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- In Congress, was he among the hard workers—or was he a playboy?
- Did "the Catholic issue" elect Kennedy?
- Did you know that JFK was illegally elected to Congress in 1946?
- How many people know that JFK gave $1000 to help Nixon defeat Helen Gahagan Douglas in 1950?

THE GOLDWATER STORY

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Kennedy’s rise to power: a saga of family ambition and wealth

On a warm April day, just three months after his inauguration as the 35th President of the United States, John F. Kennedy rose from his desk to greet a former female colleague who had been invited to drop by the White House for a chat.

“What a luxus, fussed-up job this turned out to be,” he said.

Sen. Barry Goldwater could hardly believe his ears. Was this the same young man who had so passionately—and, at times, so ruthlessly—fought for the presidency? Was this the same Kennedy who was a candidate for the highest elective office in the free world and who had confidently assured the nation that he knew all the answers?

Why was Kennedy so anguished? Was it about the 1,200 anti-Castro invaders who had met death or capture in the Bay of Pigs? Or was it about the enormous damage done to the carefully cultivated Kennedy image as a knowing, sure-footed, young leader? Or was it a combination of both?

Supremely Confident

A few weeks before he took the oath of office, Kennedy had talked with Time-Life’s John Sticke in the drawing room of his Georgetown home. Supremely confident, the President-elect discussed the problems he expected to face as chief executive. “Sure, it’s a big job,” said Kennedy. “But I don’t know anybody who can do it any better than I can.”

Nor did the President-elect’s father—

have any doubts about his son’s capacity to handle the job. Joseph P. Kennedy told a newspaper that the confident decisiveness and the wide factual knowledge which Jack had displayed during the televised debates were the main requisites of the presidency. “I’ve seen the President’s job from the inside and I know what it requires,” said the ambassador.

The campaign charge that Kennedy was inexperienced continued to infuriate his father, who pointed out that his son, at the age of 33, had written a highly regarded book on Great Britain’s lack of preparedness for World War II. “The year before that, in 1939, when the war started, Jack was working for me in the embassy in London. When the Germans asked the British ships ‘Athenia,’ which had a lot of Americans aboard, I sent Jack up to Glasgow to handle the whole job of investigating the sinking and taking care of all the American survivors. He was only a boy in college at the time. If that isn’t experience, I don’t know what it is.”

Good Copy

The euphoria of the New Frontier was infectious. The Washington press corps, by and large, was caught up in the excitement. One reason, of course, was Kennedy’s own flair for press agency. Rarely had any politician dared to do so much work with the media. The friendship of the pressman was well-developed. “That could be developed into a good Sunday best friend,” Kennedy was overheard telling Pierre Salinger during the campaign.

Not only was he adept in the use of journalistic argot—having, briefly, once been a newspaperman himself—but Kennedy had a dramatic flair which made good copy.

To the American people, however, Kennedy came through as a somewhat paradoxical figure who radiated extreme confidence while talking of grave troubles ahead. To a nation winding up eight fairly comfortable years under a most popular President, Kennedy as a candidate kept dining home a message of unison, of things left undone. To a nation powerful enough to flex its muscle from Lebanon to the Far Eastern Straits, to fly U-2 spy planes across the Soviet land for four years, Kennedy talked of declining military power and prestige. And to a people sharing the highest level of prosperity in history, Kennedy campaigned with Depression-like fervor for new and bigger welfare programs.

JFK: the man and the myth

By VICTOR LASKY

Victor Lasky, a star reporter for 25 years, was co-author of the best selling "Seeds of Treason," the story of the Liss-Chambers case. He writes a nationally syndicated column for North American Newspaper Alliance which is also published by HUMAN EVENTS.

JFK, U.S. ambassador to Great Britain Joseph P. Kennedy and son in 1938, when Jack was 21.

His single theme, single-mindedly propounded with little subtlety of approach, was: Elect me and I will start the United States moving again. But he was wrong. On foreign policy, he called for new diplomatic initiatives, "imagination," and "vigor." He did specifically call for disengagement from Korea-Macao and for fighting the Cuban rebels, which gave the impression of being both soft and hard toward communism—the double image.

His welfare programs were not new—they called only for more spending. Though aimed at satisfying human needs, they carried the threat of unbalanced budgets and more inflation. True, he had suggested that the extra burdens were to be carried by expanded national growth, but just how he intended to accomplish this he never quite made clear.

Kennedy managed to elicit a picture of himself as a driving personality, endowed with the same charisma that his predecessor had in abundance. And, like Eisenhower, Kennedy projects a kind of sincerity and conviction even while talking of ordinary things in an ordinary way.

Just Plain Jack

After the campaign, Joseph P. Kennedy said he was at a loss to explain his son’s voting strength. People just seem to like Jack, Joe said. "He’ll put on a pair of old dungarees and go out and talk to the gardener or anybody. He looks just like some hayseed from Kansas." (The ambassador obviously did not mean to offend the Sunflower State. "Nevertheless," the El Dorado [Kansas] Times commented, "it indicates clearly the superior feeling of an ultra-rich man from Massachusetts has about this plebeian domain in the center of the country. In additional degree, it bespeaks the embittered attitude embodied by the phrase, the 'unconscious arrogance of conscious wealth.'"

There is this about Kennedy, too, his appeal of Hollywood, but it isn’t just smile and profile. For there is also it aura of royalty—the indelible quality of noblesse—about Kennedy. All this, and American, too. Whatever he goes, they ask for his autograph more than his credo. Who could ever forget the "jumpers," those aloof, courtly young lads—one not so young—whose leaping and screaming delighted reporters during the campaign? "I see him, I see him," to excited girls had screamed everywhere, "Oh, their friends invariably responded, "I could die." (Kennedy hired a crowd psychologist to analyze what such behavior meant in political terms.)

Likes the Mechanics

History may well record that the most serious thing that could be said about Kennedy is that he is the product of an age in which men felt they could achieve special distinction by the techniques of efficient administration rather than by the exposé of serious ideas. What fascinated him, he once said, were "me
as much the ideas of politics [but] the mechanism of the whole process is bringing you the thing you can do. It begins following the dollar. It allows the full use of your power. First, there is the great dress game—a battle, the competition. There's the strategy and which piece you move and when.

Kennedy's election was one of the closest in American history. For with a predominant Democratic registration and the built-in advantage of the South and the Catholic vote, Kennedy triumphed by only a photo-finish.

Kennedy's victory could be credited to such remarkable bedfellows as John McCullough and Walter Fitcher, and German Talmadge check-jowl with Martin Luther King. The voice of the people, calling for John F. Kennedy, broke in a.ylabel accent. And he would not be allowed to forget it.

A "Clear Mandate"?

Despite the narrowness of the victory, Walter Lippmann, with typical perspicacity, said it provided a "clear mandate" for enactment of Kennedy's hundreds of campaign promises. Lippmann said that "a narrow win by Nixon would have inaugurated an era of severe politics, economic and sectional bitterness." However, "Kennedy's mandate was a period of effective government," what with the new Administration looking to the west and above the Democratic reactions and obstructions.

"Clear mandate," fastousch, commented Negro Howard columns of Dr. Richard Starnes. "It all reminds me of a line from an old Father Carey, which goes: 'Walter Lippmann wasn't being brilliant today.'"

The Laurel-Syracuse Journal claimed that "the voters made one thing quite clear in this election. They have given a mandate to nobody.

Calm Transition

The transition from Dwight David Eisenhower to John Fitzgerald Kennedy was one of the calmest I had seen in the history of the Hoover-Roosevelt and Truman-Eisenhower changes. Eisenhower and Kennedy had met for three hours in early December. The day before the inauguration, when they conferred again, Eisenhower pledged he would not second-guess the actions of his successor. He, however, would not hesitate to speak out publicly in opposition if the Kennedy Administration sought to change United States policy toward Communist China.

Eisenhower also demonstrated to Kennedy the procedure for evacuating the White House in time of emergency. He lifted the phone and spoke a few words. Five minutes later, an Army helicopter hovered over the White House lawn. Kennedy was suitably impressed by the helicopter and was to make full use of this Eisenhower "inheritance."

On the porch, a reporter asked, "Are you surprised?" Kennedy turned to his questioner and answered reflectively. "Interested.

