

EDWARD M. KENNEDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interviewer's Briefing Materials Edward M. Kennedy Interview, 03/23/2005-03/24/2005

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Miller Center Documents¹

• Edward M. Kennedy 1962 Campaign Timeline.

Secondary Source Materials

- Adam Clymer, *Edward Kennedy: A Biography* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1999) pp. 34-52.
- James MacGregor Burns, *Edward Kennedy and the Camelot Legacy* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1976) pp. 73-102.
- Murray Levin, "Kennedy Campaigning, 1962" in *Edward Kennedy: The Myth of Leadership*, ed. by Murray Levin and T.A. Repak, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1980) pp. 12-28.
- Laurence Leamer, *The Kennedy Men: 1901-1963 The Laws of the Father* (New York: William Morrow, 2001) pp. 671-672.
- Milton Gwirtzman oral history interview, by Ronald J. Grele, 01/19/1966, Washington, D.C., John F. Kennedy Library, pp. 21-36.
- David W. Burke oral history interview, 1971, Robert F. Kennedy Oral History Program, John F. Kennedy Library, p. 25.
- Gerard Doherty oral history interview, by Larry J. Hackman, 02/03/1972, Robert F. Kennedy Oral History Program, John F. Kennedy Library, pp. 1-2, 9-10.
- John Culver oral history interview, by Vicki Daitch, 05/12/2003, John F. Kennedy Library, pp. 5-9, 17-19.
- Congressional Staff Directory 1963, Charles B. Brownson, ed. (Washington, D.C.: The Congressional Staff Directory, 1963) p. 79.
- Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1963 (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1964) pp. 43-46.
- Barbara Sinclair, "The Impact of a Change in Membership: The Democratic Classes of 1958-1964," *The Transformation of the U.S. Senate* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989) pp. 30-50.

¹ These are original documents created by Miller Center researchers for the Edward M. Kennedy Oral History Project. Please acknowledge credit for any use of these materials.

Documents Provided by Senator Kennedy

- "Timeline."
- "Milt's Overview Memo."
- "Melody's Overview Memo."
- "Campaign Recollections/Schedule."
- "Speeches/Press."
- "1962 State Convention."
- "JFK/Family Participation."
- "McCormack Debates."
- "Election Results/Polling."

Other

• William V. Shannon interview with Edward M. Kennedy, 1988, tape two: pp. 26-27; tape four: pp. 5-13.

EDWARD M. KENNEDY 1962 CAMPAIGN TIMELINE

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1957

September

On the 7th, *The Saturday Evening Post* runs an article by Harold H. Martin titled, "The Amazing Kennedys," which makes the first published suggestion that Edward M. Kennedy (EMK) will run for a seat in the U.S. Senate. "[Admirers of the Kennedys] confidently look forward to the day when Jack will be in the White House, Bobby will serve in the Cabinet as Attorney General, and Teddy will be the Senator from Massachusetts." The main source for the article was EMK's father, Joseph P. Kennedy (JPK). (Adam Clymer, *Edward M. Kennedy*, New York, William Morrow & Co., 1972, p. 26)

1958

November

Senator John F. Kennedy (JFK) wins reelection to the Senate by the largest margin in Massachusetts history. According to Clymer, JFK toasts EMK saying, "And here's to 1962, Senator Kennedy, if you can make it." (Doris Kearns Goodwin, *The Fitzgeralds and the Kennedys*, New York: Touchstone, 2001, p. 793; Clymer, p. 27)

1960

November

While vacationing in Acapulco, Mexico after the 1960 presidential election, Robert F. Kennedy (RFK) tells EMK that he will not run for JFK's vacated Senate seat in 1962. RFK is later nominated Attorney General, reportedly at the urging of JPK. (Clymer, p. 31)

December

EMK travels to Africa for five weeks to participate in a sixteen-nation fact-finding tour with members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. JFK had reportedly arranged for EMK to participate in the trip to help EMK gain experience. EMK meets some controversy in the Congo when reporters ask whether he (and in turn the President) recognize the Katanga Province as an independent state. (Clymer, p. 32; *Esquire*, April 1962; *Time*, 09/28/1962; *The Washington Post*, 12/06/1960)

