

THE WHITE HOUSE

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

May 20, 1994

REMARKS OF THE FIRST LADY  
ON THE DEATH OF MRS. JACQUELINE KENNEDY ONASSIS

I just wanted to say, personally, that every day, this nation owes a great debt to Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis. And the nation has lost a treasure, and our family has lost a dear friend.

We stand here in one of the many legacies that she has given to this house and to our country; in this garden, which is named for her, which she helped to realize.

If she taught us anything, it was to know the meaning of responsibility -- to one's family and to one's community. Her great gift of grace and style and dignity and heroism is an example that will live through the ages.

As a mother, she was selflessly devoted to her children and never wavered in the value she placed on being a mother, and more recently a grandmother. She once explained the importance of spending time with family and said: "If you bungle raising your children, I don't think whatever else you do matters very much."

She was a great support to me, personally, when I started talking with her in the summer of 1992 about the challenges and opportunities of being in this position, and how she had managed so well to carve out the space and privacy that children need to grow into what they have a right to become.

She will always be more than a great First Lady; she was a great woman and a great friend. And all of us will miss her very much.

END

7:43 A.M. EDT

**STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT  
UPON THE DEATH OF MRS. JACQUELINE LEE BOUVIER KENNEDY ONASSIS**

**DRAFT**

We are all deeply saddened today by the loss of former First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis.

Jackie Kennedy was a model of courage and dignity -- for all Americans and all the world. More than any other woman of her time, she captivated our nation with her intelligence, elegance, and grace.

We hope that in their moment of grief, Mrs. Kennedy's children and grandchildren can find solace in the extraordinary contributions she made to her country.

I remember first meeting President [and Mrs.?] Kennedy when I was a teenager visiting the White House. They had such vitality, such optimism, such pride in America. Through their example, they inspired me and an entire generation to get involved in public service -- and to see the nobility of helping others.

As President, I was lucky enough to get to know Mrs. Kennedy even better -- and to get to know her family. Over the last year and a half, she has been a generous friend to Hillary and me, sharing her thoughts on everything from how to raise children in the White House to ideas about historic preservation to her favorite new books.

We were able to spend time with Mrs. Kennedy in Massachusetts last summer. As always she was a gracious host. But what struck us most is that she never wavered in the value she placed on being a mother and -- more recently -- a grandmother. She once explained the importance of spending time with family: "If you bungle raising your children," she said, "I don't think whatever else you do matters very much."

When Mrs. Kennedy was First Lady, her vivacious spirit touched every segment of society. Her passion for history, art, and culture helped nourish America's soul. Her appreciation of foreign lands and peoples elevated America's profile overseas. Her concern for the dispossessed reminded citizens everywhere about the need for compassion and justice. And her love of her children and her family inspired all Americans to strengthen the bonds from generation to generation.

Mrs. Kennedy had an uncommon appreciation of culture that awakened us all to the beauty of our own heritage. She loved art, music, dance, poetry, books, history, architecture, and all

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON  
REMARKS AT THE BURIAL OF JACQUELINE KENNEDY ONASSIS  
ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY  
MAY 23, 1994

DRAFT

We are joined here today at the site of the eternal flame to bid farewell to a woman whose life will forever glow in our nation's memory.

Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis lit this flame 31 years ago to honor a fallen President, a fallen husband, a fallen father. It remains a light of inspiration, burning in the ~~consciousness~~ <sup>hearts</sup> of a generation of Americans who continue to believe in the enduring vitality and hope of their nation.

Today, as we mourn the loss of the former First Lady, we remember the example she set, not only as the extraordinary [enchancing? enthralling?] wife of a President, but also as a devoted mother, a champion of the arts, a voice for the dispossessed, and a figure of remarkable elegance and courage admired around the world.

7 Rarely is a nation fortunate enough to count among its own a person of such grace. Rarer still are people from all nations and all continents so transported by the values and dreams that one woman represents.

There was something truly transcendent about Mrs. Onassis, something approaching our ideal of dignity -- whether she was soothing a nation grieving for an assassinated President or simply trying to preserve some privacy for her children and herself.

*Sam* Her legacy to us is that she stood for hope. She believed in unity. And she reminded us of the better side of ourselves.

So it is with eternal admiration, love, and gratitude, that we say good-bye to her today.

May she forever rest in peace.

**MAY 23, 1994**

**DRAFT**

great nation. Glor in our national memory

*Right* Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis lit this flame 31 years ago to honor a fallen President, a fallen husband, a fallen father. It was a ~~flame~~ of inspiration, ~~a flame that brightened the path of~~ an entire generation of Americans ~~who believed in the enduring vitality and hope of their nation.~~ *OFFICE NOT OPENED SINCE*

Today, as we mourn the loss of the former First Lady, we remember the ~~dreams and aspirations she shared with us.~~ Mrs. Onassis was more than a First Lady. She was heroine. And she was a friend.

It was not just her grace and style that we will remember. It was not just her keen intelligence, or her wit.

What we will remember is that Mrs. Onassis infused the hearts and minds of every segment society. Her passion for the arts nourished her nation's soul. Her concern for the dispossessed opened her nation's eyes. Her love of family touched her nation's xxxxx. And her courage in the face of unthinkable personal tragedy soothed her nation's grieving heart.

There was something  
transcendent about  
her, something approaching  
our ~~ideal~~ ideal of  
~~highly sophisticated~~  
~~and~~ ~~personal~~ dignity  
Shepher ~~was~~  
leading a noble  
life for an  
unrewarded  
product or  
empty life  
to preserve  
some privacy  
for her children  
and herself

[illegible]

We are joined here today at The side of The eternal flame to bid farewell to a woman whose life will forever glow in our national memory.

J. K. O. lit This flame 31 years ago to honor a fallen president, a fallen husband, a fallen father. It has become a light of inspiration, burning in the consciousness of a generation of Americans who continue to believe in the enduring vitality and hope of their nation.

Today, as we mourn the loss of the former first lady, we remember the extraordinary example she set, not only as the enchanting wife of a great American president, but also as a devoted mother, a champion of the arts and a figure of remarkable fortitude and stature.

~~Rarely~~ Rarely is a nation so fortunate to have among its own a person of such grace. Rarer still is it for the whole world to take notice and to be so touched as they were by Mrs. Onassis.  
(moved?)

There was something truly transcendent about J. K. O., something approaching our ideal of personal dignity, whether leading a nation in grieving for an assassinated president or simply trying to preserve some privacy for her children and herself.

George  
Flora  
Dreyer  
Geyer  
JR  
Mayer

5-3055

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON  
REMARKS AT THE BURIAL OF JACQUELINE KENNEDY ONASSIS  
ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY  
MAY 23, 1994

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Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis lit this flame 31 years ago to honor a fallen President, a fallen husband, a fallen father. It remains a light of inspiration, burning in the consciousness of a generation of Americans who continue to believe in the enduring vitality and hope of their nation.

Today, as we mourn the loss of the ~~former First Lady~~, we remember the example she set, not only as the extraordinary ~~First Lady~~ [enchanted? enthralling?] wife of a President, but also as a devoted mother, a champion of the arts, a voice for the dispossessed, and a figure of remarkable elegance and courage admired around the world.

Rarely is a nation fortunate enough to count among its own a person of such grace. Rarer still are people from all nations and all continents so transported by the values and dreams that one woman represents.

~~Contributed to culture & life of nation~~  
There was something truly transcendent about Mrs. Onassis, something approaching our ideal of dignity -- whether she was soothing a nation grieving for an assassinated President or simply trying to preserve some privacy for her children and herself.

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So it is with eternal admiration, love, and gratitude, that we say good-bye to her today.

May she forever rest in peace.

speech to kids  
a letter we know the Kennedy children  
for  
on behalf of country how deep song we are

answered  
us to be  
beauty of what  
how to life  
us

—  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Gearan  
Ceyer  
JHC

## JACKIE O' BURIAL

Eternal flame  
Her as a light that  
brightened their lives

Touch grace, style, but  
don't dwell on it  
Infused the ~~transient~~ dreams

— a generation's aspirations  
of hope + vitality

—

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON  
REMARKS AT THE BURIAL OF JACQUELINE KENNEDY ONASSIS  
ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY  
MAY 23, 1994**

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Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis lit this flame 31 years ago to honor a fallen President, a fallen husband, a fallen father. It remains a light of inspiration, burning in the minds of a generation of Americans who continue to believe in the enduring vitality and hope of their nation.

Today, as we mourn the loss of Mrs. Onassis, we remember the example she set, not only as a great First Lady, not only as the wife of a great President . . . but also as a devoted mother, a champion of the arts, a voice for the dispossessed, and a figure of remarkable elegance and courage admired around the world.

Rarely is a nation fortunate enough to count among its own a person of such grace. Rarer still is the entire world so taken by one person's vivacity and strength.

There was something truly transcendent about Mrs. Onassis, something approaching our ideal of dignity -- whether she was soothing a nation grieving for an assassinated President or simply trying to preserve some privacy for her children and herself.

Although she was revered everywhere for her intelligence and style, her greatest gift to us at home was that she taught us about the beauty of art, the power of culture, the lessons of history, the nobility of public service and, most important, the sanctity of family.

For in the end, she cared most about being a good mother to her children. And your lives, Caroline and John, leave no doubt that she was that, and more.

With eternal admiration, love, and gratitude for the inspiration and dreams she gave us, we say good-bye to Mrs. Onassis today -- knowing that the eternal flame will burn forever brighter.

May Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis forever rest in peace.

###

matters that enriched the human spirit.

These were passions she shared with her country. Under Mrs. Kennedy, the White House was restored as a national museum of American art and history, a place to celebrate what she called "American Excellence." Mrs. Kennedy frequently invited the finest American artists to perform at the White House, and she began a series of White House Children's Concerts.

Although Mrs. Kennedy was best known for her contributions to the arts, she was equally passionate about improving the human condition. She abhorred discrimination of all kinds, and through small, quiet gestures, she stirred the national conscience. Mrs. Kennedy was the first First Lady to hire a mentally disabled employee at the White House, and she made certain that minority children were welcome in the White House nursery.

