shots versus “**B**” **Roll** or background images. What are the possible dangers of **stock images**? (Ask your professor about the “black farmer.”)
- (7) **Disclaimers** and **sources cited** must be included (tiny print ok) when facts are stated and at the end to tell who is paying for the commercial. This is a critical element. **Superior graphics** are very important to conveying your message.
- (8) What is the **overall mood** or feeling you want to leave with the viewer? “**Fear drives out favor**” versus “**Good news**” and “**Issue identification**” versus “**Biography**” or “**Bio.**”
- (9) Create a story board to “**mock up**” your commercial.
- (10) Always shoot far more footage then you plan to use, and avoid excess **backlighting**.
- (11) Always say “**That’s a wrap**” when you are finished shooting your scenes and interviews. It doesn’t help the final product, but it does sound cool. Think like you were in an episode of “Mad Men.”
- (12) **Edit, Edit, Edit**. This is where your commercial really comes alive. 30 to 60 seconds is a very short time and a totally self-contained universe. Remember both elements.

- (13) View your own finished product at least 9 times to make sure it doesn't get stale or "old" during that time. If it does, you may need to change the imagery or the sound or both.
- (14) **High Production Values**. Always take film over tape, always check for highest quality sound, avoid backlighting and background noise. Make sure your **jump cuts** from scene to scene are smooth (or if designed to be jarring, crisply jarring). It does make a difference in terms of impact on voters. Sometimes it is the critical difference.
- (15) **Closing Frame**. Always have the last frame of your commercial **CRYSTAL CLEAR** as to what you want the voter to do. "Vote Yes on 3" or "Re-elect Congressman Presser." Don't rely on the voter to draw her or his own conclusion about what you want done.

2017 Commercial Assignments

Team A – Senator Angus King versus

Team B – Governor Paul LePage for U.S. Senate

Team C – Senator Susan Collins versus

Team D – Congresswoman Chellie Pingree for U.S. Senate

Team E – Yes, Permit Assisted Suicide versus

Team F – No, Don't Permit Assisted Suicide

Part II: The History of Modern Maine **Politics**

- **Sept 20 Lecture #6: The Marvel of Margaret and the Arc of Womanhood: The Persistence of a Modern Political Archetype - Senators Margaret Chase Smith, Olympia Snowe and Susan Collins**

Required Readings:

Margaret Chase Smith, "Declaration of Conscience Speech" (1950) and "Declaration of Conscience Speech" (1970). (on reserve)

C. P. Potholm, "The 1940's: Margaret Chase Smith vs. Adrian Scolten," This Splendid Game, pp. 13-32. This 1948 election still casts a shadow today and was partially responsible for the huge success of Senator Susan Collins in 2008, "The Year the Republicans Fell Out of Favor Big Time."

-----, "Margaret Chase Smith: The Persistence of a Political Archetype," New England Journal of Politics, Vol. IV #1 (Spring 2010), pp. 42-94.

Recommended Readings: "The Magic of Margaret"

Margaret Chase Smith, "Declaration of Conscience (Garden City: Doubleday, 1972). This is one of the most interesting, detailed and insightful autobiographies ever penned. Don't miss it! A life of duty and stress.

Olympia Snowe, Fighting for Common Ground (New York: Weinstein Books, 2013). An unusually balanced memoir

cum political analysis. Senator Snowe gives valuable insights into her life and times and some very unusual prescriptions for improving the American political system (such as “No Budget, No Pay” for Congress and independent reapportionment panels) and the Republican Party (be more tolerant).

Reading and Lecture Questions: “The Magic of Margaret”

Mental Stimulation Provided by Team C

Margaret Chase Smith, Declaration of Conscience (1950)

1. What aspects of her speech are familiar to you?
2. Which seem new or different?
3. What about the context in which she was operating at the time?
4. This was her first speech and she rode over to the floor of the Senate with Senator Joseph McCarthy, the unnamed target of her speech. Can you imagine the tension she must have felt?
5. Consider this: President Truman and General Eisenhower had not spoken out against the tactics of Senator McCarthy – and would not for years afterward – and all the other Republican senators (except Senator Wayne Morse) who also signed the statement withdrew their support by the end of the day!
6. Why did a prominent American opinion leader say “If a man had given that speech, he would be touted for President”?

Margaret Chase Smith, Declaration of Conscience (1970)

1. Consider where she was when she gave this speech. Why is that significant?
2. Why was she lionized in the liberal media for the 1950 speech but criticized by the liberal media for the 1970 speech?
3. Would MCS view the Bowdoin political culture of today as “radically left”? If so, why?
4. What examples does she give of intolerance on college campuses and in society as a whole?

Potholm, “An Enduring Archetype”

1. What makes the U.S. Senate election of 1948 so important?
2. Why did Margaret Chase Smith triumph over her initially more popular opponents?
3. What is the “Margaret Chase Smith” paradigm?
4. How has it helped various Republicans get elected and re-elected in Maine?
5. Why does following its ingredients lead to success?
6. What mistakes do Democratic opponents make when challenging the MCS paradigm?
7. Why is Margaret Chase Smith often left off feminist “heroine” lists?
8. What was the setting for her “Declaration of Conscience Speech”?

9. Why were such American leaders as Presidents Truman and Eisenhower afraid to challenge the bombast of Senator Joseph McCarthy?
10. Why is “McCarthyism” such a slur word even today? What does it mean? Have you ever seen it used on YouTube or Facebook?
11. What axioms from the course help you most in understanding this reading?
12. What aspects of Margaret Chase Smith’s life story are the most amazing to you?
13. What dimensions of her career are most puzzling to today’s students?

- **Sept 25 Lecture #7: The Muskie Revolution**

Required Readings:

Senator Ed Muskie, “Muskie Calls for ‘Environmental Revolution’ to Create a Whole Society,” speech given during Earth Week Rally at Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, PA (April 22, 1970).
(on reserve)

C. P. Potholm, “The 1950’s: Ed Muskie vs. Burt Cross,” This Splendid Game, pp. 33-60. The Muskie revolution in true living color, without Democratic mythology.

Mental Stimulation Provided by Team D

Muskie, “Environmental Revolution”

1. Students of today are so inculcated with “environmental” news and actions that this speech might seem quaint and old fashioned. How did it strike you?
2. What does Muskie mean by a “Whole Society”?
3. What in his background helps to explain his concerns for the environment?
4. How does Maine fit into the environmental movement?
5. What is Maine’s sense of place and how does that relate to the environment?
6. Explain Muskie’s linkage among natural resources, respect and freedom.
7. What role is the environment playing in this year’s elections in Maine?

Potholm, “The 1950’s or Muskie versus Cross”

1. Why did Muskie run for governor in 1954?
2. Why did Governor Cross think he would be re-elected?
3. What did Muskie do right in order to win?
4. What did Cross do wrong in order to lose?
5. What new campaign techniques were used by either campaign?
6. What was the impact of Muskie’s victory?
7. What was “the election nobody saw”?

8. What aspects of this seminal election remain “in play” today in Maine politics?

Note: Muskie Library Archives are online at:
<http://abacus.bates.edu/muskie-archives/ajar/>

- **Sept 27 Lecture #8: Polling: The Art and the Science**

Work Session: Designing a Poll

Visiting Lecture: Former Congressman Dave Emery

For the past 30 years, Bowdoin students in this class have done their own poll concentrating on key precincts or key voter swing groups (such as the Franco Americans or women who work at home). Many students have said that this experience of interacting with real Maine voters is invaluable in understanding the nuances of politics in the Pine Tree State and politics more generally. Some even admit the results have challenged some of their assumptions about democracy.

Student Learning Experience #3: Polling

Each team will conduct a poll to test their issue or candidate with the important demographic groups discussed above. Each team will field test and conduct a real poll in the greater Brunswick area to test authority figures, influence vectors, and to obtain a benchmark as to where their issue currently sits in the voters' minds.

Note: This poll and its results are for the exclusive use of Bowdoin students and will use the following introduction: “Hello, I’m

----- and I'm a Bowdoin College student calling for a course. We're not affiliated with any campaign."

