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Interview with Harold Pachios by Mike Richard

Summary Sheet and Transcript

Interviewee

Pachios, Harold

Interviewer

Richard, Mike

Date

July 19, 1999

Place

Portland, Maine

ID Number

MOH 120

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Biographical Note

Harold “Hal” Pachios was born July 12, 1936 in New Haven, Connecticut and grew up in Cape Elizabeth, Maine. He attended CEHS, Kent School (CT), Princeton, and Georgetown Law. He served for two years on a Navy transport ship, worked for the Peace Corps Organization as a congressional liaison, then held many different positions in the government including working for the Democratic National Committee, VISTA, White House Staff (as associate White House press secretary), Department of Transportation, and Muskie's vice presidential campaign. He later practiced law in Portland, Maine.

Scope and Content Note

Interview includes discussions of: the Greek Community in Maine; 1964 and 1968 Democratic National Conventions; 1968 vice presidential campaign; the Peace Corps; George Mitchell; Lyndon B. Johnson’s presidency; and the time period after Muskie’s primary defeat.

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Mike Richard: Today is July 19th, 1999. Present are Mr. Harold Pachios and Mike Richard, and we're at his office in Portland, Maine. And Mr. Pachios . . .

Harold Pachios: It's Pachios.

MR: Oh, I'm sorry, yes. Mr. Pachios, could you please give us your full name and spell it?

HP: Okay, Harold Pachios, P-A-C-H-I-O-S.

MR: And what is your date of birth?

HP: My date of birth is July 12th, 1936.

MR: And where were you born?

HP: Born in New Haven, Connecticut.

MR: And how many brothers or sisters did you have?

HP: One sister.

MR: Is she older or younger?

HP: Younger sister, four years younger. Her name is Penny, Penelope, and her married name is Carson. And she lives in Cape Elizabeth.

MR: What does she do for a living?

HP: She is in the commercial real estate business in Portland, and she's also chairman of the Cape Elizabeth town council.

MR: And what were your parents' names?

HP: My father's name was Christy Pachios, he was born in Stanford, Connecticut. And my mother's maiden name was Lucy Cokkinias, C-O-K-K-I-N-I-A-S. She was born in Springfield, Massachusetts. Both my parents were the children of immigrants from Greece.

MR: And, what were your parents' occupations in the States?

HP: My father for forty years worked for the Prudential Insurance Company in the real estate investment department. He started in New Jersey and then went to Massachusetts and Connecticut, and finally was assigned to Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont in 1938 and moved the family here. And he was responsible for investing, making real estate investments for Prudential Insurance Company in the three northern New England states. My mother ran a restaurant here in Portland.

MR: Now you mentioned that both your parents were children of immigrants from Greece?

HP: Correct.

MR: What area of Greece did your grandparents come from?

HP: All four grandparents came from villages that are in a fifteen, about a fifteen mile radius of the town of Sparta in southern Greece. All, both grandmothers and both grandfathers came from very small villages.

MR: Did you have much family remaining in Greece when you were growing up?

HP: Yes, yes. My parents had many aunts, uncles, first cousins, not aunts and uncles but many cousins in Greece.

MR: And did you have the opportunity to visit them in Greece, or did they come here?

HP: Oh yes, many times, many times I went to Greece. I first went to Greece with my parents in 1957.

MR: And what was the community, the Greek community in Portland like? Did you grow up in a community that was ethnically Greek, or was it mixed?

HP: Well there was an ethnically Greek community here in Portland. But my parents, although they were part of it and maintained friendships and associations with people of Greek heritage in the community, they lived in a town, Cape Elizabeth, where there weren't others of that ethnic heritage. And so, they had both the ethnic connection and, but they were very much a part of the community at large. So it was not, we did not have a very ethnic upbringing.

MR: And what was the community of Cape Elizabeth like ethnically at the time?

HP: I would say it was WASP, very WASP. Very small. In those times, those days, Cape Elizabeth was less than half the size it is today. About a third fishermen, a third farmers, and a third lawyers and doctors who worked in Portland.

MR: And now did your father, you mentioned that you had some ethnic ties with the Greek

community in Portland, but did your father or mother have any ties with the political community that was ethnically Greek, or was there much of a community that was . . . ?

HP: No, there wasn't. The Greeks in this community did not have any real involvement in politics. They were hard workers. They became business people and so forth. So that my, but my parents were really not involved in politics at all. My father knew people. My father knew Robert Hale who was a Republican congressman from Portland. He knew him quite well. He knew Governor Horace Hildreth. He knew, he knew not well but knew many politicians. But neither of my parents were involved in politics, and both of them I would say were Republicans most of their lives, until I really got involved in politics. And then I think they began to vote Democrat.

MR: And did they discuss politics with you and your sister much when you were a child?

HP: No.

MR: Now you mentioned your father had some connections with local congressmen, and state congressman and the governor. Through what capacity did he have these connections?

HP: He was just a prominent businessman in the community, and so he knew a lot of people.

MR: And now, where did you attend elementary and secondary education?

HP: I went to elementary school in Cape Elizabeth, junior high school in Cape Elizabeth, and three years of high school at Cape Elizabeth High School. And then after my junior year I transferred to Kent School, which is in Kent, Connecticut.

MR: And your family had moved to Kent, Connecticut?

HP: No, no, that was a private school, boarding school.

MR: And did you attend one or two years there?

HP: I attended two years there, so I had five years of high school.

MR: And what was your experience, first of all, like in the Cape Elizabeth school system?

HP: Well, I was pretty much involved in sports. It was a very small school. There were only thirty-three kids in my entire class. And I played baseball and basketball there. And then when I went to Kent I played baseball and basketball and football.

MR: And what were your academic interests in high school and private school?

HP: Well, to the extent I had any real academic interests, I suppose it was history and social studies.

MR: Do you remember any faculty members or students or groups that had a real influence on you?

