

Joseph W. Alsop Oral History Interview – RFK #2, 6/22/1971
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Biographical Note

Alsop, a journalist, author, Kennedy friend and associate, discusses his relationship with Robert F. Kennedy, the New York Senate race, Vietnam and the Tet Offensive, and Robert Kennedy's relationship with his staff and the American youth, among other issues.

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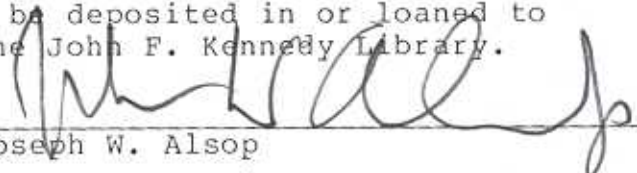
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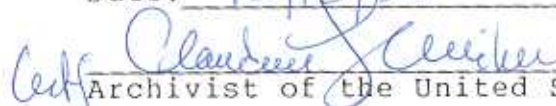
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Joseph W. Alsop

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JOSEPH W. ALSOP
RFK #2

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Second Oral History Interview

With

JOSEPH W. ALSOP

June 22, 1971
Washington, DC

By Roberta W. Greene

For the Robert F. Kennedy Oral History Program of the Kennedy Library

GREENE: Why don't we begin around the Senate race. We kind of circumvented it the other day. I wanted to ask you, you dismissed the whole possibility of his [Robert Kennedy] running for the Senate in New York in an early column. I wondered why, and how you gradually came around to the conclusion that that's what he was going to do.

ALSOP: Well, it seemed to me very difficult for him to run because, of course, he really wasn't a New Yorker. He really was in an awful box. I mean there he was. I think that column must have been written when he was still attorney general. Teddy [Edward M. Kennedy] had taken the family seat in Massachusetts, and Bobby had to make himself into an artificial New Yorker and he was very reluctant to do it. It looked like a very difficult thing to do. I expect that's why I did it. I can't remember the column in question.

GREENE: I thought I had the date down, but I don't.

ALSOP: I'm sure I talked with him about it before I did the article.

GREENE: That's what I was wondering actually, what his reservations were as he related them to you.

ALSOP: Well, I think they were just the difficulty of it, plus the fact that he didn't like

the idea of being in the Senate very much, never did, because it wasn't his sort of thing.

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The present Senator Kennedy is much more at ease with it, and indeed his older brother was much more at ease with it than he was. You could easily have imagined President Kennedy settling down to be a rather major senator as he gained seniority and acquired knowledge of the subjects that interested him, and therefore gained authority. You can perfectly easily imagine Senator Kennedy doing exactly the same thing. But it's awfully slow work in the Senate, and Bobby was a pretty impatient activist sort of fellow.

GREENE: Actually this is, of course, the common feeling, which is why I wondered. Later on you wrote a column when he did decide to run. In fact, he was running. On September 14th, commenting on his views of the kind of senator he wanted to be, you said, "He'd like to be like Norris [George C. Norris] or LaFollette [Robert M. La Follette]..."

ALSOP: Well, that was...

GREENE: "...possessing patience, persistency and detail of work..."

ALSOP: [Laughter] You know, we'd talked about it, and I'd talked to him about.... Of course, my memory goes back to practically before the flood, and in those days when I first came to work in Washington you had this great array of very remarkable men who had been great legislators, like Norris, and they'd been great legislators by adopting specialties and mastering their subjects very completely, and becoming, in fact, authorities. Then they fought, sometimes for very long periods, to get what they wanted done, and finally they'd got it done. So every one of them had a major legislative monument.

Norris, obviously, the most impressive because after all TVA [Tennessee Valley Authority] is quite a monument for a man to leave behind. He saved what used to be the Muscle Shoals from being sold to private industry in the Coolidge Hoover time by extremely adroit Senate tactics and great determination. He was all ready with TVA when Roosevelt [Franklin D. Roosevelt] came along, and there it was. It passed. He did other things. I mean, the Norris-La Guardia Act was a very major piece of legislation. There were lots of them.

GREENE: Right.

ALSOP: Much of what they achieved is now forgotten because of what LaFollette did about outlawing labor goons and labor spies and all that kind of behavior which was perfectly legal and widespread until, I think it's called, the LaFollette Civil Liberties Act. We take it all for granted now, but this was all put

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out of court by LaFollette. I used to talk to Bobby about that.

It's a very curious and interesting thing that there's been no senator on the left of the chamber, so to say, who's achieved anything remotely resembling that in the whole period since the war. Not a one. [Laughter] Senator Taft [Robert A. Taft] passed the Taft-Hartley law. Congressman Mills [Wilbur D. Mills] is going to build himself a substantial legislative monument this session and the next, but you wouldn't exactly call them...

GREENE: On the left.

ALSOP: ...on the left. So he said that this was what he wanted to do, partly because, I expect, he wanted to please me, and because it would be good publicity. But whether he ever really seriously thought of doing it, whether he ever could have done it, is really very open to question in my mind now.

GREENE: I know you raised that same analogy a little bit later when you wrote a column about an amendment he wrote for the administration's education bill, and again you made the comparison with Norris and LaFollette and expressed the hope that he would follow....

ALSOP: Well, it's a kind of hobby horse of mine. It would be of yours, indeed, if you'd known all those men and seen how much they achieved, and were confronted by the extraordinary puzzle of the people who consider themselves their heirs who, as far as I can see, it's exactly like the ballet. They strike beautiful postures, and when they're all finished there's nothing left but air. [Laughter] It's very puzzling to me. It really, genuinely, is. I don't understand why legislative creativeness is completely gone out of the congressional left. To the extent that you have progressive or liberal legislation now, and that you have had it for the last twenty-five years, it's always originated in the executive power, without exception, whereas in the case of the Wagner labor act, for example, which was passed under Roosevelt, Roosevelt didn't want it. He was opposed to it. He would have fought it out head-on if he dared. So that, you know. I mean, everybody says New Deal. Well, a great deal of legislation in Roosevelt's time originated with Roosevelt, but very far from all of it.

GREENE: Really, the thing that surprised me most was not even the comparison to Norris and LaFollette, but in this description the stress on patience, and persistency and the detailed work, all of which I would think he would abhor simply by his nature.

ALSOP: Well, I'm afraid I came to conclude that this was his nature. [Laughter]

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GREENE: Anyway, can you add anything to what is fairly well known about how he finally arrived at his decision to run in the Senate?

ALSOP: You mean, for the Senate, my dear?

GREENE: Yes.

ALSOP: I don't think he had anything else left that he could do.

