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SPECIAL JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE PUBLIC UTILITIES

RE: PUBLIC)
UTILITIES HEARING)

HEARING

October 25, 1984 10:30 A.M.

State House Augusta, Maine

Reporter: Erin M. Durkin, RPR

JUN 1 3 1985

REPORTATE ASSOCIATE

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1	CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Members of the Joint Selection
2	Committee to Investigate Public Utilities, ladies and
3	gentlemen. Before we begin today's business, I want to bring
4	up my fellow members up to date on the events following our
5	hearings of October 9, 10 and 11, 1984. I am certain that we
6	were all impressed by the presentations of Chairman Bradford,
7	Commissioner Moskovitz, Vice-president Jalkut of New England
8	Telephone, President Rowe of Central Maine Power Company, Mr.
9	Libby and Mr. Foster of the Department of Audit and Mr.
ס	Larkin. The issues raised that week were of great interest
1	to us all. There was remarkable agreement among the
2	regulators, the utilities, our auditors and our outside
3	expert on several points.
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First, basic time and efforts reporting practices of Maine utilities are neither standardized nor effective in capturing company expenditures on political activities. This is understandable since the PUC has not given direction to the utilities on what activities should be reported, how it should be reported and how it should be valued.

In fact, testimony before this committee told us that in non-rate case years, the PUC did not even look at the utility filings.

Second, utilities have multiple reporting requirements to the commission on governmental ethics and election practices for contributions to the Secretary of

State for lobbying activities and to the PUC for political expenditures.

Third, the utilities and auditors call for guidance from the legislature or Public Utilities Commission to create a common understanding as to what and how they report.

Questions were raised by the witnesses and committee members regarding what kind of activities should be reported and how they should be valued. These are serious issues that we will continue to address.

During this time, our staff has continued to work on these issues, talks have commenced with the Secretary of State and the PUC to develop a preliminary basis for uniform reporting to these agencies. Staff is also working initially with New England Telephone and Central Maine Power Company to explore creating a standardized reporting system. As soon as possible the state auditors and other utilities will be brought into the process. I hope these efforts will begin to meet some of the problems raised in our hearings.

In addition, staff is obtaining information on the treatment on in-kind contributions by the Federal Election Commission. Progress in these areas will be reported as quickly as possible to the committee. I am confident that we will be able to provide a positive response to the issues raised by our hearings. The openness and cooperative spirit displayed by the utilities, the PUC and the Secretary of

State in moving to resolve these issues goes well for ratepayers of the State of Maine.

By previous order this committee shall be convened for the purposes of receiving documents from Christian P. Potholm. On October 12, 1984, I as chairman of the Joint Select Committee to Investigate Public Utilities made application to the Kennebec County Superior Court to compel obedience by Mr. Christian Potholm to two subpoenaes previously issued by this committee. One to Mr. Potholm individually and one to him in his capacity as president of Command Research.

Pursuant to Section 165-7 of Title III of the Maine Revised Statutes, Superior Court Justice Morton Brody issued an order in civil action 84-430 commanding Mr. Potholm to appear before this committee today and bring with him the documents not previously provided. Accordingly, the members of this committee have reconvened.

On September 7, 1983, the Maine Senate and House of Representatives enacted legislative joint order senate paper 643 directing that an investigation be initiated on the nature and extent of the participation of public utilities. Either directly or indirectly in political processes and activities and whether that political participation involved violations of state laws. A report and recommendation for legislative action are to be made not later of the convening

1 of the 112th Legislature.

Having been duly established by the legislative counsel, this committee has proceeded with its investigation by means of soliciting testimony and documents and writings from the public utilities in their officers, employees, and from several other individuals. Among these individuals Mr. Christian P. Potholm who is a professor of government at Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine, and also president of Command Research, a private corporation providing consulting and polling services.

On June 7, 1984, this committee issued a request for production of documents to Mr. Potholm in his individual capacity requesting all documents and writings in his possession relating to polls, opinion surveys or tracking studies which he conducted or sponsored for Maine utility companies and non-utility clients.

On June 8, 1984, this committee issued a similar request for production of documents to Mr. Potholm as president of Command Research seeking similar information.

Mr. Potholm responded to both production requests on August 27, 1984.

While he did provide several thousand documents, most of which were derived from news articles, Mr. Potholm. declined to provide those documents in his possession relating to non-utility clients which could inform this

committee on the expenditure and utilization of funds of regulated Maine utilities or lead to such information.

As a consequence, this committee duly met on September 7, 1984, and voted to issue a subpoena duces tecum to Mr. Potholm individually and another to Command Research requesting the information not previously provided. The response to both subpoenas was made on September 19, 1984. Once again Mr. Potholm refused to provide the documents requested in most of the questions posed.

Feeling continually frustrated in its efforts to obtain certain information from Mr. Potholm, the members of this committee met on October 10, 1984, and voted to apply to Superior Court according to the provisions of Section 165-7 and 423 of the Maine Revised Statutes Annotated to compel obedience to these subpoenas. Having secured an order for compliance, this committee now awaits Mr. Potholm's delivery of the documents to its staff, specifically Mr. Asch who is here present. Is Mr. Potholm in the room?

MR. RICHARDSON: You know, he is, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Mr. Potholm, would you please --

MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Chairman, my client wishes to exercise his right to submit after sworn statements to the committee and I ask that he be given that opportunity to do that in accordance with the provisions of Title III, Section

456. He is entitled to make a sworn statement, I believe, in

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the interest of attempting to focus the committee's attention on what I believe the issues are. I believe that he should be accorded that opportunity at this time.

May I also say that Mr. Potholm is here prepared to answer all questions of this committee and staff, its attorneys concerning anything that is within the scope and subject matter of this committee's investigation.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Thank you, very much, Mr.

Richardson. We'll accept Mr. Potholm's testimony and receive it before the meeting is over. But the purposes of this meeting is to receive documents.

MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Chairman, we have not been advised that there was any limited scope to the committee's inquiry. We are prepared as we have been to testify. Mr. Potholm is prepared to testify concerning any questions that have to do with the scope and subject matter of this investigation.

You, of course, Mr. Chairman, will, I guess, decide what questions are asked, but I want the record to be clear that Mr. Potholm is prepared to testify concerning his involvement with utilities.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Thank you, very much, Mr.

Richardson. Once the committee has an opportunity to review the documents supplied by Dr. Potholm, then we would be in a better position to ask questions.

CHRISTIAN P. POTHOLM, having been duly sworn by the Notary

Mr. Potholm, this committee is pleased to have you

are here today in response to the subpoenas, is that correct?

We understand you are here today in response to the

I am delighted to have the opportunity to be here.

Mr. Potholm, would you please turn over to this

study drafted or prepared in whole or in part by you for

committee at this time all documents or writings of any kind

relating or incident to any poll, opinion survey or tracking

clients other than Maine utility companies that show -- that

contain the question which measured approval or disapproval

of the person interviewed of the performance of President

For the reasons that I would like to give to the

polls, having been authorized by my clients to do so.

committee; I am prepared to turn over a large number of those

That is really not correct. I am here because I want to

I have been anxious to come here since August, and

appear before us this morning. And we understand that you

EXAMINATION-BY CHAIRMAN RALDACCI OF MR. POTHOLM:

Public, was examined and deposed as follows:

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Pardon me?

subpoenas, is that correct?

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In a number of other situations, I have not been

Ronald Reagon?

authorized by my clients; and therefore, I respectually upon

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advice of counsel am not in a position to turn over some of those polls. The distinction between those two categories is very important to me, to my clients; and I will certainly look forward to the opportunity to explaining to the committee in detail why I am producing some of the documents and not others.

Q. Excuse me. Could you explain what the basis is for that, what basis are you claiming for that?

MR. HIGGINS: May I interrupt for a minute. It seems to me that Mr. Potholm came here to give the statement, and he should be afforded the opportunity to say what he came to say which probably will answer a lot of questions that may be asked at a later date. It seems to me that any other or ever other people appearing which I have been involved with -- this is sort of a special exception. But it still seems to me that at the outset that Dr. Potholm should be given the opportunity to make the statement to the committee perhaps and move on after that.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: All right. I agree with you,
Representative Higgins, and I told Dr. Potholm he would have
an opportunity to do so.

MR. HIGGINS: Do so now.

MR. KELLEHER: If I may ask the question. Did I understand Mr. Potholm to say -- am I correct that I understood Mr. Potholm to say that he is prepared to give us

some information now because he had the consent of former 1 2 clients, but you are going to withhold other information now because your clients didn't give you the consent to do so, is 3 that what --4 5 THE WITNESS: That is correct, Mr. Kelleher. Thev have, in fact, instructed me I am under penalties of breaking 6 7 my contracts with them should I do so. And they've ordered 8 me, in fact, not to do so. 9 MR. KELLEHER: Who are they? 10 Well --THE WITNESS: 11 MR. RICHARDSON: If I may. 12 If I may ask, who are they? MR. KELLEHER: 13 Mr. Potholm. Q. 14 Is there any particular reason why I can't read my 15 statement --16 The statement if he were permitted MR. RICHARDSON: 17 to make it would answer your questions, Representative 18 Kelleher and would clarify in my opinion the whole thing. MR. HIGGINS: I will reiterate my position that he 19 20 ought to be allowed to read his statement. 21 CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Mr. Higgins, he will be allowed 22 to -- I just want to get clear on these points that were 23 raised in the subpoena, the five questions to him personally, the seven questions to him as president of Command Research, 24

and then there will be time for Dr. Potholm to make a

presentation or his testimony. I indicated that. And I don't intend not to.

MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Chairman. Can I ask a question please, as Mr. Potholm's lawyer? Should he answer Mr. Kelleher's question?

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: First --

MR. KELLEHER: My question is, and I wanted to understand correctly that Chris Potholm has got some information for us based on consent of his clients to release as he views it, and he is not presenting other information based on the fact client-privilege or I don't know what you are basing it on?

THE WITNESS: In the course of my statement, I will be reading precisely what client says and what client B says, and I will be giving you the information that you are requesting.

Q. Dr. Potholm, not yet.

MR. KELLEHER: I understand one, that you have got some information you are going to give us and others -- you have others you are not going to give us. That is as far as I am interested at this point which --

- A. I am not clear why it would not be simple to let me give my statement.
- Q. Dr. Potholm, I think there will be an opportunity for that later. The question was from the subpoena that you were

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to turn over all documents or writings of any kind relating 1 2 or incident to any poll, opinion survey or tracking study drafted or prepared in whole or in part for by any clients 3 4 other than Maine utility companies that contained a question 5 which measured the approval or disapproval of the person 6 interviewed of President Ronald Reagon. It is my understanding 7 what you have said is you are going to give some information 8 in that area, but you are not going to give everything else 9 because of a proprietary privilege, is that the claim that 10 you are making? What are you basing -- what is your claim? A. Well, again if I could just read my statement, all of 11 12 these questions would be answered, and we wouldn't have to be

Q. Dr. Potholm, I am trying to stick with the seven questions that were asked in the subpoena, and then we can jump all over the place and say anything else you would like to say at that time. I would appreciate it if you would answer the question that I asked.

jumping around from A to B to E to C to D.