HP: Well I had one, one teacher at, I had, I had two teachers at Cape Elizabeth that, who I think were influential. One was a Latin and French teacher, Mrs. Myrtle Sherman, who just died recently, lived here in Portland. And the other was the chemistry teacher and my baseball coach, Derwood Holman, who is in his mid-nineties now and lives in Cape Elizabeth and is still relatively vigorous for a man of that age. Both of those teachers were quite influential.

MR: Now, do you remember that moving to private school in Kent, Connecticut, was that a shock at all, or was it kind of what you'd expect?

HP: No, no, it was a totally different experience. I mean, there were a lot of very motivated students, sixty-one boys, all men, all boys in the class. It was a religious school. And I was, I was the only one in my class from Maine. And it was, I think, a broadening experience, because I was with kids from all over the country and with different experiences and different outlook on life. And it was very helpful.

MR: And what was the religious affiliation of the school?

HP: Episcopal.

MR: And what were your parents' religious beliefs?

HP: Greek Orthodox.

MR: Were they devout Greek Orthodox?

HP: Well, I think they were believers. They were not regular churchgoers.

MR: And how do you think, you also mentioned that your parents were registered or at least leaning Republican when you were young.

HP: Yes.

MR: How do you think that their political and religious views affected you while you were growing up?

HP: I can't put my finger on how their political and religious views affected me. I don't think that, I don't think their political views did affect me.

MR: And do you remember their reasons for registering Republican? Were they simply because much of the community was Republican and it was kind of a default?

HP: Their reasons?

MR: Yeah.

HP: No, I think that probably they were first generation and they were being assimilated into the mainstream of American society, and I think that they felt that was a way to demonstrate it. And I think they were fairly conservative, disciplined people and they probably felt at the time that, that their views more were attuned to the Republican Party.

MR: And what was the, what was the political affiliation that was predominant in Cape Elizabeth at the time?

HP: All Republicans.

MR: Was that similar for Portland also at the time?

HP: Oh no, no, no, Portland was Democratic. Cape Elizabeth was an affluent suburban community and along with the fishermen and farmers who were Republicans. I think probably ninety-nine percent of the people in those days in Cape Elizabeth were Republican.

MR: Now what were some of the decisions that led to your moving to Kent, Connecticut for private school? Was there . . . ?

HP: Well, it was just a bigger school and I was interested in going out of state to college. And I thought I had a better shot at it by spending some time at that school in Connecticut.

MR: And where did you consider for college options after you got out of the private school?

HP: I applied to Harvard and Princeton and Williams. Those were the three colleges I applied to.

MR: And where did you attend?

HP: I attended Princeton. I got into Harvard and had to decide between Harvard and Princeton, and I decided to go to Princeton.

MR: And what did you study in Princeton?

HP: Government.

MR: Was that your first choice for a major? Did you know you were going to do that going into it?

HP: Yes.

MR: And what were your years there like, extracurricularly, socially?

HP: Well, I was an officer of my (*sounds like: eening or inning*) club which was like a, which

was like a fraternity. I was, I played one hundred and fifty pound football, I played baseball, and I was a member of some campus organizations.

MR: Were you involved in the campus government, student government?

HP: No, I was not, no.

MR: And who were some of, again, who were some of the faculty members or students or groups that really influenced you or were important to you during that time especially?

HP: Well I think just one history professor, Eric Goldman, who was a great lecturer and a great writer, published many popular history books, was my favorite professor.

MR: And what did you do after your years at Princeton?

HP: I was in the NROTC at Princeton, so the day that I graduated from Princeton I was commissioned an ensign in the United States Navy. And three weeks later I was aboard a ship, troop transport.

MR: And where did you serve?

HP: Well, my ship was called the U.S.S. Randall, and it was a troop transport. It traveled mostly in the Atlantic. I crossed the Atlantic many times, into the Mediterranean. And I was a deck officer and what we call an officer of the deck, stood my four-hour watches running the ship while we were at sea. I spent two years doing that.

MR: And what years was that?

HP: Nineteen fifty-nine to 1961.

MR: And upon completing that tour of duty, what did you do when you were back in the States?

HP: Well I, while I was in the Navy and at sea I applied to Georgetown University Law School, and so I was accepted there and I knew I was going there when I got out of the Navy. I got out of the Navy and not too long after that, a few, several weeks later I was on my way to Washington to go to Georgetown Law School. I chose the night school. You could go during the days or at night; I chose night so that I could get a job during the day. I wanted to get a job in the Kennedy administration, which was brand new at the time. But I didn't know anybody in Washington, so to make a living I got a job in a restaurant as a waiter. And three weeks after that I met a guy in law school who connected me with some people, actually connected me with Bill Moyers who was then a young twenty-six-year-old associate director of the Peace Corps, which had just started a month or so before that. And I went to see Mr. Moyers, this fellow introduced me to him. And Moyers hired me on the staff of the fledgling Peace Corps.

MR: What year did you graduate from law school?

HP: Well, I went nights; I went four years. So I graduated in '65.

MR: And during this time you were becoming actively involved with the Peace Corps and with other ?

HP: Well, that was my full-time job. I wasn't actively involved with the Peace Corps, I was a employee full-time, paid employee of the Peace Corps. That was my daytime job, five days a week.

MR: Did you find it difficult, managing your academic and your Peace Corps work schedule?

HP: Well, one was during the day and one was at night. Let's put it this way, it occupied all of my time.

MR: And had your parents encouraged you in this, in the field of law and government?

HP: I think my mother did, yeah, she encouraged me in that field.

MR: Was anyone else in your family interested in the field as . . . ?

HP: My father had gone to law school for about a year and a half but had to leave to support his family.

MR: And what field of law were you particularly interested in?

HP: No particular field of law.

MR: Okay. Now, getting back to your time in the Peace Corps, what exactly was your job in the Peace Corps?

