

John C. Culver Oral History Interview—5/12/2003
Administrative Information

Creator: John C. Culver
Interviewer: Vicki Daitch
Date of Interview: May 12, 2003
Location: Boston, Massachusetts
Length: 31 pages

Biographical Note

Culver, a Kennedy family friend, legislative assistant to Senator Edward M. Kennedy (1963), representative from Iowa (1964-1974) and senator from Iowa (1975-1981), discusses his long-time friendship with Edward M. Kennedy, John F. Kennedy's personality and legacy, and his involvement with various Kennedy memorials, among other issues.

Access

Open.

Usage Restrictions

According to the deed of gift signed February 24, 2004, copyright of these materials has been assigned to the United States Government. Users of these materials are advised to determine the copyright status of any document from which they wish to publish.

Copyright

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Under certain conditions specified in the law, libraries and archives are authorized to furnish a photocopy or other reproduction. One of these specified conditions is that the photocopy or reproduction is not to be "used for any purpose other than private study, scholarship, or research." If a user makes a request for, or later uses, a photocopy or reproduction for purposes in excesses of "fair use," that user may be liable for copyright infringement. This institution reserves the right to refuse to accept a copying order if, in its judgment, fulfillment of the order would involve violation of copyright law. The copyright law extends its protection to unpublished works from the moment of creation in a tangible form. Direct your questions concerning copyright to the reference staff.

Transcript of Oral History Interview

These electronic documents were created from transcripts available in the research room of the John F. Kennedy Library. The transcripts were scanned using optical character recognition and the resulting text files were proofread against the original transcripts. Some formatting changes were made. Page numbers are noted where they would have occurred at the bottoms of the pages of the original transcripts. If researchers have any concerns about accuracy, they are encouraged to visit the Library and consult the transcripts and the interview recordings.

Suggested Citation

John C. Culver, recorded interview by Vicki Daitch, May 12, 2003, (page number), John F. Kennedy Library Oral History Program.



ORAL HISTORY AGREEMENT

This will confirm my understanding and agreement with the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) with respect to my participation in an oral interview conducted by the Oral History Program of the John F. Kennedy Library.

1. The interview(s) will be taped and a transcript of the tapes will be made by the Library. A copy of the tape and a transcript (collectively called the "Work"), will be maintained by the Library and made available to the public in accordance with its rules and general policies for research and other scholarly purposes.
2. As soon as the transcription is complete, the Work will be made available to researchers as part of the John F. Kennedy Library Oral History Program.
3. I hereby grant, assign, and transfer to NARA all rights, title, and interest in the Work, including literary rights and the copyright.
4. This agreement contains our entire and complete understanding.

Name John C. Culver

Address 1050 Connecticut, Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20036

Signature John Culver

Date 1/14/04

Signed: John W. Carlin
fa JOHN W. CARLIN, Archivist of the United States

Date: 24 Feb 2004

John C. Culver

Table of Contents

<u>Page</u>	<u>Topic</u>
1	First meeting with Edward M. Kennedy (EMK): Fall of 1950
2	First meeting with John F. Kennedy (JFK): Spring 1951
3	Army-McCarthy hearings: March-June 1954
4	Kennedys effect on Culver's political life
5, 7	EMK's 1962 senatorial campaign
6	Joseph P. Kennedy Sr.'s personality
7	Working for EMK
9, 27	JFK's personality and legacy
10	JFK's historical sense
11	89 th Congress historic legislation: 1965-1967
12	Contact with Robert F. Kennedy after JFK's death
13	Adapting to political changes
14	RFK's personality changes after JFK's death
15	EMK's senatorial work
17	EMK's presidential ambitions
18	EMK's senatorial legacy
20	EMK's family, compassion, and love
21	Kennedy memorials involvement
22	First sailing experience with EMK
24	Experience as Kennedy Foundation director
25	Conservation and historical preservation interests
26	Kennedys' knowledge of agricultural issues
29	John F. Kennedy's library's mission
30	Political character importance
31	Youth and politics

Oral History Interview

with

John C. Culver

May 12, 2003
Boston, Massachusetts

by Vicki Daitch

For the John F. Kennedy Library

DAITCH: So what I'll do is just set them up by saying that I'm Vicki Daitch, and I'm speaking with John Culver, former senator from Iowa, and friend of the Library [John F. Kennedy Library] and former member of the Board. I guess one of the first things I wanted to ask is just how did you end up involved with the Kennedy family? You went to school at Harvard? Is that where you...?

CULVER: Yes, Senator Ted Kennedy [Edward M. Kennedy] and I first met and became friends in the fall of 1950 when we entered Harvard College and met on the Harvard freshman football team.

DAITCH: Oh, neat. So you've been friends since way back then?

CULVER: Over 50 years.

DAITCH: Yes. Oh, that's neat. So did you know the other brothers, too?

CULVER: Yes. In the course of our undergraduate years, I got to know the President [John F. Kennedy]

and also his brother Robert Kennedy [Robert F. Kennedy] and other members of the family. And so I became acquainted with a large number of the people in the family.

DAITCH: Was that exciting for you? I mean I can't imagine.... I would have thought it would be exciting.

CULVER: Well, you know, at that time we were 18-year-old kids. I had come from a very strong Republican family in Iowa. My father had been a Taft [Robert A. Taft] delegate to the 1952 convention. Later, in 1954, the year I graduated from college, on August 10th, I actually drove Herbert Hoover to West Branch, Iowa, on the occasion of the first birthday celebration for him in Iowa. That became an annual event until the time of his death, I think, a little over ten years later. So I came from that background. When I met Senator Kennedy, I think I was aware of the prominence of his father [Joseph P. Kennedy, Sr.]. But other than that, you know, it was before, of course, the President was more nationally noted in public life.

I first met President Kennedy in the spring of 1951, and we were playing touch football at the family compound at Hyannis. He had been picked up at the airport, I believe, and he drove in while we were playing out there. He went in the house, and he must have asked the people in the house who was out there with Ted. And he knew about a number of us who had been on the football team with Ted. Suddenly a window opened, and he stuck his head out and said, "Culver's a bum!" And slammed the window. I'd never met him, of course. He was, you know, having a lot of fun.

Then he came out, and he had a t-shirt and shorts on, and his back was still a problem for him after the war, as you know. And this was prior to any surgery that he ever experienced. So he couldn't really run with us in touch football, but he played quarterback on both our teams that day and he threw the ball and so forth. And that was the first time that I met him and became so fond of him and admiring of him.

DAITCH: I had no idea that you had known them for that long. Because, you know, you look at the official record, and the first thing that you really see is that you were a legislative assistant for Ted Kennedy.

CULVER: Right.

DAITCH: But you were friends with them even in the fifties.

CULVER: Yes. I remember in 1954 after I graduated from college, Ted and I drove down to Washington in, it must have been in June. And we stayed with then Senator Kennedy and his wife, Jackie [Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy], in Georgetown. It was before they moved out to Hickory Hill. I remember when we arrived.... Of course, Jack and Jackie had just been married recently, and when we arrived, Jackie greeted us at the

door. Shortly after we went in the house, she said to Ted, “Oh, Ted, I’m so glad you’re here, Teddy. I know you’re studying government. I want you to give me a very clever question that I can ask Jack at dinner so I can impress him.” And of course she needed little help to impress Jack. But I’ve always thought back on that as an illustration, you know, of her wonderful humor and personality and vivaciousness. On that occasion, too, we went up to the Capitol, and it was during the Army-McCarthy [Joseph R. McCarthy] hearings.

DAITCH: Oh, yes.

CULVER: Bobby Kennedy was counsel to the McClellan Committee [Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in Labor and Management]. I remember attending some of those hearings and also going out in the hallway and visiting with Bobby who came out and talked to us about what was going on that particular day. We also played touch football a lot with Bobby Kennedy and Dave Hackett [David L. Hackett], who was a very close friend of Bobby’s. Ted and I, we would play those two, and we had some really interesting times together and a lot of fun.

DAITCH: What about the work that they were doing during the McCarthy hearings? What was Bob’s—what were his comments?

CULVER: I honestly don’t recall any specifics because it was a long time ago. It was much more social and seeing his brother and talking about being down there. I don’t remember any specific discussion on that.

DAITCH: Do you remember general impressions? I mean there’s been so much written about it that it seems very dramatic now. But maybe at the time it didn’t.

CULVER: Well, I think the most distinctive recollection I have was the dramatic occasion when Joseph Welch [Joseph Nye Welch], the Boston lawyer, was defending one of the individuals in the Army-McCarthy hearing. Senator Joe McCarthy had made a critical reference to the young lawyer assisting Mr. Welch in terms of suspicions of alleged possible Communist associations with some particular interest group that he had been affiliated with. You recall, I’m sure, that Joseph Welch said at that point, and it was very, very effective, I think, in starting the decline of Senator McCarthy, “It wasn’t until this moment, Senator, that I really appreciated, in effect, the depths of your irresponsibility.” Or something like that. “You can’t seek forgiveness from me. For that you’ll have to seek a higher authority than myself.” And it was really one of the most indelible recollections from that whole ugly chapter in American life.

DAITCH: Your having grown up in this staunch Republican family, how did this friendship with the Kennedys and other things that were going on during that period affect you?

CULVER: Well, I, as a high school student, I had gone to what was then called Iowa Boys State where high school students would seek election from their local high schools and then go down to a two-week camp. I was elected secretary of state by eight votes, as I recall. And interestingly enough, as part of that experience, you went down to the capital, and you spent time with your counterpart in actual government for a day. You know, one boy with the governor, another with the lieutenant governor, and so forth. So I went into the secretary of state's office. And interestingly enough, my son [John Chester Culver], who is in Iowa politics now, at age 32 was elected secretary of state and is literally in the same office...