Or

"Hello, I'm ----- and I'm calling for Command Research. I'd like to ask you a few brief questions about politics in Maine on a strictly confidential basis."

Note: On line phone numbers for Maine:

<http://www.fairpoint.com/global/whitepages/>

**SPECIAL NOTE: ALL CALLING MUST BE COMPLETED
AND CONVEYED TO CONGRESSMAN EMERY
BY 9 PM FRIDAY OCTOBER 13.**

**Teams failing to meet this deadline will lose 10
points from their overall averages.**

Required Readings:

Jeff Clarke, "By the Numbers," Down East Magazine, (November, 1998), pp. 9-16. (on reserve)

C. P. Potholm, "Polling 101," Delights of Democracy, pp. 77-81. (on reserve)

-----, "More Polling Observations," Delights of Democracy, pp. 83-87. (on reserve)

Lance Tapley, "Cheap News," The Portland Phoenix, August 23-19, 2002, pp. 1, 13-14. Very perceptive piece on why newspaper polls are so wildly inaccurate and why nobody in the newsroom cares. (on reserve)

Reading and Lecture Questions: Polling Dimensions

No student presentations

Clark, “By the Numbers”

1. What gives polling its accuracy? What are the two most important elements?
2. Why do newspapers not care whether the political polls they carry are accurate or not?
3. What did you learn by doing a poll yourself?
4. Did your view of voters change during the process?
5. What is the “margin of error” in polling? What does it mean to you?
6. What is a “push poll” and how does it differ from a true public opinion poll?
7. What does Clark feel is the most important aspect of polling?

Potholm, “Polling 101” and “More Polling Observations”

1. What two characteristics give polling its accuracy?
2. What is the “margin of error”?
3. What is the caveat to be aware of when considering the “margin of error”?
4. Polls are much maligned by some but what roles do they play in modern campaigns?

5. How and why are polls misused so consistently by the news media?
6. How do the terms “fluid” and “distribution” and “informed ballots” and “structure” help us to understand the true meaning of a particular poll?

Tapley, “Cheap News”

1. What are some of the criticisms Tapley has with regard to the way newspapers handle polls?
2. What axioms from the course help you most in understanding these readings?
3. Why would the Maine Sunday Telegram publish a poll which was misleading?
4. Why would a Bowdoin student flunk if she or he turned in a poll like the one described?
5. What would you do as publisher or editor to ensure such a poll was not used in your paper?

- **Oct 2 Lecture #9: The High Tide of Democratic Aspirations**

Pay particular attention to the background issues at play in the election of 1970 because they form a watershed in Maine politics, and subsequent referenda on a property tax cap (2004) and the so-called “Taxpayer Bill of Rights” (2006) are but echoes of this earlier decisive turning point in Maine history.

Required Readings:

C. P. Potholm, “The 1960’s: Ken Curtis vs. Jim Erwin,” This Splendid Game, pp. 61-95.

Reading and Lecture Questions

Mental Stimulation Provided by Team E

Potholm, “The 1960’s or The High Tide of Democratic Aspirations”

1. What was the gubernatorial situation in early 1970? Who looked like a sure winner and who looked like a sure loser?
2. Why was the sitting governor, Ken Curtis, so beleaguered?
3. What were the key turning points in the campaign?
4. What personal tragedy added to Curtis’ misery during the campaign?
5. Who had the most “modern” campaign?
6. What were some of the key decisions which Jim Erwin made early in the campaign that eventually impacted the outcome?
7. What role did Plato Truman play in the campaign? What role did he wish to play?
8. Who was Severin Beliveau and what role did he play?
9. Why did the Maine press corps favor Ken Curtis?
10. How did the Erwin campaign play into his opponent’s hand?

11. What axioms from the course help you most in understanding these readings?

Recommended Readings: “The High Tide of Democratic Aspirations”

James P. Brown, “Frank Coffin: Unsung Hero,” Down East Magazine, (November, 1989), pp. 64 ff.

C. P. Potholm, “Top Ten,” Delights of Democracy, pp. 119-123.

-----, “My McKinley,” Delights of Democracy, pp. 63-67.
How to take advantage of public financing in Maine, for fun and profit.

For the George Mitchell library collection:

<http://library.bowdoin.edu/arch/mitchell/faid/index.html>

- **Oct 4 Lecture #10: The Cohen Counter-Revolution**

Required Readings:

C. P. Potholm, “The 1970’s: Bill Cohen vs. Elmer Violette,” This Splendid Game, pp. 95-136.

Reading and Lecture Questions for “The Cohen Counter-Revolution”

Mental Stimulation Provided by Team F

Potholm, “The 1970’s or The Cohen Counter-Revolution”

1. Why was Elmer Violette the odds on favorite to be elected Congressman from Maine’s 2nd CD in 1972?

2. What were his strengths and weaknesses?
3. What were the strengths and weaknesses of his opponent, Bill Cohen?
4. Why did Cohen defeat his primary opponent, Abbott Greene?
5. What were some turning points in the campaign after the primaries?
6. What role did Bowdoin students play in Cohen's election?
7. Why was the election of Cohen in November, 1972 of importance for Maine political history?
8. What were the key strategic decisions of the campaign by both sides?
9. What role was played by Franco Americans in the election?
10. Why were most Franco Americans registered as Democrats?
11. Why was the world view of so many Franco Americans comparable with Republican values?
12. What axioms from the course help you most in understanding these readings?

Recommended Readings:

William S. Cohen, Roll Call: One Year in the United States Senate (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981).

William S. Cohen and Kenneth Lasson, Getting the Most Out of Washington (New York: Facts on File, 1982).

William S. Cohen with Janet Langhart, Love in Black and White: A Memoir of Race, Religion and Romance (Washington: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007).

For the website of the Cohen Library:

<http://library.umaine.edu/cohen/bio/bio/htm>

FALL BREAK: Oct 6 – Oct 11

- **Oct 11 Lecture #11: Maine's Independent Governors in Myth and Reality**

Note: The Independent governor who started it all in 1974, Jim Longley, ran on a platform of cutting expenses and “running the state like a business.” Ironically, during his administration, the state budget grew 10.57%; under Governor Joe Brennan it was 10.5%; under John McKernan 5.92%; Independent Governor Angus King 5.5%; and Governor John Baldacci 3.03 % - up until the recession of 2008-2009 when the government budget actually shrunk! 90% of Maine people would probably guess these numbers incorrectly and associate the lowest with Longley. Try to figure out why.

Note: While 24 people have run for governor as either independents or third party candidates (such as a Green, a Communist, a Tax Reform, a State's Rights Democrat, etc.) as of 2011 only two, Angus King and James Longley, Jr., have been successful. It is important to figure out why.

Required Readings: “Independent Governors in Myth and Reality”

C. P. Potholm, “The 1990s: Angus King vs. Joe Brennan and Susan Collins,” This Splendid Game, pp.165-208.

Shaw, “Getting Out the Vote (GOTV),” The Campaign Manager, pp. 341-372. Do phones, robo calls, direct mail, e-mails, door hangers or door-to-door canvasses really work? Only door hangers (+1%) and door-to-door canvasses (+7%) have been shown to work. (See the research of Yale professors Green and Gerber below.) “Door-to-door” efforts work only if they are carefully supervised and well-run.

Reading and Lecture Questions

Mental Stimulation Provided by Team A

1. How did the same coalition of urban Franco Democrats and small town Republicans elect Angus King as they had James Longley 20 years before despite the many differences in the two men’s personalities, styles and goals?
2. What were the key turning points in both campaigns?
3. What role did the Maine press corps play in both campaigns?
4. What mistakes did George Mitchell and Jim Erwin make in 1974?
5. What mistakes did Susan Collins and Joe Brennan make in 1994?
6. What were some of the key issues in the gubernatorial elections of 1974 and 1994?

7. What axioms from the course help you most in understanding these readings?
8. If any of the Independent candidates in this year's races knew anything about Maine political history, what would they conclude?