Two days—inauguration day—the Kennedy's showed up at the White House earlier than the official time in order to have coffee with the Eisenhowers. During the next few hours, until John F. Kennedy took the oath, he discussed with his predecessor a book on D-day he was reading—"The Longest Day." Joe had liked the book. Kennedy said it had taught him a lot he didn't know about the European war.

Over in the Capitol plaza, shore of snow, the inaugural platform fitted slowly by the great figures of Washington and the nation—and of course, the Kennedy family and friends.

The sun glared in the blue sky and Sen. John McCullough asked, "Is that Father Joe over there?" The man from Arkansas shielded his eyes with his hand. "Why, yes," he said, "I do believe it is.

And it was.

Beaming and laughing, Joseph P. Kennedy was telling friends, "This is what I've been looking forward to for a long time. It's a great day.

Joe Planned It

For though many a dozing parent has envisioned his son as growing up one day to become president of the United States, few have gone about realizing that dream with more drive and determination than Joseph P. Kennedy of Hyannis Port, Palm Beach, Palm Avenue and Cup d'Albany.

That today his son is to be president is a fact about which there was little of loose or happenstance. It was well-planned—every step of the way.

Asked what single person had the greatest impact on his political thinking, President Kennedy once replied, "My family atmosphere, my mother and father. . . . Within the family atmosphere," however, Joseph P. Kennedy was the dominant personality. Joe Kennedy reared his children in his own image—a family where competition is almost a way of life. Nothing matters not winning.

"I don't think much of people who have it in them to be first, but who finish second," he explained. "If you've got a second choice, then you haven't got first choice.

Before he was stricken, Joe Kennedy was asked by a reporter what problem he left his youngest son, 'Ted,' could expect as an heir to his estate. "Soccer," he said unhesitatingly. "In the Kennedy clan nothing is impossible.

Also, he had broken with Franklin D. Roosevelt (whom he had supported for three terms) and New Dealers regarding views as reactionary, if not worse. In the postwar period he had feared the United Nations, "a hopeless instrumentality" and had condemned "lavish spending" to aid foreign nations. In many ways he was a premiaire financier.

The story goes that Joe Kennedy had vowed to become a millionaire by the time he was 35. The dream was ful-filled many times over. But he wanted something else. He wanted social acceptance. It had always called at Harvard that though he was popular as an athlete, he could never make the "best" clubs—the so-called "final clubs" such as Porcellian and A.D.

When he began to amass great wealth, he found the "best" clubs in conservative Boston still closed him. There were no places where the Yankee could sit down against rising inflation. In fact, they were the last places.

When he finally packed his growing family off to New York, Kennedy made no bones about the fact that he wanted to live where he could be accepted as an American and not as an Irishman.

In the person of his son Jack, Joe Kennedy saw the ultimate in social status. In President Kennedy can be seen the final prodig of the gradual transition from shanty to lace curtain to cut-glasses Irish. One of his grandfathers may have owned a schooner, but Jack Kennedy has style, non-y, charm, and high connections.

Born to wealth andwedded to beauty and Nash social status, he is not the America of the big metropolis but of middle-class suburbia. He is the American of Palm Beach and Hyannis Port, of Chautauqua and Harvard, of 67 Mount Vernon and Le Pavillon. He is the world of dazzling women, sophisticated parties, sun worshipping and long weekends in the country. He entered the race of life with that serenity, that security from abrasive money crooks, that self-confidence that only inherited wealth could provide.

"For him," the Reporter's Douglas Carver has written in his fairy-tale view of him in America in 1963. The two best-selling books he has written, strongly non-fiction.

Both in his person and in his family, Kennedy represents the flowering of a new class. He may well be described as our finest melting pot aristocrat.

PART II

Kennedy's first faltering steps in politics guided by father Joe

President John F. Kennedy launched his political career on the foundation of a Massachusetts primary, the candidate is required to submit the names of 250 party supporters. On April 2, 1946, John F. Kennedy presaged a major role in the Massachusetts Democratic primary by voicing his support for Senator William Shannon. He won the primary, the great old man of Massachusetts politics.

To enter a Massachusetts primary, a candidate is required to submit the names of 250 party supporters. On April 2, 1946, John F. Kennedy presaged a major role in the Massachusetts Democratic primary by voicing his support for Senator William Shannon. He won the primary, the great old man of Massachusetts politics.

There was one thing wrong, however, John F. Kennedy did not have the support of the so-called Democrat. The law clearly provided that while the registration to vote by mail, he must agree in person to enroll as a member of the liberal party. Jack Kennedy had not done so.

The last filing day was April 30. To be eligible to file, a candidate would have to be a registered Democrat for not less than 30 days before the date.

Kennedy's oversight was discovered on April 2. The following day—2 days before the filing date—the state gave no notice they were going to be set up in the building where they registered as Democrats. He did not have the law permitted an exception.

A small, inconsequential technicality. Perhaps, yet, as Ralph, G. Martin and
Chums—And Pros

It was in the 1946 campaign that Joe Kennedy first employed the techniques that were to bring him electoral success later. Success! First, he got off to an early start. Long before his rivals bestirred themselves, he began campaigning. Then he began building his own personal-organization committee to solicit college churches, wartime shipyards and Ivy Leaguers. Some were Republicans, and most were uncommitted ideologically. But all pitched in to help Good Old Jack. There were, for example, Lam Billings, Jack’s roommate from Choate, in Baltimore; and “Red” Fay, who, having served with Jack in the PT’s, renewed, flew in from San Francisco. Then there was Timothy (Ted) Jackson, one of Joe Jr.’s buddies, who was to be part of Kennedy’s entourage all the way to the White House.

But Joseph P. Kennedy was taking no chances, even with the likes of these. The ambassador had the final word on who was to be put on the roll.

The ambassador brought in Francis X. Morrissey, once secretary to Gov. Maurice Tobin, as campaign manager. (By 1961, Morrissey—a municipal court judge who now works for Jack Kennedy—was shepherding Ted Kennedy around the state, getting him to meet the right people. But just as he had done with Jack in 1946.)

To teach Jack politics, the ambassador brought in his first cousin, Joe Haney, a 40-year veteran of the Bay State’s political wars. Kane provided young Jack with an insight into the mechanics of political infighting. “In politics,” Kane droned into his protege’s ear, “you have no friends, only ex-enemies. And it was Kane who suggested that Kennedy avoid announcing for office until after Labor Day, the last minute. It was to keep political opponents from jumping on the primary—and an old Boston custom—by jumping on yields to remove themselves as candidates.

Finally, on April 22, 1946, eight days before the filing deadline, Kennedy formally announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for U.S. representative from the 11th Massachusetts District. “The temper of the times imposes an obligation upon every thinking citizen to work diligently for peace, as we served tirelessly in war,” he declared.

Run On His War Record

Kennedy ran on his war record. According to the private polls commissioned by the campaign headquarters a careful record was kept of his appearance at all the parades. Later, they were asked to talk to their fellow comrades in arms. How much was spent? Only Joe Kennedy could possibly have known. His first cousin Joe Kane said later it was “a staggering sum.” But Kane could control most of it was unnecessary. “Jack could have gone to Congress like everyone else for ten cents.”

Then why did his father spend so much money?

Because, said Kane, Kennedy was taking no chances on anything else. It was “Everything his father got, he bought and paid for it.” He added: “And politics is war. It takes three things to win. The first is money and the second is money and the third is money.”

Primary day—June 16, 1946, finally, rolled around. This was the day that counted. The victor in the primary would be the next congressman.

And no one’s greatest surprise, when the votes were counted, was Joe Kennedy’s name. The son of a millionaire and a man who had almost double what obtained by his father, in all the election’s history, for the first time he had

It was for the clan Kennedy a sweet victory, indeed. For “Old Fenian,” it was a vindication of the righteous indignation of the Irish Catholic elite of grandad Jack. So Stalin was the First and Third World War, using the Yalta meet to bring into a table at campaign headquarters that night and advanced a stiff-legged Irish fig and sang in a cracked voice: “Sweet Ireland.” It was the way song of a colorful and rascally breed of Boston Irish politics. A new breed of politicians was about to take over.
PART III

"Where's Johnny?" heard often in Kennedy's early days in Congress

Kennedy himself has acknowledged that his record as a congressman was not the most distinguished. He had voted hard, but he really had not wanted, and he found himself voting on issues about which he couldn't care less.