DAITCH: Is that right?

CULVER: ...that I went and saw for the first time as a high school student myself. And I think that from that point I was very interested in public service or politics, government work of some kind. When I went to Harvard, I majored in government and for a time thought about the foreign service. I do believe that the experience with the Kennedys, along with my studies, made me increasingly feel that I was much more comfortable with the history and the philosophy and the personalities of the Democratic party. So I guess I just gradually migrated in that direction. By the time of my graduation, I was quite convinced that that was the direction I wanted to go and probably into politics myself.

I remember I was in the Marine Corps in 1955 to '58, and I remember watching John Kennedy compete for the vice presidential nomination, and lost. And how inspiring his speech was and the reception he received. And how much I admired his politics and his style and the dignity that he brought to public service. After that I went back to Harvard Law School. And in 1960....

Maybe I should back up a little bit. In 1952 after I had met John Kennedy for the first time, as I mentioned, in the spring of '51, I also, as a Harvard undergraduate, had the privilege of watching him seek the Senate position from Massachusetts against Henry Cabot Lodge and saw some of those debates. And I remember he had a very slight build. He had not regained his strength from the war. That was a very distinct impression of him in '52. Frail would be too strong a word, but he was very slender. And he had not developed the public projection in terms of speaking, in terms of the kind of growth that others have commented upon that he continued to develop.

In 1960, after I'd gotten out of the service and returned to Harvard Law School, I was back in Iowa. My father had become seriously ill, and I was back there with him when President Kennedy came through Cedar Rapids, Iowa, campaigning. I had met him at the airport, and he greeted me warmly and asked me to get in the car caravan with him. They went to the neighboring community of Marion, Iowa, in a park. It was a gathering of senior citizens. I had not seen him, of course, for a number of years and not in any political context or public appearance.

He got up to speak on a park bench and, of course, with no notes. This would have been about August 1960. So he was in just great stride and form. And the power and force

and conviction of his speech was just incredible to me because it was such a dramatic transformation in terms of his persona and how he had developed and grown, and the confidence that he evidenced, and the power of his physical appearance. I remember how struck I was by that. Then I remember my father died September 1, 1960, and I remember sitting with him—he had a very sad illness—and talked about politics. And I asked him, “What do you think about Nixon [Richard M. Nixon]-Kennedy, Dad?” He said, “John, you might be surprised, but I think if I have an opportunity I’ll vote for John Kennedy.”

So then when I came back to law school, in I guess it would have been in January 1961, I remember lying on my bed in our apartment, watching the inaugural address, and how inspiring that memorable occasion was to everybody and still is, for those who had the good fortune to view it. I, of course, having my previous association with the family, I was just particularly moved by it. I had to go at two o’clock—and listening to this, you know, at noon, whatever, twelve-thirty, quarter to one and all that activity—I had to go at two o’clock for an accounting exam at Harvard Law School. Under any circumstances the accounting exam was a nightmare to contemplate. And to get off my bed, you know, after that extraordinary moment and just flushed with all the excitement and enthusiasm of that occasion, and then walk into an accounting exam. I can tell you I don’t know how on earth I ever passed it, but I guess I did.

DAITCH: It was an extraordinary moment. It must have been really exciting for you having known these people and being friendly with them.

CULVER: Then, I guess it would have been in 1961, when Senator Kennedy, Ted Kennedy, returned to the state after the election, he came to see me and indicated that he was contemplating running for some statewide office. At that point it really wasn’t clear whether it be for the Senate or not. But in the process he was beginning to travel around the state, and he asked me, because he knew my interest in politics from our friendship, if I would be interested in helping him.

DAITCH: Had you done that previously at all?

CULVER: No, no.

DAITCH: For any of the brothers?

CULVER: No, no. So I agreed and said I’d be happy to. So the last two years of law school I was really very active as a volunteer and as a personal friend in that campaign. It was a wonderful experience, and we had an office then at 122 Bowdoin Street, right across from the capitol, which, of course, was the President’s voting address. He had an apartment on the second floor, as you know, and we converted that to an office, a small office, and that was our sort of headquarters during this early period. I traveled with him, and met with people in the office, and so forth.

During that period in the spring and summer of '62, we had what we called Issue Day on Friday at the Cape. On that occasion I would go down with another young man named Milton Gwartzman [Milton S. Gwartzman], and we would work on a particular issue, you know, health care, education, some general topic, by way of getting everyone familiar with the issues of the day.

But the most memorable part of all that was that around four o'clock in the afternoon we would all go down to the—Ted lived on Squaw Island then—but we would go down to the family house and watch Jack, President Kennedy then, and Robert Kennedy arrive in helicopters and Sarge Shriver [R. Sargent Shriver, Jr.]. And the kids, you've seen those films, run out to meet them. And the father proudly standing there in the yard, and the flag flying, waiting to meet his son. And it was just a wonderful occasion.

We went out on the boat, on the *Honey Fitz*, with Ambassador Kennedy, the President, Bobby, Ted, and I often, that weekend or something. And I, of course, tried as best I could to hide in the woodwork, but I could hardly be totally ignored. I would have the great pleasure of listening to the discussion, and of course it was interesting. As you know, the White House official position was that the people of Massachusetts must decide. And of course the White House is not involved, and it certainly wasn't in any official sense. But it obviously was of all consuming importance to the Ambassador and to the President and Bobby that Ted be successful. And so there would be some discussion of the campaign: How's it going? And whatnot. And that was quite a rare opportunity for someone my age to have that experience.

Then on a number of occasions during that period, too, Ted might be kind enough to invite me to join the family for dinner, and that would be just the Ambassador and Mrs. Rose Kennedy [Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy] and the President and Jackie and Ted and I.

I remember one time when after dinner I suddenly found myself alone with Ambassador Joseph Kennedy, and Ted was accompanying the President back to his house which he was then renting catty-corner from the family house. Here I was with Ambassador Kennedy, and I'm 30 years old, 29 or whatever, at the time. He said to me, "You know, I'm very glad that you're helping Ted." He said, "It's very important in this experience for him to have someone his age that's involved and that he trusts." He said, "In my experience, brains are a dime a dozen. But judgment and loyalty are rare, and I feel Ted's fortunate to have a friend that he is comfortable with in that regard."

Then he said, "Of course it's a great opportunity for you, too." [Laughter] To have the experience to be involved in an important way in a Senate race, not to mention the unique nature of that Senate race. Because, of course, as you know, Ted was just of minimum constitutional age himself. And so forth.

He also went on to say something that I've never forgotten. He said, "You know...." He knew I was married at that time and had a small child. And he said, "You know, politics is one of the few activities where the husband and wife can share in such important ways the responsibilities of public life and the politics of seeking office." He said, "I think that's a very positive thing." I remember him making that point.

DAITCH: I think of him as such an intimidating person. And for him to talk so....

CULVER: Yes. Warmly, too, you know. He was just an extraordinary person. And, as I say, there were a number of times when I had the pleasure of his company along with others. He was quite self-assured, and for good reason, in his judgment, and his opinion was remarkable. He always kept in such close touch with the opinions of the average person. He would report on.... He would ask the maids in a hotel, you know. He was not one to just accept the conventional wisdom of the thing. He had great confidence in the judgment of the average person and so on. All those attributes aren't generally associated with him.

DAITCH: No, I wouldn't have. But I've heard before, people have told me that John Kennedy would talk to people and ask them questions that seemed a little odd. About like how much money do you make, and what do you spend it on? How much does it cost to rent an apartment, buy a car, or whatever? First of all, he probably didn't know.

CULVER: Yes, yes.

DAITCH: But that same sort of thing that you're talking about the Ambassador doing.

CULVER: And it was also, if it's the genes, Honey Fitz [John Francis Fitzgerald], who was the mayor of Boston, you know, was always famous for being able to quote the price of fish at the local Boston market. And he, of course, was notorious for his intimacy with the man on the street. So perhaps some of that was picked up from grandpa.

DAITCH: Did the other brothers do it? Did Bob do it, or Senator Kennedy?

CULVER: I think it was certainly a general characteristic. I think they learned that kind of respect and curiosity and interest and importance in terms of public service that they have that kind of understanding. I remember in the '62 campaign, Edward McCormack [Edward J. McCormack, Jr.], Speaker John McCormack's [John William McCormack] nephew, who was Ted's opponent in the Democratic primary, he made much of the fact that Ted wasn't fit for political office because he'd never had a real job.

One day we were at a plant gate, and we were going through the plant gate, Senator Kennedy and I, Ted and I, in the primary, and the workmen were coming through, and one of the workmen yelled, "Hey, Teddy! I hear you never had a job in your life." And Ted said, "Yeah, that's right." Joking with him. He said, "Let me tell you something. You never missed a thing." So once again the average man is a lot smarter than the average. Adlai Stevenson [Adlai E. Stevenson] often said that. "The average man is a lot smarter than the average."

DAITCH: So what did you—I'm sure it would be hard to encapsulate in a nutshell—but what would you sort of pinpoint as some of the most important things that you learned while you were working on that campaign?

CULVER: Well, clearly the most important thing was how hard Ted worked, just tireless. And the demands of the schedule and the demands he put on himself and the standards that were expected of everyone involved. I say that in a very positive way. The second thing is rather interesting when I think back on it. One of the things I saw in Ted, which I admired and found to be quite unusual, that he would never entertain criticism of other people in the campaign who, in his view, were doing a good job for him. I admired that, as a young man, that he had that kind of instinct. Where he acquired that, I don't know. But I think it was right, and I think it was wise, for his age. He would just be silent and keep his own counsel. And it was pretty clear that he was making his own personal evaluation of someone's contribution or character or whatever was involved. I remember that.

