

**Crafting the JFK legend: How the Kennedy story is constructed and retold**

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**Abstract:**

This thesis explores how the ambivalently multifarious Kennedy ‘stories’ of JFK as Icon or Myth are constructed and how its ‘telling’ has been profoundly influenced by authorial intent. In contrast with much of the Kennedy literature, that often blurs the two, the thesis therefore works with a strong distinction between ‘Icon’ as having wholly positive connotations and ‘Myth’ as a narrative which either falsifies or negatively debunks any pre-existing positive accounts of its subject matter.

My focus on newspaper articles, in particular from *The New York Times* and *The Dallas Morning News*, arises from the familiarly powerful claim that journalists write ‘the first draft of history’, although the thesis also reaches beyond journalism. Crucial to the argument is E. H. Carr’s historiography and its contention that historical facts are selected and presented according to particular hypotheses utilized by historians of any stripe for their own particular purposes. The thesis uses J. L. Austin’s theory of speech acts to demonstrate how the telling of the Kennedy story has variously employed techniques not only supposedly just to describe his legacy (the locutionary speech act) but also a) to create a legacy (the illocutionary speech act) and b) to influence audience attitudes toward the legacy (the perlocutionary speech act).

The malleability of the Kennedy story helps to explain the reason why there remains so many attempts to retell it. The thesis also opens up consideration as to why it is this particular story that so many still want to hear.

**Declarations and Statements**

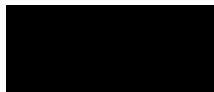
I declare that this work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated, and that other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references and that a bibliography is appended.

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## Contents

	<b>Page</b>
<b>Chapter One ‘Telling the Kennedy story’</b> .....	<b>7</b>
Chapter Summary.....	<b>8</b>
Literature Review.....	<b>10</b>
Why newspapers? Why these newspapers? .....	<b>32</b>
Practical Methodology research issues.....	<b>45</b>
Conceptual Methodology.....	<b>47</b>
Modes of Kennedy oratory.....	<b>55</b>
<b>Chapter Two ‘Telling the story as Icon’</b> .....	<b>70</b>
Youth .....	<b>70</b>
Service .....	<b>72</b>
Intellectualism .....	<b>78</b>
Cultured .....	<b>81</b>
Forward-thinking .....	<b>82</b>
Statesman diplomat .....	<b>88</b>
Political acumen: oratory, appearance, media .....	<b>95</b>
<b>Chapter Three ‘Telling the story as Myth’</b> .....	<b>123</b>
Immaturity .....	<b>151</b>
Egotism .....	<b>153</b>
Indecision .....	<b>159</b>
Inaction .....	<b>162</b>
Superficiality .....	<b>188</b>
<b>Chapter Four ‘Reverberations: how the story continues to be told’</b>	<b>201</b>
‘Dark’ reverberations .....	<b>202</b>
‘Lighter’ reverberations .....	<b>224</b>
‘Light’ reverberations .....	<b>245</b>
Kennedy-determined ‘light’ reverberations .....	<b>266</b>
Thesis conclusion and research issues raised .....	<b>311</b>
<b>Appendix A</b> .....	<b>316</b>
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	<b>317</b>

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Finally, a profound 'Diolch' to my family for their unwavering support throughout the course of this work. You know what you mean to me and I dedicate this thesis to you.

### **Note on text**

US spelling is retained to reflect original source material when invoked.

Citations from *The New York Times* and *The Dallas Morning News* have been given double quotation marks as have those by Kennedy himself. Single quotation marks have been applied to all other citations. In accordance with thesis regulations, any quotation over two lines is indented and single-spaced. Date of access to website links is bracketed with the most recent consultation. The upper-case 'President' form has been used in open text but may differ if in citation. Tweet references follow MLA formatting guidelines. Unlike the text, footnotes have not been margin-justified to avoid the untidiness of web-link dislocation such justification can cause here.

The appellation 'Kennedy' is used throughout the text except where this may confuse given the family penchant for passing on their first names. In these instances, Kennedy is simply identified as 'JFK'. Likewise, the formal 'Joseph' 'Robert' and 'Edward' is preferred to the more colloquial 'Old Joe', 'Bobby' and 'Ted'.

## Chapter One

### Telling the Kennedy story

#### Introduction

In analyzing how the story of John F. Kennedy can and has been told and why it is still found to be important to tell, this thesis explores how histories can be depicted, produced and recreated. Utilizing the mechanisms of historiography as elucidated by E. H. Carr's essay 'The historian and his facts', the Kennedy personae is argued to demonstrate appositely the intrinsic ambiguity of historical narratives as is evident in its diverse cultivation as both Icon and Myth. This assessment is empowered primarily through newspaper speech-act contribution from *The New York Times* and *The Dallas Morning News*, that employs linguistic philosopher J. L. Austin's locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary concepts, to help determine how these versions of history are produced and which version of Kennedy's story currently prevails.

In its account of what is history, the thesis assumes that there are indeed hard objective facts. However, very often such facts are complex, myriad, diffuse and profoundly liable to conflicting uses in history-telling. The 'Kennedy story' exemplifies these features to a peculiarly high degree, as can be seen in the multiple ways in which it has been told. The persistent desire to tell and re-tell that story also raises the question as to why exploitation of these interpretative vagaries, in fuelling the ongoing JFK debate, has remained so politically and culturally potent. Encouraged by its Kennedy misappropriation of the Arthurian 'Camelot' legend, Myth is identified in terms of its pejorative force, its being the consolidation of disparate, repelling or unsuppressed narratives that inherently bias perception to an understanding and dissemination of that story. In contrast, 'Icon' is shown to have positive connotations, its quasi-religious cultivation partly stemming from an 'exceptionalist'-minded culture perpetually looking for someone to personify its revivifying values, an image that is then embraced for continued conscious manufacture by the Kennedys and, among many outlets, certain influential US newspapers.

The thesis concludes with questions as to Kennedy's continuing relevance and judgement as to the point at which these disparate narratives may be seen to converge. This is achieved further to ongoing assessment as to what has endured and the complex

issues these may in turn raise for future research into the dissemination, receipt and utilization of language in producing the next version of a particular history.

### **Chapter Summary**

Further to a Literature Review section divided into primary and secondary works, the remainder of this opening chapter will discuss both the practical and conceptual methodologies employed to map the Kennedy story. The analysis is conducted through snapshot newspaper extracts yielded mainly by milestone articles – ‘milestone’ in terms of the revealingly significant emphasis given to the assassination’s commemoration - from *The New York Times* and *The Dallas Morning News* respectively. To contextualize and substantiate this overview, I apply E. H. Carr’s contentions as to how historical narratives can be constructed. The rest of Chapter One performs two tasks: first, an analysis of Kennedy’s own rhetorical style, centred on his oratorical apparatus. Second, presentation of J. L Austin’s speech-act theory to highlight the intimate relationship between story-telling and audience, which will be uncovered not only in Kennedy’s own speeches and images but also in his depiction by his chroniclers. In relating the JFK story, its various histories markedly display the tellers’ intentions to influence their audiences’ attitudes to Kennedy: his personal life and conduct, his politics, his cultural significance and influence, and what the story says about the USA then and now. Austin amply provides us with techniques to identify and explain the performative aspects of the Kennedy narration. In this chapter, having analyzed the speech devices Kennedy himself uses in his rhetoric, the Austinian expository framework is applied to identify the specific speech-act dimensions to these devices. This theory, in the next two chapters, will subsequently be deployed to illustrate the performative aspects in the aforementioned newspapers’ Kennedy reportage and commentary during the years of his Presidency.

Specifically, Chapter Two demonstrates how the Kennedy story is told by my principal newspapers as Icon, the locutionary statement in particular being shown to assume perlocutionary intent. This ‘icon’ perception is generated according to specific assessment of ‘Positive’ qualities including Youth, military and civic Duty, Intellect and multi-faceted Political Prowess to embrace as well as redefine part of a greater, more immutable assimilation of national sensibility.



Chapter Three exposes how ‘Negative’ versions of ostensibly the same history can be produced. It reveals how – contrary to Carr’s expectation of history always being faithfully recorded – new versions of Kennedy’s story are created, some of which deliberately set out to falsify by re-describing the Icon. Myth’s exposure as such is corroborated later in this chapter by similar Austin-inspired speech-act newspaper interrogation that identifies in particular a reversion to un-freighted locutionary expression. In so doing, the ambivalence within Chapter Two’s ‘Positive’-determining qualities informing the Icon trajectory is retrospectively queried. Chapter Three specifically explores the permutations of Youth – Ego and Rashness being contended as the underside of Confidence and Energy – the divergent newspaper approaches towards Kennedy’s handling of Civil Rights that converge to compound the decline of laudatory depiction, and the pejorative blurring between Style and Substance.

Chapter Four demonstrates the ambivalence in Kennedy’s disseminated personae. It opens with discussion specifically about the forms of self-generated paranoia, analogous to the inherited wave metaphor of national identity establishment, that adds to the explosion of new stories provoked by the assassination event. Unleashed is a speculative force inherent in the cultivation of those stories that continues to impede the conveyance of any one narrative’s message. The chapter progresses with insistence of a more nuanced reconsideration being afforded towards Kennedy’s onward trajectory direction. This is especially encouraged by one of his literary outputs, that is linked to separate reflection of Kennedy’s Civil Rights’ management and the nature of its transition to policy current perception must include in assessment. The chapter concludes with identification and resonance of the many subsequent ‘light’ affirmations of the Kennedy Presidency. These include JFK’s more enduring abstract legacies inspiring both emulation as well as particular scrutiny as to how the dissemination of information that may generate tomorrow’s versions of history, can be consciously managed and therefore must also be more critically received as part of the story-recording process.

## Literature Review

‘Perhaps no president in American history has had the benefit of so many writers, journalists, and scholars who ended up serving as court historians.’<sup>1</sup> Given the profusion of literature covering John F. Kennedy, selection of material has been predominantly determined by works attributable to first-person Kennedy or primary narratives. *Profiles in Courage: Decisive Moments in the Lives of Celebrated Americans* (1955)<sup>2</sup> has proved invaluable for exposure of its determining effects upon the author, particularly in his presentation from across the US political spectrum of each – often alienated – senator’s individual integrity and accompanying oratorical prowess on a contentious issue, as well as intriguing biographical parallels. It is further significant for its value as contested evidence of Kennedy’s intellect as a Pulitzer prize-winner, a theme that will be developed in Chapter Four of this thesis.

*Why England Slept* (1940), his adapted undergraduate thesis, anticipates Kennedy’s later political interests in history. Informed by privileged access to sources made possible through his father Joseph’s ambassadorial appointment to Great Britain, Kennedy argues the necessity for multi-lateral armament as peace-preserver in opposition to Chamberlain’s unilateral disarmament standpoint at the time to encourage appeasement. Personal responsibility for political decision-making is also highlighted as a quality of leadership, which this thesis argues is given extra resonance in particular through Robert Dallek’s reconstruction of Kennedy’s Presidential anxiety following the Bay of Pigs’ episode, the Cuban Missile Crisis and the challenge he faced in dealings with his ostensible South Vietnamese allies.

Kennedy believes that the understandable predilection on the part of the ‘English’ [sic] ruling elites and the citizenry against war had made them resistant to preparing for the last-resort possibility of war in defence of democracy. By virtue of this analysis, developed from what he discerned in his European travels, he wants his readers to learn some lessons about democracy’s vulnerability given its powerful pacific inclinations and refusal to take seriously the essential militarism of non-democracies. Intensive listings of British armaments and expenditure unfavourably

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<sup>1</sup> Derek C. Catsam, ‘Introduction: John F. Kennedy and the Civil Rights Movement, 1961-63’, from *A Companion to John F. Kennedy*, ed. Marc J. Selverstone, John Wiley and Sons, Inc. 2014, p.544, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/swansea-ebooks/detail.action?docID=1652937> (21/01/2019).

<sup>2</sup> Kennedy-attributed texts henceforth in this section cite original publication dates rather than the edition I have subsequently consulted and provided in the Bibliography.

contrast with those of dictatorships. This anticipates some of the paranoia he later manifests as politician: similar accountings of expenditure are cited in support of his drive to establish the US' military and technical superiority over the Soviet dictatorship. Poignantly, as will be seen, it is even exhibited in the undelivered Dallas Trade Mart address.

*A Nation of Immigrants*, an essay dating from 1958 'revised and expanded...shortly before his assassination',<sup>3</sup> conveys JFK's consistent, unified and proud regard for all the racial constituents from which his nation is engendered. He particularly details their contributions – inventive, technical, artistic, manual – towards what he regards as the enriching consolidation ultimately of one national identity. Posthumously compiled into a collection of texts on Immigration and from which I consult in entirety, *Nation* further complements the exploration of my primary newspapers' coverage of Kennedy's legislative initiatives.

Particularly significant to this thesis is the conceding by Kennedy within that process of consolidation, metaphorically depicted as a continuous wave of nationalities descending with exciting impact upon a slowly developing but continually absorbent shoreline, of an intrinsic volatility. Kennedy frequently acknowledges tensions of settlement but often subordinates these as if fleeting aberrations rather than formative forces the continued waves of similar heterogeneity will eventually overcome to establish racial homogeneity. Any lingering divisions will be obliterated by this repeated action so that social and economic mobility – for Kennedy the prime drivers of emigration to the US – may thrive. Such holistic optimism underscores Chapter Four's re-evaluation of Kennedy's Civil-and-human rights' management while the tension simultaneously contributing to such a nation-building – attributed within specifically to "Native Americans",<sup>4</sup> a term he affiliates with the earliest immigrant settlers rather than any indigenous community – proves a much wider, later in his Presidency personally baffling, resurgent force to challenge such idealism. It assumes that settlement must confer stability those next waves will ensure, rather than being continually agitated by their force, in the form of ongoing religious or cultural compromise he regularly confirms for its time. This is surely difficult to maintain given consistent identification by Kennedy of repression or persecution as the enduring

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<sup>3</sup> John F. Kennedy, *A Nation of Immigrants*, Harper Perennial, 2008, New York, p.63.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. For example, p.6 of illustrated section, pp.31, 38.

causes from which such diverse peoples are fleeing. Such entertainment only obliquely seems to be self-interestedly admitted by his repeated sense of grievance towards the type of welcome afforded to the incoming Irish, Catholic contingent in particular. Personal human malevolence, aside from any national character trait, is pondered only briefly as a worrying factor of disruption rather than confronted fully as an intrinsically recurrent property of the next crest.

Shorter biographical items, in the form of letters, especially if archived for publication by a family descendant, sporadically demonstrate the malleability of any disseminated narrative by frequently confirming its deliberate excisions or impositions. Cognisant of its own omissions, Kennedy grand-daughter Amanda Smith's *Hostage to Fortune: The Letters of Joseph P. Kennedy* (2001) comprises chronologically letters from different members of the immediate family commencing 1914 to November 1961, usually to each other, which nonetheless demonstrate candidness, admonishment and advice in reasonably equal measure. Of particular assistance to this thesis, however, is its ability to gap-fill confirmation, in conjunction with disparately verifiable information, of narrative superimposition by the Kennedys themselves, particularly with reference to JFK's severe medical afflictions.

Finally, for ancillary reflection upon Kennedy's Presidency specifically, Lyndon Johnson's autobiography *The Vantage Point: Perspectives of the Presidency 1963-1969* (1971) has provided an illuminating insight into the contrasting figures that occupy the top job at the White House between those years. Significant for the purposes of this thesis is the unspoken narrative inferred in his version covering the same events that helps to inform the reader's own perception as to the ongoing direction of the Kennedy trajectory. Constrained very possibly by the manner in which the Presidency passes to him, Johnson's tone is urbane and thoughtful, often markedly at odds with the embittered, coarser figure depicted by Robert Caro, Nick Bryant and Robert Dallek, the latter of whom regularly accentuates the distinction between the two Presidents of excited aspiration and the unglamorous effectiveness Johnson himself separately exhibits in his more perfunctory 'activist' perception of political leadership as 'really to get things done'.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Lyndon Baines Johnson, *The Vantage Point: Perspectives of the Presidency 1963-1969*, Popular Library Edition, 1971, p.71; exemplified by p.551's proud listing of legislative achievements at the 90<sup>th</sup> US Congress.

With reference to secondary material, the first four books selected for review have been chosen to demonstrate how divergently Kennedy's story may be told with the greater passing of time: the luxury of both the investigative, reflective journalist and ultimately, E. H. Carr's historian. This is firstly exposed through the book-ending by detailed yet highly contrasting biographical accounts of two comprehensive interpretations of a specific theme within that time span, in this instance Civil Rights. Other titles invoked for subsequent review describe the conscious superimposition of a desired narrative by its newspaper teller at the time, that is complemented more symbolically through two works in which attention to such contrivance is highlighted by the authors respectively, of the actions of the remaining protagonists in continuing the Kennedy story immediately post-assassination. My final review choice invites validation of these competing forces towards this thesis' overall consideration as to where Kennedy perception currently rests.

As is stated in Chapter Three's exploration of suppressed narratives, there is disinclination towards invoking works based heavily upon uncorroborated reportage, even including contemporary testimonials, despite providing unwitting vindication, often through lurid speculation or emotional loyalty,<sup>6</sup> as to how Myth generally can be compounded as falsehood. However – and despite 'Review' predilection here for secondary 21<sup>st</sup>-century work – in any study retelling Kennedy's story to complement newspaper determination of Icon versus Myth, the first example of selected biographical retelling, Seymour Hersh's *The Dark Side of Camelot* (1997) is difficult to disregard for its relentlessly negative contextualization of Kennedy's life and Presidency. This former *New York Times* journalist's description of the less-than-effervescent heart misleadingly identified by Jackie as 'Camelot' musters less than a page towards commendation of Kennedy's Peace Corps' instigation and impromptu visit to a children's hospital. The seediness of corruption and opportunism of his US-newcomer grandfathers' generation that is successfully exploited by Joseph Kennedy, is provided as the context of inevitability for Kennedy's own flawed integrity both in his private and political life. Hersh is particularly vitriolic towards the congratulation afforded Kennedy upon the peaceful conclusion to the Cuban Missile Crisis given the author's detailed coverage of the hostile escalation in both rhetoric and expenditure

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<sup>6</sup> 'An impassioned participant cannot be an objective observer', Theodore C. Sorensen, *Kennedy*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1965, p.5. Repeated as 'my unobjective view', op. cit. p.758.

that may have provoked Khrushchev into equally bellicose behaviour. Neither is Hersh sanguine about the potency of the symbolism over the actual capacity of the stationed Jupiter arsenal.

It is, however, regrettable that some of Hersh's revelations – in which self-congratulation is often un-relinquished in the process – deny independent pursuit as they are apparently only made possible on the understanding of anonymous or intangible attribution. While such hearsay 'evidence' may prompt us to fear outright fabrication on Hersh's part, my separate verifications where possible attest compellingly to confirmation of conflicting marital narratives and extensive health disingenuousness. The theme of Civil Rights is intriguingly omitted by Hersh in his retelling. Tacitly, this may suggest a lighter hued acknowledgement needing to be afforded to Kennedy on this issue, although this is an interpretation the following two analyses on that specific subject matter nonetheless render challenging.

Steven Levingston's *Kennedy and King: The President, The Pastor, and the Battle Over Civil Rights* (2017) utilizes what may be described as informed commentary. Its chronological contextualizing of the paths differently straddled towards Civil Rights' legislation by the mutual suspicion and admiration of its chief protagonists, is fleshed out as a narrative through the segueing of validated oral history interrogation and later interview with the remaining relevant figures. Cumulatively crafted by Levingston is Martin Luther King's frustration towards Kennedy's seemingly slow attainment of moral indignation, especially when contrasted more immediately with the greater emotional and practical involvement of his Attorney General brother, Robert. A fraternal symbiosis is suggested to exist between the two men, Robert's relationship intriguingly depicted as both vicarious and deflecting of Kennedy's management. All the leading characters, however, emerge almost by default with credit when set against the polarities of racial extremism in which they have to operate. This text has proved formative in revisionist perception of Kennedy's actions in Chapter Four of this thesis, particularly in its unspoken positing throughout of the genuine compatibility between attainment and retention of the top US political office and inviolable personal commitment towards the highest moral issue enshrined in the second paragraph of America's Declaration of Independence.