HP: My job was deputy congressional liaison. We had two people in our congressional relations office, and I was the second one. And so I would go to Capitol Hill every day to visit with congressmen. I would provide information to members of Congress about Peace Corps volunteers who came from their districts, and generally assist Sergeant Shriver, the director, and Bill Moyers, who ultimately became deputy director, with their congressional relations. And that's how I ran into Muskie and the people in his office.

(Tape paused.)

MR: Okay, and we were talking about your time as a congressional liaison for the Peace Corps. And who were some of the congressmen that you worked most closely with during that time?

HP: Oh, it's been so long ago. I can't remember a lot of the names. I can, I went to see most of them. Of course, Hubert Humphrey was one of the leaders. Humphrey had actually spawned the idea of the Peace Corps, so we did a lot of work through Humphrey's office. We did a lot of

work through Mike Mansfield's office; he was the majority leader in the Senate. And, but we would visit with a lot of congressmen. And, and I would always, when I was up in the Russell office building, stop by Senator Muskie's office because I was from Maine. And I got to know the people working in Senator Muskie's office, including George Mitchell, who was a legislative assistant then.

MR: And when did you first meet Senator Muskie himself?

HP: I think I probably met him in 1961, didn't get to know him well, but met him in '61 when I first started working up on the Hill, maybe '62.

MR: Do you remember some first impressions of that meeting?

HP: No, I really don't. He was obviously a very well-known senator, impressive looking, reserved. But I didn't get to know him real well at that point. It was a cumulative thing. I would go by there frequently because I was up in the Senate. You know, two or three times a week I was up in the Senate office buildings and I would drop by. I wouldn't go in to see him, but often he'd be coming out of his office or going somewhere and I'd run into him and say "Ahello". I really got to know George Mitchell the best of, and Chip Stockford, who worked for him then. I got to know them the best.

(Taping paused.)

MR: Okay. And what was George Mitchell to start with like to work with?

HP: Well I really didn't work with him, I just got to know him. I would stop, these were social visits I would make there. Muskie really wasn't very much involved with Peace Corps legislation or Peace Corps issues. For the most part, people on either House Foreign Affairs or Senate Foreign Relations were pretty much involved in those things, or Appropriations Committee. And Muskie was not on those committees, so I didn't really have much business there. But because I was from Maine I'd, you know, go by and say "Ahello" to folks, Gayle Cory particularly.

MR: And what was she like personally?

HP: Oh, Gayle was terrific. She was very friendly. She was the friendliest person in the office, so I got to know her well.

MR: And the other staff members, did you have much social or . . .?

HP: No, I didn't have any social relationship with any of them. George Mitchell and I became very good friends, and he's the only one that really became a social friend of mine. Virginia Pitts, she was one of the assistants up there, she was from Harrison, Maine; I remember Virginia. Chip Stockford, [John] Donovan, a few of them that their names come to mind.

MR: Now, did you deal with Hubert Humphrey on a professional level, or was it more of a . . .?

HP: At that time?

MR: Yes, at that time.

HP: Well, I dealt with his staff members, not with him.

MR: Did you meet with him often, or?

HP: No.

MR: What was his staff like to work with?

HP: Well, they were, I don't remember. That's a detail I don't have a good recollection of. I'm sure they were fine.

MR: And was your interaction with Mike Mansfield similar?

HP: Yeah. Again, I didn't meet with him ever.

MR: What were some of your general impressions of the Capitol at that time, during your work with the Peace Corps?

HP: Well, Washington was a much smaller place in terms of, first of all it didn't have a high, a big population as it does now. Secondly, nobody had big staffs. Staffs were much smaller then, and it was kind of a comfortable place to work. I enjoyed it greatly. I worked there until 1964.

MR: And do you remember witnessing any major debates or becoming involved in any issues or aware of any issues in Congress or in the Senate during that time?

HP: Well, why don't I proceed on and tell you the, I can tell you what my experiences were after that. From 1961 to 1964 I worked there in the congressional relations office of the Peace Corps. And so I was for the most part focused on issues affecting the Peace Corps as it grew to a more mature agency. Then in '64 I left and, I left the Peace Corps I believe in June of '64 and joined the staff of the Democratic National Committee in Washington and was one of the six full-time advance people that were advancing all of Lyndon Johnson's political trips that he began to make at the beginning of the summer of '64 for the 1964 campaign. I also advanced the President's appearance at the 1964 Democratic Convention, and so I spent eight days I guess at Atlantic City for the convention. And then in, I advanced many other cities where the President went, including Portland, Maine.

I came up here for three days to organize the President's visit here, and I believe it was in October of 1966, excuse me, '64, October of '64 when the President made a New England tour. And I had the Portland end of it. George Mitchell was then back in Maine. He was the Democratic state chairman of Maine at the time. And I worked with George in putting together a big parade down Congress Street and big rally at the Portland City Hall steps. And I think

everybody who knows about that and was present for that recog--, generally recognizes it as the largest political crowd in the history of the state of Maine. Newspapers at the time estimated the crowd to be a hundred thousand people, and there were probably only a million people in Maine at the time, or less. But busloads of people, hundreds of busloads of people, hundreds, came from northern Maine. People came from all over the state to Portland. And the President proceeded down Congress Street, came from the airport down outer Congress Street all the way to Portland City Hall Plaza. That probably took two hours to make the trip. Surging crowds, many stops along the way for impromptu speeches by the President from the roof of his limousine. So that was a very exciting day. And then I, I advanced the President's trips to Indianapolis and Seattle, Syracuse, a whole host of trips. And then I ended up advancing the President's trip to Austin for the election eve rally in November of '64 and receiving the results of the election in Austin on election day. And so I spent the last week of the campaign in Austin.

