Edmund S., Muskie’s 1968 Vice Presidential Campaign — Inside Perspectives and The Long View
Vice President Humphrey and Senator Muskie acknowledging delegate applause following their nominations for President and Vice President, Democratic National Convention, Chicago, Illinois, August 29, 1968  (DEN personal collection)

Cover illustration: a DOWNEAST YANKEE cufflink; one of several souvenir jewelry items using the Muskie 1968 campaign logo created and given by Stell & Shevis of Camden, Maine.

Presenters and Panel Members
Jane Fenderson Cabot was an intern on the staff of Senator Muskie during the summers of 1963 and 1964. Following her 1965 graduation from Mount Holyoke College in South Hadley, Massachusetts, she accepted a permanent position as a research assistant in Muskie’s office. As part of a small staff that accompanied him to the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago, she then traveled full-time on the candidate’s campaign plane as a research and office assistant.

A native of Saco, Cabot worked for Senator Muskie from 1965-1976. She took leave from his Senate staff to be Jane Muskie’s scheduler and part-time advance person during the 1972 presidential campaign and later returned to his Senate staff as a counsel to his Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, specializing in revenue sharing. She left Muskie’s staff in 1976 to direct the scheduling and advance operation for Rosalynn Carter during her husband’s presidential campaign.

From 1977-81 she was the First Lady’s Director of Scheduling and Appointments Secretary in the White House and traveled extensively helping to arrange White House visits worldwide.
Edmund S. Muskie’s 1968 Vice Presidential Campaign — Inside Perspectives and the Long View

Welcome
James P. Webber, Director
Muskie Archives and Special Collections Library

Inside Perspectives
Donald E. Nicoll

The Long View
Joel K. Goldstein

Panel Discussion

Moderator
James P. Webber

Panelists
Jane Fenderson Cabot
Eliot R. Cutler
John L. Martin
Charles J. Micoleau
Harold C. Pachios

Questions and Answers
Audience and Panelists

The program will end at 5:25 p.m. Audience members that wish to continue the conversation with panelists are invited to join them in the Archives Reading Room on the first floor.
institutions as executive vice president of a respected New York City public relations firm. She currently serves on the Board of Visitors of the Muskie School at the University of Southern Maine and is a past president of the Maine Women’s Giving Tree, a grant making philanthropy assisting organizations serving women, children and families in the Midcoast area.

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Following his graduation from Harvard in 1968, Eliot Cutler, a Bangor native, joined Senator Muskie’s staff as a legislative assistant. He served as assistant press secretary on the campaign plane.

While working for Muskie, Cutler graduated from Georgetown Law School. He helped craft major environmental legislation, including the Clean Water Act and the Clean Air Act. During the Carter Administration he was associate director for Natural Resources, Energy and Science in the Office of Management and the principal White House official for energy. From 1980-88 he was with the law firm Webster & Sheffield and subsequently a founding partner of Cutler & Stanfield LLP, which became the second-largest environmental law firm in the country, eventually merging with the international firm, Akin Gump. From 2006-2009 he worked in Beijing where he directed Akin Gump’s Asian practice and represented Chinese clients making investments outside China.

In 2010 Cutler was an Independent candidate for Governor of Maine narrowly losing to Republican Paul LePage. He ran again in 2014. Since then he has promoted moderation in Maine politics and has founded Maine Independents, which seeks to field independent candidates for state offices.

He is founder of the Maine Center for Graduate Studies in the University of Maine system and a past chair of the Board of Visitors of the Muskie School for Public Service. Cutler serves on other public and private sector boards, including the Emanuel and Pauline Lerner Foundation, which invests in efforts to raise the aspirations of middle school students in Maine’s rural areas and small cities.

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Originally an enthusiastic supporter of Robert Kennedy, Joel Goldstein was 15 in 1968. Late in the fall campaign he went to see Hubert Humphrey as he campaigned in St. Louis and was shoved aside by a Secret Service agent. But Humphrey looked out the window and waved at him.

Fifty years later Goldstein is Vincent C. Immel Professor of Law at Saint Louis University School of Law and a highly respected scholar of the Vice Presidency, Presidency and Constitutional Law. Frequently asked by national and international media
outlets to provide commentary and insight into presidential campaigns, he is perhaps best known for his work on the vice presidency. His doctoral dissertation grew into his first book, *The Modern American Vice Presidency: The Transformation of a Political Institution*. More recently he has written *The White House Vice Presidency: The Path to Significance, Mondale to Joseph Biden*.

Goldstein graduated from Princeton in 1975 and as a Rhodes Scholar received B. Phil. and D. Phil. Degrees from Oxford University. He earned his JD degree from Harvard Law School in 1981 and was note editor of the Law Review. He serves on the Board of Visitors of the Muskie School at the University of Southern Maine and is currently working on a book on the national political career of Senator Muskie.

