

GROWING RIFT OF LBJ AND KENNEDYS

Behind the Furor Over a Book

Far more than a few censored passages in a manuscript is involved in arguments over the Manchester book on the Kennedy assassination.

Now breaking into the open are long-hidden details of a bitterness that could split asunder the Democratic Party by 1968, and array the Kennedy faction against Lyndon B. Johnson.

What was the real feeling of the Kennedys toward Mr. Johnson when tragedy put him at the helm of the nation? Did stunning grief give way to frantic politics on the flight from Dallas? How did the new President react?

From many of those closest to the events comes this report on the story behind a book.



Coffin of slain President leaving plane after flight from Dallas, with Mrs. Kennedy and Robert Kennedy in background

An undercover struggle for power between President Johnson and the Kennedys—which many politicians fear could wreck the Democratic Party's chances in the 1968 presidential election—now is out in the open.

The current source of conflict—and possible instrument of destruction—is a book which the Kennedy family commissioned back in 1964 to provide an “authorized” version of events connected with the assassination of President John F. Kennedy on Nov. 22, 1963, during a political tour of Texas.

Insiders claim that the book itself—“The Death of a President,” by William Manchester—is merely an outward manifestation of a deep, bitter and continuing political vendetta that has been going on between warring factions of the Democratic Party ever since that fateful day in Dallas.

Friends of President Johnson are convinced that the main intent and purpose of the book was to “destroy Johnson.” “They’re going to try to make him out to be some kind of a monster,” one said.

A staff aide to Senator Robert F. Kennedy (Dem.), of New York, described this interpretation as “mean and contemptible.”

“Unremitting hostility.” William S. White, a veteran Washington correspondent who has the confidence of the President, wrote in a syndicated column on Dec. 17, 1966:

“President Johnson has had to bear a frightful burden in the unremitting hostility of the Kennedy cult and its common attitude that the man in the White House is not simply a constitutional successor to another man slain in memorable tragedy but only a crude usurper.

“Every mature newspaperman in Washington knows that this is the plain truth. Every writer in the United States—and every publisher—knows, too, that the smile or the frown of the Kennedy cult has a power over the fortunes of any kind of book that this country has never known before.”

President Johnson and his friends have never accepted for a minute the idea that the Kennedys have “lost control” of the Manchester manuscript. One quoted Senator Robert Kennedy as saying in a private conversation: “It’s our manuscript, and we can release it at our leisure.”

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Another highly placed authority stated: "It is my firm belief that if the Kennedys allow this manuscript to be published in 1967, it will be a clear signal that Senator Robert Kennedy intends to challenge Lyndon Johnson for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1968."

Politicians say there hasn't been a situation like this in America since Theodore Roosevelt and his "Bull Moose" Party split the Republicans in 1912, leading to the election of Woodrow Wilson as the second Democratic President since the Civil War.

The Manchester work is probably the most highly publicized unpublished book in the annals of journalism. What it actually contains is—so far—known only through hearsay information, "leaked" to the press by a seeming multitude of sources, who claim to have read or seen or heard something about the monumental manuscript.

Everything connected with this undertaking is couched in terms of "emotion." The author is being described as an "intense" and comparatively young man who "adored" the late President Kennedy. Robert Kennedy, the President's brother, is pictured as coming out a "hero" in the Manchester book. Jacqueline Kennedy is portrayed as a grief-stricken widow, who was treated "boorishly" by Lyndon B. Johnson in a rush to take over the Presidency. Everything in the book, according to published reports, is seen through the eyes of Kennedy sympathizers, and reflects their personal distaste for the Johnsons.

"Mr. Manchester has no basis of scholarly research," a former White House official declared. "He is merely repeating what was fed to him by violently prejudicial sources. It is a highly emotional, personalized account of a tragic moment in our history."

Unanswered questions. What of the public interest? What about President Johnson's outlook, and the considerations that motivated him in a time of national emergency? What of the continuity of government, and the national security? The answers to these questions do not come through in the relatively trivial matter that has been published so far purporting to be the "authorized" Kennedy version of the crucial period.

Many Washington officials who were interviewed for the Manchester account back in 1964 were admonished by Kennedy associates that they should speak with "complete candor" in discussing sensitive events connected with the transfer of presidential power following the assassination.

"We got the impression that the book wouldn't be published for up to 10 years," one observed. "We were given to believe that this was for a historical record, and that the information would not be made public until President Johnson had been out of office for some time."