And then after that I had, I'd done some work in the spring, while I was still at the Peace Corps, congressional liaison work for Sargent Shriver, because the President had asked him to put together the OEO, Office of Economic Opportunity. And Shriver used the two of us who were in his Peace Corps congressional relations staff to help him get through this OEO legislation in 196-, in the spring of 1964. And that moved very rapidly, and OEO was then authorized in '64.

In the beginning, after the campaign of '64, for about three months I served as a consultant to VISTAS, to VISTA, which is the Volunteers in Service to America, the domestic Peace Corps. The fellow running it was a fellow named Glen Ferguson, who was a friend of mine. So I did that for about three months.

And then in 1965, just about four months after the November election, I joined the White House staff as associate White House press secretary under Bill Moyers. And '65, '66, and about half of '67, I served in that position at the White House. So I was very much involved in all of the legislation that President Johnson put forth. That is, I wasn't congressional liaison, but in terms of press announcements and in terms of being witness to bill signings and so forth, I probably witnessed every single bill signing of the Great Society.

MR: And now when did you first become a Democrat, a registered Democrat?

HP: Nineteen sixty-one, when I went to work in the Peace Corps.

MR: And what were some of the decisions, or what were some of the factors that led to that decision?

HP: I had just gotten a very good job in the new Democratic administration, that was the factor. The fact of the matter is that when I registered to vote in Cape Elizabeth when I was twenty-one years old and a college student at Princeton, I registered as a Republican, as my parents were Republicans. And then, that was in '57, and then four years later in '61 I registered, changed my enrollment to Democrat, because I was a fan of Kennedy's and I had just landed a job in the Kennedy administration.

MR: And you had said earlier that that change was really no big deal to your parents, they just easily accepted it?

HP: No, yeah, no, that wasn't really of much concern to them.

MR: And your sister, is she . . . ?

HP: She's a Democrat.

MR: A Democrat also. And, now let's get back to your time in Lyndon Johnson's White House staff. What were some, I know obviously Vietnam was a big issue, especially during '66-'67 and later. Did you, do you have any recollections of legislation or an instance involving the President's Vietnam stance?

HP: I know a lot about it. I mean we could go on maybe for twenty, twenty-five hours talking about these things. So why don't I just keep it to the Muskie related things. And, there are two or three things I remember about Johnson and Muskie. The first is that Senator Muskie marshaled through the Congress one of President Johnson's favorite programs, which is the Model Cities program. And I remember Johnson and Muskie were not real close. Muskie was not one of Johnson's big fans when Johnson was majority leader, and he certainly wasn't one of the group of people who Johnson was closest to in the Senate. He was not close to him at all. But Johnson came to have a very high regard for Muskie's ability as a legislator when Muskie marshaled all of his resources and got the Model Cities legislation passed. That pleased Johnson greatly, because it was one of his core Great Society programs. And I remember Johnson was being operated on for a gall bladder operation at Bethesda Naval Hospital at about the time Model Cities passed. And I remember being in the hospital room with several other people. And Johnson was telling the staff members who were gathered there what a great job Muskie had done, and I know he called him on the phone to thank him very much for his great work.

Another time I remember Muskie coming to the White House to talk about Frank Coffin and the judgeship. Frank Coffin had been nominated by, well, had not been nominated by anybody for the judgeship. Muskie had proposed to the President that Frank Coffin be nominated for a United States Court of Appeals judgeship in the first circuit, and Johnson didn't want to do it. Johnson had run into Frank Coffin when he, Johnson, was Vice President and Frank was deputy director of the Agency for International Development. And, it was at some social gathering, I believe it was at the Mayflower Hotel. And Frank Coffin disagreed with Johnson, and there were a group of people around, and Johnson felt offended and put down, he claimed, by Frank Coffin. So he, while Muskie had insisted that Johnson appoint Coffin, and in fact our press office had even done up a press release announcing it, Johnson wouldn't make a final decision. And the thing dragged on for month after month after month with Johnson making no decision because he was reluctant to do anything nice for Frank Coffin.

So finally on a, Muskie asked to see Johnson at the White House, and my recollection is the meeting occurred on a Saturday. And I remember being working that day at the White House and Bill Moyers and I were sitting in his office, and I knew the meeting was going on with Muskie in the Oval Office. And then late morning, Johnson opened the door to Mus-, to Bill Moyers' office where Moyers and I were sitting. And he poked his head in and he said, "You can go ahead and put out that announcement of Frank Coffin's nomination for the United States

Court of Appeals. Anybody who wants his man that bad can have him.” So that was a testament to Muskie’s persuasive skills and his dedicated friendship with Frank Coffin.

MR: And what was President Johnson himself like to work with?

HP: Very difficult, very impatient. Difficult task master. That’s about the best way to summarize it. The, Muskie had, excuse me, Johnson had far more affection for Margaret Chase Smith. He had served in the Senate with her for a long time, (they both came to the Senate about the same time) and he liked her very much. And Margaret didn’t have a lot of friends in the Senate but Johnson, Johnson was a friend of hers. In either ‘66 or ‘67 he wanted Margaret Chase Smith to go to the, the President would always go to the Washington Senator’s baseball game and throw out the first ball of the season. And he got Margaret to go and then he thought, “Well, we ought to have the two Maine senators.” So he got Ed Muskie to go with him.

Then in, also in 1966 Lyndon Johnson was going to have a meeting with Lester Pearson who was then prime minister of Canada. And Ed Muskie was on the board of the Campobello Foundation, the Campobello Commission, and very much interested in it because, you know, it was up there on the Maine border, and dedicated to it. He suggested to Lyndon Johnson that Johnson have his bilateral meeting with the prime minister at the Roosevelt home in Campobello; that was Muskie’s idea. Johnson agreed to it, and so I actually was dispatched up to Campobello to check out the situation and see whether it would, it would be all right to accommodate the press and so forth and would be a good spot for the President to have this bilateral meeting. I went with Clint Hill, who was then the number two guy in the Secret Service at the White House, a guy named Jack Albright, who was a colonel in the Army who ran the White House communications agency, and a fellow named Marty Underwood, who was one of the chief advance men at the White House.