Nick Bryant's third-person perspective *The Bystander: John F. Kennedy and Struggle for Black Equality* (2006) interprets this tension, as implied by the title, less sympathetically as a sustained illustration instead of self-interested equivocation. Commencing his assessment at the outset of Kennedy's political career in which the young Congressman encourages the prospect of brave apolitical conformity with the eight senators he celebrates in *Profiles in Courage* by asserting in the House his incontrovertible progressive Civil Rights' voting record, Bryant shows this not to be consolidated as Senator, thus imbuing the text with an overarching impression of insincerity. For example, Bryant's particular emphasis of Kennedy's calls for racial violence cessation as being motivated to promote perception of American superiority over the Soviet Union, enhanced by his overtures to newly emerging African countries, is made to sound hollow in light of Kennedy's moral weakness in failing to confront the fundamental domestic reason for such outbreaks in the first place.

Bryant introduces early and with intolerance the incompatibility Levingston more empathetically investigates as a personal dilemma, of Kennedy's inclination 'to empower blacks rather than de-throne Jim Crow'.<sup>7</sup> Despite a later retraction on the implacability of the Southern lawmaker caucus that he claims Kennedy should have exploited early on, Bryant portrays JFK's senatorial legislative actions as reactively inhibited by their similarly self-interested capacity, unintentionally to stymie his own political ambitions. For Bryant, ingratiating rather than indignation is therefore regularly exercised. This is conspicuously reflected in Kennedy's vote-splitting highlighting of party liberals who refuse to sign the Southern Manifesto opposition to *Brown v. Board of Education* thus earning him segregationist southern support. He casts a knowingly irrelevant late vote during the 1957 Civil Rights' debate to force school boards to integrate classrooms as well as taking cowardly recourse behind three lawyers over a jury-trial amendment perceived to weaken legislation regarding vote-registrar integrity. In 1958 Klan-funded John Patterson is one of the first southern governors to support Kennedy's bid for the Presidency, cumulatively obliging the Boston aspirant to reposition himself more liberally within his party in blatant pursuit of black votes. Such pursuit is facilitated by a team seemingly selected for their basic

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<sup>7</sup> Nick Bryant, *The Bystander: John F. Kennedy and the Struggle for Black Equality*, Perseus Book Group, New York, 2006, p.16.

utility – few procure meaningful White House employment afterwards – and still without overtly acknowledging the moral imperative for which these articulate individuals clamour. Bryant’s cynical perception is enhanced by Kennedy’s unwillingness entirely to disassociate himself from this southern conservative caucus Bryant vilifies, identified by Kennedy as potentially useful elsewhere, followed by unsubtle adoption of southerner Lyndon Johnson as a running mate.

Of particular relevance to this thesis’ negative assessment of Kennedy’s issue-dynamism, is Bryant’s specific depiction of matching personal inertia. Being a ‘fully-fledged gradualist’ quickly acquires a pejorative hue in the Senator’s refusal: to sponsor a reform to a filibustered motion that had hitherto been so damaging to Civil Rights’ proposals; to articulate the necessary speed or precise manner of school integration; to respond definitively when challenged over the ultimate recourse to force to precipitate such desegregation. Finally, the slim margin of his Presidential election victory is depicted as an excuse to defer promised action, reflected in the subsequently moderate persuasions of cabinet and departmental appointees, with pursuit instead by incremental executive force and tokenism as the hopeful means to achieve this. Bryant’s argument is compelling although it is his rejection of the actual ‘art’ of politics that is sometimes required towards fulfilment ‘of the possible’, particularly given the wider – sometimes apocalyptic – claims upon Presidential office, that expose his continued bafflement at Kennedy’s consistently popular ratings especially among blacks, and supports a ‘lighter’ reconsideration being afforded to Kennedy in this thesis’ final chapter. Bryant has no answer to explain Kennedy’s change of heart.

Professing, however, ‘not to write another debunking book’,<sup>8</sup> Dallek’s *John F. Kennedy: An Unfinished Life 1917-1963* (2003), sets out instead in a highly detailed biography ‘to penetrate the veneer of glamour and charm to reconstruct the real man’.<sup>9</sup> Politics is described as a latent calling for the young Kennedy, quickly becoming his consciously-chosen practical mission post-Navy service, itself a formative levelling experience, over indulgence in aspiration-free vacuity exceptional family affluence could easily have permitted. Prominent attention is drawn towards what Kennedy considers the disproportionate and irritating impact his Catholicism has upon his

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<sup>8</sup> Robert Dallek *John F. Kennedy: An Unfinished Life 1917-1963*, Penguin Books Ltd, London, 2004, p.ix.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*



campaigning, thus intimating at an early stage the perception of non-discriminatory regard Kennedy has for his nation and perhaps partly explains his difficulty in handling the Civil Rights' issue Chapter Four of this thesis further explores.

Particular emphasis, through detailed tracking, is given to the profound health problems from which Kennedy suffers. Hindsight benefit – achieved primarily through JFK-Library declassified documents – is applied by Dallek as a sympathetic explanation of Kennedy's mercurial personality in term of the side-effects. Fallibility is frequently attributed by Dallek to Kennedy's naïvety or political inexperience; extravagance and sexual recklessness – apocalyptic nuclear war imminence notwithstanding – to a negative estimation echoed by Kennedy himself of his own lifespan that is accentuated by the premature deaths of close siblings. At times, such need to convey essential human frailty may be perceived from Dallek as overly deferential, exemplified during the political miscalculations by Kennedy during the Bay of Pigs' episode in which the reader is informed that publicly the responsibility for it is entirely Presidential while privately privileging the same reader as to Kennedy's misplaced trust in the military and CIA. It is followed immediately by Dallek's reference to illness recurrence and Kennedy's unusually demonstrative expressions of personal mortification for a man brought up to contend stoically with physical pain, at the event's seemingly independent and unwanted manifestation. Such deference is also detected in resumed apportioning by Dallek of reduced significance – the word 'execrable'<sup>10</sup> only finds its way into the 2013 Epilogue – to Kennedy's prolific philandering which Dallek concludes as actually non-damaging to Kennedy's ability to carry out his Presidential responsibilities. This is in sharp contrast with Seymour Hersh who implies it to be merely fortuitous given the apparent frequent anxiety of security staff who found themselves unwittingly facilitating many of the trysts, as well as Hersh's citing of White House attendance logs often filled by repeat-visit unaccompanied females of little conspicuous business merit.

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid. p.714.Sabato similarly contests Dallek's view on the non-damaging impact to his nation of JFK's often unorthodox medication: 'It is also true that no one will ever know for sure. Narcotics can have subtle but significant effects on any human being, especially one dealing with the extraordinary stresses of the presidency', Larry J. Sabato, *The Kennedy Half Century: The Presidency, Assassination and Lasting Legacy of John F. Kennedy*, Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, London, 2014, p.476. In Dallek's 2013 *Camelot's Court: Inside the Kennedy White House*, Harper Collins, New York, such deference seems little diminished. Philandering and health issues are acknowledged but are mostly shunted towards the beginning of the work as if to distance them from the core theme of solicited advice.

Dallek is more rounded and consequently empathetic in his judgements about Kennedy. For example, Khrushchev's deterrence motives for shipping warheads and nuclear missiles into Cuba in 1962 is persuasively argued to result as much from purported defence of the island as sheer inhibition at the culminating threat Kennedy's increased US military expenditure poses immediately from the now-enabled, albeit outmoded, Jupiter missiles facing his holiday dacha's coastline. For Dallek, the tension is exacerbated given Khrushchev's knowledge of his own country's inferior intercontinental ballistic capabilities in light of the need – which Kennedy would have understood - to maintain conspicuously the Soviet Union's super-power standing. For Kennedy, empathy is particularly encouraged of the reader by Dallek during late 1963 debates with aides over assistance-withdrawal in Vietnam and separately a mooted rapprochement with a more amenable Castro given US-interpreted post-blockade Soviet coolness towards the Cuban leader. Indecision is conveyed as the frequently personally-reeling outcome to nonetheless heavily-consulted, often diverse assessment in which the reader shares the unfairness of any ensuing perception of weakness Kennedy must counter particularly in preparation for 1964 re-election.

Unexpectedly, for a book entitled *Unfinished Life*, a complementary reference perhaps to Kennedy's 'unfinished business' campaign rhetoric in 1960, scant coverage beyond verbatim recitation is given to that actual rhetoric. This is despite volubility elsewhere from the author on this subject,<sup>11</sup> as a major tool to elicit much of the promise idea. Dallek instead simply heralds it in conclusion to this particular tome as unknown fulfilment of policy approach, and the primary perhaps somewhat defensive reason for Kennedy's enduring intrigue.

*Dallas 1963: The Road to the Kennedy Assassination* (2013) by former *Dallas Morning News* contributor Bill Minutaglio and Steven L. Davis, in half-century commemoration of the President's passing, has been selected for its reconstruction of the specific event as well as demonstration of narrative embellishment that is encouraged by hindsight and evidenced through the authors' extensively referenced context-setting elaboration.

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<sup>11</sup> For example, 'Robert Dallek on John F. Kennedy In his own Words', JFK-Library Forum, 11<sup>th</sup> June, 2006, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/events-and-awards/forums/2006-06-11-robert-dallek-on-john-f-kennedy> (1/4/20).

In *Dallas 1963* the personalized perspectives of diverse key Dallas figures of the time are chronologically developed to depict the heightening toxicity towards Kennedy in anticipation of his visit. The book is composed from oral histories as well as newspaper and police reports, eye-witness accounts and archive material. It results in a retelling that is heavily coloured by the writers' overt condemnatory agenda. Delineation of persona often veers towards grotesque caricature in order to galvanize the reader's emotional complicity with the writers' intent. The contrast with Dallek's approach – more dispassionate, less contrived in its depiction of the characters and events – is stark. The writers' bias culminates in the final pre-epilogue chapter that constitutes nearly one third of the book. For example, the entry for November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1963, is loaded with references to that day's weather as an unsubtle analogy to the escalating political temperature in which Jackie's mis-packing of appropriate clothing, is excessively superfluous. Such stylistic inclination is further evident in the detailed parallels given between the 1960 and 1963 motorcades, meticulous retrieval and documenting of Oswald's bullet from General Edwin Walker's dense wall – as if to contrast with the security services' lax recording of similar evidence extracted from the President's person at Parkland Hospital – and reference not just to Kennedy's apparent fondness for Arlington prior to mawkish farewells from his children at the White House, or the two red petals dropped from what should have been for Jackie a yellow rose bouquet, but finally – slightly desperately – to Kennedy's inability to switch off his hotel room's air-conditioning during he and his wife's final night together at Dallas' Texas Hotel.

Yet the book's particular value to this thesis lies firstly in its provision of background information to one of my primary sources, *The Dallas Morning News*. The newspaper's role is shown actively by the writers to become its city's leading narrative from the run-up to Kennedy's slim election victory, with its chief editor Ted Dealey the prime conduit for disseminating the actions of the city's leading business cabal that comprises the Dallas Citizens' Council. It is regrettable, however, that explanation for Dealey's marked political shift, posited as reflective too of Dallas' singular readership, is unforthcoming given the authors' description of his discomfiture at the outset with his city's affiliations at the time of his father's headship of the newspaper, with the Ku-Klux-Klan. A period of seeming political dormancy from Ted's 1949 takeover until the story's active 1960 Presidential race commencement, is filled instead by a

description of his father George B. Dealey's politically-moderate editorship as if to give time for the insidious climate of white paranoia almost independently to foment. Unfortunately, this ensuing vitriol is simply not fleshed out beyond intimation of a basic covetousness resulting from fortuitous proximity to bountiful oil fields. The hiatus is frustrating as is the absence of personal accounts surely available to ex-journalists to explain its specific and ominous growth.

Fortunately, such staginess does not impinge too much on the book's second but main contribution to this thesis: its structure. Similar to Levingston's cited work in its inevitable coalescence of events through individual, present-tense reconstructed or intuited first-person narratives, momentum is enhanced by its broadening incorporation of storylines from often unnamed white locals that is threaded into an expanding, racialist mesh. The result is synecdochic of the larger wave metaphor that will later be invoked in this research to convey the notion of intrinsic volatility, with the menacing and menaced, perpetrator and victim losing their opposing distinctions. The authors exacerbate these tensions not just in the plodding references to Ruby's and Oswald's residential proximity but also in the isolated but prolific incidents described of domestic or localized white-on-white violence, manifestations that are analyzed more broadly in both narrative and theme in Chapter Four of this thesis.

This intrinsic insidiousness is pertinently encapsulated by the characters depicted. Dallas oil magnate H. L. Hunt is a recluse, the extremely young and innocent daughters of the septuagenarian prominently distributing his literature<sup>12</sup> at a rare public book launch; disgraced, discharged Army General Edwin Walker more comfortably disseminates his singular form of patriotism from behind a screen of confederate flags to his new domestic quarters also chosen to be within the city. Both characters are presented as figureheads to an unquantifiable highly sensitized audience: Hunt broadcasts his radio shows to listeners apparently tuning-in beyond the borders of his attentive state; unsolicited donations from across the country, often routed via *The Dallas Morning News*, pour into Walker's office that is staffed by an inestimable number of male-only volunteers. Walker himself meanwhile regularly campaigns beyond the Texas confines of his political remit. This includes an incendiary-laden trip

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<sup>12</sup> The book is *Alpaca* published by Hunt's own press.

to Mississippi on the occasion of black student James Meredith's attempted enrolment at its 'Ole Miss' University.

Both figures in the book then recede to allow their now-incited audiences to turn upon each other. This is exemplified during the Adolphus Hotel arrival of the campaigning Johnsons in the form of so-called 'mink-coat female mob hecklers'. Previously these women are depicted as a silent but inexplicably adoring cohort to 'bare-knuckled'<sup>13</sup> Congressman Bruce Alger, himself representative of 'a rugged Republican outpost deep in the heart of the Democratic South',<sup>14</sup> but now they burst forth as a force more feral than the components of that outer attire. Similarly, Adlai Stevenson's UN Day address exit from the city's auditorium is literally saturated with bile, courtesy of Walker protégé Larry Schmidt's effective indoctrinating through local students, of a wider white-cross section of Dallas' angst-ridden community. By contrast, Madame Nhu's brief stopover in the city is apparently greeted with vast approving crowds as she seeks out the morally compromised Stanley Marcus' Neiman department store, provider of those mink coats, whose windows still drip with swastika decal remover. Kennedy's gatherings, on the other hand – luncheon guests, curious crowds - are usually quantified specifically by the authors<sup>15</sup> even if it is not always to reflect his popularity. This is exemplified in the description of the more sparsely-attended areas lining his final motorcade or their drawing of attention to the conspicuous placards amidst the welcoming thousands, denouncing his visit in the first place. Quantification, as this thesis similarly contends, suggests - even if it cannot always confer – manageability, order; imprecision conveys fear, insidiousness and impending chaos.

Complementing this thesis' exposition of a managed narrative, is Mark J. White's *Kennedy: A Cultural History of An American Icon* (2013). This work tracks,

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<sup>13</sup> Bill Minutaglio and Steven L. Davis, *Dallas 1963: The Road to the Kennedy Assassination*, John Murray (publishers), London, 2013, p.57.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. For example, The San Antonio crowd of 125,000, p.287, or 'quarter million' in downtown Dallas during the 1963 motorcade, p.310. See also Sabato's 'twenty thousand people' greeting Kennedy's plane in Erie, preceded by 'two hundred thousand Ohioans' during September 1960 campaigning, op. cit. p.65. In Ben Bradlee's *Conversations with Kennedy*, W. W. Norton & Company, 1984, he describes the near-routine quantifying of crowd numbers recorded by JFK's aides, p.20. It is evidenced in Press Secretary's Salinger's statement: 'I had been with [Kennedy] in the difficult campaign days when we were lucky to get twenty people in one group, to the tumultuous welcome he had received from two million in Mexico city', *With Kennedy*, Doubleday & Company, Garden City, New York, 1966, p.8.

with lightly guarded admiration at its execution, the highly-crafted exploitation of Kennedy by his family in particular, that the author nonetheless segues into his own ongoing presentation of positive cultivation and consumption of JFK, particularly in media form. The work commences with reference to Kennedy's own publications as presented evidence especially by his father, of JFK's supposed intellectualism. Joseph is similarly shown to instigate the highlighting of his son's naval heroism followed by robust promotion of both Kennedy's physical appearance and perceptive personality.

Such singular management, even if knowingly 'Myth', is shown by White to be fiercely resumed post-assassination by Jackie, in her highly selective consultation of biographers and architects, in an attempt to create a revisionist-withstanding, enduring popular JFK memory. The many tangible elements cited by White in support here are invoked in larger co-operative testimony towards the end of this thesis.

The theme of image-enshrining is developed more comprehensively in *The Afterlife of John Fitzgerald Kennedy A Biography* (2017) by Michael J. Hogan. This work argues that the Kennedys' management of perception and later its crafted assimilation as received memory, instigates JFK's 'afterlife' legacy his family commits to preserve inviolably. Lacking the more bemused tone of White towards Jackie's audacity, the author's arch outlook commences with interrogation of the White House restoration project, declaring its greater intention to refract both a captivating physical and metaphorical canvas of national aspiration and prestige, rather than assuming the static undertaking of historical fidelity scholars, post-assassination, are asserted by the author to remain similarly thwarted in objectively disseminating. Hogan's development of this identified tense disparity has proved formative in detecting and enhancing themes of narrative distortion and reinvention as well as mutation of symbol to articulate a separate but almost complementing form of performative act, to be explored more fully in this thesis final chapter.

The management of image is primarily, however, shown to be cultivated through the contrived performances of its first-couple protagonists Hogan depicts as characters on a grand stage that itself often exceeds physical boundaries. The first Act to this play or 'production' commences with personalized material overtures - dinners, concerts, gifts - often comprising frequent costume changes, in order to impress visitors of all ranks. Hogan contends that their overall objective is to project a

resonating, attractive, benign national cultured primacy – statements of who they want to be seen to be. The success of the resulting ‘brand’ Hogan describes, is evidenced in its rapid public consumption. The effectiveness of such adaptive role-playing by the Kennedys is stated by Hogan to incite commercial exploitation that is assiduously perpetuated, post-assassination, by Jackie in particular. She sustains the Kennedy performance by assuming a more directorial role: to craft and substantiate the idea and its precise image she wishes to endure of her husband. Fortified by such management, to which becomes affixed the beguilingly mystical-magical label of ‘Camelot’ she inspires, the ‘brand’s’ continuing irresistibility is argued by Hogan to be responsible in large part for JFK’s posthumous high Presidential standing to date, regardless of actual measurable achievement in office. Indeed, the small, informal survey I conduct for this thesis at the Runnymede memorial, testifies to the success of this nonetheless curious disjunction both White and Hogan elaborate.

While Chapter Three of this thesis reflects and then interrogates the newspapers’ often critical separation of style versus substance, Hogan argues such a distinction to be largely artificial. In echoes of Sorensen, where the terms are regarded as similarly indistinguishable,<sup>16</sup> the potency of their fusion is also shown to make a dynamic transition to tangible symbols variously reflecting and enshrining Kennedy’s articulated themes of possibility, progressiveness and self-worth. I will later argue these to prove compellingly attractive multifariously in burnishing icon – as well as reinforcing most conspicuously E. H. Carr’s contention of subjective selectivity of information in generating a particular or preferred version of history.

Jackie’s visual retelling of her husband’s story resumes in the funeral ceremony itself which Hogan depicts as an immediate continuation of her personal stage management. The individually-affecting nature of Kennedy’s passing Hogan excessively records, becomes magnified into a collective mourning of the public-as-audience against the highly theatrical spectacle of what he deems to be a successfully executed civic-religious event. Its secularly inclusive aspects of patriotism and duty overlie the understated personalizing expressions of Kennedy’s actual Catholicism. The potency of such fusion repels, at least for the present, the backdrop of profound civil disquiet. For Jackie, what Hogan regards as now her own production, this event

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<sup>16</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.7.

can therefore provide opportunity for both atonement and perhaps social re-cohesion Johnson's sudden promotion, from unpolished understudy, nonetheless immediately jeopardizes as an ongoing Kennedy production, with Robert now aggressively auditioning to become the replacement lead actor.

Such intrusion, however, is relegated to a sub-plot as Hogan concentrates on the current funeral spectacle, in which the absence of personal and emotional state funeral protocols is argued to allow the now former First Lady to compose a fresh script to be produced. She performs it immediately in insisted Lincoln-esque emulation of East Room and Capitol Rotunda catafalque display, and later in tweaking the siting at Arlington of her husband's original location. Arlington itself became a national symbol of the American spirit of freedom and national unity,<sup>17</sup> so by burying Kennedy there immediately signifies his personal sacrifice for America in soil specially reserved for war veterans. It is complemented, uniquely, by Jackie's heading of the funeral precession on foot, demonstrating literally her continuing lead role, with her children as supporting cast whose publicly affecting gestures of personal respect to their father negate requirement for her own soliloquy.