Now some of these sources are contemplating issuing public statements if their previous depositions are published prematurely, or out of context.

The private enterprise of Mr. Manchester and the Kennedy family deals with the same historic event, and covers much of the same ground, as did the Warren Commission, appointed by President Johnson on Nov. 29, 1963, to conduct an official investigation into "all the facts and circumstances" surrounding the assassination of President Kennedy.

The basic elements of this story, as told to the Warren Commission in the sworn testimony of witnesses, was reported in an article, "Fateful Two Hours Without a President," in the Nov. 14, 1966, issue of "U. S. News & World Report."

The seven-member Commission headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren had a large professional staff, backed up by the investigatory resources of the Government. It produced a record of evidence totaling nearly 6 million words.

The Commission settled the immediate point of concern



President Johnson may find his Administration "tainted for years" by pro-Kennedy versions of events, associates feel

—that Lee Harvey Oswald, an avowed Marxist, was the "lone assassin" who killed President Kennedy, with "no evidence" of any conspiracy, "domestic or foreign."

But the Commission failed to examine many important collateral questions—relating to the national security in a time of crisis—which are now coming up in an unofficial, personalized way in the Manchester book.

Many key witnesses were not interrogated on such points by the Warren Commission, and some were not called at all for questioning. For instance, there is no deposition from Robert Kennedy, then the U. S. Attorney General, although Mr. Kennedy offered, in a letter to Chief Justice Warren dated Aug. 4, 1964, to appear as a witness.

Mrs. John F. Kennedy was questioned for only 10 minutes, at her Georgetown home in Washington on June 5, 1964, by Mr. Warren and Commission Counsel J. Lee Rankin, in the presence of Robert Kennedy. They asked her no questions about events following the assassination, such as what took place at the hospital in Dallas, or on the trip back to Washington, and who made the decision to send the President's body to Bethesda (Md.) Naval Hospital for autopsy.

Earlier, on two successive days in April, 1964, Mrs. Kennedy had provided 10 hours of tape-recorded interviews with the Kennedys' chosen author, Mr. Manchester, dealing with every aspect of the historic event.

A lawyer who served on the staff of the Warren Commission explained: "All of the ramifications of the conflict of interests, and the struggle for power, which occurred after the assassination in Dallas, were not considered germane to the central question of who killed President Kennedy."

"When Kenneth O'Donnell [President Kennedy's White House aide] and some of the Secret Service men were questioned on these matters, there was a great reluctance to wash some of that linen in public. A big storm was raised after the Commission took the O'Donnell deposition. Mr. Manchester was hoping to save some of that—for his book."

"There was the question of taking testimony from Mrs. Kennedy—we had to go through a lot to get that. Then there

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was the testimony of Governor [John] Connally of Texas. We wanted to develop the reasons for the trip to Texas, the political feud down there, because we thought it might have a bearing on planning the motorcade route in Dallas. "Governor Connally was hesitant about answering questions on the political fight in Texas, where it wasn't germane to the central fact of the assassination. No, we didn't take testimony from everyone—only those we thought might be helpful."

Rumors, gossip, "leaks." Whether the full account contained in the Manchester manuscript is ever published or not, the rumors of what it is alleged to contain have been propagated far and wide, by cocktail-party gossip, and through "leaks" in the press, usually in a way that is considered detrimental to President Johnson.

The President, his family and his associates are indignant about this, feeling that he has no recourse, no proper forum, no legitimate way to clear the air and set the record straight in connection with derogatory reports that have gained wide credence.

Members of the news staff of "U. S. News & World Report" have endeavored to isolate the principal points of controversy, and check them with appropriate authorities or documentary references. The cardinal issues follow.

The Trip to Texas

The most reprehensible rumor, in the view of the President's friends, is to the effect that Lyndon Johnson—then Vice President—"lured" John F. Kennedy into coming to Texas in the autumn of 1963 and was, therefore, in some manner responsible for his death.

This is reflected in the book, according to some reports, in the form of an unexplained argument over the necessity of the trip to Texas; a description of Mr. Johnson "pleading" with President Kennedy to help settle a political feud which Mr. Johnson, it was said, should have been able to take care of in his own home State; and a dramatic portrayal of Mrs. Kennedy refusing to change her bloodstained clothes after the assassination, "so they can see what they've done."