The terrible personal tragedies that Mrs. Kennedy endured never diverted her from performing great deeds for her fellow citizens. Americans will always remember Mrs. Kennedy with admiration, with fondness, and with gratitude for her remarkable contributions to the nation.

Our condolences are with Mrs. Kennedy's children, grandchildren, and family as we grieve over the passing of such a dear and cherished friend.

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**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON  
REMARKS AT THE BURIAL OF JACQUELINE KENNEDY ONASSIS  
ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY  
MAY 23, 1994**

**DRAFT**

We are joined here today at the site of the eternal flame to bid farewell to a woman whose life will forever shine on our great nation.

Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis lit this flame 31 years ago to honor a fallen President, a fallen husband, a fallen father. It was a flame of inspiration -- a flame that brightened the path of an entire generation of Americans who believed in the enduring vitality and hope of their nation.

Today, as we mourn the loss of the former First Lady, we remember the dreams and aspirations she gave us. Mrs. Onassis was more than a First Lady. She was heroine. And she was a friend.

It was not just her grace and style that we will remember. It was not just her keen intelligence, or her wit.

What we will remember is that Mrs. Onassis infused the hearts and minds of every segment society. Her passion for the arts nourished her nation's soul. Her concern for the dispossessed opened her nation's eyes. Her love of family touched her nation's xxxxx. And her courage in the face of unthinkable personal tragedy soothed her nation's grieving heart.

Date: 05/20/94 Time: 02:13

# Clinton Praises Mrs. Onassis As A 'Model Of Dignity'

Here is the text of President Clinton's statement on the death of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis:

"Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis was a model of courage and dignity for all Americans and all the world. More than any other woman of her time, she captivated our nation and the world with her intelligence, elegance and grace.

Even in the face of impossible tragedy, she carried the grief of her family and our entire nation with a calm power that somehow reassured all of us who mourned. We hope that Mrs. Onassis' children, John and Caroline, and her grandchildren find solace in the extraordinary contributions she made to our country.

Our thoughts and prayers are with her children, grandchildren and her entire family as we grieve over the passing of such a cherished friend."

(SOUND: Upcoming)

APNP-05-20-94 0215EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 20, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
AND MRS. CLINTON  
ON THE DEATH OF JACQUELINE KENNEDY ONASSIS

South Lawn

7:39 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: On this sad occasion, Hillary and I join our nation in mourning the loss of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis. Jackie Kennedy Onassis was a model of courage and dignity for all Americans and all the world.

More than any other woman of her time, she captivated our nation and the world with her intelligence, her elegance and her grace. Even in the face of impossible tragedy, she carried the grief of her family and our entire nation with a calm power that somehow reassured all the rest of us.

As First Lady, Mrs. Onassis had an uncommon appreciation of the culture that awakened us to all the beauty of our own heritage. She loved art and music, poetry and books, history and architecture, and all matters that enrich the human spirit. She was equally passionate about improving the human condition. She abhorred discrimination of all kinds. And, through small, quiet gestures, she stirred the nation's conscience. She was the first First Lady to hire a mentally retarded employee here at the White House. And she made certain for the first time that minority children were all welcome in the White House nursery.

She and President Kennedy embodied such vitality, such optimism, such pride in our nation. They inspired an entire generation of young Americans to see the nobility of helping others and to get involved in public service.

When I became President, I was fortunate enough to get to know Mrs. Onassis better, and to see her and her children as friends as well as important American history models and good citizens. I can say that, as much as anything else today, I am grateful for her incredible generosity to Hillary and to Chelsea, the way she shared her thoughts on everything from how to raise children in the White House to ideas about historic preservation, to her favorite current books.

We hope that Mrs. Onassis' children, John and Caroline, and her grandchildren find solace in the extraordinary contribution she made to our country. Our thoughts and prayers are with her children and grandchildren, and her entire family as we grieve over the passing of a cherished friend.

Q Will you be going to the funeral?

THE PRESIDENT: I'd like for Hillary to say a word.

MRS. CLINTON: I just wanted to say, personally, that every day, this nation owes a great debt to Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis. And the nation has lost a treasure, and our family has lost a dear friend.

We stand here in one of the many legacies that she has given to this house and to our country; in this garden, which is named for her, which she helped to realize.

If she taught us anything, it was to know the meaning of responsibility -- to one's family and to one's community. Her great gift of grace and style and dignity and heroism is an example that will live through the ages.

As a mother, she was selflessly devoted to her children and never wavered in the value she placed on being a mother, and more recently a grandmother. She once explained the importance of spending time with family and said: "If you bungle raising your children, I don't think whatever else you do matters very much." She was a great support to me, personally, when I started talking with her in the summer of 1992 about the challenges and opportunities of being in this position, and how she had managed so well to carve out the space and privacy that children need to grow into what they have a right to become.

She will always be more than a great First Lady; she was a great woman and a great friend. And all of us will miss her very much.

Q Mr. President, will you be going to the funeral?

END

7:43 A.M. EDT

And if America is to be a great nation this must become true. So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York. Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania!

Let freedom ring from the snowcapped Rockies of Colorado! Let freedom ring from the curvacious peaks of California!

But not only that; let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia!

Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee!

Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi. From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

When we let freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last! free at last! thank God almighty, we are free at last!"

## ADLAI E. STEVENSON

*"We shall honor him in the best way that lies open to us—by getting on with the everlasting search for peace and justice for which all mankind is praying."*

NEW YORK, N. Y., Nov. 26, 1963 | General Assembly Plenary Meeting.  
—Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, | Ambassador Stevenson spoke of the  
United States Representative to the | late President's spiritual as well as  
United Nations, delivered today his | political leadership of America, but  
eulogy to President John F. Ken- | he noted that more than Americans  
nedy, slain last week. The tribute | had suffered a loss—the world had,  
was delivered at a United Nations | and the world knew it.

MY PRIVILEGE in this sad hour is to convey to you, Mr. President, to you, Mr. Secretary General, and to you, the assembled

delegates of the world, the profound gratitude of the people of my country for what has been done and for what has been said here today. Our grief is the more bearable because it is so widely and so genuinely shared; and for this we can only say, simply but from the depths of our full hearts: thank you.

President Kennedy was so contemporary a man—so involved in our world—so immersed in our times—so responsive to its challenges—so intense a participant in the great events and great decisions of our day, that he seemed the very symbol of the vitality and the exuberance that is the essence of life itself.

Never once did he lose his way in the maze; never once did he falter in the storm of spears; never once was he intimidated. Like the ancient prophets he loved the people enough to warn them of their errors. And the man who loves his country best will hold it to its highest standards. He made us proud to be Americans.

And so it is that after four sorrowful days we still can hardly grasp the macabre reality that the world has been robbed of this vibrant presence by an isolated act conceived in the strange recesses of the human mind.

We shall not soon forget the late President's driving ambition for his own country—his concept of a permanently dynamic society spreading abundance to the last corner of this land, and extending justice, tolerance and dignity to all of its citizens alike.

We shall not soon forget that as the leader of a great nation he met and mastered his responsibility to wield great power with great restraint. "Our national strength matters," he said just a few weeks ago, "but the spirit which informs, and controls, our strength matters just as much."

We shall not soon forget that he held fast to a vision of a world in which the peace is secure; in which inevitable conflicts are reconciled by pacific means; in which nations devote their energies to the welfare of all their citizens; and in which the vast and colorful diversity of human society can flourish in a restless, competitive search for a better society.

We shall not soon forget that by word and by deed he gave proof of profound confidence in the present value and the future promise of this great organization, the United Nations.

And we shall never  
convictions that so  
quickened the quality  
past three years. And  
that he who gave all

Now he is gone.  
morrow we shall not  
different the world  
ing talent to live and  
peace and progress

Yet for the rest  
finished. Minutes ago  
took his oath of all  
country, institution  
These hours of mourning  
a break in purpose

President Johnson  
that there will be no  
any more than there  
only a United States  
outlives men.

As long ago as  
audience that "our  
include full support  
behalf, I repeat to you  
the years—support  
of the United Nations  
to reach the stage of

The foreign policy  
to the troubling issue  
ment where agreement  
and persistence until  
determined that the  
not be lost, rather  
shall not falter on this

Finally, let me say  
this afternoon, that

tude of the people of my  
what has been said here  
cause it is so widely and  
an only say, simply but  
k you.

try a man—so involved  
so responsive to its chal-  
great events and great  
very symbol of the vi-  
ce of life itself.

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as he intimidated. Like  
enough to warn them of  
country best will hold it  
d to be Americans.

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has been robbed of this  
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and in which the vast  
flourish in a restless,

and by deed he gave  
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ed Nations.

And we shall never forget these ambitions, these visions, these convictions that so inspired this remarkable young man and so quickened the quality and the tempo of our times in these fleeting past three years. And our grief is compounded by the bitter irony that he who gave all to contain violence, lost his all—to violence.

Now he is gone. Today we mourn him. Tomorrow and tomorrow we shall miss him. And so we shall never know how different the world might have been had fate permitted this blazing talent to live and labor longer at man's unfinished agenda for peace and progress for all.

Yet for the rest of us, life goes on; our agenda remains unfinished. Minutes after his spirit departed, Lyndon B. Johnson took his oath of allegiance to the permanent institutions of this country, institutions which outlast violence and outlive men. These hours of mourning are then but a pause in a process—not a break in purpose or in policy.

President Johnson has directed me to affirm to this Assembly that there will be no Johnson policy toward the United Nations—any more than there was a Kennedy policy. There was—and is—only a United States policy. And that, too, outlasts violence and outlives men.

As long ago as 1948, President Johnson told an American audience that "our long-term and sustained foreign policy must include full support of the United Nations." And now, on his behalf, I repeat to you that my Government will—as it has over the years—support every practical move to add to the capacity of the United Nations to keep the peace and to aid new nations to reach the stage of self-sustaining growth.

The foreign policy of this Government will continue to be, as to the troubling issues of today and tomorrow, to work for agreement where agreement is possible and to negotiate with patience and persistence until agreement is possible. President Johnson is determined that the better feeling of these past few months shall not be lost, rather that it must be increased. In that spirit we shall not falter on the stony path to peace.

