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Attorney at Law

Interviewed by

**Bob LaBrant** 

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To Readers of this Transcript:

This is an attempt by one person to show a piece of a jigsaw puzzle of Michigan's political history. I have taken the liberty of what members of Congress would call to 'revise and extend' to make some changes which do not change the substance but help to clarify this transcript.

I would like particularly to thank Bob LaBrant, who did the interviewing, Dave and Beverly Lang, of LTS Productions, who did the video tape, and Pat Valo, the office secretary, a former Certified Electronic Recorder, who transcribed the tapes.

I would also like to thank the Michigan Political History Society, of which Sharman Moore is president, Mark Murray is vice president, and Kevin Kelly is secretary-treasurer for their support of this work.

One of my hopes is that libraries will more and more use video tapes and not just audio tapes to preserve historical data.

There's a final two pages of index in which some people referred to are listed alphabetically with the page number beside them.

Sincerely,

Tom Downs

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Bob:

Hello. I'm Bob LaBrant, and on behalf of the Michigan Political History Society, we're doing an interview today with Tom Downs. Tom Downs was an attorney and a lobbyist with the Michigan CIO, which later merged into the AFL-CIO. He was also one of those groups of activists that transformed the Michigan Democratic party in the post-World War II time period. Tom was elected a delegate and served as vice president of the Constitutional Convention and is a recognized election law specialist and recount expert across the nation.

Tom, you were born in Spokane, Washington back in 1916. Tell us a little bit about your parents and your years growing up in Washington state.

Tom:

Yes, I'll be glad to do that. I have to go back quite a while to remember that. That's quite a while back, but my parents, I think, were interesting. My father was a doctor, and he was a Republican. I think he was more of a Libertarian, and I remember the one election in '32. He voted for Hoover, and my mother voted for Norman Thomas, a Socialist. And the community criticism was not that she voted for a Socialist, but that she voted different from her husband. Now my father was wise enough not to try to tell her how to vote, but I don't think I've heard a new political argument since then. Now, my father, oh, when he was later on, took a special course to be a brain surgeon. There weren't very many of them. Neighboring kids always said he ought to put some brains in me. He had a terrific analytical

mind that, you know, most people do a jigsaw puzzle, they get the corners and try to fit them. He'd look at the jigsaw puzzle, not make a move, and maybe after 15, 20 minutes, put the whole thing together at once. And he'd remember the last cards that were played, so he had a very analytical mind, and very independent. I remember this was -- Orientals were out there -- and he was the only doctor to let the Oriental come in his office and sit with the other patients. It wasn't he was sound on racial issues so much as that as a Libertarian he was going to do things his own way. Now, my mother was a very warm person. She was in all the ecology groups, the Audubons, and the garden club. She took me to a lot of lectures. I remember Roy Chapman Andrews, who discovered the dinosaur eggs in China and Count Felix Von Lectur, the one that did the friendly Arctic's, so she got me interested in a lot of things like that and I think she got a lot of the adventurousness in me, probably more than my father did. He was a very analytical person, great chess player. My mother, certainly was no slouch. She, after my father died, she was the head of halls and she got a Phi Beta Kappa in her 40's, which was

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And she lived to, what? 102, Tom?

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She made 102, yes.

∥ Bob:

Remarkable.

pretty old at that time.

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Tom: Yes, she was remarkable. Now, as far as the schools go, it's kind of interesting. I remember in the 4th grade the teacher said that Columbus was the first one to figure out the earth was round.

Well, I knew better than that, and I thought the teacher would

want to tell the kids straight things, so I raised my hand and straightened her out. Much to my chagrin, she didn't appreciate it. Well, I think a tremendous lesson I learned then was that people don't like to be criticized -- kind of Anthropology 101 -they're more interested in survival than they are in the facts. I've had to try to remember that as the years go on, and to not directly criticize someone, particularly if I'm right, particularly if they're in a superior position. So, the other lesson I learned, this was an interesting one -- I was the shortest one in the class in the 6th grade, and there wasn't a teachers' union then. The principal also was the umpire for the ball games at recess, but we'd never get to the fielders because the bell would ring before then. So, I organized the fielders, I mean solid, and we suggested that you start with the last one. If the 3rd baseman was the last one out. then the fielder would be next. Well, she was outraged at that. And I kind of learned then that people don't like a 6th grade kid telling them how to run their business, but it was basically a happy childhood.

Now, high school was a kind of interesting experience. I was on the debate team. Well, they had a, what they did was kids could pay a dime to go to the debate or write a book review. So, that's the way they raised the money for the debate team. I remember we had the debate, something about old age pensions. The other side said something about raising chickens. Well, my parents were rather permissive. I raised chickens and bees in the back yard for my Boy Scout merit badge, and I started telling about the problems with raising chickens. I had to cut its head off and

how it got loose, and the dog chased it into the neighbor's and I followed with a hatchet in my hand and it got mixed up in the laundry of the woman next door. Well, the students thought that was hilarious and laughed, and then at the end the students would judge things. Well, they not only clapped for me -- I got a standing ovation. But, then the teachers that judged it said I hadn't followed the rules. I said, 'well, those were suggestions on what you had to say'. Well, it's kind of interesting. One teacher stood up for me and they worked it out that I could be on the debate team. They wouldn't use me on the first string, but they'd use me when they needed to raise dimes. So I learned then when you get an offer like that, take it and grab it and run with it.

But a little more on my father. He told the story that his father -- I'm named Tom Downs -- no middle name. His father was named Thomas Jefferson Downs, and he was such a good Republican that he dropped the 'Jefferson'. So, I think at least my great-great grandfather and mother was a Jeffersonian Democrat. But he told about Mark Hanna being in the House in Connersville, Indiana, and how they'd get the votes, I think it was for McKinley, telling the farmers if they voted Democratic their mortgage would be foreclosed and the workers, their jobs would be out of the way. He became an Indian agent. My grandmother was a wonderful person. I'm just sorry I didn't get to know her more. She traveled all around with him when he was an Indian agent.

Bob: Well, you're quite a traveler, yourself, and I understand in your youth you had a number of journeys. Once up to Alaska and then tell us about your post-high school.

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Tom:

Yes, I was an active Sea Scout. We went from Seattle up to northern Prince Rupert then turned around in Alaska. One year I was a first mate, the other time an engineer. We had one real old fellow, 21 years, and I liked that a lot. And then after high school there were three of us who had a Model T Ford, a 1920 one, and this was about 1932, and we went to the World's Fair in Chicago and the world was so different then. We didn't have sleeping bags. We just slept by the side of the road and then in the morning somebody would come by and say, 'Ma wants to know if you want a cup of coffee.' We'd go to the farm house and 'Ma' would give us breakfast, heard what we were doing, and pack us a lunch. Well, I wouldn't want a grandchild doing that kind of trip now. So it was, a fun, fun experience. We had dogs a lot. I remember one dog got kind of old and had goiter and cataracts and rheumatism. My father would give him the latest medicine for it and then after he died we got a pup. It cried all one night, and my mother was kind of soft-hearted and thought it needed some company, so he slept on my bed from then on.

And then my mother was kind of unusual. She was very practical. This one dog we had — it was a boss dog — very nice house dog, and he'd get in fights. Well, they didn't have dogs on leashes. I remember the men would come in and one would grab one dog by one collar and the other with his other hand and the dogs would turn around and bite him. Well, my mother kept a pail of water on the porch. When the dogs would fight she would walk up to them, dump a pail of water on them and that would stop a dog fight every time.

Bob: Tom, let's turn to your Ann Arbor years. When you enrolled at the University of Michigan, what was your major?