Quite the contrary is true of the planning of the trip, according to Texans who participated. "Vice President Johnson was against making the trip," one said. "President Kennedy wanted to raise money for his re-election campaign in 1964. Governor Connally was against it, because it would drain Democratic money out of the State. Representative Albert Thomas kept urging President Kennedy to come to Texas [the President appeared at a testimonial dinner for Mr. Thomas in Houston], and Thomas put the pressure on Governor Connally."

This informant estimated that, if the fund-raising dinner had been held in Austin as planned, as the finale of a two-day tour of five major cities in Texas, it would have enriched the Democratic Party's national coffers to the extent of half a million dollars.

"Slipping" popularity? Another source said: "President Kennedy expressed great interest in coming to Texas. At the time, his popularity was slipping, not only in Texas but nationally. Just look at the polls at the time, and you will see it was going down fast."

"The people around President Kennedy wanted to build up his image, and the President wanted to raise money. That was the main reason for coming here. He looked on the trip as a way of re-establishing his popularity, because—at the time—Senator [Barry] Goldwater was just eating

him up down here. As far as Vice President Johnson pressuring President Kennedy into coming to Texas to help Johnson—that is political nonsense."

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., a former White House speechwriter, is the author of a book about the Kennedy Administration called "A Thousand Days," published in 1965 by Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. In it he said:

"Some of Lyndon Johnson's friends were convinced that, as the 1964 election approached, Jack Kennedy was planning to 'dump Johnson' in favor of another running mate." Possibilities being mentioned in political circles included Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara and Arthur Goldberg, then a member of the U. S. Supreme Court.

Mr. Schlesinger goes on to say these rumors were "unfounded"; that President Kennedy regarded Mr. Johnson as "loyal and able"; and that the President counted on Lyndon Johnson for help in carrying the South again, particularly since it appeared that Senator Goldwater was going to be the Republican nominee.

A long-time Johnson associate claims that President Kennedy never gave his Vice President "any suggestion, any such feeling," that Mr. Kennedy did not want him again as a running mate. But Mr. Johnson's friends are equally convinced that Robert Kennedy and Kenneth O'Donnell, harking back to their intense opposition to Mr. Johnson at the 1960 Democratic Convention, were trying everything possible to create conditions that would convince John Kennedy that he must look elsewhere for a new presidential understudy.

A former White House official said: "Bobby Kennedy was trying to use the Bobby Baker case, and the Billie Sol Estes case, and Lyndon's TV station in Austin, and everything else, in an effort to convince Jack that he had to 'dump' Lyndon. Bobby and Kenny O'Donnell were hoping to turn the Texas trip into an anti-Johnson show, to prove that Lyndon had lost political influence in his own home State, and that he didn't control Texas any more. The Kennedy aides were hoping that Jack would tell Lyndon in Texas that he would have to find someone else for the ticket in 1964."

Finally, this insider charged: "This Texas conspiracy idea, and vague hints that Lyndon Johnson was somehow responsible for Jack Kennedy's death—the Kennedys could have come out forthrightly and put a stamp of disapproval on the books and magazine articles fomenting this kind of speculation over the assassination. But they didn't. The Kennedys wanted to keep it going."

However, Robert Kennedy said in a letter to Chief Justice Warren in 1964: "I would like to state definitely that I know of no credible evidence to support the allegations that the assassination of President Kennedy was caused by a domestic or foreign conspiracy."

The Transfer of Power

Many of the more provocative elements in the Manchester book deal with the transfer of presidential power following the assassination, and the plane trip back from Dallas.

The Warren Commission went into these matters in some detail in sworn testimony of witnesses, as previously reported in the Nov. 14, 1966, issue of "U. S. News & World Report." In this connection, the sequence of events becomes important. The Commission fixed this timetable for that fateful November 22 in Dallas:

12:30 p.m.—President Kennedy shot fatally.

12:35 p.m.—Arrival at Parkland Hospital.

1 p.m.—"Approximate time" of death.

1:20 p.m.—Vice President Johnson notified of the President's death.

1:30 p.m.—Johnson party arrives at airfield under Secret Service security orders.

2:15 p.m.—Kennedy aides arrive with Mrs. Kennedy and the late President's body.

2:38 p.m.—Lyndon Johnson takes oath of office.