MR. RICHARDSON: Are you asking for his reason for refusal for some of the materials?

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: That's correct.

MR. RICHARDSON: I would like to answer that.

Q. Dr. Potholm is asked to be here. If he would like to confer with counsel for an answer, Dr. Potholm may give it.

This is not for counsel.

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MR. RICHARDSON: You are saying that I can't indicate to the committee the legal basis for my client's

position?

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Sure, you can. What is the legal basis for your client's --

MR. RICHARDSON: The statute under which this investigation is proceeding specifically provides that the authorization creating an investigating committee shall clearly state and thereby limit the subject matter and scope of the study or investigation. No investigating committee shall exceed the limits set forth in such authorization. It is and has been my advice to Dr. Christian Potholm that the scope of this question, the questions that you have submitted to him concerning his association with non-utility clients, non-political clients, people who are totally disassociated from politics or the political process or from the public utility regulatory process, those questions are in my opinion beyond the scope and subject matter of this committee's investigation.

There are other important reasons that also bear on this. Dr. Potholm as the president of Command Research is under contractual relationships with other non-utility, non-politically related in the common sense of the word clients, and they have specifically instructed him not to violate their contractual arrangements with respect to these

polls.

He would -- and I have advised him to that end, he would be violating not only his contractual obligations to those clients, but his ethical responsibilities to them as a professional person. He has both ethical and legal responsibilities.

Now, some of his clients rather than get involved in these problems have authorized him because he wrote to them and asked them this is the situation. I now have a subpoena. I respect the process but what shall I do. And he was told by some of these including two in particular, Ad Media which apparently produced the same information months ago, he was told by Ad Media, go ahead and produce this because it has already been produced and also another client, Weil & Firth said it is already a matter of public domain. Go ahead and produce those. Those records are here. We are prepared to produce them.

So that the legal reason, the reason for my advice to Christian Potholm is as I have stated it. And in addition to that fact, no showing notwithstanding my repeated requests of your attorneys, Mr. Chairman, has ever been made -- no showing has ever been made of the pertinency of the relationship of the requested information to the subject matter and the scope of your investigation.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Thank you, Mr. Richardson and

Mr. Potholm. I would give you an explanation as is set forth in the statutes as to why the questions you were asked individually and in your capacity as president of Command Research are within the scope of this committee's review legally and also why the claim of privilege will be overruled.

The authorization for this investigating committee, legislative joint order senate paper 643 specifically sets forth in accordance with Section 412, Title III of the Maine Revised Annotated Statutes that the matters which this committee's charged to investigate specifically paragraphs 2 and 3 of the joint order as follows: The nature and extent of the participation of public utilities either directly, indirectly or through their subsidiaries, affiliates, political action committees, officers, employers or contractors in political processes and activities including both referenda campaigns and election campaigns. Whether that political participation has involved a violation by public utilities or other persons of laws relating to election, registration of voters, initiatives and referenda, campaign report or finances or political or election activities or practices.

Q. As far as the claim -- because of your contractual relationship, Dr. Potholm, with Central Maine Power Company, New England Telephone Company and Save Maine Yankee for

25 polling services and your contractual relationship with other

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clients in which political masking questions were included in polls conducted on their behalf, it is this committee's belief that you had the opportunity and did avail yourself of the opportunity to share political information between and among utility and non-utility clients and thus may have contributed to the utilities unauthorized participation in political processes. The writings sought may well shed light on these activities.

The committee is of the belief that your relationship with these several clients, many of whom may have been political candidates or committees permitted the transfer of polling information by you to them and vice-versa much of which had been or may have been originally contracted for by a regulated utility.

I therefore direct you to comply with this request for the documents as far as the scope of the investigation objection that was made. As far as the privilege, you have a propriety privilege that you have claimed. And pursuant to Section 457 of Title III of the Maine Revised Statutes

Annotated, you are to be given the benefit of any privilege which could be claimed in a court of law as a party to a civil action.

However, this committee knows of no such privilege under the statutes or rules of evidence in this state.

Accordingly, I direct you to comply with the request for the

documents.

A. Mr. Baldacci, on the advice of counsel, I am going to refuse to do that. Since this committee has no idea whom my clients non-utility are, it strikes me that it is a rather bizzare set of assumptions that you are making about who got what. Again if I could give my statement --

Q. Dr. Potholm, I have to go through each one of these so -- and at that time at the end of it to give your statement, and then I think as we go through these, you will be able to put the entire pie together.

Would you please turn over to this committee all documents or writings of any kind relating or incident to any poll, opinion survey or tracking study drafted or prepared in whole or in part by you for clients other than Maine utility companies that contained a question which measured the voting preferences of the person interviewed with the respect to the 1982 United States senatorial election?

- A. On advice of counsel, I would turn over some of the material. I will not turn over all the material.
- Q. What is the basis of that? What basis are you using for that?
- A. The same basis as the previous question.

MR. RICHARDSON: I want to add to that at some point you should understand that Dr. Potholm's statement concerning who these clients are, non-utility clients are and

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his statements under oath concerning the interrelationship

2 | which you suggest, Mr. Chairman, and for which I suggest

3 there is no evidence at all anywhere, I think that the

4 committee should understand the response to these specific

5 requests in the light of his statements under oath if he is

6 ever given an opportunity to make them.

7 Q. So the basis that you're making is what for this

8 | particular question? You're claiming it is beyond the scope

of the investigation?

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11 Q. And that you're also claiming that it is of a

A. Yes.

MR. RICHARDSON: Excuse me. As his attorney, the

reasons to every one of these requests, Mr. Chairman, is

going to be the same except as modified by the statement and

17 by the documents which he has here and is prepared to produce.

18 Q. Well, for the legal proceedings, I have to inform you as

to why it is not beyond the scope of the committee's review

and explain that to you legally. Do you need to have it read

each time?

A. No. I do not.

MR. RICHARDSON: I take it it will be the same

24 | thing you read the last time?

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Yes.

MR. RICHARDSON: You don't need to read that again. 1 2 CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: We don't have an objection to 3 I am on question 3. 4 Mr. Potholm, please turn over to this committee as 5 directed by the subpoena all documents or writings of anv 6 kind relating or incident to any poll, opinion survey or 7 tracking study drafted or prepared in whole or in part by you for clients other than Maine utilities that contained a 8 9 question which measured the approval or disapproval of the 10 person interviewed of the Maine governor, Joseph Brennan. 11 On advice of counsel, I will turn over some of these A٠ 12 I will not turn over all the documents. documents. 13 And the basis of that is? Q. 14 Same. Α. 15 That it is beyond -- what is your basis? Q. 16 MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Chairman, if we are going 17 MR. KELLEHER: May I ask a question. If you are 18 asking Mr. Potholm a question and he says the same, I would 19 ask that you ask Mr. Potholm to state the same. At least for 20 the benefit of this member of the committee for the record 21 each time you go through your specific questions. 22 CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: All right, Representative 23 Kelleher.

If we are going to do it for the

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MR. KELLEHER:

record, let's do it as properly as possible.

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- 1 Q. Your answer, Mr. Potholm?
- 2 A. On the advice of counsel, I will be giving some of these
- 3 documents. I will not not be giving the others. The reasons
- 4 | my attorney has indicated.
 - Q. Which are?

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MR. RICHARDSON: The reasons are number one --

7 CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Mr. Richardson, this is Mr.

Potholm's appearance. If he would like to confer with you to help him with the questions that are being asked, he has a

10 | right to have counsel. If Mr. Potholm would please answer

- ll the questions on your conference and he confer with you, I
- 12 | would appreciate it very much.
- 13 Q. Mr. Potholm, what is the claims that you're making as
- 14 | far as this question?
- 15 A. I am going to defer to my attorney. That is why he is
- l6 here.

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17 CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Mr. Richardson.

MR. RICHARDSON: Section 412 of Title III provides

19 | that it is unlawful for this committee to exceed the scope of

20 its investigation, and that statute is clear. And the whole

21 | statute, Title III, Section 401 in the following section is

22 predicated on that basis. It was adopted in 1973 in an

23 atmosphere which was designed to ensure that committees --.

24 | investigating committees had authority to -- at the same time

had certain guidelines. The statute is specific and clear.

1 MR. SOULE: 2

May I interrupt just a moment. telling us anything different than your previous answer as to

3 basis?

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MR. RICHARDSON: Sir, he, the chairman, has asked my client who is not a lawyer to explain the legal basis. my client, has deferred to me. I would be happy to shortcut all of this.

If you could give us an answer without MR. SOULE: all the historical background, perhaps, just as to an answer as to whether you are standing on proprietary privilege and as to whether or not you are refusing because of the inquiries are outside the scope of the investigation, I believe that would be sufficient for purposes of the record.

MR. RICHARDSON: All of the inquiries which the chairman has read to date are objectionable on the basis of Sections 412, 453, 457 and 456 or 457 rather of the Title III. And all of those issues have previously been discussed. were in court previously discussed. I have discussed them in response to an earlier request. I have no interest in repeating them over and over again unless you or another member of the committee has a question about it. But I had understood the chairman's question to require my client who is not a lawyer, that is the only thing he is not charged . with apparently, to try to give an answer to a legal question.

MR. SOULE: It is fair that you answer those

questions. If you are telling us something different, that's fine. If not, I think you could shortcut it somewhat without historical backgrounds.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: For the objections, violations

or accusations in regard to Section 412 and 457, the Chair would note that in paragraphs 2 and 3 of the joint order, it specifically points out why these questions were within the scope of the review. And as far as Section 457, it is the state of the privilege is that I would direct you to comply with the request because I know of no such privilege under the statutes or rules of evidence in this state in 454. Mr. Potholm, would you please turn over to this committee as directed by the subpoena all documents or writings of any kind relating to our incident to any poll, opinion survey or tracking study drafted or prepared in whole or in part by you for clients other than Maine utility companies that contained the question which measured the voting preferences of the person interviewed with respect to the 1982 Maine gubernatorial election.

- A. On advice of my counsel, I will be turning over to the committee some of these materials. I will not be turning over all of the materials.
- Q. And the basis for that?

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A. I will defer to my attorney for the legal basis --

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Mr. Richardson?

A. -- for my refusal.

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MR. RICHARDSON: The basis remains the same. An will remain the same, all deference to you, Mr. Chairman.

Q. Your objection to my question whether this is within the scope of the investigations, one of the objections and objection on privilege I will repeat earlier that I know of no such privilege under the statutes of rules of evidence in this state which should be claimed in the court of law or as a party to a civil action. And as far as the scope of the committee's review, specifically subparagraphs 2 and 3 of the joint order clearly point out the relevance in that these questions were within the scope of the committee's review.

MR. RICHARDSON: I as an attorney respectfully disagree with you.

- Q. Mr. Potholm, please turn over as directed by the subpoena to this committee all documents or writings of any kind relating or incident to the identity of the non-utility company clients of your opinion survey activities for political consulting activities.
- A. Upon advice of counsel, I will be turning over some of that information. I will not be turning over all of that information.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Counsel, your basis for that?