Tom: Well, I started out in the engineering school. I was there a year and a half, and I didn't do bad. One course I flunked was Descriptive Geometry. That three dimension stuff really got me, but I had a very good adviser. He happened to the only Socialist on the faculty. He suggested I get into something more relating to people, so then I switched to sociology. Now, there there are some interesting things. We'd hitch hike up to the Flint sit-down strikes. I remember I think I learned more outside of school than in school. We'd run the mimeograph machines and schlep coffee. I remember the newspapers saying that this is a Communist conspiracy to take over industry, and I asked this one fellow, 'was that so?' And looked at me -- 'well, you dumb college kid.' Well, I was running coffee, and he leaned over and he parted his hair and showed a great big scar. Said, well, what about that? Well, he'd been on a picket line in Detroit or Hamtramck and the mounted police horse's hoof just cut his head right open. And said, 'well, I'm in this plant -- there's no horse going to get at me.' Well, that was the very pragmatism of the American workers was not trying to destroy the shop but to keep from having their heads bashed in. I think I learned a lot. Then we had the NYA project where we studied the Southern Whites who migrated to Detroit and I remember one fellow who said he got \$100 paycheck, so he quit. He didn't think he needed any more money. Then he went back and got another job. It was kind of the off-beat stuff. We followed this group that was a religious right church, and they

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were praying then for what was then the Black legion. I think what I got to see, what people should realize now is these people were very sincere in what they were doing. It's what they'd been brought up with, and I think there's just a tendency to just too much smear people without seeing where they're coming from. I remember in Spokane I'd do some of the off-beat things. This friend of mine, Smitty Meyers, who was later a dean at Gonzaga we'd go down to the free speech debates and I remember when we were to see courts instead of going to the federal court, my friend and I went to the police court. I think we learned more four-letter words and that was a little hard to report to the school. I think there was kind of the youth, a kind of adventurousness, and then a very independent feeling from both my parents. Maybe it was pig-headed, but also very independent feeling.

Bob:

Tom:

So you switched from engineering to, what, sociology?

Tom: Sociology, and then I got out of school and was married after that. There were no jobs, and I went to law school and it took an undergraduate degree and \$75 to get into law school, so that was a fairly simply thing to do.

Bob: Tell us about some of your classmates in law school.

Well, quite a few interesting ones. Well, Horace Gilmore is now a judge. Mennen Williams was a year ahead of me. Martha and Hicks Griffiths were in the same class. Hicks was admitted to Harvard Law School, but at that time Harvard didn't let any women in. The U of M didn't lock the door. There was Martha and the daughter of one of the professors, and we had one Black in the class. So things have changed a lot since then. Then

undergraduate, I knew Art Miller. We were in the same eating co-op together. Some of the friends there, I had Danny Suits. He's now retired and we live about ten minutes away from each other. So I'd say it was a very stimulating group.

Bob: After law school you went to work for the WPA, I understand.

Tom: Yes.

Tom:

Bob: Tell us about that experience.

Well, that was interesting. The first one -- I got the job right out of school. I think they probably asked for some off-beat student or something. I was a WPA first for the adult education. We went where people were needed. A lot of the work was in the Polish Catholic basements, Negro funeral homes, and union halls. Then from there I went to the WPA workers service. Joe Kowalski was in charge of that, later the Speaker of the House. That was a very productive and in some ways the most satisfying. We were to teach workers their rights and responsibilities of the American form of government. We trained the Willow Run employees how to be stewards. Remember these were people who came up from the Deep South, had no understanding of unions, and I remember we'd teach the four W's -- what, where, when, and why -- then how and how to fill out grievances. It was very educational.

In fact, when I interviewed Irv Bluestone, Walter Reuther's assistant, he made the point that Walter was primarily in addition to a union organizer, an educator. There was a tremendous stimulation in that period. The sit-downs were over.

The war was starting to get going. It was a very satisfying experience. I didn't make much money, though.

Bob: And then with the outbreak of the War you served in the Navy?

For a short time. I was in and out. I had some allergies, and I still have a little Asthma. I was a company clerk for a while because I was the only one who could type. In fact, the first job I got out of high school was a clerk typist. I got a dollar a day. We worked a half day Saturday and got a full dollar. I think that's one reason I wanted to go to college. I never wanted to see a typewriter again. I've just learned how to use a word processor in the last month or two.

Bob: Well, when you were discharged then you went to work for the Ohio CIO?

Tom: Yes. Well, I was in one of those forks-in-the-road. I was offered the job of Educational Director at the westside local. That was Walter Reuther's local, and I probably would have worked up there. I was offered the job in Ohio of legislative work, analyzing and appearing before legislative committees. I took that fork, and what was it Yogi Bara said? 'When there's a fork in the road, take it.' It was satisfying, but there was more dynamics in Detroit. My then-wife's sister and family were in the Detroit area. After, I think, about two years we went back to Detroit. Then I worked for Gus Scholle at that time.

So you joined the staff of the Michigan CIO and worked as Gus Scholle's assistant and as an attorney for the CIO?

Bob:

Yes. I worked -- I think I passed the Bar later on -- but, I did a lot of the legislative work, did some of the analysis on the apportionment that we found Mennen would.

Well, I can tell a couple of elections of Mennen. His first real tough one was '48 in the primary where there were three candidates. The CIO and Frank Martel from the Wayne County AF of L supported Mennen. The Teamsters supported another one. The Michigan AF of L, another. And Mennen just squeaked through on that election. We found the reason we did. We got people to run for precinct delegate. They would have a slate. The first time that had been done. Mennen's name was on the slate. Then we had the fellow run and put in great big letters, 'Vote for your friend and neighbor.' And we checked later. Those ones where we had people to run as precinct delegate were the ones that -- of course, a close election everybody says they did it. So that was a close one. That was the one that really squeaked through. Then he would win sometimes by oh, I think, 250,000. But the Senate would be against him. At that time, Gus had me do some arithmetic on it. More people voted for a Democrat for state senate than Republican, but you've done the work on apportionment that you take six people. The districts vary from 60,000 to 360,000. So they were tilted against the Democrats. Gus then had Ted Sachs do the legal work on that and it took the U.S. and Michigan Supreme courts about three years to catch up with Ted, but they really did.

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Let's go back and talk about Gus Scholle, because Gus Scholle was such an important person in this period.

Well, Gus was quite a person. He was a high school dropout. He was a Depression product, but he had one of the keenest minds I know. Really, what happened on the apportionment one. He said the courts would say you can't dis-enfranchise a person because he's Afro-American. You mean you can say that a stump equals a person because he would make his talks that one person in the U.P. and five stumps equaled six votes in Detroit. He was quite dramatic on that. But he was very, very practical, very down to earth. Now, what happened as far as the Democrat and Republican Party went, there'd been a legislative hearing in the Michigan Senate.

I kind of want to jump a little bit to my good friend, John Lovett. John Lovett represented the Michigan Manufacturers. I kind of liked him. He'd call me a Walter Reuther Socialist. I'd call him an Anarchist. And from there on, we'd go. On ecology, he'd say, 'what are you going to do, fish or work?' But people thought he was anti-FEPC and racist. He wasn't. He was just against any government regulation. In fact, if there'd been a law you could only hire white males, he'd have come out against that. But, I remember he said, 'Tom, you socialist Walter Reuther people and Gus Scholle, you'll get the governor, maybe the House and Supreme Court, but you'll never get the Senate.' Well, then we had a big important unemployment comp bill. I said to John, 'What are you going to do?' He said in a kind of raspy voice, 'Well, we'll give you a couple bucks a week.' And I said, 'A couple of fish hooks?' He said, 'yeah'. 'And then next year a couple more?' 'Yeah' Well, then General Motors was kind of pig. They wanted

all at once. So they replaced him with Ray Smith. We had a hearing in the state senate, and there was something like 60 or 62 amendments, and they just rolled through that committee. Gus tried to testify he had with him Abe Zwerling, the UAW attorney, and they didn't get the time of day. Well, Gus stormed out and said he never again would vote for a Republican. So, really, in a sense, General Motors was the one that got Gus Scholle to come out firmly as a Democrat. Emil Mazey was a labor party person. Walter was talking about re-aligning the political forces. Now, Walter looked for the whole United States. And, you know, you look at the Dixie-crats and what they were and it's pretty hard to say, 'vote Democratic.' Well, Gus would look at Michigan alone. He had a study made that showed that the third party would be equal to about 1% or 2% were interested. Most of the people surveyed said to keep the union out of politics and politics out of the union. Some were interested in the Democratic party, very little in the Republican. So he saw going into the Democratic party as a way to really get political clout in the state of Michigan. He was very active on that. In fact, it's interesting. I worked with our resolutions committee in 1948, and we had one encouraging people to run for precinct delegate. Emil Mazey came down to talk at the convention. Emil and Gus were very close personal friends. They were both worker oriented. Emil said, 'look, Gus, I'm going to have to speak against that.' Well, Gus was a parliamentarian. He called me to one side and said, 'Well, go see Emil. See if you can work it out.' Well, I knew the two of them were very good friends and didn't want to be in conflict. So Emil said, 'oh, look,

Gus can have his fun. Truman isn't going to win or Mennen Williams in the Republican sweeps.' So we added a sentence for that election alone people could be encouraged to be in the Democratic party and then after the election there would be a conference. Well, that satisfied Gus. It satisfied Emil. I think I learned from that when two people really like each other and are in sympathy, you can kind of work out problems. So that's what happened, and, of course, Mennen won, and Truman won. I think Gus was about the only one that I know of of any stature that said they could win.

