

Kennedy Bows Out for 1976

Cites Duty to Family

By William Claiborne
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Washington Post Staff Writer

BOSTON, Sept. 23—Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) announced today that he would not be a presidential candidate in 1976.

"There is absolutely no circumstance or event that will alter the decision," Kennedy told a news conference here. He said he would not accept a draft in 1976 and would oppose any effort to place his name in nomination at the Democratic National Convention.

Kennedy's decision leaves the contest for the Democratic nomination wide open, with three senators already building campaign organizations and traveling to test their appeal to voters. They are Sens. Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Lloyd M. Bensten Jr. of Texas.

Each will presumably seek Kennedy's support, but he did not make any statement that could be interpreted as an endorsement.

Kennedy decided nearly a month ago that he would not seek the presidency in 1976, according to a close adviser to whom he revealed the decision.

Kennedy announced today that he wouldn't run, this adviser said, in order to put behind him all the questions about his political future that were plaguing him at every turn when he traveled for Democratic candidates.

With his impressive leads in public opinion polls, it had been widely as-

See KENNEDY, A6, Col. 1

Ticket Up for Grabs

By Jules Witcover and Richard M. Cohen
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Washington Post Staff Writers

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy's sudden withdrawal from 1976 presidential contention not only throws the Democratic nomination up for grabs, party leaders agreed yesterday, but also sets the stage for a dramatic, multi-ballot "brokered" convention.

Kennedy was the only prospective 1976 aspirant who appeared to have a chance to win the Democratic nomination on the first ballot, these leaders said, especially under new party rules for delegate selection that bar winner-take-all state primaries and caucuses.

"This will be the first convention brokered in the name of reform," said a political adviser to Sen. Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.), one of the hopefuls who is expected to benefit among party liberals as a result of Kennedy's decision.

But Mondale was only one of at least three Democrats listed by party leaders yesterday as likely beneficiaries of Kennedy's decision.

Although he is considered to the right of Kennedy on the political spectrum, Sen. Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson (D-Wash.) will be helped by the Kennedy pullout because it will give him a clearer field in the fight for support of organized labor, most Democratic politicians agreed.

AFL-CIO President George Meany and Alexander Barkan, director of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, "both would rather have Scoop than

See IMPACT, A6, Col. 6

Kennedy Exit Precipitates Scramble for '76 Nomination

IMPACT, From A1

Teddy," a high ranking Democratic National Committee official said yesterday, "but they would have been perfectly happy with Teddy if he had become the nominee. Teddy's withdrawal makes it easier now to pull labor for Scoop."

However, because the labor vote no longer is deliverable as a bloc and because it is factionalized, several party and labor politicians noted, other candidates can be expected to draw off some of the old Kennedy support.

Among them, they said, is Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, who in Democratic presidential primaries in 1964 and 1972 demonstrated strength among the same blue-collar voters who in the past have supported the candidacies of the Kennedy brothers.

Most party leaders contacted in the wake of the Kennedy announcement predicted a widened field of Democratic aspirants, particularly liberals rushing to fill the Kennedy vacuum. That prospect, they noted, would work against Mondale, who up to now had been mining the liberal lode as the prime alternative to Kennedy.

Among those being mentioned yesterday as possible added starters on the liberal side were Sen. Birch Bayh (D-Ind.), if he can win re-election impressively in November; Gov. John J. Gilligan of Ohio if he can beat

back the challenge of former Republican Gov. James A. Rhodes; and former astronaut John Glenn, odds-on favorite to win a Senate seat from Ohio.

The Kennedy withdrawal also is expected to increase the prospects that two other Democrats already testing the presidential waters, Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen of Texas, and Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, will eventually take the plunge.

One 1972 candidate, Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D-Maine) said that while he was disinclined to make a second try, "I guess it's no secret that the taste for the challenge has never left me. But whether it makes sense to go after it again is another question."

Muskie noted he had just accepted the chairmanship of the new Senate Budget Committee, which he viewed as a worthwhile and constructive undertaking, "and it's not my instinct to run around the country in a hopeless cause."

But he added: "If what I consider to be unlikely, if there was a strong enough indication it might make sense for me to think about it again, I suppose I would be tempted to think about it. But that hasn't happened yet, and I don't find the juices flowing."

One ranking party official, asked about Muskie, said: "Muskie is more anxious to be President than anybody you know. He's the most frustrated of all of them."