Shaw, "Getting Out the Vote (GOTV)"

1. Why does Shaw say "Everything is about the GOTV effort"?
2. What does "Activate your base" mean? How do you activate it without alienating most other voters?
3. Explain Shaw's prescriptions for getting Swing voters.
4. How does she suggest identifying potential supporters by phone and personal canvassing?
5. What is "poll watching" and what are the responsibilities of poll watchers?
6. Why does the absentee ballot process require belief in the Arab saying "Trust in Allah but tie your camel"?
7. Why shouldn't you add other candidates to your get out the vote list on election day?

Recommended Readings: "Maine's Independent Governors in Myth and Reality"

Howard Gold, "Third-Party Voting in Gubernatorial Elections: A Study of Angus King of Maine and Jesse Ventura of Minnesota," Polity, Vol. 35, No. 2 (Winter, 2002), pp. 265-

282. Gold sees “only anti-partisan sentiment and prior support for a third-party candidate” as being “powerful” explanations for King and Ventura. Gold places considerable stress on King’s “compassionate pragmatism” which I have to admit was the first time I ever heard that phrase associated with King. In another misleading oddity, the author refers to the King effort as a “third party” victory. There was no third party involved in the 1994 election except the Green Party which finished 4th with 6.5% of the vote.

Howard L. Reiter, “Who Voted for Longley? Maine Elects an Independent Governor,” Polity, Vol. 10, No 1 (Autumn, 1977), pp. 65-85. Reiter believes that Longley won because of V.O. Key’s famous “friends and neighbors,” an anti-partisan mood, the support of ticket-splitters and upscale Republicans. He doubts that similar occurrences can be expected elsewhere.

Donald Green and Alan Gerber, Get Out the Vote! How to Increase Voter Turnout (Washington: The Brookings Institute, 2004). Offers lots of ways to increase voter turnout without making a strong case as to why this would be a good thing.

Willis Johnson, The Year of the Longley (Stonington: Penobscot Bay Press, 1978). Humorous and insightful view of Maine’s first independent governor.

Angus King, Making a Difference (Portland: Privately Printed, 1994). The man who became governor makes a case as to why he should become one; a campaign document with policy implications.

Barbara Norrander, “Explaining Cross-State Variation in Independent Identification,” American Journal of Political

Science, Vol. 33, No. 2 (May 1989). With 60% of Rhode Island voters and 20% of South Dakota voters considering themselves to be “independents,” Maine’s total of 40% “Unenrolled” voters puts it right in the middle of the American spectrum.

Susan Price, “As Maine Goes...Independent”: The Impact of Partisan Defections by Urban Franco-Americans and Small Town Republicans, Government Department Honors Project, 2002. A superb piece of research and one which provides a model for all independents who would be elected governor.

John Rensenbrink, Against All Odds: The Green Transformation of American Politics (Raymond: Leopold Press, 1999). “Green Daddy” tells why the Green Party in Maine and the United States came to be and why it offers many solutions to Maine’s and America’s problems.

- **Oct 16 Lecture #12: Voting Patterns: Six Paradigms, or How “Vote the Way You Shot” Became “1/3, 1/3, 1/3”**

Film: “Dirigo”

Axiom: “In the present is the past, in the past is the present.”

Note: It was in the turbulent period of 1820 to 1861 when party realignment took place in Maine as Democrat Republicans, Federalists, Jacksonian Democrats, Whigs, Free Soilers, No Nothings, Woolly or Woolheaded Democrats (opponents of expansion of slavery but content to let it exist where it currently was legal), Prohibitionists, Abolitionists, Morrill Democrats, and Regular Democrats all vied for public support.

Note: Out of this political bouillabaisse came the formation of the Maine Republican Party in Strong, Maine in 1854. This Franklin County fusion organization of Morrill Democrats, Whigs and Free Soilers became known as the “Republicans” and except for brief periods, were to dominate Maine political life for 100 years.

Note: Useful works covering the formation of the Republican Party in Maine include Richard R. Wescott, A History of Maine Politics 1840-1856: The Formation of the Republican Party (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1986), pp. 129-139 and Louis Hatch, “The Republican Party,” Maine: A History (New York: The American Historical Society, 1919), pp. 375-432. Wescott underscores the modest beginnings of the party in 1854, stating:

“The most successful efforts at the county level occurred in Franklin County, where the three older parties enthusiastically joined together. Each party held its county convention in Strong on the same day, and each chose a committee to confer with its counterparts on a plan of union. These committees agreed that a common meeting should be held to nominate a Free-Soiler, a Whig, and a Morrill Democrat for senator, county commissioner, and county treasurer, respectively. The combined convention carried out these recommendations and also resolved that the new party be known as the Republican Party.” (119)

The Democrats actually did very well in the elections of 1855 and the Republicans did not really solidly come into their own statewide until Hannibal Hamlin and Lot M. Morrill joined them and the Maine Legislature met in 1856.

Note: In this age of great fluidity and party fragmentation, the clarion call to abolish slavery became a strong unifying force. See especially Richard Westcott and Edward Schriver (eds.), “Reform

Movements and Party Reformation, 1820-1861,” in Richard Judd, Edwin Churchill and Joel Eastman, Maine: The Pine Tree State from Prehistory to the Present (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1995), pp. 193-216. Maine has hosted a great many people who wanted reform and wanted it in the middle of the 19th century.

Note: Over 73,000 Maine men and women (who enlisted as men) fought in the Civil War. This is the highest percentage of service of any northern state. Maine’s casualties were the second highest (after Vermont) on a proportional basis considering the size of the state’s population.

Required Readings: “Voting Patterns”

Catherine Shaw, “Targeting Voters,” The Campaign Manager (Boulder: Westview Press, 2004), pp. 165-210.

-----, “Precinct Analysis: The Sinners, the Saints and the Saveables,” The Campaign Manager, pp.1-20.

Reading and Lecture Questions: “Voting Paradigms”

No student presentations

Shaw “Targeting Voters” and “Sinners, Saints and Saveables”

1. What is the conceptual framework Shaw gives for certain voters, and who are they?
2. Does Shaw believe in GOTV in getting the voters out?
3. What does Shaw say about the role of media in helping you target your voters?

4. What axioms from the course help you most in understanding these readings?
5. Shaw often seems to be writing about local or smaller scale elections such as mayoralty or state house or senate races. How do her prescriptions for these types of elections mesh with larger scale elections such a Congress, U.S. Senate and governorship?
6. How relevant are her observations for ballot measures such as referenda?

Recommended Readings: “Voting Paradigms”

Bruce Ackerman and James Fishkin, Deliberation Day (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). Take a day off so that more people can vote. Bad idea?

Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, Warren Miller and Donald Stokes, The American Voter (New York: Philip Wiley, 1960). The standard work on the subject. Required reading for those exploring this topic.

Robert Erikson and Kent Tedin, American Public Opinion 7th Edition (New York: Pearson Educational, 2005). Another standard on why Americans hold the views they do and of what importance these are for the electoral process.

Richard Fenno, Senators on the Campaign Trail: The Politics of Representation (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996). The classic description of senators in action.

-----, Home Style: House Members in their Districts (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1978). Congressmen and women in action.

Joe Klein, Politics Lost: How American Democracy Was Trivialized by People Who Think You're Stupid (New York: Doubleday, 2006).

Joe doesn't like referenda politics. And it shows. Judge for yourself.

Julie Merrill, "A Field Guide to Swing Voters," Boston Globe, May 16, 2004. Some before the fact guesses on election outcomes.

Richard Niemi and M. Kent Jennings, "Issues and Inheritance in the Formation of Party Identification," American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 35, #4 (November, 1991), pp. 970-988. Why you are likely to end up voting the way your parents did.

Thomas Patterson, The Vanishing Voter (New York: Random House, 2003). Goodbye? Good riddance? Inquiring minds want to know.

C. P. Potholm, "Voters: Surprising Creatures," Just Do It!, pp.15-39.

-----, "Free to Be Me," Delights of Democracy, pp. 45-48.