GREENE: Kind of, process of elimination?

ALSOP: I mean, I think he made his decision after Johnson [Lyndon B. Johnson] had closed the door to him on the vice presidency. You would know better than I, on that.

GREENE: No, I agree with you. Yes.

ALSOP: I did advise him very strongly not to want the vice presidency with Johnson, because I knew Johnson and I knew it would have been perfectly awful.

GREENE: I think you explained that very well last time.

ALSOP: But he always listened to my advice. He never took it. It was perfectly obvious that he still did want it until Johnson humiliated him, or at least three-quarters wanted it, and in fact would have taken it. But you have to conclude logically that he decided to run for the Senate in New York essentially as a kind of a *pis aller*, as the least worst thing to do. It wasn't in him to leave public life.

GREENE: Did you go up to the convention--I think you did--in Atlantic City?

ALSOP: Yes, I did.

GREENE: Do you remember anything about him there?

ALSOP: As far as I'm concerned the conventions are really practically lost weekends. I hate them so.

GREENE: Well, there was talk that people were urging him to press himself on Johnson at the convention.

ALSOP: Yes. Well, this is what always happens to the Kennedys. Everybody tries to give their own egos a run in the yard by giving the Kennedys bad advice from which the Kennedys then suffer. The only person that wouldn't tolerate that was President Kennedy. I'm sure

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there were dozens of hysterical liberals who were urging Bobby to hurl himself under the wheels of the juggernaut in order to satisfy their own bloody egos. [Laughter] I think American liberals are very masochistic. You know, I mean, along come the Black Panthers, not exactly a liberal phenomenon or progressive phenomenon by any possible test, and so

cringing with guilt for all the slaves they never owned, all the liberals' response to the Black Panthers is, "Beat me again, Charlie, eight to the bar." Disgusting. By the same token, the same kind of people, I am sure, wanted Bobby to, as I say, hurl himself under the wheels of the juggernaut. They'd have all been beside him and they'd have suffered through him, and it would have all been very satisfactory, but it wouldn't have been very sensible. [Laughter]

GREENE: Well, you were in New York, at least briefly, during his campaign.

ALSOP: Yes, I went up to see the campaign.

GREENE: Can you comment on it?

ALSOP: No. You know it was just sort of standard, turn, and he was very effective. It was also very well-organized and very, you know, sort of well-advanced, and all that. The Kennedys always do that very well.

GREENE: You didn't sense any ambivalence especially in the early weeks?

ALSOP: No, I didn't because, you know, once they get started they can't look back. He didn't certainly. He didn't want to be beat.

GREENE: Well, how often, and on what kinds of occasions, did you usually see him during the Senate years? Was it always kind of an informal thing?

ALSOP: Yes, really informally. I mean, they used to come here, they used to ask me there. I used to see him quite often at his office. He'd ask me to lunch.

GREENE: Was this always on an old friend kind of basis, rather than as a columnist?

ALSOP: Well, both. I mean, I made a perfectly careful distinction. If I were talking to him as a friend or advising him as a friend, then I stopped, so to say, being a columnist.

GREERE: Is that ever a problem?

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ALSOP: No, it's not a problem. Well, it isn't a problem if you've got any brains, and you've some instincts of what used to be called a gentleman. [Laughter] No, I don't think it's a problem. I've never found it a problem, and I don't think you'll find that any of my friends in politics think that it is a problem with me.

GREENE: You know, I was thinking of information you might hear and use that he didn't want you to. Would you ever get called on things like that?

ALSOP: Well, I really genuinely don't think I ever did. I mean, as I say, if you've got

any brains and the instincts of what used to be called a gentleman, you know perfectly well what you're not supposed to use. You can figure that out quite easily. Mac Bundy [McGeorge Bundy] the other day said I was the only man who never broke a confidence. Well, in part I was the only man who never broke a confidence because I was the only man who knew which was a confidence. [Laughter] In other words, I knew what would be embarrassing, and what I'd heard in, you know.... I've heard Henry Kissinger say the same thing. It's not a very hard thing to do, really. You just have to be able to resist putting a juicy bit into print because it's what you happened to have heard because you were a friend of someone.

GREENE: You say that it became fairly obvious to you that he didn't like the Senate. Was this just by observation?

ALSOP: Well, he was awfully restless and impatient, you know.

GREENE: Did he discuss this with you at all?

ALSOP: No, he didn't. You know, he never went in for soul searching.

GREENE: Did he talk about his colleagues in the Senate to you?

ALSOP: Yes. He was funny about them. I don't think he made many very, close friends in the Senate, or real enemies either, for that matter. I mean, people he regarded as enemies.

GREENE: Did you get the feeling that he was having problems speaking out on things he felt strongly about because of this reluctance to publicly disagree with Johnson? Was that something that he expressed, or you felt from observation?

ALSOP: No, I never felt that in the smallest degree. My personal judgment, which I couldn't possibly prove, is that the equation was quite the other way around. He longed to disagree with Johnson in the most public possible manner, but I think

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it did trouble him that in a great many cases disagreeing with Johnson meant disagreeing with his own brother whom he deeply revered. You have to bear in mind about Bobby, and I don't mind saying it and I know it'll hurt Ethel if she reads these damn things, but Johnson continued President Kennedy's policy. And Bobby, by the end of his life was, by implication, rather violently attacking his own brother's policy. That is a fact that, if you're going to be honest in this history, you simply have to face. All kinds of reasons can be adduced for the fact. People are very, very, very complex. I'm not saying that Bobby changed his view of the world because he disliked the man who succeeded his brother in the White House, but I am saying that his view of the world did change very radically, and he did dislike the man in the White House. But the Johnson view of the world was, in fact, his brother's view, as it's my

view to this day. This is one of the great mysteries of Bobby, which somebody will one day have to disentangle. I haven't the means to do it.

GREENE: This is a somewhat different question. There's a quote which just by virtue of its author I hesitate to repeat, Victor Lasky, in his book *Robert Kennedy: The Man and the Myth*.

ALSOP: No, I never even read it.

GREENE: Terrible book. But anyway, he quotes you as having said that Robert Kennedy's staff intellectuals resemble exceptionally brilliant leaders of the Menshevik youth league.

ALSOP: I probably did make some such judgment about Adam [Adam Walinsky].

GREENE: I assumed Adam was the one you had in mind. [Laughter]

ALSOP: I probably did make some such generalization.