The 1972 Democratic standard-bearer, Sen. George McGovern, was in South Dakota yesterday campaigning for re-election. An aide said there was no change in his position that he would not be a candidate in 1976.

Mondale said of Kennedy's decision: "I think it's a helpful development for me. It clarifies the situation. In my travels and in hundreds of occasions people say, 'we like you, but what's Teddy gonna do?' Now we know. He was clearly the dominant candidate and it was difficult for me to get a hearing. Now it will be much easier."

Mondale held a meeting with his chief aides yesterday morning and said afterward he planned no essential change in strategy but "I believe I will now be able to raise some money better than I have."

Jackson said as a result of the Kennedy decision he would accelerate his "effort from the standpoint of staffing" for his 1976 bid, now regarded a near-certainty. He saw the Kennedy pullout as a boon to his prospects for labor backing but he also believed new candidates likely would emerge.

Jackson said the likelihood that no candidate now could anticipate a first-ballot nomination "will require great strength in the primaries, and you have to avoid all the bruises" in order to survive in the negotiations that would accompany a deadlocked, multi-ballot convention.

KENNEDY, From A1

sumed in the party that the nomination was Kennedy's for the asking. However, some party leaders had been sensitive to the fact that as long as Kennedy withheld his decision, it would make it more difficult for other candidates to develop.

Although Kennedy said his decision is applicable for "any foreseeable future," his responses to questions appeared to leave the door open to a candidacy in 1980, when he will be 48, still young by presidential standards.

Alluding to the assassinations of his older brothers, President John F. Kennedy and Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, Kennedy said, "I've seen in my own family where it never serves a purpose to plan beyond the immediate future."

He said he plans to be a candidate for re-election to the Senate in 1976, and in the meantime will remain active in the party.

While tacitly acknowledging that he may not be able to remove himself from speculation about the 1976 nomination, Kennedy repeatedly attempted to underscore the finality of his decision to withdraw as a candidate.

On the verge of exaspera-

tion at one point, he said, "I said it. I can't find words in the English language that are more clear."

Later, when asked if he could envision any state of affairs in national politics that would make him change his mind, Kennedy momentarily glanced in the direction of his wife, Joan, and said, "No. I must say I would not ... there are no circumstances."

Kennedy said his decision was based solely on personal considerations involving his family.

"From the campaigns of my brothers before me, I know that seeking the nation's highest office demands a candidate's undivided attention and his deepest personal commitment. If any candidate is unable to make that commitment, he does a disservice to his country and to his party by undertaking the effort," Kennedy said.

"My primary responsibilities are at home. It has become quite apparent to me that I would be unable to make a full commitment to a campaign for the presidency. I simply cannot do that to my wife and children and other members of my family," Kennedy declared.

Seated beside him in a crowded—and occasionally boisterous—news confer-

ence at the Parker House was Mrs. Kennedy, who periodically has been under hospital care.

Another major factor, aides to the senator said, was that a presidential candidacy would intrude on Kennedy's ability to follow closely the cancer prevention treatments for his son, Teddy Jr., who had a leg amputated last November.

Although he has persistently been haunted by questions arising out of his automobile accident on July 19, 1969, at Chappaquiddick, Mass., in which a passenger, Mary Jo Kopechne, drowned, Kennedy said the accident and a spate of articles this summer on its fifth anniversary were not factors he considered.

He acknowledged that the accident and his role in reporting it to authorities would have been a "factor that would have been raised" in his candidacy, but he said he was prepared to address the questions squarely.

Referring to a coroner's inquiry following the accident, Kennedy said, "These questions asked of me would be asked of me in other parts of the country.

"I can live with my testimony. Although this tragedy is a deep personal tragedy, one that I accept full responsibility for . . . I can live with my testimony," Kennedy added.

In spite of his decision against making the 1976 race, Kennedy said, he will respond in the future to newsmen's questions about

the Chappaquiddick incident. No questions about his role in the accident were posed at today's news conference.

The personal dangers inherent in the last surviving Kennedy brother running for national office also were not a major factor, the senator insisted, although he obliquely revealed the extent to which he had given thought to the possibility of an assassination attempt.