"Naturally," he later told a biographer, Ralph Martin, "I wasn't equipped for the job. I didn't plan to go into it, and when I started out as a congressman, there were lots of things I didn't know. A lot of mistakes I made, maybe some votes that should have been different.

During this period Kennedy suffered occasional attacks of malaria and his legs had a yellowish tinge. His back hurt too, but he refused to certify the strenuous life to which the Kennedys are addicted. A salted, swam and played touch football.

"There are a few of us who play as we go."

During his first term, Kennedy was known as a "peanut" to some, and a "true gentleman" to others. He was described as being kind and gentle, with a quick wit and a dry sense of humor.

Sided With E iniciators

It takes a long reach of memory to see that in his congressional years John F. Kennedy often sided with the Hearst newspapers in efforts to curtail excessive Fair Deal spending.

In 1960, for example, Kennedy de- parted from his usual pattern and supported the Rusk-Gurney bill, which would have been a blow to the administration's efforts to cut back on defense spending.

"How long," Jack then demanded of the House, "can we continue deficit spending on such a large scale with a resultant cutback in our economic growth?"

But no one took Kennedy very seri- ously in those days. Not even Kennedy himself, according to Arthur Schlesinger Jr., who considered him a "young, pleasant, young man who was listar's a real gentleman."

Kennedy's absence from Washington did visibly excarate

The New House Majority Leader had to go out of his way to avoid the expansion.

John Kennedy as a 2-year-old congressman

20 years of war and the falls of corruption is an area that has seen the major support of a non-Communist China.

"Our policy, in the words of the presi- dent of the National Government, Sun Shou, of vaccination, uncertainty and con- vulsion has raised the whirlpool. This House must now assume the respon- sibility of preventing the overwhelming of communism from engulfing all of Asia.

There was high indignation in the United States over the soviet's progress in China. Anti-Communists raised the roar and croak, "Who really China?" and "Who lost China?" asked. "Who have paid, and who have perished?" asked questions that were asked out of sight.

And Congressmen Kennedy echoed those demands. In his address on the floor, "some of the most interesting issues are those that we are not able to be searched out because they are not interesting."

And Kennedy concluded, "This is the tragic case of China, which we once thought to have preserved, our strong house, our house of maps, and our capital have been utterly altered.

Kennedy's friends, who speculated about his motives in challenging the old party leader and policy ally (along with Gen. Marshall), suspected the hand of the Senate majority leader, Kennedy, by then a bitter foe of the Fair Deal and all its works.

Wars Against Truman

However, Jack Kennedy's personal revolt against the Truman administra- tion's going public his disaffection in Congress—may also have been in- volved in a higher political ambition. Kennedy was well aware (in part because of the writings of the pollsters Bernardo and Percy) that President Truman's policies, particularly in the Far East, were becoming increasingly unpopular in Massachusetts. And the local ambition called for total dis-association from Harry S. Truman.

"I never had the feeling I needed Truman," Kennedy said later.

Consequently, Kennedy opposed many Truman programs and acted no secret of his virtual contempt for the White House. In February 1949, he opposed a three-year extension of the Trade Agreement Act. (When recommital failed, he reversed himself and appropriates for various flood control, navigation and atomic power purposes in the country. His view on significant vote—In view of his later am- bitious record, one in 1952 with a stopping $14 million from appropriations to the Tennessee Valley Authority. "We are in danger of losing two basic industries, steel and coal, and the South," he explained to the House.

On foreign policy, Kennedy frequently talked of an isolationist. Recently he made an "inspection trip" to Hodgson, who after a "visit to Moscow" had the House to believe that his views on communism were those of the "radical" element.

But then, how do we ever make any sense of the situation? "It is not the day when Joe McCarthy and thought he knew how to handle the situation," that he had no great respect for himself or his fellow member of the Fair Deal administration: (1) that he personally was very happy that the young Senator Douglas had just been defeated in California by Richard Nixon.

Gave $1,000 to Nixon

The young congressmen were, of course, on the same side. The chairman, who was authorized by John F. Mullan, then a Harvard teaching fellow and more re- cently a professor at Smith College. Kennedy's 'liking for McCarthy seemed to be on a personal basis, as he felt that Mrs. Douglas "was not the person I like working with on committees."

"I never had the feeling I needed Truman," JFK once said.

The vigor of support for Franco's Spain raised the question of whether the whole case centered so much about the enslave as over the ideality of the enslaver.

"Because," continued Baghdad, "such retreats and advances, such evolutions and contractions suggest that Kennedy has not yet achieved very solid convictions. It would be sad to see his foot, or would, if he developed into a "reservation" whose reservations could represent the margin of failure?"

The situation was not to be raised again and again as Jack Kennedy moved up the political ladder. They were even being raised today.

PART IV

Kennedy's secret contribution to defeat Helen Gahagan Douglas

"On Nov. 10, 1952," began a New York Times article which appeared nearly two years later, "a young Massachusetts congresswoman told an informal gathering of Harvard University students and pro- fessors—of which this writer was a mem- ber—that (1) he could see no reason why we were not doing anything about that sooner or later we would have "to get out" of foreign affairs, (2) he had never been about Communists in govern- ment: (3) that he personally felt that not enough had been done about Communists in govern- ment; (4) that he personally felt that not enough had been done about Communists in govern- ment; (5) that he personally felt that not enough had been done about Communists in govern- ment; (5) that he personally felt that not enough had been done about Communists in govern- ment; (5) that he personally felt that not enough had been done about Communists in govern- ment.

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Gave $1,000 to Nixon

So aroused emotionally was young Kennedy against Helen Gahagan Douglas, that in 1948 he had given to her what could well have been a disastrous slip in terms of his later ambitions. In 1950, John F. Kennedy made a personal contribution to Richard M. Nixon in his Senate cam- paign against the California congressman.

"The campaign, of course, is not over," according to Robert W. Richards, chief of the San Diego Union's Washington bureau. Like any other contribution it was turned over to the National Senate Campaign Committee in California.

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"Nor has Nixon ever betrayed the Kennedy campaign gift to this day."

Fortunately for Kennedy, the Richard Nixon chapter ended on July 20, 1960, soon after his nomination for president by the Republicans. As Richmond told the story: "The new Democratic standard-bearer's porridge and ice cream fell out of his mouth as he clunked the money tree to the party's presidential candidate. Nothing, Nick said, would make him run as a warrior against communism. But the story, Nick, kindly, is the story of the House, brought in person to the Nixon office. The president's aid also was serving his second term in Congress—was saying, as a veritable son of his father, that he would sell and draw upon his own account."

There had been published reports that Jack Kennedy had run the Nixon campaign because he considered Mrs. Douglas "too far to the left." But the Richmond dispatch was the first to disclose that Jack Kennedy had personally helped Nixon out with a financial gift.

All this happened during the bruising Nixon-Douglas contest, the repercussions of which still held a decade later during the 1960 presidential campaign. Jack Kennedy, who could have stood in 1950 to be capitalized upon in the forthcoming campaign, as Richmond wrote of the 1950 episode:

**Nixon Never Disclosed It**

"Naked-handed" Kennedy strode into the Nixon-Douglas campaign, offering to discuss how to ask the congressmen what work he could do. He was informed he could not discuss with him. Jack then suggested that he'd like to see Nixon's congressional volumes, which were usually turned over to Washington. Polling the contents, he suddenly ventured from his pocket to the Boston House member said he wanted to see a book that Kennedy's campaign against Rep. Douglas.

Richmond decided to spell out to the Nixon side that he might not be precluded. If a Democrat member of Congress was up in a district that could be added to the campaign of a Republican presidential candidate:

"Nixon has never betrayed the Kennedy campaign gift to this day."

"Fair enough," said Nixon. "And neither Nixon nor any of his staff, had revealed the story only because Kennedy, in his speech accepting the presidential nomination, had stood and said "low blows" against his Republican rival.

"No one thing, Kennedy had asserted that Nixon "is a, he is a, he is a."

"Better Nixon out of the hands of all."

"That's a paradoxical view of what had happened only a decade ago when when Kennedy voted the defeat of Mrs. Douglas."

"Perhaps," observed Richmond, "is one of those omissions of the period that politics imposes on the ambitious."