MR. RICHARDSON: Same basis as previously stated.

And I would submit the request has been made in that question

isn't even germane.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: The same response as previously given for the other questions and objections that it is within the scope, and that there is no privilege which does exist. And that has already been reiterated into the record that it is within the scope. It is repetitive, that comment.

Q. Mr. Potholm, would you please turn over as directed by this committee all documents or writings of any kind relating or incident to any debts or obligations that were or have been outstanding for over a period of 30 days and that were incurred by a federal office holder, a state office holder, a state candidate, a federal candidate, a political party, a Maine ballot question campaign or the Committee to Save Maine Yankee to you as a result of services performed by you.

- A. Upon advice of counsel, I refuse to do so.
- 16 Q. What basis would that be?

MR. RICHARDSON: I want to add an additional basis for this objection. Apparently, questionnaires had been sent to virtually every candidate for state or federal officers in the state over the past X number of years. I submit to you that it is a rather indirect way of attempting to determine whether or not an individual candidate had an obligation to Command Research that was more than 30 days old. I haven't been shown these questions, but if one might ask why you don't ask the candidates that.

My point is that Mr. Potholm on the advice of me as his attorney feels that if you really want that information, you ought to get it from the candidates who are required to make filings with the courts, who are required by election laws to indicate the accounts concerning their political campaigning activities. And it seems to us that is the place to get that.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: As far as your basis for -MR. RICHARDSON: All the other bases without
repeating.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Scope and privilege.

MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Chairman, I don't accept your definition. If we can have the record understand when I say the same objection, it is the objection that I have previously stated, and the record will indicate what that is.

Q. I understand that you're claiming three things, three objections for this particular question; one would be that it is outside the scope of the review of this particular committee, are you claiming a proprietary privilege on this particular question, Mr. Potholm?

MR. RICHARDSON: Yes.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: And also that these questions aren't germane, is that also --

MR. RICHARDSON: That the information sought is not pertinent to the subject matter and scope of the

investigation, that no satisfactory explanation has been given at any point, and I respectfully suggest to you that the explanation you have given of the claim to pertinency still doesn't meet the requirements of Section 453 of the statute, and I do not share your view of what constitutes privileged information. And I guess that Judge Brody is going to decide that if the committee after it hears Mr. Potholm's explanation of what this situation amounts to decides to apply to Judge Brody. We would --

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: We haven't gotten to that point, Mr. Richardson.

MR. RICHARDSON: I want you to understand.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: I would like to deal with Mr.

Potholm and the questions that were asked in the subpoena.

As far as the questions being asked of the political candidates, they have been asked and they have all been sent interrogatories and we have some responses. Others that are coming in. But it is very important that we ask these questions of Mr. Potholm because it is within the scope of the investigation as pointed out specifically in subparagraphs 2 and 3 of the joint order and also it is no privilege that I know of as the Section 457 points out that you — that Dr. Potholm is to be given the benefit of any privilege that would be claimed in the court of law as a party to civil action, and I find no privilege there. And I

would direct compliance as far as this particular request as
I have for the others.

MR. HIGGINS: I want to state for the record your opinion does not reflect that of everybody on the committee just for the record.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: So noted.

Q. Mr. Potholm, please turn over as directed by the subpoena to this committee all documents or writings of any kind not produced pursuant to another document request relating or incident to any solicitation, collection or donation of contributions by you on behalf of any political committee, political party, state candidate or federal candidate.

MR. RICHARDSON: Excuse me.

A. I am under the impression we have turned over to the committee everything in this category that is in our possession.

MR. SOULE: Is that your testimony here today that you have turned over everything?

MR. RICHARDSON: I want to review the request and our response to it. Listening to you read that, I am not aware -- I thought that we had answered that there were no such records, but I want to review the response before he stands on that if I may.

MR. SOULE: May I get the record clarified what

1	your testimony is, Mr. Potholm?
2	A. I believe we have complied with that portion by turning
3	over everything we had that was in that category.
4	MR. RICHARDSON: Relating to solicitations of
5	candidates and donations?
6	CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Yes, solicitations.
7	MR. RICHARDSON: Would you give my just a moment to
8	check that, because I am not aware that was a matter in issue?
9	May we have the paragraph number?
10	CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Just a second.
11	MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Chairman, would you tell me in
12	which subpoena the question appears?
13	CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: I said Estelle just went to get
14	a copy of the subpoena. We are going to take a five-minute
15	recess waiting for the documents to be reviewed so there will
16	be a five-minute break.
17	MR. RICHARDSON: May we be excused during that time?
18	CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Yes.
19	(A short break was taken.)
20	Q. Mr. Potholm, it is my understanding that your question
21	was in response to paragraph number 8 of the subpoena that
22	acknowledges that you have given everything?
23	MR. RICHARDSON: Paragraph 8 of which?
24	CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: The subpoena.
25	MR. RICHARDSON: Well, paragraph 8, Mr. Chairman of

the subpoena directed to him as president of Command Research is as we read it identical to paragraph 56 of the request for production of documents directed to Command Research. And the answer to that was if any such documents existed, they would be confidential and privileged and would lie beyond the scope of the joint committee's investigation. Without waiving this objection to this paragraph, however, Command Research voluntarily discloses that no such documents have been found. So that we have answered that question by indicating to you that with respect to the subpoena duces tecum, there are no such documents.

Q. Mr. Potholm, the question was are there any writings, documents of any kinds not produced pursuant to another document request relating or incident to any solicitations, collection or donation of contributions by you on behalf of any political committee, political party, state candidate or federal candidate. And the response on the Joint Select Committee to Investigate Public Committees response of Christian Potholm to subpoena duces tecum answer to paragraph number 8 here says, that paragraph 8 of the subpoena addressed to Christian Potholm is apparently a copy of paragraph number 39 of the request for production of documents addressed to Christian Potholm.

The request remains unintelligible to the extent this paragraph may be interpreted as seeking the identity of

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22 A. No.

Q.

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Q. Thank you very much.

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A. Well, they don't exist in my presence -- I mean in my

Do they exist?

possession. I don't know. If any existed somewhere sometime

non-utility company clients, Christian Potholm respectfully

declines to produce any such documents and incorporates by

So what you said here today isn't what is said here.

reference his response to paragraph number 1 of this subpoena.

The question is not the same as the question was before

What is your testimony today for the question that was

All documents relating or incident to the identity of

clients of opinion survey activities or political consulting

activities, we have answered that one. All documents not

produced pursuant to other document requests relating or

incident to any solicitation, collection or donation of

political party, state candidate or federal candidate.

privileged and would lie beyond the scope of the joint

this paragraph, however, Command Research voluntarily

discloses that no such documents have been found.

contributions by you on behalf of any political committee,

any such documents existed, they would be confidential and

committee's investigation. Without waiving its objection to

P. O. BOX 207, SABBADY POINT ROAD IN NORTH WINDHAM, MAINE 04062 COURTS and PEREES CEPOZEINS ESSENTED l ∥ I don't know.

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- Q. Personally or corporately do they exist?
- A. They're not in my possession. I don't have any recollection of them existing.
- 5 Q. Thank you very much, Dr. Potholm, for that question.
- 6 This is the last one that I have for you. Mr. Potholm,
- 7 | please turn over as directed by the subpoena to this
- 8 | committee all documents or writings of any kind not produced
- 9 pursuant to another document request relating or incident to
- 10 | the corporate records of Command Research. Your response?
- 11 A. On advice of counsel, I refuse to produce the corporate
- 12 records of Command Research.
- 13 | O. Basis?

- 14 A. For the reasons my attorney will give.
- MR. RICHARDSON: I want to incorporate by reference
- 16 | all of the previous statements that I have made. I see no
- 17 | reason to burden the committee or the record with those. I
- do want to indicate one additional thing, however, that I
- 19 | really have a great deal of difficulty in understanding how
- 20 the financial records of this company reflecting its dealing
- 21 | with non-utility and non-politically related activities have
- 22 anything to do with this investigation.
- 23 If this investigation were being conducted in what
- I would regard as a somewhat less adversarial situation, we
 - might be willing to permit a designated party to look at

these financial records. But given the current status of this situation, I just can't see any basis whatever why you should be permitted to paw around or why the committee should be permitted to give access to financial records that have nothing to do with the scope of this investigation.

And for that matter, the scope of the inquiry is so broad that it might get into his own personal financial records. And I just don't think that is it appropriate. And therefore I have instructed him that as his attorney, I do not believe he should produce his records.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: My response to those claims are the same also that they are within the scope of the committee's investigation, and they are also -- no claim for privilege exists. As far as the Command Research records, I think it is important to point out that these accounts may identify sources of and recipients of polling data. And it is for that reason that they are within the scope of the questions asked within the scope of review of this particular committee.

MR. RICHARDSON: I state as a fact they don't contain such information, but I guess the court is going to have to resolve that.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: You're not the witness today.

MR. RICHARDSON: Are you telling me I can't speak?

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: No, I didn't say that. I said

l you weren't the witness today.

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Q. Mr. Potholm, this committee has been patient in attempting to receive certain documents --

MR. HIGGINS: I would like to comment on the last statement that you asked. And I would again say for the record that your reaction to his failure to produce this information is not shared by every member of the committee. And I am sorry that I did not bring that point up earlier in the debate on the questioning, the cross-examining or whatever you want to call it, but I want to make it clear that all the questions at least from my standpoint your responses are not indicative of my personal position.

MR. KELLEHER: Mr. Chairman, I think that
Representative Higgins has raised an interesting point in
regards to the position of the committee as he sees it in
your statements on behalf of the committee in response to the
various questions that were raised here today. And I
appreciate it. I for one think that you are speaking for the
committee, and I respectfully ask you to poll us, to poll us
now to see if we are in agreement or disagreement with your
answers to the question that was raised -- your answer to the
answer of Mr. Potholm in regards to privilege in not
submitting all the information as he has.

So I think in fairness to each one of us in the committee that you would poll us. Mr. Higgins has stated his

opinion that he doesn't necessarily agree with it. And I have stated mine that I have. So I would ask that you poll whatever is here, whomever is here in regards to -- in regards to your opinion on behalf of the committee in response to the questions. So if we have got a clerk here that can do that, I would ask that the clerk does it.

MS. SEWALL: If we are going to get into polling and deciding who is going to respond to one legal question and another, I think the minority ought to at least have our counsel here. I know that you could set this date so that majority could have all kinds of counsel here today and you know that we don't have any. And if we are going to get into questions of law of how we think those questions are asked, as a member of this committee and as a matter of personal privilege to me, I would like to consult my minority counsel if we are going to get into deciding if the questions are properly written or not.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Representative Kelleher.

MR. KELLEHER: As just a plain old lay member of committee who has absolutely no background and training whatsoever, I certainly understood, and I am sure that the honorable senator from Damariscotta, too, understands that Mr. Higgins rightfully stated on his behalf that he doesn't agree with your position in regards to responding to Mr.