Finally, let me say, as several speakers have reminded us here this afternoon, that John F. Kennedy never believed that he or

any man was indispensable; of Dag Hammarskjöld's death he said: "The problem is not the death of one man—the problem is the life of this organization." But he did believe passionately that peace and justice are indispensable. And he believed—as he told this Assembly in 1961—that "in the development of this organization lives the only true alternative to war. . . ."

So, my friends, we shall honor him in the best way that lies open to us—and the way he would want it to be—by getting on with the everlasting search for peace and justice for which all mankind is praying.

## J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

*"We are clinging to old myths  
in the face of new realities."*

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 25, 1964—Senator J. William Fulbright, speaking to an almost empty Senate, delivered today what must surely be one of the most important and controversial speeches of 1964. In this long but eloquent address the Senator from Arkansas, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, called for a rethinking of our foreign policy because of the changed nature of the cold war. He argued not only that our foreign policy had not been successful in many respects but also that it had often been wrong and even dangerous. The reason for these failures, Senator Fulbright said, was the United States's lack of flexibility with regard to foreign policy.

MR. PRESIDENT, there is an inevitable divergence, attributable to the imperfections of the human mind, between the world as it is and the world as men perceive it. As long as our perceptions are reasonably close to objective reality, it is possible for us to act upon our problems in a rational and appropriate manner. But when our perceptions fail to keep pace with events, when we refuse to believe something because it displeases or frightens us, or because it is simply startlingly unfamiliar, then the gap between fact and perception becomes a chasm, and action becomes irrelevant and irrational.

There has always—between the realities of divergence has in certain growing; and we are h on old myths, rather in my opinion, danger it can reduce foreign p appearances; unnecessary determination of men ceptions by the candi capable, facts.

Before commenting lieve our policies are rather than objective reasons for the growing perceptions of current change in relations be free world; and the se confuse means with er ing practices with a fe

Although it is too s is mounting evidence profound changes in the Cuban missile crisis of to the Soviet Union th involved unacceptable each side in effect assur at least for the present, breakthrough. These oc against the background riority—but not supren

It seems reasonable, of the cold war has, f altered: by the drawing aggressive policies; by policy of "total victory can strategic superiorit

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PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS  
OF THE UNITED STATES

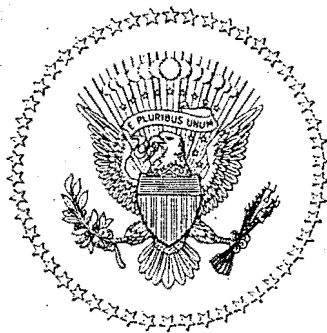
# Lyndon B. Johnson

*Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and  
Statements of the President*

1963-64

(IN TWO BOOKS)

BOOK I—NOVEMBER 22, 1963 TO JUNE 30, 1964



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1965

shock. The transition while a term is still going on is always a difficult test for democracy. It is doubly difficult in these days of quick decisions on matters that involve the fate of humanity.

I hope to keep in constant touch with you. My permanent purpose is to maintain the

fabric of your Nation intact and in the days that lie ahead I hope to work with you to this end.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:30 p.m. in his temporary office in the Executive Office Building to the group of Governors who were in Washington to attend the funeral of President Kennedy.

## 9 Remarks on the Alliance for Progress to Representatives of the Countries of Latin America. *November 26, 1963*

I HAVE asked you to come here today because this is, in a very special sense, a family gathering, for nothing in President Kennedy's public career meant more to him than the ties which united this country and yours.

A little less than 3 years ago, here in the White House, in this very room, President Kennedy met with you, the representatives of the countries of Latin America. In the first full-scale foreign policy address of his administration, he called for an Alliance for Progress among all the nations of the Americas.

Today among you in this same room I have come to reaffirm that Alliance, and pledge all the energies of my Government to our common goals.

I know from personal experience that the future of this hemisphere, the relations between the United States and Latin America, must be among the highest concerns of my Government.

I have lived my life together with many who proudly claim descent from Latin America. The sound of the Spanish tongue and the signs of your rich, cultural traditions were among my earliest and my most enduring impressions.

I began my Government service in Washington under President Franklin D. Roosevelt. And from him I learned that nothing

is more important to the country I now lead than its associations with our good neighbors to the south.

In October of 1960 during the political campaign I reminded my fellow citizens of the United States that, and I quote, "We must support, morally and financially, the struggle of our Latin American friends against political, economic, and social injustice, not only to improve their standard of living but to foster the democratic way of life in every country."

To me, therefore, as it was to President Kennedy, the Alliance for Progress is part of a long and deeply rooted tradition. That alliance contains the basic principles of the new society which we are building, principles agreed to by all our countries in the Charter of Punta del Este.

The first of these agreed principles is the right of every American nation to govern itself free from outside dictation or coercion from any quarter. None among us can tell another how to organize its society or how to conduct its affairs.

The second of these agreed principles is the right to human freedom, the right of each person to freely speak his views, worship God in his own way, participate in the political life of his nation. History and circumstances have created restraints on democracy in some of our nations. But we must

Canada is such a close neighbor and such a good neighbor that we always have plenty of problems there. They are kind of like problems in the hometown.

So, I am later than I expected to be, and I apologize for delaying you.

Circumstances over which I had no control brought me into this position that I occupy tonight. The difficulties and the tribulations are great, and this is the time when our whole system could go awry, not just the Republican Party and the Democratic Party but the American system of Government.

From the standpoint of population, we have less people than the Soviet Union. From the standpoint of resources, in many respects she has greater resources than we have. She has 8,600,000 tillable acres of land while we have 3 million. She has 208 million people while we have 180 million people. She has greater water resources and greater potential oil and power, but the thing that is really to determine whether we win or lose in this struggle of philosophies is how well our system works. We think we have the best system.

We think that where a capitalist can put up a dollar, he can get a return on it. A manager can get up early to work and with money and men he can build a better mousetrap. A laborer who is worthy of his hire stands a chance of getting attention and maybe a little profit-sharing system, and the highest minimum wages of any nation in the world.

Those three together combine to give us the end product that we call free enterprise.

I think continuity without confusion has got to be our password and has to be the key to our system. For that reason, I am going to address the Congress on Wednesday. That is the earliest day that they could receive me and I could meet these

70-80 heads of state who have come here from all over the world.

I am going to tell that Congress that we intend to honor the commitments we have made at home and abroad, and I am going to tell them I understand my own limitations, but I am going to do the best I can with your help and God's.

*[Excerpt of further remarks as released by the White House]*

We live under a system of checks and balances. We do so because our Founding Fathers figured properly that the only sure method of preventing tyranny was a political system in which no one person or no one group of persons can have power without limitations.

The Congress, the Executive, and the courts all have powers to check each other. This is taken for granted so completely that every schoolboy knows about our "tripartite system of government." But what is not realized as commonly is that there is another check—the division of our government into Federal, State, and local systems. Each level of government has proper responsibilities and proper prerogatives. And our democracy is richer and more enduring because of this division.

However, there is one point that must always be borne in mind. It is that a government by checks and balances will work only when people are willing to cooperate and work together for the common good. If they insist on glaring at each other, refusing to work together, and standing firmly on prerogatives and forgetting responsibilities, the Nation will quickly be paralyzed.

For these reasons, I consider it vitally important to ask for your help. I want you to cooperate. I need your heart and your hand. Our country has suffered a grievous

## 6 Message to the Members of the Armed Forces.

*November 25, 1963*

WE have suffered a great national loss and sorrow in the death of the Commander in Chief, President John Fitzgerald Kennedy. A man who knew war and hated it, he loved peace all the more and sought to make it secure in the world for your children and his. He will be remembered and honored forevermore for his valor and courage in serving that cause of peace which you serve in your faithful vigil for freedom.

Our Constitution provides for the orderly continuity of the civil offices of our Government. In the transition brought upon us by tragedy, there is no interruption in the continuity of that commitment to strength,

steadfastness, and selfless sacrifice which has kept us free and the world at peace. As you stand your guard of freedom and peace, you may know that the policies and purposes of your country are unchanged and unchangeable in seeking honorable peace, the friendship and alliance of free nations and the building of a responsible world free of the causes of hatred, division, oppression, and human despair. Praying to be worthy of God's guidance, let us rededicate ourselves to the continuing tasks before us remembering always that the price of our liberty is eternal vigilance.

7 White House Statement Concerning Investigation of the Assassination of President Kennedy. *November 25, 1963*

THE PRESIDENT said today that he has directed the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation to conduct a prompt and thorough investigation of all the circumstances surrounding the brutal assassination of President Kennedy and the

murder of his alleged assassin.

The President said he has directed all Federal agencies to cooperate and the people of the Nation may be sure that all of the facts will be made public.

8 Remarks to State Governors After President Kennedy's Funeral. *November 25, 1963*

*Gentlemen:*

I want to tell you how deeply I feel in your debt for not only your coming to Washington on this tragic occasion but for your being so understanding of me and being willing to come here and visit with me this evening.

I am sorry I am late. General de Gaulle had to return to Paris. He has had a long day of it and he is flying back tonight. We talked a little longer than I anticipated.

Even then we did not finish, so we have another meeting set up for early in the year when he comes back to this country.

Prime Minister Ikeda of Japan was among the cabinet ministers who were en route between Honolulu and Tokyo when they got word of the assassination of the President. They had to turn around and come back, and they had to make a few explanations there.

#### 4 Executive Order 11128 Closing Government Departments and Agencies on November 25, 1963. *November 23, 1963*

BY VIRTUE of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. All Executive departments, independent establishments, and other governmental agencies, including their field services, shall be closed on Monday, November 25, 1963, as a mark of respect for President John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

2. This order shall not apply to those offices and installations, or parts thereof, in

the Department of State, the Department of Defense, or other departments, independent establishments, and governmental agencies which the heads thereof determine should remain open for reasons of national security or defense or other public reasons.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

THE WHITE HOUSE  
November 23, 1963

#### 5 White House Announcement Concerning the Official Cortège for President Kennedy from the White House to the Capitol. *November 23, 1963*

SUNDAY at 1 p.m. the body of President Kennedy will leave the White House from the North Portico in a horse-drawn caisson. It will be preceded by a joint honor cordon of the armed services. The route will be lined by a joint honor cordon.