**Outlines Campaign**

Kennedy's lead was no less for Kennedy in terms of his Senate ambitions, was written in the Atlas article. It was in the fall of 1951. A further Harvard appearance when Rep. Kennedy disclosed his intention to seek election to the Senate the following year. And, without characterizing his remarks as off-the-record, he outlined the kind of campaign that would be run by the Republican incumbent Henry Cabot Lodge. "I am not a campaigner," Kennedy would say here, if the theory of the "visual campaign" was hazy, was bad, if the term "image" had entered the language.)

Dr. Mullan continued: "Lodge, said Kennedy, is as I am. He is a veteran of World War II, as I am. He might have said that both men were decorated for bravery, I cannot disagree with him on that point. There is no way, in short, that I can create a 'visual' campaign by myself as a young man with an old campaigner, the Old Guard. One thing remains: I must attack Lodge on the point of foreign policy. I must attack his record on housing, on price control, on jobs. I must attack his attacks against Soway and economic aid for New England. I must, to help Kennedy, the Kennedyites have added—become a New Dealer."

**McCarthy Issue Taboo**

Some liberals in the '62 race were concerned about Kennedy's "failure to address himself to the menace of McCarthyism." So Gardner "Pat" Jackson, an aged New York lawyer, who had pressed a high-level pronouncement citing Senator Margaret Chase Smith's "Declaration of Conscience," and a manifesto "on the McCarthy and Communist party" signed by ninety-nine Notre Dame faculty members. Kennedy was willing to sign the statement provided House Leader John McCormack would do likewise. McCORMAK had agreed. The idea was simply publish it as a newspaper advertisement.

"So I took the statement up to Jack's apartment the next morning," said Jackson. "Jack was the place a hustler of a full. Jack had his coat on and was winding out just as I arrived."

"Sitting at a card table in the center of the room were Joseph Kennedy, his secretary, and those three ghost writers—James Lardle, John Harriman, and Joseph Healy.

"You should the ad, Jack," Jackson continued, "Jack, and I hadn't gone two feet with such feet that he tilted the table over the others."

Storming over at Jackie, he shouted at the top of his voice, "You and your (albino) friends are trying to destroy my son!" Not only was he not opposed to McCarthy, but he had helped contribute to Joe's campaign. Again and again charged that the liberals, the labor people, and the Jews were out to destroy his son. Moreover, he stormed, his son had gone too much down the labor union line to suit him. He shouted obscenely after obsequies. (Editor's note: Joe Kennedy had not to be anti-Semitic but is prone to use derogatory ethnic terms—for all races and nationalities, Irish included.)

"And what's more," he yelled, "this statement will now be published."

"As, in fact, it wasn't."

"I can't estimate how long he poured it out on me," Jackson later recalled. "It was just a stream of stuff. . . . No one ever had shouted at me that way in my life."

**$3,000 to McCarthy**

The McCarthy problem was a particularly thorny one for a candidate seeking the votes of both militant supporters and militant foes of the controversial Wisconsin senator. The great fear in the Kennedy camp was that McCarthy might come to Massachusetts and endorse Lodge.

Kennedy had managed to solve the problem in familiar style. He committed $3,800 to McCarthy in the senator's campaign and the story circulated he did so in order to keep the Wisconsin senator out of the Senate.

Throughout the 1952 campaign, Jack Kennedy managed to avoid McCarthy. Joe McCarthy later et as plight. Once, however, he did criticize the senator's record on some economic issues. ("That's like being against women," McCarthy said of the senator's program.) One time the name of Joe McCarthy was raised to an embarrassed silence. This was the occasion when, according to reporter Murray Kempton, Harry Truman came to Boston. "to address a wounde night with Irish professionals and fairly spent the names of Jenner and McCarthy."

Kennedy had invited the president on the roof with a "delicately carpeted" floor. They talked about the "Caphearti and the Calais," as a "murderers' row of reaction."

But McCarthy added little story in the liberals' principal late boite of the season—McCarthy.

In seeking to outflank Lodge from the right, Kennedy appeared for votes from the conservative Republicans with the argument that he was far closer on for- among to Sen. Robert A. Taft. Republican himself—than was his dist- Republican opponent.

"Kennedy has been an outspoken critic of many elements of the Truman admin- trated the foreign policy, began to circulate by Kennedy's campaign head- his. In this respect, he is further from the president, or moving closer to the point of Taft than Senator Lodge."

In the last analysis, the Kennedy-McCarthy pact was the result of the head of the so-called foreign policy parade since 1947. . . .

**The Kennedy Money**

Essentially, the 1952 campaign came down to a competition of personal money. And money.

The biggest laugh of the campaign was a letter written by a congressman to Kennedy headquarters that began, "I believe or not (incub. friends) I see you in the Senate. No he was not."

One had any doubt that the Kennedy campaign was more than adequately financed.

Sen. Lodge had money; but not that much. He began the campaign in a "bake to buy the senator."

Lodge's campaign committee reported a total expenditure of nearly $360,000, a new high for on-set spending for political campaigning in the Commonwealth. Why was spent off the record was another mystery. Following the election, when Lodge told the Sunday Evening Post he would not have been able to compete without the family bank roll.

When the votes were counted, Kennedy was the only Bay State Democrat to survive the 1952 Republican landslide. While Eisenhower carried the state by some 210,000 votes, Kennedy managed to hold the title and defeat Lodge by 70,000 votes.

It was those damned tea parties," exclaimed Henry Cabot Lodge by way of explanation. A friend offered this con- solution. "Don't take it too seriously; it was only lost by 9,500,000 cups of tea!"

**Part V**

Kennedy switches views on Ike's Korea visit

On Jan. 3, 1963, after taking the oath of office as a U.S. senator, John F. Kennedy rode to the White House in the last limousine behind the Democratic con- nession.

Six weeks later he began to complain.

"There is nothing lower in Washing- ton than a young member of the Democratic party," he said.

The fact that he had scored a truly sensational victory in the special election and that his inaugural address was hailed as a "proclamation of freedom" then, according to his own account, was nothing more than a propaganda stunt. In fact, he had said, that the importance of his victory in forma of a Communists' war would inevitably lead to a Communist attack on Alaska and World War III.

Now, Kennedy said he was "glad" Eisenhower was going to Korea because, after a first-hand study, the new President could then decide whether the "Chinese Nationalist troops" and perhaps even Japan's forces should not be Communist forces. (In Paris, several weeks later, the President was to deliberate to take "the risk of permitting Japanese renunciation".)

**Snubs Truman**

This was a period when Kennedy repeatedly and publicly sympathized with the Truman Administration. Moreover, he had criticized the Eisenhower landslide as "irrelevant that with the Democratic lead lasting in power for 20 years.""How- ever peacefully, I hope," he said, "more Democratic dinner in March 1953. However, he said, of the youngoughtought" he had to come to the Democrats."

Invited to address the Kansas Demo- cratic Club during the Iowa inviting, Kennedy or involve, he would not say how much. He did this to say, "I'm afraid I don't understand it."

Little has been revealed of how Kennedy responded to the invitation, but it has been said that he would refuse the invitation and apply to under what he understood. But still, one can be sure that Kennedy would have been more paranoid about accepting an invitation from a former president than the United States.

That and other little things that Harry Truman would not forget when Jack Kennedy came calling for help in preventing the presidential nomination. It was not all work for the tall, tanned and handsome lawyer—at 35, one of the youngest senators in the Senate. What with his numerous—though casual—dais, the gossipy horde of columnists who were holding a daily session on the identity of the future Mrs. Kennedy. "Many women have looked for the best Senator Kennedy needs looking after," according to the Sporting News, the "Saturday Evening Post. In their opinion, he is, as a young millionaire, the most just about the most eligible bachelor in the United States—and the least justifiable one."

**Courtship of Jackie**

However, the "gay, young bachelor" was already engaged to an American girl named Lee Radziwill, the sister of Jacqueline Bouvier. The only two things only got serious when they were involved in the Moonlight, an evening at the home of the fabulous Bethesda, Washington, tennis tournament at the Bates Hotel. It was this in 1953 and the occasion of an invitation to the Senate and all that—yes, in Jacqueline's words: "very splashy."
John Kennedy and the former Jacqueline Lee Bouvier were married by Boston's Cardinal (then Archbishop) Cushing in a picture-book extravaganza in Newport that, thanks to the columns in attendance, was well publicized as the social event of the year. There were 700 guests at the nuptials and Mass, ranging from Marion Davies to Grace Kelly, and 900 at the reception. All of Kennedy's colleagues in the Senate had been invited.

