

10 Years After the Kennedy Inaugural, a Political

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

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There was no mantle of snow on the Capitol today. There were no reviewing stands along Pennsylvania Avenue. No top hats. No lectern with short-circuited wiring belching smoke while the harsh-voiced prince of the church tried to pray.

But the cold, biting wind was here—the same sort of Siberian chill that numbed the knees of the majorettes in the parade 10 years ago today when John Fitzgerald Kennedy took the oath of office as the 35th President of the United States.

The wind a decade ago ruffled the pages in the hands of Robert Frost, the aged poet, as he attempted to proclaim the beginning of a new Augustan era—a golden age of poetry and power. Winds or no, he was wrong; the Kennedy Administration was to last only 1,000 days or so. It was an episode, not an era.

President Kennedy's foreign policy, especially as articulated in the inaugural, sounds dated in a day when the only debate centers on styles and means and pace of disengagement. The Peace Corps has survived, but it is to be merged with domestic volunteer programs, its emphasis changed from idealism to technological skills.

Conventional Wisdom

Mr. Kennedy's domestic policies seem more current. The new economics, controversial then, have taken on the coloration of conventional wisdom, with President Nixon proclaiming himself a "Keynesian." Mr. Kennedy's encouragement of blacks set a tone of White House concern that most black leaders feel lacking today.

The New Frontier has been supplanted by the Great Society and then by the Nixon Administration, which has given itself no catchy name. And those who came to Washington with John Kennedy, leaving their law practices or teaching careers or political duchies in all parts of the country, have long since left.

Theodore C. Sorensen, who wrote most of the inaugural,

is now a partner in the New York law firm of Paul Weiss, Goldberg, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison. He remembered the anniversary. When a reporter called him this morning to ask whether he did, he replied: "Yes, it happened 10 years ago in about 23 minutes."

So did Kenneth P. O'Donnell, the appointments secretary, who now lives in Boston, whence the Kennedy family sprang.

"Of the political people, there isn't one I haven't talked to in the last month," he said in an interview. "We had a mutuality of interest then, and it has stayed with us."

The closeness of the Kennedy political operators, as opposed to the writers and administrators and academicians who served the Administration, has given rise to the legend that there exists a sleeping political machine, ready to go into action at any moment.

Legend Not Accurate

That is not entirely accurate. Many of those who were for John Kennedy were not for Robert F. Kennedy in 1968, and many will not be for Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts if he decides to run for President in 1972 or 1976.

Moreover, neither the supposed apparatus nor the Kennedy "mystique" has guaranteed electoral victory for Kennedy men. Mr. Sorensen failed to win the Democratic senatorial nomination in New York last year, and Mr. O'Donnell failed to win the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in Massachusetts.

But there is a network of political contacts and a reservoir of political intelligence at hand. Patrick J. Lucey, who put together President Kennedy's primary victory in Wisconsin in 1960, is now that state's Governor. John J. Gilligan, another Kennedy ally, is Governor of Ohio, and so on.

Mr. O'Donnell, now a management consultant, said this: "In my business, if I need to know somebody in Idaho, I know somebody in Idaho, and he knows where things are out there."

The mere geographical dis-

persion of the old Kennedy hands is astonishing.

Pierre Salinger, the press secretary, is president of the Gramco Development Corporation, part of a troubled real-estate investing fund. He lives in Paris. Frederick C. Dutton, a special assistant, serves on the University of California's Board of Regents and shuttles between Washington and San Francisco.

Education Official

Ralph A. Dungan, another special assistant, is the Chancellor of Higher Education in New Jersey. Richard N. Goodwin, an assistant special counsel in 1961, lives in rural Maine. He is writing a book.

David F. Powers, the official greeter and resident jester, is in charge of the Kennedy memorabilia, destined for the John F. Kennedy Library but now stored at the Federal records center in Waltham, Mass. Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., a special assistant, is Schweitzer professor of humanities at the City University of New York.

The staff that moved into the Justice Department with Robert Kennedy has also dispersed—John L. Seigenthaler to Nashville, where he edits *The Tennessean*; Edwin O. Guthman to Los Angeles, where he is national editor of *The Los Angeles Times*; Joseph F. Dolan to Denver, where he is an executive of the company that operates Shakey's Pizza Parlors; Burke Marshall to New Haven, where he is deputy dean of the Yale Law School.

Some—probably a majority—of these men would try to help Senator Kennedy if he decided to try for the Presidency.

'Hany Loose for Teddy'

In fact, political leaders in at least four states reported this week they had received calls from people they met in past Kennedy campaigns telling them to "hang loose for Teddy." None of the calls, however, came from members of the Senator's staff.

That is the problem. Several of the recipients of such calls said that they wanted word "from the man himself," and no such word is forthcoming.

Senator Kennedy remains, publicly and privately, com-

mitted to the decision he reached after the tragedy on Chappaquiddick Island in 1969, in which Mary Jo Kopechne was drowned: He will serve out his Senate term, not run for President in 1972. If he has softened that resolve, he has concealed it from friends from whom he has concealed nothing in the past.

But many politicians refuse to believe what he says. The reporter wandering from state to state hears them say, "It will

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Belief Survives

come down to Teddy and Ed Muskie."

They foresee a rudderless convention turning to Senator Kennedy as the 1968 convention nearly did.

That belief, against almost all the evidence, is perhaps the best possible demonstration that something—if not men in government, if not programs, if not a national political organization—survives from that frosty Friday in Washington a decade ago.