And I think, finally, the preparation. Each event. I remember in the course of that '62 campaign he went out to.... It was a group in Brookline, I remember. It was a rather sophisticated political audience, and they were asking very tough questions. It was rather informal, but it was a significant group of Democrats. And it didn't go well at all. And Ted didn't say anything when we got in the car, and we went to the next event on the schedule. It was, I think, a labor union group of some kind. He got up there, and he made one of the, as I recall, one of the finest speeches and talks of the campaign.

It taught me the discipline of being able to get up off the canvas, if you will, because in politics you do have real ups and downs, and you have good days and bad days. You have embarrassing moments, unexpected developments. To be able to realize that each and every event, I mean it's not unlike show business, each and every event requires your best. And you can't be distracted or defeated. Quite naturally, the average, most people perhaps, would be preoccupied with that, and it would influence their performance. And I think that kind of discipline, too, is necessary to learn if you're going to be successful at that level in politics.

I went, then, in November of '62. He took office right away after that election, as you know, to fulfill the unexpired term of President Kennedy in the Senate. I had originally planned to go right back to Iowa after his election and get involved in politics myself. But he asked me if I would come down for at least a year to help him get set up in Washington. Of course I agreed to do that and looked forward to doing that. So I was his first appointment, I believe. I was a combination legislative assistant and press secretary. Can you believe that? And I think the original staff—you'll have to check this historically—but my best recollection is that in his immediate office in Washington, we only had about eight people.

DAITCH: Oh, my gosh!

CULVER: Here he is the brother of the President, brother of the Attorney General, and so forth. And the mail, of course, we got. The press role was really quite simple

for me because Ted wisely took the position that we weren't going to be presumptuous. There was a suspicion that he was young and would be brash and would be arrogant and whatnot. Of course he isn't that way. And for political reasons, if no other, that wasn't the way he was going to perform. We turned down every opportunity to be on national television. So other than hearing these disappointed reporters that wanted him on this show or that show, I didn't really have much of a job as press secretary.

I remember a couple of things, though. In '63, coming up here on occasion to Hyannis, and the President would be here. I remember one day we were up here. We were going to go to Boston. We stopped by, and the President was renting a house on Squaw Island at that time. We went by to say "hello" to him. He was always telling Ted to watch his weight and so forth. And of course Ted was really in good shape. But he said, "How are you coming with the weight?" Ted said, "Oh—" I was standing out in the yard with him. He said, "Well, I'm really doing good, Jack. I've lost about ten pounds." He said, "You've lost ten pounds?" He said, "Yeah. Don't you think I look like I lost ten pounds?" He said, "Well, standing next to Culver you probably think you're a ballet dancer."

And that was his humor always, you know. With the President, I mean. There really was this aura about him. I've been in the presence of, fortunately or unfortunately, a lot of presidents. And it really was unique. Obviously the office carries with it, for anybody, something extra. But with him, his charisma and the magnetism of his personality and his humor and his appearance and so forth, it was very special.

One other occasion I remember. We were up here, and Ted was going to go by to see the President, say "hello" to him. In the summer. The President asked him where he was going, and he said, "Well, I'm going to Boston. It's Polish Day celebration in Boston." The President thought for a minute, and he said, "You know, Teddy, I remember an inspiring inscription on a cemetery outside Cassino [Italy]." The famous Italian battle, where the Polish soldiers fought so valiantly. He said, "You know, I think it goes something like this. 'These Polish soldiers, for your freedom and theirs, have given their bodies to Italy, their hearts to Poland, and their souls to God.'" And he recalled that from memory. And Ted said, "Gosh! Jack, will you write that down? I'm going to use that in my speech." And Ted later gave me that in Jack's handwriting.

But that also was so indicative of his interest in history, how well read he was and how he was so fascinated with poetry and historical anecdote and so on. I think the thing to me, as I look back on experiences with the family, was, and, of course, particularly the President, was—and you've heard this before, but I can personally attest to it in my own life—the inspirational message that he represented in terms of public service and specifically politics, as being a worthwhile and noble thing to do with your life, and a rewarding thing to do with your life. To me that's in a personal, as well as a public sense, his most overriding legacy. And it truly, obviously, profoundly influenced me.

The other thing I think, looking back, is the very special relationship the President had with Ted, Ted being the youngest and being the baby of 11. Everybody loved him, I mean all the brothers and sisters, and he was fun-loving, and he was joyous. I think the President kind of vicariously enjoyed him a great deal and his company. They really had a

very warm and special bond and it was true obviously of all of the family members and with each other and so forth. But I sensed that because of the differences in age and personality and temperament.... I mean Ted was so naturally extroverted, and, I think, played such a role in family gatherings, to get people laughing and so on. The President was, you could just tell, especially fond of him.

DAITCH: I didn't know that. I didn't realize that he had had a special fondness for him. You said something a moment ago that I wanted to follow up on about the President's historical sense. I guess as an historian, that's one of the things that has struck me about his abilities as a leader. I think his historical sense contributed greatly to some of the decisions that he made, some of the wisest decisions that he made. I wondered if you had any sense of that.

CULVER: Well, I think you're absolutely right. The thing about, two things about President Kennedy, and I think you can say that about Robert Kennedy and certainly Ted in their respective ways. But the one thing that was so dramatic was growth. I mentioned earlier the transformation that I saw from 1952 to 1960. I mean it was extraordinary in terms of the maturation of political skill, of personality, and of public communication.

I think he had developed this at a very early age. He was so precocious in some of the opportunities he had. I mean to serve with his father in London, and to travel at a very early age, extensively right before the war in Germany and everywhere, and then after the war as a reporter or whatever briefly there, and working as a secretary with his dad, and his father being so prominently involved in events of the day in controversial ways as well. And the exposure he had to the great men of the day at such a young age. And I think.... He wrote his thesis on *Why England Slept* and so forth.

So he had a great interest in history, and I think he realized that the past can be the prologue; and if you don't respect history, you'll make the same mistakes or worse. It's one of the reasons I really thought that had he lived, we would have cut our losses in Vietnam because of his 1958 speeches about the French experience in Algeria, where he realized that this is a different age, and colonialism must go, and there are situations that you're on the wrong side of history. I think he would have understood that. And also had the self confidence, which I think is equally important. He had a military record, he'd lost his brother [Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr.] in the war; he lost his sister [Kathleen Kennedy Cavendish], really, in a way, in the war and his brother-in-law [John William Robert Cavendish]. And he wasn't under any felt need to prove himself. I think that infected a lot of decisions later by other people who hadn't had the kind of personal experience that he had in matters of war and history, as well educated and interested as he was.

So I think that was very, very important in terms of, you know, the wisdom. When I watch these press conferences over again, as close as I was to the family, and as much as I admired him in very special ways, I still can't believe them. I can't believe them now, from my age looking back, that he was 43 years old. And we haven't seen any, and I'm sure I'm prejudiced, but I'm also quite comfortable in saying that we haven't seen his like since in

that office in terms of the conviction and the force and the integrity of his expression, and again, wisdom beyond his years. He only had a short time. But when you think of the kind of maturity he evidenced at that age, it is just extraordinary. And that, of course, is why he lives on in such a special memory and affection of the country.

DAITCH: Mmmm hmmm. Absolutely. Can you tell me about where you were and your experience of the assassination?

CULVER: Yes, I had left Senator Kennedy's office September 1, 1963, to return to Iowa to run for Congress. I'd been away from the state 12 years. My dad had been a Republican; he had now passed away. I was just beginning to prepare for the 1964 election, trying to get the Democratic nomination. I was in a small law office with two other men. I had just returned from lunch, and I was in the office, and I got a phone call. I don't remember who called me. But I remember I left, and I went to the church right away.

Then after that, I don't remember exactly, I came out. I was with Ted in Washington at the time of the funeral. Then later I went up to Hyannis Port that Thanksgiving period with him. So, of course, as you know, it's hard. I mean you just can't express the sorrow and grief and loss that everyone in the nation felt. All those privileged to know him personally even more deeply. But that was the time when I was with Senator Kennedy during that time.

DAITCH: After that you were elected?

CULVER: Elected in 1964 election. And served ten years in the House, five terms, before being elected to the Senate in the 1974 election. Then I served six years in the Senate, '75 to '81.

DAITCH: So by this time politics is somewhat old hat for you. You've been kind of involved in a major way for a while. What was it like when you got to the House? Actually, I don't know if you would have worked with Senator Kennedy very much, but any joint committees or anything like that?

CULVER: Well, no. We saw each other regularly. Of course at that time, that same election, John Tunney [John V. Tunney] was elected congressman from California, and he had been a law school roommate of Senator Kennedy's at Virginia Law School. And so the three of us were very good friends, of course, and continued those friendships on a regular basis throughout that period. Of course it was a lot of fun to be together. And it was a lot of fun in politics in those days because Tunney and I arrived after the landslide election of Lyndon Johnson [Lyndon B. Johnson] over Barry Goldwater [Barry M. Goldwater] in 1964. So that the Democratic Party in the House and Senate had overwhelming majorities.

And that was when the so-called Great Society, building on the New Frontier

programs of President Kennedy, and we passed all this historic legislation in the 89th Congress. It was sort of the high tide of liberalism in the country. It was very satisfying because we passed Medicare and health measures and the first federal aid to education and environmental laws and Civil Rights Acts and so forth. So in terms of the excitement and enthusiasm and sense of achievement and accomplishment, it was unique. And I don't think, you know, as is typically the case, I don't think we appreciated how unique historically that would later prove to be.