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The longest-serving State legislator in Maine’s history, **Representative John L. Martin** of Eagle Lake was the comptroller of Senator Muskie’s vice presidential campaign office in 1968.

First elected to the Maine House of Representatives in 1964 at the age of 23, Martin served four years as minority Floor Leader before being elected Speaker of the Maine House in 1975, a position he held for an unprecedented 20 years. In 1998 he was elected to the Maine State Senate where he served several terms and was minority floor leader. Martin was re-elected to the House for an unprecedented 26th term earlier this month.

He has served on the Executive Committee of the National Conference of State Legislators where he chaired its State-Federal Assembly. Martin is a past President of the State Legislative Leaders Foundation and Chairman of the New England Caucus of State Legislatures, past chair of the Maine Land Use Regulation Commission and of the Intergovernmental Relations Commission. He is a member of the New England Political Science Association.

Active in civic affairs in his native Aroostook County, Martin has been a trustee of Northern Maine Medical Center, treasurer of Powell Memorial Center, a home for mentally retarded adults, president of Ambulance Services, Inc., which serves northern Maine, treasurer of Eagle Lake Home, a non-profit nursing and boarding home, and treasurer of the Eagle Lake Water and Sewer District.
An alumnus of the University of Maine at Orono, where he also did graduate work in political science, Martin is an Assistant Professor of Government at the University of Maine at Fort Kent.

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In 1968 Charles Micoleau was working in Maine as a policy and campaign director for the Democratic State Committee. Two years later he joined Muskie’s Senate staff and eventually served as the Senator’s Administrative Assistant and chief of staff.

In 1978 he joined the Portland law firm of Curtis, Thaxter where he has been active in the formulation of state policies affecting energy, technology development and environmental protection. His law practice has encompassed regulatory law, government relations and business creation, with an emphasis on the public sector.

He has served as a mediator and advocate in commercial disputes involving governments. Micoleau currently is the firm’s senior counsel.

During a leave from the Curtis Thaxter in the 1980’s he was Vice President of Communications and Government Affairs for The NutraSweet Company. Later he joined in founding The State Capitol Law Firm Group, an international association of law firms, which today has members in 105 nations and all 50 state capitals.

Micoleau is chair of the Board of Visitors of the Muskie School of Public Service at the University of Southern Maine and a past president of the Maine Chapter of The Nature Conservancy. He was active in the establishment of the Maine Technology Institute and represented Maine on the Democratic National Committee from 1984-1993.

A graduate of Bowdoin College and the School of Advanced International Studies of The Johns Hopkins University, Micoleau received his law degree from George Washington University.

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Donald E. Nicoll managed Senator Muskie’s 1968 vice presidential campaign and traveled full time on the campaign plane with the candidate.

A Boston native with a B.A. from Colby College and an M.A. from Pennsylvania State University, Nicoll was a reporter and news editor of WLAM AM and WLAM-TV in Lewiston before becoming executive secretary of the Maine Democratic Party from
1954-56. He served as administrative assistant to Congressman Frank M. Coffin from 1957-1960; as legislative assistant and news secretary to Senator Muskie (1961-62); and as Muskie’s administrative assistant and senior advisor from 1962-72. He played a key role in developing all of Muskie’s major legislative initiatives.

From 1972 until his retirement in 2005 Nicoll worked as a program and policy planner. He was chairman and CEO of the New England Land Grant Universities Joint Operations Committee (1973-75) and vice president of planning and public affairs for the Maine Medical Center (1975-86). From 1986-2005 his clients included universities, libraries, education associations, health care organizations and social service agencies. He directed the Edmund S. Muskie Oral History Project at the Muskie Archives from 1998-2005.

Nicoll also chaired numerous public policy projects, including the Maine Task Force on Government Reorganization, the Maine State Compensation Commission, the Maine Consortium for Health Professions Education, the Maine Special Commission on Government Reorganization (co-chair), the Maine Aomori Sister-State Advisory Council, the Governor’s Allagash Wilderness Waterway Working Group, and the Allagash Wilderness Waterway Advisory Council.

Now retired, he continues to be a member and is a former chair of the Muskie School of Public Service and is founding president and a board member of the Allagash Wilderness Waterway Foundation.

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Harold C. Pachios supervised advance operations for Senator Muskie’s vice presidential campaign. Earlier he was Associate White House Press Secretary and principal deputy to Press Secretary Bill Moyers in the Johnson Administration.

In 1993 President Clinton nominated Pachios to chair the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. He traveled to U.S. embassies worldwide, including Arab countries and Israel. In 2002 the Council on Foreign Relations appointed him to an Independent Task Force to report on the growing gulf between the U.S. and the Arab world. Secretary of State Colin Powell later appointed him to a commission to investigate sources of anti-Americans in the Middle East. The commission reported its findings to Congress in October 2003.