Where words are required, and dovetailing with exposure of the Kennedy family's own imposed narrative in this thesis' 'Myth' chapter, Hogan describes William Manchester's shattering efforts to document an acceptable written record – or updated script – of Kennedy's Presidency. This exemplifies any narrative's easy proclivity to distortion if hijacked by sycophantic or zealous family interest. Reminiscent of Kennedy's own scrutiny of newspaper articles on him, Jackie pores over other drafts, acceding more readily only to those of partisan – or insider-persuasion. More hostile publications beyond her immediate control fortuitously fail to dent the literary monument being erected that is soon to be reinforced by other, often diverse, cultural dedications that conveniently accentuate that particular pledge within Kennedy's Inauguration address. It is a challenging template upon which architects John Carl Warnecke and I. M. Pei are commissioned to produce an acceptably designed gravesite and a Presidential Library respectively. Both constructions, Hogan contends, are also physically revised to enhance sanctification of memory. The

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<sup>17</sup> 'Arlington National Cemetery represents the American people for past, present and future generations by laying to rest those few who have served our nation with dignity and honor...' [sic], Our Mission, [www.arlingtoncemetery.mil/About/Vision-mission](http://www.arlingtoncemetery.mil/About/Vision-mission), (2/2/20).



Library's content, for example, is re-ordered for a new technological age 40 years after Kennedy's death to revivify his personae as ever-present and personally relevant, in the primary form of a continuous-loop performance by its leading 'actor'. Coupled with its ongoing fortressing of certain documentation marshalled by appointed acolytes, Hogan argues the brand to survive reasonably untarnished as a mediated memory recalled by the passive public as nostalgia.

Larry Sabato's *The Kennedy Half Century: The Presidency, Assassination, and Lasting Legacy of John F Kennedy* (2013) is a first-person narrative proportionately structured according to its subtitle themes. Sabato's sensitivity of approach to a broad 21<sup>st</sup>-century readership is enhanced by the surveys he organizes to reflect the status of Kennedy's ongoing regard up to the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his passing, amongst specific cross-sections of US participants.

The book itself is copiously referenced from transcripts, oral histories, biographies, visual footage, newspapers, photographic archives and personal interviews, to the extent that many of the endnotes incentivize further research. Sabato's personal interjections regularly accompany his opening retelling of Kennedy's Presidential years, announcing both condemnation – exemplified by Kennedy's Civil Rights' equivocation – and approbation – this President's successful template establishment of proportionate diplomacy with national perception regard further to the Cuban Missile Crisis.<sup>18</sup> While useful in conveying balance perception, such interjection is occasionally irritating here because it can be disruptive to the author's role as storyteller. Sabato opens his own retelling with description of Kennedy's final moments. Unfortunately, the 'suspense' of his own reconstruction is diffused by hindsight regret comments from bystanders or otherwise no-longer anonymized security staff: the urge to retell clashes with the need to comment on it before events transpire. The tendency persists with Sabato's excessive interjections regarding the lax security he describes for all the Kennedy motorcades.

Paradoxically, non-interjection sometimes allows a stronger narrative voice to emanate. Invoking Kennedy's rhetoric directly, rather than transcript content reconstruction, is a feature possibly more expected of Dallek, who is nonetheless

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<sup>18</sup> 'Shrewd leaders must understand, as Kennedy did, how to combine the threat of military force with face-saving diplomatic options that rational regimes (where they exist) will normally prefer to their own destruction' op. cit. Sabato p.109.

referenced frequently although not always in endorsement. This is exemplified in these authors' intriguingly divergent coverage of the Vienna summit. Dallek reports in detail from the notes expanded from that first encounter so privileging the reader in sharing Kennedy's frustration that his attempted conversation openers are repeatedly repelled by an ideological wall in human form. By contrast, Sabato reports Khrushchev's deflections as merely compounding the inferiority Kennedy himself confesses his age and perceived commensurate inexperience may have encouraged in his Soviet opposite number at the outset. Dallek conveys Kennedy's bewilderment at Khrushchev's apparent insouciance towards global destruction; Sabato, like Hersh, evinces the President's humiliation.

Authorial stridency resumes more proportionately towards the end of the biographical retelling Sabato concludes by balancing overall Kennedy regard during his Presidential years. Overt condemnation of JFK's reckless philandering and dangerous use of unorthodox medication is pitched against demonstration of Kennedy's successful handling of the steel executives and latterly more positive negotiations with Khrushchev culminating in a nuclear test ban treaty, the momentum of which looked poised to encourage mutual technological and financial co-operation. On Vietnam, despite nonetheless himself indulging, Sabato ultimately dismisses as futile speculation as to the outcome under a two-term Kennedy administration, the only intimation of the President's possible de-escalation implied by Sabato's judgement that Johnson's foreign-policy outlook was less intuitive, less imaginative, more dogmatically Cold War-framed.

Of particular value to this thesis is Sabato's subsequently detailed coverage of the myriad narratives immediately formed post-assassination that encapsulates the historian's own task in making sense to the recipient of the overwhelming information available. Sabato describes how Johnson's establishment of the Warren Commission was intended to impose such coherence speedily to offset paranoia regardless of Sabato's evidenced statement interference by future President Gerald Ford to defend the single-bullet theory, selective reporting by FBI agents embarrassed at their own incompetency and non-pursued opportunities for key witnesses to testify. The integrity of a desired, definitive, official report is further compromised by Sabato's detailed coverage of the plethora of eye-witness accounts, many of which he claims to be either erroneously dismissed or confidently discredited while other recollections, often

compounded by an extensive passing of time, are shown by Sabato as confused or simply fabricated for remuneration, as exemplified by Lee Harvey Oswald's own mother. Moreover, the number of statements submitted apparently exceeds the number of people who were present in that part of Dallas.

Despite protestations to the contrary, Sabato persists in attempting to evidence parts of the assassination event he deems to be incontrovertible. However, this aspiration quickly founders. His account of anomalies in Oswald's own biographizing, including CIA culpabilities – confirmed personally to Sabato in 2011 as often intentional, so substantiating his suspicions about 1975's Church Committee's similar efficacy – only compounds both the futility of the task and dissatisfaction with acceptance of the truth as open-ended confusion. Such defiance of narrative containment is assisted by Sabato's prolonged coverage of other suspects including confirmed threats from both the Mafia and Cuba. Castro himself seems ultimately exonerated by Sabato, who cites in his justification President Johnson's exasperation over Kennedy's fixation with the Caribbean island. Sabato gives similar consideration to Castro's apportioning of culpability towards ex-Cubans possibly still reeling from a sense of abandonment after the Bay of Pigs' episode. US government-backed Mafia revenge upon Communist Cuba to reclaim their perceived business assets, coupled with Sabato's intertwining of the Oswald and Ruby histories, seems to complete Kennedy's fateful encirclement which JFK himself may have helped to tighten, with two stridently anti-Castro Florida addresses on November 18, 1963 to heavily Cuban-American audiences.

The medical investigation following Kennedy's shooting is shown by Sabato to produce similar inconsistencies in accounting: a rushed autopsy report later admitted as such by the surgeons, and reported poor liaison between Parkland and Bethesda hospitals. Pressure of time and world scrutiny results in professional admissions of guesswork or reconsidered recollections to the Warren Commission, a pristine bullet on Senator Connally's stretcher reviving the disinformation narratives in its – possibly planted – distraction. Formal documentation is shown to prove as flawed as the mass of eye-witness reports, Sabato's 'survey of X-rays and ballistics [demonstrating] that so-called hard evidence can prove to be softer than expected.'<sup>19</sup> The fallibility of

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<sup>19</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.222.

tangible information is shown by him even to extend to the police's 'Dictabelt' black-box-type capturing of the entire day of Kennedy's Dallas visit. The profusion of noises it records merely confirms the chaos. For Sabato such incoherence contrasts absurdly with the advance publicized clarity of the motorcade route.

Sabato's Kennedy-legacy analysis is achieved by knitting Kennedy's impact into the Presidencies of his successors. Particular emphasis is drawn to the theme of usurpation, the four men directly following his Presidency shown variously to bear it as their own Kennedy 'burden'.

Johnson's precipitous assumption of power and zealous facilitation of many of Kennedy's domestic proposals under an eventual Great Society umbrella is interpreted by Sabato as further useful to constituting Johnson's own, separate historical regard. Johnson's balancing act of memorializing his predecessor versus personal Presidential goals is portrayed to be just as consciously relinquished by Johnson's refusal to appoint Robert Kennedy as his Vice-President. Sabato asserts Hubert Humphrey's selection to have been already decided by Johnson on the evening of Kennedy's death, the new President correctly anticipating its relishing by the politically useful Northern Democrat who was so humiliated by Kennedy in the 1960 West Virginia primary.

With Nixon, Sabato demonstrates the shadow of Kennedy to be differently resented given these Presidents' shared Irish ancestry, Pacific military service and early Senate friendship. Sabato's approbation of Nixon's superior achievement of Soviet-China détente over Kennedy's rapprochement is offset by his exposure of Nixon's consistent resistance to acknowledge his former Presidential rival of 1960 by name – a discourtesy that nonetheless does not extend to his widow – whether in memorial services or the seminal 1969 moon landing. Sabato claims Nixon transfers this antipathy to Kennedy's youngest brother, Edward, discomfited by his prolonged, subdued post-Chappaquiddick behaviour.

Despite the suspicion Sabato raises earlier regarding evidence tampering, President Ford's subsequent pardoning of his predecessor is viewed by Sabato as a brave judgement despite its possible contribution to the shortening of Ford's own tenure. The author also continues to extend appeals Ford made for release of all Kennedy-assassination documents. For Sabato, such a request conveys a genuine zeal

for deserved explanation Ford's attendance on the Warren Commission and Church Committee encourages in retrospect beyond obligatory attendance.

The rise of obscure Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter is described by Sabato as an intentionally contrasting break from scandal-afflicted Washington. He links Carter to Kennedy with reference to Carter's similar anticipation of religious-denominational persecution. Otherwise, Sabato suggests their similarities to be adversely affected by the remaining members of the Kennedy family who depict Carter as remiss in sufficient deference to his Democrat predecessor. Sabato suggests it to be accentuated by Carter's reserved, sometimes parochial personality, coupled with ineffectual oratorical prowess. This is argued to contribute towards Carter's failure in procuring Democrat-majority Congressional support in which Kennedy's brother Edward by this time assumes virtual grandee status; international crises are asserted by the author further to personify Carter's country's post-Vietnam political impotence. This perception is suggested by Sabato to attract Edward to reconsider his own Presidential opportunity. His campaign challenge defeat, however, descends into anti-Carter petulance that the President himself believes to have contributed to his unsuccessful re-election. Sabato also posits this behaviour as paradoxically responsible for disempowering the Senator's own chances in ever re-imposing the Kennedy name upon a future administration.

Sabato shows Reagan's relation to Kennedy to be shared personal charisma, Irish-ancestry-inherited self-deprecation and performance-quality rhetoric – much of the latter to be boldly Kennedy-attributed by the President. Being a vocal JFK opponent - which the author speculates to be intensified by Robert's ousting of Reagan from his General Electric company-fronting role - is perceived by Sabato to consolidate a conservatism increasingly attractive to Republicans weary of Ford's moderate stance.

Kennedy connection is further established by the author's description of the parallels emanating from the assassination attempt upon Reagan. These include proximity to a local hospital and a Vice President on duty in Dallas. Sabato suggests those involved to be similarly aware of these parallels, hence their immediate curtailing of them by incontrovertible proof of Hinckley's guilt – despite similar FBI radar-fallibility – and Hinckley's robust court protection to prevent Ruby-esque

retaliation. Upon Reagan's staged return to mask the rapidity of his recovery, Sabato asserts exploitation of public sympathy to be utilized by Reagan to impose Kennedy-inspired tax cuts in which the latter's 1962 justification is almost verbatim-recited by the 40<sup>th</sup> President in his own defence. Kennedy is argued by Sabato to be embraced as a welcome Republican 'burdening' to Democrat opponents whom the author shows to be continually wrong-footed by Reagan's more successful appropriation of him.

George H. W. Bush's Kennedy utilization is argued by Sabato to be more constrained given Kennedy's mantle being presumptuously assumed by Bush's choice of Dan Quayle as his Vice President, such selection being humiliatingly 'unburdened' later in front of the nation. While possibly inheriting paternal disrespect for aspects of Kennedy's leadership especially during the Bay of Pigs' episode, Bush's own CIA premiership is intimated by the author to have been conscience-prodding in the President's 1992 signing of the Assassination Records and Collection Act.

Confirmed by a Kennedy-name reference graph at the end of that chapter, Bush's successor is evidenced by Sabato to be far more conspicuous in his adulation. Clinton's Kennedy regard is shown to be fomented by a fortuitously-captured Rose Garden handshake between the 16-year old and the 35<sup>th</sup> President to mark a Boys' Nation event to which the teenager belongs. Emulation of Kennedy's private life – including intern liaison – is castigated by Sabato for its marital impact, its only merit tamely suggested by him to be a strengthening of careerist aspiration by their spouses, that is surely irrelevant in application to Jackie. Sabato's comparisons between Kennedy's judgement deficiencies in the Bay of Pigs' episode and Clinton's delegation to Attorney General Janet Reno for the events at Waco are concluded by Sabato to be ultimately leadership-enhancing. However, whether Clinton's comforting of Timothy McVeigh's Oklahoma City's bomb victims is fully commensurate with Kennedy's subsequent, successful Cuba nuclear de-escalation seems tenuous.

Kennedy's commonality with George W. Bush is shown by Sabato to be initiated by Bush's similarly slim margin of Presidential victory. It is followed by unpreparedness for early crisis which Sabato asserts to crystallize Bush's obsession with an individual personage - Saddam Hussein - so unifying national focus Kennedy is likewise perceived by the author to have garnered against Castro.

Barack Obama's similar disinterest in a permanent senatorial career, his own Harvard education, law degree, respected literary outputs and the possible electoral handicap of race, just as Kennedy's was Catholicism, immediately suggests the 44<sup>th</sup> President's links to Kennedy to be the closest. Sabato enhances this impression in his chapter head's 'twinning'<sup>20</sup> reference. However, this is not sustained in the author's ensuing analysis he is equivocal in positing as natural given the passing of time. Sabato, however, is less equivocal in contending utility in Obama's subsequent waning of JFK invocations once his Kennedy-family-backed Democratic Party Presidential nomination proves successful. Similarly, Obama's tenure being coincident with the half-century milestone passing of Kennedy is implied by Sabato merely to oblige dutiful commemoration. Obama's apparent lack of humour, rhetorical command and cuts to NASA's budget, are likewise suggested by Sabato to cultivate a differing personal regard Obama's eulogies for Edward and Eunice do little to assuage. Chapter Four of this thesis contests some of these assertions.

At this point Sabato produces the results from his surveys. Requested to respond according to the person on show as President, rather than Kennedy's latterly disclosed foibles, and also to exclude the dramatic truncation of his life from colouring that consideration, those questioned by Sabato still allow him to place the 35<sup>th</sup> President at the top of his poll. As if to mitigate this predictability, the result is evidenced by its gender, race, age and religion cross-section of respondents, including a significant Republican-voting contingent. Sabato suggests this to reflect Kennedy's unified regard although does concede that the result may be accentuated by reactivity to current partisanship. Similarly conceded as unsurprising, are the more emphatic responses from those aged over 55 given their advantage of first-hand JFK recollection. However, the haziness Sabato regularly infers among the youngest age bracket interviewed prompts concern from him that ignorance over key events in the country's past must facilitate myopia about global issues the US currently faces.

Sabato concludes with acceptance ultimately that Kennedy's regard would be different should he have survived the bullets. Instead, those bullets are asserted by the author to have made Kennedy virtually inviolable against accusations of Presidential mediocrity and almost amoral ambition in getting there. Sabato accepts that time may

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<sup>20</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.395.

eventually consign much of Kennedy's life and Presidency to historical footnotes but not before stimulating his curiosity as to what may endure, and what I hope specifically to identify and analyze.

### **Why newspapers? Why these newspapers?**

Newspapers provide snapshots as to how differently the same story may immediately be told and received. Precipitating and compressing for publication E. H Carr's process of 'fact' selection, shortly to be expounded, in order to fulfil their remit of particular message to an intended audience, these produce what Dean Baquet, Executive Editor of *The New York Times*, describes as "a small version of [history] every day"<sup>21</sup> It is these 'snapshots', in the form of contemporary newspaper articles, chosen deliberately from the diverse perspectives of *The New York Times* and *The Dallas Morning News* to evidence the propensity for variation such 'fact' selection may generate, that I similarly posit into trajectory points with the main chart focus commencing with Kennedy's Inauguration. Their location will be determined by J. L Austin's three particular distinctions of speech act, shortly to be described, and will be applied to specific topics up to the aftermath of Kennedy's Presidency, in which the Kennedy narrative may be mapped indicatively to reflect reader perception of him. Some of these topics are subsequently picked up separately as 'Reverberations' until the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his death, supported rather than spearheaded at that point by articles from those two principal newspapers. Assessment, in Chapter Four's conclusion to date, will be made as to the stability of these trajectories particularly in the light of their diverse revisionism post-assassination, to suggest where convergence on John F. Kennedy currently rests.

#### **a) *The New York Times***

*The New York Times* has been selected as one of the two principal research sources for interrogation to determine Kennedy trajectory given firstly the primacy Kennedy himself is reported to have afforded this newspaper since his teenage years. James Tracy Crown states the young JFK to be one of 'the few fourteen-year-olds at Choate to subscribe to it and read the *New York Times* daily.'<sup>22</sup> In Mark White's 2013 cover

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<sup>21</sup> *Reporting Trump's First Year: The Fourth Estate*, produced by Justin Wilks, series producer Liz Gardner, a Storyville production for the BBC, 2018.

<sup>22</sup> James Tracy Crown, *The Kennedy Literature*, New York University, 1968, p.27. See also Dallek: 'he became a regular subscriber to the *New York Times*, reading, or at least glancing at it, every morning', op. cit. p.38.



image to *The Cultural History of an American Icon* the association prevails, Kennedy sitting back in his boat, cigar rested between his teeth as he peruses pages from its Saturday 31<sup>st</sup> August 1963 edition.<sup>23</sup>

Such primacy may secondly be justified according to general identification of the city in which the newspaper is based as constituting what *Profiles in Courage* describes as: “the most important state in any Presidential race.”<sup>24</sup> Comprising a population that has increased by two million in ten years, its occupation by the Presidential election year of 1960 has stretched to 16.78 million inhabitants across its 62 voting counties.<sup>25</sup> Nixon’s acknowledgement, post-election defeat, of New York city itself as ‘the news, TV and radio center [sic] of the nation’<sup>26</sup> - evidenced by location therein of the world’s oldest media company, the Hearst Corporation - shows that it is difficult for any politician to ignore its impact. Declared by Salinger to be one of the ‘two most influential newspapers in the Capital’,<sup>27</sup> its presence that same year is physically compounded by the edition of Paris and Tokyo to its 29 international offices. This augments a national profile that at the time incorporates two offices in California and up to a further dozen concentrated along its North-East coast,<sup>28</sup> reflecting and attracting a similarly cosmopolitan and educated readership its leading number of Pulitzer prizes in journalism continues to stimulate.<sup>29</sup> However, such perception may also prove alienating beyond this demographic, Salinger ruefully reporting Kennedy’s Appointment Secretary Kenneth O’Donnell’s retort that: “‘Nobody in Iowa...reads the *Times* or even cares what it thinks editorially.’”<sup>30</sup>

Nonetheless, deference to such quality in output is reflected by its wide US syndication that includes *The Dallas Morning News* amongst its subscribers despite the Texas newspaper’s similar conformity to O’Donnell’s above assertion. Topping the White House subscription list and Presidential morning consultation, Salinger

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<sup>23</sup> Identified through back page sports’ headline: “BLUESCOPE at \$6.10, wins Aqueduct.”

<sup>24</sup> Op. cit. pp.219-20.