DAITCH: Well, I'm sure you had hopes that it was.... Probably not even hopes. You just are riding it, and this is just the way it is.

CULVER: I think there's a lot of truth to that. Of course, we were shocked into a far more sober assessment after the '66 election when we lost.... We'd won fifty seats roughly in '64, in '66 the Democrats lost fifty.

[CHANGE TO SIDE B OF TAPE 1]

From that point on, of course, it was a different situation with the Vietnam War and whatnot.

DAITCH: Yes. That one shining moment that was such an exciting period.

CULVER: Exactly.

DAITCH: Did you have much contact with Bob Kennedy at that time? He was in the Senate, too.

CULVER: Bobby came out to campaign for me in 1966, he having been elected to the Senate in '64. I remember in the spring of '68, just before he decided to run, after much soul-searching, as you know, he came to Iowa, to Des Moines, to speak. It was the weekend that he was then going to fly to California to meet with Cesar Chavez, who had completed a fast, I believe, working with the migrant workers. Robert Kennedy was meeting with five Midwest governors, including Senator Harold Hughes [Harold E. Hughes] of Iowa.

Before he was to speak that night, he somehow contacted me or saw me and asked me to come up to his room. I went up there while he was dressing for this event. He said, "Do you think I'm doing the right thing not running?" Of course at that point, you may recall, Senator Kennedy, Ted Kennedy, was not particularly enthusiastic or supportive about the race. It was before Johnson dropped out dramatically. It was before Gene McCarthy [Eugene J. McCarthy] had shown the vulnerability in New Hampshire against Johnson. I said, "Yeah, Bobby, I really think you're doing the right thing." For whatever that advice was worth. He said, "Well, I do, too." Two weeks later he announced for president. [Laughter] And he was off and running. So the next time I saw him, I turned on the TV, and it was a different game plan.

DAITCH: Everything changes.

CULVER: Yes. Exactly. In politics, too. You know, as we say, 24 hours is an eternity, and it really is.

DAITCH: Well, and probably there's a lesson in there, too, in terms of being prepared to go with as things change.

CULVER: Absolutely. Absolutely. I think in politics—and perhaps I learned this, too, I think it's likely I did, working with Ted—in politics, you know, when you're a candidate for office, there are certain things you can control, and there are certain things you can't control, external events and developments that can affect and maybe be decisive in an election. But the things you can control are your schedule, your appearances, and issues, and how you present yourself, how effectively you campaign and where you campaign in terms of tactics, decisions about that; and to have maximum discipline on those things and perfection to every extent possible in those things you can control. So that if you do get an adverse external event, you can help possibly offset it with this other personal performance and planning or, you know, approach and performance. I think I learned that in terms of doing everything you can within your power properly to best position yourself for possible success in the election, knowing all the time that these other things.... In my own experience, I was the beneficiary of a wonderful year in '64 for Democrats. I was equally fortunate in '74. I mean you don't have any idea going in. I had no idea that I'd be running in '64 with Lyndon Johnson and Barry Goldwater or whatever. I mean I thought that President Kennedy would be alive. 'Seventy-four, of course, Watergate, post-Watergate, and I was the beneficiary of a wonderful Democratic tide. Then in the '80 election, it finally caught up with me after 16 years.

DAITCH: Right, the flip side of that.

CULVER: Yes, exactly. So I was due, I think, historically. The pendulum caught up with me.

DAITCH: Right, right. That's politics.

CULVER: Right.

DAITCH: So what do you remember about the '68—Bob's campaign? Well, as brief as it was, from the nomination, and his assassination.

CULVER: Well, I was, of course, for Bobby then when he made the decision to run. Of course the whole course of history.... I have written a book recently, a

biography of Henry Wallace [Henry A. Wallace] of Iowa, and how close he came to being nominated again for vice president in 1944 with a totally different approach to the postwar world. And it was one of the what-ifs of history. I mean, for better or for worse, it would have changed history one way or another for the next 50 years. And I think that's true of Bobby. It's true with Jack's loss, it's true with Bobby's loss. It's true with Martin Luther King [Martin Luther King, Jr.] and Pope John [Pope John XXIII] dying early. It's true with Walter Reuther [Walter P. Reuther] and the labor union movement. Suddenly the course of history changes, and the role of one person in history, we're reminded, can be decisive.

That was certainly true of the tragedy of Bobby's loss. I was again with Ted the night before his funeral in New York City, when he prepared his speech for the eulogy. And then I went down on the train from New York to Washington that night, that long, sad train ride. And I'll never forget what was really surreal. The train, as you know, was delayed hours by the thousands of people lining the tracks all the way, and the caution with which they had to proceed in many situations. So we arrived much later than the program....

I just remember it was really surreal. It was almost like something medieval because I remember the fog at Arlington. It was a humid night, and a lot of moisture in the air. The ground was wet. I guess there'd been some periodic showers or something, and it was foggy. And people kind of going up the hill there to this gravesite really in the dark almost. And, you know, those closest to Bobby carrying his casket. It just was mythical, the whole scene. That's how it struck me. And everyone, of course, exhausted emotionally and so deeply saddened. I remember that very clearly to this day.

DAITCH: I've been told, I don't know what your assessment of this would be or if you felt that you saw Bob Kennedy often enough in this period, I've been told that after John Kennedy was assassinated, not necessarily that it was that assassination, but something in the period between then and the time that he died, that he changed, became softer or something.

CULVER: I think, yes. I think generally there's real truth in that. I would only qualify it by saying what I said earlier about the one common characteristic of all the Kennedy brothers was their capacity for growth and their whole effort at self-improvement and how they developed. I don't know. It just seems to be a very unique thing about them. They had great advantages in some ways, of course. But they didn't have all the natural attributes of guaranteed success in this. But I think they had the discipline and the will and the desire to accomplish something, but also to evolve.

I remember when I first met Bobby, I mean, you know, the characterization of him was that the world was pretty black and white, and he was tough. I think Ambassador Kennedy once said, "He's most like me," or something. "Bobby is." And, you know, that had some positive aspects to it, too. But it also didn't always set well with everybody. He had very strong views, and that's always admirable, too. But maybe not the most tactful in expressing them on occasion, or whatever.

So I am saying I think he was a continual work in progress. Most people aren't a

work in progress that much. I don't think in my experience I'm as consciously aware of people changing much. I think Jack was clearly set in his temperament, personality in one way, and he grew in different ways, as we talked earlier about just his physical, personal persona, strength, and projection, conviction, force. And then Bobby, you know, was always known to be tough and competitive and so forth, and didn't have the reflective side that Jack had, or the almost quasi-academic mentality and interests.

But from the time that he had those Hickory Hill Seminars, I remember, when he was attorney general and so forth, and had various academics in and others prominent in different fields, and he had tape recorders going with various things that interested him or a Shakespeare [William Shakespeare] play or something. So he was just.... He was really catching up in a lot of ways, and his interests were broadening. Then I think clearly the devastation. I mean he was virtually destroyed, I think, by Jack's death, and he did go through, obviously, an extended period of mourning and confusion about his own personal direction, and the depth of his sorrow.

I think he did come out of that with his basic strengths and everything. And I do think certainly he did evidence a side of him that then was developed as never before. I think on the humanity side he really flowered, and it became dominant; he almost became the opposite in some ways, you know, in his sense of life. Perhaps the tragedy of that loss of life made him aware of a lot of other things about our short time that any of us have on earth and what we're supposed to try to do about that in personal terms. His public interests, his identification with the downtrodden and the least among us, and so forth, that became his primary concern. That certainly evidences an extraordinary development, evolution of his personal and public philosophy.

DAITCH: I'm glad that you're confirming that because I had heard it. You don't know if these things are really accurate assessments or what. But certainly he's remembered as.... I think the last image, the thing that we remember is that association with the downtrodden or the.... Some other people have told me really wonderful things, stories about his interactions with workers and so on. But tell me, obviously Senator Kennedy is one of our most revered politicians, or at least he is in my circles. Tell me a little bit more about him.

CULVER: Well, I don't think there's any question, and of course I'm prejudiced but I think this will be sustained objectively by history, that he is certainly one of the greatest senators in the history of the Senate and will be so recognized in the future by historians. You know, outside the floor of the Senate there's a reception room, and in that reception room there are the portraits of five former senators: Clay [Henry Clay] and Calhoun [John Caldwell Calhoun] and Webster [Daniel Webster] and LaFollette [Robert Marion LaFollette] and Taft are the portraits there. Those five were elected, interestingly enough, by a commission set up in 1958 of historians, chaired by then Senator John Kennedy. And their charge was to pick the most outstanding senators in history as of 1958.

In the last 40 or 50 years now, there's never been an addition. I don't think there's

any question that when this next commission at some future time gets together for a similar review of senators and their contributions to American history, that Ted Kennedy will be the first, and if there's only one, the only addition to that august pantheon of U.S. senators.

The thing that is most amazing to me, frankly, now when he's reached an age of 70 years old, I mean he started when he was 30.... It's hard to believe. But he works—we used to talk about “the bag,” meaning his briefcase. Every night, put that in his bag, you know, his homework. And I can't believe it, but there isn't a night that goes by.... I mean I rode up with him on the plane yesterday, and he worked the whole time, working on a speech or this and that. And, you know, it's just this incessant, constant dedication to duty and responsibility.

Somewhere along the line, he was really almost uniquely infused with the need to work hard and work harder. I don't know if part of it's because Jack seemed to be so naturally talented. He heard as a young boy that Joe was the hero in the war, and then, you know, he's the last and the youngest. He really had to struggle to get comparable attention almost.