Bob: Tell us a little bit about the *old guard* of the Michigan Democratic party.

Tom: Well, the old guard -- just because you're paranoid doesn't mean they aren't following you. We were convinced the old guard wanted to have a Democratic president, but a Republican, governor Republican senators because then the patronage would flow through them. And they were really, I mean 'sleazy' was a good description for them. We re-vitalized it by getting people to run as precinct delegate. We found at the precinct delegate level that we'd send out a mailing for some candidate or other and so many of the envelopes came back 'No such person there.' We did a little checking and found that people had filed fraudulent petitions. Now when I say 'fraudulent' I don't mean just one or two names, but all the names are fake, even the name of the person was a fake, and the person that notarized it -- at that time it had to be notarized. Then in that particular district, the chairman of the district would go to the county clerk and say,

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'look, don't bother to mail those cards. Just give them to me and I'll pass them out.' So he literally had the votes in his hip pocket. So we got real live people to run. We did get into court on that. George Edwards represented us and got thrown out on a technicality and the Judge said, 'well, go ahead and let the convention decide it.' So we had the 17th District that I was in, we had a committee. Hicks and Martha Griffiths were very active. I think their role was under-recognized, that they formed these Democratic clubs around the state which were kind of in conflict with the old Democratic party that was kind of moribund. We won that election there. We set up a credentials committee and didn't let people in that had those purely, you know, fake petitions or like that and then there was a radio program called 'Blood on the Street.' And Helen Berthelot was quoted. She was active there. Gus Scholle. If you've read Helen Berthelot's book, she goes into the details quite a bit. So that was a real vitalization of the Democratic party. And, of course, along with that Mennen was somebody to coalesce around and did an excellent job. Neil Staebler later was chair and very active.

Bob: Tom, tell us a little bit about the development of the midnight caucuses.

Tom: Yes. Well, what we had was that the convention was usually held in Grand Rapids. We would have a midnight caucus that consisted of the chairs. Gus Scholle sat in on, usually someone from the UAW. I sat in on them. People said they were dictatorial. It was just the opposite. I remember one of the chairs at one of the districts didn't want to do it because he was either

13th or 15th, right half way through and he liked to make deals on the floor as to what candidate he would support.

There was an interesting story. This fellow later on when Mennen was elected governor had an employer replace a good friend of mine, a former Republican senator representing one of the utilities. Well, he kind of conned him saying you need someone as a Democrat. So he would go into Governor Williams' office when he knew the Governor was out, and he knew when his client was out to lunch. He'd ask the secretary, 'May I use the phone?' 'Yes' So he'd call and then he'd leave word there to be called back at the Governor's office. So the secretaries were very nice, and the call would come back, and he'd get on the phone and he'd say, 'Yes, hello, just a minute, Governor. Governor, yes.' Then he'd say to his client,'I can't keep the Governor waiting any longer.' And the Governor wasn't even there! So that's the kind of 'sleaze' that was going on.

The midnight caucus blocked individual deals because then we worked out slates. We hadn't heard of affirmative action, but we have a good distribution geographically, ethnically. We even got a woman running one time, and that was pretty unusual. So, I think the midnight caucus really avoided it -- Lani Guinier -- talked about the dictatorship of the majority. We'd have every group. There would be Black representation, Polish, Ukranian, very good, and us WASP's got our voice in once in a while, too. So, the midnight caucus was a very democratic development whereas it was interpreted the other way.

TOM DOWNS

Bob: Tom, after Soapy Williams' election as governor in 1948, he appointed you to the Michigan Employment Security Commission.

Tom: Yes.

Bob: Tell us a little bit about your experience, because that tenure on the Michigan Employment Security Commission lasted until the Romney administration.

Yes, that long. In fact, it shows you how fame is fleeting. I wanted to check the exact dates and so I called up and the question was 'Tom who?' But, anyway that was a long period. I was Mennen's first major appointment. It was part-time, but the Commission before then, well, I don't want to speak ill of the dead. I'll say we had a chance for a Black to be promoted in the employment service. The then-chairman had been a General Motors protégé. He said the Black couldn't get a hotel in Traverse City and that was against him. Another one, a real nice fellow, but he had a nice black cocker spaniel, and he named it the 'n' word. He was just against any Afro American getting promoted. then the so-called labor person there said, well, it's all right if a Black got promoted so long as he didn't have a white woman working under his supervision. So it was really a very limited approach, and I think, really I was over aggressive in retrospect. The first thing I did they wanted the one I replaced to be made attorney for the Commission which would have been ok with me, but I called him up to talk to him and he never returned the phonecall. So, I maybe arbitrarily showed my power, and he didn't get the appointment.

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TOM DOWNS

Bob: Tom, you mention John Lovett at the Michigan Manufacturers Association. What was his influence on the MESC?

Tom: Yes, this was very interesting. When I was on the Commission, and, again, I was probably overly aggressive, I made some approaches to Ray Smith, who was the GM person, and we talked and didn't get any place. Well, John Lovett, as I say for some reason he and I got along on a very candid level, so then when Mennen was governor, he knew I might have something to say about who would replace some of the members of the Commission. He came up of the name of Chet Cahn. Now, Chet Cahn represented the small employers in the skilled trades. He had a very good relation with labor. I checked with the unions he bargained with. Mennen did appoint him. Now, I think, there the fork-in-the-road that I should have done with Chet Cahn is say, 'Look, the present director we have probably won't stay on. I don't know anyone on the staff that would really be good. So, why don't you and I, and if you want to talk with John Lovett and with Gus Scholle, get somebody really good, probably from the outside, maybe ask advice of somebody like Professor Bill Haber from Ann Arbor that was the expert on social security, and do come up with the name of a good director. Well, you think back in your life, not so much what I did wrong, but what I could have done better. Well, Chet was a real decent person. For example, we had a woman who was at the top in Civil Service to get a promotion. There is a rule of three and the staff said we can't have a woman. And I said, 'well, why not?' 'Well, you know about women.' I said,

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'Well, tell me. I'm married and I've got four kids.' Well, they said, 'well, once a month they don't show up and when they get to be 40 or 50, they're no good, absentee and so on.' I said, 'Well, let's make an absentee study.' And we did, and, of course, men had a higher absentee rating. Chet went along with me. We broke the gender line and had a woman manager, and she did very well, and later several others.