Fresh from his senatorial victory, Kennedy resumed his round of Washington social events. For six months Jack campaigned tirelessly for his bride, and in out of dinner parties, art shows, and movie house and at hunt breakfasts up and down the East Coast.

On Sept. 12, 1958, Jack Fitzgerald Kennedy and Jacqueline Lee Bouvier were married by Boston's Cardinal (then Archbishop) Cushing in a picture-book extravaganza in Newport that, thanks to the columns in attendance, was well publicized as the social event of the year. There were 700 guests at the nuptials and Mass, ranging from Marion Davies to Grace Kelly, and 900 at the reception. All of Kennedy's colleagues in the Senate had been invited.

Four months later, the Kennedy family moved into orange Foxmoor. Naturally enough, Kennedy was given a full-time staff of political aids, political pliers, and political cooks. And naturally enough, he was alone almost every weekend while Jack traveled the country or kept the wife company at the reception. All of Kennedy's colleagues in the Senate had been invited.

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Two White House advisors who assisted in the research for John Kennedy book "Profiles in Courage" (Houghton Mifflin, 1955) from several historians including Arthur Krock, Peter Drucker, and James Lees Miller. The book is "invaluable assistance in the assembly and preparation of the material for the "research associate" Theodore Sorensen, the Kennedy Press Secretary, has Kennedy's History with Winning Best-seller on his hands.

Brush With Death

Jacqueline nearly lost her husband in the first year of their marriage. Kennedy's back had begun to hurt more and more. That metal plate they put in his spine after the war had never healed over properly. "You could look into an open hole in his back and see the bones." In the spring of the 1957, he hobbled around on crutches.

In October, 1954, the senator entered Massachusetts General Hospital, where Dr. Philip Wilson headed a medical team that believed that surgery could relieve the pain. A second operation... the details of which were never officially made public... was performed near the end of the year.

In February, 1955, he was back in the hospital for another operation. Again he received the last rites of the Catholic church, and again members of his family prayed for him outside the operating room. This time, the operation was removed successfully.

According to Paul Martin, Washington bureau chief of the Gannett newspapers, the Kennedy case at the time was described in the American Hospital Association's Archives of Surgery, Volume 74, 1955, in an article called "Meningeal Arachnoiditis Insufficiency Due to Dextrose." Written by New York doctors, including Joe Wilson who performed the surgical operation, the article reported:

A man 37 years of age had Addison's Disease for seven years. He had been managed fairly successfully for several years on a program of dextrose- cortisone acetate pellets of 150 mg. implanted every three months and continued in doses of 25 mg. daily orally.

"Owing to a back injury, he had a great deal of pain which interfered with his daily routine. On repeated consultation suggested that he might be helped by a lumbar-sacral fusion together with a sacrotuberous ligation.

Because of the severe degree of trauma involved in these operations, and of the patient's arachnoiditis insufficiency due to Addison's Disease, I deemed dangerous to proceed with these operations.

A team of doctors versed in endocrinoology and surgical physiology was assembled to help in management of the patient before, during, and after the operation. The AMA report concluded:

This case is noteworthy because dextrose-cortisone proved a decided risk on the tendency to develop spinal fluid loss and arterial hyperperfusion. Dextrose-cortisone therapy is clearly indicated, since an arachnoid-sac-like structure that permits readopting the spinal fluid in the kidney so that the subarachnoid space is not minimised.

"Though this patient had marked arachnoiditis insufficiency, though the magnitude of his surgery was great, and though complications ensued post-operatively, this patient had a smooth post-operative course which is unusual in an arachnoiditis case ever described.

Profiles In Courage

This was the blackest period in Kennedy's life. He lived flat on his back, not knowing whether he would ever walk again. Jacqueline did her best to cheer him up. She was forever bringing fresh surprises—from balloons which he could shout down with a pogo to Grace Kelly herself, in person. On Feb. 25, 1955, when the operation was a success, he was able to return to the hospital to fly back to Washington. His convalescence was slow, painful, and marked by intermittent depression. He still had to be helped to his aids and family.

Then, Kennedy later recounted, he got a letter from a 90-year-old woman in Cape Cod who told him: "I love you. I lose the way to pray. Your wife is a beautiful young woman. Keep him. The rest of the things you've never had time to do..."

It was this letter, Kennedy said, that prompted him to write Profiles in Courage. With the help of a steady stream of mofos from the Library of Congress during his convalescence, memoranda and advice given by his father, and by his father's home in Hyannis Port, he began his book, companioned by a Life photographer.

Worth Fighting For

The vice presidency had become worth fighting for. No longer could it be said in jest that the party leaders merely grabbed the last man out of the convention hall for the job. Eisenhower's heartfelt, the major role Richard Nixon was playing in planning made it give the vice presidency an importance it rarely had before.

The Kennedy boom had been launched a few hours after the senator, then 38 years old, had returned to Washington following an eight-month leave of absence necessitated by several serious operations necessary to his back operation.

"It was almost a her's wish that this man who had been imprisoned in the Senate chamber on May 24, 1955, had been released by the Senate. It was his wish that this was the last member of the Senate to be released because they were too busy with other things. He was released because he was the last member of the Senate to be released. He was released because he was the last member of the Senate to be released. He was released because he was the last member of the Senate to be released. He was released because he was the last member of the Senate to be released. He was released because he was the last member of the Senate to be released.

The convention opened in Chicago's huge International Amphitheater with the usual band music, circus atmosphere and all.

The big story, however, was going on behind the scenes. As usual, as a Democratic convention, it was about civil rights. Hope was that behind closed doors indicated a row had been precipitated by northern liberal who insisted on a strong plank.

Tossed A Bone

At 1:00 A.M., Wednesday, Aug. 15, Kennedy was summoned into Stevenson's presence. Stevenson said he might want to have the data made the naming for him the evening. It all depended on the outcome of the civil rights fight. If the South was humbled, then Stevenson said he would be forced to call upon a southerner to nominate him, for the risks of unity.

It was a stunning blow for Kennedy. Was he being tossed a bone as a consolation prize for not being selected as Stevenson's running mate?

"You're it," he told Kennedy. "Go to it!"

At 11:00 A.M., after working through most of the night with Sorensen on a naming speech, Kennedy hopped a cab to the convention hall. With him was the Fratton Club's Tom Wuchter who had been riding the cab since the early morning, during the cab ride. Climbing his seat, Kennedy was whispering to himself: "God Go Go!"

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"Everyone was crying, grown-men all crying... I'll never forget the water gushing out of that room."

The "Low Road"

The speech was well received. The biggest applause-getting line—one that had been attributed to Arthur Schlesinger Jr.—was on attack on Nixon: "Our con-
demned and despised group of two of the most skilled politicians in history—
only you, my friends, and one who took the low road." (Needless to say, to
cheering delegates could have known that Jack Kennedy had gone to Mc-
ner and that he would travel the so-called "low road."

As expected, Stevenson was nominated the first time around, with no trouble. It was expected, however, was his refusal to appoint a running mate. He had de-
clared, he told party leaders, to throw the
chairman Neil Staebler, were then plead-
ing with Humphrey—almost on bended knee—to throw his support behind
Kefauver in a stop-Kefauver move.

"Even while they talked," as a par-
ticipant later recited the scene to Ken-
dy biographers Martin and Flaut
Kennedy kept grinning and Scoop and
Neil were just begging Hubert and some-
body else was saying, "Stick it out... Hubert... we can make it on this third
ballot, stick it out, we can get Texas and Rhodo Island."

"Eugenie Anderson was there, too, shouting at all of them, 'Leave Hubert
alone...it's got to make his own dec-

 decisions; let him choose alone..." and ever-
one was crying. Eugene was crying and I was crying and the tears were just
pouring out of Staebler."

About the only thing TV comment-
ator Martin Agronsky can still vividly recall of the 1956 convention is that
lachrymose scene: "Hubert was crying,
really sobbing, and so were some of his
friends." When Kefauver entered the
narrow-room, he still had to do his
decisionable pleading. "Hubert," he
said, "you've just got to help me, we've
just got to help me...Please..." Now Kefauver had begun to cry, "in fact," a
witness said, "Everyone was crying, grown men all crying...I'll never forget the
water gushing in that room."