Although the President's death was fixed at 1 p.m. as an "approximation" on the hospital certificate, Mrs. Kennedy now is reported to believe that her husband was dead before they reached the hospital. Dr. Charles J. Carrico, first physician to see the President's body on arrival, testified that "as a practical matter, I think he was dead then."

At this moment, as specified by the Constitution, Mr. Kennedy ceased to be the President, and all commissions by his hand expired. The privileges and prerogatives of the office now passed to his successor.

Mr. Johnson had to concern himself with taking over the duties and responsibilities of the Presidency in a prompt and lawful manner, while the Kennedy aides were concerned primarily about looking after the interests of Mrs. Kennedy and the late President.

Fear of a plot. Security officials feared, at the time, that there might be a widespread plot to do away with other top officials of the U. S. Government.

Secret Service agent Emory Roberts hustled Mr. Johnson to the airport, where better security and communications could be provided aboard the presidential airplane, "Air Force One." Agents urged Mr. Johnson to return to Washington at once, but Mr. Johnson did not want to leave without Mrs. Kennedy and the late President's body.

The Pentagon kept calling Dallas, wanting to know, in effect, who was in command. One official said that, to all intents and purposes, Defense Secretary McNamara and the Joint Chiefs of Staff "became the President" in this uncertain interval. Remembering the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, a rapid worldwide check was made to see whether there had been any missile launchings or unusual military movements. The reports came back negative.

"Angry at the world"? Mrs. Kennedy's attitude, according to one reader of the Manchester book, was that she was "angry at the world for letting this happen." He described Mrs. Kennedy as being "quite frantic, quite hysterical, quite ferocious."

But the testimony of several witnesses before the Warren Commission represent Mrs. Kennedy as being "in a daze," a "state of shock," and uncomprehending when the Kennedy aides and Secret Service men wheeled the late President's body out of Parkland Hospital in a hastily obtained casket in an effort to avoid a post-mortem under Texas law.

Later, when she learned that Oswald was the "lone assassin," Mrs. Kennedy is reported to have said her husband "didn't even have the satisfaction of being killed for civil rights. It had to be a silly little Communist."

The Manchester book, according to another previewer, describes the Kennedy aides as "shocked and infuriated" to find Lyndon Johnson and his party aboard the presidential plane. Mr. Johnson was awaiting the arrival of a federal judge to administer the oath of office.

A former White House official explained that there were three identical jet planes in the presidential fleet. The President ordinarily traveled in "Air Force One." The Vice President had come to Dallas on the second, or "backup" plane. The third was a reserve aircraft, called into operation whenever either of the first two was getting a mechanical checkup.

"The planes were in process of being regeared for communications of a classified nature," this former official said. "Naturally, the first plane to be re-equipped was 'Air Force One.' Most of the new gear had been installed in 'Air Force One.' The work on the other two jets in the presidential fleet had not been completed. Now they all have the same gear, so it doesn't make any difference which plane a President travels in."

This official said it was a decision by the Secret Service for Mr. Johnson to take "Air Force One," and that the Secret Service put him amidships, in the presidential cabin, because it would be easier to provide protection there against any would-be intruder. Shades were drawn, and guards were posted.

Also, it is customary for a security officer to travel with the President at all times, carrying a code case nicknamed "the football," which contains signals and procedures for the President to use in ordering a nuclear-defense reaction in any military emergency.

"U. S. News & World Report" has ascertained that the security officer in charge of "the football" during the Texas trip was Maj. Gen. Chester V. Clifton, former military aide to both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. The communications gear installed aboard "Air Force One" was essential to operation of the codes and signals in General Clifton's possession, subject to presidential authority.

Aside from security considerations, however, one of Mr. Johnson's assistants said: "Why shouldn't he take the presidential plane? He was President from the moment President Kennedy died, and this is what the lawyers say."

Questions on a phone call. Another controversial issue raised in the Manchester book is a telephone call which Mr. Johnson said he made to Attorney General Robert Kennedy, seeking advice about taking the oath as President.

In a statement to the Warren Commission dated July 10, 1964, President Johnson said he talked to Mr. Kennedy from the airplane; that the Attorney General advised him to take the oath of office immediately, before returning to Washington; and that Mr. Kennedy put Deputy Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach on the line to dictate the wording of the oath to a secretary aboard the plane, with an admonition that it should be administered by a federal judge.