In football he would work harder after practice. I remember I later learned that he would.... We had a star halfback, and they had no equipment. He would get him to run, pretending he was running between the lines, ten yards, and so forth, and he would tackle him with no equipment just to improve his tackling ability. I wasn't even aware of that until later. But now I never heard of such a thing all the time I played football over the years and so forth. But he improved. I mean he had no business being as good as he ended up being in football. But it was tenacious, it was guts, and it was building his body up, hard work, and intelligence on how to maximize his limited speed and how to make up for it here or there.

And, of course, the same qualities in the Senate, how he is relentless in pursuing a goal. By now, of course, he has just legendary understanding of the Senate as an institution, which he loves and which he understands. And, of course, again historians are going to say, I think, that his contributions are far greater, significant substantively in terms of the life of not only people in this country, but around the world because he has championed for so many years these causes of human rights and other things.

So he's lived, of course, not only a full life. But he loved the Senate, and that wasn't the forum that Jack enjoyed the most, or Bobby. They had more executive temperaments and so forth. And yet his first love has been the Senate. He's had this special combination of hard, dedicated work and personality and temperament. There is a difference between executive temperament and legislative temperament. I've known a number of former governors who've become senators, and they hate it, and they aren't any good at it, and they don't understand what you possibly could do to get 50 egocentric people to agree with you on anything. And oftentimes to continue to fight.

There are all kinds of senators who make all kinds of wonderful speeches on every conceivable subject, but they don't hang in there. They don't hang in there and, in effect, develop the coalitions of support necessary, and stay with it year after year. And if you get thwarted in pursuing your goal in this direction, you go that way and be creative in that regard and sustain the effort. Those are qualities that are so unique and which are so powerfully enjoyed and possessed by Ted Kennedy. That's how he excels in an environment

where most people are not prepared to do that day in and day out, the hard work of legislating. He loves it, and he's incredibly gifted.

You know, with all his seniority the typical thing is just to coast. I mean he knows enough now just from acquired understanding historically the background on all these public policy issues he's been involved in for so many years, but he's at the cutting edge of every new development, in every field. So I think it's going to be very interesting that this man, who started in politics, and I had the good fortune to be there at the beginning.... I remember there was a famous Harvard law professor of the day in 1962 in that campaign who said that "Teddy Kennedy is a fledgling in everything but ambition." And that he was a mere legatee to the Kennedys. And, of course, you wish some of those people were alive today to see what has happened in the course of that life, the nature of those historic contributions to our national life.

DAITCH: We're lucky to have him.

CULVER: Yes.

DAITCH: Do you think that he, notwithstanding his great success in the Senate, do you think that he was disappointed that he never reached the Oval Office?

CULVER: Well, I think certainly there had to be some disappointment at the time, you know. I remember being in Chicago at the 1968 convention, and Steve Smith [Stephen E. Smith] was in Chicago kind of representing Senator Kennedy, and this was only two months after Bobby's death. Ted was in Hyannis, and I was in touch with Steve about Ted's decision of what to do. And there was a very real movement by Mayor Daley [Richard J. Daley] of Chicago and some of the other major political bosses of the day, who really wanted Ted Kennedy to run for the nomination. The field at that time, you know, of course, was Humphrey [Hubert H. Humphrey], principally, and McGovern [George S. McGovern] and Gene McCarthy. Given the sentiment at that convention, and Bobby's opposition to the war, and the turmoil, Ted Kennedy, in their view, was the one person that could unite the party and could lead it to victory in the wake of Bobby's loss and so forth. Ted was sailing, and he himself, of course, was still mourning about Bobby. And finally he determined, you know, it's hard to believe, but he was only 36 years old in 1968. Is that right? He was born in '32. Hard to believe, but you can check that.

DAITCH: That's about right.

CULVER: Of course he finally decided that he did not feel that it was appropriate to do it. Of course at that time, too, without saying so, he had future opportunities, one would assume. So Steve called me and said, "Would you go to the convention and go to Speaker [then] Carl Albert [Carl B. Albert], who was the presiding officer at the Democratic Convention, and tell him not to permit Ted Kennedy's name to be put in

nomination that he doesn't want that to happen." And I did do that. I went over to the convention for that purpose.

I think it was clearly disappointing, I think, in 1980 when he finally did run. But I can't help but believe, I don't know if I've ever personally shared this conversation with him, but my sense is that it all worked out for the best for him in terms of the unique achievement of preeminence that he has, that will always be his legacy, as a United States senator. And this was in an area that Jack was no competition, Bobby was no competition, for all their own individual greatness and talent and achievements during their short lives.

This gave Ted this unbelievable stretch of public service that was denied them, but also in an environment that so ideally fit his temperament, his disposition, his strengths, his love of people and campaigning. I mean what is the most amazing thing of all, as I've mentioned, is his sustained energy and enthusiasm for the business of politics and the business of public service, both ends. I mean down to getting the National Democratic Convention to Boston in the year 2004. I mean the way he worked to make that happen.

DAITCH: That must be rare. I can't imagine having that level of energy and commitment and passion forever.

CULVER: Unbelievable, his stamina. Of course it's all the more remarkable when you think about the injury to his back and the periodic issues, problems sometimes, from that in terms of discomfort, and the rigors of campaigning. And he just has an amazing constitution, and he's got incredible genes in terms of.... But again, I think his athletics, I mean his sports, meant a lot to him. I think some of the lessons there about keep going, get up if you're knocked down, and don't give up, you see all that reflected in terms of outworking somebody, you know. You may not be the fastest end on the team. But if you work after practice tackling somebody and this, you do this, you know, you offset some kind of.... He's always thinking and working at how can I accomplish this?

The other thing that's amazing to me is they talk about his staff. I've known some of these key staff people, and he has enjoyed, I think, over the years a remarkable collection of staff, outstanding individual staff members who've gone on to some independent activity of their own and done well. And for a long time people would credit his staff with his success. Of course if you stop and look at it, though, you know, when Joe X was there, they'd say, well, gosh, if Joe X ever leaves him, what'll he do? Well, he didn't miss a beat when Joe X left or Sally Smith left, and he just kept producing these amazing people. Now, they were attracted to him not just because of the Kennedy magic and all that stuff. But here was a member of the Senate who was really doing things and really accomplishing things. And the excitement and enthusiasm with which to be identified with some worthwhile public service was a rare opportunity.

So he would attract people obviously of talent. But he also was always the boss. And when they would come and go.... And he would always encourage them, really, to go. I mean there's been one or two exceptions where people have stayed on and he's been pleased that they stayed on a really long time. I mean they've been indispensable to him. I think of two

people: Barbara Souliotis [Barbara A. Souliotis] and Carey Parker [W. Carey Parker] in the Washington office, I mean who devoted their whole lives to him and his career and have been vital in many ways to his overall accomplishments. But with a couple of exceptions like that that are inevitable, he always would encourage people to go.

One of the things he did, too, was when people were going to leave, he'd say, "All right, fine, good luck, and I'm going to help in any way, but you are going to be the one responsible for finding your replacement." Which was a very smart way to handle personnel problems. Because the person leaving, the last thing they wanted to do was to get as a replacement somebody that was going to ultimately embarrass him or not be up to the task. And so they would be extremely conscientious in trying to find their successor.

DAITCH: That's smart.

CULVER: And it was a very smart way to operate, so unique in Washington, where resumes just fly all over the place.

DAITCH: Oh, no doubt. It's interesting that you brought that up about the people who sought him out and the way that he brought them along. There's a sociologist who has studied Nobel laureates in science. And it's a very similar kind of thing in which young, promising scientists sort of link up with older, more experienced scientists and they help each other. They find each other. It's not necessarily one finding the other. It's that they both go looking and are attracted to one another.

CULVER: Uh huh.

DAITCH: And it's a very similar phenomenon, the number of Nobel laureates who have studied with or worked with other Nobel laureates.

CULVER: The other thing about that, too.... I know I've been, I've gone out, you know, so many times with Ted on a sailboat, alone or with a group, and somehow the conversation will come around to an issue in which I maybe have long forgotten he was even involved with, like ten years ago, involving health or involving gun control or involving—and as well as I know him, I'm just amazed at his knowledge, substantive knowledge, and recall of statistics, of.... I mean, you know, in that kind of environment it's kind of like cramming for exams. You get all ready on a topic, and you handle a bill, and the sooner you can get rid of all that information, the better because it makes room for your next course. And it's amazing how he possesses this collection of really detailed information and his.... Of course, his own oral history would be of such consummate value to historians because he's been involved in everything of importance. And his ability to recall the participants and their roles and so forth is unique.

I know when I read Adam Clymer's biography of Kennedy, Ted Kennedy, it came out recently, you know, as well as I know him, and I don't know many people that know him

probably any better than I do other than the immediate family and a few people, I was amazed at Clymer's recitation of all his legislative activities and accomplishments during the period I served with him in the Senate, believe it or not, while I'm working on one or two little issues. And we talked regularly. I was aware that he was going to take this trip or did something on this, and he was working on this, I mean I was always somewhat cognizant of what his legislative activities were, and, I thought, pretty comprehensively. I was just blown away because he in this very comprehensive account of his legislative record, he brought to my attention numerous situations, numerous occasions and situations and issues and roles that I just had no idea. And I think that gives you some idea, too, of how heavy his workload.