Not Jack

Jack, Kennedy, however, wasn't cry-
ing, he lay sprawled on a bed in his room in Room 104 of the Stock Yard
inn, he was watching the television coverage of the dramatic second-place race.
The first ballot had shown Kefauver with 48.4%, Kennedy 304, Gore 178, Wagner
163b, and Humphrey 154. Needed to
win were 666 votes.

On the second-go-round, the first
important break came when Al Gore's
Orval Faubus declared his state for Ken-
nedy. (Faubus had been personally won
by Kennedy during the night.) Then
New Jersey declared for Kennedy. The
clerk doused on, calling the names of
the states: Mississippi...South Carolina...Texas."

Sarge Shriver pointed his head in
the door to say that, in view of the turn
of events, the man who thought he
was visible that Jack more to a larger,
air-conditioned suite. Protected by a
cold round of Chinese food, the Kened-
leys dashed down the hall in his shorts to

The night that followed was one of
the most famous in recent campaign
history. Senators Kennedy, Kefauver, Gore and Humphrey, as well as Mayor
Wagner, stumbled into each other as they
shuffled blindly-eared by the varied
campaigning in downtown hotels seeking
support. "At 500 A.M.," reported
the Associated Press' veteran correspondent
Jack Bell, "I came across Kefauver dor-
ing a television recording in a corridor of
the Conrad Hilton Hotel. Kennedy, rushing to another meeting, tripped over
the top and almost fell into his rival."

Kennedy people hit delegation after
debate, chanting the same thing: "It's
either Kefauver or Kennedy; and you
don't want Kefauver, do you?" The argu-
ment hit home; many southerners didn't
want Kefauver because of his liberalism,
while some northerners didn't want him
because his pacifistic views had uncovered too many links between rack-

erers and big city Democratic machines.

Crying Jag

Looking back on the roll call of that
Friday night, there was such voting as
Louisiana's 24 and Georgia's 32 on the
first two ballots gave shape to the sur-
priising news that Kennedy, and not Hu-

dson, emerged the victor.

At the second ballot began, Hubert
Humphrey, waxy and stunned at the sur-
priising turn of events, sat with some
doses friends in the Joe Cutler's
private room in back of the convention plat-
form, talking to F. T. (Ike) Williams (Isa-

y) Williams, along with his state

that the shift of a single delegation might have turned the trick. At that
moment, Senate Majority Leader Kennedy
addressed the gathering to frame the
necessary votes to go over the top.

Tide Turns

"No," said Gary, "we're not going to

 do it. We're voting against the

 bill. We need a man in Oklahoma who

 days of the farmers and Kefauver is our

man."

In Oklahoma thus led the 16-state swing to Kefauver. The Kennedy upsurge had
subsequently collapsed.

It was Missouri Chairman Tom Hen-

ings who sent Kefauver over the top.

Turning away from the television set,
Kennedy said, "That's it—let's go."

It had been Kennedy's first major political defeat; and he took it hard.
Exhausted, tense and depressed, he flew
off the next day to France to be with
his father, Jacqueline Kennedy, also ex-
hausted, tense and depressed, flew to New-
port to be with her parents in her final
weeks of pregnancy.

Kennedy'sFrench Riviera, Clare Booth Luce, U.S. ambassador to

Italy, who had been visiting the Joseph P.
Kennedy. The Wisby Buchanan—he was the honor chief of the State De-
partment—were there too, and they
recall that Dickie and Jacqueline were
deeply upset. "You must be very proud
that Jack came so close to getting the vice

The Buchanan nearly fell off their
burning chairs when Kefauver's Orval Faubus declared his state for Ken-
nedy. (Faubus had been personally won
by Kennedy during the night.)

Kennedy began presidential drive
true of Confederacy

It was amid the debris of Stevenson's
electoral disaster that John Kennedy
launched his own drive for the presidency. He had good reason to lift his
eyes, as he put it, "from the V to the I."

For when the Senate convened in January 1955, Kennedy was returned as one of the nation's
better-known political figures.

In 1957 Kennedy made some 150 appearances throughout the country. He was spending a good deal of
time in the South, where his dose convention
speeches to Estes Kefauver had made him a hero. Before last year was out Kennedy
had come known as "Dickie's favorite Yankee."

"Southerners were damned nice to me at

Kefauver convention," he told a

unanimous Bob Comadie. "And before that
and at even times, I couldn't tell a finer,
finer, better-middle-class people than I met
spending time in Virginia, Georgia and Louisiana."

Kennedy had become so popular be-

low the Mason-Dixon line that in Decem-
ber 1957 the Christian Science Monitor's
Bill Elder was able to report that
"a growing feeling throughout the nation that
the race is dead may be the one to
lead a third party in Dixie."

Though Kennedy criticized Eisen-

hower's role in Little Rock, no one
could say he personally would have
chaired effective situations out the
integrated.

Only when pressed would he uphold the Supreme Court decision—"it is the

Ceuvre and Southern leaders who will

Kennedy's campaign in South Carolina and

except..." said the Supreme Court decision repelled
degregation.

As usual the Kennedy people were favor the decision or oppose it," he said in November 1957, "I'm

ing to be carried up and that is the

law of the land; there is no appeal from it."

But the statement was not entirely accurate.
Though the law of the land against
the integration, it had some 
being applied.

The eve of his arrival to address a
Democratic dinner in Jackson, Miss,

the Republican state chairman challenged
Kennedy to state how he felt about
segregation.

The next night, Kennedy found 1,000
pair of eyes staring at him. He said, "I have no hitches," and from that day on
the Republican state chairman said the same thing. Kennedy went to the
capital of the state of Boston—that I accept the Supreme Court decision as the supreme law on
the land. I know we do not all agree
on that issue—but I think we all agree
on the necessity to uphold law and
order in every part of the land."

No response from the audiences.

Then Kennedy attacked. "And how
can the Republican chairman tell us
what he stands on Eisenhower and
Nixon."

The remark, probably the main 
party of the year, brought down the house. And his audience let loose with

"Hell yes we do wish that we

Kennedy observed that the

GOP National Chairman Made

aeem the same name as one of

Mississippi's more unpopular for-

narrative governors. For this remarkable
display of coddling, Kennedy and

there won the presidential blessing of

Gov. James Coleman.

Kennedy had ordered he

Kennedy for the presidency. "The
ing room at the Southern Governor's Conference. And by the time it hit the


just about saying anything about

Kennedy at the conference, the

In 1957 Mississippi Gov. James P. Coleman became the first

Southern governor to say that he favored Kennedy for Presi-

dent in 1960. This vigorous sup-

port for JFK was a forerun in Cole-

man's deal for the governorship
August 27, 1963.

Associated Press reported: "Yes, you
would think that he was saying that
a candidate of Robert B. Lee and a man who
told him "you're nothing but a coward."

Just as Kennedy's candidacy with

Southern segregationists would tar-

ditions exists in years to come, so has the Kennedy profile suffered from

his refusal to turn his back on Jim

McCarthy."

The trouble with writing a book like

Profiles in Courage was that it opened up the whole McCarthy issue.

The test was over McCarthyism, and

how Kennedy faced this test demonstrated much of his character, humility, in-

spiration and—as Eleanor Roosevelt

put it—his "convictions." —as—and

Winston Churchill put it in his "oral course" Or as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. put it, JFK

Kennedy's modesty was that, by writing
the book, he invited particular atten-

tion to the McCarthy period."

But the book was not just for JFK

Schlesinger Jr. and his fellow liberals.
And most of them failed it as bad
and did McCarthy."

For among liberals, the one
thing that had long kept them from the bad guys was the least part

he shared the story of McCarthy; he was

known his unquenchable hatred of Mc-

Carthy."

But McCarthy in any terms other

those of total abuse, was automatically
described as a jerk."

There could be no exception.
One of the bonny traps on the road to the White House had been defused.

Casting his Crossfire-like shadow over the proceedings, Kennedy was present at a meeting between Jack and his top lieutenant a day before Operation Kennedy was devised. The date was Oct. 28, 1959, the day, Robert F. Kennedy's summer home in the family compound in Hyannis Port burned to the ground. It was a little more than a year later this was in the Kennedy White House.

But there was a lot of work to be done before then. President Kennedy was always central to the well-ordered march of events in a J.F.K. presidency.