GREENE: When you spoke last time fairly strongly, about the perhaps double motives of the people surrounding Robert Kennedy, where would someone like Adam, or someone like Frank Mankiewicz [Frank F. Mankiewicz] or Peter Edelman [Peter B. Edelman] fit in? Were they the kind of people you had in mind?

ALSOP: Yes, I don't mind saying I do. Yes, they were exactly the people I had in mind, and I don't think President Kennedy would have kept them around anymore than he kept Dick Goodwin [Richard N. Goodwin] around, and for exactly the same reason. President Kennedy didn't keep Dick Goodwin around because he thought he was grinding his own axe, as I said to you earlier.

GREENE: Right.

ALSOP: Goodwin is a quite different kind of man from the three that you've just mentioned, who were all extremely idealistic and what's their ghastly word?--dedicated, and very nice men

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in the main. Goodwin, I think, is a really nasty man. But still, if you're in there to make a particular set of ideas win, instead of to make your guy win, you're grinding your own axe and not your candidate's axe or your boss' axe. See what I mean?

GREENE: Oh yes. Do you think that they were responsible for his shift? Adam particularly?

ALSOP: Well, I haven't a doubt that they had a good deal to do with it. Yes.

GREENE: What about Joe Dolan [Joseph F. Dolan]? How did you see him fitting in?

ALSOP: I don't think he was like that at all. Much more like Kenny O'Donnell [Kenneth P. O'Donnell] who was with President Kennedy.

GREENE: What about some of the more peripheral people like Tom Johnson [Thomas M. C. Johnson]? I know you spoke quite highly of....

ALSOP: Well, Tom Johnson was, I thought, far and away the ablest man that he had, and the most balanced man among them. I mean, Tom would never have given Bobby advice that he, Tom, did not think primarily concerned Bobby's interest, or was aimed to serve Bobby's interest. You see what I mean?

GREENE: Oh yes. What about people like vanden Heuvel [William J. vanden Heuvel]?

ALSOP: Let's not go into that. He was very good about cufflinks.

GREENE: You mean keeping them in supply?

ALSOP: Yes.

GREENE: I gather from what you've said that you had no problem of access to him, that if you wanted to see him it was fairly easy to. Is that accurate?

ALSOP: Well, sure. I saw him intimately, and reasonably cozily, until the end of his life.

GREENE: Did you rely to any extent on his press staff? I don't mean rely on them, but did you...?

ALSOP: No. I never had any dealings with them at all.

GREENE: You don't have any opinion on the differences among the three of them, Guthman [Edwin O. Guthman] and then Barthelmes [A. Wesley Barthelmes] and Mankiewicz, as far as their competency?

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ALSOP: No, I'm no use, because I never went through them, you know. I never do.

GREENE: Do you recall any occasions when he or any of his staff would give you a story, something that they wanted to leak to the press, and they'd release it through you because you were a friend? Was there ever anything like that?

ALSOP: No, I don't, my dear, but then I wouldn't have been, in most cases, the natural

person to plant that kind of stuff on. You have to bear in mind that not very long after he entered the Senate our viewpoints began to diverge. Although I'm proud to say our friendship didn't end, our viewpoints began to diverge quite sharply.

GREENE: Did it change the nature of your friendship, did you find?

ALSOP: Well, a little bit. Yes, it's always much cozier to agree with people. I mean, yes, of course it always changes things.

GREENE: But not really in any serious way?

ALSOP: No, not in any way that I could feel in the least hurt by, let's put it that way. In this ghastly city you're always very much cozier with people with whom you agree, and therefore you're also more open with them.

GREENE: This March 3rd column that I mentioned before, where he offered an amendment to the education bill. Do you remember doing that?

ALSOP: We talked about it.

GREENE: It was really quite different from any of the other columns you did on him, and I wondered how you came to do this. Did they...?

ALSOP: Well, I suppose that I was looking for him to sort of get going as a legislator, because you must remember that I thought it was very important for him to do that. I didn't think he was right to run for the presidency at all, nor did Tom Johnston, nor did Ted Sorensen [Theodore C. Sorensen] and....

GREENE: Or his brother.

ALSOP: Nor his brother. I had no idea at that juncture, of course, that President Johnson was not going to run for the presidency, until he took off in 1968. I thought he was going to do another four years in the Senate. I further thought that, if he was

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going to make a real reputation, then the thing to do was get down to being a senator to some degree.

GREENE: Do you remember him calling you on any columns you'd written, either to thank you for writing complimentary things or to take issue with you?

ALSOP: If he liked a piece of yours he would call you, or even write you. He was always nice in that way.

GREENE: I'm just jumping around now. Some of these things are not going to seem relevant, I'm sure. Can you compare in any way, his understanding and use of the media with his brother's, with President Kennedy's? Did he use it to his advantage as much, do you think?

ALSOP: Yes, I think he was very clever in using.... Newspapermen liked him very much, you know, in the main and he benefited from that, obviously.

GREENE: You had several columns on New York politics as related to him on the mayoral race, in 1965, the Silverman [Samuel J. Silverman] fight and the governor's race. Did you actually talk to him about these things?

ALSOP: Oh, yes surely, I never wrote anything like that without talking to him. I also talked to a lot of other people.

GREENE: Did he ever call to confirm or deny your assessment of where his intentions or interests lay in this?

ALSOP: He didn't have to, because I got it from him.

GREENE: The thing that I was really driving at is, you implied in a couple of places that you didn't think he really wanted another Democrat in the state because of the competition of that. Of course, other people have said this, too, you know. How did you arrive at that?

ALSOP: Just by prolonged observation of political human nature. [Laughter] You know. I mean, President Kennedy all but supported Senator Saltonstall [Leverett Saltonstall]. It suited him just.... He all but came out openly for him. He did support him, quietly. Because the last thing he wanted was another Democrat, and he particularly disliked--I've forgotten that miserable man's name now--the man who was running against Saltonstall. He disliked him heartily. I can't remember his name. He had an Italian name. The last time Saltonstall ran. I mean, that's just normal.

GREENE: Okay. You went to California with him, to Berkeley in October of 1966. What are your recollections of that trip? You seem to use that as a turning point in your later columns.

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ALSOP: Well, I think he was.... The whole sort of peace thing. All the plaudits of the kids. All of that. He had, in that respect, very bad political judgment, you know, because having all the kids for you didn't mean you have all the voters for you, particularly in those days when they couldn't vote. Nowadays they just don't register. But in those days they couldn't vote, and having endless college audiences rolling in the aisles doesn't show up very well at the ballot box, particularly if you say things to college audiences, or they behave in a manner, that angers large numbers of voters. This was really

one of the reasons. He built up this permanent handicap, which President Kennedy didn't have at all, of having a very large percentage of the electorate that just didn't like him.

