

A Life of Service,

By the Associated Press

The faraway look, a typical expression, came into Robert F. Kennedy's eyes and he said, "Existence is so fickle. Fate is so fickle. How does anyone know if he will be around in 1972?"

He may have been thinking about the terrible afternoon in Dallas, Tex., when his brother was cut down so suddenly. Or he may have been speaking in political terms.

The reporter never knew which.

More than three years had passed since the assassination of John F. Kennedy when Bobby made the remark, musing on the uncertainties of life.

By that time, he had become the best-known and one of the most controversial men in the U.S. Senate. Unlike his brothers, John and Teddy, he had not waited long months before making his maiden speech on the Senate floor. Three weeks after he took his seat, Bobby was speaking out on economically depressed areas of his adopted state, New York.

Thereafter, in quick major speeches on Latin America, poverty in America, the problems of the cities, and the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

He made almost as much news outside Washington as he did in his Capitol Hill office or on the Senate floor. He travelled to Europe, Latin America, South Africa, and Southeast Asia. He rode a kayak through the rapids of Idaho's "River of No Return," climbed Mount Kennedy in Alaska, raced down the slopes of snow-covered mountains in Vermont on skis.

While he was in Europe in early 1967, he remarked that "the next few weeks will be critical" in the search for means to start negotiations to end the war in Vietnam. It was report-

ed that he returned to Washington, bringing "peace feelers" from Hanoi. He said that was untrue.

He also denied that profanity had exploded when President Johnson discussed with him his activities during that trip. Whatever the facts, by February 1967 Kennedy was saying that Johnson was "working in a vacuum" in Asia. On the Senate floor, he called for a suspension of the bombing of North Vietnam.

Critical

He was becoming increasingly critical of Johnson's policies.

Speculation rose that he might not wait until 1972 — when Johnson would be ineligible for another term in the White House — before running for President.

Sen. Eugene McCarthy, who was to become Kennedy's rival for the Democratic presidential nomination, was one who said, "I'm not sure Bobby will wait until '72."

Kennedy repeatedly denied the rumors. He said he would support Johnson and Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey for renomination.

But he became more critical of Johnson's policies.

Then Democratic Senator McCarthy made history. He announced that he would attempt to unseat an incumbent Democratic President.

Kennedy remained on the sidelines.

Asked if he was giving any thought to running, Kennedy said in an interview, "I have thought about it, yes. I'm not planning to run . . . I'm just not planning to."

The New Hampshire Presidential primary took place on Tuesday, March 12. To the astonishment of most political analysts, McCarthy racked up a whopping 42 percent of the vote, only a few percentage points behind the vote for the President.

Decision

On the following Thursday, Kennedy met secretly with members of his family and a group of advisors and associates of John F. Kennedy. The Question: Should he announce his candidacy?

New Hampshire showed

Drama,

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Tragedy

that the party was badly split. Was there any further reason for him not to challenge Johnson?

Opinions varied in the conference. Ethel Kennedy, his vivacious wife, was firmly in favor of it. Theodore Sorensen opposed the move, arguing that political realities would be against it.

Kennedy decided to take the plunge.

Two days later he called a press conference in the Senate Caucus Room. He stood in front of a green-covered table, the same table where, as counsel for a subcommittee headed by Sen. John McClellan (D-Ark.) he had sat during the Army-McCarthy hearings of a decade ago.

Ethel Kennedy and nine of their 10 children stood near him when he made his announcement.

"I run because I am convinced that this country is on a perilous course and because I am obliged to do all I can," he said.

Presently, many of the men who had been in his brother's administration, and had remained close to him, returned to help: Lawrence O'Brien, Kenneth O'Donnell, John Seigenthaler, Pierre Salinger, Sorensen, Richard Goodwin and others. Stephen P. Smith, a brother-in-law who had managed his campaign for the Senate, took the same assignment in

Bobby's newest effort.

And presently the scenes typical of the Kennedy campaigns of 1960 and 1964 were recreated . . . hordes of screeching, yelling admirers crowding around his car as he campaigned . . . people tearing at his clothing, ripping off cuff links, even shoes . . . clutching at his extended hands.

Setback

He won the primaries in Indiana and Nebraska. But Oregon voted for McCarthy and that was a serious setback.

From the beginning, he had counted heavily on a decisive victory in California to provide the momen-

tum that would sweep him to the nomination.

And so he came to Los Angeles determined to pull out all the stops to win.

A reporter once asked him why he ran so hard and worked such long hours. Kennedy borrowed the newsman's notebook and wrote a line from the Greek playwright, Aeschylus: "When the height is won, then there is ease."

His foes called him ruthless and overly ambitious. His admirers called him charming and brilliant.