Persons will leave the White House in the following order:

1. Metropolitan Police honor guard.
2. Escort Commander (Maj. Gen. Philip C. Wehle, Commanding General, Military District of Washington).
3. Muffled drums (4 snares from each of 5 services)—bass drums, one each from Army and Marine Corps. Drum Major and leader from Navy Band.
4. Company of U.S. naval personnel (89 officers and men).
5. Special honor guard (Joint Chiefs of Staff).
6. National color detail (reviewman carry-

ing U.S. flags and two guards).

7. Clergy.

8. Caisson with 7 horses (flanking caisson 4 enlisted men from each of the 5 services; 10 on each side, 2 abreast; plus 4 special services personnel).

9. Personal flag detail (one man carrying the Presidential flag).

10. Body bearer detail.

11. Immediate family.

12. President Johnson.

13. Metropolitan Police honor guard.

The procession will proceed to the Capitol where, after a 21-gun salute, ruffles and flourishes, and the playing of "Hail to the Chief," the casket will be carried into the Capitol and placed on the Lincoln catafalque in the center of the Rotunda. The casket will be in state for public view beginning at 2 p.m.

bier in the Rotunda shortly after its arrival and until 9 p.m. Sunday, and from 9 to 10 a.m. Monday.

The body will be moved Monday at 11 a.m. to St. Matthews Cathedral, Rhode Island Avenue, between Seventeenth and

Eighteenth Streets NW., for a pontifical requiem Mass at 12 noon. The mass will be celebrated by His Eminence Richard Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston.

Seating arrangements for the mass will be assigned by the White House.

### 3 Proclamation 3561: National Day of Mourning for President Kennedy. November 23, 1963

*By the President of the United States of America*

#### A PROCLAMATION

*To the People of the United States:*

John Fitzgerald Kennedy, 35th President of the United States, has been taken from us by an act which outrages decent men everywhere.

He upheld the faith of our fathers, which is freedom for all men. He broadened the frontiers of that faith, and backed it with the energy and the courage which are the mark of the Nation he led.

A man of wisdom, strength, and peace, he moulded and moved the power of our Nation in the service of a world of growing liberty and order. All who love freedom will mourn his death.

As he did not shrink from his responsibilities, but welcomed them, so he would not have us shrink from carrying on his work beyond this hour of national tragedy.

He said it himself: "The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world."

NOW, THEREFORE, I, LYNDON B. JOHNSON, President of the United States of America,

do appoint Monday next, November 25, the day of the funeral service of President Kennedy, to be a national day of mourning throughout the United States. I earnestly recommend the people to assemble on that day in their respective places of divine worship, there to bow down in submission to the will of Almighty God, and to pay their homage of love and reverence to the memory of a great and good man. I invite the people of the world who share our grief to join us in this day of mourning and rededication.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this twenty-third day of November in [SEAL] the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-eighth.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

By the President:

DEAN RUSK

Secretary of State

NOTE: The President read the Proclamation over a nationwide radio and television broadcast at 4:45 p.m. on the same day from the Fish Room at the White House.

## 1 Remarks Upon Arrival at Andrews Air Force Base.

*November 22, 1963*

THIS is a sad time for all people. We have suffered a loss that cannot be weighed. For me, it is a deep personal tragedy. I know that the world shares the sorrow that Mrs. Kennedy and her family bear. I will do my best. That is all I can do. I ask for your help—and God's.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:10 p.m. at Andrews Air Force Base, Md., near Washington, upon his arrival from Dallas, Tex.

Lyndon Baines Johnson succeeded to the Presidency on November 22, 1963, on the death of President Kennedy in Dallas on the same day.

Vice President Johnson, a member of President Kennedy's party on a speaking tour of several Texas cities, was riding in the third car of a motor-

cade traveling through downtown Dallas when, at approximately 12:30 p.m., c.s.t., President Kennedy was struck by bullets from an assassin's gun. The motorcade proceeded to Parkland Hospital in Dallas where President Kennedy was pronounced dead at 1 p.m. Shortly afterwards Mr. Johnson left the hospital for the Dallas airport, en route to Washington, D.C.

He was sworn in as President at 2:38 p.m. in the cabin of the Presidential plane, Air Force One, at Love Field, Dallas. The oath of office was administered by Federal Judge Sarah T. Hughes of the Northern District of Texas. Present at the swearing in were Mrs. Johnson, Mrs. Kennedy, and several members of the White House staff. After the ceremony the plane, bearing the body of President Kennedy and with President and Mrs. Johnson, Mrs. Kennedy, and the White House staff members aboard, left immediately for Washington.

## 2 White House Announcement of Plans for the Funeral Rites for President Kennedy. *November 22, 1963*

THE body of President John F. Kennedy will lie in repose in the East Room of the White House from 10 a.m. until 6 p.m. Saturday, November 23, and will lie in state in the Rotunda of the Capitol on Sunday and Monday.

The President's immediate family will be present Saturday from 10 to 11 a.m.

President Lyndon B. Johnson, Speaker of the House of Representatives John W. McCormack, and Chief Justice of the United States Earl Warren are scheduled to arrive from 11 to 2 p.m. Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower will be present at this time. Former President Herbert Hoover expressed his regrets that he will be unable to attend, and former President Harry S. Truman is planning to arrive in Washington Sunday.

Members of the President's Cabinet, members of the executive branch holding Presidential appointments, and close personal friends of the President are also scheduled to

arrive from 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. Associate Justices of the Supreme Court will arrive from 2 to 2:30 p.m. as will members of the Federal judiciary.

From 2:30 to 5 p.m., members of the U.S. Senate, the House of Representatives, and the Governors of the 50 States and Territories are scheduled to arrive. Members of the diplomatic corps will follow between 5 and 6 p.m.

The President's body will be moved from the White House in an official cortege to the Rotunda of the Capitol at 1 p.m. Sunday, where it will lie in state for one day.

Members of the President's family, Cabinet and Government leaders and members of the Supreme Court, members of the Congress and diplomatic representatives of foreign nations will be present at the ceremonies placing the President's body in state mourning.

The public will be permitted to file past the

STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT  
UPON THE DEATH OF MRS. JACQUELINE KENNEDY ONASSIS  
DRAFT

On this sad occasion, Hillary and I join our nation in mourning the loss of former First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis.

Jackie Kennedy Onassis was a model of courage and dignity -- for all Americans and all the world. More than any other woman of her time, she captivated our nation with her intelligence, elegance, and grace. As First Lady, she helped temper the dream of Camelot with the reality of governing. Even in the face of impossible tragedy, she carried the grief of her family and our entire nation with a calm power that somehow reassured all of us who mourned.

As First Lady, Mrs. Onassis had an uncommon appreciation of culture that awakened us all to the beauty of our own heritage. She loved art, music, dance, poetry, books, history, architecture, and all matters that enriched the human spirit. She was equally passionate about improving the human condition. She abhorred discrimination of all kinds, and through small, quiet gestures, she stirred the national conscience. She was the first First Lady to hire a mentally retarded employee at the White House, and she made certain that minority children were welcome in the White House nursery.

I first met President Kennedy when I was a teenager visiting the White House. He and the First Lady conveyed such vitality, such optimism, such pride in America. They inspired me and an entire generation of young Americans to see the nobility of helping others, and to get involved in public service.

When I became President, I was lucky enough to get to know Mrs. Onassis -- and her children -- even better. She has been a generous friend to Hillary, Chelsea, and me, sharing her thoughts on everything from how to raise children in the White House to ideas about historic preservation to her favorite new books.

We hope Mrs. Onassis's children and grandchildren can find solace in remembering the extraordinary contributions she made to our country. Our thoughts and prayers are with her children, grandchildren, and the entire Kennedy family as we grieve over the passing of such a dear and cherished friend.

So it is with sadness that we must bend once more to pick up a torch that has fallen. But because of the spirit she lent us we are certain to hold it high once again.

###

**STATEMENT BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON  
UPON THE DEATH OF MRS. JACQUELINE KENNEDY ONASSIS  
DRAFT**

Today our nation -- and our family -- have lost a dear friend, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis.

If Mrs. Onassis taught us anything, it was to know the meaning of responsibility -- to one's family and to one's community.

As a mother, she was selflessly devoted to her two children -- and remained so throughout her life. As First Lady, she understood that she could touch the nation, and her reach extended from the arts to civil rights.

I am especially grateful to Mrs. Onassis for being such a caring friend to me and my family. As soon as we arrived in the White House, her good counsel helped us adjust to our new roles -- and she remained a constant source of warmth and support.

Throughout her life, Mrs. Onassis never wavered in the value she placed on being a mother and, more recently, a grandmother. She once explained the importance of spending time with family: "If you bungle raising your children, I don't think whatever else you do matters very much."

Although she was brilliant and beautiful, her life was not easy. Mrs. Onassis suffered through family tragedies that few others could endure. But she knew how to persevere, even in the face of great personal setbacks.

To me, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis will always be more than a great First Lady. She was a great woman. And a great friend.

I, my family, and the nation will miss her dearly.

###

TO: The President and Mrs. Clinton

FROM: Mark Gearan, David Dreyer, Lissa Muscatine

Here are draft statements we have prepared in the event of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis's death.

If Mrs. Onassis passes before 11 tonight, we propose that you make a statement. If she passes after 11, we propose issuing the paragraph in bold face to the news media. The rest of the draft could be read to the pool upon your departure in the morning.

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HEADLINE: Editors at work: star behind the scenes; Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis; Interview

BYLINE: Baker, John F.

#### BODY:

Bill Moyers's current leading nonfiction bestseller, *Healing and the Mind*, would not have come into existence had it not been for the conviction of his editor that the subject was one of transcendent public interest.

"I told her, 'I don't think these interviews will translate into a book,'" he told PW one day last week, calling from Austin, Tex. one of his stops during a tour for the book, which is currently up to 450,000 copies in print. "She said I was wrong. 'The subject will,' she said."

So far, just an enthusiastic author talking about a prescient editor. What makes this case rather different is that the editor in question happens to be Doubleday's secret weapon: not only an editor with a top bestseller (and another last year, Edvard Radzinsky's *The Last Tsar*) but a person with an aura that extends far beyond publishing: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis.