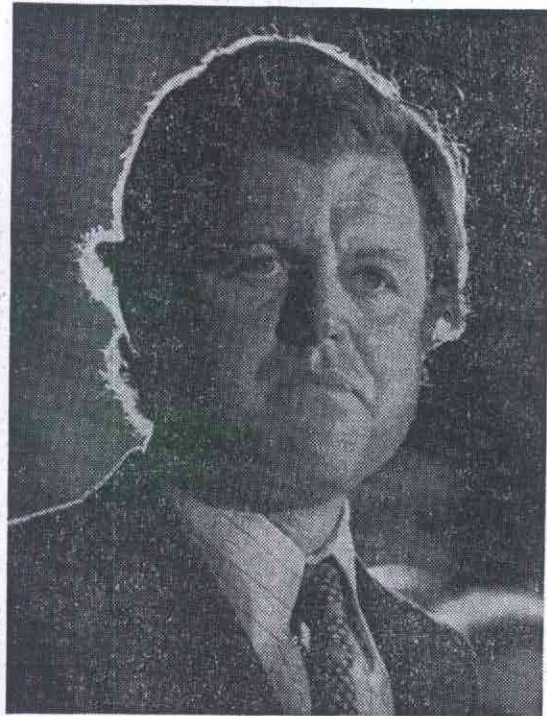
"Any one who didn't realize the potential dangers would be naive, and anybody who was obsessed with them would be ineffective," Kennedy said.

Kennedy repeatedly sidestepped attempts to elicit an endorsement of Democratic hopefuls in 1976, saying instead he preferred to let prospective candidates make their appeals to the voters.

He said he will do some campaigning this fall, but he indicated it would be limited to a relatively few commitments he has already made.

Kennedy denied that he felt any pressure on the part of the Democratic organization to announce his withdrawal now. Repeatedly over the past year, he has said he would announce his intentions by mid-1975, although during a political trip to California last weekend, he said an announcement would come sooner.

Facing an incumbent President, Democratic strategists have noted that any aspiring challenger should begin organizing his cam-



United Press International

Sen. Kennedy announcing he won't be '76 candidate.

paign now, in the face of increased reluctance of donors to make campaign gifts as a result of the aftereffects of Watergate.

While denying that party leaders had pressured him to announce his intentions, Kennedy conceded that after this fall's congressional races, "there would, perhaps, have been more intensive pressure."

Washington Post staff writer Jules Witcover reported that Kennedy concluded in late August that his family responsibilities—especially the hospitalizations of his son and wife—would not permit him to undertake the kind of full-

scale campaign that would have been required.

He called David Burke, his one-time Senate administrative aide and longtime personal political adviser, to Cape Cod and for several hours Burke, who agreed that Kennedy should not run, played devil's advocate, laying out the considerations, pro and con, of his decision.

The decision made, only the matter of timing remained. Kennedy said privately he wanted to make a statement as soon as it was prudently possible.

Health of His Immediate Family Weighs Heavily on Sen. Kennedy

By Stuart Auerbach
Washington Post Staff Writer

The health of his immediate family weighs heavily on Sen. Edward M. Kennedy. Two of its members—his wife Joan and son Edward Jr. (Teddy)—have spent a good part of the past year in hospitals.

Mrs. Kennedy left a hospital in Capistrano-by-the-Sea, Calif., where she is undergoing treatment for emotional problems, to stand by her husband's side during yesterday's Boston press conference.

Before going to California, Mrs. Kennedy had been self-confident, she has been quoted as saying.

Her emotional problems worsened last November when Teddy, who will be 13 years old on Thursday, developed cancer and had to have his right leg ampu-

tated. "It hit her very hard," a friend said.

Part of the problem involved drinking too much, although she is not considered to be an alcoholic.

Meanwhile, doctors reported yesterday that there has been no recurrence of the cancer that caused Teddy's right leg to be amputated at the Silver Hill Foundation Hospital in New Canaan, Conn., which specializes in treating people with drinking problems.

The California hospital also treats drinking problems, but it uses massive doses of vitamins, a treatment that an American Psychiatric Association task force said does not work. Reportedly, Mrs. Kennedy decided to go to the California hospital against the advice of doctors who had been helping the family.

She began seeing a psychiatrist in Washington in January, 1971, to restore her just above the knee. Teddy has been undergoing treatment at Boston Children's Hospital every three weeks to increase the odds that his cancer will not recur and spread.

The treatment will be shifted this week to Georgetown University Hospital here "as a matter of convenience to him and his family," said Dr. Phillip Caper, a friend of the family and a member of the staff of the Senate Health subcommittee that Sen. Kennedy heads.