And we flew up to, we actually flew in an Air Force plane from Andrews Air Force Base up to, up to Princeton, Maine, next to Woodland. And the fellow who ran the National Parks Service operation in Campobello picked us up and took us over to the house. And the Secret Service said this is not going to do. The President and prime minister were to stay overnight; it wasn’t big enough for that. There were other problems that the Secret Service thought they had with the place, so they did not okay it. So I was nominated to go, we had to go back across to Lubec to get a phone, to call Ed Muskie, whose idea all of this was and announce to him that it wasn’t going to work. And this was a pet project of his.

So I went to a motel in Lubec, the other guys stayed in the car, and I called Muskie. He was at his summer home in China Lake, and he was taking a nap. It was early afternoon, and his wife woke him up. He got on the phone. I said, “The President can’t stay there.” He said, “Why not?” I said, “Well, the Secret Service has a lot of problems with the place,” I said, “for instance, they say the bathroom isn’t big enough.” And there was a long pause. Muskie was famous for his temper. He wasn’t in a good humor because he’d just been awakened from his nap. And then after the pause he bellowed out, “Well Jesus Christ, it was good enough for Franklin Delano Roosevelt.” And I said, “Well, they say it’s not good enough for Lyndon Baines Johnson. What are we going to do?”

Muskie thought for a minute. He said, "I'll tell you what. There are a lot of big houses down in Bar Harbor, and there's a fellow down there that's the postmaster in Ellsworth that covers Bar Harbor, so he knows everybody there. He's a Democrat. His name is Roland Guite." Now, I'll tell you an interesting thing, I found out not long ago that Roland Guite is the, was the late uncle of Cynthia Murray Beliveau, my partner's wife; it was her mother's brother. Anyway, in those days postmasters were politically appointed, and he was the Democrat running the Hancock County postal operations based in Ellsworth. So he said, "Here's his number. You call him and tell him you need a place for the President to stay in Bar Harbor with the prime minister of Canada."

So I call him up and I explain this to Roland. And there was silence, and then Roland said, "President of what?" I said, "President of the United States." And, he wouldn't believe me at first, and I had to persuade him that that was correct. We flew down to Trenton, Maine in that Air Force plane, and Roland met us. And he took us to visit with several people that, all through the late afternoon and evening, that he knew in Bar Harbor with big houses. The long and the short of it is that no one would, would take the President and the prime minister into their homes or let them use that. They would actually have to take over the house, so nobody was willing to do that, so they had no place to stay.

And the long and the short of it is that we had to get a Navy cruiser, the U.S.S. Northampton to, for the President to sleep on. And we brought the cruiser into Portland, right into Portland harbor and we flew up to Brunswick Naval Air Station with Muskie. And then Muskie had, wanted to have an event in Lewiston, so we went over to Lewiston. The President spoke at the Kennedy Park there, and then traveled by motorcade down to Portland. And off we went on the U.S.S. Northampton and spent the night on that ship. Muskie was aboard, Ken Curtis was aboard, a couple other Maine Democrats, I was aboard. And we cruised up the coast on the Northampton overnight, all slept on board, and the next morning anchored off of Campobello. Helicopters carried us ashore to the Campobello home. We had a meeting there for three or four hours with Lester Pearson, the prime minister. And then we all flew by helicopter to Bangor airport and then to Washington. So that was the saga of the Campobello visit of Lyndon Johnson and Prime Minister Lester Pearson.

MR: And what was the meeting itself like? What was discussed during the meeting?

HP: Oh, I can't remember. Presidents have these meetings with foreign heads of states all the time. I couldn't possibly recall the agenda.

MR: And you mentioned you were on the ship with some other Maine Democratic figures such as Ken Curtis, and of course Muskie . . .?

HP: Actually, it was Ken, frankly I think it was just Ken Curtis and Ed Muskie, but there might have been somebody else there. May--, Bill Hathaway perhaps; Bill Hathaway was in Congress then. So I think it was Bill Hathaway, Ken Curtis, and Ed Muskie.

MR: Did you get to know some of these political figures either then or later on, on a personal or professional level, such as Ken Curtis?

HP: Well, certainly I met them then, we were all aboard the ship. And then they all became very good friends of mine. Ken Curtis is a very close friend of my wife, he and his wife, and my wife and I, are very close friends. And Bill Hathaway and his wife and my wife and I are very close friends. But that's when I was just meeting them at that time.

MR: And during your time in Lyndon's staff, did you ever get a chance, well actually, how much did that staff interact with Hubert Humphrey's office, the Vice President's office?

HP: Not very much.

MR: Did you get any chances to see Hubert Humphrey and President Johnson interact?

HP: Oh, a few times. Hubert, it was different. You know, now it's more of a partnership. If you look at Clinton, he has Gore around all the time. In those days the Vice President was a real backup, he wasn't out front. Most of his work was as the, you know, was up in the Senate as the chief officer of the Senate. And a Vice President didn't even have a home, you know, an official home. Humphrey lived in an apartment house.

MR: And, after your time in Lyndon Johnson's staff, which was '67 I believe you said you left, where did you go from there?

HP: I left there to go as assistant to Alan [Stephenson] Boyd who was the first Secretary of Transportation. The Department of Transportation started in 1967; it was authorized by law, it was set up that summer. And I went over there as actually the assistant to the general counsel, John [E.] Robson. And I worked with both he and Alan Boyd, the Secretary of Transportation. I stayed there exactly a year. In August of 1968 I went to the Democratic convention. And of course, while I was there, Humphrey selected Muskie as his vice presidential running mate. And the next morning George Mitchell called me in my hotel room in Chicago and said, "I'm helping the Senator put together a campaign staff" and, "Will you run our advance operation?" So I told him I would. I called, I called the Department of Transportation from Chicago and told them I would be resigning immediately. And I flew back to Maine with the Maine delegation, spent two or three days here, and then went to Washington to meet with George Mitchell. Office space was selected on I think it was 16th Street, and, and we went to work. And I began hiring advance people to begin advancing these Muskie vice presidential trips. We had the office going, and I hired a staff and advancement, and off we went.