GREENE: Of course he'd had a much more controversial past than President Kennedy did before he got to the White House.

ALSOP: Yes, but no one was even dimly.... I mean, the past was the past. He was so young then, and he was so inconspicuous then, that people don't remember that.

GREENE: Well, you said in your article....

ALSOP: I mean, I think it was in that period, after his brother's death, that he acquired this group of, I've called them in a column, the Kennedy haters.

GREENE: It would seem to me that the reason this happened--I would like to know how you respond to this--was that he cared, that his real interest was with the young people, and the future, always looking to the future, and that he wasn't perhaps as electoral minded and election-minded as other people were about him.

ALSOP: Well, I don't think he was a very calculating politician, if that's what you mean, my dear.

GREENE: You mean he is?

ALSOP: That he wasn't. But he also let himself be intoxicated and carried along by this kind of enthusiasm which he found it very easy to evoke, and he would certainly have found hard to translate into votes if he'd ever been nominated for national office.

GREENE: Yes. In one of the columns that you wrote from Berkeley you criticized him for criticizing Johnson's Vietnam policy. You said that, "This criticism does not reflect his own hard-headed comprehensions on the nature of our national interests."

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ALSOP: That was when, I think, he still saw in those days our national interest and our national situation more or less in the way he had seen it when his brother was alive. It was not an easy transition for him to make, you know.

GREENE: Do you remember him reacting to this particular criticism?

ALSOP: No, I don't remember him ever getting angry about anything I ever wrote.

GREENE: I know he came to you, or at least the books say that he came to you, before

he made his March, 1967 speech, the so-called "fox in the chicken coop" statement. You, according to the literature, attempted to persuade him not to give this speech. Do you remember that? Is that accurate?

ALSOP: I can't remember what speech you're talking about.

GREENE: The famous one where he called for a coalition, including the....

ALSOP: Oh, yes. We did talk before that. I told him that it was foolishness, and it was foolishness, and for God's sake don't get into it. I mean I have to say that.... It would be hard for you to understand, my dear. You're wearing your peace ring. But the thing I found very hard to take--of course with him, I cared for him so much I always found excuses for not finding it hard to take--is the just plain humbug. I've said in print, and I say to you, I have complete respect for anyone who takes a position different from my own as long as it's an intellectually respectable, logically defensible position. But if it's humbug, then I get cross.

With regard to Vietnam, there have always been three intellectually respectable, logically defensible positions, but only three. The first is a straight pacifist position, which means that you're also ready to accept the subjugation of the United States; but that's by the way. The second is, it's too expensive so let's don't. The third is my position. But it's always, by the same token, been perfect humbug to say that the problem could be solved without damage to American interest, by coalitions by "getting talks going," or by any of these intermediate painless solutions. It's just humbug. [Laughter]

GREENE: Would you put it to him that way?

ALSOP: Yes. I put it to him pretty plainly. I said, "You know perfectly well a coalition can't work."

GREENE: And how would he respond?

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ALSOP: Well, he'd say, "Well, I think it can," and then there's nothing more that you can do about it.

GREENE: Would he point to the Laotian example, under his brother's administration?

ALSOP: The Laotian example. It didn't work, so he couldn't point to that. We sponsored a coalition which in fact did not work. In that particular case what happened was that the Communists left it because Souvanna Phouma turned out to be a much stronger man than, I must say, I had supposed he would be. [Laughter] So, some sort of shadow of Laotian independence was in fact retained, with the help of the CIA [Central Intelligence Agency], now much criticized. But it would have been a very poor example to point to, because it didn't work.

GREENE: By the way, I do want to correct myself. I said that was March, 1967, and that was a February, 1966, speech. First major shift.

ALSOP: Yes, that was where you'd mark in the real shift.

GREENE: The March, 1967 speech was the one where he urged them to take advantage of Kosygin's [Alexei N. Kosygin] initiative by halting the bombing, and establishing, in cooperation with the UN, some kind of...

ALSOP: Yes, but that was again humbug. I'm afraid I think that he knew it was humbug, too.

GREENE: And did it as a posture?

ALSOP: By then he was opposed to policy and...

GREENE: What I found interesting about that was that he had spoken to you, and you had urged him not do this and apparently disagreed strongly with him, and yet you never wrote a column about it.

ALSOP: Well, of course I didn't.

GREENE: Was that because of personal friendship? Because most of the other columnists were treating these speeches in their columns, and you didn't, and I thought....

ALSOP: Well, I couldn't write a column about it, except by attacking it as humbug. I didn't want to attack him for humbug because I was exceedingly fond of him.

GREENE: Well, that's what I expected you to say, really. I assumed as much. You did later, write one though when he had that meeting in Paris with Etienne Manac'h--I'm probably saying

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it wrong--and John Dean [John G. Dean], the supposed peace feeler.

ALSOP: I thought that was very scandalous. I can't remember the circumstances now, I've forgotten it all. But I remember being really shocked.

GREENE: Well, from what we have gathered, and it seems to be a fairly unanimous conclusion, he simply didn't realize the significance of what was happening. Does that click?

ALSOP: I think that may be true. In any case, what I was shocked by was that no matter how much you may dislike the president, no matter how much you

oppose his policies, you simply can't go around trying to handle the foreign relations of the United States on a kind of home carpentry basis. It's illegal, which everyone seems to have forgotten about. This is simply something called the Logan Act. It's against the law to do it.

GREENE: Did you get his version of what happened, or was that column written on the account...?

ALSOP: I was here and he was in Paris, my dear, unless I'm very mistaken.

GREENE: I think this was written after he returned, because that's when it broke.

ALSOP: Well, I would certainly not have talked to him if I was writing a critical column.

GREENE: And you don't remember any reaction after it?

ALSOP: You know, I have no memory at all, except for what I try to tell myself to remember, and I don't ever tell myself to remember the day-to-day details of column-producing life.

GREENE: Okay. Then there were a number of columns where you were critical, by name, of Schlesinger [Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.], Galbraith [John K. Galbraith], Goodwin, and other "new frontier soft-boiled eggs," as you called them, for their Vietnam positions, and indirectly of Robert Kennedy for legitimizing their position. Do you remember reactions on that? They were fairly strong.

ALSOP: No. [Laughter]

GREENE: Okay. What about reaction when you sent him the copies of the captured documents that you had obtained? Was there a reaction to that?

ALSOP: I think those must have been the March, 1966 documents. I don't remember but...

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GREENE: I don't have the date.