<sup>25</sup> See p.12, no.9, Population, Population Rank, Percent Increase, and Population Per Square Mile, by States and For Puerto Rico: 1910 to 1960, <https://www2.census.gov/prod2/statcomp/documents/1961-02.pdf> (12/04/2018).

<sup>26</sup> Richard Nixon, *Six Crises*, WH Allen, London, 1962, p.349.

<sup>27</sup> Op. cit. Salinger p.116. The other being *The Washington Post*.

<sup>28</sup> As of April 30<sup>th</sup>, 1960, ‘Offices and Subscription Rates of The New York Times’, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1960/04/30/issue.html> (22/05/2018).

<sup>29</sup> 130 Pulitzer Prizes by May 4th, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/04/business/media/new-york-times-pulitzer-prizes.html> (11/5/20).

<sup>30</sup> Op. cit. Salinger p.117.

declares *The New York Times* to be ‘long recognized as America’s greatest daily newspaper’ in which:

‘No top policy maker in Washington starts his day without reading... and as a result [it]...has a much greater impact on Washington thinking.... It has achieved this position through excellence.’<sup>31</sup>

Nevertheless, this does not preclude Kennedy’s occasional personal irritation with its coverage, particularly of him given what he regards as his frequent indulgences towards journalists,<sup>32</sup> as Chapter Two of this thesis will exemplify. However, his chief speechwriter Theodore Sorensen still states Kennedy similarly to consider ‘the *Times* one of the most influential newspapers in the nation, less guilty of bias and sensationalism in its news stories than any other publication.’<sup>33</sup> Indeed, Sorensen regards it as a mark of Kennedy’s own influence upon the newspaper that such historical allegiance becomes strained, given the ‘overwhelmingly pro-Republican’<sup>34</sup> persuasion of newspaper ‘editors and publishers’ in general at the time, of which *The New York Times* is identified as ‘the most noted example’, having failed to endorse ‘a Democrat for President since 1944’. However, Sorensen is quick to exclude many journalists from such allegiance. This seems borne out by Nixon’s particular lament that this newspaper’s ‘highly regarded’ Washington bureau head James Reston’s coverage of his 1960 Presidential campaign activities is disloyal, Reston’s relayed retort to one of the Republican Vice-President’s supporters being, “‘You like their policy, and I don’t.’”<sup>35</sup>

Yet exercise of such freedom can also result in loss of objectivity. Reston himself acknowledges this in 1961 further to Kennedy’s contrasting, personal and original style of news’ liaison and dissemination: “‘There are, of course, many here who agree that this exploitation of modern mass communications imbalances the political system.’”<sup>36</sup> Kennedy’s encouraged personal access is inferred to continue such

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. p.153: Kennedy ‘felt...that reporters now had much freer access to the news than under his predecessors. Both he and his staff were now much more available for interviews and backgrounders.’ See also Dallek op. cit. p.529: ‘He saw the press and *The New York Times* in particular as “the most privileged group”’

<sup>33</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.318.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. p.169.

<sup>35</sup> Op. cit. Nixon p.397. Indeed, Salinger makes reference to the newspaper’s Clifton Daniel as the administration’s first choice to participate in a CBS TV debate with a Russian counterpart. Daniel is the son of Democrat President Harry S. Truman.

<sup>36</sup> James Reston, ‘Washington: How to Break the Rules Without Getting Caught’, *The New York Times*, November 29<sup>th</sup>, 1961,

journalistic compromising in his favour, with Salinger himself acknowledging this perception: ‘...certain political specialists on our staff charged the President and me with paying too much attention to the *Times*.’<sup>37</sup>

Reston’s cognisance does little to preclude his own complicity in consolidating reader perception at the time of Kennedy’s positive promotion and receipt. Salinger even asserts Reston being bold enough to request ‘a White House diary containing the names of JFK’s visitors, his off-the-record conversations, and events and disputes leading up to major decisions.’<sup>38</sup> This thesis will demonstrate a general reluctance from Reston’s newspaper to impugn Kennedy in the run-up and during his Presidency - a loyalty Reston personally seems to continue well beyond it<sup>39</sup> - and that is perhaps predictably honoured by the newspaper upon the first anniversary of Kennedy’s death. Reproduction by the *Times* of its own articles in book form celebrates the part it played in that cultivation process: “It is the best collection of Kennedy photographs ever assembled between covers. It is also the most useful account of his career...”<sup>40</sup>

Criticism of Kennedy, however, is resurgent concerning the direction of the Vietnam war. Such coolness by the newspaper is compounded by its own subsequent reports based on the unofficial release in 1971 of the Pentagon Papers, 7,000 pages confirming successive administrations’ concealment of the conflict’s magnitude and reasons behind it. The bleaker backdrop of the early 1970s sees *The New York Times* impart an inconsistent Kennedy perception in which respect for the manner of the President’s passing starts to conflict with journalists’ probes into Kennedy’s possible contribution to this social decline. This includes investigation of the man personally, a

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<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/11/29/97325084.html?pageNumber=40>  
(15/05/2018).

<sup>37</sup> Op. cit. Salinger. p.117.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. p.208.

<sup>39</sup> See his continuing exoneration of Edward Kennedy after Chappaquiddick in which he is depicted as much the victim as Kopechne herself: “He has become, in short, not only a prominent political figure but a symbol of the tragedy and caprice of life....sadder, wiser...” ‘Edgartown, Mass: The Strange Case of Senator Kennedy’, *The New York Times*, January 7<sup>th</sup>, 1970,

<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1970/01/07/80014588.html?pageNumber=42>  
(06/07/2017). Reston also applies those last two words at the time to describe JFK after the Bay of Pigs [see thesis p.119]. Appropriately in ‘Lingering Tragedy’, “he has learned by failing and suffering”, *The New York Times*, September 25<sup>th</sup>, 1974,

<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1974/09/25/99186729.html?pageNumber=39>  
(06/07/2017). See also ‘For the Love of Teddy: James Reston’s inexplicable Kennedy Crush’, in which he is castigated for his disproportionate sympathy towards the Kopechnes, see Jack Shafer, *Slate* magazine, August 26<sup>th</sup>, 2009, <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2009/08/new-york-times-columnist-james-reston-s-inexplicable-teddy-kennedy-crush.html> (06/07/2017).

<sup>40</sup> ‘JFK: Time to look at Whole Man’, *The New York Times*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1964.

confusion that is epitomized in the following continuity-microcosm by the newspaper's similarly long-serving political journalist William Safire.

When *Newsweek's* Ben Bradlee's *Conversations* undergoes salacious extraction for publication by *Playboy* magazine, neither *The New York Times* nor *The Dallas Morning News* – published four days later, thus having separate opportunity – intervenes in its ensuing negative portrayal of Kennedy. Safire merely concludes with sardonic admiration of Bradlee as the most “trusted confidant”<sup>41</sup> Kennedy could have, given these supposed slips in Bradlee's discretion. Two weeks later, Safire issues a retraction in ‘That Special Grace’<sup>42</sup> that specifically invokes Sorensen's biographical allusion to Kennedy's style.<sup>43</sup> Safire purports to lament having given such decontextualized selectivity to Bradlee's “gossipy bestseller”<sup>44</sup> so much page space. This, however, seems a weak denunciation given Safire's reference to Kennedy's being “too reverently remembered” in which the reader might now understand Safire's ‘Grace’ headline in a more ironic light. Two months later the same journalist refuses to relinquish the subject. Safire's opening line: “The diehard loyalty of the old Kennedy mythmakers is glorious to behold”<sup>45</sup> fails to acknowledge the part he, together with his own newspaper's predecessors, recently played in its facilitating. Suddenly more credence seems to be afforded to the original Bradlee article as an intentionally negative depiction that Safire wished to share. Such intention is now overtly endorsed by Safire's respect for Bradlee “breaking ranks”. For Safire, it merely adds to the exposure of unconvincing denials issued by Kennedy's former Deputy Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach as to that administration's alleged wire-tapping of Civil Rights' leaders further to its perceived insidious collusion with FBI head J. Edgar Hoover. Safire concludes this to plunge the reputation of Robert's Department of Justice to a point at which “it had never sunk lower”. Safire closes by

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<sup>41</sup> William Safire, ‘The Kennedy Transcripts’, *The New York Times*, March 20<sup>th</sup>, 1975, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1975/03/20/107207039.html?pageNumber=39> (15/01/19).

<sup>42</sup> William Safire, ‘That Special Grace’, *The New York Times*, April 17<sup>th</sup>, 1975, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1975/04/17/76350921.html?action=click&contentCollection=Archives&module=LedeAsset&region=ArchiveBody&pgtype=article&pageNumber=39> (15/01/19).

<sup>43</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.7.

<sup>44</sup> Op. cit. Safire, March 20<sup>th</sup>, 1975.

<sup>45</sup> William Safire, ‘Of Kennedy and Kings’, *The New York Times*, June 20<sup>th</sup>, 1975, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1975/06/20/76560616.html?pageNumber=35> (15/01/19)

asserting the Kennedys to be “willing to subvert the personal civil rights of the nation’s leading fighter for civil rights – and do it in the name of civil rights”. This is far more explicit in personal condemnation than the equivocation I identify at the time from the newspaper on the subject, discussed in Chapter Three.

Negativity towards Kennedy continues with Andrew Kopkind’s review<sup>46</sup> a year later of Bruce Miroff’s *Presidential Politics of John F. Kennedy*. The article opens with Kopkind’s lament as to “unfilled promise” that has subsequently assumed illusory shape so that: “What remains in the popular political imagination are myths masking a mediocre record.” The alliteration here intensifies Kopkind’s consistent indignation towards the “substantial contradictions” that require proper ‘dissection’ along with Kennedy’s own “extraordinary mystique” that placed “preoccupation with personal style” before “political issues.” Miroff’s own critique of Kennedy’s leadership is deemed insufficient, Kopkind decrying the extent of Miroff’s focus upon Kennedy’s “manipulation of those intangibles” of “style, flair, charisma” because of their beguiling but warped continued attraction to future administrations.

The newspaper’s utilization of book reviews to reflect ongoing Kennedy regard continues on the eve of the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his death. ‘Historians’ Poll Ranks Kennedy High, but Authors Continue to Argue Case’<sup>47</sup> asserts a distinction between the two professions its ensuing comparison of works from each nonetheless blurs. The “afterglow” – previously applied by Kopkind – of Schlesinger’s pro-Kennedy outputs in particular continues to be dulled by reference to David Halberstam’s Vietnam-centred memoirs confirming the disparity between the official government narrative and on-the-spot Saigon reporting, Garry Wills’ style-as-substance “compulsive risk-taker” denigration and Herbert Parmet’s “machismo” accusations of the President. Kennedy manages to achieve a 13<sup>th</sup> “unsettled and controversial” place in Presidential rankings as a result, although he receives considerably more page space for someone achieving such a modest position.

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<sup>46</sup> Andrew Kopkind, ‘Pragmatic Illusions’, *The New York Times*, August 1<sup>st</sup>, 1976, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1976/08/01/96995318.html?pageNumber=173> (16/01/19).

<sup>47</sup> Walter Goodman, *The New York Times*, November 21<sup>st</sup>, 1983, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1983/11/21/057370.html?pageNumber=36> (16/01/19).

Book reviews continue to be indulged to determine perception five years later, in Michael T. Kaufman's 'JFK Then and Now'.<sup>48</sup> Despite the passing of time some of those same scholars' names reappear, doing little to influence Kennedy trajectory direction other than accentuate the journalist's more vocal insistence that "virtual unanimity about President Kennedy's wit and charm and style, and about the positive ends they serve" are acknowledged regardless of his mistakes. This is quite a specific reversal of Kopkind's concluding lament cited earlier. It is enhanced by Kaufman's refusal to apply an expected comma between "wit" and "charm" so that the reader is obliged to dwell upon each of these qualities. The comment represents one of the few overt glimpses of detached positive newspaper conviction during this period.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Kennedy's death, his hitherto loyalist Tom Wicker's 'From Man to Martyr to Myth'<sup>49</sup> perfunctorily conveys Wicker's irritation towards the persistent public delusion placing Kennedy in "improbably high regard" given his actual achievements and subsequent book assaults. For Wicker, this hardly justifies Kennedy's inclusion as "a candidate for Mount Rushmore." Such prevailing public regard is attributed by Wicker to the "Mythic manner" – once again an 'm' alliteration to suggest ironic application - of Kennedy's death, particularly given the "soul-shaking years" to follow. Abetted by an ongoing 'memory eraser', Wicker considers such perception unlikely to diminish while Americans continue to select "faith rather than evidence" Kennedy is implied still to inspire of them, in their own belief of themselves as "they wished....to be".

Safire is similarly intolerant of public mellowing. In his 2002 'Kennedy Agonistes'<sup>50</sup> – proof perhaps of O'Donnell's pretentiousness objection, in Safire's assumption of reader familiarity with the Samson figure of classical Greek tragedy John Milton's poem celebrates – Safire draws attention to Kennedy's own misappropriation of medical gifts to secure his political fortunes. Safire elucidates the degree of physical affliction Kennedy privately endured that persuaded JFK towards

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<sup>48</sup> *The New York Times*, November 20<sup>th</sup>, 1988, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1988/11/20/504588.html?pageNumber=184> (17/01/19).

<sup>49</sup> A Thousand Days: From Man to Martyr to Myth, *The New York Times*, November 21<sup>st</sup>, 1993, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1993/11/21/271293.html?pageNumber=148> (17/01/19).

<sup>50</sup> William Safire, 'Kennedy Agonistes', *The New York Times*, November 18<sup>th</sup>, 2002, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/2002/11/18/972088.html?pageNumber=53> (17/01/19).

such reckless, nationally-endangering indulgence. To continue Safire's parlance, this is no 'Apologia'. Instead, Safire wants to know why medical-record "honesty" continues to be suppressed when it can no longer affect the political "ambition" of a President who died nearly 40 years ago. Safire's liaison with Dallek on this issue ahead of Dallek's own forthcoming Kennedy anniversary book, does little frustratingly to advance what Safire believes to be the "taxpayer" public's right to know.

The newspaper is still indulging a literary penchant in 2013. Ross Douthat draws attention to two other writers whose deaths on the same day, are overshadowed by Kennedy's own. Aldous Huxley and C. S. Lewis, and their respective characters 'Savage' and 'Puddleglum' provide Douthat with a less epic context than Safire's against which to portray the merits of Kennedy's resistance to contemporary acquiescence. Through their characters' own utopian rejection, the reader is to infer Kennedy's similar non-utilitarian embracing of "the entire vertical dimension in human life, the quest for the sublime and the transcendent, for romance and honor [sic], beauty and truth."<sup>51</sup> The "sinner" made out to be a "saint" by the "cult" of Kennedy 'elegiac and paranoid "nostalgists"' who continue to exasperate "skeptics[sic]" with their ability to turn a "sordid political operation" into a "Camelot" and "a world-historical figure out of a President whose fate was tragic but whose record was not terribly impressive", is offset by Douthat's respect of their need to have a figure embody their "icons and heroes" rather than continued consumerist worship of "pleasure and stability" Huxley's and Lewis' persona variously also confront. While Kennedy might be deemed "a poor vessel for these desires", a man who has been "deified prematurely or naively", Douthat concludes this to be preferable "to seek[ing] a brave new world with no heights or depths, no room for divinity or heroism anymore." The newspaper trajectory seems to be settling on wistfulness that the public perception *The New York Times* helped to cultivate remains relatively impervious to its journalists' reflective critiques disputing the positivity with which Kennedy is so regularly associated. It is left with the paradox of acknowledging a flawed human icon.

**b) *The Dallas Morning News***

*The Dallas Morning News* is primarily selected further to its regard, albeit somewhat reluctantly by the White House during Kennedy's Presidency, as the 'bellwether'<sup>52</sup> for

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<sup>51</sup> Ross Douthat, 'Puddleglum and the Savage', *The New York Times*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2013.

<sup>52</sup> Op. cit. Minutaglio and Davis p.235.

the city in which, of course, his assassination takes place. Its marked geographical and political contrast, particularly against the ‘liberal’ *New York Times*,<sup>53</sup> is utilized to offer perception balance – rather than necessarily balanced perception – in assessment of the Kennedy personae to consolidate ultimate trajectory determination of Icon and Myth.

*The Dallas Morning News* emerges in 1885 from the Alfred Horatio Belo Corporation, a newspaper-owning company still active in the city. George Bannerman Dealey is first to assume its separate editorial control. It enjoys a steady increase in circulation in its early years thanks to telegraphed production that enables its reach to extend 315 miles across the state beyond Dallas’ 18,000 population. During these years as ‘the dominant newspaper in Texas’<sup>54</sup> it is regarded as politically moderate, ‘squarely within the traditions of mainstream America’,<sup>55</sup> Dealey distancing it from the perceived business-damaging association with Dallas’ 1920s’ Ku-Klux-Klan establishment in particular. Circulation settles during the 1940s to just under 120,000 daily copies.<sup>56</sup> In 1949 Edward Musgrove Dealey inherits the newspaper from his father, having joined it in 1915 directly from Harvard. E. M. Dealey determines its increasing editorial ‘bully pulpit’<sup>57</sup> course that sees it shortly go ‘routinely to war with the United Nations, the NAACP, labor [sic], liberals, and – lately – the Supreme Court’.<sup>58</sup> In 1962 his slightly more moderate son Joe takes over, although ‘Ted’ remains active on its board. During his own time Ted becomes a self-appointed integral part of the city’s centralized power apparatus to protect its new-found oil wealth – and concomitant sense of special identity. In conjunction with the Citizens’ Council that determines Dallas’ business and political agenda, Dealey encourages his newspaper to assume increasing ‘ultra-conservative’<sup>59</sup> levels in the run-up to the 1960 Presidential election in which the *News* becomes the first in the US to endorse Nixon for President. Kennedy’s victory instead sees resulting entrenchment of this “editorial preoccupation with the radical right”,<sup>60</sup> in highly antagonistic, often personal terms. Ironically, this is acknowledged in the newspaper’s post-assassination reference to a “tragic act...not directed against the

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<sup>53</sup> Op. cit. *Trump’s First Year*.

<sup>54</sup> Op. cit. Minutaglio and Davis p.102.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid p.103.

<sup>56</sup> ‘Funding Universe’, A. H. Belo Corporation History, <http://www.fundinguniverse.com/company-histories/a-h-belo-corporation-history/> (12/01/2019).

<sup>57</sup> Op. cit. Minutaglio and Davis p.19.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. p.17.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid. p.11.

<sup>60</sup> ‘Big D Means Disgrace says ABC News Analyst’, *The Dallas Morning News*, October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1963.



country or its highest office, but against the man.”<sup>61</sup> At the time of the President’s visit to the city, the “Once a great and fearless paper”,<sup>62</sup> while promising a warm welcome nonetheless openly declares that “The *News*, along with thousands in this area, has disagreed sharply with many of your policies”.<sup>63</sup> Such cumulative vitriol only temporarily abates in the assassination’s immediate aftermath. Instead, I identify a much slower, detached self-healing to take place given Dallas’ swift attraction of blame Jackie’s “see what they have done”<sup>64</sup> exclamation to travelling companion Senator Connally’s wife, seems deeply to imprint.

The ascent in Kennedy trajectory perception therefore seems reactively incited as a result. Instead of expressing outright lament at his death or remorse for any contribution the newspaper itself may have made towards the toxic atmosphere that culminates with the assassination, the newspaper instead prompts indignation at Dallas’ “cruel” victimizing: “It cannot be charged with fairness that an entire city is in national disgrace”,<sup>65</sup> compounded later in the article by the reported ostracizing of its citizens that for some apparently results in prolonged psychological trauma. Such denial of any complicity towards this climate manifests itself in statements of defiance, for which city-critical Judge Hughes, who previously swore-in Johnson as President on-board Air Force One, finds her “liberal leanings”<sup>66</sup> a specific early target of the newspaper’s myopic vitriol, in an article conformingly headlined ‘No Mean City’. Such grievance, rather than any reported grief at Kennedy’s death, persists into January 1967 with the bold inclusion of a Letters’ column entitled ‘Dallas defended in Other Cities’.<sup>67</sup> The column encourages a shared perception of it as a city of ‘hurt’ rather than ‘hate’<sup>68</sup> particularly given vindicating confirmation of the Communist persuasion of the perpetrator which must therefore surely exonerate Dallas, at least according to the *Tulsa World*, against unfair “ravages of cancer” accusations of right-wing extremism. The

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<sup>61</sup> ‘John F. Kennedy’, *The Dallas Morning News*, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1963. Minutaglio and Davis similarly make reference to Dealey’s ‘combative editorials’ that apparently [cause] Kennedy pain, evidenced at least twice by his ‘I am not particularly fond of brother Kennedy’, pp.35, 102.