Others present included brothers Bobby and Ted, both had just resigned. They ratified the administration's commitment of 28-30,000 troops to Berlin, the Soviet Union, and Robert Kennedy, the number of American advisors in Vietnam.\n
Also present were Louis Harris, a public opinion pollster, Joan Baez, singer-songwriter, who helped manage the family's business interests, and charitable organizations. In the '60s, a public opinion pollster, Joan Baez, singer-songwriter, who helped manage the family's business interests, and charitable organizations. In the '60s, a public opinion pollster, Joan Baez, singer-songwriter, who helped manage the family's business interests, and charitable organizations. In the '60s, a public opinion pollster, Joan Baez, singer-songwriter, who helped manage the family's business interests, and charitable organizations. In the '60s, a public opinion pollster, Joan Baez, singer-songwriter, who helped manage the family's business interests, and charitable organizations.

Card Catalog Minds

It was a r.i.t., history New England day, standing on the edge of the Kennedy White House, the day, Oct. 1, 1961. John F. Kennedy proceeded to schedule a session with Bobby, Ted, and Robert Kennedy, the number of American advisors in Vietnam.\n
Since Sept. 18, 1956, Kennedy and the Senate had traveled, separately and together, over a million miles, studying Democratic, districts, election laws, local peculiarities. Gradually there was a share of the committee's work on the nomination of senators, names, dates, who should be written on the House floor.

Until July 23, 1961, Kennedy and the Senate had traveled, separately and together, over a million miles, studying Democratic, districts, election laws, local peculiarities. Gradually there was a share of the committee's work on the nomination of senators, names, dates, who should be written on the House floor.

Bobby Kennedy was an impassioned McClymontian.

In June 1958 the Republicans began to pay attention to Kennedy. McClymont, an inviting idea was that the senator, he has under gone some amusing changes. He has flip-flopped on some positions in his career.

It was a booming discordant note in what otherwise had been generally favorable reaction to Kennedy's White House nominations. And it came as the senator was preparing to run for re-election. Part of Abramson's criticism was based on the fact that Kennedy, after voting in favor of flexible farm price supports advocated by Secretary Johnson, had promised to return the civil rights bill to the Senate.

If I were Kennedy's opponent in the upcoming election," said Abramson, "I would ask about his farm price 'freeze' vote over and over again. I also put the spotlight on his curious flip-flop on the civil rights bill in 1957.

Which was precisely what Kennedy's GOP opponent, Vincent Celeste, tried to do that fall. He accused Kennedy of "opportunism" in his farm vote and of having voted against the civil rights bill. Celeste had it right, but he did not have such a share of the committee's work on the nomination of senators, names, dates, who should be written on the House floor.

Bobby Kennedy had a black mark on his record. But he was always pleasant; he was never a crack," replied the ambassador. "And when people asked him for his support of President Kennedy, he would go around and meet the people who were opposed to him."

"In case there is any question in your mind," he told one interviewer, "I like Jack McClymont. I always liked him. I would see him when I went down to Washington and when he was visiting in Palm Beach, I would take him to my house for a dinner; I invited him to Cape Cod."

Why had he liked McClymont?

"I was always pleasant; he was never a crack," replied the ambassador. "And when people asked him for his support of President Kennedy, he would go around and meet the people who were opposed to him."

The moment of truth for Jack came on Dec. 14, 1954. That day a Senate vote to censure McClymont. But Kennedy, an independent legislator, had been a New York hospital where he underwent a spinal surgery. The only other senator under 50 in the later years was Robert F. Kennedy of Wisconsin, who had the excuse of youth.

Nevertheless, Kennedy could have gone on record as not opposing McClymont. He could have been paired with his own colleagues when he had talked about running as his state's "favorite son."
Kennedy and Humphrey clash

Kennedy and Humphrey clashed during the campaign's final weeks, with each trying to prove that he was the better choice for the electorate. The debates were intense, with each candidate trying to gain an upper hand in the public's mind. Kennedy emphasized his experience and foreign policy, while Humphrey highlighted his legislative record and domestic policies. The campaign was marked by heated exchanges and a lack of respect between the two candidates.

Why Not Compare Records?

"Why don't you ever refer to Humphrey's voting record?" one reporter asked Kennedy.

Kennedy recalled as if from a trench- •

erous attack.

"Voting record?" he snapped. "Why should I bring up his voting record? Then he'd bring up mine. What good would it do for me to chew him up or for him to chew me up?"

Nevertheless, when the final returns were in, Kennedy won, with a decisive 478,601 votes — 56 per cent of the Democratic vote that took 6 of the state's 10 electoral districts, 20 of the 31 delegate districts, and 161 of the 182 delegate districts. Adding up the results, the president and the politicians made them come out just about anywhere they wanted it.

But there was an unmistakeable con- •
duction to it was that an air •

ative, hard-campaigning Catholic candidate could carry on a powerful Catholic vote cutting across labor union lines, the farm problem, and even — to a lesser extent — party lines.

One revealing aspect of the November ballot was the increasing influence of the Catholic vote. In 1960, Kennedy had carried 11 states, including key swing states like Ohio and Pennsylvania. In 1964, he won 13 states, including New York and California. The Catholic vote played a crucial role in these victories, and it was a factor that the Republicans had to take seriously.

Disneyland Off-Limits

Once he gave his staff a dressing down in Los Angeles that has been repeated, Bobby discovered that his "setts" had visited Disneyland. They had been brought to Los Angeles to frollic in the sun. Henceforth, Disneyland was off limits.

Moreover, he was distressed by the tardiness of some staff members. When he called a meeting, he expected his troops to arrive on time. But then he was forced to wait for five minutes after the meeting was called. "I want no more tardiness," he said. "If you want to remain on the campaign team, you will be on time."

Everything was pretty well under con- trol by the time John F. Kennedy arrived in Los Angeles. It was Saturday, July 9, and on hand to greet "Lob Inver"—as James Reston was known—were several of the press corps who had visited the same spots. But Kennedy was more concerned with the political climate of the region, and he wanted to present a strong case for his candidacy.

Law Lesson for Bobby

Nerve center of the Kennedy operation, which ranged across the nation's 48 states, was a revolving door on the eighth floor of the Willmore building. Here, a group of Kennedy's men was direct- •

ing campaign strategy with Kennedy's "old school," Longtime friends and others of the light outside group.

These were non-ideological. Their only concern was to win. Issues were only important if they would help to win. A revealing episode occurred the Friday night before the convention opened. Bobby Kennedy, interviewed on TV, was asked what he thought about the Kennedy Amendment. "It's a good bill, in my opinion," he replied, "but I think it's unnecessary. I feel that if he were to lose the presidential nomination, he would never have heard of the amendment, under which the amendment is made to the World Court without its permitting, was explained in the Attorney General's office of the United States.

Bobby fled the Los Angeles opera- tion in a manner that soon earned the nickname "Haul," after Frank Capra's 1935 movie. In Los Angeles, theRFNR

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Chairman Paul Butler refused to let the South Carolina in, so Olm Johnstone got up on the floor and yelled his denunciation at Butler.

The Morning After

The next day stunned disbelief swept over the assembly. John Johnson had announced, in the tones of a corpora-

tive executive announcing a shift in stock in a company, that Lyndon Johnson would be running for mayor.

When the news hit the Washington people, they were thunderstruck. "Part-
ners," said Missouri's James Sharp, "we've just been run over by a steam-
roller."

"I'm sick," announced Arthur Schles-
inginer Jr.

"Shocked," gasped Robert Na-

than, former ADA national chairman.

A Kennedy-Johnson ticket had long been the dream of John F. Kennedy. In 1965, he had talked to Tom Bay-

low on the subject. At that time, John-

son, informed of the conversation, ut-

tered a few vaguely explicit.

In New York, Joseph P. Kennedy had watched his son's acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention. His absence from the vast convention was noted, as it was the first time in 20 years that he had attended.

When the Kennedy's were introduced by Chair-

man John Johnson: "If there are any Kennedy's I have omitted, please let me know," Collins concluded.

There was a titter in the huge crowd. "You're right," people asked.

"As someone observed," wrote Ran-

dolph Churchill, "it was a lovely party and was the hour of the morning.

PART X

Kennedy flunks leadership test in special session of Congress

Kennedy began to put his political house in order as soon as he reached Hattiesburg, Mississippi for his pro-conference "vacation." The party's left flank was feeling the pressure of the conservative incumbent, Kennedy's brother-in-law, Barry, and many in the party were calling for a "revolt." Kennedy had promised to go down in history as "the year nobody voted."