ALSOP: They are far more interesting documents actually than these documents that the *Times* [the *New York Times*] is publishing, because they do in fact tell you what really did happen, unlike the documents which are in the main grossly misleading about what really did happen. [Laughter] I'm not sure it isn't a waste of your time to tell you about them.

GREENE: No, I don't....

ALSOP: It's a very, very interesting, curious story, and it's thoroughly documented, too. Very briefly, in the summer of 1965, when we intervened in earnest, the North Vietnamese leaders held a big review in which the Chinese apparently participated, at any rate on the fringes. Their doctrine called upon them to do the exact opposite of what they in fact did. Their doctrine called for what's known as a retreat to phase two, that is to classical guerrilla war in the event of any unforeseen and highly unfavorable development. Then stay in phase two until you've tired the other side out again, and then you move into phase three which is big-unit fighting. Long before we even began to think of intervening, they had gone to big unit. I can't remember the exact number of divisions that they had already organized as divisions, but there were already two North Vietnamese divisions in South Vietnam before the New Year of 1965, and there was evidently a hell of an argument in the North Vietnamese politburo. Someone or other--it's quite clear from the documents--did take this position. I've always rather thought General Giap [Vo Nguyen Giap], who wrote the doctrine, and the Chinese advocated going back to phase two, and the politburo decided to do the opposite, which was a very grave decision because it meant an immense increase of cost for North Vietnam, particularly in manpower.

Then in the autumn of 1965 the Soviets came to Johnson and said, if you'll give us a long bombing pause--another subject about which there was a great deal of humbug--we will get the North Vietnamese to negotiate. Mr. Clark Clifford [Clark M. Clifford], who in those days had not yet lost his marbles, and the future Justice Fortas [Abe Fortas], or maybe he was justice by then, strongly advised Johnson not to go in for bombing pauses. Johnson went ahead with the bombing pause, which endured more than a month, and the documents also indicated that the Soviets used every bit of influence they had to get the North Vietnamese to negotiate, which they refused to do.

The documents in question concerned a review by the politburo, and presumably after that by the central committee, of those two decisions, first to tell the Chinese to go to hell, and then to tell the Soviets to go to hell, and to push on with big unit. They were on the very highest level. One was a letter by the first party secretary Le Duan, who is now the boss in Hanoi, to the commander at the front, then General Thanh [Nguyen Chi Thanh] who was also a member of the politburo. The other was a lecture of which two very complete sets of notes were captured, given by a general whose name I've now forgotten--it's in my column, if you really--who was, on the one hand chairman of the party committee handling the war in the south, and on the other hand secretary or chairman of the government commission dealing with the problems of the war in the south. He was sort of a nuts and bolts guy, in short.

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He went all the way to the south and they held a very, very top level meeting of Viet Cong bosses from all over somewhere, wherever it was at that time. We picked up these documents, the Le Duan letter and several copies, and then these two sets of mutually confirmatory lecture notes on the general. They take enormous notes, the V. C. [Viet Cong]. They're tremendously bureaucratic. Very odd.

I think the reason I sent them to Bobby was because he had been arguing that it was basically just a guerrilla war, and I'd been arguing that it wasn't a guerrilla war at all. It was a very peculiar kind of war, but it was basically a big unit war, and that the guerrillas, who

were very important, depended on the shield of the big units, which is proved now to be true. It's why the other side is in terrible trouble inside South Vietnam, where their big units have been driven out in large measure, and their apparatus is gradually being dismantled because it doesn't have the protection of the big units.

I'm sure those are the documents I sent him. And I think it was some such discussion as that that caused me to send them to him. I very much doubt whether he ever read them. [Laughter] Furthermore, it's like eating an enormous amount of shredded wheat. You get a very small amount of sugar, reading their documents. You have to have a sort of habit of reading so that you know what is just the stuff that they always repeat, and what's significant.

It was amusing because there was also the business--it could be argued about. It comes up in this Kosygin thing--of Soviet influence. I've always maintained, and these documents in fact prove, that neither of the big brothers had anything properly describable as influence at all. Checked through both sets of lecture notes is this delightful sort of thing. Big brothers tell us what to do, and we tell them to go to hell and they'll have to go on helping us, and we really don't have to worry about them, and we just make our own decisions. I mean, essentially. It's always been a complete misapprehension that you could get either the Soviets or the Chinese to bail you out in some way by using their influence in Hanoi, because the only way either of them could ever have bailed us out was simply by cutting off supplies. And this was too shocking a departure from fraternal Communist practice ever to be contemplated, and it was quite obvious that that was true from the beginning. Furthermore, as the two were in competition, the Chinese and the Soviets were in competition, it was even more unlikely that either of them were going to break every rule of etiquette, so to say. They're all a lot of damn nonsense.

GREENE: Was that the only time you sent him information of that kind that you had?

ALSOP: Well, yes, I used to try to give him information, I suppose a lot of it not as good as it ought to have been. I was too optimistic until Tet. Although, Tet itself, you see, has

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been completely misrepresented. I can't wait to see what Oberdorfer [Donald Oberdorfer, Jr.] makes of in his book.

GREENE: Which Oberdorfer is that?

ALSOP: Don.

GREENE: Are they brothers, by the way, Don and Lou?

ALSOP: I never know, and I'm not sure which Oberdorfer is writing the book, but I think it's Don.

GREENE: It's probably Don. It's on Vietnam?

ALSOP: It's just on the Tet offensive.

GREENE: Oh.

ALSOP: You know, everybody says it's too optimistic, but one is always too optimistic about how long things take. But in fact, the Tet offensive was a decision taken really from despair, and furthermore a decision which led to a perfect goddamned miserable disaster. If Mr. Nixon's [Richard M. Nixon] policy works, as I still think it will work, if the Senate doesn't cut his balls off....

GREENE: They're trying right this very instant.

ALSOP: I'm sure. Well, there are a great many people in this country who'd like to see us defeated in order to salvage their own egos. [Laughter] It's a very unusual attitude, and one that wasn't common in America in my youth, so I don't understand it very well. But schematically what happened at Tet is very simple and it's amply documented, again.

Nguyen Chi Thanh had been killed. I think I was in the combat in which he was killed, in the early spring of 1967. They held a big review sometime in the fairly early summer of 1967. Another big review. Things really were beginning to go very badly for them, and Westmoreland's [William C. Westmoreland] much denounced strategy was in fact working. The issue was identically the same as it had been in 1965, on with big unit or back to guerrilla. The argument was reflected in the kind of giant article that Vo Nguyen Giap published last summer, which clearly argued for back to guerrilla, really one reason why I think he took that position in 1965. At any rate, he was overruled, and they made this enormous additional investment, above all of men, that's really always their investment, in the Tet offensive which you, I'm sure, regarded as having been a disaster for our side to this day because it was so badly reported. But in fact it was a perfectly dreadful disaster for them. It really broke the back of their one really irreplaceable asset which is the domestic internal insurgency.