While EMK is abroad, Joan Kennedy finds a house in Boston for the family to move into early the next year. EMK and Joan Kennedy had also discussed the possibility of permanently moving out West. Patricia Kennedy Lawford had suggested that EMK move to California where she and her husband, actor Peter Lawford, live, but JPK helps to convince EMK to remain in Massachusetts. (*The Fruitful Bough: A Tribute to Joseph P. Kennedy*, collected by Edward M. Kennedy, Halliday Lithograph Corporation, 1965, p. 220; James MacGregor

Burns, *Edward Kennedy and the Camelot Legacy*, New York, W. W. Norton & Co.,1976, p. 68)

Foster Furcolo, the lame duck Democratic Governor of Massachusetts, appoints Benjamin A. Smith II to fill JFK's vacated Senate seat. Smith is an old college friend of JFK's who had worked on the 1960 campaign. It is reportedly understood that Smith would be willing to step aside for EMK should EMK decide to run for JFK's vacated Senate seat in 1962. EMK is not constitutionally eligible for the Senate until he turns 30 in February, 1962. (Milton Gwirtzman Oral History Interview, John F. Kennedy Library, 01/19/1966, pp. 21-23; Burns, p. 75; Murray Levin, *Kennedy Campaigning: the System and Style as Practiced by Senator Edward Kennedy*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1966, pp. 2-3; http://nationaljournal.com/pubs/almanac/2000/people/ma/mas1.htm)

1961

January

EMK and Joan Kennedy attend JFK's presidential inauguration. EMK discusses with Edward King the possibility of running for the Senate. (Clymer, p. 33; Goodwin, pp. 812-816)

EMK takes over JFK's apartment at 122 Bowdoin Street and turns it into an office. Around this time, EMK tells John Culver, an old friend from Harvard, that he is thinking about running for a state-wide office in Massachusetts and is beginning to travel around the state. Culver, who is attending Harvard Law School, agrees to volunteer for EMK's campaign. (John Culver oral history interview, John F. Kennedy Library, 05/12/2003, p. 5; Theo Lippman, *Senator Ted Kennedy: The Career behind the Image*, New York: Norton, 1976, p. 9; *The New York Times*, 01/26/1961)

February

The New York Times reports that EMK might become a senatorial candidate. (The New York Times, 02/04/1961)

EMK is hired to serve as an Assistant District Attorney in Suffolk County, Massachusetts. EMK is one of 26 Assistant District Attorneys working under District Attorney Garrett Byrne. EMK works on a "dollar-a-year" basis. In addition to his responsibilities as Assistant District Attorney, EMK works with a number of charitable organizations including the American Cancer Crusade and the Health and Fitness Fair. (*Commentary*, November 1962)

May

EMK and Joan Kennedy travel to Italy to observe the centennial of Italian unification. While in Italy the Kennedys meet with the Pope. (*The Nation*, 03/10/1962)

On the 19th, EMK met with Vice President Kardelj of Yugoslavia. (*The New York Times*, 05/20/1961)

July

On the 17th, EMK travels to Latin America on a private, month-long fact finding tour. EMK reportedly schedules the trip at the suggestion of Richard Cardinal Cushing of Boston. (*The Nation*, 03/10/1962; *The New York Times*, 07/10/1961)

September

On the 18th, EMK travels to Camden, New Jersey to campaign for Richard J. Hughes, Democratic nominee for Governor. (*The New York Times*, 09/19/1961).

EMK's and Joan Kennedy's second child, Edward Moore Kennedy, Jr., is born on the 26th. EMK's old law school friend, John Tunney, is named godfather. (Clymer, p. 284; *Time*, 09/28/1962)

Late Fall

EMK tells Boston journalist Eddie Martin that he is thinking of running for the Senate in 1962 and asks Martin to run his campaign's press section. (Burns, p. 76)