So, the other one that was interesting was during World War II, you know, if the body was warm, the employer would hire them. The Muskegon foundries had a lot of Blacks they'd brought up from the Deep South. Then when the war was over they wanted to lay them off and then hire from districts so they'd have lillywhite. Well, then the employment service always recognized discriminatory basis on weight, height, and they didn't quite on race, but what the recommendation was from areas that were lilly-white. So I remember asking, 'Well, what do you need to work in a foundry?' 'Well, you've got to get to work on time and lift a hundred pounds.' So, I said, 'Let's put a hundred pound weight in the MESC office and if the person can lift it, send them out. And I remember someone saying, 'Well, what if an 80 pound Black woman can lift it?' Well, I said, 'Send her out.' 'What if there's no washroom?' 'Let the employer worry about that.' 'Well, what if the person lives a hundred miles away?' 'If they punch in on time they get paid, if they don't, they don't.' Well, I can still see these people were really frantic. Now, what it was, it kind of goes back to my 4th grade teacher in Columbus. Because I was a threat to their job security. Here they made their living just going into

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these fine specs on geography and weight and sex and education. And I cut to the heart of the thing. In fact, I anticipated -- what was that famous case, I think Duke Power case. Where the utility said they'd only hire high school graduates to keep out Blacks because they wanted to promote somebody to be president they wanted them to be at least a high school graduate. The U.S. Supreme Court said, 'no way.' Well, I anticipated that. Chet Cahn went along with me. He was very decent. By that time, we had some other good commissioners. There was Ted Hammond, a former senator, Republican, and George Higgins, a former Republican, but they knew how to work with people. Then Frank Martel, I talked with him about Jack Cassin, and Frank Martel, I would not want him to be on the opposite side. He got Pat Zimmerman appointed. He was very good. He died. And then Walt Campbell is still alive. Walt and I see each other probably a couple of times a month. So the whole Commission itself changed. The staff varied a lot. Some was good. Some wasn't good. We did have the problem when FEPC passed where you weren't supposed to designate by race. Well, what the staff did was there was an '8' on the employment card. They put a circle around the '8'. That meant it was Afro American. So, I said, 'Well, I think we've got to stop that.' So, they took ink eradicator and erased the circle. Well, the only thing that shows up more than the circle was the eradicator. So, we had the people copy those by hand and do them properly. So there was a lot of conflict within the agency. Tom Doherty of the UAW was on the advisory council. He and I checked the migratory camps. There were federal standards, but

the pressure on the staff was to get placements because then you got your budget based on that. I remember one place we were checking and let's see, I want to be genteel, the fecal stuff was there, 'yeah, but it's dry, don't worry about it.' Well, Tom and I didn't eat unwashed fruit for quite a while. So I mean there's a lot of, and I think I learned why people did things. It's kind of like that NYA project with the religious right people. That here were people that their job depended on the number of placements they got. Well, they wanted to get the placements. And I'm not justifying. I'm just saying that it's where the economic incentive comes from on what happens. So the federal standards weren't too bad, but it was the matter of trying to enforce them. So it was an interesting experience, and I think I was entirely too bombastic and argumentative. I said I laid the base so Walt Campbell could get things done genteely. The meetings were kept secret and the doors were shut and I wanted them open so I just opened the door and said if any commissioners wanted to shut the door he could go ahead and do it. But, I'd have been much better off if I'd gone to the legislature and said, 'Look, let's get an Open Meetings Act going.' I did recommend that benefits be on an index basis which later on came to pass. At that time, the UAW person assigned to work with me said, well, wages might drop, which was a pretty cynical approach. I wrote an article on indexing. Then on the matter of duration of benefits, I said, 'well, not make them unlimited?' And I checked European countries and this whole discussion of welfare, see, welfare is just to keep people surviving. What the employment service is doing, it's main job is to get people jobs. And I think if this had been handled through the employment service with the job emphasis we'd have been better off. That didn't get any place. I did go to Washington and talked to Senator Pat McNamara. He was sympathetic, and then he went and died.

In fact, an interesting thing. The staff told me I couldn't go down to see Pat McNamara. I got to go down and see him, but there was a very strong jealousy that the director wanted to run things and not let the Commission get involved. The other thing I got going was a two-way program that used to be junkets once a year. We'd have nice trips. I said, 'well, look, let's have one night with labor, one night with management. See what people think.' And I think the Commission learned more and it let people know we were interested.

The other thing I got done was Mennen was a really nice person. He and Milliken were probably both equally naive. I mean very decent people. He'd come out with a program and his old hangover staff would go to the legislative committees and undercut him. So, I made the recommendation that each department when Mennen came out with the program analyze it. Well, of course, when the boss comes out with a program, they say it's a pretty good one. Well, then you get that in writing. And that's still going on as you probably see. I think they've changed the form some -- how much does it cost, what does it affect? But that was a start to see that people that were the governor's appointees or on the staff were loyal to him.

Bob: Tom, did you have any trouble getting confirmed by the Republican senate?

Tom: Well, yes, that's an interesting story. The first time I was appointed, and I did the tape from King Doyle. That's at Wayne University, now. He brought out, which was common knowledge, Republicans didn't like Sigler. So, many Republicans said, "We'll let that upstart Mennen in for two years and then we'll knock him off." So none of the appointees of Mennen's were confirmed because the Republicans said, "Well, look, in two years we'll have a Republican governor and all new appointees." Well, then two years came and they wouldn't confirm. I'd serve about a four year term, about three years and six months, and then get confirmed. Well, then one thing I did in the Constitutional Convention was get a provision that in 60 days you would either be rejected or you were automatically confirmed.

A kind of interesting side things is that Joe Olson was a strong Republican and appointed Insurance Commissioner in 1995. I talked to him and said, 'Well, I think the problems I had are going to mean you can serve because I don't think anybody is going to reject you in 60 days.' And he had a good sense of humor, and he got a kick out of that.

Bob: Well, you mention that the Republicans expected Soapy Williams to be defeated in 1950. It was a close election against Harry Kelly. Was that one of your first involvements in recounts?

Tom: Yes, in fact, that was the first major one. George Edwards, who was later a federal judge, was in charge of the legal work.

Joe Kowalski and Adelaide Hart and I organized kind of our own

WPA training on how to challenge, and we just did so much better of a job than Republicans. We had slides and samples. We'd run through ballots. We did a tremendous job. We always fed our people. They'd have long shifts. And I don't know why the Republicans didn't feed their people, but, of course, our softhearted Democrats would split their sandwiches. But that was a fascinating one. Then the election there. Let's see, I'm trying to think, that was the one -- oh, yeah.

This is a fascinating story. See, at that time, and you have to be careful in using right wing and left wing. Gus Scholle and Walter Reuther were right wing, and the Communist party considered left wing. Now, that doesn't mean everyone left wing was a Communist. In fact, the way you could really spot a Communist was when the war was started the left wing wanted to open a second front, get in there. Then when Hitler signed the pact with Stalin, suddenly it was no longer a facist war, it was ok. So then they were against strong support. Then when Hitler invaded Russia they switched back. So you could tell. I mean the real hard cored Communists -- it was funny -- the Wayne County Council had a resolution, one supporting Russia, then the one criticizing Hitler. The chair said, 'now, which resolution do you want?' They just changed over night. So then, at that time, we elected 21 people from Detroit, and the Democrats would almost automatically get it. So the Wayne County Council that had been left wing was being taken over by the right wing, and they were stalling every minute they could and hoping that we wouldn't have time to get our slates printed. We had to get those slates

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printed. So I anticipated what the 21 would be that would endorsed and went to Eddie Fishman, Goodwill Printing. I talked to Gus, and I said, 'here's what we want.' And he said, 'well, we'll worry about money later.' Well, Eddie printed them when really they hadn't all been approved. Really, 20 had, so we had a meeting to see who the final ones should be. And I said, 'well, we better make this one because the slates are already printed.' Well, that was really arbitrary, but if we hadn't done that the slates would not have gotten printed and Mennen might not have won that particular election. I don't know. But the fact that we got those slates out, oh, we had hundreds of thousands, and I tried to find one. They seem to have all disappeared. So I think there when there's a close election -- Mennen won that, I think, between 1100, I think it was 1164 -- it was a very small number. And that's where we had the vigorous recount and we found the Republicans would count oleo margerine votes for their candidate. There was the ballot question of whether colored margerine should be legal. There was always a suspicion of Hamtramck votes by the Republicans. They found one seal just didn't make any sense at all. I can hold -- let me have a piece of paper and I'll show you what it was -- You see that's 6019, then you turn it upside down and it's an entirely different number, it's 6109. And that's what had happened, that there had been a mix-up, that they'd read it upside down.

Bob:

Tom:

In Hamtramck?