Potholm's position on answering questions. And I respect his

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as I know Lin Higgins would respect mine.

I don't think anyone -- any of us have to confer with legal counsel to say yes or no that we agree with the Chair's responses, and I would respectfully ask so that there will be no doubt on any record wherever that should go or requested from where Mr. Kelleher stands in regards to the Chair's position as he so stated, and I think that Mr. Higgins has so stated that he disagrees. And I would like to have it for the record show whether the majority or -whether you have the support of the committee in your position. And if you don't, you will have to back off. if you do, you can proceed on.

MS. SEWALL: Mr. Chairman, I would like to say in Mr. Kelleher's absence, we did actually have a vote like that on the minority side of this, the unrepresented side today, did vote that we would like a judge to decide these matters, and that we had hoped when we went to court that these matters would be decided right then. Whether or not these things were germane to this. And that vote has already been I think you have your opinion on the record. taken.

MR. KELLEHER: Mr. Chairman, I am present here today, and I certainly appreciate the gentlelady's opinion, but I would like to go back to the point that this committee be polled in approval or disapproval of your announcement on behalf of the committee in regards to the previous statements.

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It is the feeling of the Chair CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: and appreciative comments by Representative Kelleher and noted comments by Representative Higgins, that it is the feeling of the Chair that unless otherwise moved that the decision of the Chair shall stand.

MR. KELLEHER: Fine with me. It may not be so agreeable with the other side, and I think they ought to have an opportunity to show it.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: It also should be pointed out Mr. Linnell who is the minority counsel who is to be used as minority counsel to confer and consult with minority was well aware and well briefed of this particular proceeding and what was envisioned in this particular proceeding and had his consent, and that he would not be able to be here because of a previously scheduled vacation.

Now, Mr. Potholm, I understand that you have a statement that you would like to read. Do you have a copy of it for me or members of the committee?

We'll have copies when I am finished.

MR. SOULE: Do you have copies now that we might follow while you are speaking?

MR. RICHARDSON: Yes, here is the original, and that is sworn in accordance with the statute.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Mark, why don't you see copies of that get made, and we'll have a short recess until copies 1 |

are made.

committee.

MR. RICHARDSON: I have sufficient copies of the

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Is everybody in possession of the statement of Christian P. Potholm, Thursday, October 25, 1934?

MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Chairman, I wish to point out that the original is the one that I wish incorporated in the record. It is signed in the presence of the notary public. It is a sworn statement. There are some copies that are not because — whichever one that is signed is the only one I have, and I would appreciate that being incorporated. That is the one you should be incorporating.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: The record shall reflect.

MR. RICHARDSON: The second thing I wish to indicate is that if I may — the other thing I want to indicate to having participated in committee hearings before as a member of the committee, if you have something in front of you, it is difficult to listen to the witness. And I would ask on Dr. Potholm's behalf that you would listen to what he has to say because I think in some areas, I think he can give some explanation which perhaps isn't included within the sworn statement, the written one that would be helpful to you.

. First of all, I would like to thank the committee for

giving me this opportunity to share my views with you in person. I have been willing and, in fact, anxious to testify before this committee for a very long time. And I believe that any of the adversarial relationship which has developed between myself, the investigators and some members of this committee could well have benefited from an earlier or informal, more friendly intercourse.

It would be my hope that this committee would see both my point of view with respect to the documents which I had provided, and it is very important to me that you understand why I have provided the documents I have as well as why I have not provided the documents that I have not.

I believe that I am in a position to give you a great deal of insight into the role of the utilities in Maine politics during the period 1980 to 1983. Let me make a few observations for the record.

I am not sure how this committee got to be as bipartisan as I sitting on the outside think it has become. I was under the impression that this committee was going to be bipartisan in terms of looking at the whole scope of utility activity.

With regard to Atlantic Research where I would like to begin my statement, Atlantic Research was formed with the intent of providing Central Maine Power with an ongoing supply of reliable and readily available polling data at a

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lower cost than was then commercially available. In the corporate reorganization which would have accompanied the formation of Maine industries, Atlantic Research was to become a profit center, one which would accept clients from within the state and outside the state.

It is very important that this committee recognize that at least from my prospective, Atlantic Research was not designed to assist one group or one party or one point of view. In fact, it was to be a polling firm open to all. And I stress all because I think somewhere in the discussions of Atlantic Research, this dimension has been lost.

Atlantic Research was from its inception a non-partisan activity. I can only speak of those conversations which I had with prospective clients but such prospective clients as Arkansas Power & Light, commissioner of business regulation, Harvey DeVane and John O'Leary and John Kerry. In fact, I feel very strongly that Skip Thurlow's willingness to have Atlantic Research engage in a discussion about doing polling for John Kerry who was at least in Skip's mind both anti-nuclear and anti-utility clearly to me underscores the non-partisan nature of Atlantic Research.

In addition to the non-partisan search for clients,
Atlantic Research never allowed its so-called infrastructure,
its computer, its memory banks, all of that paraphernalia

that has been referred to in the press. To my knowledge,

this was never offered or utilized by either the Republicans

or the Democratic party at the state level or at the national

level. And, in fact, to my knowledge, there was no

discussion of ever having Atlantic Research used in this what

would have been partisan way for either the Republicans or

the Democrats.

A second major point has to deal really with the philosophical underpinnings of both this committee and my relationship to the world of politics that I know. I have no idea what the committee's ultimate decision may be with regard to further regulation. In my opinion, the utilities of Maine had every right to generate the polling data they did. And how anybody could or would want to assume that the utilities of Maine did not want to know who the next governor was going to be or who the next United States senator was going to be is just simply not clear to them.

If you look at the world of politics and you look at the importance of a George Mitchell on the Finance Committee or a Bill Cohen on the Armed Services Committee or any other number of permutations, for the largest utilities in the state not to want to know that kind of information is just not clear to me.

So philosophically, I think that like any other corporation the utilities had every right to generate the

polling data they did and to utilize that data in any way they saw fit.

Now, I recognize not the whole committee may feel that way. But I believe that the opinions of Maine people as generated by the survey research were very important to the runnings of those utilities. And it seems obvious to me that any client takes a poll with the intent of using that information. And I again — this is from a philosophical point of view, not to rewrite history but how and when a client chooses to utilize its polling data it seems to me is a matter for the client to decide.

Central Maine Power undertook an educational program that improved the public's perception of that company. New England Telephone discovered that certain segments of the Maine population wanted, in fact, to receive different kinds and newer kinds of equipment. Why these companies should be expected to burry that information or not use it is beyond me.

Certainly utilities were at the heart of the political process during the three referenda under review.

Save Maine Yankee I, the elected PUC in 1981 and Save Maine Yankee II in 1982 were critical to the future of those companies as they perceived it. So naturally, they got involved in the referenda, and naturally they worked hard to utilize their polling data to defend their position.

Maine utilities wanted the support of major

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political figures in this state. They tried to get the support of many of those political leaders. CMP and New England Telephone to my knowledge actively sought the support of political candidates from both parties. On those issues which effected the future ability of that function and in terms of what the various referenda were trying to do, A, shut down Maine Yankee and B, put the PUC out of business.

Now, when it comes to this relationship between the utilities and the public figures, I believe from a philosophical as well as a practical point that the utilities had every right to utilize the data they collected in order to gain the support from those political people for their position.

And I think if you are honest about the Maine political landscape during this period, 1980 to 1983, there is no question but that Democrats were more important to the successful outcome than Republicans.

And as I had indicated in August, and I believe as recently as last Friday, Governor Brennan has suggested as well, Governor Brennan was the central figure in the political dramas known as Maine Yankee and the elected PUC.

Just as other institutions, other companies, other individuals tried to get the Governor to see things their way, just as other corporations and individuals and institutions wants its support, so the utilities sought his help and made

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sure that he and his administration got the information necessary to encourage him to do so. It is a painful but nevertheless practical point that I would make that most major Republican figures were already on the side of the utilities in the referenda of 1931 and '82, and frankly many were perceived as being irrelevant to the outcome. The utilities simply took the Republicans for granted.

Now, when it comes to the central role of Governor Brennan, again I say so not in any partisan sense because I believe Governor Brennan did not want to shut down Maine Yankee, and he certainly didn't want Bruce Reed to be the chairman of the PUC. So I believe that Governor Brennan had every right to want to know where he stood with the electorate, how his performance could effect the outcome of these referenda to which he was interested in. And there was in my judgment absolutely nothing wrong with his participation in any of these referenda or in the utilities interest in securing that participation.

A simple commonality of interest prevailed, and I can't think of any better example than the elected PUC activity in 1981. I have no idea to what extent you have gotten into that or will get into it. Clearly there was a commonality of interest to it. In my judgment I don't know whether the telephone company went to Brennan or whether

of those two parties to defeat Bruce Reed was indeed central to the outcome.

And if I might say so with regards to 1982, it is my professional judgment based on the polling that we saw in the spring of 1982 that if the Governor had not wanted to keep Maine Yankee open in 1982, his position might well have reversed the outcome of that referenda. I say this by way of background to indicate the extent to which philosophically I believe the utilities had a right to use their polling data. And the political figures, whoever they are and whoever they were had every right to utilize the information in order to make up their minds one way or the other.

Now, when we come to this question of the value of polling data, I think this is a very tricky concept, and it is one that I would have the committee at least pause and think about before you rush to judgment in one way or another. I frankly don't know what the candidates and the office holders and the other political figures who were exposed to the polling data, I don't know how they treated those. I would assume though that most of them in a common sensical way made the assumption that the polling data they received was only of marginal importance to their particular race.

Now, while the price of a poll is pretty clear to the client who pays the price, if I say I will do a poll for this committee and I charge you \$20,000 for that, that is

pretty clear. But by the time some or all of you give the information, second and third or fourthhand, it is very difficult to put any kind of an objective value on it. And indeed, much of the relevance of a particular poll's data really depends on how old it is and how many other people have, in fact, seen it, that there isn't at least in my judgment a common sensical standard that we could apply to polling data as it ages, as it goes over time.

And again, if we could just take a step back. I am not here to try to make a lot of debating points, but I do think it is important that the committee take a step back and look at the common sensical examples that we know occurred.

I think of two people that were in the audience of Maine Yankee that I briefed, John Chapman who is a Republican and John Kerry who is a Democrat. Both of the them were in an audience during something called a briefing. I can't imagine if either of them thought that briefing had any relevance for their particular senatorial campaign. If they did, I can't imagine how the two of them would agree on what the value was of that briefing. Even if John Chapman and John Kerry could agree on the value of the particular polling, I am not sure how value could be arrived at that a third party would agree to whatever value they put on it.

Or take the case of -- I think the most significant transfer in terms of the actual physical poll, both Governor

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Brennan and Charles Cragin during 1982 received the same material and both apparently saw no reason to put any value on it with regard to their campaign. Governor Brennan has stated he already had the information. It was nothing knew to him. He didn't need it.

Charles Cragin after going door to door for 15 hours a day might not, in fact, have appreciated being told that his task was impossible and that he was 25 points behind. But in any case, I would say that those candidates would have had a very hard time putting a value on the polling data that he got from New England Telephone.