Getting to interview Onassis is not quite like any other such occasion in this seasoned interviewer's experience. She simply does not give interviews, and only a hint that she might be willing to drop the ban just this once (reportedly at the urging of Doubleday president Stephen Rubin, whose house is having a spectacularly good year thus far) gave us the encouragement to proceed. There were many ground rules: No tape recorder. No camera. She must be allowed to have a sense of the questions to be asked, which must be strictly limited to her professional life, and the prerogative to refuse to answer. She must be given the chance to okay her quotes. And she must be accompanied at the interview by a trusted associate--in this case Marly Rusoff, vice-president and associate publisher, with whom she has developed a close professional relationship.

#### Some Titles to Show Off

The interview took place in Rusoff's office, which, unlike Onassis's own, boasts a couple of small sofas. Promptly at the appointed hour she appeared--a slight, stylish figure in a black pinstripe suit worn over a dark gray silk blouse, a heavy antique gold chain with a silver star pendant around her neck; in her arms she carries a stack of books to show us. The gaze from her gray-blue eyes is direct; her hair, in the familiar glossy shape, frames a complexion that is ruddy rather than delicate. When she speaks her voice is low and cultivated, but far from the ethereal whisper of her imitators.

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Perhaps because she is unaccustomed to this sort of interview, the beginning is a little awkward--monosyllabic replies to questions are common, followed by a dawning realization that more was required: "This isn't just a question-and-answer sort of thing, is it?" she asked.

Assured that it wasn't, she talked more freely. She had come into publishing "for the obvious reasons--I'd majored in literature, I had many friends in publishing, I love books, I've known writers all my life."

One of those friends in publishing was Thomas Guinzburg, then president of Viking Press before it became part of Penguin, who invited Onassis aboard as consulting editor in the fall of 1975. She was there for just two years--and recalls working on only two or three significant books there, including a novel about Sally Hemings, the slave with whom Thomas Jefferson had an affair, written by Barbara Chase-Riboud, a book of Matthew Brady's Lincoln pictures from the original glass plates and a book on Russian style (a continuing passion)--before her past rose up again to haunt her in a dramatic way.

Guinzburg, without consulting her, she says, had bought a novel by British author Jeffrey Archer, called *Shall We Tell the President?*, in which her brother-in-law, Sen. Edward Kennedy, becomes president and is the target of an assassination attempt. She resigned immediately, and it is clear that memories of the incident are still upsetting to her.

In any case, she was not at liberty for long. Another old publishing friend, John Sargent, then Doubleday president, asked her if she would care to join his company, and she did, with the beginning title of associate editor. "I enjoyed publishing, and wanted to go on," she says. Another factor that helped her decide to make Doubleday her publishing home was that Nancy Tuckerman, previously her social secretary at the White House, already worked there--and still does. Onassis came aboard early in 1978, and, as befitted her associate editor status, was awarded a small windowless office.

#### A Dozen Books a Year

She has now been at Doubleday for 15 years, and although her image never fades from the public mind, the novelty of her role as a working woman has long worn off. Her title is now senior editor, her office (which we do eventually get to see, cluttered with cartons ready for Doubleday's move from 666 Fifth Avenue to its new building at Broadway and 45th Street) has a window, though it is no more than 12 feet square--and she edits an average of at least a dozen books a year. They are an eclectic mix, predominantly nonfiction, reflecting a thoroughly cosmopolitan mind and an abiding interest in the arts, particularly music, ballet and the visual arts. Some of her titles are surprising, some not, but all have in common a keen attention to their visual appeal, frequently a touch of exoticism. A particular favorite, which she caresses lovingly, is the lavishly illustrated *A Second Paradise: Indian Courtly Life 1590-1947* by Naveen Patnaik, whose *The Garden of Life: An Introduction to the Healing Plants of India* is due out later this year.

"I'm drawn to books that are out of our regular experience," says Onassis, asked to sum up her particular interests. "Books of other cultures, ancient histories. I'm interested in the arts in general, especially the creative process. I'm fascinated by hearing artists talk about their craft. To me, a wonderful book is one that takes me on a journey into something I didn't know

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before."

That curiosity is something that has driven her toward some of the books she is most pleased to have published. It is through Onassis, for instance, that Egyptian Nobel Prize-winning novelist Naguib Mahfouz found publication in this country. "When I read in the paper that this Egyptian had won the Nobel Prize, I thought, 'We've got to have that,'" she says, and right away began planning with BDD's then-CEO Alberto Vitale how it could be managed. She adds: "I've always loved the cultures of the Mediterranean, and I'd lived in Greece" (throwaway remarks like this can cause double takes), "and it clicked with some other Mediterranean writers I very much admired-- Kazantzakis, for instance."

But how did she know what Mahfouz's work was like, since it was unavailable in this country? "It was available in French translation, and I read that." Then an indication of how the Onassis network operates. "I finally reached him through David Morse, former head of the International Labor Organization, himself a Nobel winner; I knew he'd know how to contact him, and he did. No, I never got to meet Mahfouz--he doesn't travel--but we corresponded." As a result of her efforts, Doubleday brought out the Cairo Trilogy (Palace Walk, Palace of Desire and Sugar Street) at the heart of Mahfouz's work, and that in turn led to 15 more of his fictional works appearing as Anchor paperbacks.

She sits beside us on the sofa, thrusting the Cairo Trilogy volumes into our hands. "Aren't they lovely? These were designed by Alex Gottfryd the late Doubleday art director. See how each cover has an antique photograph from a different era, reflecting the book's contents."

Cover by O'Keeffe...

An interest in the look and feel of any book she edits is of particular importance to Onassis. She speaks often of two of Doubleday's current art and design directors, Peter Kruzan and Mary Sarah Quinn ("So talented"), and of how much she enjoys working with them on her books. Among her current titles, the Moyers book, for instance, has an image by Georgia O'Keeffe as its cover art--"That's the first time the O'Keeffe estate allowed a picture of hers to be used on any book that wasn't of her own work," she enthuses. And looking at the current novel Poet and Dancer by Ruth Praver Jhabvala, which Onassis also edited, she again exclaims over the cover, a painting by the author's husband of the view from their New York apartment--"It's like an Indian miniature."

Another recent cover on which she is particularly keen is that for The Last Tsar: The Life and Death of Nicholas II, which shows Tsar Nicholas sitting sadly on a tree stump in a forest, while Bolshevik guards watch him in the background. "I'm sure it helped sell the book," she says, then shows us a much less evocative cover for the English edition of the book (where it did not sell nearly as well).

"She has a wonderful sense of the aesthetics of a book," says Moyers of his editor. "She cares about the way it looks on a bookstore shelf, on the table at home, in the reader's hands. Every book she does bears her own imprint." And it's certainly true that the dozen or so Onassis books we saw were exceptionally handsome, often in offbeat shapes, or with individual decorations in page numbers and chapter headings. "I want my books to look as beautiful as possible," she says, adding, "Perhaps it's a reaction against the time when Doubleday books used to be quite bad." (A reference to Nelson Doubleday's

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time, when the company's books were notorious for their low quality.)

... And Cartoons, Too

Onassis's interests reach in sometimes surprising directions. She takes us through *The Cartoon History of the Universe*, a comic-book paperback by Larry Gonick she published in late 1990. (She found the artist through a friend.) It is in vivid comic-strip style but, she insists, "It's very accurate, and a much better account of how civilization developed than many more serious ones I've read." She has worked with Rolling Stone publisher Jann Wenner on putting together an anthology of the best pieces to appear in the magazine during the past 25 years, each with an introduction by the writer on how the article came to be written. Like Moyers, Wenner didn't see at first a book in the idea, "but I convinced him," she says. It will appear in September.

Her interest in Rolling Stone was aroused by one of its writers, Jonathan Cott ("I love the way his mind works, and we do a lot of books together"). Two already published are *The Search for Isis*, the story of a mysterious Englishwoman who dreamed of a classical temple and then actually discovered it, and *Isis and Osiris*.

#### Celebrity's Circle

Another friendship, with singer Carly Simon, a summertime neighbor on Martha's Vineyard, led to a series of children's books. "We originally thought of a memoir, but she wanted to do children's books, and she came upon one she'd written for her children, called *Amy the Dancing Bear*." That was followed by two more, and a new one, *The Nighttime Chauffeur*, about New York's Central Park, will be out this fall. Ballet star Gelsey Kirkland, whom Onassis introduced with her bestselling *Dancing on My Grave* seven years ago, will be doing a series of young adult books about a girl learning to be a ballerina ("Young girls are always fascinated either by ballet or horses," muses Onassis. "I was fascinated by both.")

Her artistic tastes embrace several kinds of music, and she has done books with both Michael Jackson (the bestselling *Moonwalk*) and classical conductor Andre Previn (*No Minor Chords*, on his early musical life in Hollywood), about whom she says, "He's one of the great raconteurs, comparable to Lenny Bernstein or Martha Graham." Talking of Martha Graham, she has also published that formidable dancer/choreographer's *Blood Memory*. In the visual arts, she's done *Learning to Look*, a memoir by the celebrated British critic John Pope-Hennessy, and *Stanford White's New York* by David Lowe ("David really searched the archives on that one, and found some great photos that had never been seen before").

Recent and contemporary history are also among Onassis's interests. "If you live through a time, it crystalizes later for you, and you want to know more about it," she says. She is talking of the forthcoming *Paris After the Liberation* by Anthony Beevor and Artemis Cooper, and adds: "I don't exactly remember it, but a few years later I was at school there, and it was still very much the same city." *The Cost of Courage* by former Congressman Carl Elliott and *Taming the Storm: The Life and Times of Judge Frank Johnson and the South's Fight over Civil Rights* by Jack Bass were both books she encouraged their authors to write. "These are extraordinary people, and subjects that people should care about," she says. Never mind about their comparatively short life

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in hardcover: "They'll both be forever in Anchor."

Onassis seeks out most of her books, calling or writing their authors, dealing with agents as necessary. Is it hard for her to deal with agents? Perhaps deliberately misunderstanding the reason for the question, she responds: "I certainly don't think dealing with authors and agents is very hard." She concedes that "I don't work with agents as much as some editors, perhaps--though sometimes, when something crosses their desk, I hope they think of me, and say, 'Oh, she might like that.'"