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In Hamtramck. And the Hamtramck council finally passed a resolution commending me. In a recount, Republicans straight

paper ballots were counted and then the mixed ballots were kept separate and counted. Well, we'd go in places where the Democrats straight ones were rolled up and still up on a shelf uncounted. Now, I'm not saying it was deliberate fraud. Maybe it's like people psychologically want to do it the way they want it to come out, but we did win that recount. It was a very hard one, and from there on we did get some change in the election laws where the boards were much more bi-partisan. In fact, one of the problems with the Board of Canvassers now is that it's really bi-partisan and sometimes dead locks. But I prefer a dead locked one to one that was tilted one way or the other.

Bob: Well, two years later you had another recount and by that time George Edwards was on the bench.

Tom: That's right.

Bob: So you were even more actively involved in that recount.

Tom: I was very involved in that one.

Bob: We talked a little bit about re-districting, but let's return to that for just a second. Tell us a little bit about what caused Gus, in particular, to authorize the law suit of *Scholle v Hare*.

Tom: Yes. What it was was this complete frustration that more people voted for a Democrat for state senator than a Republican. The Republicans had the senate about 3 to 2, then the committees would be sometimes 4 to 1. I went over the committees. The Republicans would pick the members of the committee and on the important committee they'd put the dumbest Democrat. That wasn't always easy to find. So I showed this to Gus, and he said, 'well, look, this doesn't make sense.' At that time, the U.S.

Supreme Court Justice Frankfurt said apportionment was a political thicket. And Ted Sachs did a brilliant job on the legal work. He went to the Michigan Supreme Court and lost, I think, it was 5 to 3. Anyway, it was a close one. Went up to the U.S. Supreme Court, didn't get review, and then finally there were the, oh, you're familiar with the *Baker v Carr*, the congressional districts and then *Reynolds v Sims*, the state legislative ones, had to be elected on the one person, one vote basis.

I've got a little story that I want to tell about the role of Gus Scholle and Walter Reuther. Walter Reuther's staff person, Nat Weinberg, probably one of the best labor economists, or economist. And I remember he was talking to Gus about something to replace the sales tax. He had the back of an envelope and he says, 'Here's the sales tax, 3%.' And then here's his idea on an income tax. You add this, subtract that, make this a general rule, oh, about ten or twelve calculations. He said a worker would pay less. He said, 'Gus, what do you think of it? Got any questions?' 'Yeah, what if the worker doesn't have a pencil?' And the second question was, 'What if he doesn't keep receipts?' Well, Gus had that really down to earth. I would say that Walter Reuther was more global and educational. For example, Gus was president of the glass workers local and a Black was entitled to be promoted. Then somebody raised the question of his promotion. Gus said, 'Does he have seniority?' 'Yup' 'Pays his dues?' 'Yup' 'Shows up on the picket line?' 'Yup' He gets the job. Well, they'd ask Walter Reuther that, and as Emil said, 'You ask Walter what time it was, he'd tell you how to make a watch.' Well, he'd take his opportunity

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to educate on the brotherhood of man and sisterhood of God, and I mean, the whole civil rights talk. And so they would end up the same place, but they were very, very different temperamentally. Gus was a down to earth worker, and Walter both got excellent contracts and administered them well, but also could march with Chavez, with Martin Luther King that wasn't popular with all the members. He could talk in Berlin, Mahatma Ghandi. He and Eleanor Roosevelt were very good friends. In fact, they had their family vacations together. Well, I just don't see Gus Scholle and Eleanor Roosevelt having a long academic discussion on the future of the world. Where I'm sure that she and Walter would.

Bob: Tom, while we're making observations on Gus Scholle and Walter Reuther, let's take some other prominent personalities at the time and just give us some reactions and some comments.

Tom: Sure.

Bob: Pat McNamara?

Tom: Yes, Pat McNamara, I liked. He was real solid, down to earth. What had happened, Blair Moody had been appointed, and he was endorsed by everybody and Charlie Edgecomb got Pat McNamara's name in the primary. Well, then Moody died and McNamara was the candidate. Well, Gus and McNamara got along well, and so did I. So, we wanted to show that labor was for him, so Pat appointed me in charge of his Wayne County campaign. Well, I wanted to make it broad and said I wanted a tri-person chair. Ted Bohn was the Wayne County Democratic chairman, and I got Pat Zimmerman who was with AF of L and the three of us formed the committee, not that we did a lot of work,

but that we were to show that there was a labor Democratic support for Pat. And Pat did an excellent job. I think there was a matter when one of his appointees was having trouble on confirmation with the judiciary committee, I think Eastlund from Mississippi or one of those was in charge and they had a little trouble with Pat's candidate and said to Pat, 'Well, I don't like what you say about me.' And Pat said, 'I don't like what you say about me.' Pat was in charge of government construction and said, 'If my appointee doesn't get appointed, there aren't going to be any more post offices in Mississippi.' And the fellow got appointed. Now, Phil Hart would not have done that. Phil was too much a gentleman.

Bob:

Tell us about Phil Hart.

Tom:

Well, Phil was just, he was a gentleman, well, gentleman isn't the right word. He was just a decent person and he was not vicious. I mean he couldn't, in fact, when the question was whether he should run for president. He said, 'I'd make a terrible president. I can't make up my mind.' And he was very candid on that. He was an excellent senator. He'd think things through, absolutely honest, and really the best in politics.

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How about Sandy Brown, who was our state treasurer?

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Oh, Sandy Brown was interesting -- Farmer Brown. Well, Tom: Farmer Brown was elected state treasurer. All he knew about banking was if you had a checking account you could write a check and get the money right away. If you want interest, you had to deposit it for a while. Well, there he is state treasurer and he goes over and he sees that the state funds are deposited in banks

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in checking accounts and he gets to wondering why? And, you know, he's not paranoid, but was that kind of a little patronage or not? So, he wrote checks on all these banks, millions of dollars. You know what? They didn't have the money. They had loaned it out on mortgages. So he got the banks to start paying interest on what had been checking accounts. So, I think there's an example where, I don't want to say simple-minded, where a person that hasn't had a lot of sophisticated education got to the guts of things, the same way Gus Scholle did. And I think he did a good job as state treasurer and he saved the state thousands, millions of dollars over a period of time that way.

Bob: Tom, you've always been recognized as an expert in election law. Tell us about Jim Hare.

Tom: Well, Jim Hare was the Secretary of State. Jim ran for governor. He and Swainson and Ed Conner did. And Jim just didn't make it. Swainson did. Zolton Ferency had maneuvered for Swainson very much. Jim ran a good Secretary of State's office. He was the first one to put driver's licenses on computers. I think it may have been one of the first of the states to do that. He came out for seat belts, and so on. So, he was a good straight administrator.

Bob: How about some of his staff? Bernie Apol?

Tom: Bernie Apol is probably, you've known Bernie well. I've known Bernie for, I don't know how many years. We've been to conferences in Indiana. I never knew if he voted Democrat or Republican, but Bernie was highly respected. He ran a good straight ship and he was very -- I think he was a little too strict on

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Tom:

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declaring some ballots, you know, ruling things out. But he did it equally and he was very strict, and he's still alive. I see him every now and then at our Con Con reunions.

Bob: Speaking of Con Con, let's shift to that topic. What caused you to decide to run as a delegate?

Oh, I kind of liked the idea. I was on the fringe of the legislative operation. My name had been suggested to be one of the 21 from Detroit. I was kind of neutral. And it was really a creative experience, and writing the constitution is much, conceptually much broader than deciding if the gas tax should be one cent more or one cent less, something like that. And I think it was just kind of an interest in government and, oh, kind of wanted a new experience.

You ran from the 4th House District, which, at the time, Bob: was one of these multi-member districts.

Tom: Right.