Roy A. Teixeira, Why Americans Don't Vote: Turnout Decline in the United States 1960-1984 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987).

-----, The Disappearing American Voter (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1992).

Raymond E. Wolfinger and Steven J. Rosenstone, Who Votes? (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980). People who are interested.

Note: With the passage of the 19th amendment, the presidential elections of 1920 were the first to include women. Since Maine voted in September and the rest of the country in November, Maine women were the first in the United States to utilize their

new-found suffrage in a national election. “As Maine goes, so goes the Nation” - at least in this instance!

- **Oct 18 Lecture #13: Campaigns and Candidates: “As Maine Goes...?”**

The Great Topic Bazaar: Selection of Topics

Student Learning Experience #4: Choosing a Research Topic

Each student team must choose a topic for their eventual class presentation. Today each team should come to class with two or three possibilities. Below are but some of the possible topics.

Note: It is imperative that all groups have a firm working knowledge of **Maine: An Annotated Bibliography** prior to this session. There is no substitute for looking at this work. **Several copies are in the Bowdoin Library on two-hour reserve and available in the Bowdoin Bookstore. It is also on E-Reserve with the call number Z1291P62012.**

Note: Each team must bring a copy of **Maine: An Annotated Bibliography** to their conference or be able to access it electronically from class.

Some Possible Gov 2035 Topics **(Or Come Up With Your Own):**

Not exclusive and in no particular order
(previously done but can be done again **):

1. Senator Owen Brewster (Bowdoin 1909) **

2. Senator George Mitchell (Bowdoin 1954)
3. Congressman David Emery **
4. Congressman Tom Andrews (Bowdoin 1976)
5. Congressman Tom Allen (Bowdoin 1967)
6. Senator William Pitt Fessenden (Bowdoin 1823) **
7. Lillian Stevens, Maine Temperance Movement **
8. Maine Suffrage Movement **
9. Congressman Clyde Smith **
10. Congressman Frank Coffin**
11. State Senator Elmer Violette
12. The novels of Elizabeth Ogilvie
13. Governor James G. Blaine **
14. Governor Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain (Bowdoin 1852) **
15. Governor Perceval Baxter **
16. Cornelia “Fly Rod” Crosby **
17. Marguerite-Blanche Thibodeau
18. Lucy Fluker Knox

19. Dora Pinkham
20. Bowdoin College as an incubator of Maine political figures
21. General Thomas Hamlin Hubbard
22. Maine Lobstermen in fact and fiction **
23. Linda Greenlaw and the fishing industry **
24. Maine life as depicted by women writers such as Adelyn Bushnell, Gladys Carroll, Mary Ellen Chase, Carolyn Chute, Miriam Colwell, Rachel Field, Margaret Flint, Chenoweth Hall, Sarah Orne Jewett, Ruth Moore, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Sally Wood, Fran Pelletier, Cathie Pelletier, etc.
25. John Rensenbrink, Jonathan Carter and the Green Party **
26. Congressman Mike Michaud
27. Speaker and now State Senator John Martin
28. State Senator Georgette Berube
29. Maine's Native Americans: Passamaquoddies, Penobscots, Malacites, Micmacs
30. Senator Olympia Snowe **
31. Governor Jock McKernan
32. Governor John Baldacci
33. Environmental change: the evolution of fishing and lobstering laws **

34. Environmental change: the evolution of hunting laws **
35. Environmental change: water quality
36. Environmental change: air quality
37. Environmental change: Maine forest and “wilderness”
38. Environmental change: alternating views of nature
39. Bowdoin in Olden Times **
40. R. A. G. Monks
41. Congressman Stan Tupper **
42. Congressman Jonathan Cilley (Bowdoin 1825)
43. President Franklin Pierce (Bowdoin 1824) **
44. Speaker Thomas Brackett Reed (Bowdoin 1860)
45. Senator Paul Douglas (Bowdoin 1913)
46. Governor Louis Brann
47. Senator and Vice President Hannibal Hamlin
48. State Senator Chuck Cianchette
49. State Senator Bill Diamond
50. Political history of the Irish

51. Political history of the Franco-Americans **
52. Political history of Native Americans
53. Maine “Colonies” of Russians, Swedes, Greeks, etc. and their political histories
54. The Green Back Party in Maine
55. The Bull Moose Party in Maine
56. Maine’s “Clean Election” Law and other financing aspects of politics in Maine
57. Maine’s high percentage of participation in the country’s wars:
In the Civil War, 70,107 served, 10,013 died or were MIA; in World War I, 35,061 served, 1,026 died; in World War II, 113,962 served, 2,588 died or were MIA; in the Korean War 40,099 served, 278 were killed or MIA; in the Vietnam War 48,000 served, 355 were killed or MIA; in the Gulf War 20,853 served, 12 were killed.
58. Independent Governor James Longley
59. Governor Paul LePage
60. Congresswoman Chellie Pingree
61. Congressman Bruce Poliquin

Required Readings: “Great Topic Bazaar”

C. P. Potholm, “Introduction,” This Splendid Game (Washington: Lexington Books, 2003), pp. 1-12. Why politics is best

appreciated as a “game” rather than as a life or death ideological struggle.

Reading and Lecture Questions

No student presentations

Potholm, “Introduction: This Splendid Game”

1. What axioms from the course help you most in understanding these readings?
2. What subjects are “timeless” in terms of Maine’s political history?
3. Consider the malleability of history - do election outcomes matter?
4. Can one election predict others?
5. While we assume that all parties have access to the same tools and techniques, do they all use them to the same degree or at the same time? Discuss.
6. What are the ways to judge the “fairness” of a news source, especially a newspaper?
7. Why is “spinning” political reporters such an important part of politics today?
8. What makes Maine different, if not unique, in terms of the quality of its candidates and the openness and honesty of its political system?

- **Oct 23 Lecture #14: Politics for Fun and Profit**

Group TV Commercials Due and Presented in Class

No student presentations

Note: In keeping with the campaign theme that: “Time is speeded up by events,” any commercials not produced by this date will receive NO credit!

Note: **When turning in TWO (2) copies of the completed commercials (on clearly marked DVD), teams must also provide a one to two page summary indicating:**

- (1) why they chose to do the commercial they did,
- (2) what polling provided the basis for the themes and authority figures used and,
- (3) who were the intended targets for the commercials, i.e. women who work at home, Irish Americans, etc.

- **Oct 25 Lecture #15: Ballot Measures and Participatory Democracy – The Sovereign Right of the People to Legislate**

Required Readings:

C. P. Potholm, “The 1980’s: The Maine Yankee Referendum,” This Splendid Game, pp. 137-164.

Shaw, “Issue Based Campaigns,” The Campaign Manager, pp. 309-339.

Reading and Lecture Questions: “Ballot Measures and Participatory Democracy”

No student presentations

Potholm, “The 1980’s: The Maine Yankee Referendum”

1. What axioms from the course help you most in understanding these readings?
2. How are ballot measures different from candidate elections?
3. Why study the Maine Yankee Nuclear shutdown election of 1980?
4. What advantages did both sides possess?
5. What were the turning points in the campaign?
6. What mistakes did the nuclear power opponents make?
7. What mistakes did the nuclear power proponents make?
8. What were the outcomes of this referendum?
9. How were Maine politics different after its outcome?
10. What role/roles did Bowdoin College play in the referendum?
Hint: think of all aspects of the campaign before answering.
11. What were the biggest surprises you encountered in reading this chapter?
12. Which axioms, if any, helped you understand the campaign?

Shaw, “Issue-Based Campaigns”

1. Why does our democracy have citizen initiative and referendum processes?
2. What are “competing measures” and what form can they take?
3. Why does a “Yes” vote usually have to start with 60-70% approval BEFORE the election in order to prevail?
4. Shaw gives 13 questions to ask about an issue-based campaign. What in your view are the most important half-dozen?
5. What are Shaw’s 13 steps to package an issue-based campaign?
6. Discuss Shaw’s 7 initiative and referenda procedures.