"There is no evidence of recurrence of the tumor," said Caper.

Teddy will meet his new doctors today for a series of tests and check into the hospital Friday for the weekend.

The treatment involves giving him massive doses — 2,000 times the conventional dose — of a powerful anti-cancer drug, methotrexate, followed by injections of a form of vitamin B called citrovorum factor, which acts as an antidote and prevents the side effects of methotrexate.

At Georgetown, Teddy will be under the care of Dr. Philip Schein, an associate professor of medicine and chief of medical oncology at the hospital. Schein joined the Georgetown staff in August from the National Cancer Institute, where he had experience with the new, still experimental, treatment.

Teddy started the treatment in March and it is expected to go on for another 17 months. His cancer was diagnosed as a chondrosarcoma — in the tissue that produces cartilage next to the bone. This gives Teddy a far better chance of survival than if the cancer was in the bone itself.

Text of Sen. Kennedy's Statement

BOSTON, Sept. 23 (UPI)—The text of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy's statement today on the 1976 presidential race:

I appreciate your coming this morning. As I said in my brief statement yesterday, I have requested this conference to announce my future political plans, and I very much wanted to make the announcement here in Massachusetts.

From the campaigns of my brothers before me, I know that seeking the nation's highest office demands a candidate's undivided attention and his deepest personal commitment. If any candidate is unable to make that commitment, he does a disservice to his country and to his party by undertaking the effort.

My primary responsibilities are at home. It has become quite apparent to me

that I would be unable to make a full commitment to a campaign for the presidency. I simply cannot do that to my wife and children and the other members of my family.

Therefore, in 1976, I will not be a candidate for President or Vice President of the United States.

This decision is firm, final and unconditional. There is absolutely no circumstance or event that will alter the decision. I will not accept the nomination. I will not accept a draft. I will oppose any effort to place my name in nomination in any state or at the national convention, and I will oppose any effort to promote my candidacy in any other way.

I reached this decision after discussion with my wife and the other members of my family. I have chosen to announce the decision now

in order to ease the apprehensions within my family about the possibility of my candidacy, as well as to clarify the situation within my party.

I shall do all I can in the two years ahead to insure the success of my party and its nominees. I appreciate the confidence of those who have expressed their faith in me and who have indicated their support for me as a presidential candidate.

For the past 12 years, I have served the people of Massachusetts in the United States Senate. In 1976, I expect to be a candidate for re-election. I take pride in my service to the people of this commonwealth. In their service, much can be done to influence the direction of the nation, and it is in their service that I have found the greatest satisfaction of my public life.

With '76 Ruled Out, Kennedy

By Stephen Isaacs

Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy may have said nay yesterday to the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination, but he did not rule out 1980, 1984, 1988 or even 1992.

By the 1992 campaign, Ted Kennedy will be 60 years old — younger than Gerald R. Ford will be in two years when he makes his presumed run for his own presidential term.

Ted Kennedy is still young politically, despite a life where ill health and tragic convulsions have been as common as the remarkable political successes. For the Kennedy family, and its enormous ambitions, there are still other years, other campaigns.

When Kennedy said yesterday that "I simply cannot do that (run for President) to my wife and children and the other members of my family," he capsulized one tragedy upon another.

Within his own family, his son, Ted Jr., had a leg ampu-

tated last November. Ted will be 13 on Thursday and needs constant treatment to prevent the spread of cancer.

His wife, Joan, has been hospitalized time and again over the last few months for nervous disorders.

And there are the 13 other children for whom he is the only Kennedy father — the two of his brother Jack, shot down while he was President, and the eleven of brother Bob, shot down while trying to become President.

Ted Kennedy has shared in all of the well-known traumas that have been visited upon the Kennedys, and undergone a few of his own.

There was sister Rosemary, who was born retarded.

Then there was the oldest brother, Joe Jr., who they say was destined to be President, who was shot down in Europe as a Navy flier in World War II.

Then there was sister

Kathleen, who died in a plane crash in France in 1948.

And then there was Joseph P. Kennedy Sr., the patriarch of the family, who suffered a severe, paralyzing stroke in 1961, losing his ability to speak, finally dying in 1969.