#### Lunching at Her Desk

She is in the office three days a week (and when she is, she usually eats at her desk, unless she has a restaurant date with an agent or author). She takes longer-than-usual summer vacations on Martha's Vineyard. There she reads for duty and for pleasure, sometimes those long works everyone promises themselves they'll read. When asked for a sampling of recent pleasure reading, Onassis responds: "Gibbon's Decline and Fall. Yes, seriously. Proust? I'd read that long ago." Among more contemporary works, she's just finished, and admired, Abba Eban's Personal Witness.

Obviously she could have an enormous impact upon her books if she would publicly push them, but she is wary of that, though "I'll go to a publication party if it will help." And in fact she has appeared, in the past year, at parties for both Radzinsky and Moyers, agreeing to be photographed at the latter with a bevy of visiting booksellers. Rusoff says Onassis particularly enjoys meeting booksellers, regarding them as key people in the dissemination of ideas within the culture.

Could she imagine having her own imprint at Doubleday? She shakes her head. "One of the things I like about publishing is that you don't promote the editor--you promote the book and the author," she says. On the current state of publishing, "I have no profound thoughts. But I'm always optimistic that people will buy good books. There's nothing to complain about; I love my colleagues here, I love Doubleday." (A feeling that is reciprocated: "I don't know what we'd do without her," says president Stephen Rubin.)

Is it more difficult than it used to be, now that the list at Doubleday has been severely pruned, to get some of her kinds of books through the editorial meetings (where, yes, she does have to speak on their behalf). "No, it's easier now," she says firmly. "When any organization becomes more efficient, it helps; it means you don't waste your time. Steve is decisive and quick--you know just where you stand."

Of her qualities as an editor from the writer's point of view, Moyers says: "She has a wonderful sense of humor, and is a lot of fun to work with. She doesn't hover, though she'll call when you're falling behind. More important, she'll drop you a note when things are going well. It's really a creative collaboration. She works very hard at it." His books, transcribed in interviews, haven't called for much line editing, "but she's made key suggestion for changes in my introductory texts." Above all, he says, "she doesn't over-manage you. She has an intuitive sense of the author's role."

That intuition, Moyers feels, extends to seeing possibilities where not even the author does. Onassis had called him after his celebrated TV interviews

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with Joseph Campbell (whom she knew, of course) to suggest there could be a book in them. "I didn't think so, but she insisted," says Moyers. It became the bestselling *The Power of Myth*. The same thing happened with *The World of Ideas*. "I'll never say no again if she thinks there's a book in anything I do," says Moyers.

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children from the public eye. She wished to give no interviews, press conferences, or photo sessions and maintained that her "press relations will be minimum information given with maximum politeness." Privately, she called the women reporters "harpies" or witches. In an effort to calm the clamor from the press, she learned to orchestrate some of her family's publicity by periodically distributing photos of the children taken by her favorite photographers.

She refused to play the good political wife and would not attend such events as luncheons and teas for congressional wives, citing her need to spend time with the children or claiming she was overtired. Those who made excuses for her—often the president or the vice president's wife—were frequently embarrassed later by published photos of the First Lady doing what she had preferred to do, such as water skiing or attending an art exhibit. She often spent three or four days a week away from the White House at the couple's rented estate in Middleburg, Virginia.

Recovering from the birth of her son in November 1960 meant that the new First Lady started her White House activities slowly, but when she had regained her strength, her first concern was to do something about what she considered the cold, drab mansion with its "Statler" furnishings. She studied files from the Library of Congress about the White House and arranged to update them by having all the property stored in warehouses rephotographed and recatalogued.

Her aim was not to merely redecorate but to restore the mansion, feeling that "everything in the White House must have a reason for being there." (Other First

Ladies, including Grace Coolidge and Bess Truman, had also wanted to do something like this, but the funds and interest were not available at the time.) To assist in the acquisition of the antiques and artwork she thought historically important, the Fine Arts Commission for the White House—was established in 1961. And to help finance this refurbishing as well as to let the tourists know what they were looking at, the First Lady arranged for a booklet, *The White House: An Historic Guide*, to be published and sold at the entrance to the mansion. She insisted that it be scholarly and not talk down to people and personally supervised all aspects of the project.

In the time it might take for most of us to redo one room, the White House was repainted, recurtained, and furnished with museum-quality pieces. A congressional bill was passed to forbid White House occupants from removing anything from the mansion. No longer would it be possible to have a sale such as President Chester Arthur held in 1882, when he sold twenty-four wagon loads of furnishings to make room for his own redecorations.

When the state rooms were as she thought they should be, Jacqueline invited the American people in to see them, giving a personally guided tour on national television in February 1962. Millions watched the First Lady in her two-piece red dress as she explained in her whispery little girl's voice the historical significance of the additions and changes in the White House.

Many people would have committed at least one cardinal sin for an invitation to the Kennedys' White House, and not just because of the new French chef, but because of the changes the First Lady was making in

entertaining. Everything was more relaxed, with elegance and glamour replacing stiffness and formality. The long, tortuous reception lines were dropped (except for state dinners) in favor of a more casual mingling of the Kennedys with their guests. The more comfortable black tie was substituted for white tie. Cocktails were served before dinner. Dining hours were shortened by serving fewer courses. Conversation flowed more easily around the small (for eight to ten people) tables in place of the large U- or E-shaped tables used in previous administrations. Even the flower arrangements were more informal than the usual stilted bouquets.

Jacqueline hated theme parties but always tried to have some meaningful entertainment for her foreign dignitary guests. There was ballet for Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, who enjoyed dance; cellist Pablo Casals, who lived in Puerto Rico, played in the White House for the first time in sixty years when the Puerto Rican governor Luis Muñoz-Márín and his wife were guests; the New York City Center cast of *Brigadoon* performed for Morocco's King Hassan; and there was an Elizabethan evening for the Grand Duchess Charlotte of Luxembourg that included Basil Rathbone reciting a passage from Shakespeare.

In 1961, Pakistan president Muhammad Ayub Khan visited the U.S. and was given a state dinner at Mount Vernon, George Washington's plantation home overlooking the Potomac. This sounds like a pleasant way to spend a summer evening, but imagine the logistics involved in making sure that everything is done exactly right for such an important affair. First, the weather had to cooperate and alternative plans had to be ready in case

it didn't. Then, 150 guests had to be ferried up the river, where they were met by marines lining the road up which the guests were driven in limousines to the mansion. Of course, arrangements for the food had to be made, tents erected, insects discouraged, acoustics for the National Symphony Orchestra perfected, portable lavatories discreetly hidden, and the perfect decorations displayed. The details were worked out, the evening went beautifully, and a hostess's reputation was made.

There were many stellar evenings. The after-dinner entertainment for French minister André Malraux was a concert by violinist Isaac Stern with cellist Leonard Rose and pianist Eugene Istomin. All living recipients of the Nobel Prize in the Western Hemisphere heard the president toast them at dinner with the words, "I think this is the most extraordinary collection of talent, of human knowledge, ever gathered at the White House, with the possible exception of when Thomas Jefferson dined alone." The American creative and intellectual community felt truly appreciated by the government during those years.

Jacqueline became a political asset on trips abroad and was called the "Number One Lady Goodwill Ambassador" because of the great enthusiasm she aroused. Her fluency in French, her preference for French designers and art, as well as her beauty made her a favorite in France, especially with President Charles DeGaulle. Jack, awed by the enthusiasm of the Parisians screaming for "Jacquii," introduced himself as "the man who accompanied Jacqueline Kennedy to Paris." She was just as popular in Canada, South America, India, and Pakistan.

## JACQUELINE BOUVIER KENNEDY ONASSIS

The American fashion industry and hair stylists were enormously influenced by the First Lady's clothes and bouffant hairdo. Hollywood designer Edith Head considered her the "greatest single influence in history" on fashion. Jacqueline lookalikes—in simple, short dresses, white gloves, and pillbox hats with their hair puffed out from the sides and up from the top of their heads—popped up all over the country with varying degrees of success. What these imitators didn't realize was the amount of work required for such sartorial splendor. Because such attention was paid to Jackie, extensive planning was necessary when packing for a trip to ensure that no outfit was seen more than once, and since the First Lady often had to change outfits three or four times a day, an enormous amount of luggage was needed. Jacqueline's personal maid kept a ledger book listing all clothing and the proper accessories.

Jacqueline's interest in clothes, her high-toned entertainment, her proclivity for talking to men rather than women, her barely concealed disdain for reporters, and her cossetting of intellectuals were criticized by those who felt that the mood at the White House was not quite right for a democracy, and that the First Lady was behaving a bit too queenly.

Sympathy rebounded, however, when, in August 1963, her third child, a son, was born prematurely and died two days later. In the closeness this created between the bereaved parents, Jacqueline agreed to make a political trip to Texas with Jack in November. As they rode through Dallas in an open convertible, three shots fired from a building on the route mortally wounded the president. Jacqueline screamed, "My God, they've killed

## "White House Restorer"

Jack. They've killed my husband," then cradled his shattered head in her lap as they raced to the hospital where he died. Hours later, she stood stunned, still in her blood-stained suit, with Lyndon Johnson as he took the oath of office aboard Air Force One.

She and her children moved to New York in search of privacy, but she remained in the limelight with all "the stares and pointing, and . . . the strangest stories," including speculation about her remarrying. Five years after John Kennedy's death, Jackie did remarry—to the enormously wealthy, sixty-two-year-old Greek shipping magnate Aristotle Onassis on the island of Skorpios. The interest in Jackie O., as the press took to calling her, did not wane, although now it was mostly concerned with her spending sprees, her traveling, and the developing problems of her marriage. When Onassis died in 1975 in a Paris hospital, his wife was at home in New York.

When the furor over her multimillion-dollar financial settlement as Onassis's widow had died down, life went on a little more quietly for Jacqueline. She began to work as an editor with a New York publisher and continued to devote herself to her children, believing that "if you fail with your children then I don't think that anything else in life could ever really matter very much."