Recommended Readings: “Ballot Measures”

Shaun Bowler and Todd Donovan, “The Initiative Process,” in Virginia Gray and Russell Hanson (eds.), Politics in the American States (Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2004), pp. 129-153.

David Broder, Democracy Derailed (New York: Harcourt Inc., 2000). Alarm spread far and wide by the dean of American political commentators. Those interested in the rebuttal of his central point should consult: C. P. Potholm, “Campaign Medley,” Delights of Democracy, pp. 89-93.

Department of Government, Bowdoin College, Maine Politics Archives (Note: the following materials are available on ballot measures in the Government Department annex. Materials may be signed out in the Government office from Lynne Atkinson and read either in the annex or the Shannon Room, but they may not leave the second floor of Hubbard Hall). The Government Department Archives include:

Volume One: Key Precincts

Volume Two: Maine Political Figures

Volume Three: National Political Figures

Volume Four: The Towns of Maine

Volume Five: “Save Maine’s Heritage Referendum” (1999)

Volume Six: “Digital Public Television Referendum” (1999)

Volume Seven: “Widening the Maine Turnpike Referendum”
(1997)

Volume Eight: “Tax Cap Referendum” (2004)

Volume Nine: “Land Bond Referendum” (2005)

Volumes Ten and Eleven: “Assisted Suicide Referendum”
(2000)

Volume Twelve: “Forestry Referendum” (2000)

Volumes Thirteen and Fourteen: “Casinos No! Referendum”
(2003)

Volume Fifteen: “Bear Hunting Referendum” (2004)

Volume Sixteen: Moose Hunt Referendum (1983),
ERA Referendum (1984), Adaptive Equipment
Referendum (1987), Sunday Sales Referendum (1990),
Telecommunications Bond (1995), Equal Rights
Referendum (1995)

Volume Thirty: Natural Resources Bond (2007)

Volume Thirty-Two: R and D and University Bond (2007)

Volume Thirty-Three: “No on Three: The School Consolidation Campaign” (2009)

Volume Thirty-Seven: “Yes on Three: The Land Bond Referendum Campaign” (2010)

Volume Thirty-Eight: “Gay Marriage” (2009)

Volume Thirty-Nine: “Gay Marriage” (2012)

Steven Piott, Giving Voters a Choice: The Origins of the Initiative and Referendum in America (Columbus: Missouri University Press, 2003).

C. P. Potholm, “Ballot Measure Campaigns: The Wave of the Future,” Just Do It!, pp. 133-158.

-----, “Part III: The Dynamics of Public Referenda,”
Maine: The Dynamics of Political Change, pp. 47-72.

But this is hardly a new phenomenon in American politics.

From 1800, when Thomas Jefferson was called “a mean-spirited, low-lived fellow, the son of a half-breed Indian squaw, sired by a Virginia mulatto father” and John Adams “a fool, a hypocrite, a criminal and a tyrant,” the election of 1828 when Andrew Jackson was accused of military atrocities and his opponent, John Quincy Adams of procuring women for the Russian czar, or the election of 1864 when Lincoln was called “a boor, a buffoon, an idiot, an ape and a

fanatic” and George McClellan “disloyal” and “a traitor,” negative campaigning has waxed and waned in the American political system.

To explore these issues further, see Kerwin C. Swint, Mudslingers: The Top 25 Negative Political Campaigns of All Time (Westport: Praeger, 2006); David Mark, Going Dirty (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006); John Geer, In Defense of Negativity: Attack Ads in Presidential Campaigns (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Ted Brader, Campaigning for Hearts and Minds: How Emotional Appeals in Political Ads Work (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); and Jane Mayer, “Attack Dog” in The New Yorker, February 13, 2012, pp. 40ff.

Required Readings:

Shaw, “The Campaign Team,” in The Campaign Manager, pp. 21-35.

-----, “The Volunteer Organization,” The Campaign Manager, pp. 75-89.

-----, “Fund-Raising,” The Campaign Manager, pp. 91-144.

- **Oct 30 Research**
- **Nov 1 Hour Exam #1**

Part III: Student Reports

- Nov 6 **Group Conferences: A, B, C**
- Nov 8 **Group Conferences: D, E, F**

The Big Show

Note: The Big Show, all students must dress up for the presentations as if they were having a job interview with Goldman Sachs, The Nature Conservancy, Governor LePage or President Trump.

- Nov 13 **Student Reports: A & B (Note: Student written reports, including the Bibliographical Essay, by A & B are due by 5 pm today)**
- Nov 15 **Student Reports: C & D (Note: Student written reports, including the Bibliographical Essay, by C & D are due by 5 pm today)**
- Nov 20 **Student Reports: E & F (Note: Student written reports, including the Bibliographical Essay, by E & F are due by 5 pm today)**

THANKSGIVING BREAK: Nov 22 – Nov 27

- Nov 27 **Lecture #16: Enduring Lessons of Maine Politics**

Required Readings: “Enduring Lessons of Maine Politics”

C. P. Potholm, “Part IV: The Dynamics of Political Leadership,” Maine: The Dynamics of Political Change, pp.75-82. Reprise “The Dooryard of Broken Dreams.”

Reading and Lecture Questions

Lecture by TA

Potholm, “The Dynamics of Political Leadership”

1. What makes for “good” political leadership? “Bad” political leadership? Discuss the examples of two congressmen, David Emery and William “Bill” Hathaway. Why were they “good” or “bad” political leaders?
2. What is Maine’s historical lineage in terms of leadership? Who have been some of its most important leaders?
3. Governor Angus King pushed for laptop computers in Maine schools when it was very unfashionable. How would you rate his contribution today?
4. What axioms from the course help you most in understanding these readings?

- **Nov 29 Lecture #17: Politics as Realism**

Film: “The Ides of March” (2011)

“The dark side and the true side of politics are often the same.”

C. P. Potholm

This film closes the course with a work from the more Conservative/Republican/Realist perspective. Together with “The Candidate,” it provides the bookends to your semester’s experience.

Note: Various other films showing politics from the point of view of the consultant as well as the candidate include: “Power” (1986) starring Richard Gere, Julie Christie and Gene Hackman; “The Candidate” (1972) with Robert Redford and “All the King’s Men” (1949) starring Broderick Crawford and John Ireland; “K Street” (2003); “The West Wing” with Martin Sheen (2006 entire collection); “Game Change” (2011) starring Woody Harrelson, Ed Harris and Julianne Moore and “Conquest” (French) (2011); “Knife Fight” (2012) with Rob Lowe as well as the Starz TV series “Boss” with Kelsey Grammer (2011); the HBO series “Veep” with Julia Louis-Dreyfus (2012) and “Alpha House” with John Goodman (2013). Some recommended documentaries include: “A Perfect Candidate” (1996) about the Oliver North/Chuck Robb Senate Race in Virginia, and “Boogie Man: The Lee Atwater Story” (2008).

But by far, I believe, the best film EVER made from the perspective and world of the consultant remains “The Ides of March” (2011) with Ryan Gosling, George Clooney, Paul Giamatti, Marisa Tomei and Philip Seymour Hoffman. Try watching all of these to get the flavor of politics “inside baseball.”

This film represents a wonderful opportunity to gather in the various themes of the course:

Shaw’s strategies and tactics are on display, The emphasis on the “campaign qua campaign” from This Splendid Game shines through,

The axioms are in full flower,
 The campaign dynamics mirror real life,
 The adversarial role of the press is on display.
 In short, the “Ides of March” is a fitting end to this semester’s
 exertions into politics in Maine and elsewhere.

Note especially: The delicious irony of the beginning and the end of the film, Molly’s call from beyond the grave during the press conference, “You’re my best friend” (Steve to Ida), “He’s a nice guy, he’ll let you down” (Ida to Steve), “Don’t pretend you’re my friend” (Ida to Steve), “I learned from the best” (Steve to Paul).

- Dec 4 **Discussion: “The Ides of March”**

Exam Prep/Wrap Up/Review Axioms/Course Critiques

- Dec 6 **Hour Exam #2 (Last Day of Class)**

This exam is cumulative, although extra emphasis will be placed on Parts II and III of the syllabus.