MR: And now do you have any stories or recollections about the national convention in Chicago in '68? It was certainly a very . . .

HP: I do. They don't have anything to do with Muskie, but I, you know, sure I have strong recollections about that. I remember the night of the rioting. Six o'clock I was headed to the convention. I was going to meet some people to have something to eat there. And I came out of the Conrad Hilton Hotel, and there were police all over the place, traffic jams, kids running all over the place. And I couldn't figure out how I was going to get to the convention; no traffic was moving. It was bedlam. And I ran a couple of blocks seeing if I could get out of the traffic

and get a cab. And I heard a horn honking and somebody shouted at me to get over to the car. And it was a friend of mine, Jimmy Breslin who was a columnist in New York. And he said, "Get in the car." He had a driver. And he said, "You'll get hurt out there. You sit in the car with us and, we're heading for the convention if we ever can get through this thing."

And Breslin, I said to Breslin, "Boy, this is terrible what these cops are doing." He says, "Well, think of what these kids are doing to the cops." He said, "They're a bunch of policemen who, many of them, you know, the children of immigrants, first generation Americans who were, now they're cops. And they've moved to the suburbs and they're hoping that they'll earn enough to educate their children and send them to college. And they get all these kids from Harvard and Yale taunting them and demeaning them and so forth. And it's turned their vision of America and their hope for the future upside down. And obviously, it is enraging them." I thought that was an interesting perspective of the other side of these riots.

MR: Now do you remember at the convention itself, was it a very tense atmosphere because of the riots?

HP: Very tense. I can't think of specific things. You know, all of these things are well documented. But you know, I was in the convention hall, and it was tense.

MR: And what do you remember about the Eugene McCarthy faction, or the Kennedy faction?

HP: Well, I don't remember a lot about it. I know that there was, and I was just getting to meet many of these people that were delegates from Maine, because I'd not lived in Maine as an adult, so I wasn't involved in Maine politics. But, my friend George was there. Muskie was furious at Bill Hathaway because prior to the convention, before Bobby Kennedy was assassinated, Bill Hathaway was for Bobby Kennedy. And he was a delegate, Kennedy delegate, and Muskie didn't like that because he knew his best chance at being picked for Vice President was being picked by Hubert Humphrey. So he was very mad at Bill Hathaway about that. Joe Brennan was also a delegate; he was a Kennedy delegate. And there was some resentment on the part of the Muskie group that some of these people from Maine were for candidates for Vice President other than Muskie. And, but as it got close, as I recall, as it got closer that started to mellow. And I believe that when, of course, Humphrey selected Muskie, it was unanimous, and it was unanimous in the Maine delegation.

MR: Okay. I'm just going to flip the tape right now.

End of Side A
Side B

MR: This is the second side of the interview with Harold Pachios on July 19th, 1999. And we were talking about the Democratic National Convention of '68. And, I was wondering, who were some of the people that were ardent Muskie supporters from the beginning in the convention? You mentioned that Bill Hathaway from the Maine delegation was originally a Robert Kennedy supporter.

HP: Well, he was a Robert Kennedy supporter. That had nothing to do with the VP thing except that, if Kennedy got the nomination, he probably wouldn't pick Muskie, another New Englander, as VP. So the Muskie people knew that unless Humphrey got it, that Muskie wouldn't get the VP. I can't remember.

MR: Okay. Well let's talk about your time in the Muskie campaign staff. Who were some of the staff members that you worked most closely with?

HP: Nordy Hoffmann, Nordy Hoffmann was the director of scheduling. I was the director of advance. George Mitchell, Berl Bernhard was around then; I think he showed up on the scene. A couple of young guys that were just starting out in those years, Peter Kyros and Eliot Cutler; Peter Kyros, Jr. and Eliot Cutler. And I first met in that campaign some people from Maine who Muskie wanted to send out on some advance trips to give them a trip and a little exposure: Gerry Conley, who subsequently became president of the Maine state Senate, now retired from politics. He, we sent him out to Lubbock, Texas. Shep Lee, who was a good friend of Muskie's, and at the time I didn't know him. We sent him out to Los Angeles. I got to know Dick McMahon from Brunswick, from Waterville, who was a good friend of Muskie's. He spent some time down there at that campaign. Dick Dubord, who traveled a lot with Muskie on the plane and was a lawyer from Waterville, I got to know him pretty well during that campaign. That's basically it.

MR: And what was this group like to work with, on a daily basis?

HP: Well, you know, I mean those campaigns are all-encompassing. You work seven days a week, you know, sixteen hours a day, and you're kind of just doing your thing. And it's, of course, very relax-- there's not a lot of time sitting around socializing, you just go at it. So the one I worked with, I mean my boss was George Mitchell, and he was a friend of mine, so it was good to work with him.

MR: Now you've mentioned George Mitchell a lot, and we know that you've had a very obviously close relationship with him through the years. What is he like on a personal or professional level, or anything you'd like to share about your relationship with him and how it's developed?

HP: Well, I think, I think everything about George Mitchell is so well-known, I mean I, there's nothing, no one thing I could lend that would improve anybody's understanding of George Mitchell. Obviously devoted to Muskie, I think that's the most important thing as it fits with the Muskie Archives.

MR: Right, I guess we could start from that angle. Any correspondence or relationship that you noticed between George Mitchell and Ed Muskie? How did they interact?