<sup>62</sup> Op. cit. October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>63</sup> ‘The President’, *The Dallas Morning News*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1963.

<sup>64</sup> Captured in Lady Bird Johnson’s diary of that day, Minutaglio and Davis p.137. John Connally’s own ‘they’ll kill all of us’ only heightens this perception.

<sup>65</sup> Op. cit. John F. Kennedy, *The Dallas Morning News*, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1963. Sabato states the Dallas Cowboys, playing in Cleveland the following day, to be booed by the crowd. Their coach warns them ‘not to be conspicuous in public or identify themselves as belonging to the team’, op. cit. p.529.

<sup>66</sup> ‘No Mean City’, *The Dallas Morning News*, April 9<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

<sup>67</sup> ‘Dallas Defended in Other Cities’, *The Dallas Morning News*, January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1967.

<sup>68</sup> For example, Mayor Earle Cabell’s papers, Minutaglio and Davis op. cit. p.316.

indignation resumes four months later with editorial lead Dick West still railing – alliteratively - against Dallas’ unjust perception as “ a ruffian of the right, a cesspool of selfishness and a political prostitute”,<sup>69</sup> especially having generously “weathered”<sup>70</sup> desegregation measures imposed upon a city previously asserted by West’s newspaper to be “a model in race relations”.<sup>71</sup>

The newspaper’s continuing reluctance to confront its complicity is further exposed in a revealing disparity of reporting with *The New York Times* concerning Mayor Erik Jonsson’s memorial tribute also on the fourth anniversary of Kennedy’s death. That article alludes to the non-introspective application of what Jonsson intuitively as the Kennedy spirit.<sup>72</sup> It also refers to a community funding of the event rather than pure business sponsorship, suggesting voluntary self-healing among some of its citizens already to be in progress. However, such an appeal for recognition of private culpability and nature of tribute payment is omitted by *The Dallas Morning News*. Instead, it prefers to laud the former Texas Instruments’ pioneer for his business acumen, in which his civic ‘Goals for Dallas’ programme is entirely attributed – without its entertainment of any moral objective being included here – towards transforming this once ‘discordant’<sup>73</sup> city into a mellowing metropolis, its increasingly diverse population may organically be separately already enhancing.<sup>74</sup> Resultant urban and social changes are similarly evidenced in a November 17<sup>th</sup> 1968 article, ‘Assassination Sparks Dallas Upheaval’. Here, *News*’ staff writer Fred Pass, still sensitive – or ‘burdened’ like many in his community – to Dallas’ ongoing worldwide negative perception from correspondence he lists, confirms the election of former Mayor Earle Cabell, its first Democrat since the Franklin D. Roosevelt era, who defeats the ultra-conservative

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<sup>69</sup> Dick West, ‘City of Hate in Retrospect’, November 19<sup>th</sup>, 1967.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Op. cit. ‘No Mean City’.

<sup>72</sup> ‘Dallas Mayor Bids the Living Pursue Kennedy Goals’, *The New York Times*, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1967, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1967/11/23/84801528.html?pageNumber=55> (22/04/2017). Paul H. Santa Cruz asserts Jonsson on this occasion to be ‘reconnecting the link between JFK and the city where he died, the city...now adopt[ing] JFK as the standard by which citizens’ commitments to unity and civic responsibility were measured’, *Making JFK Matter: Popular Memory and the Thirty-Fifth President*, University of North Texas Press, 2015, p.60, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/swansea-ebooks/reader.action?docID=2052166> (30/11/19).

<sup>73</sup> Fred Pass, ‘Assassination Sparks Dallas upheaval’, *The Dallas Morning News*, November 17<sup>th</sup>, 1968.

<sup>74</sup> *The New York Times* reports a 63% increase in the black population since 1960’s Census showing 14.7% Dallas representation, see ‘Change more than a sense of tragedy now dominates Dallas’, November 21<sup>st</sup>, 1973. Interestingly, in later recognition of Jonsson’s similar patronage towards Dallas’ cultural revival, a new central library is named after him in which is located the newspaper archive from which much of my research here has been drawn.

Congressman Bruce Alger. In 1970, a year after Ted Dealey's own death, the thaw in Kennedy regard appears to continue with the passive reporting of memorial services continuing to take place across the city. This implies finally a respect being afforded to Kennedy per se rather than as an impulse motivated by ongoing introspective lament at any vicarious responsibility.

The trajectory ascent receives an unexpected spike 15 years to date after Kennedy first assumes office. A report by its now 'Editorial Director Emeritus' Dick West, demonstrates this formerly loyal product of Dealey's self-assumed political remit opining the difficulty of establishing Kennedy's rightful place in history.<sup>75</sup> Professing non-indulgence in "hagiography" to be evidence of an objectivity that previously had to be refined for its readership in case it drew deviant conclusions from its 'right...to get from the newspaper both sides of every important question',<sup>76</sup> West declares that "Legislatively, JFK did little". This is somewhat forgetful of his newspaper's former encouragement of such resistance, particularly regarding Civil Rights, and its concomitant relief at the necessarily stolid mechanics of Congress.<sup>77</sup> Such criticism is, however, immediately offset with declarations as to Kennedy being a man of "unusual prescience" boasting "incredible vision", his aptitude during the Bay of Pigs' episode now downplayed by a redeeming "hand[ling] of Khrushchev with consummate skill" my cited rebuff herein shortly after this event from his own newspaper, providing amusing contradiction. West continues to laud Kennedy's "finesse", a "fresh spirit" to invigorate the White House that is consolidated by his "indigenous political skill" formally perceived by West's newspaper as "weak sister"<sup>78</sup> capitulation. The trajectory reaches its apogee in West's concluding statement in which the reader infers the city and its "vicious fate" victim finally to be fused.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Kennedy's passing, such articulation of this necessary moral and material fusion consolidating positively, appears confirmed by a more effusive retrospective. Here, the unnamed journalist – as if speaking on behalf of the entire newspaper – acknowledges the city's reticent civility towards Kennedy. It accepts its chosen form of healing to have been deliberately introspective in the

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<sup>75</sup> 'Where will Historians Rank JFK?' *The Dallas Morning News*, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1978.

<sup>76</sup> *The Dallas Morning News*' Mission Statement, op. cit. Minutaglio and Davis p.103.

<sup>77</sup> See thesis p.182 for West's own 'brake' reference.

<sup>78</sup> Op. cit. Minutaglio and Davis p.108.

assassination aftermath, having assumed the defiant contours of bold civic statements in which to assuage or displace its guilt rather “than building a spirit of equality” to accommodate its racial oppressed, growing contingent.<sup>79</sup> While the interviewed civic-visionary Stanley Marcus, a key figure in *Dallas 1963*, bemoans his city’s disregard for Kennedy’s social objectives for which its citizens may long since have lost sight anyway, the President’s positive association is resurrected by reference to the albeit belated election of non-white officials to education and legal committees, together with business-community commitment to its minorities’ inclusion. This recalls the spirit exemplified by Kennedy’s Plans for Progress instigated in 1961 that insisted upon employee integration more accurately reflective of racial composition. Dallas seems to be embracing some form of his legacy even if not overtly acknowledging that link. As if in closing prayer, the journalist asserts this city finally to have “moved out from beneath the shadows of the Texas School Book Depository”, symbolically also confirming the moral sanctuary conferred upon its buildings alone to be inadequate. Dallas has now reconciled itself to the connection Kennedy forged in paying with his life, to the rest of the world given the splendid isolationism its wealth could have conferred upon it. The article concludes with the fervent wish for “the growth and maturity of the city that will always be intertwined with his name.” Material and moral rejuvenation seem finally to be operating in unison.

On the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary, in the affirmatively entitled ‘Networks return to find new take on JFK observance’, the newspaper’s TV critic Ed Bark reports that Dallas “now completely accommodate[s] the Kennedy curiosity”<sup>80</sup> to a degree in which its former ‘maligning’ and “shame”<sup>81</sup> seems finally absolved, even if Kennedy’s brother Edward cannot personally find or impose “closure”<sup>82</sup> on the city by returning to it. This is nonetheless not allowed to detract from its citizens’ current regard for “the

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<sup>79</sup> “Twenty-five years ago it was a city of 679,000. It was 75 per cent white and dominated a metropolitan area of 1.7 million people. Now less than half the million or so residents of Dallas are white, and it dominates a metropolitan area of 3.7 million people”, Peter Applebome, in ‘25 Years after the death of Kennedy, Dallas Looks at its Changed Image’, *The New York Times*, November 21<sup>st</sup>, 1988, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1988/11/21/757388.html?pageNumber=14> (23/06/2017).

<sup>80</sup> Ed Bark, ‘Embracing the 40<sup>th</sup>: Networks return to find new take on JFK observance’, *The Dallas Morning News*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2003.

<sup>81</sup> Michael Granberry, ‘Endless procession of images, sadness for many in motorcade, tragedy will never come to a full stop’, *The Dallas Morning News*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2003.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

young, charismatic president”,<sup>83</sup> with part of its fabric in the specific form of Dealey Plaza itself, established as a National Historic landmark in 1993, now apparently becoming enshrined Kennedy territory deserving of particular reverence upon each passing anniversary. The 35<sup>th</sup> President becomes an intrinsically positive part of the city. It reminds another reflective journalist writing at the same time, “just how far Dallas, the media and politics have come since that tragic, tragic day.”<sup>84</sup>

On the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary, the newspaper reproduces its November 23<sup>rd</sup> 1963 edition as a commemorative keepsake. It includes a separate 12-page contribution whose cover is a monochrome mosaic composition of *Dallas Morning News* Kennedy-articles to constitute what is significantly referred to as ‘the perfect iconic photo’<sup>85</sup> according to its designer – although the location of the conspicuous miniature portrait piece of Oswald over Kennedy’s temple is questionable in its taste. The strapline reads: ‘Dallas joins the world in remembering that tragic day...’ as if confirming final abandonment of its insularity. It may also explain the newspaper’s profound sense of grievance that a *New York Times* article which appears just in advance of the same anniversary<sup>86</sup> suggests Dallas’ progress to be as cosmetic as the white paint retouching Dealey Plaza in time for the formal commemoration. It immediately ‘compels’<sup>87</sup> an editorial response “own[ing] up to this city’s past, hate and all” but insisting upon the huge investment JFK-impact symposia, arts projects and other celebratory events throughout 2013 have made towards its successful “self-examination” transition.

### **Practical Methodology research issues**

The introduction of General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) in 2018 prevented online access to many US archives from EU countries. For this thesis it resulted in blocked admission to *The Dallas Morning News*’ online archive hitherto regularly consulted freely. This considerable referencing obstacle, subsequently lifted in Spring

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<sup>83</sup> ‘Defining moment JFK assassination carries weight of 9/11’, *The Dallas Morning News*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2003.

<sup>84</sup> ‘Hits and Misses’, *The Dallas Morning News*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2003.

<sup>85</sup> Marilyn Bishkin, ‘JFK50: An inside look at the DMN’s special section’, *Society of News Design*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2013, <https://www.snd.org/2013/11/jfk50-inside-dallas-morning-news/> (15/02/2018).

<sup>86</sup> James McAuley, ‘The City With a Death Wish In its Eye’, *The New York Times*, November 16<sup>th</sup>, 2013, <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/17/opinion/sunday/dallass-role-in-kennedys-murder.html> (12/02/2018).

<sup>87</sup> ‘Editorial: Our Response to NYT essay: “The City With a Death Wish in its Eye”’, *The Dallas Morning News*, November 19<sup>th</sup>, 2013, <https://www.dallasnews.com/opinion/editorials/2013/11/19/editorial-our-response-to-nyt-essay-the-city-with-a-death-wish-in-its-eye/> (12/2/2018)

2019, was overcome in the meantime by establishing contact with Brandon Murray, of Dallas History & Archives Division, City of Dallas library, that has now become the repository for the broadsheet's articles up to 1984. He duly facilitated resumed overseas access in which paid subscription to specific time periods covering the themes intrinsic to my analysis was enabled. Dallas Library staff would then post as emailed thumbnails for both interrogation and screen-upload those articles within these segments identified as most pertinent, for personal hard-copy retention.

*The New York Times'* archive, however, has proved less inhibited in its access protocols throughout, enabling continuing online interrogation of its own considerable archives through regular monthly subscription. This has nonetheless not precluded retention of every single article first downloaded for hard-copy reference, in which case the document has been retained as such and footnoted accordingly.

Otherwise, cognisant of its partisan persuasion and ongoing information control borne of Kennedy family trusteeship, the JFK-Library has nevertheless yielded invaluable online resources. Its open access to multi-media platforms for example, has facilitated authenticating of Kennedy speeches and ephemera that corroborate many thesis contentions. The site is, however, regularly updated, often amalgamating documents into a single-access web address in so doing, as is exemplified in some of the Civil Rights' speeches that previously existed separately according to specific date rather than range. At the commencement of this thesis, all of Kennedy's speeches on this site dating from 1942, were ordered alphabetically according to location rather than theme which necessitated protracted consultation. Therefore, recourse has instead been taken towards consistency of a hard-copy collation of his major speeches commencing with Kennedy's Democratic Nomination party address until his Amherst College remarks of 26<sup>th</sup> October 1963. Otherwise, as footnote-stated, all other addresses or drafts invoked have utilized this active online reference body. I have also participated in the JFK-Library's discussion-thread conversations in which lively debate often ensues.

Finally, explanation must be provided for the diversity of compendia utilized for Chapter Four's sub-section devoted to Kennedy invocation by subsequent political figures. The original intention was to consult primarily and for consistency the Presidential Library websites of Kennedy's successors in similar expectation of

definitive and clearly accessible source material comparable with that provided by the JFK-Library. However, some of these sites were found to be surprisingly limited in archival scope, their emphasis often placed upon instigated charitable foundations and visits.<sup>88</sup> Indeed, the William J. Clinton Presidential Library and Museum site immediately redirects inquiry to the Government Publishing Office US ‘Govinfo’ website as its approved repository. This site duly assumed primacy for all subsequent Presidents given its most comprehensive and structured documenting of press conferences, photographic portfolios, meetings and official speeches all located under its ‘Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States’ section. Currently concluding at the end of 2013, from 1991 official conversation is recorded into two six-month calendar year segments of Presidential commitments. These are uploaded as re-typed PDFs, and additionally in XML text format at the commencement of Obama’s first term. Prior to 1991, Presidents’ speeches appear as PDF scans from original – often copious – documents that therefore take time to upload. In these instances, consultation particularly for Johnson and Nixon, has been made from the clearer updating of material by the University of Virginia: Miller Center. This reference body has extracted what it considers to be each President’s most significant formal oral contributions. For Obama’s second term, ‘American Rhetoric’ containing 400 of his speeches, has been utilized for its clarity and accessibility over the broad date-filtering White House archives’ site from which much of its material has been uploaded. Material on President Trump that could not be procured from Miller Center has been accessed through ‘Factbase’, a crude website inviting public approval ratings against excessively segmented video-accompanied dialogue. Its value merely lies in the verbatim detail captured, and is therefore research-complemented by my registering as a follower to President Trump’s Twitter feed.

### **Conceptual Methodology**

The first conceptual inspiration for this thesis been E. H. Carr’s ‘The Historian and his facts’ essay from his ‘What is History?’ collection. He theorizes an ongoing collusion between the selection and depiction of facts according to the historian’s own

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<sup>88</sup> One notable exception, however, is the diary minutiae from the Reagan Foundation – as distinct from the Library site in his name – that provided useful insight into the depth of his JFK association.

interpretative agenda that itself remains malleable and challengeable. The Kennedy story conspicuously exhibits these qualities.

Contemporary historians and aides attest to Kennedy's post-Presidency intention to write his own history – upon which sometime friend-cum-journalist Ben Bradlee asserts him 'hungry to have a special impact'<sup>89</sup> – given Kennedy's unrelinquished anxiety as to how he might be recorded by others. Indeed, his 'history depends on who writes it'<sup>90</sup> assertion validates Carr's warning that 'our first concern should not be with the facts it contains but with the historian who wrote it.'<sup>91</sup> Carr draws attention to the often precarious foundation upon which a story or narrative can be imparted, being premised upon a 'refracted'<sup>92</sup> interpretation by a teller conditioned by his frame of reference, 'the kind of fish he chooses to catch'.<sup>93</sup> The reader therefore receives a writer's distillate, the rejected 'pulp'<sup>94</sup> of Carr's analogy if indeed evaluated by a respected body to be 'worthy of preserving'<sup>95</sup> before its metaphorical decomposition takes place, being retrieved and reconstituted, putatively more 'accurately' by another writer.

The discarded or unsought varieties the bait of investigation attracts, to retain Carr's piscine analogy, may be a necessary part of the process in order to maintain desired coherence their separate, possibly multiple, retrieval to narrative generation could overwhelm. Indeed, Bradlee considers his own – to him still worthwhile, and at this point consulted as unexpurgated<sup>96</sup> - *Conversations*' memoir as typical of this kind of discard-casualty. Constituted as the product of shared-company downtime with the President, Bradlee declares that: '...I knew enough of history to know that the fruits of this kind of access seldom make history books, and the great men of our time are less understood as a result.'<sup>97</sup> Such awareness as to the subjectivity of value – what fish to catch, or shards to reject – makes an important contribution to this thesis'

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<sup>89</sup> Op. cit. Bradlee p.21. See Chapter Two of this thesis for explanation of their relationship.

<sup>90</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.4.

<sup>91</sup> E. H. Carr, *What is History?* Penguin Books, 1983, p.22.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid. p.24: 'The historian is of his own age, and is bound to it by the conditions of human existence.'

<sup>94</sup> Ibid. p.23.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid. p.13.

<sup>96</sup> See thesis p.36 for Safire's later response to its condensed publication.

<sup>97</sup> Op. cit. Bradlee p.10. Kennedy apparently approves Bradlee's 'kind of record of the more intimate details without which the real story of any administration cannot be told', op. cit. p.153.



concluding concerns regarding reader confidence in information-gathering in order to generate one's own narrative coherence.

The precariousness of such a selection process is pertinently borne out in the *Dallas 1963* retelling. The reader is left curious as to whether much of the minutiae – Bradlee's shards perhaps – the reported private correspondence imploring the President not to visit, the 'Wanted for Treason' leaflets, Dallas' shortage of security staff for the day in which at least 20,000 windows overlook the motorcade route, Oswald's ease in procuring a rifle - would have been omitted as inconsequential if Kennedy had survived the visit. Instead, as Sabato comments: 'once-insignificant events loom large.'<sup>98</sup> This echoes Carr's lament as to what may already permanently, perhaps more meaningfully, have been lost in the recording of other events over time that somehow failed to achieve similar 'historical' sanctuary simply because of what writers choose or feel obliged to leave out.

Predetermination of surviving story content should not therefore consider itself inviolable, as demonstrated in the competing, often undermining narratives Chapter Three of this thesis suggests to be permanently co-existent. *Dallas 1963*, exemplifying a narrative in which 'facts' are extricated to support a contention – what Carr describes as the conscious or unconscious imbuing of a particular view<sup>99</sup> - almost demands *The Dallas Morning News*' trajectory to be of necessarily solid descent towards Kennedy in order to conform to its overall implored negative portrayal towards key persona. Yet – like Carr's fish that may have to be thrown back – this is actually inconsistent with articles I independently research throughout this period. These instead demonstrate fluctuations in regard, often determined by the newspaper's equally comfortable acquiescence in incorporating columns from its purportedly politically antithetical *New York Times* and own Washington news' desk.

This 'ocean'<sup>100</sup> of information identified by Carr as providing the ingredients for a certain story line that in turn may have been allowed to settle, is itself disturbed by the discovery of new 'facts'. The continued declassification of material, for example, can encourage a fuller – although no less flawed 'process of

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<sup>98</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.1.

<sup>99</sup> Op. cit. Carr p.13. See also Sabato: 'JFK's assassination had become a reflection of each individual's ideology – people saw what they wanted to see in the events of 11/22 and created narratives that reflected their personal prejudices and predilections', op. cit. p.30.