For some time, reports have circulated in Washington to the effect that Mr. Kennedy claimed he never received such a call from Mr. Johnson. The Senator's office now denies this report. The Manchester account of the incident is said to be that Mr. Kennedy was "noncommittal" when asked about where the oath should be taken. Robert Kennedy's attitude, in the words of one reader of the book, was that "here is a man who wanted to be President all along, and now he is grabbing it."

Actually, the U. S. Army Signal Corps has a record of the telephone call from President Johnson to Mr. Kennedy. President Johnson's friends point out that the oath and procedure to be followed in such circumstances are spelled out in the Constitution, so Mr. Johnson was only doing what he considered to be courteous and appropriate in calling Mr. Kennedy. They say no embarrassment or misunderstanding would have arisen if the Attorney General had been an appointee other than the dead President's brother.

Also, it is pointed out that when President Franklin D. Roosevelt died suddenly at Warm Springs, Ga., on April 12, 1945, Vice President Harry S. Truman was rushed to the White House, where he took the oath of office two hours and 34 minutes after Mr. Roosevelt's death. Eleanor Roosevelt stood by and supported Mr. Truman in the early days of his Administration.

The Flight to Washington

The flight back to Washington—with both the Kennedy and Johnson staffs aboard "Air Force One"—was, by all accounts, a difficult journey. An eyewitness gave this account:

"It seemed that all the old wounds of the Kennedy-Johnson battle at the 1960 Democratic Convention were opened afresh.

"One Kennedy aide barked: 'Well, they have gotten in,
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but we will get back in again. The hostility was intense toward the new President and his small staff, which had rushed to his side after the assassination in Dallas.

"The Kennedy aides wanted to take off as soon as the casket with the late President's body was brought aboard the plane. Mr. Johnson's assistants said they were awaiting the arrival of a federal judge, and the plane would leave as soon as Mr. Johnson had taken the oath of office.

"Kenneth O'Donnell was in charge of the Kennedy aides. He kept giving orders for the plane to take off. Another who gave the order was Brig. Gen. Godfrey T. McHugh, the Air Force aide to the President. At one point, General McHugh ran down the passageway shouting, 'Let's get out of here.' A fist fight almost broke out between General McHugh and another member of the White House staff.

"The pilot, Col. James Swindal, was almost beside himself. Three times he was given the order to take off—and three times that order was countermanded by someone else."

"I shall never forget . . ." Some Kennedy aides seemingly resented it when President Johnson asked Mrs. Kennedy to stand beside him and be photographed at the swearing-in ceremony aboard the plane.

President Johnson's statement on the matter is: "I asked someone to find out if Mrs. Kennedy would stand with us during the administration of the oath. Mrs. Johnson went back to be with her. Mrs. Kennedy came and stood with us during the moments that the oath was being administered. I shall never forget her bravery, nobility and dignity."

Lawrence F. O'Brien, one of the Kennedy aides, now the Postmaster General, told the Warren Commission:

"The President said he certainly wanted Mrs. Kennedy with him at this moment. I went into the bedroom. The door to the adjoining rest room was closed. I went out and asked Mrs. Lincoln if she would see if Mrs. Kennedy was available. She went in, and came out with Mrs. Kennedy, and she [Mrs. Kennedy] took her place to the President's left, Mrs. Johnson to the President's right, and the others grouped around."

Mrs. Lyndon Johnson, in a statement to the Warren Commission, described the flight back as "strained." The new President and his party worked in the presidential cabin, while the Kennedy aides remained in the rear of the plane with Mrs. Kennedy and the casket.

At one point, a top Kennedy aide is said to have told a news reporter: "Make sure that you report that we rode in back with our President, and not up front with him." One observer recalls there was what he termed "some heavy drinking" on the flight.

Many news stories have now conveyed the impression, based on what someone read in the Manchester manuscript, that President Johnson acted on this trip in a "rude," "overbearing" or "boorish" manner toward Mrs. Kennedy.

But Malcolm Kilduff, acting White House Press Secretary for President Kennedy on the Texas trip, said in a radio-television interview on the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company network on Nov. 21, 1966:

"I can't help but feel that he [President Johnson] showed the utmost concern and personal concern for Mrs. Kennedy, all members of the Kennedy family, and the whole Kennedy party that was with us. Once he got on the plane, he continued to show that concern. There was no grossness on his part, as has been implied by others in the recent past. He immediately started to issue orders. His reactions were immediate, well thought out, and really, I can't feel that he acted anything other than what we would expect the President of the United States to do."