HP: I'm not privy. I mean I'm sure they corresponded with each other, but they didn't tell me about it.

MR: And what was the feeling like in the office during the campaign, especially towards the

end of the campaign? Was it optimistic?

HP: Well, I think it started out without much optimism, and I think as it got toward the end there was the thought that Humphrey and Muskie could win. That was in the realm of possibility in the last couple of weeks. But, again, trying to fit this in with the Muskie Archives, I can think of, you know, some notable trips that Muskie made. I went with, I went on some of the trips. Although I was the director of advance, I went to see how some of these things were being set up. I traveled with Muskie to Detroit, and he went to a Detroit suburb which was all Polish. And I'm just trying to, Hamtramck, Hamtramck was a well known town made up mostly of people of Polish extraction, and that was an extraordinarily exciting night. It was in the evening. It was in the town square of Hamtramck, and there were literally thousands and thousands of people there. And they were going crazy over Muskie because he was the first Polish American candidate for major office in this country. There had been a governor of Wisconsin, and many members of Congress of Polish extraction, but Muskie was the first to run for either Vice President or President. And that was an incredibly exciting night in Hamtramck.

Another time I was on the plane with Muskie, we were in Buffalo, for a big rally in Buffalo, also a place where there were a lot of people of Polish extraction. Muskie's mother and father, when they came to this country, settled in Buffalo with their families, and Muskie's mother and father were married in Buffalo. And so he asked to be, he had several relatives in Buffalo, several cousins, he asked that they be informed of this trip and that he have an opportunity to meet with them while he was there. So we went to one of their homes, the homes of one of his cousins. And then afterwards we traveled to a very large Catholic church there in Buffalo where his parents were married, and he wanted to make kind of a pilgrimage to that church. We walked around the church, and so forth, and met with the pastor. Everywhere Muskie went he impressed people. He made great speeches; very thoughtful. He was a very impressive politician. He reminded people of Abraham Lincoln.

MR: Now, what was it like in the office after Humphrey and Muskie lost to Nixon?

HP: Well, we didn't have an office after that. We all came to Waterville for Election Day and night, we took over a motel up in Waterville, put up press headquarters in the Waterville Armory, and took the returns. Day after Election Day, it was over. And everybody then had to go look for jobs. They don't pay you in political campaigns the day after your candidate loses. There's no money to pay. So everybody's off the payroll as of election night, and so everybody packed up at the motel and left. That was the end of that.

MR: And was there kind of a pessimistic feeling, or were people still exhilarated from the campaign, just the fact that Muskie had risen to the vice presidential nomination?

HP: I can't remember.

MR: And what did you do after the campaign?

HP: I went back to Washington and took a couple months off and tried to decide what I wanted to do with the rest of my life. And I talked to George Mitchell about it. He was then practicing

law in Portland, and he actually got me a job in this law firm. And I came, and I started in the law firm about five or six months after that campaign ended. In May of 1969, I moved to Portland and started practicing law.

MR: And you've been with this firm ever since?

HP: That's correct, yeah. And, and, but during that period of time, between the end of the election in November of '68 and the time I came up to Maine, I talked to Muskie about running for Vice President, a lot of people did. He'd been a very, very successful vice presidential candidate, one of the most successful runs by a vice presidential candidate in history. He made a difference, really impressed people around the country. So I talked to, talked to him about running for President. It was clear he wanted to run for President. I prepared a lengthy memorandum for him on what I felt were some of the organizational challenges that he faced as he looked ahead to trying to get the nomination in '72. And he invited me over to his house for dinner after I got, I gave the memorandum to Gayle Cory. And she gave it to him, and he invited me over to his house for dinner, and we spent the evening discussing it.

Then I moved to Maine and, I'm trying to think of the, the election year that he ran again for Senate. Let's see, '70, in 1970 I helped out on his campaign. I rode in the car with him a few times to a few stops. And I, he was running against a guy named Neil Bishop, who was a teacher at Cony High School, and he wasn't much of an opponent. Nice fellow, but no real political experience. He was a sacrificial lamb for the Republicans. And I remember Muskie in the car saying that you've got to have a strong opponent, because you've got to run hard when you run, no matter who your opponent is. And if your opponent's weak, you don't have somebody to come up against and really demonstrate strength. So he said, "I think I'll run against the *Bangor Daily News*." And he did. He would come out slamming the *Bangor Daily News*, and that gave vigor and excitement to his campaign.

MR: And do you have any other stories about being in the car with Muskie, driving him around during that campaign?

HP: No, I can't remember anything specific. I mean, you know, he was impatient like Johnson. Swore a lot, too. So anyway, he won that handily in 1970. And then in '71 really began organizing his national campaign for President. And George Mitchell moved to Washington to be one of his campaign managers, along with Berl Bernhard. And George asked me to take over California and help in western states, and so I went to California. I was practicing law in Maine, but I would go every two or three weeks and stay in California for a week, ten days or so each time, and I made many trips out there. In fact I got an, I took an apartment in Los Angeles that I had for, oh, I would say just about all of 1971. I probably had that apartment from January of '71, or maybe even a little earlier, the end of '70, until February of '72. And I went back and forth to California.

And the interesting thing is, everybody was for Muskie. Everybody, all the Democrats thought he was next President. All the polls showed him ahead of the incumbent President, Richard Nixon. So everybody got on his bandwagon. We got, I went around to see every significant office holder in the state of California. Jerry Brown was then the Secretary of State. I went to

see all the legislative leaders and so forth, every county chairman from one end of the state to the other. I traveled every city and county in California. And every single politician was for us, for Muskie; they all endorsed him. The United States, Democratic United States senator from California, John Tunney, did, had not endorsed him. He was the only significant office holder, and the reason he had not endorsed him is that he wanted to have a significant role in Muskie's campaign in California.