<sup>100</sup> Op. cit. Carr p.23.

reconstitution’<sup>101</sup> to take place, given Carr’s misgivings as to the sanctity often afforded to so-called official documentation – that, in the unlikely event of its complete disregarding, inevitably generates a different version of Kennedy’s story. This new information can prompt revisionism by subsequent story tellers. Indeed, in the course of my research, revisionism through both newspapers and books is responsible for the profound shifts in perception of Kennedy, from the reverence of Schlesinger and Sorensen to the wistfulness of Parmet, excoriation of Hersh and post-revisionism ‘humanizing’ portrayal of the man by Dallek in which medical breakthroughs are frequently invoked to justify a sympathetic re-depiction. As Safire contends, two years before his own stated complicity, revisionism itself is no more inviolable a form of narrative, particularly if it is reactive not just to the discovery but also to the changing emotional, social and political predilections of successive story tellers: “...today’s perceived truth [becomes] tomorrow’s guaranteed falsity”.<sup>102</sup> This so happens to be his own riposte to the spate of more hostile publications surfacing around the tenth anniversary of Kennedy’s death. Recalling Carr’s earlier appeal for attempted temporal empathy from the interpretive recorder, Safire insists that “The record of a President who reflected the temper of his time should not be wrenched about to reflect the distemper of revisionist historians.”

Typically, the success of the story recounted depends in part on the respect, indeed authority, afforded the teller by the audience. This invocation of the voice that should be counted is precisely enacted by Kennedy and his family themselves, commencing pre-Presidency as they consciously craft their own narratives of him while simultaneously scrutinizing and filtering interpretations presented as perceived Kennedy facts in the newspapers.<sup>103</sup> This chimes with Carr’s contention that: ‘every journalist knows today that the most effective way to influence opinion is by the

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid. p.22. On enshrined material: ‘But what, when we get down to it, do these documents – the decrees, the treaties, the rent-rolls, the bluebooks, the official correspondence, the private letters and diaries – tell us? No document can tell us more than what the author of the document thought’ op. cit. Carr p.16. Hindsight narratives further may distort the process because of a known outcome, that is, what the writer might be tempted to add in which such embellishment itself could seep into the next version describing the same history, as ‘fact’.

<sup>102</sup> William Safire, ‘On Revisionism’, *The New York Times*, November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1973, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1973/11/01/80810667.html?pageNumber=43> (15/04/2017).

<sup>103</sup> The Kennedys’ actions already anticipate Sabato’s opening assertion that: ‘A president’s legacy is a struggle....The former chief executive and his family and staff seek to enhance it, to airbrush away the blemishes while emphasizing the achievements, as they conceive of them’, op. cit. Sabato p.1.

selection and arrangement of the appropriate facts.’ As facilitators – ‘evaluators’<sup>104</sup> – of public opinion, the writers employed can decide ‘which facts to give the floor, and in what order or context.’<sup>105</sup> Such exercise – what Bradlee confirms as the journalist’s own ‘hunger to contribute to the recording of contemporary history’<sup>106</sup> – is unnerving to Kennedy, hence his attempted control of journalists through ingratiation, directive or personal confrontation. Family-assisted ‘winnowing’<sup>107</sup> to a narrative that is still emerging confirms Kennedy’s self-consciousness about historical regard, to determine a perception before one can be separately shaped by investigative historians and ‘the enormous condescension of posterity’<sup>108</sup> – or more pertinently for Kennedy, its condemnation. For Carr, historians can never hope to catch all of the ocean’s fish – and nor should they harbour such hope. To think that ‘history consists of the compilation of a maximum number of irrefutable and objective facts’<sup>109</sup> is to be eschewed as ‘a bad job’. They should instead sail forth knowing in advance which fish they would like to catch and how, to complete the maritime analogy, they would subsequently wish to cook them.

The second form of conceptual methodology applied to this thesis is inspired by J. L. Austin’s *How to do things with Words*. This is a compilation of his lecture series given at Kennedy’s alma mater, Harvard University. Austin is the original exponent of speech-act theory upon which reader depiction of Kennedy – how he is presented, who is doing the presenting and which audience is being addressed – will variously be utilized to inform trajectory course.

Austin draws attention to the linguistic performances operating within the history-telling process Carr elucidates, to constitute its effectiveness. This particularly includes the intention behind imparting that story. The teller’s empowerment, beyond its privileging initiating of verbal utterance, is not only generated through Austin’s exposition of the dubieties<sup>110</sup> of language but equally importantly, the impact this language has upon an intended or receptive audience that already – as inhibited

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid. p.21.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid. p.11.

<sup>106</sup> Op. cit. Bradlee p.10.

<sup>107</sup> Op. cit. Carr p.14.

<sup>108</sup> E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, Vintage Books, 1966, p.12.

<sup>109</sup> Op. cit. Carr p.15.

<sup>110</sup> He exemplifies specifically with “There is a bull in the field”, p.33, both a warning and scenery statement. The illocutionary and locutionary acts overlap.

Kennedy - must be acquiescent in that teller's authority to deliver it. This is more concisely inferred from Austin as 'felicitous' conditions<sup>111</sup> in which 'the particular persons and circumstances in a given case must be appropriate for the invocation of the particular procedure invoked.' Teller empowerment is only conferred by its achieving its desired effect upon an audience eager to heed that story just as a journalist's article or Kennedy oratory requires an appropriate reader or recipient respectively for its successful assimilation. Carr identifies how versions of history are produced by a teller, in which the audience seems only passively considered; Austin highlights the types of participation mutually required to facilitate these stories' successful dissemination.

For this thesis, utilization of Austin's linguistic theories will essentially be confined to adoption and exploitation of his three specific types of 'speech act'<sup>112</sup> – locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary – that will be applied to newspaper articles herein selected to describe certain qualities according to their inclusion within the telling of Kennedy's story as Icon or Myth.

The first of these acts is locutionary: 'uttering a certain sentence with a certain sense and reference'.<sup>113</sup> Subject to truth conditions or at least what the teller may purport to be the so-called truth, performance of a locutionary act may be exemplified by asking a question, providing information or, as regularly epitomized by journalists, giving an opening description in the form of neutral scene-setting. It is epitomized by Kennedy's introduction to the establishment of the Peace Corps in which the audience is informed that an Executive Order has been signed and that a draft structure has been proposed for it.<sup>114</sup> Yet when set within or at the beginning of a formal address, exemplified in his Inaugural speech with 'The world is very different now',<sup>115</sup> the locutionary statement will also often seem less stable in its frequent utilization by him as the precursor to an audience's anticipated involvement or build-up by him to a promise to them. In the example above, apocalyptic destruction is the explanation

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<sup>111</sup> Austin actually uses the negative form "doctrine of infelicities" p.15.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid p.52.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid. p.109

<sup>114</sup> 'Establishment of the Peace Corps', *The Speeches of John F. Kennedy*, Filibust Publishing, 2015, p.39. All subsequent quotations from major speeches post-July1960, with the exception of the Trade Mart draft, are taken from this source given the *JFK-Library*'s fluctuating preference for providing date and location only instead of title and content.

<sup>115</sup> 'Inaugural Address', op. cit. *Speeches* p.17.

given, thus immediately subjugating the impact of the introductory sentence. It may therefore be regarded oratorically as merely ritualistic, what Austin would regard as a pure performative utterance alone or verbal performative.<sup>116</sup>

The second speech act is the illocutionary. Austin defines this as an utterance having a communicative effect on the reader, ‘a conventional force’,<sup>117</sup> that, unlike the locutionary, is not necessarily subject to truth conditions. Terms exemplifying this type of linguistic performative act include promising, offering, informing, undertaking and perhaps the most fluid, as Austin himself recognizes,<sup>118</sup> warning. Kennedy utilizes one such Austinian example in his Inauguration speech when he declares: “To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge: to convert our good words into good deeds, in a new alliance for progress.”<sup>119</sup> Here the “offer” is the US’ commitment to major Latin America economic co-operation, in which the saying of it entails the rendering of that obligation, thus imbuing it with the force to elicit audience approbation. The illocutionary act sets out to accomplish something beyond merely describing it. It behaves as a constitutive rather than depictive ‘force’ that, most appositely for this thesis, may result in story disparity, in the engendering of false or competing narratives. One example of such constitution is Kennedy’s own *A Nation of Immigrants* that is intended to be received as a secular imparting of the establishment of a multicultural society rather than the frequently-inferred reading of a fractious evolution. Post-assassination, similar constitution of a narrative is exemplified by Jackie. Left with custodianship of her husband’s story, she begins the construction of the ‘Camelot’ narrative intended to have a positive legacy-building effect: enchanting, inspiring, wistful at the ‘shining light’ that was extinguished in Dallas. The thesis will illustrate how story-telling such as this can escape the intentions of its originators.

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<sup>116</sup> Op. cit. Austin p.81. Exemplified by ‘I salute you’ in which accompanying raising of the hand to the head is unlikely.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid. p.109 ‘Generally the effect amounts to bringing about the understanding of the meaning and of the force of the locution’, p.117.

<sup>118</sup> Used as both an illocutionary and perlocutionary example: ‘I cannot be said to have warned an audience unless it hears what I say and takes what I say in a certain sense’, p.116.

<sup>119</sup> ‘Inaugural Address’, January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1961, op. cit. *Speeches* p.18. Kennedy tends to use ‘pledge’ rather than ‘promise’, as the above example shows. See also ‘Address to Irish Parliament’, Dublin, June 28, 1963: “I pledge to you that the United States of America will do all in its power to achieve such an agreement and fulfill [sic] your resolution”, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKPOF/045/JFKPOF-045-036> (12/05/2017).

Austin's third speech act is the perlocutionary, defined as:

'Saying something [to]...produce certain consequential effects upon the feelings, thoughts, or actions of the audience, or of the speaker, or of other persons: and it may be done with the design, intention, or purpose of producing them'.<sup>120</sup>

It is what is achieved 'by saying something, such as convincing, persuading, deterring, and even say, surprising or misleading',<sup>121</sup> rather than the illocutionary performance *in* saying something, such as 'I promise' or, as exemplified earlier, 'I/we offer': 'I convince', 'I persuade', 'I deter' or 'I mislead' simply do not work with any communicative force beyond grammatical coherence. They do not entail their own performative consequence.

However, this sought achievement or 'object' is not always alone what is yielded. Austin also identifies 'sequel' as a separate production within this particular performative act, in which the versatile example of 'warning' again serves to illustrate: 'the act of warning may achieve its perlocutionary object of alerting and also have the perlocutionary sequel of alarming'.<sup>122</sup> An example of this would be Kennedy's Peace Corps directive in which he defends its ethos as "designed to permit our people to exercise more fully their responsibilities in the great common cause of world development."<sup>123</sup> 'Object', here helpfully a defined objective – that is, action required of the US citizen – is followed by the 'sequel' of participation in global betterment.

I would, however, extend application of Austin's perlocutionary definition by fusing these object-and-sequel distinctions given journalists' occasional proclivity towards an 'object-as-sequel' specificity of consequence. This is where the 'object' term may be seen to be prescribing the nature of the intention, action, or response required. For example, the illocutionary act which is the command in Kennedy's Civil Defense programme to build shelters has the perlocutionary 'object' of alarming people and thereby has the 'sequel' of getting them to build them. Here can be seen the 'object-sequel' fusion to a specific course. This goes further than solely evincing approximately the intention of engendered effect as its goal – a frequent tactic employed by Kennedy who regularly stops short of prescription in order to allow

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<sup>120</sup> Op. cit. Austin p.101.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid. p.109.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid. p.118.

<sup>123</sup> Op. cit. 'Establishment of the Peace Corps', March 1<sup>st</sup>, 1961, *Speeches* p.39.

anxiety, paranoia or inspiration to emerge and from which he intends subsequently to assuage them through his leadership. One rare exception to this may, however, be found in the Trade Mart text in which he was to warn that:

“Our adversaries have not abandoned their ambitions, our dangers have not diminished, our vigilance cannot be relaxed. But now we have the military, the scientific and the economic strength...”<sup>124</sup>

Here, elicited warning – the ‘object’ – is followed by alertness ‘sequel’ – to the scale of threat followed by stipulation of the means to assuage this fear – ‘object-as-sequel’ – thus engendering the precise nature of reassurance that was to have been received by the business community primarily in attendance that day. The next two chapters will identify how perlocutionary forces are similarly produced by the newspapers of Kennedy together with identification of any extra-perlocutionary performative acts, for example, historical tradition, modernity, masculinity, femininity, family, the teller may ultimately be imparting of him to the recipient.

### **Modes of Kennedy oratory**

While Chapter Two analyzes the effect of these speech acts upon the readership towards Kennedy’s iconic depiction, the remainder of this chapter examines how such speech-act definitions are complemented by other oratorical devices to enhance recipient engagement. Principal focus will be given to his Inauguration speech and the Dallas Trade Mart text in order to highlight similarities across a specific timeline.

However, before moving onto the specifics of oratorical analysis, it is important to highlight ‘exceptionalism’ as a crucial contextual component of the rhetoric in question. This feature is powered by the nation’s prevailing sense of its own relative newness as a virtuous, pioneering, different, superior and therefore ‘exceptional’ entity that sets itself apart from and above all other nations, ‘a people meant to do grand things’.<sup>125</sup> In so doing it encourages expressions by political leaders in particular of hope, optimism and essentially inspiration, what Jon Sopel describes as a sense of mission whose spirit and power can prevail worldwide.<sup>126</sup> Nostalgic

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<sup>124</sup> ‘Remarks prepared for delivery at the Trade Mart in Dallas, TX’, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1963, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-speeches/dallas-tx-trade-mart-undelivered-19631122> (17/04/2016).

<sup>125</sup> Op. cit. Cruz p.15.

<sup>126</sup> Jon Sopel, *If only they didn’t speak English: Notes from Trump’s America*, BBC Books, Penguin Random House, 2017, pp. 84-5: ‘A huge number of Americans still believe they live in the greatest

invocations and exhortations typically reflect the ‘exceptionalist’ sensibility, Trump’s ‘Make America Great Again’ being just the most recent example of this phenomenon.

Kennedy is placed in this role and fervently embraces it. For example, in his Inauguration address, he exhorts a national audience to participate in betterment, immediately extending it as a global call: “My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man”.<sup>127</sup> The initial separation of addressee is simultaneously closed by Kennedy’s reminder to his “fellow Americans” of their international as well as personal responsibilities. There is the assumption that other ‘citizens of the world’ look up to America but even though Kennedy wishes to avoid any sense of 19<sup>th</sup>-century imperialism – bringing liberty or enlightenment to the ‘ignorant or backward’ others – there is nonetheless clear implication that America will lead this global coalition in pursuit of the ideal for which America above all stands. Kennedy encourages this sense of national primacy, what Salinger, his Press Secretary, describes as JFK’s imparting of ‘challenge and adventure – a feeling that he was moving, and the world with him, towards a better time’.<sup>128</sup>

Kennedy conveys this sense of purpose and destiny in crucial part through his own type of rhetoric - “new words, new phrases”<sup>129</sup> - but also a panoply of venerable techniques. The first of these is development of the ‘Ethos’ precept of classical oratory. This need to establish credibility can result either in quotation, exemplified in the Cicero-influenced “civis Romanus sum”<sup>130</sup>, and the Inaugural’s perlocutionary ‘object’ exhortation “Ask not...”<sup>131</sup> or more literally in direct ascription to classical figures: Pericles,<sup>132</sup> philosophers<sup>133</sup> in general, Aristotle,<sup>134</sup> Archimedes,<sup>135</sup> “the time

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country on earth’. Soper claims 84% of people questioned for a General Social Survey profess allegiance to their flag.

<sup>127</sup> ‘Inaugural Address’ op. cit. *Speeches* p.20.

<sup>128</sup> Op. cit. Salinger p.63.

<sup>129</sup> ‘Yale University Commencement Address’, June 11<sup>th</sup>, 1962, op. cit. *Speeches* p.219.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid. “I am a Roman citizen” (translation), ‘Ich Bin Ein Berliner’, June 26<sup>th</sup>, 1963, p.277.

<sup>131</sup> See National Public Radio’s ‘Talk of the Nation’ transcript of Dallek and Golway’s *Let Every Nation Know: John F. Kennedy in his own words*, in which this ascription is tracked back to Cicero who himself may have borrowed it, <https://www.npr.org/transcript/transcript.php?storyId=5359589> (17/04/2016). President Harding is credited by them with its first modern incarnation, on June 7<sup>th</sup>, 1916: ‘In the great fulfillment [sic] we must have a citizenship less concerned about what the government can do for it, and more anxious what it can do for the nation.’

<sup>132</sup> For example, ‘City Upon a Hill’, January 9<sup>th</sup>, 1961, op. cit. *Speeches*, p.13.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid. For example, ‘Report on the Berlin Crisis’, June 25<sup>th</sup>, 1961: “Those who threaten to unleash the force of war...should record the words of the ancient philosopher...” p.129.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid. For example, ‘90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Vanderbilt University’, May 18<sup>th</sup>, 1963, p.254.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid. For example, ‘Address to the UN General Assembly’, September 20<sup>th</sup>, 1963, p.295.



of the ancient Greeks”<sup>136</sup> and “friend of ancient Greece”.<sup>137</sup> Notwithstanding his own status as President, Kennedy mixes more updated figures into his speeches to keep the appeal accessible and consistent, personalized alumni invocations often accentuating that engagement.<sup>138</sup> He cites writers such as Thoreau,<sup>139</sup> Goethe<sup>140</sup> and his particularly admired Robert Frost to whom he invites to deliver the poem ‘The Gift Outright’ at his Inauguration;<sup>141</sup> he adds nationalistic elements such as specific US Presidents,<sup>142</sup> the Constitution<sup>143</sup> and American forefathers.<sup>144</sup> Finally – and prolifically – he invokes the ultimate authority of God.<sup>145</sup> This particular category manifests itself not just in scriptural allusions, exemplified in the undelivered Dallas address’ Song of Songs’ “except the Lord keep the city, the watchmen waketh but in vain”<sup>146</sup> but more generally with many speeches assuming the form of a sermon;<sup>147</sup> actions are proposed non-denominationally<sup>148</sup> in God’s name to be delivered with His support. Such selective

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<sup>136</sup> Ibid. ‘Remarks on the Youth Fitness Program’, February 21<sup>st</sup>, 1961, p.35.

<sup>137</sup> ‘Remarks’ at Harvard, George Washington, North Carolina and Vanderbilt Universities, from 1956 to 1963. Each speech invokes the same examples and an unchanged retelling of the Bismarck joke: ‘No laugh-getter once used or even considered was ever discarded’, op. cit. Sorensen p.63.

<sup>138</sup> See for example the third and fourth paragraphs in ‘Yale University Commencement Address’, June 11<sup>th</sup>, 1962, op. cit. *Speeches* p.211.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid. For example, ‘Address before the Canadian Parliament’, May 17<sup>th</sup>, 1961, p.84.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid. ‘Address at the University of North Carolina’, p.151 and ‘90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Vanderbilt University’, p.253. Both use the same analogy.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid. The original Frost poem requested by Kennedy (a rhyming preamble was intended to accompany its public reading for the occasion) is a patriotic paean reflecting the forging of America. Other Frost references are found in ‘Remarks to a U.N. Delegation of Women’, December 11<sup>th</sup>, 1961, p.179; he is a “granite figure” in ‘Remarks at Amherst College’, October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1963, p.309.

<sup>142</sup> See ‘Acceptance of the Democratic Nomination’, July 15<sup>th</sup>, 1960: “...after Buchanan, this nation needed a Lincoln – after Taft, we needed a Wilson – after Hoover we needed Franklin Roosevelt...” ibid. p.3, or ‘State of the Union’, January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1961: “In the words of a great President...” p.33.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid. For example, ‘Address to the Greater Houston Ministerial Association’, September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1960, p.10; ‘Address on the situation at the University of Mississippi’, September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1962, p.227-8. See also Senator John F. Kennedy, *Profiles in Courage: Decisive Moments in the Lives of Celebrated Americans*, Ishi Press International, 2015, for the Constitution’s fundamental importance to Kennedy: “It was not a list of pleasing platitudes to be set lightly aside when expediency required it. It was the foundation of the American system of law and justice...” p.217.

<sup>144</sup> For example, ‘Inaugural Address’, January 20, 1961, op. cit. *Speeches*, p.17; “Pilgrim and Puritan” in ‘City upon a Hill’, ibid. p.14; soldier sacrifice “fulfilled the great hopes of its founders” in ‘Remarks at the Veterans’ Day Ceremony’, November 11<sup>th</sup>, 1961, p.155; ‘Address on the Space Effort’, September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1962, p.222.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid. For example, ‘City upon a Hill’, State of Union Addresses 1962 and 1963; “...man does not live by bread alone” in ‘Address to the UN General Assembly’, p.63.