And if I may ask to look at this period from 1980 to 1983, and I am in a position to say, well, some people got this and some people got that, I would be very hard pressed if I were a neutral third party to put some kind of value on the polling data that these various people got.

So speaking now if I could as a professor of government, I understand the committee may want to recommend to the legislature some way of dealing with in-kind contributions and record keeping. But with regard to polling, I think there is an almost insurmountable difficulty in assigning truly meaningful, quote, values, unquote, to information transferred.

Now, with regard to Command Research and its utility clients. I have turned over over 13,000 pages to

this committee. I have heard second and thirdhand that for some reason, the investigator thought interest was a great deal of material that was irrelevant. I would submit that I only gave to the committee the material that I was asked for, and I maintain very steadfastly that the material that was turned over to the committee was material that I received from Central Maine Power, New England Telephone and Maine Yankee.

With regard to Command Research and its non-utility polls which I understand is one of the reasons we are here today, many of the recent accounts over our difference, that is the position of Command Research. And the position of the investigators and the position of the committee, I think are a central issue which I would like to address.

After turning over all the polls that we had been involved in for Atlantic Research and CMP and New England Telephone, we did not turn over the polls of our non-utility clients because we felt they were beyond the scope of this committee. It may be at some future point that a judge will say they are within the scope of this committee. But I can't stress too strongly my fervent belief that we have acted here simply because those polls that are in my possession do not belong to me. They are the private property of the clients who commissioned them.

And again, with all of the desire to do whatever

you want to do to me and Command Research and everything else, I would ask you to focus on that for a second because it is not something that I made up on the spur of the moment after I received the inquiries from the committee. This is something that is not only standard operating procedure for Command Research, but it is, in fact, the code of ethics for the entire polling community. And I would just ask your indulgence to read a simple sentence from the Code of Professional Ethics and Practice of the American Association of Public Opinion Research which states: We shall hold confidential all information about the client's general business affairs and about the findings of research conducted for the clients except when the dissemination of such information is expressly authorized.

The data that our firm collects is expressly the property of the client and not the research firm. The client authorizes us to release data, no one else. The copies of those polls that this committee has asked for are simply not my property. To have given away somebody else's property would have violated my contracts with them because the contracts clearly state that the polls belong to them. It would have violated the ethics of the profession, and quite frankly would against my personal sense of what is right and wrong.

Now, this question of private property is a vital

one, and maybe it is wrong that you can't decide. Maybe it has to be decided by the court, and it will obviously be decided by the court in the committee decision that we turn over these polls which our clients have specifically told us not to do.

I just can't tell you how troubled and how anxious and how upset this part of the process has been because this committee rightly or wrongly or whatever reason has put me in a position where I am liable for legal action if I do one thing, and I am liable for legal action if I do another.

And I can't tell you how upset it has made me that I can't abide by the ethics of my profession and not have to be dragged to court once or twice or however many times.

This is a personal matter of great concern to me, and indeed I believe the future of Command Research or any other polling firm depends upon the sanctity of this private property.

At the same time, since my objections to this whole turning over of private property that is not mine, I believe, is based on a sound set of principals and not on any desire to instructions. I am not trying to hold back the work of this committee. I asked Mark Asch when -- the first time I met him, I said why didn't you come to me in February or March far from wanting to impede the process of this committee, I would like to assist it in moving forward. In the process, I hope I have dispelled some of the

misperceptions that seem to be brought.

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But having been told that I must turn over these materials, I took the step of formally contacting every person whose poll was in my possession, and I formally contacted each person for whom Command Research did a poll between 1930 and 1983. Command Research did no polling or other consulting activities for the utilities or utility related clients in 1984. Several clients responding to my position wrote me the following letters which will be handed and made part of the record. I won't read them all -- the whole thing to you, but Weil & Firth, in the person of Gordon Weil wrote thank you for your letter of October 11 and for you having held this private property survey materials prepared for us until you could ask us if we would agree to make it public. It goes on to describe all the things we have done. I appreciate your appropriate concern in not agreeing, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera. To the extent that I am informed about the investigation, I do not believe these materials would be relevant to it.

Nevertheless, it goes on to say that because these materials are already in the public domain as a result of being part of the public record and because the survey was conducted by me in the expression of interest of Maine people, consequently I have no objection to you turning over

materials you may have concerning the survey to the special

legislative committee on utilities. So I am in the process today of turning over to you all of the material relating to Weil & Firth.

The second client who responded in the positive fashion is Ad Media. It says Dear Chris, thank you for your letter dated October 11, 1984. Re: The polling information gathered for us during October, 1983, March, 1983, May, 1983, and June, 1983. I really appreciate the very ethical posture you have taken with the special legislative committee on utilities in order to protect those private properties of Ad Media and the client for whom we serve.

However, we have already made this information available to the committee via our response to their June, 1984, request. I am sure all this hassle has impacted your time to no end, and we really appreciate the professional manner which you have conducted yourself in relation to the materials contracted for by Ad Media.

It is not my place to engage in any kind of debate with the investigators of this committee. I do find it rather strange that I am dragged into court to provide four or five polls that have been turned over to the committee in July of this year. I find the whole relationship of the investigation as to how Command Research has been treated with regard to how other people have been treated as bordering on the bizarre, but I don't want to deflect our

discussions today by getting into those kinds of things.

Q. Mr. Potholm --

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A. The people who have authorized me to turn over the material, I am very happy to turn it over to the committee today. The other five clients whose polls I have in my possession, none of whom are either political figures nor in any way related to the utilities have asked me and, in fact, in several cases specifically demanded that I not turn over their polls. I cannot therefore do so in good conscience, and I hope the committee as a whole will decide to respect the wishes of these clients with regard to their private property.

With respect to these non-utility clients, I believe it would be ethically improper for me to disclose polling information which is their property. And while my attorney has advised me that I should not produce the requested information with respect to non-utility clients for the reasons that he has described, I think it is important that you realize and understand that the five non-utility clients whose polls are in my possession consist of an industrial corporation, two hospitals and a medical trade association and an organization of sportsmen. Some of them may have made their desires on this subject, made these intentions to you personally. But since the industrial corporation, the two hospitals and the hospital trade

association, let alone the organization of sportsmen have nothing to do with public utilities, the regulated public utilities or politicians, I frankly don't see how the committee in good conscience could go forward and insist that this material be brought forward by the courts.

But in any event, whatever the committee eventually does with respect to these polls, I hope our time today will not be overshadowed by this disagreement with regard to the private property of my non-utility clients. I look forward to answering all of the questions you may have with regard to these various subjects.

Before I begin to answer your questions, however, I would like to make one point which apparently has not been part of the committee's operational information. As the head of Command Research, I have always been concerned from the time it was formed in 1980 until the present very concerned about the possible conflict of interest and indeed the appearance of conflict of interest, and I believe that Command Research has bent over backwards to compartmentalize our activities and to be discreet with regard to the polling data that we generated for client A, client B and client C. We believe that we have always and every instance been clear as to whether client wanted their message disseminated or their data shared.

Second, during the period under review, I was more

than a pollster in a number of situations. As a director of Maine Yankee, I was very free to do with whatever I wanted with that information as a director. More importantly, I believe that during the period under review, I had both explicit and implicit approval of CMP and New England Telephone to use the information on behalf of their activities. I believe that -- I have never had any client faise any question about the dissemination of their material, their polling data or even opinions about it. I had never had a single client raise that question.

I believe that we handled three very different referenda, Maine Yankee in 1980, the elected PUC in 1982 and -- and Save Maine Yankee in 1982 with discretion and with dispatch. And I believe that Command Research has a reputation for integrity which I value very highly, and I hope this committee will try to understand the complexity of the situation in which I find myself doing polling for client A or client B or client C.

Most importantly for the purpose of this committee really understanding the nature of politics and indeed understanding the nature of my relationship to the political process, it should be noted that while I know most of the Republican office holders and candidates and have worked for some of them, either personally or as Command Research, each of the Republican political figures that I am aware of have

1 | Command Research to these people.

Finally, although this has been an extraordinarily upsetting and time consuming project with me, I still hope that I can work with this committee in whatever way you think appropriate in order to clarify the role of utilities in the political process during the period 1980 to 19°3 and to work for positively constructive results from your lengthy deliberations.

I am in no way trying to obstruct the legitimate activities of this committee. I want to help the committee reach whatever conclusions you deem appropriate as it leads to the role of utilities and politics. But the one thing I can't do, I can't go back and rewrite history. I can't give you what isn't there. I can't give you what was never there. I can give you only to the best of my recollection what happened and why it happened.

I hope that I have indicated to you the general nature of the materials you are about to receive. I don't know if my attorney has any further explanation of the legal basis for my position.

(Exhibit enclosed at this point.)

STATEMENT OF CHRISTIAN P. POTHOLM

Thursday - October 25, 1984

First of all, let me thank you for giving me the opportunity to share my views with you "in person". As my attorney, Mr. Richardson, indicated to Judge Brody at the hearing in Superior Court on October 12 - I have been willing and in fact anxious to appear before this Committee and testify concerning this investigation. I believe that any adversarial relationship which has developed between some members of the Committee, its staff and myself might have been avoided had we been able to talk directly some time ago. I am sorry that there has been such a delay and, frankly, I am very pleased to be here. It would be my hope that this session can enable the Committee to see both my point of view with respect to the documents which have and have not been produced as well as having the benefit of whatever information I have as a result of having observed the role of the utilities in Maine politics during the period 1980 through 1983.

By way of introduction, let me make some observations for the record:

ATLANTIC RESEARCH

Atlantic Research was formed with the intent of providing Central Maine Power Company with an ongoing source of reliable and readily available polling data, at a lower cost than was commercially available. In the corporate reorganization which

Command Research.

would have accompanied the formation of Maine Industries,
Atlantic Research was intended to become a profit center, one
which would accept clients from within the state of Maine and
beyond. To my knowledge, there was never any discussion of
barring one type of client or another, or aiding one political
group or another. It was to be a polling firm open to all.

PROSPECTIVE CLIENTS OF ATLANTIC RESEARCH

Atlantic Research was, from its inception, a non-partisan activity. Discussions were held with such possible clients as Arkansas Power and Light, Commissioner of Business Regulation Harvey DeVane, and supporters of John O'Leary and John Kerry. In fact, I have always felt that Skip Thurlow's willingness to have Atlantic Research do polling for the John Kerry Congressional campaign was the acid test of his commitment to Atlantic's non-partisan nature, given the perception that John Kerry was both anti-utility and anti-nuclear.

NON-PARTISAN BASIS OF ATLANTIC RESEARCH

Atlantic Research never let its "infrastructure" be used by the Republican or Democratic State Committees, the Republican or Democratic State Chairperson, the Republican or Democratic National Committee, the Republican or Democratic members of the Reapportionment Committee, or any other group. Further, to my knowledge, there was never any discussion about allowing them to do so.

Command Research.