Pachios has served as board chairman of the University of Maine School of Law, Northeast Regional Chairman of the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, board chairman of the Portland Symphony, vice chair of the American Symphony Orchestra League and a trustee of Maine Maritime Academy, Maine College of Art,
Greater Portland Chamber of Commerce, and Maine Justice Foundation. He was on the National Governing Board of Common Cause.

A former chairman of the Maine Democratic Party, Pachios was a member of the Democratic National Committee and chaired a committee appointed by Senator Mitchell to develop proposals to reform federal campaign finance laws. He also served on the Legislative Committee of the U.S. Olympic Committee.

A graduate of Princeton University and Georgetown School of Law, Pachios grew up in Cape Elizabeth.

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Senator George J. Mitchell

After serving as an anti-trust trial attorney in the Department of Justice, **Senator George J. Mitchell** was Senator Muskie’s executive assistant from 1962-65. In 1968 he took leave from his Portland law practice to head Muskie’s vice presidential campaign office in Washington, recruiting and managing staff and serving as liaison to the Humphrey campaign and the Democratic National Committee.

Following that campaign he returned to law practice before taking another leave to play a key role in Senator Muskie’s 1971-72 campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination. In 1974 Senator Mitchell was a candidate for governor in Maine. He was U.S. District Attorney for Maine from 1977-79 and was serving as U.S. District Court Judge in 1980 when Governor Brennan appointed him to succeed Senator Muskie, who had resigned to become U.S. Secretary of State.

Senator Mitchell was elected to his first full Senate term in 1982 and re-elected in 1988. He was U.S. Senate Majority Leader from 1989-95. Following his Senate career he combined law practice with corporate board appointments and several high-profile public service engagements. From 1995-2001 he served as Special Envoy to Northern Ireland and was the principal architect of the 1998 Good Friday Agreement. He was also Special Envoy to the Middle East from 2009-11.
Today, Senator Mitchell continues his law practice and involvement in public policy engagements. He could not attend today’s program because of a speaking engagement in London last night and another at Yale tomorrow, but he has provided an essay on the 1968 campaign and Senator Muskie’s impact on him.

Comment by Senator George J. Mitchell on the commemoration of Senator Muskie’s 1968 Vice Presidential Campaign

The tumultuous Democratic National Convention of 1968, in Chicago, was a turning point in the career of Senator Ed Muskie. There, in late August, the Democratic nominee for president, Vice President Hubert Humphry who previously had served for many years as a U.S. Senator from Minnesota, asked Senator Muskie to join him as the Democratic candidate for Vice-President. It had been widely discussed, and predicted by many, but it still came as a surprise when it actually happened.

I was a delegate to the convention, in my position as Chairman of the Maine Democratic Party. It was my second convention, far more dramatic and exciting than the first at Atlantic City, four years earlier, when President Johnson was nominated. The subsequent unpopularity of the Vietnam war had led President Johnson to decline to seek reelection, and a spirited contest for the Democratic nomination had followed.

Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy had been killed in the course of that campaign; riots tore through major American cities; and demonstrations racked the convention in Chicago. In that turbulent context, Humphrey’s choice of Muskie was prudent and wise. Senator Muskie, towering in height and intellect, had established himself as both an effective legislator and spokesman for the Democratic Party.

I earlier had worked on Senator Muskie’s Washington staff, before returning to Maine in
1965 to practice law. On the day after his selection, Senator Muskie asked me to take a leave of absence from my law practice to work on his campaign. I accepted immediately, honored to again be part of his team. Because the convention was held later than usual, there was little time to organize in preparation for the campaign. So Senator Muskie and his Administrative Assistant, Don Nicoll, asked me to fly directly to Washington to begin organizing a staff to handle the myriad details of a national campaign. I did so, and in the following months worked in Washington with the talented staff who gathered around Senator Muskie: Don Nicoll, Berl Bernhard, Harold Pachios, Peter Kyros, Jr., Eliot Cutler, Gayle Fitzgerald, Joanne Amnott, and many, many others who deserve our recognition and gratitude.

In the course of the campaign, Senator Muskie exceeded the high expectations that had greeted his acceptance of the nomination. At the root of his appeal was his profound intelligence; to this day he remains the smartest person I ever met. He had a unique talent for being able to see through the constant fog of facts, statistics and opinions to the heart of every issue. That and his fearsome temper led everyone who worked with him to be fully prepared when dealing with him.

Among the highlights of the campaign were his strong performances in debates and press conferences and his brilliant handling of a heckler at a campaign appearance in Pennsylvania. Muskie didn’t insult or talk over the young man, or insist that he be silenced or evicted; instead, he invited the young man to come up and share the microphone to state his case, provided he would then quietly let Muskie make his response.