The campaign chairman was a guy named Paul Ziffren, a former, a former Democratic National Committeeman from California, a wealthy, extremely successful lawyer, very well-known. He's the guy that I really worked with every day when I was in California. At least part of every day I spent in Paul Ziffren's office. But we couldn't get Tunney to endorse Muskie. And finally I had a meeting with Tunney's chief guy, who was also a lawyer in California at his firm called O'Melveny & Myers. And he was a middle-aged, very smart lawyer named Warren Christopher. And the deal was, said Christopher, that he, Christopher, and Paul Ziffren would have to become co-chairmen of the campaign in order for Tunney to endorse Muskie, which we did. We worked that out and so the co-chairmen were Warren Christopher, later to be Secretary of State in Bill Clinton's first term, and Paul Ziffren, who was my friend, became my friend during those years and months in California.

And, but we never got to the California primary, because by June when that California primary was held, June of '72, Muskie was pretty much out of it. He'd pretty much lost the nomination to George McGovern. I made my last trip to California in February 1972, and I took a red-eye back to Boston, and then to connect to Portland on a Saturday. I had a car that had been given to me by an auto dealer out in California who was for Muskie at the Los Angeles airport, so I was intending to come back in a week or ten days. So I left the car at the airport, and had my apartment out there.

I got to Boston and picked up the *Sunday Globe* before I got on the plane to Portland. And I saw that Muskie had been in Manchester, New Hampshire and that, the article said that he had cried in front, making a speech in front of the *Manchester Union Leader*. I remember getting on the plane. There was another guy on the plane that was a judge, Charlie Pomeroy who was a judge here in Maine, also an old friend of Muskie's. I sat next to him and I said, "Judge, did you look at this article?" He says, "Oh yeah, I think that's going to hurt Muskie." "Oh," I said, "I don't think so. I think it helps when people see a guy who will break down. He's a human being, and they like that, and they can relate to it. I think it'll help him in the primary." Well, of course, it didn't help him in the primary. And a few days later the primary was held in New Hampshire. Muskie won it, but not by enough, and it was the beginning of the end of his campaign. And I never went back to California because it unraveled so very quickly.

MR: Now what were some of the reasons that California legislators and politicians gave, originally in '71, for being so warm towards Muskie?

HP: Thought he was going to win; that's all they care about. Muskie was anointed as the next President, and I think he got to believe it, to tell you the truth. I think that, then he got Secret Service protection, and that, you know, makes you think that you're already in. And it became a very, in my judgment, it became an almost imperious campaign, where you had this guy who

was anointed as the next President traveling around with press and Secret Service. And it was almost like he was President with all the attention he's getting. I suppose you get to believe it after a while. And in fact, it's the grass roots that counts.

MR: Now, did you have any opportunity to witness how the Republicans were reacting, maybe from the California standpoint, or back home in Maine, to the campaign? Especially at the point when it seemed like Muskie was really, was really going to be (*unintelligible phrase*)?

HP: Well, I think it was apparent that the Republicans weren't particularly happy about Muskie leading Nixon. And so, you know, clearly he was the target, and they hoped that Muskie would stumble.

MR: Now, did you have any contact with Muskie during your time as a California representative?

HP: Sure, but only when he'd come to California. On airplanes, you know, or in the hotel rooms. When he'd come and visit, make a campaign trip to California, I was always there. I remember flying with Muskie from Palm Springs up to an airport on the outskirts of San Francisco in Frank Sinatra's plane, borrowed Frank Sinatra's plane. I went to every stop that he went to in California during the year and a half or so I was with him. So I was in the hotel rooms, I was on the airplane, and all his California stops.

MR: Did Muskie at this time seem different than he was during the '68 or '70 campaigns?

HP: To me, he did. I think, I had the sense that he believed that he was going to be President, and that was a dangerous thing, you know? As I said before, he was surrounded by Secret Service and traveling press, traveled like a President, traveled like a President. He was treated like a President. And I think that's not good for a candidate.

MR: Did you witness . . . ?

HP: I think he was very, became very aloof; that's my judgment.

MR: Did you witness the effect of his dropping out of the race on him personally after '72, or after June '72?

HP: No, I didn't. The next time I saw Muskie was at the Democratic convention in Miami Beach, and I just chatted with him briefly down there. Of course, he still had an operation, I was part of it, at the convention in Miami Beach, with the hope that lightning would strike; the lightning didn't strike.

MR: And, was this the convention of '72, or was it later on?

HP: No, this was the 1972, presidential convention. He had at the time one significant political supporter, who was Harold Hughes, the governor of Iowa. And so several of us from Maine, a few from Massachusetts and a few from Iowa were on his campaign organization at the

convention. But that was just in case lightning struck, and of course it didn't.

MR: And what was the convention like? I mean, it was pretty much, attention was shifted to McGovern by that time?

HP: Oh, no question about it, no question about it. It was McGovern's convention. Muskie had some delegates, but not many.

MR: And who were some of the delegates? You mentioned the governor of Iowa, and also you

HP: Well, the delegates I wouldn't know, there were thousands of them and I couldn't possibly tell you who they were.

MR: I mean, some of the Maine delegates that were supporting Muskie there, the Maine and Massachusetts people?

HP: I absolutely don't remember the names of the delegates. But, anyway, so that was it. McGovern was nominated, and Muskie went back to the Senate.

MR: And what did you do after that?

HP: Came back to my law office because I was a lawyer here in Portland all through that. I just came back the next day, went back to work. I mean, I was always working in my law office during that period of time. I would go to California for, as I said earlier, a week or ten days at a time, and then come back and do my work in the office.

MR: And during your time in the office, what types of cases or what part of the law (*unintelligible phrase*)?

HP: General practice of law, everything, yeah. So that's the story.

MR: Okay. Well, I guess you've got to go now, too, so I'll just stop this. Thank you very much for your time.

HP: Okay.

End of Interview