POLLING RIGHTS OF THE UTILITIES

While I have no idea what the Committee's ultimate decision might be on the issue of further regulation of public utility involvement in the political process, I believe that the utilities of Maine had every right to generate polling data. Why anyone would assume that the utilities of Maine would not want to know how the Governor was perceived or who the newly-elected U.S. Senator would be is not clear to me. In addition, like any other corporation or individual, Central Maine Power Company and New England Telephone Company had every right to use the information they generated and paid for in order to advance their causes, whether in the regulatory or in the political arena. The opinions of the people of Maine on the important issues facing them were of critical importance and certainly should have been taken into account in the public policy process.

It seems obvious to me that any client takes a poll with the intent of using the data generated. How and when the client chooses to utilize its polling data is a matter for the client to decide. Central Maine Power Company, for example, would have no reason to hide the fact that its approval rating went from 49% to 70%; nor would New England Telephone Company wish to withhold the information that its customers wanted new and better services.

CMP defeated two major efforts to shut down its only nuclear plant, and was able to convey its corporate message successfully enough to the public that its approval rating improved by over 20 percentage points. New England Telephone successfully defeated the elected-PUC proposals. The polling information was obviously

very useful in all these instances and the utilities were simply exercising their rights in defending their interests.

Maine utilities wanted the support of political figures throughout the state and acted accordingly. In trying to win the referenda of 1980, 1981 and 1982, the utilities sought political allies. Background briefings of Central Maine Power and New England Telephone material were given to those individuals and groups who could assist the utilities in their efforts to secure victories on the major ballot issues facing them. CMP and NET actively sought support from political candidates on those issues which affected the future ability of the two companies to provide the kind and range of services Maine people expect and want. They wanted help from political candidates far more than they wanted to give help to those candidates.

THE UTILITIES AND POLITICAL FIGURES

I believe that the utilities had every right to use the polling data they generated to try to win the referenda of 1980, 1981 and 1982 and to influence the political figures who could make a difference in the outcome. Given the nature of the political realities in Maine during the period under review and the importance of securing bipartisan support for the political efforts of the utilities, Democrats were simply more important than Republicans and Governor Brennan was most important of all. Governor Brennan was the central political figure and his support was indispensable to both the outcome and the margin of the two

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Maine Yankee referenda and the referendum on the Maine Energy Commission. Just as other institutions, companies and individuals try to get the Governor to see things their way, so the utilities wanted and needed his help and sought it by making sure he and his Administration got their information—from Save Maine Yankee I, Save Maine Yankee II, NET, CMP, Command Research and Ad Media. The simple fact was that most major Republican figures were already on the side of the utilities in the referenda of 1980, 1981 and 1982 and many were frankly perceived as being irrelevant to the outcome.

GOVERNOR BRENNAN

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I believe that Governor Brennan had every right to want to know where he stood with the electorate, to see how the ballot measure campaigns he was interested in were progressing and to determine what impact their progress was having on the voters' perceptions of his performance.

There was, in my judgment, nothing wrong with his participation, or the utilities' interest in securing that participation. A simple commonality of interest prevailed. I believe, for example, that New England Telephone Company could not have defeated the Maine Energy Commission in 1981 without the enthusiastic participation of the Governor in that campaign. Conversely, the Governor could not have defeated Bruce Reeves and the elected-PUC concept in 1981 without the help of the telephone company. And, especially in 1982, if the Governor had not wanted to keep the plant open, his position might well have reversed the outcome of the Maine Yankee referendum.

Command Research.

VALUE OF POLLING MATERIAL

The concept of "value" of polling material is apparently one of the principal concerns of the Committee. I do not know what candidates or office-holders made of the polling data they received. I would assume that most thought it of direct relevance only to the referenda and not of significance to their own political ambitions. While the price of a poll is clear to a client who pays for it, it is extremely difficult to put an objective value on polling data which one receives second or third hand. Indeed, much of a poll's relevance and worth may depend upon how old it is and to what use it can be put in a campaign situation, especially if that material is unsolicited.

Looking at this on a bipartisan basis, take the situations of John Chapman (R) and John Kerry (D), both of whom received briefings at Maine Yankee. I can't imagine that either ever thought that their briefing's "value" should have been reported. But if they had, how would they put a value on it? How could a value be arrived at which would be agreeable to both?

Or take the transfer of polling data to Governor Brennan (D) and Charles Cragin (R) during the summer and fall of 1982 by New England Telephone. Both apparently got the same material and both apparently felt no need to report its value. Governor Brennan undoubtedly already knew he was 20 points ahead and Charles Cragin might well have felt that being told he was 20 points behind was a negative "value". How could either be expected to put a common value on the material which a third party, presumably some future election committee, could agree to?

Command Research.

Looking over the period 1980-1983, I believe that the utilities acted within their rights to generate and disseminate polling material, that candidates and office-holders had a right to receive the information they did and there would be no way to put an "objective" value on any of the material they received.

FOR THE FUTURE

As a Professor of Government at Bowdoin College, I can understand that the Committee may perceive a need to recommend legislation to the next session of the Legislature involving the definition of "in kind" contributions and recordkeeping, but with regard to polling, I think there are virtually insurmountable problems in assigning truly meaningful "values" to the information transferred.

COMMAND RESEARCH AND ITS NON-UTILITY POLLS

Many of the recent accounts over our differences have obscured what I believe is the central issue. After turning over all polls which were done for Atlantic Research, CMP and NET, we did not turn over the polls of our non-utility clients because we felt that they were outside the scope of this inquiry, but more importantly the copies in our possession were the private property of others. The copies of the polls simply do not belong to us. To have given away somebody else's property would have violated our contracts with those clients, the ethics of the profession and our own sense of right and wrong. It would have been wrong to turn over something that did not belong to us.

This questions of private property is a vital one and one which can only be decided by the Court if the Committee is to insist that we turn over those polls which our clients specifically forbid us to release.

At the same time, since our objections are based on sound principles and not any desire to be obstructionist, we have taken the step of formally contacting each client whose poll we have which falls between 1980 and 1983. Command Research did no polling or other consulting for utility or utility-related clients during 1984.

Several clients have authorized us to release their material and we enclose their letters to that effect. Weil and Firth, while stating that the material is beyond the scope of this investigation, feels that the material is already in the public domain. Ad Media states that their material has been available to the Committee since July 1984 and authorizes us to release our copies to the Committee. Without waiving our objections to the other materials, we will produce those we have been authorized to make available. The other five clients—none of whom are either political figures or related in any way to utilities—have asked me not to release their polls. I cannot therefore do so in good conscience and I hope that the Committee as a whole will decide to respect their wishes with regard to their private property.

With respect to these non-utility clients, while it would be ethically improper for me to disclose polling information which is their property, and while my attorney has advised me that I should not produce the requested information with respect to

non-utility clients for reasons he will describe, I think it is important that you understand that the five non-utility clients consist of an industrial corporation, two hospitals and a hospital trade association, and one organization of sportsmen having nothing to do with regulated public utilities or politicians.

In any event, whatever the Committee eventually does with respect to these polls, I hope that our time together today will not be overshadowed by our disagreement in this matter and I look forward to answering all of your questions to the best of my ability as to the role of Maine utilities in the political process during the period 1980-1983.

POSITION OF COMMAND RESEARCH

Before I begin to answer your questions, however, please allow me to make a few points which need clarification. First, Command Research has always been concerned about its various clients and their interests and we have bent over backwards to compartmentalize our activities and to be discrete with regard to their polling data. We have always, in every instance, been clear as to whether a client did or did not want their "message" disseminated or their "data" shared. Second, during the period under review, I was more than a "pollster" in a number of situations. In the case of the Save Maine Yankee Committee during 1980-1983, I was one of the Directors of Save Maine Yankee and therefore much freer to act. More importantly, I believe I had both the explicit and implicit approval of Central Maine

Power and New England Telephone during the period May 1980 to September 1983 to speak out on their behalf. In addition, <u>I have never had any client</u>, for any reason, complain about my handling of their data. This I believe is a very important fact for this Committee to appreciate as we discuss the role of utilities in Maine politics during 1980-1983.

I believe that we handled three very different referenda—Save Maine Yankee I in 1980, the Elected-PUC in 1981 and the Save Maine Yankee II effort in 1982—with skill and dispatch and have established a reputation not just for acumen and discretion but for integrity as well. I value that reputation very highly and hope that this Committee will try to understand the complexities of the Maine situation from a variety of perspectives.

For example, it should be noted that while I know most of the Republican office-holders and candidates and have worked for some of them, either personally or through Command Research, each of them retained their own national polling firms during the period under review. Senator Cohen has used Market Opinion Research out of Detroit since 1972 and his payments to that organization are a matter of public record. Congressman David Emery used V. Lance Tarrance, Jr. out of Houston and Market Opinion Research. Congressman John McKernan, Congresswoman Olympia Snowe and candidate Charles Cragin all used Market Opinion Research as well. On a number of occasions, Command Research lost polling bids to Market Opinion Research. I hope that this information will help put to rest at least some of the speculation about my role.

Command Research.

Finally, although this has been an extraordinarily upsetting and time-consuming project for me, I hope I can work with this Committee in whatever way you think appropriate in order to clarify the role of utilities in the political process in Maine during the period 1980 through 1983 and to work for positively constructive results from its lengthy deliberations.

With respect to those materials which my attorney has advised me not to produce, I hope that now that I have indicated to you the general nature of the materials you will understand Mr. Richardson's explanation of the legal basis for my position.

POTHOLM Ρ.

STATE OF MAINE CUMBERLAND, SS.

Personally appeared the above-named CHRISTIAN P. POTHOLM and gave oath that the foregoing instrument is true and correct to the best of his knowledge and belief.

Before me,

tary Public

MY COMMISSION EXPIRES MARCH 21, 1987.

1 CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Mr. Richardson, do you have 2 comments? 3 MR. RICHARDSON: Can I have just a moment please? CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: 4 Sure. 5 I would like to then thank the committee for listening 6 to me, and I appreciate the opportunity to coming before this 7 I only wish that I could have come to this committee. 8 committee several months ago. 9 MR. RICHARDSON: I want to indicate to you if I may, Mr. Chairman, that we have pagenated --10 11 CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Excuse me. I didn't hear what 12 you said. 13 MR. RICHARDSON: We have paginated, put page 14 numbers on some but not all of the materials, but I wanted to 15 make sure that there is not confusion as to what we are 16 delivering here. There is a whole boxful of polling data, 17 and I would like to perhaps after this -- after the formal part of the session is over we can go through a number of 18 19 these or your staff can number them. I want to make sure --20 there are some that are not numbered. The original of the 21 letter, for example, from Gordon Weil to Christian Potholm 22 does not have a number on it. And we --23 CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Why don't you give it to the 24 staff, and then they will go through it with you and then

make the numbers or correlate it in whatever fashion.

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MR. RICHARDSON: I see. There is a copy. We'll review it in any event.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: I would like to point out to counsel and to Christian Potholm that the investigating committee statutes, Section 456 say statements in form of answers, the witness or his counsel may insert in the record sworn written statements of reasonable length relevant to the subject matter and scope of the investigation. In giving testimony, the witness may explain his answers briefly. And I would just like to point out that even though some of the remarks may not have played directly with the subpoena duces tecum that I felt it was what Representative Higgins and others stated to be reasonable to allow you to make the statements that you did do.