READING PERIOD and FINAL EXAMS: Dec 9 – Dec 18

Primary Research Opportunities

Statistics for Maine elections can be found at the Maine Bureau of Elections Official Website: www.state.me.us/sos/cec/elec/elec/

For 1940s, 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and 1990s students will have to search the microfilm and back issues of such periodicals as:

Down East Magazine

<http://www.downeast.com>

See also the newspaper files for:

Bangor Daily News

<http://www.bangornews.com>

Portland Press Herald & Maine Sunday Telegram

<http://pressherald.maintoday.com/home.html>

Sun Journal

<http://www.sunjournal.com>

Kennebec Journal (now the Central Maine Morning Sentinel)

<http://maintoday.com/>

Ellsworth American

<http://www.ellsworthamerican.com>

Times Record

<http://www.timesrecord.com>

Casco Bay Weekly

<http://www.cascobayweekly.com>

The Bowdoin Connection

It is always good to tie in Maine politics from the earlier eras to their Bowdoin connections, for Bowdoin was truly “the incubator of politics in Maine.” Bowdoin has produced many famous alumni in many fields who have exemplified its motto, “As an eagle towards the sky.” From polar explorers Donald MacMillan and Admiral Robert E. Peary to the first woman marathon winner in the Olympics, Joan Benoit Samuelson, from writers Nathaniel Hawthorne and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow to pioneering sexologist Alfred Kinsey, from generals Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain and Oliver Otis Howard to another Medal of Honor Winner, Everett Pope, the sons and daughters of the College have excelled at leadership and accomplishment and served their country well. Indeed, a higher percentage of its graduates fought in the Civil War than did those of any other college in the North.

But it is as an incubator of political leadership in which Bowdoin has truly excelled. Most recently, it has been Senator George Mitchell and Secretary of Defense and Senator William S. Cohen and Congressmen Thomas Allen and Tom Andrews. From its inception in 1794, the College has sent its graduates to lead the state and the nation. President Franklin Pierce and Speaker Thomas Brackett Reed are among the best known, but there are many others.

Among my favorites are Senator William Pitt Fessenden, who voted against the articles of impeachment against President Andrew Johnson and also served as Secretary of the Treasury; Melville Weston Fuller, one of two Bowdoin graduates to sit on the U.S. Supreme Court; Wallace Humphrey White who served twelve years as a Congressman and eighteen as a senator in the early 20th century; Senator Paul Douglas, named the best senator in 1951 by the Washington press corps. No fewer than eleven

Bowdoin graduates have served as governor of the state of Maine, including Horace Hildreth and James B. Longley.

Recommended Readings - The Bowdoin Connection

“Bowdoin has many superiors in wealth and size, but for the production of men of good sense, culture, intellectual grasp and capacity for affairs, it has few rivals and no superior.”

Thomas Brackett Reed

Note: And now, of course, women.

“Bowdoin was then a very small college, but it attracted an astonishing number of men of national eminence.”

Michael F. Holt

This from the era of Franklin Pierce Class of 1824 and 14th President of the United States. Also, William Pitt Fessenden, James Bradbury, John P. Hale, Calvin Stowe and Jonathan Cilley, to say nothing of their chums Nathaniel Hawthorne and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

Also, always remember that classic Beach Boys’ song,
“Be true to your school.”

Peter Anastas (Bowdoin grad), No Fortunes (Gloucester: Back Shore Press, 2005) (F). Going to Bowdoin in the 1950s and early 1960s could be depressing, with or without a townie friend. Anastas seems particularly depressed. But at the same time, there is a useful glimpse here of Bowdoin at the end of an era.

Herbert Ross Brown, Sills of Bowdoin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964). Beloved “Casey” Sills, while Dean

of Bowdoin College, ran for the U.S. Senate in 1916 as a Democrat and got 45 percent of the vote. In those days, Bowdoin didn't start until mid-September and Maine's election was in early September, so he didn't even miss convocation! He also was well known for walking to the railroad station and carrying the luggage of the first-years to their dorms. Perhaps with train service returned to Brunswick, students could get up a petition to reinstate that marvelous tradition. President Rose brought it back in 2015.

Charles T. Burnett, Hyde of Bowdoin (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931). The man who most made Bowdoin what it would turn out to be by the time modernity arrived. Hyde suffered severely from migraines.

Charles C. Calhoun, A Small College in Maine: Two Hundred Years of Bowdoin (Brunswick: Bowdoin College, 1993). Learn what Bowdoin was, is and will be. Very finely illustrated and a very pleasant read to give you a long sweep of the College's history. A nice gift for your parents or whoever helped pay your college tuition.

Barbara Caster, To Serve the Common Good: A History of the College (film). Lots of Bowdoin people play roles and have speaking parts. Perhaps a bit harsh on the Bowdoin that existed before she arrived, but nevertheless a worthwhile and engaging overview of its history.

Robert Cook, Civil War Senator: William Pitt Fessenden and the Fight to Save the American Republic (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011). Provides another view of Bowdoin in the 1820's. Again, like Pierce, Fessenden had his problems with discipline and nearly failed to get his diploma because of "disrespectful conduct." See pp. 12-16.

James Grant, Mr. Speaker: The Life and Times of Thomas B. Reed: The Man Who Broke the Filibuster (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2011). Reed, of the Class of 1860, graduated Phi Beta Kappa and Grant gives some interesting insights into the Bowdoin of this era, including the little known fact that when the President of the College, Leonard Woods, had an interview with Pope Gregory XVI, he was asked which language – French, Latin or German – he would be most comfortable speaking with the Pope. “It made no difference” he replied and carried on the conversation in Latin. See pp. 9-12 and be thankful you attend Bowdoin now, not then.

Elizabeth Huntoon Coursen, Brunswick and Bowdoin College (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2009). Although Coursen overuses the term “terrific,” there are some quite terrific scenes of Bowdoin College and Brunswick from an earlier, more peaceful time showing a college with fewer students and amenities than most would expect today.

Louis Hatch, The History of Bowdoin College (Portland: Loring, Short and Harmon, 1927). The most in-depth look at the College in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Lots of very useful and interesting background on how the College came to be.

Nathaniel Hawthorne, Fanshawe (Boston: James R. Good and Company, 1976). In this novella, Harley College, “a seminary of learning” “in a retired corner of one of the New England States” is Hawthorne’s Bowdoin of 1820. The lads do a lot of riding, hunting, fishing and walking in the woods, and a young lady from town is idolized.

William Smith Knowlton, The Old School Master or Forty Five Years with the Girls and Boys (Augusta: Burleigh and Flynn,

1905). Donated to the Bowdoin library by President William DeWitt Hyde, it is the autobiography of a schoolmaster who taught at Exeter, Dexter, Milo, Foxcroft, Houlton, Presque Isle, Caribou, Monson Academy and many other places. Somehow he provides seemingly thousands of recollections of individual students. Although Knowlton went to Colby, he provides some end of the century reminiscences about that fine school to our north, including the bizarre form of football they played.

William Lemke, The Wild, Wild East: Unusual Tales of Maine History (Castine: Yankee Books, 1994). See his humorous Chapter 29, “Joshua Fought the Battle of Bowdoin and Lost,” pp. 123-126. Despite Joshua Chamberlain’s many progressive ideas for the College, such as including more science and modern languages in the curriculum, he ran afoul of student protests when in 1873-74, he instituted a military program which included mandatory drill. The uproar was considerable and the students got the Trustees to drop the mandatory requirement, a major defeat for our hero of the Civil War and his four terms as Maine’s governor.

John Minot and Donald Snow (Bowdoin authors), Tales of Bowdoin (Augusta: Press of Kennebec Journal, 1901). A must-read. Stories you and your children will not believe. Quaint and very engaging. Bowdoin in the 19th century was a very different place with very different belief systems and it shows.

John Minot (Bowdoin author), Under the Bowdoin Pines (Augusta: Kennebec Journal Print, 1907). Also a must-read. What a strange and wondrous place it truly was. But ask yourself how many of the students depicted would be attending today? I’m guessing the number would be close to zero.