1962

February

EMK travels to Europe with his friend, Claude Hooton, where EMK looks into the potential impact of the Common Market on the Massachusetts economy. During the trip, EMK joins RFK in West Berlin, where EMK celebrates his 30th birthday. EMK also creates some controversy by visiting communist East Berlin. East German officials propagandize the move as recognition of East Germany as an independent state. While visiting Ireland, EMK is swarmed by cheering Irish citizens. EMK also travels to Poland and Israel. (Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *Robert Kennedy and His Times*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978, pp. 574-575; Clymer, p. 35; *The New York Times*, 02/24/1962, 02/26/1962)

EMK travels to Washington, D.C. and informs Senator Benjamin Smith (D-MA) that he intends to run for JFK's unexpired Senate seat in the November election. Smith agrees to step aside and arranges to send his legislative assistant, Milton Gwirtzman, to Massachusetts every week to brief EMK on key issues. (Gwirtzman interview, 01/19/1966, p. 26; Culver interview, 05/12/2003, p. 7; Lippman, p. 16)

March

EMK makes his national political debut on *Meet the Press* on the 11th. EMK discusses the possibility of running for the Senate in 1962. JFK had helped to prepare EMK for his performance. (Clymer, p. 35; Levin, pp. 6-7)

EMK resigns as Assistant District Attorney in Suffolk County on the 14th and announces he will run for JFK's vacated Senate seat. EMK's main challenger for the Democratic nomination is Massachusetts Attorney General Edward McCormack, nephew of the U.S. Speaker of the House John W. McCormack. McCormack dubs himself, "The Qualified Candidate," pointedly calling into question EMK's experience. EMK adopts JFK's old campaign slogan, "I can do more for Massachusetts." (Burns, pp. 77-79; Clymer, pp. 37-39; Culver interview, 05/12/2003, p. 7; Levin, p. 87)

EMK places his brother-in-law, Stephen Smith, in overall charge of his Senate campaign. Gerard Doherty is later given control over day-to-day operations. Martin, Culver, and EMK's cousin, Joey Gargan, also work on the campaign. Joan Kennedy spends much time campaigning with EMK and driving around the state with EMK's cousin, Sally Fitzgerald. Rose Kennedy speaks frequently to women's groups. RFK helps to advise EMK during the campaign. (Gerard Doherty Oral History Interview, John F. Kennedy Library, 02/03/1972; Gwirtzman interview, 01/19/1966, pp. 26-27; *Her Grace Above Gold: In Loving Remembrance of Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy*, collected by Edward M. Kennedy, Deschamps Printing Company, Inc., 1997, pp. 17, 226; Burns, pp. 77-79)

JFK announces that he will not publicly endorse either Democratic candidate but instructs his staff to informally help EMK's campaign. JFK sends Ted Sorensen and other aides to help and provides EMK with frequent advice throughout the campaign. (Doherty interview, 02/03/1972; Burns, pp. 77-84; Clymer, pp. 37-39)

The Kennedys decide to publicly disclose EMK's expulsion from Harvard University after it is learned that Bob Healy, *The Boston Globe's* Washington bureau chief, has picked up reports of the incident. EMK admits that he arranged for a friend to take an exam for him during his freshman year at Harvard, and that he withdrew from the university afterwards at Harvard's request. (Burns, pp. 80-84; *The New York Times*, 03/31/1962; *Time*, 09/29/1962)

April

Esquire reports that EMK has developed a network of 345 "Kennedy Secretaries" spread out across the state "The 'Secretaries' had been organized for JFK's senatorial campaigns of 1952 and 1958. The list had been updated for the 1960 campaign and EMK had met with the new group in 1961. (Esquire, 04/1962)

EMK travels with Doherty to Washington, D.C. on the 27th to discuss his Senate campaign with JFK and RFK at the White House. Doherty is placed in charge of the campaign's day-to-day operations. Smith continues to serve as campaign manager with overall responsibility. (Doherty interview, 02/03/1972; Clymer, p. 37)

May

EMK receives national press attention for meeting with an African-American from Arkansas who had been given a one-way bus ticket from a civil rights group so that he could afford to leave the South. (*The New York Times*, 05/13/1962)

EMK and McCormack hold a televised debate in Springfield, Massachusetts on the 19th and, later, debate before a crowd in Western Massachusetts. During the debates, McCormack says he has documented evidence that the President and Attorney General are interfering in the campaign. EMK and, later, JFK deny McCormack's allegations. (Levin, pp. 61-65; *The New York Times*, 05/20/1962, 06/07/1962)