A. Thank you for that opportunity.

MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Chairman, I also want to point out we were not aware of the narrowed scope. I thought it appropriate for Dr. Potholm to address some things that are not specifically related to the question of the subpoena. I thought it was appropriate that the committee understand that the basis of his position and some areas which he can be constructive and helpful in my opinion.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Appreciative and --

MR. SOULE: I want to thank you also, Mr. Potholm,

for appearing this morning. You had alluded earlier to

answering questions, and I did want to make it clear that the scope of this meeting today was primarily to get your response from the subpoenas, not only from the scope of the calling of this meeting but because we had also agreed with minority counsel, Mr. Linnell that there would be no questioning of the witnesses today that we are here for that limited issue. We do hope that you will come back at some later point and assist us with your expertise.

THE WITNESS: I am not trying to be either flip or vindictive, but I hope you will just simply ask me to come before the committee. It is not necessary to send sheriffs and bailiffs and subpoenas. I will be happy to come at any time to discuss anything within the scope of this committee.

MR. SOULE: We appreciate that.

Q. I think it is important to point out this process has been going on since the end of May, and this has been a very lengthy process, and it is not taken lightly the action that this committee has taken. Each step has been weighed legally and orally to be accomplished in a fashion which we could do our investigation and complete it.

The action that we have taken by a partisan nature in the nature of the subpoena to vote that the Senator Soule seconding the motion. Then there is the enforcement of the legal process to be obeyed. Every citizen has the right to argue. That is what the system of law is all about. And I

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think that is very important.

As far as the points that you have made, I think they were very telling and very interesting in your testimony. And something that I consider to be very worthwhile to the ultimate recommendations of this committee. I want to make perfectly clear to you and to your counsel that we are not interested in Republican nor Democrat. We are not interested in whether there is a balanced approach that is being used to see that polling data is shared both with Democrats and Republicans as long as one is checked and the other is checked with, you're fine.

Our concern here is with the ratepayers' money and what was done with it. It is a consideration of the utility and its operation and political activity of its subsidiaries, affiliates and contractors in that particular process. And it is for those reasons that we are concerned. Whether it be Democratic or Republican. Whoseever hand is in the cookie jar will find a rude awakening the next day.

I would like to point out that we have been very patient in attempting to receive certain documents from you relating to this investigation on political participation into public utilities. Pursuant to Sections 454 and 457 of Title III of the Maine Revised Statutes Annotated, I am directing you to comply with the subpoeanaes individually and as president of Command Research. Do you refuse to honor.

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that directive?

I have no choice but to refuse.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Then I should recommend a citation for your contempt of this committee pursuant to Section 473 of Title III and all other applicable laws. this committee is in recess.

(A short break was taken.)

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: This meeting is reconvened of the Joint Committee to Investigate Public Utilities. I would be willing to entertain a motion per my recommendation.

MR. KELLEHER: Chairman, in view of Mr. Christian P. Potholm's refusal to supply this joint committee of the Maine legislature with the documents and writings requested by its duly issued subpoenas and despite the chairman's directive to comply, I move that this committee find that said Christian P. Potholm be declared in contempt of this committee and that this committee forthwith issue a citation for such contempt for appropriate enforcement by a justification of the Superior Court of the State of Maine.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Is there a second to that motion?

> MR. CROWLEY: I would second it.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Discussion.

MR. HIGGINS: Before we vote on the motion, I am going to explain to you the reason I am going to vote against

1 it. And I think it borders on the real situation in that 2 Potholm has appeared here today. He has provided us with a 3 sworn statement under oath. That documents that we are interested in obtaining belong to non-utility clients. 4 5 are non-political in nature and they are not pertinent to 6 what we are charged with by joint order to discuss and to 7 report back to the legislature with. I am not -- I do not feel that we are in a position to, in essence, call Dr. 8 9 Potholm a liar. If members of staff of this committee have 10 reason to believe otherwise, we have yet to hear it. 11 for one do not think this committee should without any other 12 data proceed to implication in any way to assume someone is 13 lying from this committee. I think it is unfortunate, and I 14 intend to vote against the motion for that reason. 15 CHAIRMAN BALDACCI:

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Is there any other discussion?
MR. KELLEHER: Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Representative Kelleher and then Representative Sprowl.

MR. KELLEHER: In making my motion, I would like to have all evidence that is pertinent to this joint select committee made available. And I respect Dr. Potholm and I respect his advice of counsel. But necessarily reflecting my respect for it doesn't necessarily mean I agree with them. And apparently for I as a member of this committee and the rest of you who are my colleagues on it, for us to proceed to

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understand for the charge for which we were created and appointed, I think that it is unfortunately necessary to see that this motion of mine is accepted. So we can have all the evidence as we understand it and as it should be presented before us to make a reasonable conclusion to our charge.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Representative Sproul and then Representative Allen.

MR. SPROUL: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I also would like to go on the record just awhile to be opposing this. I share the same concerns Representative Higgins does. addition, I think that there is perhaps something stronger, perhaps something that is even more important in my own mind anyway. And that is the statement on behalf of Dr. Potholm or his attorney, I forgot which one made it, that these are not his to give us, that they belong to the clients. believe if this committee really wants to move forward in a quicker and more expeditious way instead of finding him in contempt, they wanted those things, they would be issuing a subpoena to those firms if we could ascertain or those companies if we could ascertain who they are and that the subpoenas would go to them rather than finding Dr. Potholm in contempt.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Thank you, Representative Sproul. Representative Allen.

MS. ALLEN: I need some clarification before I am

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going to make up my mind which way to vote. That is the last time I voted it was my understanding that we were going to court so that the judge would take a look at the materials that we have requested and make a decision as to whether or not those materials were, in fact, pertinent to our investigation. That was what I believed I was voting for. Ι come back with the understanding that the judge did not do He simply asked or instructed Dr. Potholm to be -- to appear before this committee. So now before I vote, I would like to know exactly what I am voting on. What does this contempt mean in reality? Are we going back to court and will the judge now do what I thought he was going to do before or am I sitting here passing judgment on whether or not I believe Dr. Potholm or am I voting to give a third party a judge, a judicial court an opportunity to look at those materials and decide whether, in fact, some of them or all of them are pertinent to this investigation? cannot vote unless that is perfectly clear to me.

MR. SOULE: Representative Allen, I guess we are in a position now where we are again going back to court. We as a committee are asking the court to make a decision as to whether or not we are entitled to as a committee review those documents. It will be up to the judge to decide how he wishes to proceed. Whether he wishes as was suggested previously to examine those documents in camera or in

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1 chambers and then make a determination or he may wish to 2 proceed some other way. We're asking the court basically to enforce the request that we have made. This was in addition 3 of staff that we ask the court. 4 5 MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Chairman --6 CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Senator Sewall. 7 MS. SEWALL: I would like to ask a question because 8 in this whole proceeding that started last November 21, I 9 would like to ask our investigator, Mr. Asch, if he has 10 withheld information which he shared with the majority 11 members of the committee if he has withheld any information 12 from minority members of the committee? CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: The reason this discussion or 13 14 just the entire investigation? 15 MS. SEWALL: In the entire investigation and in 16 this. 17 CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: I don't think this is germane 18 to the discussion of this particular issue. 19 MS. SEWALL: I would like to pursue a little 20 If I am voting on something that is misapprehension 21 that there is evidence that I have not been shared with as a 22 member of the committee. I certainly think it is pertinent. CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: As far as discussions of the 23

individual and president of Command Research and the

questions that were asked of him whether we have information

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that has not been shared with the entire committee in that area, I think Mr. Flaherty went over it very nicely at our first meeting the points of why we were proceeding and cited from the deposition that was read in exchange, and that was pointed out to this committee, you know. And I think it would be -- I think it was handled in an executive session or a staff briefing. And I think it would be something that would be innappropriate to discuss any further at this time. The discussion of this issue is of the contempt citation that has been made and seconded on that particular issue. This is what I am entertaining discussion about.

MS. SEWALL: Is there any information -- is there any information pertaining in any way to any of the people or the scope of anything that has to do with Christian Potholm, his clients or anyone which has to do with this citation which has not been presented to minority members?

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Mr. Asch. Do you have a comment to that question?

MR. ASCH: Are you asking me to lay out before Dr. Potholm before he delivers his material to us what we have?

MS. SEWALL: I am not asking you for information.

I am asking you have you told every member of the committee
the same as you have told everyone else? Do we have the full
information? Do the minority members of this committee have
the full information surrounding exactly what we are doing

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now or not?

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CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: It is up to -- my understanding it would be up to the minority to make themselves available to information they want. Has anyone been denied access to information of this committee?

MR. ASCH: They have not.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: We can't start producing -- if'
you want 13,000 documents of Christian Potholm's production,
you are entitled --

MR. ASCH: I have not received requests from majority members other than the chairman.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: So you have never denied request for information. Have you ever denied requests for information from any member of this committee that wanted it?

MR. ASCH: I don't believe I have received any. We

MR. ASCH: I don't believe I have received any. We had some discussion in executive session, but you were all here for the executive session.

MS. SEWALL: Would Mr. Asch please answer my question yes or no?

MR. HIGGINS: Let me clarify the question I think as I understand it gets back to my initial statement. Members of this committee at least I for one, and I would guess from Senator Sewall's line of questioning want to know. We have a sworn statement that says information that Dr. Potholm has at his disposal is not pertinent to our discussion. It was done

by non-utilities. We want to know or I think we should know, all of us, is there other information that Mr. Asch has or any member of this committee has that would lead one to believe that Dr. Potholm has, in essence, lied to this committee in his sworn statement? If there is information out there that we should be aware of it, if there is not information out there, then I am willing to accept his sworn statement.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Would you care to go into an executive session for discussion purposes of that, Mr. Higgins, or would you like that done --

MR. HIGGINS: I think if there is information .
available, it should be brought out in front of Dr. Potholm
and everyone else here today.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: I disagree.

MR. HIGGINS: If there is no other information available,

I think we should live by what Dr. Potholm has told me.

MR. KELLEHER: It is obvious unless I misunderstood what was presented here today, it is obvious that there are material that Mr. Potholm has in his possession and on his own advice of counsel and other clients, whomever they are, he feels it is improper to present that information to the committee. If that is the case, and I respect it to be the case, then we have as they say, what is it, Paul Harvey. We haven't heard the whole story. And the reason -- just a

minute, Mr. Higgins.

MR. HIGGINS: I thought you were done.

MR. KELLEHER: I will be done December 5. And we'll all appreciate that including me. The point is that obviously we have got to go back now to the court to determine by legal standing what is his justifiable right to be presented to this committee. I ask no more and I am sure Mr. Potholm himself asks no more. But the only -- he has his opinion through his counsel. And I have my opinion as a member of this committee. Obviously, there is a great deal of material by his own admission, by his own statement here today that he is not going to surrender on advice of counsel. And I say let the Superior Court of the State of Maine determine whether we have a right to that information. No more, and no less.