Tell us about that campaign. Bob:

Tom: Yes, that was an interesting one. The district was twothirds Afro American, one-third white. So, I teamed up with Father or Canon Dade, who was a Black minister, and Daisy Elliott, who was very active in the trade union leadership council. That was the leading organization of active labor people, Negroes. Later on they let some of us whites in. And the three of us campaigned together very well, and I learned a lot in that campaign. Canon Dade, in particular, would get me into Black churches, and I began to really understand the impact and the basis the Black church had. Here were people often discriminated

against all week, and then Sunday was their day, and it was a tremendous learning experience for me. Daisy Elliott got me into the trade union leadership committee meetings. I got them into a lot of meetings like unions that were predominantly white. So, the three of us campaigned very strongly together and all three made it. Now, the district right next to mine was two-thirds white and one-third Afro American. There, Dick Austin, the latest Secretary of State, ran with two white college professors, Mel Nord and Harold Norris. All six of us made it, and all six worked together very closely.

Bob:

The election of those delegates to the Constitutional Convention were done under the current state legislative redistricting plan which obviously favored the Republicans. But, you found that when you counted up the number of delegates there were about 2 to 1 Republican to Democrats. You were chosen by the Democrats to serve as a vice president of the Constitutional Convention.

Tom:

Well, it wasn't quite that simple. The one thing, in fact, I raised a question with Gus and Ted Sachs, whether we should challenge the Con Con because it wasn't based on the one person, one vote. The time just wasn't right, and I agreed with that. Then what I wanted to see was that we didn't have the Republicans dominant and pick all of the committees. So, I started putting out press releases saying that we should get one-third of committee assignments being able to pick our one-third. Well, then the fellow elected president was Steve Nesbit, and I also took the position, and the Democrats agreed that if the Republicans won they should

pick the president and we shouldn't get involved. There were, oh, some rumors that we were to try to be the balance of power and so on because, let's see, the biggest fight was Steve Nesbit, George Romney, John Hannah, Ed Hutchinson, a lot of Republicans were vying for the presidency. Steve was absolutely the best choice. Well, then to follow that 2 to 1, I hadn't thought of it for vice president. Steve was the one who said, 'well, look, if we keep that 2 to 1 ratio there should be three vice presidents.' And Steve had known me from the United Way. I had been on committees with him, and he'd ask me if I were interested and, you know, the caucus had no objection to it. So, Ed Hutchinson and Romney and I were the vice presidents. The Republicans couldn't decide whether George or Ed would be first vice president, so we were all equal vice presidents, so I got equity with them.

Bob:

A troika.

Tom:

A troika, that's right.

Bob:

Now, Steve Nesbit was an executive with Gerber's?

Tom: Yes. He was a very gentle person. I said he didn't have a mean bone in his body. He just had the ability to keep things glued. I know he was very concerned about night sessions. Some of the delegates were real old, maybe 60 years old. And he didn't want them staying up too late. He was just a very thoughtful, kind person.

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Bob: Tom, Ed Hutchinson, one of the other vice presidents at the convention, went on to be elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and served as the ranking Republican on judiciary during impeachment. Tell us a little bit about Ed.

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Yes, an interesting story. He and I took the same course in social legislation at the University of Michigan, and the professor teaching it would raise a question and ask Ed for the answer and ask me for the answer, then tell the students the real answer was somewhere in between. But Ed and I got to become very good friends. We had one of our Con Con reunions and I said as time went on I told that story. I said I came to realize that once in a while it might have been that Ed was right and even more rarely that I was wrong. Well, people cracked up and I remembered after one of the Con Con reunions he came over to the house here in East Lansing and we had a very pleasant time. Now during the time when he was senator, he was in that group that said that Williams was going to be defeated, don't ok any Democrats. He was on the committee on confirmation. I don't say he voted against me, but he didn't really push for me. But he would after about three and a half years go along and let it through. So, Ed was a very honest conservative. He was from, I think, Allegan county, and he was a very straight arrow. He came by his feelings very strongly and he and I, we could talk to each other. We didn't convince each other, but we listened.

Bob:

And that leaves us with George Romney.

Tom:

Well, George is a fascinating person. There was supposed to be an oral history done on him, and I offered to, but we thought somebody who knew him better would be better. I've never learned too much about the impact of his being driven out of the United States, his family. You know, the Mormons were driven into Mexico, and I think that must have had a tremendous impact on

him. You can imagine yourself being driven out of your home and going to a country that had a different language and culture. And I'll never know, in fact, if I'd done the oral history on him, I'd have asked that.

Well, I think there are two things George Romney did that were tremendous. The one was he came out against the gas guzzler and had the small car and he had a little dinosaur on his lapel. The second thing was he said he was brainwashed on Viet Nam. That may have knocked him out of the chance to be president. I don't think he would have made president, but what's really amazing to me is that here's George Romney, high school, no college, went to Viet Nam. He first recognized he was brainwashed, then he had the guts to say he was. And I think that took a tremendous amount of courage because I think he knew that that wouldn't be -- I mean as politically astute as he was, it wouldn't be politically popular. In fact, I was looking at the McNamara mea culpa book. I looked in the index and Romney isn't even mentioned. Well, there was McNamara, was it a Harvard or Yale graduate, one of the best and the brightest, one of the wise men advising Johnson, and it took him 25 years to realize what George Romney realized right away. I think, in fact, some of this populism going on in the country of supporting Gingrich and Armey who were not graduates of Harvard or Yale; but of some backwater college graduates are the best and the brightest. I think there's a mood in the country that maybe the George Romneys and the Gus Scholles had better political insights than the McNamaras and so on. So, I think those two things George

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Romney should be given a lot of credit for. He probably was the most active person that had supported Con Con. I think he felt bad that he didn't get to be elected president because he had had the most credentials supporting Con Con. However, I think as a president of Con Con, he would not have kept things glued together the way Steve Nesbit did. I think he would be the CEO wanting to get things to move his way. Now, the main criticisms I had of George Romney were two. One was he failed to support one person, one vote, even though he was strong for civil rights, and he had a good record, but to me was a very basic civil right on apportionment that you are very familiar with that it takes six votes from Detroit Democrats to equal one Republican out state voter. I think that's a basic violation of civil rights. Granted, it has a political impact. But, George Romney would not go along on one person, one vote. In fact, I was very disappointed. The other problem I had, and it may have been my fault as much as anything, is George would not listen. Now, I think of other people like, well, Steve Nesbit, Ed Hutchinson, or D. Hale Brake, we all had very congenial conversations. We may not have convinced each other. Bob Danhof. Well, you've been on panels where Bob Danhof and Glenn Allen and I've been and they were Con Con delegates later on Governor Romney's staff and Court of Appeals judges. We all on a personal level got along. But, I think George would make up his mind and that was it. Now, I remember a couple of instances, one that Adelaide Hart was the caucus chair. We called her the den mother, a very wonderful person. She taught music at Jefferson School which is in the ghetto area. And

George said to her once, 'Well, all you need to do is get the family around the piano.' Well, many of her students, she said, didn't have parents, let alone a piano. She kind of shook her finger at George and said, 'Well, you just don't know what's going on.' Well, there was just that inability to listen. I know one time he said, 'Well, I was just a special interest CIO.' And I said, 'Look, we have a pretty good record on civil rights, ecology, education.' So that he had that inability to listen. Now, I know with Mennen Williams, Adelaide Hart -- she was really something else -- she in her school teacher fashion would shake her finger and say, 'Governor, your staff didn't tell you what's going on. They got you cotton bandaged. I want to tell you what's happening.' And Mennen Williams would listen to her. Now, I don't know if George Romney had anyone that did that with him. Now, I think often when George Romney made his decisions like the gas guzzlers and on Viet Nam, he made the right decision and charged right ahead. But, I got the feeling he had great difficulty in listening to other people. Maybe I was the one, I may have been abrasive and he knew where I was coming from on apportionment and for some reason he was convinced his way was the way to apportion Michigan. Kind of equate people with so many acres. Later on the U.S. Supreme Court said we were right. In Con Con I often said we ought to quit offering people an unconstitutional constitution because there was not one person, one vote. That statement always kind of got under his skin, but it turned out the U.S. Supreme Court agreed with me.

Tom:

Bob: Tom, as the Democratic leader in Con Con, did you know from the 'get-go' that Romney would challenge Swainson in '62?