Elizabeth Ring, Maine in the Making of the Nation 1783-1870 (Camden: Picton Press, 1997). Ring is one of the nation's first local historians and her chapter "Bowdoin Beguiles and 'Frank' Pierce Accommodates," (pp. 195-208) is a paean to the Bowdoin men who became so important to the state and the nation, concluding:

"In the year before the Civil War, Bowdoin must be placed squarely in the orbit of whatever influence and prestige Maine people acquired and enjoyed in Washington and in other states elsewhere in the nation, and even abroad. Following Bowdoin men through their varied careers to the areas of the expanding nation to which they migrated, they were a constructive factor in whatever community they settled and invariably a connecting link to strengthen the fortune of Maine people wherever they were to be found."

Note: Ring also tells of Thomas Hamlin Hubbard, who was a colonel in the 30th Maine Regiment and fought in many battles. After the war, he became a lawyer and got into railroad building in the U.S., Mexico, Central America and the Philippines. Hubbard was the man who eventually donated Hubbard Hall as Bowdoin's library with the proviso that he and his wife be allowed to live in the tower for their lifetimes. Ring also points out that it was Hubbard who got his law partner, Edward F. Searles to give Bowdoin its Searles Science Building in 1902.

Peter Wallner, Franklin Pierce: New Hampshire's Favorite Son (Concord: Plaidswede Publishing, 2004), 2 vols. "Pierce at Bowdoin," pp. 16-35 provides an extensive portrait of Bowdoin in the 1820's. Pierce entered at age 15, one of 19 students in his class (1824). He was "chivalrous, courteous,

manly and warm hearted” doing a lot of hunting and fishing and leading the Athenians against the Peucinians. Who in this year’s course belongs to the Peucinians? His loyalty to the Constitution and support for the Compromise of 1850 led the Southern States to push for his nomination – but only after 48 previous ballots. He and his VP William Rufus King of Alabama would win 27 of 32 states in a stunning Democratic victory in 1852. For a number of reasons, the Bowdoin of today seems to shun Pierce and although there is a reading room in the Library named in his honor, nobody talks about him much.

Note: For some strange reason, another important Bowdoin alumnus, James Longley ’54, the first Independent governor in Maine and the United States, is seldom featured prominently in Bowdoin material. Perhaps inquiring minds will want to investigate this oversight.

**** “As Maine goes, so goes the nation,” began in 1840 when Maine (which held its election in September) chose the Whig Edward Kent as governor. It was considered a sign that the Whig candidate for president, William Henry Harrison, would defeat the incumbent Democrat Martin Van Buren. The saying stuck, although from 1840 until 1950, Maine predicted the national outcome only 17 out of 29 times. Finally, when only Maine and Vermont voted for Republican Alf Landon over Franklin Roosevelt in 1936, Roosevelt’s campaign manager, Jim Farley, quipped, “As Maine goes, so goes Vermont.”

Best Student Political Axioms

“The sons of Portland families went to Bowdoin not to satisfy social customs, but to gain a serious education.”

Barbara Tuchman, The Proud Tower

You will be expected to fill in your personal axiom by the end of the course! Below are some of the previous winners of the student axiom contests.

1. “Political wisdom isn’t knowing what you’re doing, it’s knowing what to do next.” (Kala Hardacker)
2. “It’s hard to win without money, and easy to lose with money.” (Elizabeth McCaffery)
3. “In ballot measures, keep your enemies close and your friends closer.” (Chris Donnelly)
4. “If you are riding a horse and it dies, get off it.” (Peter Carter)
5. “In politics, it’s more blessed to receive than to give.” (Cory Ferguson)
6. “If you can’t be open to changing yourself, then you’ll never change politics.” (Hannah Colburn)
7. “It’s not the size of the dog in the fight but the size of the fight in the dog.” (Evan Fensterstock)
8. “Never underestimate the importance of hard work.” (Andrew O’Brien)

9. "Washington is surely worth the walk." (Luke Wilson)
10. "Gone in 30 Seconds." (John Koperniak)
11. "In Maine, tradition is more than just a 9 letter word." (Nick Lawler)
12. "When challenging an incumbent, recognize the importance of name recognition." (Dylan Brix)
13. "Don't get trapped out of your frame or trapped in theirs." (Charlie Ticotsky)
14. "A lily pad has a maximum occupancy of one." (Megan MacLennan)
15. "Campaigns are won 30 seconds at a time." (Jonathan Crowley)
16. "In Maine politics, Mother Nature dominates." (Mike Karrat)
17. "Your opponent's weaknesses are not necessarily your strengths." (Melissa Davis)
18. "Democracy requires a great deal of indifference on the part of the many." (Jim Lukashevsky)
19. "Define yourself or be defined by others." (Mike Buckley)
20. "A winning politician finds opportunity in every mistake; a losing politician finds a mistake in every opportunity." (Brook Schafer)

21. “When it comes to media, identify your authority figures, or give authority to your opponent.” (Aurora Kurland)
22. “Referendums, like children, need TV and authority figures.” (Pat Driscoll)
23. “Hunting in Maine, a tradition unlike any other.” (Paul Evans)
24. “Maine, the way politics should be!” (Ryan Turgeon)
25. “In Maine politics, if they lose their guns you lose their votes.” (Karen Reni)
26. “In Maine politics, it is how you play the game that determines whether you win or lose.” (Peter Wadden)
27. “There are mainstream issues and then there are Maine’s stream issues.” (Patrick Duchette)
28. “In politics, perception can be more important than reality.” (Tim Colton)
29. “Seven days without Maine politics makes one WEAK.” (K. J. Kozens)
30. “In Maine politics, it’s important to think outside of the ‘big box.’” (Ingrid Anid)
31. “In Maine politics, the Independent candidate is only as strong as the Major party candidates are weak.” (Rich Hall)
32. “In Maine politics, the path from top to bottom is very short.” (Brandon Mazer)

33. "In campaigns, taking the middle road makes all the difference." (Alex von Grechten)
34. "When in doubt, go negative!" (Jack Lynch)
35. "In politics, candidates are only as strong as their opponents allow them to be." (Greg McConnell)
36. "When running a campaign in Maine, be sure to respect your elders." (Greg Racioppe)
37. "In Maine politics, don't talk the talk if you're not willing to make the walk." (Tim Lane)
38. "Uncle S.A.M. wants YOU to vote for tradition." (Katie Gundersen)
39. "A campaign manager is a lot like a wilderness guide: a good one will lead you up the mountain, and a bad one will lead you off a cliff." (Colin Hay)
40. "Maine, where elephants are jack-asses and donkeys have long trunks." (Josh King)
41. "When campaigning in Maine, an ounce of small business will earn a gallon of Huguenot blood." (Ian Merry)
42. "Maine voters are like bottles of wine: the older they get, the more valuable they become." (Joanne Jacquet)
43. "Cross the aisles, walk the miles." (Team Pro Snowe)
44. "Behind every good candidate is a better team." (Team Anti-Casino)

45. “Never explain, never complain. Just learn the rules of This Splendid Game.” (Steve Robinson, The Sage of the North, and later a producer of the Howie Carr show)
46. “In Maine, politicians must love the outdoors or they will be kicked out the door.” (Team Scontras)
47. “The enemy of my enemy is my friend.” (Team Mitchell)
48. “When campaigning for the future, it is important to learn from the past.” (Team Anti-Same Day Registration).
49. “Politicians are like talking dogs in a circus: the fact that they existed was uncommonly interesting, but no sane person would actually believe what they said.” (Alan Furst)
50. “Campaigns are about emotions, not intellect.” (Catherine Shaw)

Course Expectations and Requirements

All students are expected to follow contemporary Maine political events in the Portland Press Herald, Sun Journal, Bangor Daily News, Journal Tribune, Kennebec Journal, Times Record or Central Maine Morning Sentinel on a regular basis.