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[END SIDE 1, TAPE 2]

[BEGIN SIDE 2, TAPE 2]

ALSOP: As I said, it really broke the back of their internal insurgency. I'm not sure that break the back isn't too strong a phrase. What they did was expend in these terribly ill-planned and over-optimistic attacks, I would say, a very large majority of their veteran South Vietnamese fighting men, and those were darn hard to replace, and it was quite clear, in fact, that they could not replace them. It was quite clear that they were unable to replace them because you suddenly found North Vietnamese in scores of V.C. units which had always had South Vietnamese manpower. You see what I mean? They were darn poor. A southerner is always worth three times as much as a northerner, or ten times as much as a northerner, because he's got all his brothers and sisters and his aunts, and

some land of his own, he's got knowledge of the countryside, and all the rest of it, and it's very important. It always makes me cross because I was one of the few people who didn't take a total disaster view of Tet at the time. About eight months later--I can't remember the exact interval of time--the *New York Times* published a very long and careful article by Charley Mohr [Charles Mohr] who is a very decent solid reporter, who had spent, I think, several weeks on one piece--you could see they had a terrible editorial argument about what to do about it, because it barely got onto the front page under the fold--in which Mohr announced that it was now clear that for Hanoi the Tet offensive had been a "political and military disaster," and then, he added, "though a psychological victory." Well, the psychological victory, if there was one, was in this country and was largely attributable to the *New York Times*. [Laughter] It made me very cross. He then described much the same sort of thing that I've just talked about here. I haven't talked about the political side.

It was enormously interesting as a human and military episode because, I couldn't prove it, but I'm sure that what happened is that Giap made a perfectly gigantic intelligence error. Nguyen Chi Thanh, whom Giap hated, had been in charge for a long, long time, and he knew enough not to believe the absolute bleeding lies that were told by the so-called troop-proselytizing and urban struggle apparatus. In that kind of an organization, that kind of a society, far more than in ours--it's bad enough in ours--those people have to tell lies, because they're given norms and if they're told they can't fulfill their norms then they're replaced. They've had it.

GREENE: Do you think...?

ALSOP: So you have to picture this much older man, Giap, who'd been on the sidelines hating Nguyen Chi Thanh, the front-line commander, coming in to get everyone under one tent to

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command this offensive effort which I think he'd actually opposed their making, but they'd gone to him and said, you're our great military genius and let's all get together, and you plan it now and let's do it, and so forth, sending for the documents, so to say, for the papers and finding this absolute nonsense. You know, the whole Vietnamese army will desert in a minute, the cities will rise up as one man, and so on. It was a beaut. If an American general had done what Giap did, he'd have been strung up on the nearest telephone pole and would have deserved it.

GREENE: Did you discuss these events with Robert Kennedy in these terms?

ALSOP: Sure.

GREENE: And how would he react?

ALSOP: He wouldn't believe me, but that's all right. I mean I...

GREENE: Would he think you were misinformed, or your interpretation was incorrect?

ALSOP: I just don't know, my dear.

GREENE: You said in the interview you did on the president that you felt one of his great assets was that he consulted so widely before making decisions. Did you feel that Robert Kennedy did not do this?

ALSOP: No, he was much more a man with a *parti pris*, "set purpose," you know than his brother was.

GREENE : A *parti*....

ALSOP: A *parti pris* is sort of, you know, he had....

GREENE: ...predisposed...?

ALSOP: ...well, *pris*. He didn't really want to hear that Tet had been a disaster for the enemy, and I suppose he went to his grave supposing it had been a disaster for us, and it was a political disaster in this country, not a doubt about it, because it was so badly reported, and because in some funny way we seem to have a spring broken in our country. When things went badly in my young days we used to gather together and get to work. But now it's different. In that case, in fact, they didn't go badly. They went very well. It was shameful the whole business of.... It was disgraceful, the reporting. Really, it's been consistently disgraceful, the reporting. You take Khe Sanh, *Newsweek* gave a whole issue just before Khe Sanh was relieved, "The Agony of Khe Sanh". I went to Khe Sanh. I'm sixty years old now, I was fifty-eight years old then, I went there.

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GREENE: I remember the column you wrote on it.

ALSOP: It wasn't any goddamned agony at all. It was a dreadful bore, and a few scores of people were killed and more were wounded, and it's dreadful to have people killed or wounded. But, in point of fact, there were fewer killed and wounded in the regiment plus that was in Khe Sanh than in the comparable marine units that were in moving combat. To go on with, the enemy loss was not in scores, it was in many, many thousands. It was a fearful massacre of the most dreadful kind.

To complete the picture, the one thing that might have done permanent harm at Tet, was the occupation of Hue. That was a really, rough business. It was the only really rough business that there was in Tet. Khe Sanh was, from Giap's standpoint, an old man's folly. He wanted to repeat Dien Bien Phu. All generals, all old generals, try to repeat the successes of their past. Standard term. What he did was invest two great big divisions besieging this miserable little place which we were well able to hold, instead of using the same two divisions just a bit further south at Hue where they would have raised absolute hell. They saw their mistake while the siege was going on. They started slipping regiments down south from Khe Sanh to Hue, but it was too late. Westmoreland was dead right to hold Khe Sanh. It, first

of all, destroyed the best part of two enemy divisions, and in the second place it kept them off his back at Hue. [Laughter] It was just a lot of foolishness. Those facts are indisputable.

GREENE: Can you add anything further to Robert Kennedy on Vietnam, to what you know about his feelings and the change that took place?

ALSOP: No, I can't. I think it was a great, great, great national tragedy that he did abandon his brother's view.

GREENE: He never put it to you that President Kennedy, while he supported Vietnam to the extent that he did while he was alive, would never have pursued it in the manner that Johnson did?

ALSOP: He would never have dared to put it to me like that, my dear, because he knew it wasn't true and I knew it wasn't true, to the best of one's ability of knowing what a tragically dead man would have done had he lived.

GREENE: Of course this does not directly pertain to Robert Kennedy, but....

ALSOP: And I don't believe that you'll find anyone on the other side of the fence that he ever said that to, either.

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GREENE: This is not really directly related to Robert Kennedy, but can you cite your reasons for feeling that President Kennedy would have gone in as deeply, militarily, had he lived?