June

On the 6th, McCormack claims that William C. Hartigan had resigned as Assistant Postmaster General to aid EMK's campaign. (*The New York Times*, 05/20/1962, 06/07/1962)

EMK wins his party's endorsement to run for the Senate at the pre-primary Democratic State Convention in Springfield, Massachusetts on the 9th. McCormack is reportedly hurt by his failure to produce evidence supporting his charges that the White House has pressured delegates to support EMK. Despite losing his party's endorsement, McCormack announces he will challenge EMK in the binding Democratic primary in September. (Burns, p. 79; Levin, pp. 69-78; *The New York Times*, 06/10/1962, *The Boston Globe*, 6/10/1962)

Summer

Gwirtzman and Culver hold "Issue Days" for EMK on Fridays over the summer at the Cape to work on a relevant political issue. JFK and RFK often travel in from Washington and, with JPK, discuss the campaign. (Drew, p.16; Culver interview, p. 5-6)

August

JFK, RFK, Sorensen, Gwirtzman and Gargan work with EMK at different times in Hyannis Port to help prepare EMK for his debates with McCormack. (Gwirtzman, 01/19/1966, pp. 28-32; Lester David, *Good Ted, Bad Ted: The Two Faces of Edward M. Kennedy*, Secaucus, NJ: Carol Publishing Group, 1993, pp. 77-78)

EMK and McCormack hold the first of two televised debates on the 27th at South Boston High School. McCormack reportedly alienates voters by harshly attacking EMK as unqualified and of running solely on family connections. McCormack charges, "If your name were Edward Moore, your candidacy would be a joke." EMK scores his most successful attack by questioning McCormack's statement that he favors halting production of nuclear weapons. (Gwirtzman interview, 01/19/1966, p. 28; Clymer, pp. 40-41; *The Boston Globe*, 8/28/1962, *The New York Times*, 08/28/1962)

September

EMK meets with JPK, JFK, RFK, Culver, Gwirtzman and Gargan over Labor Day weekend to discuss his second upcoming debate with McCormack. (Gwirtzman interview, 12/23/1971, p. 6)

EMK and McCormack hold their second televised debate in Holyoke on the 5th. McCormack backs away from the aggressive attacks he had launched against EMK in the first debate but continues to question EMK's lack of experience. EMK replies that he has more relevant experience on national and international issues citing his foreign travel. (*The Boston Globe*, 09/06/1962)

EMK beats McCormack by a landslide in the Massachusetts Democratic Senatorial Primary, gaining 69 percent of the vote. EMK is to run against Republican nominee George Cabot Lodge, whose family the Kennedys and Fitzgeralds have faced in many previous elections. JFK and Lyndon B. Johnson had defeated Richard Nixon and Lodge's father, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., in the 1960 presidential election. It was also JFK that had ousted Lodge's father from his Senate seat in 1952, while Lodge's grandfather, Henry Cabot Lodge, had defeated EMK's grandfather, John "Honey Fitz" Fitzgerald, in a Senate race in 1916. (Lippman, pp. 21-22; *The New York Times*, 09/20/1962)

October

JFK sends Sorensen to Massachusetts to prepare EMK for his appearance on *Meet the Press*. Sorensen reportedly advises EMK not to discuss the Cuban Missile Crisis in his campaign, as EMK's comments could be interpreted in Moscow as directly connected to JFK's. (Clymer, p. 42; Gwirtzman, 01/19/1966, p. 32)

November

EMK defeats Republican George C. Lodge, a former assistant labor secretary, with 55 percent of the vote on the 6th. (*Congressional Elections 1946-1996*, Congressional Quarterly Inc., p.88)

EMK is sworn into the Senate on the 7th to fulfill JFK's unexpired term. The other incoming freshman Senators who have been elected to full terms are not sworn in until January. The Democrats have a 67-33 majority in the Senate. (Burns, p. 99; Clymer, p. 44; Culver interview, 05/12/2003, p. 8; *Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1963*, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1964)