MR. HIGGINS: My statement is not -- goes one step further than representative Kelleher's. I agree with what he has said. What he has failed to say or take into account is that we have in addition to the fact there is information available in his possession, he has indicated to the committee it is not pertinent or within the scope of our discussion.

MR. KELLEHER: That is his opinion.

MR. HIGGINS: That is his opinion. I am saying to this committee, number one, do we believe him or not. If we

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do not believe him, then I want to know is there information available to the committee that would lead us to believe that he has lying to the committee.

If he is not lying to the committee or we have no information available to any member contrary to that, then I think our action in going back to court, number one, says that he is lying and borders actually on harassment of a person trying to do business in the State of Maine.

Now, if there is information available that hasn't been shared with us, then I would like to hear it right now in open session so that we can dispute his testimony. I am willing to accept it. If there are others who don't, then I want to know why.

MR. KELLEHER: Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Yes, Representative Kelleher.

MR. KELLEHER: Representative Higgins, I don't believe I know any more or any less about the activities of this committee than you do. So you and I are meeting on firm, solid ground on that point. And nor should I have any additional information or should you have any less than I. That is point number one. And the important point is that what we want to pursue is what this committee was created for. And how we can come to that conclusion first by supporting the motion that I made regretfully so but it has to be done.

Dr. Potholm and counsel have their opinion and for

us to appreciate it unfortunately, we have to go back to the judicial process to see whether, in fact, they are right or wrong. I am not questionning his integrity as an individual, as a member of this committee, I am not using, and I would never use the terms that you have just used in describing his credibility whether we believe or not believe. I think that is an elementary approach to the point of view that we have been charged to pursue.

MS. SEWALL: I would like to ask the staff of this committee if the minority members, if there is any information not for him to produce, have I been given all the information I need to make this vote? Have I been given every bit of information so that I am not being set up with a lot of information perhaps given some people and not others? I want to know if I have all the information that I need to vote on this and whether anyone else has been given more information pertaining to Dr. Potholm or any of the related things in his scope?

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: First, I will direct the staff to answer the first question and not answer the second question unless they are willing to go into an executive session to discuss these issues. They will not be opened in a --

MS. SEWALL: I am asking if there is information.

Not to produce it. If there is production of it, perhaps we

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will want an executive session. I want to know before I vote if the minority members have had all the information that the staff has shared with majority members, all members.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Representative Crowley.

MR. CROWLEY: I feel we are a legislative committee here. We have gone to the court with a subpoena, and we got a subpoena to get material from Mr. Potholm. And I think it's contemptuous we are not getting the material we want to look at. We have been doing this since last whatever. I think that it is the only way we are going to get any material that we are going to bring this thing to a conclusion. If we are not going to have him give it to us, then we are going to have to get it if we are entitled to it through the court. I think this is actually a case of contempt because he was told to come here with materials. That he refused to give us. I am looking at it in a different way.

MS. SEWALL: I would like Mr. Asch to answer my question.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Mr. Asch, do you have an answer for Senator Sewall? Does she have enough information to --

MR. ASCH: If I understand the question before the committee, I would think that she did as we had an extensive discussion in executive session. And at this point without the transcript of the executive session before me, I am at a

disadvantage and certainly would want to reveal the issues that were discussed in that executive session. So as far as I know to the best of my knowledge you have.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Everybody has the same information.

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MR. ASCH: If I knew what Dr. Potholm had to provide, I would be able to tell you.

MS. SEWALL: But as far as you know, I have as much information as every other member concerning this?

MR. ASCH: As far as I know.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Anymore discussion?

Representative Willey had a comment and then Senator --

MR. WILLEY: Just that I seem to be the only one. As far as I am concerned, in order for me to put a man through this ritual, I would have to have some indication that he had done something wrong. As far as I am concerned, it is shear persecution. There has not been one single indication that I have heard through this whole thing that indicates Mr. Potholm is stepping out of the way. He has chosen not to give certain information which he describes up and down as not relevant to the situation. I am certainly to believe him. He also said a number of times that he volunteered to be here, willing to be here a long time ago to be heard. And right at the last minute brought here by a

That to me is clear shear persecution of what this

sheriff.

meeting is all about. I am certainly not going to vote to put you through anymore of this.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Senator Danton.

MR. DANTON: Mr. Chairman, maybe I shouldn't say anything so I will be the only one that is contained. But I think the motion is fairly clear. Dr. Potholm, I am sure feels very comfortable with what he hasn't given us. It doesn't pertain to this. If that is the case, the judge will say we don't need it. And we will act on what we have. I think what we are doing to Dr. Potholm right now is we are reading something into the material that he is withholding that he is saying there is nothing wrong with. We are saying that the judge will review it. If he feels that it isn't relevant to our action here as a committee, then you don't have to give it to us. And I think that is what the whole motion is all about.

MR. KELLEHER: One further thing, Senator. This committee has rights. If the court feels we are overstepping those rights, it will so signify.

MS. STEVENS: I certainly can't be the only one not to speak in this political gathering. I would never want my vote to be interpreted as being an accusation of Dr. Potholm as being a liar. That would never be my vote. People of good intention are apt to disagree on values and standards of what is relevant and what is irrelevant. Please do not ever

interpret a vote of anyone of this committee of accusing anyone of being a liar. That is what the judicial process is for to have us make use of the processes available to us to use what we feel may be relevant. It is not fair to say that we are persecuting anyone or calling anybody a liar. You have every right and every responsibility to use the whole process through the court system to hear the information.

MS. SEWALL: I agree with Representative Allen when she said the last time that everyone -- the last time that Mr. Potholm was dragged into court, this could have been cleared up. I would like to ask if counsel asked to have this question cleared up the last time they went to court and went through this procedure, was that question even asked about the material?

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: This is a discussion. Mr. Flaherty has a comment to give, and this is a discussion of the committee. There will be no other questions of counsel or the witness because it was an understanding with the minority counsel that would not take place. Mr. Flaherty has comments.

MR. FLAHERTY: I have very, very little comment to make except that we read Title III, Section 165, Subsection 7 as instructing the judge of the Superior Court to quote, compel obedience to the subpoena. And the court asked me as majority counsel of the committee what it was that I was

asking the court for. And I said I am asking the court for precisely what the statute dictates. The court said that it felt that under the circumstances, it had no alternative but to issue the order requesting. The court further said that in the absence of agreement by counsel, it could not nor would it undertake to review any documents in camera or in chambers as it works out because it felt it was without authority to do so.

I advised the court and I advised some member of the media that I did not feel that I have authority as counsel for this committee to agree to deliver over to a separate branch of government; to wit, the judicial area, the inherent powers of another separate and independent branch of government; to wit, the legislature. And I felt that it would be doing a grand historical disservice to the legislature of the State of Maine to be so presumptious to try to attempt by counsel's agreement to divest this legislature of its inherent constitutional contempt power.

MS. SEWALL: Thank you, Mr. Flaherty. I take it the answer is no, that question was not asked in court?

Thank you.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Are there anymore discussion by the committee of this particular issue?

MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Chairman, do I understand that you are indicating that the record of what occurred before

the Superior Court and my view as one of the attorneys who was there cannot be presented?

of this particular situation has closed. This is now a workshop. As you understand being a former legislator, what workshop entails is that the public hearing is closed and discussion for the committee at that time to vote.

MR. RICHARDSON: Well, I think the record is otherwise as to what happened in court.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Everybody has their opinions.

MS. ALLEN: Could Mr. Flaherty clarify what he will do when he goes back to court this time? I guess I am still confused.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: I think that Mr. Flaherty will ask for enforcement of the action that has already been taken by the court. The enforcement of the citation.

MS. ALLEN: What happens after that, the judge sent it back here and we do something back? How long do we --

MR. FLAHERTY: I suspect I can't project, I suspect that the court will be attempted to be pursuaded by counsel for Mr. Potholm that he has certain privileges, and that he has certain objections that he has a right to make. But I shall counter by pointing out to the court the unambigious provisions of Section 454 and 457 of Title III which states specifically that after he has asserted his privilege and

after he has made his objection, he shall be -- he may be
directed by the chairman to comply nevertheless, and that has
happened here this morning in this chamber. And so if the
court asked me unless I am otherwise instructed by the
committee what action he should take, the answer will be
enforce compliance with the order of the chairman of this
committee and the citation for contempt.

If the court is pursuaded that it has judicial authority to evaluate the intrinsic relevancy of any documents, it will do that, I am sure. If it is pursuaded there are real questions of privilege which it has a right to address and override this legislature on, I am sure it will do that. But initially, I shall not ask for that unless this legislature is prepared to deliver over what is considered to be an inherent power.

motion that has been made and seconded. Motion by

Representative Kelleher and seconded by Representative

Crowley cite in contempt of this committee, would -- Andrea

would you read the roll here of the people that are here for
the record. All those in favor signifying by saying yah, all
those opposed by saying no.

MS. STAHL: Representative Kelleher?

MR. KELLEHER: Yes.

MS. STAHL: Senator Danton?

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1	MR. DANTON: Yes.
2	MS. STAHL: Representative Allen?
3	MS. ALLEN: Yes.
4	MS. STAHL: Representative Crowley?
5	MR. CROWLEY: Yes.
6	MS. STAHL: Representative Soule?
7	MR. SOULE: Yes.
8	MS. STAHL: Senator Baldacci?
9	CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Yes.
10	MS. STAHL: Senator Sewall?
11	MS. SEWALL: No.
12	MS. STAHL: Representative Sproul?
13	MR. SPROUL: No.
14	MS. STAHL: Representative Willey?
15	MR. WILLEY: No.
16	MS. STAHL: Representative Higgins?
17	MR. HIGGINS: No.
18	MS. STAHL: Representative Stevens?
19	MS. STEVENS: Yes.
20	CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Would the clerk read the roll
21	there, what is the vote?
22	MR. ASCH: Seven and four.
23	CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Seven voted in the affirmative
24	and four in the negative. It has been voted. This meeting
25	is temporarily recessed for approximately 15 minutes so I can

confer with counsel and with staff.

2 (A short break was taken.)

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: For the information for this committee, we'll be going back into public hearing reconvening on Wednesday morning at 9:30 for the purposes of several people giving testimony to this committee. So we are looking at 9:30 on Wednesday for the purposes of taking testimony from several people next week. So that this meeting will be recessed until 9:30 on Wednesday next.

MR. KELLEHER: So moved.

MR. ASCH: Plan on 9:30 to start or 9:00?

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: 9:30.

MR. ASCH: We'll probably go all day.

CHAIRMAN BALDACCI: Make sure those people are available.

MR. DANTON: Plan all day?

MR. ASCH: Possibly Thursday also.

(TIME: 1:20 P.M.)

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CERTIFICATE

I, Erin M. Durkin, hereby certify that the foregoing is a correct transcript of my stenographic notes of the testimony taken before the Joint Committee to Investigate Public Utilities on the 25th day of October, 1984, at the State House, Augusta, Maine.