The audience, the national media, and the young man himself, were stunned, as Muskie led the nation to understand that reasoned dialogue is possible even among those who disagree. How quaint that notion seems now, as our nation continues its descent into harsh, unbridled partisanship.

Although they ultimately lost, it was by a narrow margin, as Humphrey and Muskie closed the campaign strong. The experience propelled Muskie to a prominent position for the next presidential campaign. For me, it was a chance to learn more about integrity in public life from the man who was my employer, my mentor, my role model, and my friend. Twelve years later when Senator Muskie was appointed Secretary of State, and I unexpectedly was chosen to succeed him, the lessons of the 1968 campaign were fresh and dominant in my mind.
The total Muskie vice presidential campaign team, staff and volunteer, approached a total of 150, including a roster of 90 signed up for advance work. The core members of the team and the Secret Service detail are listed below, alphabetically, with apologies for any errors and omissions from the 50 year old records.

**Core Team for the Campaign**

David Anderson - research and speechwriting coordinator (DC)
Odessa Ash - campaign stenographer (plane)
Berl Bernhard - issues research, speechwriter and counsel (DC)
Paul Brountas - operations management (plane)
Fred Burke - Senator Muskie personal physician (plane)
Fern Campbell - secretary (plane and DC)
Eliot Cutler - assistant news secretary (plane)
Betsey Dempsey - secretary (plane and DC)
Richard Dubord - aide to Senator Muskie (plane)
Jane Fenderson - office operations and research (plane)
Susan Gibson - assistant, advance operations (DC)
Nordy Hoffman - liaison to Labor (DC)
Mary Hoyt - Jane Muskie press secretary (plane)
Kathy Keup - secretary (plane and DC)
Charlie Lander - communications coordinator (plane)
Lucille Larkin - Jane Muskie assistant, schedule and advance (DC)
Betty Levinson - Jane Muskie personal assistant (plane)
John Martin - comptroller (DC)
Charles Micoleau - field work and advance (Maine)
George Mitchell - manager, liaison with HHH staff and DNC (DC)
Susie Nicholas - secretary (plane and DC)
Don Nicoll - campaign manager (plane)
Harold Pachios - director of schedule and advance (DC)
Paul Pfeiffer - physician to Senator Muskie (plane)
Virginia Pitts - secretary (plane and DC)
Sandra Poulin - secretary (plane and DC)
Bob Shepherd - press secretary (plane)
Lorelei Williams - secretary to Don Nicoll (plane)
Peter Kyros, Jr. - scheduling-advance and baggage (DC and plane)
Marshall Stern - baggage manager (plane)

**Secret Service Detail**

Gene Dagg - Leader for Jane Muskie
Allan Dillon
SOME FACTS ON THE 1968 ENVIRONMENT

The United States was in turmoil in 1968, dominated by controversy over the Vietnam War, divided by the continued struggle to achieve civil rights, and unsettled by social and cultural change. Against that background, some dates and numbers to remember:

**January 2** - Senator Eugene McCarthy announces his bid for the Democratic presidential election

**February 8** - Governor George Wallace announces his candidacy; Curtis LeMay is his running mate

**March 12** - New Hampshire primary; Johnson receives 49.4% of the vote; McCarthy, 42.2%; but McCarthy wins 20 delegates to Johnson’s 4.

**March 16** - Senator Robert F. Kennedy announces his candidacy

**March 31** - President Johnson announces a partial bombing hit in Vietnam and calls for peace negotiations; also announces his decision not to seek re-election

**April 4** - Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., assassinated

**May 10** - the Paris Vietnam Peace Talks begin

**June 6** - Senator Kennedy is assassinated, after winning the California primary with 49.7%; Humphrey trails with 29.9% and McCarthy is third with 20%

**August 9** - Richard Nixon delivers his acceptance speech at the Republican convention in Miami; Spiro Agnew is his vice presidential candidate

**August 29** - Vice President Hubert Humphrey is nominated for President at the Democratic convention in Chicago; Senator Edmund S. Muskie is his running mate

**September 8** - Senator Muskie’s national campaign starts in San Antonio, Texas; at a press conference he says he would take the risk of a full bombing halt to encourage the Paris peace talks

**September 25** - Senator Muskie invites a student heckler to share the platform at a Washington, Pennsylvania, rally

**September 30** - Vice President Humphrey endorses a bombing halt to advance the peace talks in a speech in Salt Lake, Utah
November 5 - Nixon-Agnew win the election: 31,784,000 votes (43.2%) to Humphrey-Muskie’s 31,272,000 (42.72%) and Wallace-LeMay’s 9,901,000 (13.53%). Nixon garnered 301 electoral college votes to Humphrey’s 191 and Wallace’s 46.
Scenes from the campaign: photos by Burton Berinsky: Edmund S. Muskie papers, Edmund S. Muskie Archives and Special Collections Library, Bates College