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HEADLINE: Jackie; her friends finally talk! Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis

BYLINE: Klein, Edward

BODY:

JACKIE HER FRIENDS FINALLY TALK!

These have not been tranquil times for Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis. Until about a year ago, she seemed to have managed the impossible--staying out of sight and out of the public's mind. But then the dreaded klieg lights of attention started snapping on all over again. The stir began when Caroline gave birth to a baby girl, Rose Kennedy Schlossberg, Jackie's first grandchild. It built to a crescendo when Jackie chose not to attend Christina Onassis's funeral--a snub of such world-class proportions that she revived all the old wicked-stepmother stories of years past. And it reached a climax this past summer when, incredibly, Camelot's dewy queen turned sixty.

"She called me," said her friend I.M. Pei, the architect. "She asked me when I was going to Paris next, and I said July, which I know is her birthday. And she said, 'I.M., I'd like to come and see the Louvre when you are there.'"

But Jackie has never been able to run away. Since that bloody day in Dallas in 1963, the world has been treated to a new Jackie biography almost every year--an astonishing 22 volumes in all. As might be expected, most of this material, including the latest biography, C. David Heymann's *A Woman Named Jackie*, is essentially refried history, telling us very little that we don't already know.

Many of Jackie's friends say that not only is there nothing new in this avalanche of words, but most of it is woefully inaccurate. The woman they know is very different from the one portrayed in these books and in the supermarket tabloids--the snooty, spiteful, greedy, needy Jackie, the original material girl. The Jackie they know has managed to preserve her dignity through an ordeal by the press such as no other woman in this century has had to undergo, and she had also--whatever her faults--triumphed as a mother and as a professional person.

This success may not matter to those who find escape in the lurid storyboards of pop mythology, but of course it matters desperately to Jackie, her two children, and their friends. Recently, many of these friends have begun to feel that the time has come to redress the balance with a portrayal of Jackie that is both current and real.

Although I do not number myself among Jacqueline Onassis's close friends, I have known her for a dozen years. We have frequently lunched together, and I

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have been a guest in her home. I am aware of her deep ambivalence toward the press. On the one hand, I have heard her call journalists "the most interesting people in the world"; on the other, she considers us her chief nemesis. I therefore felt it was only right for me to telephone her before I embarked on this article.

After we had chatted pleasantly for a moment, I broached the subject of doing a piece about her.

There was a long silence.

Then came Jackie's reply. In all my years of reporting, I have never heard anyone's voice change so dramatically from warm acceptance to cold, undisguised cynicism. "Oh, Ed," she said, "give me a break."

So after all these years of being the prisoner of celebrity, Jackie does not believe in the possibility of public redemption. And she refuses to encourage her friends to help her slip the bonds of notoriety. Nonetheless, during a month of reporting, I was able to interview more than sixty people, many of whom have known her intimately.

Her oldest and dearest friend, a man whom she has known since her teens, sums the situation up best: "It's queer how her public persona and her real self are so unlike. I've given a lot of thought to this, and I think it's because she hasn't become connected in the public mind with any virtuous cause. She's not perceived like Lady Bird Johnson, planting and making things beautiful, or like Barbara Bush now with reading. And, you know, being involved with a national problem might have eased Jackie's situation.

"So why doesn't she just do it?" he continues. "It may be connected in some way with her being fiercely independent and not willing to be involved superficially in something just for the sake of the press. Jackie is clearly not gripped by children with rickets. What she is, is a fascinating, somewhat perplexing human being--lively, sporty, affectionate, youthful. Not at all like the acquisitive monster that is portrayed in the press."

Friends note, for instance, that Jackie has come to take justifiable pride in the way her kids have turned out. Considering the snares and pitfalls of growing up Kennedys, both of her children are amazingly stable and well adjusted. "Hers were the only Kennedy kids who didn't spend their summers in Hyannis Port," says a friend who watched Caroline negotiate the shoals of adolescence. "Jackie kept her kids away from that scene. Her kids didn't get into all that competitiveness; they didn't get into drugs. Her kids were spared."

Both of Jackie's children are now well launched into adult life. Caroline, thirty, is married to Edwin Schlossberg, a teddy-bearish man thirteen years her senior. Schlossberg, the scion of a wealthy Jewish textile manufacturer, is an avant-garde artist in his own right. "Exactly what Ed Schlossberg does," says writer George Plimpton, "is obscure." Apparently what he does best is look after Caroline, who has put her career as a lawyer on hold in order to take care of their daughter, who celebrated her first birthday in June.

"Caroline and Jackie see each other a couple of times a week," says one of Caroline's best friends. "Being the daughter of a famous mother has made it

hard for Caroline to understand that her problems with her mother are the average person's problems with their mother. On the other hand, I think that Jackie is a woman who knows that she's thin and attractive, and it may not always have been easy for her to relinquish the spotlight to her daughter."

Caroline's close friend Alexandra Styron, daughter of writers William and Rose Styron, adds, "Caroline seems to have come into her own in the last few years. I've never seen her happier than she is now. She looks beautiful. She's stick-thin. Her skin is glowing. She and Ed are as much in love as any married people I've ever seen. They have a very quiet social life. Caroline is really an extremely unassuming, down-to-earth person."

So, by all accounts, is John F. Kennedy Jr., twenty-eight. This summer, John started work as a \$ 29,000-a-year assistant district attorney, and people are already talking about his bright political future.

After family, it is money that has made the big difference for Jackie. Just as she began to lose some of her craving for material things, she stopped having to worry about money. For the first time in her life, Jackie is really rich.

"After Onassis died, she became good friends with the financier Andre Meyer," says a close friend who has some familiarity with her finances. "Meyer was a fascinating old man who had incredible taste in art, a brilliant investment banker who enjoyed the company of the glamorous women he advised. He took Jackie's nice fortune, which at that time was about \$ 25 million, and made it into a large one."

According to Thoms Wallace, a prominent real-estate agent on Martha's Vineyard, Jackie owns 464 acres on that island resort. The property, which she assembled over the years for about \$ 3.5 million and which now constitutes one-third of the entire town of Gay Head, is registered in the name of her attorney, Alexander D. Forger, as trustee. It is free and clear of mortgages. Realtor Tom Wallace estimated that if Jackie's property were put on the market today it could fetch between \$ 22 million and \$ 26 million. She also maintains her fifteen-room Manhattan co-op and a hunt-country estate in Peapack, N.J., which together, according to another real-estate expert, are worth at least \$ 10 million.

She also has sizable expenses, including real-estate taxes (\$ 40,000 a year on the Martha's Vineyard property alone), maintenance, staff for the three homes, the feeding and grooming of her horses in New Jersey and Virginia, and her own personal living expenses.

"In the period that we're talking about, since she's been a single woman again," says a prominent financial adviser, "the stock market has seen a five-fold increase in value. She's an intelligent woman who's had guys as shrewd as Andre Meyer advising her, so it wouldn't be stretching it to say that her investments outperformed the Dow and went up eight- to tenfold. Let's be conservative and say eight, and that she invested only \$ 20 million of that original \$ 25 million. So now she's got 160 million bucks plus the \$ 32 million to \$ 36 million in real estate, and meanwhile her dividends have been paying her capital-gains taxes and giving her enough money to live on."

All this would put Jackie's fortune very close to the \$ 200 million mark. And, the same money manager points out, that does not take into account her

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jewelry, art, and antiques. Or her salary as an editor at Doubleday, which is said to be \$ 45,000.

"People have this mania of interest about Jackie and money," says the friend who brought up the subject of Andre Meyer. "But her real concern has not been for herself; it's always been for her family, for Caroline and John. The money evens out their place in the Kennedy family. They're not the poor relations."

With family and finances firmly under control, the major pieces of her life have fallen into place. Friends say that if she is no longer an unfinished woman; most of the credit must go to Maurice Tempelsman, a millionaire entrepreneur in the diamond business. A short, rather homely, graying man, Tempelsman has known Jackie for years, through her marriages to both John Kennedy and Aristotle Onassis, and he has been Jackie's significant other far longer than most people realize--at least ten years.

"This thoughtful, unlikely, Jewish gentleman has put an aura of tranquillity around her," says Samuel Pizar, a Paris-based American lawyer who has had occasion to observe Jackie with Kennedy, Onassis, and Tempelsman. "Maurice doesn't show her off like Onassis, who considered Jackie another jewel in his crown. Maurice, the diamond merchant, knows better; he protects her, understands her position, and respects her privacy. He's made it possible for her to enter the third act of her life, the act in which life's conflicts are resolved."

In this Act Three, Jackie manages to lead a life that is at the same time active and very private. She accomplishes this by being deft in her movements and disciplined in her behavior. Friends note that she hates to waste time, and that there is a definite rhythm to her days and her seasons.

She's a morning person. Any one of her handful of women friends--socialites Jayne Wrightsman, Karen Lerner, Marietta Tree, Jane Hitchcock, Brooke Hayward--is apt to get a wake-up call from Jackie as early as seven o'clock in the morning. Breakfast is simple and light. She has never been careless about her appearance, and she keeps herself on a low-cal diet of healthy foods in order to stay Bouvier-thin. This past April, she checked into the Manhattan Eye, Ear and Throat Hospital, where she had a face-lift performed by a well-known Park Avenue plastic surgeon named Dr. Michael Hogan.

She fast-walks around the Central Park Reservoir in disguises. After the highly publicized rape of a woman jogger in April, Nancy Tuckerman, her press aide for nearly thirty years, cautioned Jackie to give up the habit of setting off into the park under the added cloak of darkness. Each night at six, a yoga teacher comes to her apartment, and for the next hour Jackie is incommunicado.

"I know Marta, Jackie's Italian maid, who's been with her forever," says a friend of twenty years, "and Marta will always get her to the phone for me. But not between six and seven, when Jackie meditates and does yoga. She stays home a lot more than she used to. When she's home alone with Maurice, they eat early, at 7:30. They don't sit around with cocktails and TV. They get on with things. And they go to bed early."

Part of her attitude toward public attention is shaped by a memory still tormented with images of Kennedy assassinations and swarming Onassis paparazzi. Wherever she goes, she excites the media to madness, and in the presence of

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this throbbing frenzy, she sometimes reacts with visceral fear.