Now, the amazing thing, too.... I want to make two points: One is, as you well know, to carry out so conscientiously the duties and responsibilities of a senator in unique historic ways, that's one thing. But, of course, the special role he's had to assume in the family with the tragedies and so forth, and the number of children, the number of grandchildren left fatherless and so forth. The extent to which he uniquely has been available at countless high school graduations and weddings and receptions and, tragically, eulogies. And he has really been the one rock there to hold the family together and to give direction and so forth. And to always, always be there for them, and it always took priority. And during their various illnesses, that this many people, unfortunately, encounter. And all the hardship.

And at the same time be there for all the joyous occasions and encourage them in all of these things. And that load alone in terms of all the various Kennedy memorial activities like this library and the Institute of Politics at Harvard, the Center [The Joseph P. and Rose F. Kennedy Institute of Ethics] down at Georgetown and the mental work there. And of course the Kennedy Center [John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts] in Washington. I've been involved on a couple of occasions with some of these activities. I know he always comes, and he always reads all the material. He always comes with his questions, he always is a force that is encouraging other members of the family to get involved and to grow and contribute with that responsibility.

Then the other thing I would say is so you're talking about someone who's got this unprecedented historic record as a senator. You've got someone who because of the fame and prominence of his family and the tragedies they collectively have experienced, he's been called upon to play this role critical to the family. Thirdly, he's had to be the key person for the fulfillment and the growth and development of these institutions in memoriam to his family. He's been the constant strength and force of all of that. And any one of those things would be more than most of us could begin to take on.

Then I want to say a final point. That to me the most amazing thing about Ted Kennedy, by far, is his capacity for friendship. Of all my friends, and I feel fortunate in the course of my life to have enjoyed as many friendships as I have, I've never known anyone who even approximates him in thoughtfulness, in caring, in consideration. And above all, in being there at times of need. I have been the beneficiary of countless thoughtful gestures, just personal concern, kindness. You know, men aren't real good at that, I don't think, generally.

DAITCH: Right. Especially not busy men.

CULVER: Again, I just see a small slice of this thing. But, you know, I remember when a colleague had been dying of cancer, and I remember one case where the widow later remarked to me, you know, a lot of people came by and made their perfunctory call on Senator X. Ted Kennedy came by every morning on his way to work, *every* morning on his way to work, and spent ten minutes with him.

In 1997 I had emergency open-heart surgery unexpectedly, and flown in on a helicopter and rushed there. My wife [Mary Jane Checchi Culver] had called him to find out which hospital to take me to, after they had made the initial diagnosis that I needed immediate surgery. He, because of his background in health—that's why she called him—and his familiarity with the specialists and stuff, he told her where to take me. When the helicopter landed at the hospital—I mean this all took place within a half hour of the first call—he and Vicki [Victoria Reggie Kennedy] were waiting at the helicopter pad, and went down the hall with me as I was ushered right into the operating room.

And again, there are just so many cases, which, of course, are never known of nor reported. But his compassion and his love and concern about people is really the thing that I think is more personally remarkable to me than these other things we talked about. I think people that know him best, I mean the handful of people that are close friends like I've been able to enjoy and experience, I'm quite confident that would be the one common denominator all of them would cite at the top of the list.

DAITCH: He's an amazing man. Let me ask you a little bit about.... I'm sure probably that the other people are going to be mad at me for holding you up. But one of the things that you mentioned is his involvement in the various Kennedy memorials, which is a huge responsibility. But you've been a director of the Foundation [John F. Kennedy Library Foundation]. What has your experience been like as a director on the Kennedy Foundation? I understand you were involved in a committee that was named after you to study something or another. Those are things that we should talk about a little bit.

CULVER: Well, I guess that two things, or maybe three, but I guess the two things I've been involved in were the Institute of Politics at Harvard and that began in about 1968, as the first memorial to President Kennedy. And I think I've been involved most every time over the years and continue to be to this day. As I mentioned earlier, Ted takes the most conscientious interest of any board member at every meeting, and he never misses. He always asks a set of penetrating questions, frequently about the budget and how things are being handled, as well as all kinds of ideas about programs and so on.

Then I remember the Kennedy Library [John F. Kennedy Library], it was interesting. After it was determined that the environmental objections and whatnot at Harvard were going to preclude its being established at Harvard, I remember one day he called me and asked me if I could come up to Boston with him. He was going to look at some alternative sites. We went over to the Boston Navy Yard, and we looked at that. I mean I just went along to look at them. What do I know? Why do you want me along anyway? I don't know one square foot from another. We looked there.

Then we drove over here, and there was snow on the ground. The adjacent housing situation was not good. And of course there hadn't been much development at U-Mass, Boston, yet. And it was this barren piece of land. We stood out there, I remember, with the snow on the ground. We walked out here in the exact location where this is. He looked at me, and I looked at him, and he said, "You know, this is really pretty, isn't it?" "Yeah." "What do you think?" I said, "Well, I think it would be a wonderful place." He said, "I do, too."

I don't know when the decision was actually reached. But I do know that at that time we thought, you know, totally independent of the challenge of accessibility here from the city and all those issues. But the view here of the water and Boston was unique. I mean we had the memorial at Harvard. They could hardly fit any more stuff in dedication to John Kennedy and rightly so. But you had that. His love of the water, his love of Boston, the spaciousness here, the setting and site, it seemed to incorporate a whole additional major part of his life in terms of the kind of special environment that he loved. When I see the little sailboat out here that also was my first sailboat experience, in that boat.

DAITCH: Really!

CULVER: We were at summer school, Ted and I. Coming from Iowa, I'd never been in a sailboat. What's that sailboat called? It's the *Victura*, isn't it? I think so. V-I-C-T-U-R-A, Victura. I hope that's right. I think it is.

[END OF TAPE #1]

DAITCH: Okay. I was going to ask you that actually. Coming from Iowa, it must have been very different here.

CULVER: The sailboat that's now in front of the Library, the *Victura*, I believe, was John Kennedy's boat. One day at summer school at Harvard, when Ted and I were there at the same time, he said, "How'd you like to go down to Hyannis this weekend and be in the Nantucket Regatta sailboat race?" And I said, "Well, Ted, I've never been on a sailboat. With all due respect, I haven't had a lot of experience doing that coming from Iowa. "I don't know if I'd ever seen a sailboat. He said, "Oh, it's a lot of fun, you know. We're going to do it." So we started driving down to the Cape, and the radio was on, and the radio report is terrible tornado storm warnings, and the sky was black as we drove toward the Cape.

DAITCH: Oh, my goodness!

CULVER: You know, it's sort of "don't dare leave your cellar for the next weekend" or something. And I said, "Well, Ted, it doesn't look like we're going to go sailing." He said, "What do you mean?" I said, "Well, pay attention to the weather report." "Oh," he said, "that's not a problem." "Not a problem?" "No, it's not a problem." That sort of didn't do much for my confidence.

So we get down and got into the house, and we go in, and we go in the kitchen, being

[-22-]

young boys, you know, 19 or 20 years old, whatever. We needed something to eat. Well, they had salmon salad prepared. And the cook there said, "We'll make you some salmon salad sandwiches." Well, I haven't had one since, I'll tell you. So we wolfed down about three sandwiches or something like that. Then I said, "You know, it really looks dark out there." He said, "Oh, let's get going." I said, "Really?" He said, "Yeah, we're going to go."

So we go out, and here's this sailboat. The first thing I thought of was a Japanese one-man submarine, it was so little, it was so small. And he and I are going to get in this thing and somehow sail it to Nantucket. Now it's four o'clock in the afternoon or something. And the storm and the wind and the water. We get in there. We no more get in there, and I had my first experience with a captain of a sailing boat suddenly being totally changed in personality, yelling at me to do this and to lift this rope, tie that down, and do this. I had no idea of what we were even talking about, and this guy's yelling at me to do this and do that. And of course it's just the two of us.

We're out there. And of course we didn't get very far, and I got quite ill and didn't keep the salmon sandwiches very long. At the same time I'm taking care of that, I'm being yelled at to, you know, lift this, or pull that, and secure this, and I didn't know what end we were talking about. So anyway, we launched offshore, we go all the way over there, and we get there long, long after dark. I mean it must have been ten o'clock or whatever it is, all the way to Nantucket.

We get there, and of course I say, "Where are we going to sleep?" He said, "We're going to sleep in the boat." And I looked at this boat, and we had about six inches of water, and all we had were a couple of these seat pads to lay down on in the boat. And we're in the water. I mean it was unbelievable. Then we wake up the next morning, and we got a third fellow for our crew that we knew that we really just shanghaied off the street that we'd known from Harvard, and got him aboard. He didn't know anything more than I did.

DAITCH: Oh, my gosh!

CULVER: And off we go in the race. It's this long race, and of course you had to move to the front and take the full blast of this cold water and the wind, and I thought I was Admiral Rickover [Hyman G. Rickover] lost at sea during World War II or something. I couldn't believe this was really happening. We raced all day, and I had no idea what we were doing except, you know, it's a nightmare.

DAITCH: And you're still friends with him?

CULVER: Yeah. And it's not over. So at the end of this race, and I had no idea what we were doing or how we did, but the plan was then his father was watching the race with his *Honey Fitz*, the yacht, he had this big boat, with about three or four of his friends, and the plan was then to be towed back here—again, it's this little boat out here in front—to be towed back by his father's boat.

So when I saw that boat, I mean I just.... I never saw anything so beautiful in my life.

[-23-]

We were rescued at sea. And so we come alongside, and his father had like a bullhorn, and he said, “Boys! I’ve got some bad news for you.” He said, “The captain says it’s too rough to tow you back. You’re going to have to sail back to Hyannis.” I could not believe it. He said, “But I do have something for you. I know you’re probably hungry after the race.” Hungry? And he lowered one of these huge vacuum containers of oyster stew and so forth. Ted to this day claims that I didn’t even unlatch it. I just tore the top off and held it up and consumed most of it without even offering him any, and down my shirt front and everything else.