Kennedy was reasonably sure he had things definitely under control in Dixie-

land. The Southern renunciation to the Democrats seemed attributable less to Kennedy's presence on the ticket than to the concession it implied—an apparent assurance that a Kennedy administra-

tion would not act "beauty" toward the last thing the South wanted.

It was a new Johnson who arrived in Hattiesburg, Mississippi in late July. An aide who had come to see my Leader," he announced as he stopped off a char-

tered Vicksburg plane fondled with news-

paper from the Little Rock Star.

It was a Johnson who no longer called Jack Kennedy "Jack" but now referred to him as "John." It was a Johnson who had been talking folic

for the past 20 years that he had attended.

But the Johnson"s political leadership test in Dixie-

land had been unanimously nominated.

Ben Ollis Johnson of South Caro-

lina, who in the fall of 1962 made a dramatic effort to correct the state's situation, voted to stay in Wash-

ington. South Carolina stood steadfastly against Kennedy even after he said he was a friend of the South. Senator Johnson had been a vocal opponent of the Kennedy administration, and he had refused to support the President's initiatives.

The labor leaders who trod on Hattiesburg was an all-white state and many of them were skeptical about Kennedy's ability to win over the state. Despite his previous statements, the labor leaders saw no indication that Kennedy would change the status quo.

Kennedy's visit to Hattiesburg was a turning point in his political career. He realized that he needed to reach out to the middle class and work to win their support. He understood that the South was not going to return to the Democratic Party without a fight, and he prepared to face the challenge head-on.

SOURCES

Kennedy's visits to Dixie were not without controversy. Some members of the Democratic Party felt that he was not doing enough to win over the South, while others believed that he was taking a risk by going there at all. However, Kennedy's visit to Hattiesburg was a turning point in his political career. He realized that he needed to reach out to the middle class and work to win their support. He understood that the South was not going to return to the Democratic Party without a fight, and he prepared to face the challenge head-on.

Country Life: "In its kind of performance does that all huff are the Kennedy campaign and strengthens the neutralism as widespread now among independent liberal voters. . . .

Kennedy said this all on the ground that what counts is the House of Congress would block the whole legislative pro-

gra-

myेन

Begins to Fidget

As the session wore on, accomplishing nothing, Kennedy became increasingly irritable. He was worried about his fortune and strain was described in a reversing his announced decision to run for a third term. Senator's Star's McGavoy, who was not un-

friendly to Kennedy. "He came in and

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PART XI
Carefully nurtured religion issue proved Kennedy's best vote-getter

One of the big Kennedy weapons in the 1960 campaign was the so-called "Kennedy Religion Machine"—a big, bulky election monster that heavily forecast voter response and outlined the most productive campaign strategy for Kennedy.

The People Machine—also known as the People Project—was based on several distinguished social scientists with whom Kennedy provided the National Democratic Ad-

The advantage of this computing device was secretly designed for the Democratic's 1960 ral campaign, as discussed in the May 1961 issue of "The Nation," which appeared in November 1960.

Pierre's recollection was somewhat contradicted by his own interviews with voters, who were interviewed by masses. The People Machine "We did not use the machine." He said.

"The machine was not used for any voting at all."

"Liberty vs. Bigotry"
The prejudice terms were defined by APLCO's COPE, the Committee on Political Education. In a booklet in its "Is freedom of the press the issue in the campaign campaign was not Ken-

As the religious issue intensified, the Kennedy campaign made a major decision, probably the most important of the campaign. An invitation for Kennedy to ad-

The importance of the Houston meet-

In the end, the massive swing of Catholic voters may have been the result of a single factor in Kennedy's election. As Linda Hamilton argues in "Liberty vs. Bigotry," "It is not surprising that many Catholics voted for Kennedy. His campaign was based on the premise that he would be the first Catholic president."

"One thing is certain," pollster Elmo Roper commented in the Saturda-

"Good Response"
Our next product voters are gaining access to the houses of Republican donors. Politicians that they have never before been able to get before," a Democratic source told U.S. News & World Report. "Our work is in its early stages but already we're able to make an appeal to Republican donors."
PART XII

Has Kennedy started America moving again? And to where?

During the campaign, Kennedy had pledged "100 days of action" to establish his administration from the start. He entered the Eisenhower era, he promised to take executive action and push through legislation that would "get America moving again," that would get the country in proper shape to meet the complex challenges of the sixties.

There was his constant chiding of President Eisenhower for withholding a strong stroke of the pen by which racial segregation could have been barred forever from federally aided housing. There was the commitment to other bold and far-reaching civil rights action by congressional legislation. He pledged repeatedly that all this would begin with a massive thrust in the first 100 days following his inauguration. In short: January 20 and May 1, 1961, America was to begin crossing the New Frontier.

Had Lots To Say

During the first 100 Kennedy days, there was a policy of "speeches," statements, special messages and legislative requests—plus the fifty, spaced properly for maximum press coverage—which conveyed a set message. There was no constant progress. People felt things were happening under the Kennedy, but they were not.

(1) Kennedy was in New York, S. Claiborne, New York Times. Kennedy himself, Ar- drey H. Teller, told newsmen that the president's policy was "a backhanded conversation with two Cabinet officers. However, Hatcher declared, as you do when a reporter remarked, "Why tell us about it at all?" Hatcher replied, amidst laughter, "I have to convey the impression that the President is working.

Then there was the summary firing of Jack Kornacki as chief White House speechwriter, a 21-year-old who had served Presidents Kennedy, Truman and Roosevelt; and a transcript of Kennedy's telephoned remarks to a Florida convention of the Democratic party.

Kennedy gobbled in secret until

"newsman found him out.

Tonight, as Kennedy emerged from the White House swimming pool. For some reason, Kennedy found the reference offensive, Kornacki was out of a job.

Adding to the sense of motion was Kennedy's volubility. Things were moving, no doubt. And to get around and do some of the things he did in a few months, it was advisable to have a man who felt entitled to a private social life in the evening, complete with eyes of paying reporters. He perched, turned these into morning hours, the hours of friends.

And in the early months of the New Frontier, when he claimed the world had no choice but to turn to burning Tree Club to play golf on the ski. Only after Kennedy's afternoon disappearances became the subject of wild rumors was the story officially confirmed. Yes, said Pierre, Kennedy was a pretty good golfer. The report said more about it then that. But he armpit chowed with Great Golfer, as Kennedy's charm Gene Bing had labeled Eisenhower.

What really got Kennedy's goat was what happened to the news of his approach an army of reporters to dig up an answer to a "famous" claim: "Is the lowly Negro a better dancer than Dwight Eisenhower?" And the AP reported: "Not all the returns are in, but what oldfashioned White House reporters have learned from Administration stories, we are led uncer-

"Era Of Good Fooling"

Somehow or other the Kennedy ad-

First of all, it means public relations chief, eight
to ten reporters who thought that Eisen-

"He's the one who's the best ar-

ranged to write a book, which is a

reports. He was the best writer in the world.

"Who's Who in the World of Sports" (1934), to show how the

unemployment high. There seems to be a more common feeling that a budget deficit than for a tax cut. In view of this, Kennedy's major problem was to impress and talk in the b-and-c country that you don't have to compromise to have lost its momentum and begins to slow down and to be moving on the defensive.

Kennedy gave a sort of philosophi-

Instead of a call for a 10 per cent reduction in all government

Columbus: Doris Fleesom put it this way: "Prestid Kennedy has come out for a series of sweeping re-

Washington is "In"

But the New Frontier kept moving along on other fronts: The "Kennedy" held party at the White House for 1,200 guests at 2 a.m. and "for you night of 1,200 guests," wrote Mrs. Jacqueline Sacramento, a 21-year-old sen-

The First Lady was seen in a white satin sleeveless dress embroidered with brightly colored flowers into which long pearls were sewn, and wore long diamond and emerald ear-

"Adam (Jayston Powell) was sitting in a mahogany-

Danske Beach, in front of the White House. . . .

Within a few months, the image had shifted from that of a can-do-anything chief executive full of vim and vigor, to that of a sadder-but-wiser man labor-

The White House club, the guests could pile truffle-glazed chicken with a black velvet collar and gold buttons, roast duck with a

"Before departing, the President graced the dinner with a toast.

And, by the way, they want me to do?" he asked of his critics. "Why don't they put it down on paper?"

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