<sup>146</sup> ‘Remarks prepared for delivery at the Trade Mart in Dallas’, TX, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1963: <https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-speeches/dallas-tx-trade-mart-undelivered-19631122> (14/07/2016).

<sup>147</sup> Op. cit. e.g. ‘City upon a Hill’; “with God’s help” or “Humbly I ask His help”, p.15; ‘Acceptance of the Democratic Nomination’, ibid. p.7.

<sup>148</sup> See ‘Address to the Greater Houston Ministerial Association’, where Kennedy tries to alleviate concerns as to his own Catholicism, declaring continuing separation of church and state, and prioritizing his status as an American first.

referencing provides a backdrop of inviolable justification to the listener for the credibility of Kennedy's own ensuing message. Kennedy is also respecting his audience's assumed intellectual level; he treats them as his equal.

A second precept endemic to classical oratory is 'Pathos', the need to influence emotively, in which illocutionary and perlocutionary speech acts can be identified in Kennedy's extensive use of oratorical devices. The accompanying delivery aspect of Pathos is discussed in the next chapter as part of his growing need to synthesize other qualities within his grasp perceived as necessary for political success. While speeches are ultimately composed for delivery, 'not how [they] appeared to the eye but how [they] sounded to the ear',<sup>149</sup> it is nonetheless invaluable for the purposes of this thesis to assess the formal linguistic mechanics common to many of them in order to demonstrate their profound contribution to that formative process.

The first favoured Kennedy device to highlight is the 'Tri-colon', or three-part-grouping. Lists alone can suggest scale of objective but can also seem endless and ultimately disengaging if unconfined. It is a strategy not entirely without merit for Kennedy who is aware of "oratorical tricks to sway emotions while dodging issues",<sup>150</sup> as insistence upon detail can deliberately overwhelm, wearying the listener into submission through its many exemplifications.<sup>151</sup>

When grouped, however, particularly into threes, a list also creates impact as it immediately assumes order usually in the form of a beginning, middle and end. In his Inaugural address, Kennedy pledges to preserve the United Nations "from merely becoming a forum of invective – to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak – and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run"<sup>152</sup> thus creating a new world "where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved." In both examples, culmination is created through the alliteration with "writ may run" – clearly more effective as an audible "wr" with "r" articulation than in scripted form – and "peace preserved", the consonance of 'c' and 's' onomatopoeically cultivating the sound of "peace" just as would have been achieved in the Dallas Trade Mart's "pursuit of

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<sup>149</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen, p.61.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid. p.174.

<sup>151</sup> Consider budgetary details in both 'State of the Union' addresses or the Trade Mart's listing of weapon stockpiles. Dallek asserts Kennedy's desistance to this in his instruction to Sorensen 'to make the [Inauguration] address as brief as possible', op. cit. p.324.

<sup>152</sup> 'Inaugural Address', op. cit. *Speeches*, p.18.

peace”.<sup>153</sup> Culmination is further endorsed to the listener in the Inaugural address by the tri-syllabic symmetry of “strong are just”, “weak secure” and “peace preserved”. Kennedy recalls the exact same phrase in September 1961 when addressing the UN directly. He also recycles part of it much later in a June 1963 address celebrating the ‘American University Commencement’.<sup>154</sup>

Preceded by a three-part rhythmical positing of contrast: “meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe”, in which the final segment is afforded efficacy through its repeated vowel sound, alliteration is once again employed in its concluding “pay any price, bear any burden.” It was to have been recalled in his Dallas address with the thrice-invoked “leadership and learning” shortly attributable to the three-worded “lights of learning”. Alliteration, for which Sorensen, his chief speechwriter, affirms Kennedy’s particular fondness,<sup>155</sup> is a figure of speech that is indulged early on as a sequence of three in *Profiles in Courage* with “American vessels had been searched, seized and sunk”;<sup>156</sup> in his ‘Address on the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty’ Kennedy cites early optimism having been defeated by “darkness, discord, or dissolution.”<sup>157</sup> The device is recalled as a cumulative tool in his ‘Report on the Berlin Crisis’ of July 25<sup>th</sup>, 1961, when declaring “our primary purpose [to be] neither propaganda nor provocation – but preparation.”<sup>158</sup> While the extended “pr” alliteration occurs four times here, its themes – including resolution – form a triplicate underscored by a matching number of syllables. At the close of the Inaugural address, we are encouraged to “lead the land we love”,<sup>159</sup> enshrining the intended object of affection within a three-part verb-noun-verb cluster. In the Dallas Trade Mart text, it appears to be Kennedy’s wish to avert the “disillusion of diplomats subjected to discrimination” and enhance the “status of our strength and our security.”<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Op. cit. Undelivered Trade Mart address.

<sup>154</sup> “...we shall also do our part to build a world of peace where the weak are safe and the strong are just”, op. cit. *Speeches*, p.270.

<sup>155</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.61: ‘not solely for reasons of rhetoric but to reinforce the audience’s recollection of his reasoning.’

<sup>156</sup> Op. cit. p.193.

<sup>157</sup> ‘Address on the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty’, July 26<sup>th</sup>, 1963, op. cit. *Speeches* p.279.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid. p.129.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid. p.20.

<sup>160</sup> Op. cit. Undelivered Trade Mart address.

One of Kennedy's most effective oratorical devices is counterbalance, or what Sorensen terms 'parallel construction'.<sup>161</sup> Frequently Kennedy posits single or double contrasts across a clause to clarify obligation or conclusion. In one of its simplest forms, during the Inaugural address this is achieved through word repetition alone: "beyond doubt we can be certain beyond doubt".<sup>162</sup> It also recalls the sandwiching power-of-three structure described earlier, with "we can be certain" emerging boldly between the two 'doubts'. Frequently, Kennedy offsets grave threat with gnomic reassurance: as peacemaker the US can "bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations"<sup>163</sup> unequivocally conjugating might with destruction that can be instantly diminished by its similarly benign resolution, underscored by a complementing syntax. Repetition of "absolute" to yield opposite results reverses positively the perlocutionary object-as-sequel power of his earlier declaration concerning individual ability "to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life." Repeated words reordered invests existing locutionary meaning with perlocutionary assurance. Momentarily the listener dwells on the import and ensuing uplift just as the reader is similarly encouraged in *Profiles in Courage* when asked to lament Senator Robert A. Taft's failure to become President: "Therein lies his personal tragedy. And therein lies his national greatness."<sup>164</sup> It is a device that would have been re-employed at Dallas, here again as a sequence of three, in expanded form: "we cannot expect that everyone...will talk sense....But we can hope that fewer people will listen to nonsense."<sup>165</sup> "Everyone" balances with "fewer people", the active "talk" is posited against the reactive "listen" with the appeal for "sense" finally being achieved by the admonishing, para-rhyming "nonsense".

Yet, like that unconfined list referenced earlier under 'Tri-colon', to sustain protracted semantic contrast is demanding in audience assimilation if prolonged: in groups of two the application of contrast can be even more impacting. An early example of this occurs in *Profiles in Courage*, whereby the narrator, on behalf of other Senators, commences: "We prefer praise to abuse, popularity to contempt."<sup>166</sup> Each part of the clause is a balancing of opposites, the alliteration allowing the statement to

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<sup>161</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.61.

<sup>162</sup> Op. cit. *Speeches* p.18.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid. p.19.

<sup>164</sup> Op. cit. p.211.

<sup>165</sup> Undelivered Trade Mart address, op. cit. JFK-Library.

<sup>166</sup> Op. cit. p.4.

resonate. At the beginning of the Inaugural address, contrast is borne out symmetrically simply by embracing opposing points as matching semantic pairs: “end as well as beginning – renewal as well as change” before it sophisticatedly accentuates the single more emotive distinctions in “...ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country.” Here, a counterbalancing structure operates through syllabic symmetry so that it is the two-syllabled “country” that emanates as the ‘ear-worm’ prioritizing of patriotism within the didactically monosyllabic book-ending of “you”, the subject identification of responsibility.

At its oratorical apogee, counterbalancing works through the additional inverse paralleling of word-play: “Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.” In this Inauguration speech example, words are repeated but in different forms. Nouns and verbs are transposed so that the audience hears the warning as clearly as its onus resolution. This oratorical tool is known as ‘Chiasmus’: inverting a word order to suggest new meaning. It is a favoured Kennedy device that is utilized to make the individual think and listen harder accordingly. A simple instance of this occurs in his ‘City Upon a Hill’ address just prior to his Inauguration: “For those to whom much is given, much is required.”<sup>167</sup> “Much” is the resulting noun from the matching level of effort expended: the recipient must also provide. The mantra is recycled in a later address to Vanderbilt University.<sup>168</sup> Chiasmus is at work again before a Berkeley University audience, with: “an agreement to negotiate does not always mean a negotiated agreement.”<sup>169</sup> Chiasmus can therefore be liberatingly aphoristic; the positing of the active and passive forms of the same word provides a fresh alternative to Kennedy’s general avoidance of ‘cliché’ in his speeches or as he terms it, the “reassuring repetition of stale phrases”<sup>170</sup> that can so easily channel

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<sup>167</sup> Op. cit. *Speeches* p.14.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid. p.253.

<sup>169</sup> ‘Address at the University of California Berkeley’, March 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1962, *ibid.* p.200.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid. p.212. See also Sorensen, ‘He used little or no slang...contractions, clichés elaborate metaphors or ornate figures of speech’, *op. cit.* p.62. Indeed, Schlesinger is almost apologetic regarding Kennedy’s ‘provocative statement about strengthening the Cuban “fighters for freedom”’. These words were no more than a rhetorical flourish’, p 203, Arthur M. Schlesinger, *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House*, Andre Deutsch Limited, London, 1965.

personal reactivity into a ‘sterile bog’.<sup>171</sup> It is a clever, self-conscious exploitation of language as it repeats differently.

Similarly engaging symmetrical word-play is resumed during the Inaugural address by mixing anticipated pairings, both semantically and aurally: “Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring [sic] those problems which divide us” and “United, there is little we cannot do...Divided, there is little we can do”. Here, the stark opposites of personal obligation are posited against reverse-order affiliation respectively: “problems” is unexpectedly conjoined to “unite”; “United” is connected firstly with inability – “cannot” – while “Divided” is affixed to “can” ability. This is an immediate and self-conscious development from the preceding clearer symmetrical polarities of: “If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich” where an audience easily connects “cannot help” with “cannot save” and “many” with “few” to understand its resulting obligation. When Kennedy addresses the Canadian Parliament five months later, he reverts to the less personally-affective straightforward: “What unites us is far greater than what divides us.”<sup>172</sup> His address here is to a very different type of gathering. Recalling Austin’s requirement for conditions to be conducive to successful utterance, it would simply be ‘infelicitous’ to apply such oratorical flourishes to an audience that is not required to engage so completely. When he updates a selected audience upon ‘the Space Effort’, justification of its expenditure merits a return to the reverse-positing of attributes: “The greater our knowledge increases the greater our ignorance unfolds.”<sup>173</sup> The mental stumble in assimilation is deliberate to make the listener ponder the duality of the “knowledge” concept.

In Kennedy’s speech to celebrate the Methodist-sponsored ‘American University’ his deployment of accompanying ‘Assonance’ is similarly wrong-footing. Kennedy does not quite permit the sound of his message to echo evenly: “We are not

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<sup>171</sup> ‘Yale University Commencement’, op. cit. *Speeches*, p.219: “a bog of sterile acrimony. In *Profiles*, the “customary rhetorical devices” are shunned by Senator Lucius Lamar, op.cit. p.152, while Robert Taft refuses to conform to “the fine arts of oratory and phrasemaking”, p.213.

<sup>172</sup> ‘Address before the Canadian Parliament’, May 17<sup>th</sup>, 1961, op. cit. *Speeches* p.84; see also its early similar conviction in “the things which divide us seem stronger than those which unite us”, from ‘Remarks of Senator John F. Kennedy at Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts, February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1953’, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-speeches/boston-college-19530201> (23/11/2018).

<sup>173</sup> ‘Address on the Space Effort’, September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1962, op. cit. *Speeches* p.221.

helpless before that task or hopeless of its success.”<sup>174</sup> Two negatives “not” and “helpless” conjoin to make a positive that finally overcomes the pairing of “hopeless” with “success” – although audibly it is also paired with “helpless” thanks to the cumulative underpinning of the “-ess” suffix – or “yes” ear-worm to the listener – that finally offsets the suggestion of futility. It is a device that was to have been reactivated in the Dallas speech, with the alliterative matching and mismatching of “rhetoric with reality and the plausible with the possible”. The slight discord of vowel sound between “au” and “o” would have lingered until dissipated by the outweighing positive conveyed by the matching two-syllabled “ible”. More baldly defined by Sorensen as deliberate ‘ear-grating’<sup>175</sup> Kennedy creates temporary disorientation when theme, sound and syllable do not immediately mutually complement. The much-repeated alliterative “strength and security” necessity in the same draft would have acquired undemanding slightly delayed resonance because of the rhyming symmetry of “cheaply obtained” with “simply explained.” Yet pitting dissonance against assonance, for example, in the reference to “notion that this Nation” or the succinct but covert “ballots” versus “bullets” reference to the rightness of the seven-times repeated “Nation” in re-electing him, would again have required extra exertion – and admiration – in assimilating.

Another example of structural language mutation is expressed in the Inaugural declaration’s “It is not the victory of party but the celebration of freedom.” Here the main thematic counterbalance occurs between “victory” and “celebration”, incidentally encompassing a tri-cluster sequence to election success, as well as eliding the local theme – by dropping the indefinite article before “party” – into an epic justification of an ideal. Kennedy constantly lifts – or sometimes deflects<sup>176</sup> - the micro starting point of a message into a macro context, whether it is addressing newspaper editors so: “that with your help man will be what he was born to be: free and independent”<sup>177</sup> or finding the “courage and freedom and hope for the future of man.”<sup>178</sup> Unadorned locutionary statements, as previously stated, are rarely allowed to

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<sup>174</sup> ‘American University Commencement’, June 10<sup>th</sup>, 1963, *ibid.* p.270.

<sup>175</sup> *Op. cit.* Sorensen p.62.

<sup>176</sup> A contention posited in chapters 2 and 3 with particular reference to the Bay of Pigs’ episode.

<sup>177</sup> ‘President and the Press’, April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1961, *op. cit. Speeches* pp.78-9.

<sup>178</sup> ‘Address to the Diplomatic Corps of Latin America’, March 13<sup>th</sup>, 1961, *ibid.* p.47.

remain stable. Kennedy frequently wrenches their immediate assignment into an elevated more affecting perspective.

Kennedy further applies to his speeches the oratorical device of ‘Anaphora’, or the prolonged repetition of a word or phrase at the beginning of successive clauses. It is indulged early in *Why England Slept* with the five-time repeated “Like England”<sup>179</sup> sentence commencement when describing the UK’s political affinities with the US, and twice in close proximity towards the end of *Profiles in Courage* where the narrator concludes that:

“...it was precisely because they [the Senators] did love themselves – because each one’s need to maintain his own respect...because his desire to win or maintain a reputation for integrity and courage was stronger than his desire to maintain office – because his conscience...was stronger than the pressures of public disapproval – because his faith that his course was the best one...outweighed his fear of public reprisal.”<sup>180</sup>

It is followed shortly by:

“It is not intended to justify....It is not intended to suggest....This book is not intended to suggest....It is not intended to suggest....Finally, this book is not intended to disparage...”<sup>181</sup>

Such a device here tautly and swiftly builds up justification and suspense respectively. It later achieves full oral transition in Kennedy’s acceptance speech for the Democratic Party nomination where the country faces: “unchartered areas of science...unresolved problems of peace...unconquered products of ignorance...unanswered questions of poverty”.<sup>182</sup> In that same address, more overtly enumerating the power-of-three vehicle, the prefix becomes replaced by the full words’ repetition: “One third of the world...may be free – but one third is the victim of cruel repression – and the other one third is rocked by the pangs of poverty, hunger and envy.” Completion is again developed sequentially here, culminating in a clause which itself comprises once more three consequences that, for good measure, are alliteratively initiated.

In the Inaugural address, anaphora is recalled in: “not a call to bear arms, though arms we need – not as a call to battle, though embattled we are – but a call to

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<sup>179</sup> John F. Kennedy, *Why England Slept*, Ishi Press International, 2016, p.xxvi. See also four-time repeated “There is no doubt...” p.178.

<sup>180</sup> Op. cit. pp.238-9.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid. pp.242-3.

<sup>182</sup> Op. cit. *Speeches* p.5.



bear the burden of a twilight struggle”.<sup>183</sup> The crowd hears “not”, “arms”, “call” and “bear” – invoking the same alliterative example articulated earlier<sup>184</sup> - while again the grammatical status of a noun, in this instance “battle”, is deliberately made to segue into its wider perlocutionary-affective adjectival form, “embattled”. The “not”-prefixed clauses also contribute to a climactic effect as the audience waits impatiently for its Presidential instruction, just as Kennedy twice employs in microcosm at the close of the address, with “Ask not....” The device is still being recalled two years later in Kennedy’s address to Vanderbilt University, declaring of the “educated citizen” that:

“...he knows that only a respect for the law makes it possible for free men to dwell together....He knows that the law is the adhesive force in the cement of society....He knows that for one man to defy a law....He knows too...”<sup>185</sup>

This device is best exposed in his 1963 address to Berliners. Here Kennedy is reported to have extemporized alarmingly<sup>186</sup> from his script further to his astute perception of a ‘felicitous’ audience. His “Let them come to Berlin”<sup>187</sup> refrain – accentuated with false modesty by indulging the crowd with its German translation – erodes in one repeated swoop, any advocate of Communism, with the crowd inferring from it the strength of US solidarity and continuing commitment to West Berlin’s beleaguered citizens as well as reiteration of its own contrasting ideological values.

Anaphora therefore conveys coherence to an audience, a substantiation of message that can be achieved over several clauses or even paragraphs. In the undelivered Dallas address, this device is un-relinquished: “Only an America” was to have been repeated three times across one paragraph on the need for proportionate respect just as examples of economic achievement were to have been celebrated in the thrice-prefacing “For the first time in history....” Kennedy uses anaphora as pre-ambled focus. Repetition in subordinate introductions permits assurance to the listener that the orator is in tight control of his information. Its repeated premising links cause

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<sup>183</sup> See also Canadian Parliament address: “No free nation can stand alone...no free nation can retain...no free nation can remain indifferent”, *ibid.* p.85, or to the UN: “In this spirit...in this same spirit...in this spirit”, *ibid.* p.139.

<sup>184</sup> Exemplified later in his ‘Report on the Berlin Crisis’, July 25<sup>th</sup>, 1961: “burdens which must be borne”, *op. cit. Speeches* p. 131.

<sup>185</sup> *Op. cit. Speeches* pp.254-5.

<sup>186</sup> *Op. cit. Menand*: ‘His advisers...were appalled by its bellicosity’, ‘Ask Not, Tell Not’, *New Yorker*, November 8<sup>th</sup>, 2004, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2004/11/08/ask-not-tell-not> (14/05/2015).

<sup>187</sup> “Ich Bin Ein Berliner”, June 26<sup>th</sup>, 1963, *op. cit. Speeches* p.277.

with an effect so that, just as with the updating of ‘Ethos’ references, it enhances credulity and the impression of truth.

Mindful of mass audience reception is Kennedy’s choice of vocabulary, his ‘tools of precision’.<sup>188</sup> The obsession with ‘contrasts’ resumes, ideologically for example, in the regular favouring of basic elemental “light” and “dark” adjectives: the triumph of the former over the latter, initially identified with “destruction” in the Inaugural address, permits a “glow” that “can truly light the world”. It recalls similar imagery in Kennedy’s Democratic nomination acceptance speech: “We are not here to curse the darkness, but to light the candle that can guide us through the darkness...” Light is symbolic of hope and positive emergence; the ‘guiding candle’ in the nomination speech graduates into “a torch of idealism”<sup>189</sup> by the time the President gives what turns out to be his final State of the Union address.