Friends and foe alike acknowledged his deep devotion to his brother, John, and none could forget his grief-lined face as he escorted his sister-in-law, Mrs. Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy, through the funeral rites that followed President Kennedy's assassination in Dallas Nov. 22, 1963.

His tousled brown hair, his Boston accent and his speech-making gesture of chopping the air with his right hand reminded many of his martyred brother.

Kennedy first went to Washington soon after graduation from the University of Virginia Law School in 1951 and his admission to the Massachusetts Bar. He joined the Justice Department where he was concerned principally with prosecution of graft and income tax cases.

Disagreement

When the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigation was organized in January 1953, he was named one of 15 assistant counsels under chief counsel Roy Cohn.

His service with the committee ended temporarily on July 31, 1953, after he and Cohn feuded over the latter's methods of operations during the Army-McCarthy hearings. He rejoined the committee the following February as chief counsel for the Democratic minority. The following year he succeeded Cohn as chief counsel and staff director when the

Democrats organized the Senate.

When the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field was formed in January 1957 with McClellan as chairman, Kennedy became chief counsel and head of an investigative staff of 65. He launched an investigation into the activities of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters under the presidency of David Beck.

Testimony showed that the Teamsters, directed from union headquarters in Seattle, had combined with

underworld elements to dominate law enforcement in Portland, Ore., and its county government; testimony also pointed to use of union funds for non-union purposes and linked Beck with personal loans. As a witness Beck refused to answer some 200 times, citing the Fifth Amendment. He eventually was dismissed as a witness.

Later Beck was convicted of filing false income tax returns for the union and sentenced to five years in prison.

James R. Hoffa, meanwhile, had been chosen as Beck's successor. In March



THE ROBERT KENNEDYS SAT WITH NINE OF THEIR CHILDREN FOR MAY PORTRAIT
From left, Matthew, 3, Christopher, 4, Mary Kerry, 8, Michael, 10, Mary Courtney, 11, David, 12, Robert, 14, Joseph, 15, Kathleen, 16

1958 the McClellan committee charged that Hoffa "grossly misused union funds," and his union "wielded well nigh incalculable power over our country" because Teamsters Union disapproval could stop the economic pulse.

Racketeers

Kennedy and Hoffa shared a mutual dislike for each other. Hoffa, smarting under his questioning, called Kennedy "a young, dim-witted, curly-headed smart-aleck" and "a ruthless monster."

Later as Attorney General Kennedy spurred the Justice Department into further investigation of labor racketeering, Hoffa, who was convicted twice of jury tampering and misuse of union funds, charged that Kennedy conducted a vendetta against him. Hoffa was sentenced to a total of 18 years in prison and immediately appealed the convictions. During Kennedy's attorney generalship there were 108 other convictions of Teamster officials and associates. Officials of other unions also were prosecuted.

As the committee's prosecutor Kennedy was calm and polite but at times could be devastating. Not infrequently, his reaction to a long, involved and obscure answer from a witness was a shattering, sarcastic "Oh."

Chastised

Such was Kennedy's legal background when his brother named him Attorney General.

Kennedy accepted the appointment somewhat re-

luctantly. He was afraid the appointment might embarrass his brother and wondered if it was a wise step in his own career in public service.

Once persuaded, however, he drew together a brilliant staff of lawyers to assist him.

Kennedy's record as Attorney General touched a broad span of the nation's life—civil rights, organized crime and racketeering immigration, labor legislation, defense of the poor,

pardons, economic concentration, juvenile delinquency and federal judiciary.

He was roundly criticized when the FBI banged on doors in the middle of the night to question persons about a steel price increase in 1962 which was later withdrawn under pressure from President Kennedy.

He was chastised in the South for enforcement of civil rights but at the same time was criticized by some Negroes for sup-

'This Mindless Menace--'

NEW YORK — (AP) — "No martyr's cause has ever been stilled by his assassin's bullet."

The words were those of Sen. Robert Kennedy. The date the day after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King — and two months to the day before Kennedy himself was felled by an assassin's bullet.

Saying it was "a time of shame and sorrow — not a day for politics," the Senator told businessmen in Cleveland that "a sniper is only a coward, not a hero; and an uncontrolled, uncontrollable mob is only the voice of madness, not the voice of the people . . . This mindless menace of violence in America . . . stains our land and every one of our lives."

He said the nation is degraded "whenever an American's life is taken by another American unnecessarily — whether it is done in the name of the law or in defiance of the law by one man or a gang, in cold blood or in passion, in an attack of violence or in response to violence — whenever we tear at the fabric of life which another man has painfully and clumsily woven for himself and his children."