ALSOP: My dear, if you read the record, you'll find that he was in very deep militarily already.

GREENE: But not on the scale that it eventually came to.

ALSOP: No, but he was determined not to lose. He is on the record as saying he was determined not to lose.

GREENE: But he's also on the record saying that he wouldn't send American boys to fight a war that Asian boys should fight.

ALSOP: Well, I know, but that's another subject and that's very desirable to say, and you normally say it, and.... He would certainly have done it in my opinion to the extent.... I've always believed that, in his heart of hearts, Bobby thought he would have done it. To my knowledge, he never claimed to anyone that President Kennedy would not have done it. Your research may indicate that he did, but I don't think he ever did. Does your research show that he made that claim?

GREENE: I'm trying to think if he ever did directly, but I always felt that was the implication, that...

ALSOP: I don't think so.

GREENE: ...this type of action would have been uncharacteristic of his brother.

ALSOP: I don't think that you'll find that he ever made that claim that he knew quite well the line that his brother was already very deeply engaged in before he was killed.

GREENE: Of course, I think later he acknowledged, at least for himself, that mistakes had been made in his brother's administration, and he said that, in fact, I think that this is a fairly good paraphrasing--there were enough mistakes to go around, and he was willing to take his share of the blame.

ALSOP: That's quite a different statement from saying that his brother would not have gone to war if he had been driven to do so. You never can know about that kind of thing, but...

GREENE: No, that's true. Anyway...

ALSOP: I have to say this about it, that if President Kennedy was not ultimately ready to go to war in case of need, in order to prevent a Communist victory, then everything that he'd been doing for three years before he died was very wrongly conceived

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and sadly misdirected. Above all, Lee Kuan Yew, the Singapore leader, said to me, "The last chance of getting out was when Diem [Ngo Dinh Diem] was assassinated." If you went on taking the kind of responsibility that we went on taking after Diem was assassinated, then you had made what amounted to an irreversible commitment.

GREENE: Yes, of course, he only lived a very brief three weeks after Diem's assassination.

ALSOP: That I know, but he had no intention whatever, and I don't think you'll find anyone who'll tell you he had any intention, of saying now out, and he didn't say now out. He was very reluctant, I must add, to.... We had, of course, nothing to do with Diem's assassination and tried very hard to prevent it. But we did, in effect, cease supporting Diem in the rather grimly determined way that was necessary to keep the troops in line, if you see what I mean. And he was very reluctant to do that. I talked with him about it at some length. I think I had some role in his decision. No, I mean it's complete historical distortion to say that Johnson did not continue Kennedy's policy. He did. Kennedy would have been an utterly different war leader and we'd have fought an utterly different

war, but that's another subject. Johnson was a great man and a very bad war leader. My own conviction about President Kennedy is that, far from not going into the war, he'd have gone in sooner and done it a damn sight better.

GREENE: All right. Then the whole question of Vietnam, of course, gets all mixed up eventually with his consideration and decision to run. What do you know about that? As late as November 1967, you were convinced according to your column that he never would run and that it was just poppycock....

ALSOP: Well, Bobby, he was convinced himself.

GREENE: That's what I was going to ask

ALSOP: It was, I think, only the McCarthy [Eugene J. McCarthy] nonsense in New Hampshire that pushed him over the edge of changing his mind.

GREENE: You also said instead of...

ALSOP: I'm sure that everyone has told you that. I mean, he was determined not to have any part of it until the McCarthy thing in New Hampshire.

GREENE: You don't mean before the primary necessarily, you mean before the...

ALSOP: No, no. I mean after the primary.

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GREENE: I think I disagree with you on that. I think very definitely the decision was all but made before, but not before it was obvious that McCarthy was going to do a lot better than people expected.

ALSOP: Well, I mean, it was the fact that.... That was obvious by then, but sort of unglued.

GREENE: You were, in several places, very, very critical of McCarthy. You used the phrase that he was the meanest of all to J.F.K. after L.A. [the Los Angeles convention].

ALSOP: He certainly was.

GREENE: I wondered if you could explain that.

ALSOP: Well, he simply was, that's all. I mean, he used to tell vicious poison pen stories about the president at every dinner table in Washington. I've known him quite well. He's a very agreeable companion, Eugene McCarthy. His wife

is also a very agreeable woman, Abbey [Abigail McCarthy], or whatever her name is. I've forgotten it. My parting with him occurred on an airplane going up to Wisconsin, the Wisconsin primary. I was joining not-yet-president Kennedy. And McCarthy, who was, of course, for Humphrey [Hubert H. Humphrey] but also disliked Humphrey, came over and sat down with me and proceeded to tell me a series of what I can only call just plain dirty stories. They reminded me of nothing so much as the kind of story that that old Senator Gary [Theodore Gary of N. Y.] used to tell about my cousin, Eleanor Roosevelt [Eleanor P. Roosevelt] I mean real sort of hate stuff, and nasty hate stuff.

I finally said, "Gene, I think I really have to tell you that you're talking about a man whom I regard as one of my three or four closest friends, one of the people I admire the most and value the most and I can't go on listening to this." Whereupon he turned rather a beet color, went back to his own seat, produced the very largest missal I've ever seen, with more of those streamers coming out that people have than I've ever seen in my life, more crosses and all that and held it up very prominently and read his missal in the most visible possible manner all the way to Milwaukee.

I went to the hotel and went to the president-to-be's and Jackie's [Jacqueline B. Kennedy] room, reported in and told him this story, and he said a very funny thing. He said, "Well, Joe, there's this old saying in Boston politics, never trust a Catholic politician who read his missal on the trolley car." [Laughter] That's the last time I ever had any real dealings with Gene McCarthy because he showed me a side of him that made me not want to have dealings with him. You used to hear all over Washington about the sort of poison pen stuff that he repeated all over...

GREENE: And this all carried on to Robert Kennedy?

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ALSOP: Bobby knew about it very well. McCarthy hated the Kennedys. Still does. He gave up his seat on the foreign relations committee in order to beat Teddy when he was first whip, and I wrote a column about it. That was the real explanation of why he gave up his seat. It was a very simple situation. I can't remember who it was. It was McGee [Gale W. McGee]. I think, Gale McGee had commitments from enough senators for a place on the committee so that that created a certain vote which would...

GREENE: ...keep the balance on the committee?

ALSOP: Teddy wanted to enlarge the committee, but if somebody got off the committee, the commitments were null because McGee got the seat. So McCarthy gave up his seat to McGee in order to beat Teddy on the particular operation. It's an extraordinarily petty manifestation of personal hatred. I mean after that airplane thing I never thought a damn thing of Gene McCarthy, and I don't to this day, and everybody knows it. So there it is.