One of President Johnson's assistants charged: "The conduct of the Kennedy aides in Dallas and on the plane ride back was inexcusable, viewed in the light of the public interest and the national security."

Other travelers on the presidential aircraft gave this account of the arrival in Washington:

"President Johnson had ordered a ramp to be brought up to the plane. It was our understanding that we would carry the coffin down the ramp, and that the President would accompany Mrs. Kennedy. Shortly before we arrived in Washington, all of the Kennedy aides crowded to the back of the airplane, acting on orders from O'Donnell. Upon our arrival, Robert Kennedy ran up the front steps and raced down the whole length of the plane to join Mrs. Kennedy.

"At the rear door, instead of the ramp the President had requested, there was a forklift and a huge boxlike arrangement for the coffin.

"All of the Kennedy people—Kenny O'Donnell, Lawrence O'Brien, Dave Powers, Pamela Turnure, Mrs. Evelyn Lincoln, General McHugh—everyone who could, got on the box with the coffin, and were lowered away. There were so many, one almost got trapped in the gears. It was Robert Kennedy who escorted Mrs. Kennedy from the plane.

"President Johnson wanted to leave the plane with Mrs. Kennedy and President Kennedy's body. He felt it was necessary to show himself to the nation and the world, so everyone could see that the traditional transfer of power had taken place. But the Kennedys looked on this as cheap politics, and were just as insistent that he should not. Members of the Kennedy staff were very angry at Mr. Johnson.

"When President Johnson tried to work his way down the aisle, he was blocked by a mass of Kennedy aides. There was no way for him to get off. By the time the forklift was pulled away and the stairs were put up at the back, the ambulance and the Kennedys were ready to go to Bethesda Naval Hospital."

After the Funeral

Back in Washington, the Kennedys—according to present and former White House officials—continued to make unusual demands on the new Chief Executive. Various authorities cite these incidents:

- Mrs. Kennedy remained in the White House for 14 days after President Kennedy's death. No one from the Johnson side ever pressed her for a departure date. When President Roosevelt died in 1945, Eleanor Roosevelt left the White House the next day, turning the Government property over to the new President.

- Mrs. Kennedy wanted a kindergarten that had been set up for her children on the top floor of the White House to be continued for 30 days, or until the school term ended. This request was carried out.

- The Kennedys requested that the East Room of the White House, where the late President's body had lain, remain idle and draped in black for 30 days. This request, too, was honored, although a Christmas party for underprivileged children had been scheduled there for December 17. The party was postponed until Jan. 2, 1964.

- Mrs. Kennedy continued to use the services of the White House staff and Government limousines and airplanes for weeks after she was no longer the First Lady.

- For days, to avoid inconvenience to the Kennedy family, President Johnson worked across the street in his old quarters in the Executive Office Building, rather than take over the President's office in the West Wing of the White House. Bags of mail were taken to his home in Spring Valley for handling, instead of being processed at the White House.

- Mrs. Kennedy asked President Johnson to rename Cape

Canaveral, in Florida, after her late husband. This was done—over the objections of the city of Cape Canaveral and the chamber of commerce of the city of Cocoa.

● Mrs. Kennedy, in a voluminous memorandum to Mrs. Johnson, pointed out what she had done to redecorate the White House. Mrs. Kennedy expressed hope that an advisory committee of some kind would be continued. President Johnson requested legislation setting up a permanent Commission on the White House.

● One of Mrs. Kennedy's "great regrets" was that she had not had a portrait of her husband painted while he was President. A \$25,000 fund now has been set aside for this painting, with Mrs. Kennedy to select the artist.

● Upon leaving the White House, Mrs. Kennedy left a large bouquet of flowers for Mrs. Johnson, with "a sweet note" thanking her for many courtesies. Mrs. Johnson insisted on having a White House garden named after Jacqueline Kennedy—the first time a First Lady had ever been so honored.



LBJ takes the oath inside the plane bearing Kennedy casket.

● Robert Kennedy objected when President Johnson wanted to address a joint session of Congress, four days after President Kennedy's death, to demonstrate to the world that the succession had been carried out. Mr. Kennedy's attitude was reported to be that this was just another indication of Mr. Johnson's desire to grasp all of the power of the Presidency.