Edward Moore (Ted) Kennedy has, like all the Kennedys, lived a life that is in so many respects charmed. He received his first communion from Pope Pius XII. He and Joan were married by Francis Cardinal Spellman. Few would doubt that he won his first election, just three years out of law school in 1962, because his last name was Kennedy and his brother in the White House was very popular, indeed, in Massachusetts.

But Ted Kennedy's own misfortunes, almost a reverse charm, had started before.

In his freshman year at Harvard, in 1951, Ted Kennedy as a lark had a classmate who was expert in Spanish take an examination for him in Spanish a-

The imposter was spotted when he handed in the exam booklet; a Kennedy was booted out of Harvard.

He enlisted in the Army and was sent eventually to Paris, where his life was not a hard one. Always a bit of a daredevil, while there he entered a Swiss bobsled race — never having been aboard one — and won the race.

When he was readmitted to Harvard, Kennedy became a bit of a "grind," but his record was not good enough to get him into Harvard Law School. He eventually entered the University of Virginia Law School, where his brother Bob had preceded him.

At Virginia, his penchant for speed caught up with him; he was notorious for gunning around the campus in his Oldsmobile. Twice he paid fines for traffic violations, speeding and running lights.

Kennedy's curious combination of luck and misfortune escalated after he was elected, in 1962, to fill the

Could Run in '80, '84, '88 or '92

unexpired two years of his brother Jack's Senate term.

Eleven months after Ted became a senator, John F. Kennedy was slain in Dallas.

Only months later, on June 19, 1964, a rented plane carrying Ted Kennedy to a political appearance in Springfield, Mass., crashed. The pilot was killed, as was Kennedy's administrative assistant.

Sen. Birch Bayh and his wife were along. Both were injured but not as badly as Kennedy, who had been standing in an aisle when the plane hit. Bayh pulled Kennedy out all but dead. Three vertebrae were smashed, two ribs were cracked, internal bleeding was profuse.

The next painful six months were spent on a rotating Stryker frame. It was December before he could stand upright again and, like his brother Jack, he has been destined to live with constant back pain and supportive bracings.

While he lay immobile in

Boston's New England Baptist Hospital, his shy wife Joan campaigned in his stead. He won his own term in the Senate smashing, winning 75 per cent of the votes cast.

In June 1968, the third of the Kennedy brothers, Robert, then New York's junior senator and having just won the California Democratic presidential primary, was shot down. Ted, the last of the Kennedy sons, delivered the searing eulogy at the St. Patrick's Cathedral services.

Thirteen months later came the next Kennedy tragedy, this one on July 19, 1969, on the small island of Chappaquiddick off Martha's Vineyard.

Ted Kennedy was driving a car which plunged off tiny Dike Bridge and into a tidal pond. His passenger, Mary Jo Kopechne, who had been a secretary and campaign worker for Robert Kennedy, drowned. Kennedy managed to get out and survive. And he failed to report the drowning to police until

some hours later, the next morning.

Kennedy ultimately pleaded guilty to leaving the scene of an accident. He made a nationwide television appearance on July 25, during which he told his version of the events at Chappaquiddick. An estimated 35 million Americans watched.

His role in the incident has never been resolved fully for many Americans, and it is said to have been a factor in his declining to seek any national office in 1972. He said yesterday it "would have been a factor," though he feels not a conclusive one, if he had run in 1976.

Kennedy's ill fortunes did not end with Chappaquiddick, however.

Six months before, Kennedy had challenged Sen. Russell B. Long for the job of assistant majority leader of the Senate. He won 31 to 26.

Two years later, his fellow Democrats ousted him from the whip's job, 31 to 24, in

favor of West Virginia's Robert C. Byrd.

Meanwhile, his huge plurality in Massachusetts in 1964 shrank. He won in 1970 over Josiah A. Spaulding with no mean margin of victory—he had 62.1 per cent of the vote—but a far less smashing one than 1964's.

His spirits were buoyed again in 1972, when he took the campaign trail for his fellow senator, George McGovern, and for his brother-in-law, R. Sargent Shriver Jr., in their unsuccessful bid for the White House.

Kennedy warmed to the crowds he drew, and to observers it was clear that his political magnetism, his Irish politician's way with a crowd, was far more effective than McGovern's. McGovern had pleaded with him repeatedly to join the ticket as the vice presidential nominee.

He was thinking about the presidency again when the word came last year that young Ted had cancer, and that his leg would have to be amputated.