I don't know, and I would say if he built citizens for Michigan to become governor, I see nothing wrong with that. The one indication was, we were talking about income tax. Well, Williams had tried to get it through. Swainson had tried to get it through. One of the disasters of the Williams administration, which I didn't agree with, was having the payless payday in the hopes of getting an income tax. Well, that boomeranged. But, what was happening was Romney was coming out in the Con Con for a constitutional income tax, not graduated. I think it was several of the delegates said, 'well, if you want an income tax, why don't you go across the street and get a few Republicans to vote for it in the legislature?' And he would not go to the legislature. Well, that gave me an indication that he was more interested in the concept if he were governor than he was in getting it done because I think he could have walked across the street and got enough Republicans to go for a state income tax. So, that was an indication, but I emphasize that if he wanted to use Con Con as a springboard to be governor, I see nothing wrong with that. Ed Hutchinson used it as a springboard to get to Congress. My good friend, Bill Ford, to get to state senate, and Daisy Elliott to the state legislature. So, I see nothing wrong. The only thing I would be critical of is his primary concern was the income tax to help Michigan. He could have walked across the street to the state legislature and got enough Republican votes to have an income tax.

appointed? The Pollack approach was, as I sarcastically said, to get the voters the choice of three from Civil Service, to be governor. Then the governor would appoint all others. It was a little exaggeration, but there was that conflict really not the Democrat-Republican so much as they called themselves the 'county gang' the D. Hale Brake, rural area, as opposed to the George Romney suburban one. Now, D. Hale Brake won out but it was partly because of the apportionment that the urban areas that Romney was with didn't have the representation based on apportionment. the supporters of D. Hale Brake and Ed Hutchinson were overrepresented because of apportionment. Brake and Hutchinson maintained county government. Township government was written into the constitution.

Bob: Tom, is there any sections of the constitution that you can turn to and say, 'well, that's the Tom Downs influence?'

Tom: I've got three. One of them was, you may know there are recorded votes in committee. Now, that happened -- I'd be talking to legislators -- maybe 9 on a committee said, 'Tom, I'm with you.' They'd vote secretly. Know how many votes I'd get? Maybe three. Each one said, 'Well, I did.' So I got that part in and then the other one was on the confirmation that in 60 days, if you aren't rejected, you're in. And I think that gives a little stability. I could stand waiting three and a half years, but if it would mean a term or within the agency, a guy wanders in or out. Then I did work with Gil Wanger on the one against capital punishment. But I'd say the two I can put my finger on are the recorded roll call vote and the 60 day provision. Another provision Ed Hutchinson and I

got in was in Art. 2, Sec. 8 that permitted a referendum provision to be changed by 3/4 vote. The 3/4 was to prevent a partisan change. This helped correct a technical error in the bottle bill referendum.

Bob: Tom, let me ask you of some observations on some of the individual delegates -- Bill Marshall.

Yes. Bill, I liked. Bill shot from the hips, but the one time he was vice president of the AFL-CIO, and one time John Martin who was a Rhodes scholar who was up speaking. John was a kind of a very, you know, 'prissy' is a wrong word, but very, you know, well dressed, and so on. Bill got up and said, 'I'm a Rhodes (roads) scholar, too, but I've driven on every one of them.' Well, Bill had a good sense of humor. He shot from the hips. I was very fond of Bill. He had a real good guts reaction to things.

Bob: Con Con delegate was the first post that Coleman Young ever got elected to. Tell us about Coleman.

Tom: Yes, this is very interesting, that Coleman Young was in the fight in the Wayne County Council. He was in the left wing. Now, I'm not saying he was a member of the Communist Party because the left wing they had, well, they had control of it. If everyone there had been a Communist, well they would have had the overall majority. Well, Coleman ran for Con Con. I think the Detroit News, in particular, said he was a Communist and said he shouldn't be elected. Well, there are not many people in his district that read the Detroit News, let alone follow it politically. Well, he got elected. Then the Democratic Party called the first meeting of the Democratic delegates. Adelaide Hart chaired it

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because she was Democratic vice chairman. They didn't include inviting Coleman Young because of this left attack on him. Well, Bob Millinder was one of the leading Black activists really was for integration. He was a very good friend of Gus and mine, tremendous person. He called Gus to say, 'Well, Coleman wanted to be at the meeting.' And I said, 'Well, why not?' Called Adelaide Hart and said, 'what about it?' She said, 'Were you elected?' 'Yes' 'Well, am I not going to second guess what the people in your district did? Of course, you come.' So, the meeting is held. Adelaide had talked to me about it before hand. So, Coleman's there. so the first motion is made, 'I move that every Democrat that was elected be welcomed as long as they act like Democrats.' Adelaide said, 'Motion made, seconded, and passed.' She didn't even have a vote on it, and Coleman Young played a very positive role in Con Con. He did a very good job, attended all the meetings, and it was very constructive. I think that was the start of his revitalization.

Bob: Any other delegates stand out in your mind? How about John Hannah?

Tom: John Hannah was a very good delegate. John Hannah's strength was as an administrator, not the legislative process. He sat right next to me and had the kind of humor that if a professor would get up to talk and he would nudge me and look at his watch and say, 'Well, there goes 45 minutes. That's the length of a class.' He was usually right. But John Hannah had a tremendous loyalty to the state of Michigan, and particularly MSU. He got MSU equated with the U of M. The 1908 constitution talked about

Bob:

the university, the U of M. Well, that was nonsense when John Hannah was there. So, he was a very good delegate. We did, in debating on the adoption of the Con Con we had one meeting kind of interesting. See, he came out for the Republican malapportionment plan, and I was on a debate and quoted him in Mississippi where he was the head of the Civil Rights commission saying that lack of apportionment was a problem in Mississippi and I said, 'John, I think your liberalism is the square of the distance you're away from home.' Well, he kind of was offended at that, but John was a very good delegate and excellent president, and I think he's the one person who could have been elected governor or U.S. senator, but his heart was with MSU.

Bob: Well, as it turned out, the voters of the state of Michigan adopted the '63 constitution by a very narrow margin.

Tom: Yes.

Bob: There may have even been a recount.

Tom: There was.

Yes, and I was not enthusiastic about that one. We'd had a meeting, Gus Scholle and I, and I think it was Roy Reuther and somebody Quayle, one of these great pollsters -- said he should turn around and support it. Well, Gus was adamant on, see, what happened on apportionment, Ted Sachs felt, and I think at that time he was right, that if we voted for any change from one man, one vote, or one person, one vote, the U.S. Supreme Court might say, 'Well, you've got a constitutional right to give away your birth right.' On the other hand, Bob Danhof and I have talked about this very candidly. The Republicans felt if there was any giving Detroit

would have taken over the state of Michigan. Well, you've heard Bob and me on panels and we were both wrong that the population shift after Con Con was from Detroit to Kent county and western Michigan. The U.S. Supreme Court decided they didn't care what the state's legislators had done, they stuck with the one person, one vote. So, we were both wrong on that.

Bob: And your old friend, Joe Kowalski, got elected as Speaker in that election. Tell us about Joe.

Tom:

Well, Joe was an amazing person. I think I told you I was his deputy on the old WPA workers service. Joe had a real feeling for people. He couldn't write well at all. I had to do all his writing. Then when he was Speaker he had Dick Miller do his writing for him. Now, Joe had a guts feeling for things. I helped do the maneuvering to getting the votes to be Speaker. He was an excellent Speaker. People thought of him as a Polish Catholic. When he appointed committee assignments he got more Blacks chair of committees than had ever been done before. The ones that were short changed were women when we elected those 21 at large. Joe did a very good job. One thing he did in particular. He never got credit for it. There was always a concern of the power of lobbyists. Well, he got the Ford Foundation to give money to hire people to do staff work. Some of them are still around. Phil Frangos was one. So there are a lot of people who started that way, and Joe did a tremendous job that way. I remember in those days if you wanted to know what was in a bill John Lovett would say. 'Well, Tom, don't ask them. Ask me. I put the bills in.' And at that time the Democratic senators had a total of four staff people.