Students must be prepared to be called upon in class on a regular basis and are expected to be able to tell the class what is happening in their respective campaigns.

(1) TV Commercials

Note: All groups will be required to produce a 30 or 60 second commercial for presentation to the class. This will be due following the October break. Please be advised that any students wishing to use College cameras or editing machines must make arrangements with the Bowdoin Instructional Media Services Department well in advance. Another great resource for equipment is the Bowdoin Cable Network, contact bcn@bowdoin.edu.

Note: Both are very knowledgeable and helpful but **MUST** be contacted early in the semester or they will rightfully feel put-upon and/or be unable to help you because of time constraints. They are under no obligation to help you if you fail to enlist their support early or properly.

Note: Securing such access is critical to the timely presentation of the commercials. No extensions will be granted for failure to secure such access.

(2) Term Papers and Research Assignments

Note: **Use only the style of this syllabus**, OR **This Splendid Game**, OR **Maine: The Dynamics of Political Change** or any of my other books found in the library to cite the footnotes and bibliographical material in your research papers. (see below) I realize there are many professors who will accept a great variety of footnote forms. Unfortunately for your undoubted creativity, I am not one of them.

Note: No other style will be accepted in Government 2035. This is a valuable life lesson.

Above all, especially do not try to invent some strange NEW form such as the use of Roman numerals. Never, ever, use Roman numerals as footnotes.

DO NOT TRY TO REINVENT THE WHEEL (or try to import the “embedded” footnote style so popular and acceptable in the literature of the sciences and now creeping into history and government courses.)

Students not believing this advice in the past have failed their paper assignment. And the professor, while kind and generous, will not be either if he assumes you have so little respect for the course that you have not bothered to read or absorb these admonitions in this short, pithy syllabus.

Note: **Any paper turned in without being properly stapled will be rejected, i.e. no paper clips of any type.** Paper clips signal disrespect.

Note: **And no plastic folders!** All professors delight in their own eccentricities (although not all acknowledge this essence of

professorhood) and this has been one of mine for over 40 years, ever since the plastic folder was invented. Please pay attention to it.

Note: **All papers turned in must have page numbers at the upper right of the page.** Do not ignore this simple direction.

Note: **Two copies are required if you would like one returned.** One copy must be saved to avoid “duplication” in whole or in part by others in some future year. Yes, this has happened in the past and will not happen in the future.

Note: **No paper sent by e-mail will be accepted.** Papers are important projects, self-contained and represent a total accomplishment including proper pagination and source citing, to say nothing of delivery.

Therefore, do not e-mail copies of your paper. Papers must be printed and delivered in person during class or to my office, which is in 201 Hubbard Hall. There are plastic trays outside my office for this purpose.

Note: **Take Home Exams and Term Papers must be done on one side of the paper only.** Explain that patiently but firmly to the Library’s default printer. **No papers printed on both sides of the paper will be accepted.** The blank pages are for professorial comments. Remember 90% of Maine is forested and we owe to the men and women who work in the forest products industry some assistance in helping them keep their jobs. Paper is made from pulp, much of which comes from “pasture pine,” regarded by many in rural Maine as a weed. In any case, pasture pine is not an endangered species so please do not treat it like it is.

Note: **Please do not ask for an extension, none will be granted.**

All group papers - the report and the bibliographical essay - are due on the day of the presentation, handed in during the class period. A group is expected to cover all contingencies BEFORE they occur.

Note: **Late papers will be docked 10 points per day of tardiness.**

Note: **It is the responsibility of the entire group/team to make sure the final copy of the paper is up to standard.** There is no point in coming to the professor's office AFTER he has graded the paper to tell him that it was not the group's fault SOMEONE did not properly proofread it.

(3) Paper Format and Bibliographical Essay

The basic format of the paper is similar to a regular term paper with the normal body of informational material (12-14 pages) but with this addition: it should have a two to three page (2-3) bibliographical essay at the end of it for a total of no more than **18 pages.**

The **bibliographical essay** is simply the group's reaction to the materials used to research the presentation. What books and articles were consulted? Which archives were investigated? What web sites were visited? What interviews did you conduct? And most importantly, what was your reaction to those sources? Which proved credible? Which proved less helpful? Which would be of use to future students of the subject? How did you decide which source was "correct" if they differed?

Also, while one doesn't want the paper to be written and simply read in class, the paper should provide written back-up for the material presented in the talk.

Above all, remember that politics is fun and so is the study of it! You are making a contribution to the knowledge of the class and the professor by your research. We all learn together!

Additional Writing Suggestions

1. Put all page numbers at the top right corner of the page.
2. If you can, do not put a page number on the front page (some operating systems don't permit this however).
3. When you have a quote or wish to make a footnote, put that footnote at the bottom of the page or at the end of the paper. **All footnotes should be in 16 point font just like the text.**
4. For this course, do not put the footnote citation in the text itself, although this is quite acceptable in the sciences, sociology and anthropology.
5. The first time you cite a book, put the author, the title of the book (underlined or in italics), an open parenthesis, the city where it was published, a colon, then the publisher's name, then a comma, then the date it was published, then a closed parenthesis followed by a comma, the letter p. (or pp. if more than one page) followed by a period. Thus: Richard E. Morgan, Duck Hunting along the Atlantic Flyway (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 11. You can also, instead of underlying, use italics for the book or journal title.

6. If the **very next** footnote refers to the same book and the same page, put Ibid. Always underline Ibid., to show you are well educated and know it is a Latin phrase!
7. If the very next footnote refers to the same book but uses a different page, put Ibid. and then the page number. Thus: Ibid., p. 16.
8. If, however, you make reference to another work in an intervening footnote, you should re-cite the first book as follows: Morgan, op. cit., p. 131.
9. Use basically the same citation for an article but present it as follows: author's name, the title of the article (in quotation marks), "in" then the editor's name (if there is one), followed by the volume (vol.), number (# in Roman numerals), date (in parentheses) and page numbers. Thus: Allen Springer, "Canada at the Crossroads," in Orbis Vol. XXX, No. 6 (2000), pp. 16-45.
10. For bibliographies, use the same citation method as above but with the author names in alphabetical order by last name and without page numbers. Thus: Morgan, Richard, Duck Hunting Along the Atlantic Flyway (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).
11. For Internet citations use the website and page numbers (if any). Thus: www.warlovers.com.
12. For interview citations, use the following: person interviewed, by whom, date. Thus: Ralph Nader, interview with Professor John Rensenbrink, August 31, 2003.

13. Always, always use spell check before you turn in your paper. Not using spell check before turning in your paper conveys the strongest sense of disrespect for yourself and your professor.
14. In addition to using spell check, always read over carefully after you have used spell check because spell check can confuse words which are spelled correctly but which are not appropriate in a given context. For example, the use of “bear” for “bare” or “there” for “their.”
15. Also, it is always a good idea to read your paper out loud to yourself in front of a mirror. If the words flow in this context, the professor will find it a smoothly written piece of work. If the narrative seems disjointed, confusing or confused, rewrite. Rewriting is the key to good writing.
16. Remember, your professor might post your paper on the Internet and therefore it will have a life of its own - forever.
17. Turn in **two copies** of every report so that we may keep one for the government department files (yes, some students sometimes re-gift papers from previous years), and return one with comments.
18. **Staple reports together.** Do not use any of those silly plastic binders which fall apart when touched. Do not ever use paper clips, which are even worse!
19. Students needing further “stylistic and grammatical assistance” should also consult William Strunk, E.B.

White, Roger Angell, The Elements of Style Fourth Edition (New York: Allen and Bacon, 1999).

20. Note: failure to follow the above format will result in penalties ranging from failure to 40% reduction in final mark.

(4) Grades

Student grades will depend on the class's choice for assignments and grading options. In recent years, student final grades for the course were based on roughly these approximate percentages:

Exams (short answer)	20%
Exams (essay)	20%
TV Commercial	20%
Group Report/Bibliographical Essay	20%
Individual Presentation	20%
Class Participation/Quizzes	+ or –

**Enjoy! And remember,
you re-invent yourself every day.**