"A few years ago," recalls the art critic John Richardson, "I was Jackie's escort for a rather dazzling gala at the Metropolitan Opera. There were masses of photographers, and she said to me, 'Look, there's going to be a mob scene, and I asked my driver to meet us downstairs.' But her car wasn't there. We were kept waiting for ten minutes, absolutely surrounded by the press, and they were popping on and on with their cameras, and it was terrifying, blinding, and she was completely unnerved."

Some of Jackie's friends say that her true goal is not to avoid publicity but to control it. However she may protest to the contrary, she cares passionately about protecting her image, and she doesn't hesitate to enlist her friends in this endeavor. Recently her press guru, Nancy Tuckerman, spent an entire flight from Florida to New York reading a copy of *A Woman Named Jackie* that was camouflaged in a different dust jacket. Jackie also has a network of media-savvy friends who serve as a kind of early-warning system against trashy books and articles. They have been known to put out an intimidating word or two to the effect that Mrs. Onassis would not be amused.

Her greatest strength, however, is in her own unerring sense of stardom. In this, she resembles other strong personalities--Garbo, De Gaulle, Cary Grant--who had the connoisseur's appreciation of their own persona.

"Jackie always rises to the public occasion," says a photographer sought after by the famous. "She enjoys it. It's flattering. Seeing you looking at her, she tosses her hair, she flirts. She gets better when it happens."

Given Jacqueline Onassis's ambivalent attitude about true confessions, it is fascinating to see what she has chosen as her life's work. She spends three days a week--Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays--as an editor at Doubleday. There, she sits in a cramped corner office on the twentieth floor, whispering intently into the telephone and trying to persuade famous people to tell all in their autobiographies. Ballerina Gelsey Kirkland, for example, has succumbed twice to Jackie's persuasive charms; the second volume of her memoirs will appear early in 1990. Frank Sinatra, who has been one of the hottest names in Jackie's tickleer file for years, still holds out when she calls.

She attends editorial meetings, and has gained the respect of her fellow editors as someone who knows how to shepherd her projects through the bureaucracy and get her books approved. Says an old publishing hand who has watched Jackie in action, "I remember Jackie's presentation of a book to be written by a fellow named Michael Jackson. She'd done all the financial projections, but what was impressive about it was that she was explaining to a room full of older people why this book could be immensely successful and why it was worth paying a lot of money to get it. And she was right; it became an immense best-seller. She's not someone one who backs down when she thinks she's on the right track."

Jackie finds release from city pressures during four-day weekends in her house in New Jersey. Twice a year--just before Thanksgiving and again in March--she flies to Washington, walks over to the car-rental counter, and picks up a car, then drives the 50 miles to Middleburg, Va., where she is a member of the Orange County Hunt club. She rents a pretty cottage near the estate of Paul Mellon, America's premier patron of the arts. Everyone who knows Jackie says

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that she has in many ways modeled herself after Mellon's wife, Bunny, a woman noted for her artful gardens, romantic little thank-you notes, and exquisite manners.

Jackie has a passion for horses and the outdoor life, and she rides to hounds with childhood pals like Eve Fout and Charlie Whitehouse. She was brought up with horses," says a friend who has known her practically all her life. "She has a girlish quality of enthusiasm. She's attracted by the excitement and the vividness provided by the outdoors--getting sopping wet. I've ridden with her in the most miserable conditions. She enjoys the wind and the rain."

She also loves the marshes and beaches of Martha's Vineyard, where she goes every August and stays through September. She commissioned the architect Hugh Jacobson to build her a home that is less a house than a loosely strung-together set of structures. It allows her to have plenty of guests and still have plenty of privacy.

Maurice Templesman comes up on his yacht, which carries a crew of three, and they go sailing with friends to the Elizabeth Islands, where they have simple picnics of soup and sandwiches on the beach. Each summer, Jackie calls up Eunice Shriver and Ethel Kennedy and arranges to invite the entire Kennedy clan--about one hundred people--to a weekend clambake on her estate. The Sargent Shriver's come over from Hyannis Port. The Stephen Smiths charter a power launch and motor up the coast from their summer home on Long Island. Young Kennedys and Lawfords show up and, yes, they do play touch football. "Jackie makes the weekend a means for her and her children to restore their connections to all the relatives," explains Sargent Shriver.

And so every summer Jackie sees to it that the Kennedys scrimmage once again in the sun. She, of course, isn't part of the fray; she's on the sidelines, smiling. And always standing there next to her on the beach is the somewhat incongruous, reassuring figure of a short, portly man--Maurice.

Maurice Tempelsman is a good deal more than Jackie's third man. He is, to begin with, wealthy in his own right, though probably not as rich as Jackie. He is a powerful behind-the-scenes figure in the Democratic Party, a mover in the world of Jewish philanthropy, an important collector of museum-quality Roman and Greek antiquities, an active New York clubman, a legendary wheeler-dealer throughout black Africa, and, it has long been rumored, an elusive player at the fringes of the American intelligence community.

To Jackie's friends, he remains a puzzling, mysterious person. "Maurice is a curious choice for Jackie," says Slim Keith, "but one that works for her." Some of Jackie's intimates have noticed that Maurice Tempelsman, like John Kennedy and Aristotle Onassis, possesses that distinctive aura that surrounds men who conduct secret lives.

He was born in the Belgian port city of Antwerp in August 1929, which makes him one month younger than Jackie. His father fled from the Nazis with his family and eventually became a broker in New York for several important diamond merchants. When Maurice was 16, he dropped out of school and went into the business. A couple of years later, he traveled alone to South Africa and managed to wangle a private meeting with Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, then the uncrowned king of the secretive De Beers diamond empire. Sire Ernest was duly

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impressed and christened him "the boy wonder," and from that day until now, Maurice Tempelsman has enjoyed a direct pipeline to the world's chief source of diamonds.

By the mid-fifties, while Tempelsman was still in his twenties and a budding millionaire, he was a heavy hitter among Democratic Party contributors, and in the late 1950s one of his lawyers, Ted Sorensen, arranged a meeting with the skinny presidential hopeful John Kennedy and his exotic-looking wife, Jacqueline. Tempelsman was a married man. He and his wife, Lily, a religious woman who donated her time to Jewish charities, lived with their son, Leon, on Riverside Drive in Manhattan. But the marriage, even then, was beginning to show strain, and though Maurice and Lily went on to have two more children--Rena and Marcee--Tempelsman was soon seen around town escorting attractive women.

A few years ago, after suffering a mild heart attack, Tempelsman went on a diet and began slowing down. But in public he still strikes people as a virile, ebullient figure, energetic, tanned, well turned out without being natty. Jackie's friends observe that whenever she gives one of her small dinner parties in her red-lacquered library, it is Maurice who commands center stage.

"I noticed that Jackie deferred to Maurice all the time," says a recent dinner guest who sat next to him. "I mean, he doesn't try to dominate her; she does it to herself. She'd say to him across the table, sotto voce, 'Maurice, don't you think it's time for them to remove the dishes?' She could have a bell or a buzzer to summon the butler herself. 'Maurice,' she'd say, 'should we have coffee here or in the living room?' Those kinds of things, and he would answer assertively in a loud voice, 'We'll have coffee here.'"

"There's no doubt about it," the woman adds. "Maurice is absolutely crazy about her. He seems to relish looking after her. I remember an article that appeared ages ago, I think in The Saturday Evening Post, in which Jackie complained that President Kennedy wouldn't help her decide what dress to wear. Well, you just know that Maurice would pick out the dress for her every time she asked."

Over the years, as Maurice has made himself indispensable, he and Jackie have become more and more private, almost reclusive. Many of Jackie's oldest friends admit, somewhat wistfully, that they haven't seen her in quite some time, often for as long as two or three years. One reason is that three years ago Jackie stopped giving her traditional Christmas party, to which she used to invite nearly 100 people, including some ink-stained wretches from the press. She told me she wasn't going to have the Christmas party anymore, because people had come to expect it," says TV producer Karen Lerner, a friend since the mid-sixties. "She wasn't comfortable having a Christmas party without the children. So three years ago, there were only twenty-five people invited."

At the same time, many people who know her are reluctant just to pick up the phone, as they might with any other friend, and call her. "When Jackie was married to Onassis," says I.M. Pei, "we used to go down to Chinatown for these wonderful Chinese dinners. Her friend the artist Bill Walton would come along. Sometimes Bill Paley. I remember even Hubert Humphrey. But these days I don't see her as often as I'd like. She is such a well-known person to impose on. I almost feel, if I do call her, that I'm encroaching."

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But Pei was looking forward to their reunion in Paris. A warm, generous man, he is extremely fond of Jacqueline Onassis. "'We have that chemistry, we understand each other," he says. "She's extremely sensitive not only to people but to art. She has a natural response to beauty.

"What she is, is poetic," he says. "For instance, she was interested in China, and when we went together to China a few years ago, she visited my family's garden in Soochow, and I translated something on the wall from the Chinese, and she said, 'Oh, that is incredible!' and she wrote it down. And after she came back, she painted a page with a bamboo brush, in the classic Chinese manner, and she put down those words, 'To I.M., who taught me to see fragrance and to read painting.' Now, that's Jackie!"

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Empathy for ppl of foreign countries  
lost 2 children; plus miscarriage.

Beauty, intelligence, taste.

Interest in the arts — inspired an attn to culture.

"If you bungle raising your children, I don't think  
whatever else you do matters v. much"

Helped shape WH as a museum of Amer. hist. & art.  
felt it should represent "American  
Excellence"

Photographs.

Editor

"President's wives have an oblig to contribute sth.

WH Hist. Assoc.

Things of the spirit — art, beauty —  
look care of Nation's soul

dancers, actors, plays, musical events.

goal of a natl center for perf. arts

Wanted to reach —

Reverence — apprecia for the past.

1st mentally retarded employee at the WH

WH Childs. Concerts series

youth education

civil rights

integrating of WH school nursery

JRC — Mrs. Roosevelt raised her kids — consulted her abt raising  
kids in WH —

Strong values; priorities  
how classy she was —

had a ball — M. Virginia  
w/ Jackie O —