So anyway then we had to start sailing back. About midnight or sometime, we become becalmed off the shore at Hyannis. You could see his family lights of the house. But we were, I don’t know, maybe as much as a half mile, or better than a quarter mile, certainly better than that. And so we waited, and we waited, and we waited. Finally he says, “Well, I guess we have to get in the water.” I said, “Get in the water?” “Yeah,” he said, “you pull, and I’ll push the sailboat.”

Anyway, we finally get ashore, and that was my first experience sailing with Senator Kennedy. He never has, to this day, hasn’t quite understood why my Swedish Viking grandparents never—none of those genes made it down to the Iowa boy. But if that was the first and only time you’d ever been on a sailboat, it was quite an experience. I don’t think I got seaweed out of the taste in my mouth for months. And he said I wouldn’t talk to him for two weeks. That was my joyous sailboat experience in Hyannis.

DAITCH: Well, it gives you a little bit of an insight as to what their lifestyle was like, though, that he thought that was nothing.

CULVER: Exactly. Oh, yes. And that was just more of a challenge. What fun is it to go out on a nice easy day. It doesn’t require any sailsmanship as a captain to navigate and do all that in calm water. Anybody can do that.

DAITCH: Oh, my gosh! That’s funny. So what about your work for the Kennedy Foundation?

CULVER: Well, when I got involved here early in the life of this library, I was asked to head a committee to think about the future of the library, and to give thought to program initiatives and ideas. Frankly I haven’t looked at that report since that time.... Now, we had a good committee, some very able people who were very dedicated, and in many cases knew the President and were certainly committed to a living memorial as much as possible for him here.

I understand that a substantial part of those recommendations have been adopted in some form over the years. I’m quite certain that the Profiles in Courage Award probably will find its genesis in that report. I’m not certain, but I think it’s likely. A number of other things that I think have been adopted, along with some wonderful leadership here over the years,

expanded the growth and success of the library. So I'm very appreciative that I had some small part in helping put together those recommendations many, many years ago.

[-24-]

DAITCH: I wanted to ask you about... I noticed when I was preparing for the interview that you've been very involved in conservation. This is just a personal interest of mine, historical preservation and conservation. Did the Kennedy brothers share your interest in that?

CULVER: I don't remember specifically. I'm certain they would support historic preservation, of course, because of their interest in history. Conservation and environment, you know, when you raise that whole subject.... There was always conservation in terms of the voiceless land, trying to protect it. And I think it's understandable that... I think probably I'm correct that the initial concern came out of the farmers in the Midwest and things like that in terms of historic conservation ideas about problems of loss of soil and so on, the initial concerns. And I think the environmental movement as such, of course, it was in the sixties when it really took off. I know in the FDR [Frank Delano Roosevelt] Memorial down there, they talk about his interest in environment. He had an interest in trees. And I remember that Henry Wallace was interested in conservation in the context of those times, in the drought and whatnot.

But I think a national issue really didn't come to the forefront. Now, of course, Senator Kennedy has done so much on the environment with the national parks seashore. I think Jack was interested in that. I believe that was something that he perhaps initially was interested in, too, I'm not certain about that, here in Massachusetts.

DAITCH: Was the Wilderness Act one of the...

CULVER: Yes.

DAITCH: ...things that you passed through the Congress?

CULVER: Yes. Right. The Scenic Rivers Bill.

DAITCH: Yes, and the Scenic Rivers Bill.

CULVER: I got involved in the Endangered Species Act and so forth and early tried to keep that alive; it's been a constant political struggle.

DAITCH: Thank you.

CULVER: Absolutely. Interestingly, though, historic preservation, I was very interested in that when I was in the House. And I took a.... Somehow it came to my attention that Iowa, my native state, was about next to the last in historically designated sites under this law. So I organized a statewide meeting of the Historic

Preservation Society and other interested parties, and indicated that we had so much here, as most states have if

[-25-]

they look around. We ended up, because of the efforts of all these groups once we got focused on it and aware of the programs, that I think it became one of the leading historic states under the act at that time. So, yes, those things were of interest to me, soil conservation particularly also.

DAITCH: Of course it's crucial in the Midwest. I lived in Champaign. I went to school there. Just the endless, endless fields and nothing to break them up, no trees; you know, planting from edge to edge.

CULVER: Fence row to fence row. And no contour plowing.

DAITCH: No contour plowing. And all of those things were well known, well, from the Dust Bowl era.

CULVER: Right.

DAITCH: And now it's all back to....

CULVER: Oh, yes. The interesting thing was—I don't want to get off onto a totally different subject—but Henry Wallace was the one in his eight years as secretary of agriculture who did so much in that area, soil conservation and the role the federal government would take. It was his grandfather [Henry Wallace] who was very involved with Gifford Pinchot. The Forest Service was also in the Department of Agriculture.

Gifford Pinchot was a great friend of his father's [Henry C. Wallace], and his grandfather was on the Rural Life commission that Teddy Roosevelt [Theodore Roosevelt] had study these problems. Then his dad was secretary of agriculture under Harding [Warren G. Harding] and Coolidge [Calvin Coolidge], Republican administrations. And the grandfather coined that phrase, and I always liked it, about soil conservation; he called it the "voiceless land" in terms of politically not really given the support it needed.

DAITCH: Right. Absolutely. It's important. And to bring it back to the Kennedys, which is where we should be, do you think that they.... I mean obviously they lived in a completely different environment, more urban, and the seashore was their thing. Did you find that they understood agricultural issues very well or had much sympathy for them?

CULVER: I don't.... I think they understood certainly the political importance of agriculture, and I think, obviously, its role in the national economy. But I

wouldn't say that they had an understanding particularly of agriculture. I remember in 1960, again, Henry Wallace was critical of John Kennedy's farm policy. He didn't think it was going to be workable, and it's not entirely clear whether he voted for

[-26-]

Nixon. He also was concerned that Nixon to him was more of a peace candidate because of the debates over Quemoy and Matsu. And it was a Cold War period there. So I don't think John Kennedy ever held himself out as particularly knowledgeable about agriculture. I don't think Bobby ever did and certainly Ted was not particularly comfortable with it.

It's very difficult, I think, for politicians, and I would include myself, even though I represented Iowa for 16 years in Congress, to have the kind of innate sense about farming and about agriculture purely through academic and intellectual exposure. It's almost something you have to really live. It's almost unique that way, I've always thought, in terms of really having a genuine understanding. You know, you can talk about price support programs and subsidies and whatever.

So I don't think... And I think John Kennedy after he was elected made a couple of jokes about it. He did ask Orville Freeman [Orville L. Freeman] of Minnesota, you know, to be secretary of agriculture, and Henry Wallace later praised Orville Freeman's farm program that was finally introduced by President Kennedy and so on. So in terms of he—like most things, he got it right, I think, through his good sense.

DAITCH: And ability to bring good people around him.

CULVER: Exactly. And rely on them. The other thing about the President I always thought was so interesting, I've heard criticism of presidents by cabinet members, other presidents, who would have a meeting where they would listen and not say anything, with an individual cabinet member, or they would lecture the cabinet member about a certain subject that they essentially had learned the night before, in their night reading. And there was no genuine give and take.

One of the things about John Kennedy that I think was commendable and characteristic was his quiet self-confidence intellectually. He would not be reluctant or embarrassed to acknowledge some area he didn't know anything about, but he would ask penetrating questions. He would evidence his high intelligence, and there would be a real exchange. He was not at all inhibited with a self-conscious limitation of understanding about this, and he didn't feel embarrassed that he didn't know anything about it. You know, he might say to Ken Galbraith [John Kenneth Galbraith], "For God's sake, Ken, put that in English, will you, for me?" And that would only elicit admiration and respect for the President's intelligence from Ken Galbraith.

DAITCH: Right.

CULVER: And the President was right. Unless and until you can give it to me so that I can understand it, how can we have anything that makes any sense to anybody

else? It was that attribute, too, that I think, as I said earlier, would have made him willing to make the tough decisions on Vietnam, and his historical understanding based on his own experiences and his self-confidence, from his own war record, to withstand the

[-27-]

criticisms that someone without that kind of experience and without that kind of record and reputation would be less inclined to do the right thing, even if they thought it was the right thing. They wouldn't be prepared to take the criticism politically.

DAITCH: He didn't need to prove that he could be tough on communism.

CULVER: Exactly. Exactly. And I think the history and the patience in terms of, you know, the Cuban Missile Crisis and all that sort of thing, the way he dealt with those things. Just the other night, just last night I was going through the library and museum, and I saw a clip on one of his press conference answers. I never caught it before, but it was something about asking whether.... Khrushchev [Nikita Sergeyeovich Khrushchev] had made some comment, complimentary, about the profit incentive in capitalism, and maybe they should introduce something like it. And he asked him, "Do you see something in the Soviet system that you think we should adopt?" Or something. And he said, "No." He said, "But the one thing I am sure of it is that human nature is human nature, and it's here, and it's everywhere. And that's why I have reason to hope that we can work things out." You know, something like that, with that kind of insight, that kind of rhetoric, that kind of thought, that we see so lacking on many occasions over the years by our leaders.

DAITCH: The wisdom.

CULVER: Exactly.

DAITCH: I've actually really enjoyed learning more about Kennedy. He's a very deep person to be so young.

CULVER: That's it.

DAITCH: It's amazing.