● President Johnson is said to have told friends that Robert Kennedy asked three favors of him upon leaving the Justice Department. One was to appoint his deputy, Nicholas Katzenbach, to the post of Attorney General. The second was to appoint Francis X. Morrissey, a Kennedy-family friend in Boston, as a federal judge. The third was to pardon former Representative Frank W. Boykin, Alabama Democrat, who had been convicted in a conflict-of-interest case. The President obliged in all three instances, although Mr. Morrissey's nomination was withdrawn after objections were raised in Congress over the nominee's qualifications.

● When Robert Kennedy was running for U. S. Senator in New York in 1964, having transferred his voting residence from Massachusetts, he "implored" President Johnson to come into the State and campaign for him. The President did. Mr. Kennedy was elected in the "Johnson landslide." White House aides claim Robert Kennedy thanked everyone—except the President.

● Syndicated columnist Drew Pearson reported on Dec. 22, 1966, that when the Johnsons finally moved into the White House, "they found Jackie had carved on the mantel in the Lincoln bedroom an inscription that the room had been occupied by John F. Kennedy from 1961-1963. Many other Presidents had occupied that room, but only the name of John F. Kennedy is on the mantel." Mr. Pearson also said that none of the Kennedys would attend an interfaith memorial service at the end of the 30-day mourning period, where President Johnson "spoke eloquently in tribute to the late President."

● The Army announced on Dec. 5, 1963, that it planned to set aside 3.2 acres in Arlington National Cemetery as a burial plot for the Kennedy family. A White House source

said: "The Army didn't want to do this, but Letitia Baldrige [Mrs. Kennedy's social secretary] browbeat them into putting in that gas pipe for the eternal flame." Later, Mrs. Kennedy wrote Defense Secretary McNamara, saying the family would need only enough land for the family graves and a monument. Work is now nearing completion on a 2-million-dollar memorial in Arlington Cemetery, with consideration being given to creating a 25-million-dollar "parklike setting" around the Kennedy graves.

● President Johnson asked Congress to appropriate 15.5 million dollars for the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, in Washington, with another 2 million to finish acquiring land for the center. This was a cultural enterprise started by the Kennedys, and originally was supposed to be financed by private subscription. Congress appropriated public funds for the center on June 29, 1964.

● Congress completed action on Dec. 10, 1963, on a bill giving Jacqueline Kennedy protection by the Secret Service indefinitely, office space, lifetime free mailing privileges, and a secretarial staff at \$50,000 annually, since reduced to \$30,000. As a President's widow, she is entitled to a \$10,000 annual pension for life, or until she remarries.

The Kennedy Legend

Informed sources say that, after returning from Bethesda Naval Hospital on the night of President Kennedy's death, the Kennedys and their inner circle held a council at the White House lasting until dawn.

The conclave, according to one informant, was devoted to how to use the funeral, and the grave, "to build the Kennedy image." Mrs. Kennedy asked Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., to go to the Library of Congress and find the details on how the East Room was arranged when President Lincoln was killed.

Sargent Shriver, a brother-in-law, and Angier Biddle Duke, then Chief of Protocol at the State Department, "worked all night, planning a European-style funeral," this source reported; also, that Letitia Baldrige had said, during planning for the funeral: "I'm here to run the pageantry."

In the Manchester book, however, according to published accounts, Mrs. Kennedy is represented as "making 90 per cent of the decisions about the funeral."

One of President Johnson's associates has said bluntly: "The entire post-assassination series of events has been a calculated, contrived, emotional build-up—not for the sake of paying honest respect to and showing genuine grief for John F. Kennedy—but to enhance the image of the Kennedy family and the Kennedy name."

"The Kennedys have the attitude that this is not an honor that the American people conferred on Jack Kennedy, but that the Kennedy family as a whole achieved a position of power in American society—and the important thing is to retain that position for which the family fought so long, starting with Joe Kennedy [the late President's father]. With the Kennedys, the White House is still 'their house'—and Jacqueline Kennedy is the widowed queen in exile, awaiting a return of the dynasty to the throne."

"The Johnson Administration is going to be tainted for years by the kind of books that have been coming out from the pro-Kennedy writers. If President Johnson had suddenly put on the brakes, if he had decided to turn conservative—to halt what Jack started—then their allegations would have more credence."

"But Johnson didn't desert the Kennedy program; he carried it on, and did a lot better with it—in Congress, in the business community, and everywhere else—than Jack could have."

Now, this associate concluded, the President is getting the feeling that the "Kennedy program" got him into trouble in the last election—by trying to go too far, too fast.

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