GREENE: Okay. When did he first speak to you about the possibility of running, and how did you advise him? How did you finally find out...?

ALSOP: Well, I talked to him in that New Hampshire time, and it was obvious that he was beginning to think about it and I begged him not to do it, as Sorensen did, and Johnson did, and his brother did, as you tell me. And it didn't do any good.

GREENE: Do you think there's anything new that you could add beyond what's already known, about the factors that pushed him in--to Vietnam and this current position in these things? Was there anything additional that you think tipped the balance?

ALSOP: I just, I had never understood it. I mean he had all these endless people pushing, pushing, pushing, pushing for reasons of their own, and his ego was engaged, and as you know, he was an activist, and he just went ahead and did it, and I thought it was a damn fool thing to do.

GREENE: A lot of people did, right up through the whole thing, even people working for him.

ALSOP: So there it was.

GREENE: What about the time you did spend on the road with him, between the end of Indiana and the very end?

ALSOP: Well, it was very touching to me, my dear, because I think they really did care about how I handled it in the column, and they were awfully pleased because I continued to be affectionate.... And so that in that way it was touching to me to

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think they did really care. I don't for one second deceive myself about the influence columnists allegedly possess. I don't think they have any.

GREENE: It's always nice when they say nice things.

ALSOP: But they're really not quite sensible enough to see that, but they really did care about my taking a pro-Bobby position, and largely for personal reasons.

GREENE: In Nebraska you wrote about the disappointment in the Kennedy camp at finding so little support, after Johnson's withdrawal, in the big non-primary states, and the disappointment that people they thought would come around who didn't. Pennsylvania is one of those cited. Is this from personal conversations with them?

ALSOP: Well, sure. Then also I knew about the position in Pennsylvania.

GREENE: And other places? Can you remember other places?

ALSOP: I don't think they had Daley [Richard J. Daley] nailed down at all.

GREENE: Anyone else that you think they expected, or at least hoped, would come around?

ALSOP: Oh yes. The politicians regarded Bobby as a pretty long shot bet. I mean he could have torn up the convention, but I don't think he could have been elected. I think he'd have made a worse run against Nixon, in fact, than poor old Hubert did. He started, as I say, by then with this terrifically big kind of an albatross composed of people who really didn't like him. I never understood why. It was always the Kennedy haters, many of whom were natural Democratic voters. By the same token there was another huge group of Kennedy lovers. It's a terrific handicap no matter how many.... I mean, you have forty percent of lovers, and then you have forty percent of real haters. It's a hell of a handicap to have forty percent of real haters when you're fighting for the remaining twenty percent of the electorate. See what I mean?

GREENE: Oh, yes.

ALSOP: I think I've answered every question that you can possibly think of, but if I can help you....

GREENE: I just have one more, and that's if you have any observations of the way the campaign was run, and the people involved, perhaps in comparison with 1960.

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ALSOP: Well, it was really all a good deal more helter skelter, but it was all done at the last minute, and they were awfully efficient.

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[END OF INTERVIEW – RFK #2, 6/22/71]

Joseph W. Alsop RFK Oral History Interview
Name List

President Johnson	Johnson, Lyndon B.
Phil Graham	Graham, Philip L.
Eleanor	Roosevelt, Eleanor R.
President Roosevelt	Roosevelt, Franklin D.
Mr. Truman	Truman, Harry S.
Bobby	Kennedy, Robert F.
McCarthy	McCarthy, Joseph R.
Joe Kennedy	Kennedy, Joseph P.
Bob Kintner	Kintner, Robert E.
Ethel	Kennedy, Ethel Skakel
Guevara	Guevara, Ernesto Che
Hubert Humphrey	Humphrey, Hubert H.
Mac Bundy	Bundy, McGeorge
C.L. Chennault	Chennault, Claire Lee
Franklin Roosevelt	Roosevelt, Franklin Jr.
Adlai Stevenson	Stevenson, Adlai E.
Jackie	Kennedy, Jacqueline Bouvier
Tom Johnston	Johnston, Thomas M.C.
Pierre Salinger	Salinger, Pierre E.G.
Goodwin	Goodwin, Richard N.
Ted Sorensen	Sorensen, Theodore C.
Teddy	Kennedy, Edward M.
Norris	Norris, George C.
La Follette	La Follette, Robert M.
Senator Taft	Taft, Robert A.
Congressman Mills	Mills, Wilbur D.
Adam	Walinsky, Adam
Frank Mankiewicz	Mankiewicz, Frank F.
Peter Edelman	Edelman, Peter B.
Joe Dolan	Dolan, Joseph F.
Kenny O'Donnell	O'Donnell, Kenneth P.
Huevel	vanden Heuvel, William J.
Guthman	Guthman, Edwin O.
Barthelmes	Barthelmes, A. Wesley
Silverman	Silverman, Samuel J.
Senator Saltonstall	Saltonstall, Leverett
Kosygin	Kosygin, Alexei N.
John Dean	Dean, John G.
Schlesinger	Schlesinger, Arthur M. Jr.
Galbraith	Galbraith, John K.
Mr. Clark Clifford	Clifford, Clark M.
Justice Fortas	Forats, Abe

General Thanh	Thanh, Nguyen Chi
Oberdorfer	Oberdorfer, Donald Jr.
Mr. Nixon	Nixon, Richard M.
Westmoreland	Westmoreland, William C.
Charley Mohr	Mohr, Charles
Diem	Diem, Ngo Dinh
McCarthy	McCarthy, Eugene J.
Abbey	McCarthy, Abigail
Senator Gary	Gary, Theodore
McGee	McGee, Gale W.
Daley	Daley, Richard J.
Martin Luther King	King, Martin Luther Jr.
Hoover	Hoover, J. Edgar
Philby	Philby, Kim
Maclean	Maclean, Donald
Burgess	Burgess, Guy
Senator Eastland	Eastland, James O.
Governor Adams	Adams, Sherman
Eisenhower	Eisenhower, Dwight D.
Goldfine	Goldfine, Bernard
Lee Radziwill	Radziwill, Lee Bouvier
Joe Kraft	Kraft, Joe
Mr. Tom Wicker	Wicker, Tomas G.
Mr. Philip Geyelin	Geyelin, Mr. Philip
Miss Joan Baez	Baez, Joan C.
Bob McNamara	McNamara, Robert S.
Miss Hickock	Hickock, Lorena