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And the Republicans and Democrats in the House didn't have their own offices. So you could see a person a half hour after the session closed at his desk. Well, my good friend, John Lovett, if he would see somebody talking to Gus he'd go to the fellow and say, 'Look, saw you talking to Gus Scholle. I don't think the boys back home would like that.' That was one warning. The second time, sure enough the boys back home heard about it. Gus said that talking to a legislator was like telling a guy to come around to a house of prostitution or something. But, Joe opened up the legislative process. Now, maybe it was over done, but he got the technical staff, so legislators could rely on their staff people rather than on the lobbyists. That's never been brought out sufficiently.

Bob: Tom, in 1966, George Romney swept a victory over Zolton Ferency and brought back almost, well brought in a 55-55 tie in the state house. Give us the story of what happened to E.D. O'Brien.

Tom: Well, E.D. O'Brien, I guess, got a trip down to the Caribbean, and Joe had been very sympathetic to E.D. O'Brien, hurt Joe. Joe had this massive, his office was down graded, I don't know, it was a massive heart attack. He never recovered. In fact, he got his workers comp on the basis that it was not more work, it was less work. You might talk to Bob Waldron about this. I don't want to do the gossip, but I think when O'Brien wanted the second trip, he didn't get the second trip.

Bob: So, he abstained and Bob Waldron became the Speaker.

Tom: Yes. Bob and Joe were good friends. Bob Waldon did a good job. I mean I am not critical of Bob. He did a very good job. I think that, well, I'm disappointed in E.D. O'Brien.

Bob: After Gus Scholle retired, you began looking at the private sector and went into private law practice. Your principal area of activity besides doing legislative work was also in the area of election law, and I remember first hearing about you, Tom, as the person who basically was involved in the longest running recount

campaign in American history in New Hampshire between Wyman and Dirken. Any other recount campaigns?

Tom: Well, I think a lot of fascinating ones -- was the one in Oregon with Wayne Morris. It was about 3:00 in the morning. We knew we lost. We were talking just like you and I are, and I said, 'Well, Senator, what do you need to be a senator? Do you need to be a lawyer?' He said, 'No, no, you need someone that wants to be elected but doesn't have to be elected.' And I thought of that more and more, that I'd say Governors Milliken, Williams, Phil Hart, Pat McNamara, wanted to be elected, but they didn't have to be. You and I can name some that have to be elected and put that first.

Another interesting one was in Nevada on the recount there. Let's see, the fellow, oh, I'm trying to think of the very conservative senator from there...

Bob: McCarran?

Tom: McCarran. And I made some crack about McCarran. This fellow was the head of ADA, the liberal Democrats. Said, well, don't talk about him that way. Said, well, how come? Well, what he'd done, see, Nevada didn't have a law school. He wanted to be a lawyer. His daddy said, 'You go down to Senator McCarran's office. Sit there until you see him, and tell him you want to be a

Tom:

lawyer. He did. So McCarran said, 'Fine, you're from Nevada.' Then he got him a job running elevators. You've seen those elevators that are kind of hidden away and lost. Bobby Baker made the assignment of elevators, so assigned him to one where he ran the elevator and could study all day. Then they'd come back and McCarran would get his people appointed as county prosecutors. Now, in Nevada a county prosecutor is a pretty big thing. So, that was really the basis, I think, for the machine was not his conservative approach. I was on a possible recount for East in North Carolina, Jesse Helms' protégé, and, you know, you get to know a lot of things when you go in on a recount. It got around that he shouldn't have got any votes in the Black community because of his racial position. He got a big chunk because the tobacco industry hired a lot of African Americans at good wages. So I think Jesse Helms' base is not necessarily his right wing thinking as it is the tobacco industry and the jobs that come out of it. So there are fascinating recounts, a lot of them.

Bob: A couple of other things I want to talk to you about relate to your involvement in trying to stop the Lyndon LaRouche faction from taking over some Democratic party activities.

Lyndon LaRouche, you may know as a real, well, shall I say, nut. He'd been a Socialist, a Trotskyite, so he wanted to invade the Democratic party, and sure enough they ran against incumbents -- John Dingell, Levin, thousands of excess petitions, and people, most of them gave up, not John Dingell. He's a tiger. He wanted me to check it out, so I got, you know, Dennis Gilliland, the statistician at MSU. We went over the signatures,

where they were, and they could not physically have been done because you would have had to have a person get maybe a thousand the same day in Flint, Grand Rapids, Detroit, Traverse City. So, we did some checking and found out what happened. LaRouche had his person that was an attorney from Flint that ran for U.S. Senator. I forget his name. He'd go into a shopping mall, and they'd have ten LaRouches from maybe Chicago and New York. They'd go around, I mean they really were effective. They'd say, 'Sign here to lower your taxes.' So then this fellow from Flint would sign saying they'd been done in his presence. Well, we got a subpoena and Bransdorfer, the former state bar president, Republican, and Mike Pyne, Democrat, were two key members on the state Board of Canvassers. They didn't want people monkeying around with the election laws. That would have helped the Republicans to have LaRouche on. It just would have made confusion. Bransdorfer didn't want the laws used that way. So, we had the hearing. I remember the one part. It was Bill Ford's secretary had the petition and I asked this fellow from Flint, 'Can you see it being signed?' It was twenty feet away. He said, 'Oh, yes.' I said, now, and I didn't coach her, I said, 'What did you have?' He said, 'a ballpoint pen, but it wasn't open.' Well, they took the position there was some presumption of irregularity instead of regularity. LaRouche went into federal court before Judge Horace Gillmore and appealed to the Court of Appeals, LaRouche lost in both courts.

Bob: Tom, I've got a couple of personal questions I want to ask you. One thing that a lot of people don't know about Tom Downs is that you're a clown. Tell us how you got into clowning.

Tom: Well, somebody said, 'Who's that clown that thinks he's a lawyer -- that lawyer that thinks he's a clown?' Well, my wife got me into it. She was working with a North Lansing group. I've enjoyed it a lot. I just did one last week. One of the secretaries, her 7 year-old twins were having a party. I do the young kids. I like them a lot.

Bob: Some of the other activities you've been involved in, and I know personally you teach at Cooley Law School, a legislation class and an election law class. But another area that you've done some extensive activity in is travel. Tell us about some of your world travels.

Tom: I've learned a lot on that one. I took my 15 year-old grandson down to the Amazon Basin in Equador. We spent two weeks with a tribe. The contact was a son of a missionary. He went to MSU, and MSU wasn't ready for him. He married into the tribe. Here were people who had no shoes, no written language, no radio, no television, no alarm clocks, and no refrigerators. Well, the babies were breast fed on demand, and if a kid was fussing about something the nearest adult would pick it up and jiggle it. In fact, my 15 year-old grandson would see a kid fuss, pick it up, jiggle it, and it'd be all right. Then you talk about bonding. The mothers would have the baby bare to their body with kind of a cloth around it, and they'd be fishing with the baby right there. Well, what amazed me was here the latest thing in Dr.

Bob:

Spock and all -- demand feeding, breast feeding, bond -- well, here were these people with no education, and I think the child for the first year, if he/she didn't get a disease were probably better off than in the United States. I didn't see any children crying there. They didn't have to wait to be cared for. Mothers in the United States at one time were told you have to wait to feed the kid every four hours and get in the habit of waiting because it will get him used to waiting in line for unemployment comp or whatever.

Bob: Tom, one of your future plans, I know, is to take one or more of your grandchildren on the Silk Route.

Tom: Yes. Well, I think as time has gone on -- while I was in a lot of vigorous fights -- it's more and more enjoying the family, the children, Bette, my wife, to travel with me, and the grandchildren, and just enjoy that type of thing more and more. We had a delightful week in Alaska with my 18 year-old granddaughter and her aunt, my youngest daughter. I do want to plan to do the Silk Train from Beijing to the Caspian Sea and also go again up the Amazon on a boat trip there. I am just enjoying life a lot. I want to do more and more travel. I still work at the office. I don't work nine days a week now, but I still go to the office regularly.

Tom, you've had a remarkable career and you've got a bunch of great stories that you've told us. Thanks a lot.

Tom: Ok, well, thank you, Bob.

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