CULVER: That's it. I mean, as I told you before here, as well as I thought I knew him in the sense that I followed his career closely and knew him more personally, I'm amazed after the experience I've had in politics and the dimming of all these years that when I look, that my nostalgic recollections of him are more than confirmed by those tapes of his press conferences and so forth. And I'm reminded every time I have occasion to visit here and see those things how extraordinary he was, and how we haven't seen his like since.

Again, most remarkable, at that age to have the wit and the intelligence and the perspective and the judgment. To have acquired that kind of wisdom and perspective over the years in such a short time. You know, it just is a painful reminder at the same time, of the loss and how unique he was in terms of political leaders. And how, therefore, even though he had a short time in that capacity as president, he will rank as a peerless president, peerless

[-28-]

potentials, too, that are just hard to fathom, I mean if he were ever granted a second term, and with his courage to boldly act.

Again, you know, it would have changed the course of history—everybody, I guess, changes the course of history one way or another—but certainly, I feel strongly, in such a positive, enlightened direction. Along with the unfortunate confluence of losses were these other major, remarkable collection of public figures in religion and labor and civil rights that I've mentioned. That's when I think—particularly if in combination, so much pain could have been saved from the world's experiences if they had been given a more normal lifetime.

DAITCH: Right. Such a shining, hopeful moment in history that could have eased the transitions a lot.

CULVER: But I think again the great mission of this library to its credit is to keep that flame alive, that there was a time when there was someone like this that can forever be an inspiration to the country: that we can do better and an inspiration to young people, boys and girls, men and women, to become active in their country and the life of their country and serve, public service.

It's a reminder, too, that politics.... It's tough. What a presumption you have to overcome in the current political environment that it is a noble thing, and there are ways to contribute that can benefit countless, not just thousands, but millions of people around the world by the right people at the right place at the right time doing the right thing. As long as we have that belief and conviction, hopefully, people of that capacity and character will be attracted, because of him, to public service and politics in the future.

DAITCH: I think that's important. What would you say to people who, you know, there are these historical cycles in which an individual's personal failings or flaws are over-exaggerated to the exclusion or at least the overshadowing of their accomplishments. It's obviously something that is historically inaccurate in terms of the level of importance. But also I think a sort of cynicism or something that younger people who might go into politics but don't because of the intrusion into your private life by the media and that sort of thing.

CULVER: You know I think.... I remember when I was, as I mentioned, way back in high school kind of interested in politics. I remember the mother, interestingly enough, the mother of one of my friends said, she asked me what I wanted to do. I said, "I think I'm going to go into politics," not really knowing quite what I was saying. And she said, "Well, you should do that. You'd be good at that." And I remember her

husband, who was a businessman and an acquaintance of my dad, he said, to me, "I heard you were thinking about going into politics." He said, "John, I think that's the craziest thing I ever heard." And politics is no good, it doesn't matter how good you are, you know, the public will do this, and you'll get.... This was before all the real problems in this area in terms of scandal and criticism of public officials. But he said, you know, "It's so

[-29-]

unpredictable. You can't really make a life at that." And so on.

I do think it's harder and harder today than 40 years ago. One of the reasons of course is the money in politics. It's just a barrier for entry. And the polling and the sophistication, so-called, of television and ads and all of that. I think in combination it does make it harder to get into politics and to succeed in some ways in politics if you are idealistic, if you have strong ideals and so on. I think what it really means, though, is you've got to have that real desire.

I think how you acquire that real desire is to see examples of like the Profiles in Courage Award last night, like the library, like other places that are encouraging. You have to really believe that that's your calling, that's your mission, that's what you want to do and try to do with your life with all the uncertainty it represents. That even if you're there a short time, it's worth doing. And standing up for what you believe. If you work hard at all the other things involved in public office, serving your constituency, they will more often than not give you the benefit of the doubt on controversial issues so that you can vote contrary to public opinion, hopefully, and survive. Because people recognize you hold sincere beliefs, and you honestly express why you took the position you did. And, you essentially have faith in the public's ability to make some decisions.

But I must say that talk radio today is really where much of the national dialogue is taking place, and it's all lopsided. There's really only one side that's in there. And this constant barrage that everyone is dishonest and too many politicians are not dishonest in terms of financial corruption, but in terms of.... I think my greatest disappointment is that in many ways the current Congress is better educated, had more opportunities prior to becoming a member of the Congress, than probably any Congress in history in terms of educational attainment and experiences and so on. But that doesn't automatically translate into character. It doesn't automatically.... A Ph.D. doesn't give you character.

DAITCH: Right.

CULVER: Being a doctor doesn't give you character. I mean being a teacher doesn't give you character. And that's really what is of such vital importance in public service, in public life. It's to have the strength of your convictions; respect your constituency, obviously. You don't look for opportunities to disagree with your people. You love every time you can agree with them 100 percent. But the failure to use that intelligence, use those.... [In] the situation where people know better but dummy down to the electorate in order to get elected.

And then you have a situation where people are more concerned about staying in office, as if that's of any real value to anybody except their family to put food on the table; it

isn't of much value to the family either in terms of what they think of Daddy or Mommy, it seems to me, if the truth be known.

DAITCH: Right.

[-30-]

CULVER: But who are prepared to lead and educate public opinion, as opposed to nervously try put your finger into the wind and figure out on any given moment what might be of transitory popularity. That's the saddest thing, I think, to see, is people who have the ability to analyze a situation, come to, I think, what many people would feel is the correct answer, correct approach, and then not have the courage politically to vote that way. And they know better. And they actually know it might cause harm. But they're afraid, and they're afraid to lead. And they elect to take what they think is a safer course.

Of course our system is predicated on an informed electorate and a participating electorate. So the extent to which we don't sustain an informed electoral climate through education and through other encouragement in that regard, the ability to make critical choices in their own self-interest properly understood is very difficult if not impossible. So I think, again, it's very difficult.

My own son chose to go into politics at a young age, and he's been very successful. I greatly admire him for making that choice. It pleases me. It also pleases me that I think he does have strong beliefs, and he's prepared to follow them when on occasion it's unpopular. If he stays there a long time or not, it doesn't matter. If you have an opportunity to serve, and you serve in the way you think is of maximum benefit to most of the people, that's enough.

And I think in some of these positions, the one thing, you know, today with young people, you'll see these polls where young people currently today are very good and highly commendable about their interest in community service. But a survey, study of those students shows clearly that they don't understand the linkage or any connection between the volunteerism and community service, however laudable it is, and politics as a mechanism and a means to achieve a desirable social result in the larger community. They don't see that, they don't understand it, they don't respect it. And that's a big challenge. It's a big challenge for institutions like this one and others to educate the young people to the imperative importance of understanding how you can greatly maximize your commendable community service instincts by being involved in politics. And on a more macro level, really do more things to benefit more people than poor Mother Theresa in her whole lifetime of exemplary service to God and her fellow humanity.

But, you know, politics can make it possible to.... Just one senator in one six-year term can do an awful lot of good, hopefully, for a lot of people by persuading, as Senator Kennedy has always done, enough of the others to go with him.

DAITCH: Absolutely. Well, I wish that.... What we'll have to do is play this tape for every high school class in the nation. [Laughter]

CULVER: I'm sorry I went on so long.

DAITCH: Oh, you did a.... This has been a *wonderful* interview.

[END OF TAPE #2]

[END OF INTERVIEW]

[-31-]

John C. Culver Oral History Transcript
Name Index

A

Albert, Carl B., 17

C

Calhoun, John Caldwell, 15
Cavendish, John William Robert, 10
Cavendish, Kathleen Kennedy, 10
Chavez, Cesar, 12
Clay, Henry, 15
Clymer, Adam, 19, 20
Coolidge, Calvin, 26
Culver, John Chester, 4, 31
Culver, Mary Jane Checchi,

D

Daley, Richard J., 17

F

Fitzgerald, John Francis, 7
Freeman, Orville L., 27

G

Galbraith, John Kenneth, 27
Goldwater, Barry M., 11, 13
Gwartzman, Milton S., 6

H

Hackett, David L., 3
Harding, Warren G., 26
Hoover, Herbert, 2
Hughes, Harold E., 12
Humphrey, Hubert H., 17

J

Johnson, Lyndon B., 11, 12, 13

K

Kennedy, Edward M., 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11,
12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27,
31

Kennedy, Jacqueline Bouvier, 2, 6
Kennedy, John F., 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12,
13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28
Kenney, Joseph P., Jr., 10, 16
Kennedy, Joseph P., Sr., 2, 6, 7, 10, 14, 20, 23, 24
Kennedy, Robert F., 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14,
15, 16, 17, 18, 27
Kennedy, Rose Fitzgerald, 6, 20
Kennedy, Victoria Reggie, 21
Khrushchev, Nikita Sergeyeovich, 28
King, Martin Luther, Jr., 14

L

LaFollette, Robert Marion, 15
Lodge, Henry Cabot, 4

M

McCarthy, Eugene J., 12, 17
McCarthy, Joseph R., 3
McCormack, Edward J., Jr., 7
McCormack, John William, 7
McGovern, George S., 17

N

Nixon, Richard M., 5, 27

P

Parker, W. Carey, 19
Pinchot, Gifford, 26
Pope John XXIII, 14

R

Reuther, Walter P., 14
Rickover, Hyman G., 23
Roosevelt, Theodore, 26

S

Shakespeare, William, 15
Shriver, R. Sargent, Jr., 6
Smith, Stephen E., 17
Souliotis, Barbara A., 19
Stevenson, Adlai E., 7

T

Taft, Robert A., 2, 15
Tunney, John V., 11

W

Wallace, Henry, 26
Wallace, Henry A., 14, 25, 26, 27
Wallace, Henry C., 26
Webster, Daniel, 15
Welch, Joseph Nye, 3