Such vocabulary exists comfortably within the Kennedy lexicon of similarly progressive invocations: “step”,<sup>190</sup> “path”,<sup>191</sup> “frontier”,<sup>192</sup> “hemisphere”,<sup>193</sup> “globe”.<sup>194</sup> Such words, embryonically intimated as far back as 1942 in an ‘Induction Ceremony address to Navy recruits’,<sup>195</sup> pick up the limitless possibility of the Inaugural address’ “Let” or “Let us”<sup>196</sup> insistence, promising better times ahead on an increasing, sometimes bewildering scale. Such hyperbole is aspirational, sweeping and often boundary-less: “Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths and encourage the arts and commerce.” Resumed in his State of the Union address in which exploration to “[probe] the distant planets of Mars

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<sup>188</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.61. This recalls the narrator’s admiration for the unsung Senator Ross in *Profiles in Courage*: “a man with an excellent command of words...” op. cit. p.143.

<sup>189</sup> ‘State of the Union’ address, January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1963, op. cit. *Speeches* p.247.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>191</sup> For example, ‘Address to UN General Assembly’, September 20<sup>th</sup>, 1963, ibid. p.290.

<sup>192</sup> See ‘Democratic Nomination Acceptance’, ibid. p.5; ‘Address on the Space Effort’, p.224.

<sup>193</sup> Inaugural address and also for example five times in ‘Address to the Diplomatic Corps of Latin America’; thrice to ‘Address to the American Association of Newspaper Editors’. ‘Continent’ lacks the physical endorsement ‘Hemisphere’ conveys with its idea of ‘globe’ and hence planet.

<sup>194</sup> Examples are: ‘Address to the American Association of Newspaper Editors’; ‘President and the Press’; Kennedy’s 1963 ‘UN General Assembly’ address.

<sup>195</sup> “It is only by striving upward we move forward”, ‘Remarks of John F. Kennedy at an Induction Ceremony for Navy Recruits’, July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1942: <https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-speeches/charleston-sc-19420704> (12/07/2018).

<sup>196</sup> For similar hyperbole see ‘Remarks at U.S Air Force Academy’, June 5<sup>th</sup>, 1963, where current cadets at some point may “travel where no man has ever traveled [sic] before....fly the fastest planes that have ever been built, reach the highest altitudes...and lift the heaviest payloads...”, op. cit. *Speeches* p.258.

and Venus”<sup>197</sup> already anticipates post-Moon conquest, this vernacular is dynamically perlocutionary. It is often the “quest” rather than the acquisition – Austin’s ‘object’ minus the ‘sequel’ - that constitutes “the greatest adventure of our century.”<sup>198</sup>

Consequently, the audience is sensitized by the sophistication of such aural and linguistic reinvention: it also finds itself curiously embroiled in it. Kennedy constantly demands citizen participation: “Will you join in...?”<sup>199</sup> In his ‘Yale University Commencement’ speech the President tells the gathering before him in no uncertain terms that: “You are part of the world and you must participate....”<sup>200</sup> Addressing a local youth fitness conference, his overall message is to encourage extended thinking as well as physical attainment from within such inclusivity: “We want a nation of participants in the vigorous life....We want your suggestions and ideas....we are attempting to advance ourselves”.<sup>201</sup> In his nomination speech, he insists Americans rediscover “their sense of historic purpose”,<sup>202</sup> their individual place and contribution within a greater national pantheon in which, at the Inaugural address, “history” again will be “the final judge of our deeds.” He constantly invests the listener with the idea of virtuous perspective and scale in personal attainment of these objectives; he also sets his listener challenges as endemic to that process: “not because they are easy, but because they are hard”,<sup>203</sup> in which the counterbalancing with its difficulty achieves the perlocutionary sequel of warning that immediately diminishes the locutionary simplicity that initiates the same claim. Leggett describes this as ‘visionary rhetoric’:

‘...built on the imagination and is partly utopian. It motivates audiences to think what may be possible. It raises people’s hearts to make efforts to achieve this end. It gives that security that their present efforts are not in vain.’<sup>204</sup>

Therefore, Kennedy taps into psyches to endorse self-worth. Yet attribution of personal commitment to realization of these aspirations also engenders its own vulnerability. Demands for empathy, shared sensibility and responsibility inculcate fear, that constantly requires “courage” to overcome. In addition to the cultivated

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<sup>197</sup> ‘State of the Union’ address 1961, *ibid.* p.32, ‘The Goal of sending a Man to the Moon’, May 25<sup>th</sup>, 1961, with this aspiration extending “perhaps to the very end of the solar system itself”, p.102.

<sup>198</sup> ‘State of the Union’ address 1962, *ibid.* p.196.

<sup>199</sup> Inaugural address, *ibid.* p.20.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.* p.219.

<sup>201</sup> ‘Remarks on the Youth Fitness Program’, February 21<sup>st</sup>, 1961, *ibid.* pp.35-6.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.* p.4.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.* p.223.

<sup>204</sup> Brian Leggett, ‘Rhetoric and Leadership’: <https://blog.iese.edu/leggett/2012/04/12/profile-of-an-orator-john-f-kennedy/> (25/08/2018).

linguistic imperfect alignment of parallels, sounds and themes described, perlocutionary warning, exemplified in the ‘challenge’ mentioned, is often delivered as an unembellished short blunt sentence – “Life in 1961 will not be easy”;<sup>205</sup> or “Life in the Peace Corps will not be easy”.<sup>206</sup> Gravity does not have to mean complexity in expression. It may also explain why Kennedy generally desists from expanding metaphor<sup>207</sup> much beyond the easy picturing of “those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside”<sup>208</sup> or the slightly more subtle comparison of “a beach-head of cooperation [pushing] back the jungle of suspicion.”<sup>209</sup> Superficially, this latter segment posits simple features of geographical contrasts; analogously to some, however, it may also suggest military clustering in preparation against Asian invasion, connecting it back to the lands of that earlier marauding “tiger”. In the undelivered Dallas text, metaphor is delayed until its close. Even then, the request is brief: Americans inadvertently must become the “watchmen on the walls of world freedom.” While this specifically may have been intended to recall Berlin’s recent segregation, Kennedy’s favourite alliterative, sequential power-of-three combination is recalled also to stimulate recognition of the paradox in “freedom” requiring robust protection.

Frequent insistence upon counterbalancing also enables perlocutionary power to accompany Kennedy’s illocutionary springboard to “freedom” or “peace”. There is invariably a matching concern as to the effect of instant plummet. This reflexive device is recalled in the perfunctorily chiasmic: “Mankind must put an end to war – or war will put an end to mankind” or the figuratively balder “Together we shall save our planet, or together we shall perish in its flames.”<sup>210</sup> Such language, cultivated through the same vocabulary of magnitude and contrast, attacks its own ability to commit to the inherited “splendour of...ideals”,<sup>211</sup> hitherto identified within my understanding of US exceptionalist rhetoric, as well as the conviction as to the eminence – and often superiority – of this still young country. In his nomination speech Kennedy claims that,

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<sup>205</sup> ‘State of the Union’ address 1961, op. cit. *Speeches* p.33.

<sup>206</sup> ‘Establishment of the Peace Corps’, March 1<sup>st</sup>, 1961, *ibid.* p.39.

<sup>207</sup> Possibly the most prolonged contained in his third ‘State of the Union’ address in which simple weather imagery describes political calm before the next anticipated crisis, *ibid.* p.250.

<sup>208</sup> Inaugural address, *ibid.* p.18.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.* p.19.

<sup>210</sup> ‘Address to the UN General Assembly’, September 25<sup>th</sup>, 1961, *ibid.* p.147.

<sup>211</sup> ‘State of the Union’ address 1962, *ibid.* p.181.

“a whole world looks to see what we will do. We cannot fail their trust, we cannot fail to try.”<sup>212</sup> There are literally repeated “burdens” alliteratively for everyone to “bear” in order “to conquer the enemies that [threaten] from without and within”.<sup>213</sup> So far, stability has been preserved because “the graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.”<sup>214</sup>

However, a narrative of paranoia is ultimately manifested if this type of intrinsically dichotomous Kennedy rhetoric – figuratively intimidated by a Presidential coat of arms in which the “American eagle holds in his right talon the olive branch, while in his left...a bundle of arrows”<sup>215</sup> – defies its protective perlocutionary-object confines too many times and lalts without any ‘sequel’ recovery: when perlocutionary couplings are abandoned un-righted.<sup>216</sup> Kennedy does not always identify “an immediate visible foe”<sup>217</sup> in his addresses but rather the idea of insidious assailment.<sup>218</sup> In ‘Remarks at West Point’ this is neurotically expanded as:

“...war by guerrillas, subversives, insurgents, assassins...ambush instead of...combat...infiltration...instead of aggression, seeking victory by eroding and exhausting the enemy instead of engaging him.”

In the Dallas text, it is: “guerrillas, saboteurs, insurgents and assassins who threaten freedom in a less direct but equally dangerous manner.” Thematically it is a manifestation the assassination event unleashes – as discussed in *Reverberations* - the shock of that “most resourceful industrialized country on earth”<sup>219</sup> losing a war in Vietnam and dishonour exposed at the highest level of its own Washington government. Before that, however, examination will be made in the next two chapters as to how my primary US newspapers in particular appropriate the same speech acts and oratorical devices Kennedy exploits for himself to cultivate their own competing Kennedy narratives of Icon and Myth.

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<sup>212</sup> Ibid. p.7. Compare his ‘Report to the American people on returning from Europe’, June 6<sup>th</sup>, 1961, where Kennedy describes the US “as the chief defender of freedom”, p.114.

<sup>213</sup> ‘Democratic Nomination’ address, *ibid.* p.5.

<sup>214</sup> ‘Inauguration’ address, *ibid.* p.19.

<sup>215</sup> ‘State of the Union’ address 1961, *ibid.* p.27.

<sup>216</sup> See for example Lucius Lamar who “failed to understand why the evils of planned inflation are sometimes preferable to the tragedies of uncontrolled depression”, *op. cit. Profiles* p.240. The perlocutionary balance is unrestored.

<sup>217</sup> ‘Remarks to the Graduating class of the US Naval Academy’, June 7<sup>th</sup>, 1961, *op. cit. Speeches* p.125, or “when there is a long, slow struggle, with no immediate visible foe...” in ‘Remarks at West Point’, *ibid.* p.209.

<sup>218</sup> For example, “adversaries of freedom”, in ‘The Goal of Sending a Man to the Moon’, *ibid.* p.91.

<sup>219</sup> ‘State of the Union’ address 1961, *ibid.* p.22.

## Chapter Two

### Telling the story as Icon

This chapter assesses newspaper articles' speech acts that helps to shape the telling and receipt of Kennedy as Icon at the time until the aftermath of his assassination. I commence with extraction of the Positive qualities *The New York Times* and *Dallas Morning News* in particular exhibit towards such a depiction and support this examination where possible with pre-, contemporary and post-Presidency examples.

#### Youth

Kennedy is the first US President to be born in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the youngest, at 43, to enter the Oval Office. Such youth and associated vigour emerge in stark contrast with the ageing Eisenhower's own war-hero status. Even before his Inauguration, journalists are quick to identify Kennedy's sheer embodiment of 'Youth' alone as an active, constructive break from a stultifying past of industrial and technical decline, identifying and collating Kennedy's energy and physical appearance as a renewed force for good. In November 1958 *Time* magazine publishes the article 'Democratic Hopefuls'.<sup>220</sup> Its cover displays Kennedy literally as the central candidate amongst visibly older political figures, one of whom is leaning his hand on JFK's shoulder as if to demonstrate his physical backing while a 'young and handsome'<sup>221</sup> Kennedy, in contrastingly lighter suit, displays open body language and direct eye contact, his hands placed on his knees as if ready for action. Such visual contrivance, consolidating the Positive trajectory, is thematically explored later in this chapter.

In 1953 *The Saturday Evening Post* magazine publishes seven pages entitled, "The Senate's Gay Young Bachelor",<sup>222</sup> describing Kennedy as a 'walking fountain of youth...with the innocently respectful face of an altar boy', implying a quasi-religious figure, symbolic of a purity and incorruptibility that is perpetuating. Indeed, he 'looked so young that he was mistaken by several other congressmen for a House

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<sup>220</sup> 'Democratic hopefuls', November 24<sup>th</sup>, 1958, *Time* magazine, [http://img.timeinc.net/time/magazine/archive/covers/1958/1101581124\\_400.jpg](http://img.timeinc.net/time/magazine/archive/covers/1958/1101581124_400.jpg) (5/04/2015).

<sup>221</sup> 'JFK and the Public view: National Contender', part of the CYOU Project about John. F and Robert F. Kennedy, [https://pages.shanti.virginia.edu/kennedys\\_in\\_the\\_60s/jfk/public-view/](https://pages.shanti.virginia.edu/kennedys_in_the_60s/jfk/public-view/) (6/04/2015).

<sup>222</sup> Paul F. Healy, 'The Senate's Gay Young Bachelor', May 23<sup>rd</sup> 1953, *The Saturday Evening Post*, [www.saturdayeveningpost.com/wp-context/frbk/The\\_Senates\\_Gay\\_Young\\_Bachelor/#/1/](http://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/wp-context/frbk/The_Senates_Gay_Young_Bachelor/#/1/), (29/04/2015).

page'. Kennedy is 36 at this point and still enjoying this type of illocutionary rhetoric *The New York Times* cultivated eleven months previously in its gently qualified description of the Senator as a "lean, sinewy figure with an untamed brush of brown hair overhanging his grey eyes" lending him "an appealing youthful appearance. The illusion is enhanced by a suggestion of shyness...and by a smile which can only be described as 'boyish'." <sup>223</sup> The newspaper is unwilling to diminish the enduring aura of youth and innocence even as its subject approaches early middle age.

Once inaugurated, several sources continue to highlight the President's youth. *The World-Telegram and Sun* states: 'Now we have a new Administration, a new man with a freshness in look...of spirit attuned to our times.' <sup>224</sup> The repeated 'new' in this context is utilized as unremittingly positive, such political change continually being collated with optimism. *The New York Times* details that this "new generation of leaders in Washington" symbolizes "new impetus" and a "new beginning", which "reverberated with the strength and determination associated with a young and vigorous nation". <sup>225</sup> More ruefully, *The Dallas Morning News* admits that "the younger ones [are] taking over the scene here...some of the old-timers say it isn't like it used to be..." <sup>226</sup>

The quasi-religious vocabulary employed prior to Kennedy's election to Congress is again revived post-assassination by the Mayor of Detroit, Jerome P. Cavanagh. It is picked up and adopted by *The New York Times* as follows:

"God gave this gifted man but a few moments to contribute his vast abilities to history. But in that brief period, the world took on the vibrancy of his youthful vigor [sic]. We shall never forget this man." <sup>227</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> 'The Kennedy campaign: Case History of a Senates Race', *The New York Times*, October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1952, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1952/10/26/84265360.html?pageNumber=109> (14/04/2015).

<sup>224</sup> 'Editorial comment *The World-Telegram and Sun (Ind.)*' published by *The New York Times*, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1961, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/01/21/97650375.html?pageNumber=10> (14/04/2015).

<sup>225</sup> 'Editorial comment across the nation on President Kennedy's inauguration', *The New York Times*, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1961, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/01/21/97650375.html?pageNumber=10> (29/04/2015).

<sup>226</sup> 'Continuous Whirl of social activity in inaugural city', *The Dallas Morning News*, January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>227</sup> 'Opinion of the week: At Home and Abroad', *The New York Times*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1964.

Such adoption of ‘global’ vocabulary by the newspaper transforms the illocutionary import of the Mayor’s words into a perlocutionary force – the world has been positively infused by one person - that serves here to eulogize Kennedy, thus consolidating a collective memory of permanent ‘virtue’ within the narrative’s upward trajectory. This tone of positivity persists well into 1964, that is, beyond the immediate aftermath of his death; it is assimilated by *The Dallas Morning News* on the first anniversary of his assassination:

“With his youth and idealism and the joyfulness of his moment. He raised the United States to a great height; and I feel, as many do, that the grandeur of the national mourning was upon that level to which he has tried to raise his nation.”<sup>228</sup>

Therefore, the quality of ‘Youth’ continues to set Kennedy apart, his status remaining elevated and the perlocutionary choice of terms – “great height”, “raised”, “grandeur” - undiminished. This latter ‘sequel’ effect of “grandeur” is commensurate with the ‘object’ elicitation vocabulary describing the vitality of the man; the ‘object-as-sequel’ is reflected in the “national mourning” result and scale he is ascribed as instigating.

### **Service**

In his early twenties Lieutenant Junior Grade Kennedy is assigned to Motor Torpedo Boat Squadron Two, to commence his first active posting during the Second World War. ‘Youth’ will now be shown as being assimilated into the Positive quality of ‘Service’ together with demonstration as to how this narrative is again selectively populated by certain newspapers to create an illocutionary version of the event for its readers’ admiration. *The New York Times* hails Kennedy’s efforts in the aftermath of an enemy-vessel collision, replaying its own re-imagining of the scene for its reader: “Out of the darkness, a Japanese destroyer appeared suddenly. It sliced diagonally in two the PT boat skippered by Lieut. (j.g.) John F. Kennedy... it was one of the authentic passages of heroism in the war.”<sup>229</sup> Menace and violence is conveyed by the emotive use of “sliced” against the vulnerable crew. The newspaper relentlessly repeats Kennedy’s first-person recitation of the event:

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<sup>228</sup> ‘Feelings on tragedy verbalized in Verse’, *The Dallas Morning News*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1964.

<sup>229</sup> ‘Kennedy’s son is Hero in Pacific as Destroyer splits his PT Boat’, August 20<sup>th</sup>, 1943, <https://www.nytimes.com/1943/08/20/archives/kennedys-son-is-hero-in-pacific-as-destroyer-splits-his-pt-boat.html> (1/05/2015).



“As soon as I decided it was a destroyer, I turned to make a torpedo run...I was in the cockpit...our tanks were ripped open and gas was flaming on the water...”

It then reverts to third-person commentary:

“Kennedy swam to the island, towing McMahon [his injured crewman] while the others clung to a plank and swam in a group. It took about three hours to make it.”

Impending starvation apparently follows. The use of “splits”, “ripped” or “cling” dynamically demands the reader’s unequivocal emotional complicity in the narrative. Such single-handed prowess in rescuing his crew is unquestioned by this newspaper. Hence the image being cultivated is of a hero serving his team and therefore, by implication, his country. His men are in a “group”; he is on his own whether swimming ahead for rescue or leading from “the cockpit”. This is fundamentally a perlocutionary affirmation of early patriotism: it sets up a written precedent that deliberately embellishes its intention to inspire the reader. For good measure, the reader is also informed that this particular version of the story and its telling is genuine, an “authentic” episode as opposed to other written sources – or “passages” - that have reported erroneously similar feats.

The title prefacing of Kennedy’s father here also encourages early awareness of disparity, enhanced by knowledge of Joseph’s significant financial contributions to it, between the actual events the newspaper reports and its latterly visual dissemination. Such actions may have been superfluous anyway for Kennedy already seems to have inspired independent laudation beyond Washington, one unexpected manifestation of which is a song unequivocally celebrating his heroic war prowess. In a jaunty piccolo-dominated refrain typical of US Navy standards, Country & Western star Jimmy Dean’s *PT109*<sup>230</sup> heralds Kennedy as ‘a mighty good man’. It reaches Number 3 in the charts of this somewhat North-East-coast-removed musical genre and rises to Number 8 across the nation. With re-election coveted, the Kennedy family deems it timely to resurrect this valuable episode in a film of the same name.

In the celluloid version, the Kennedys oversee the perlocutionary language of the newspapers to instigate JFK’s war-hero status while simultaneously positing its eminent transferability to national leadership, through a backdrop of constant crisis

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<sup>230</sup> Jimmy Dean, *PT109*, Columbia Records, released March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

against which the protagonist refuses to succumb. Worldly baggage is figuratively hoisted up to shoulder level by him in contrast at the outset to his crew's predilection to keep theirs by their side. It also gently re-awakens to the audience insidious problems lurking just over that reddish horizon in which an aggressive Japan symbolically intimates a much larger Asian threat. Immediately, Kennedy's actions are shown operating in global context in which the audience is vicariously invited uncomfortably to negotiate before the film's illocutionary hero – future tough but popular world leader, a respected but brave officer at present - emerges resiliently, refusing to take his earned leave for the time being in order to see out his role.

Consistent with this version to be told, the role of Lieutenant Junior Grade Kennedy is played by established Hollywood actor, Cliff Robertson.<sup>231</sup> The actor radiates the physical qualities appropriate to a man seeking presidential election, an appearance actually at odds with someone who at the time is underweight – an observation dismissed within the film's dialogue – and endures chronic back pain. Anticipation of other personal criticisms are similarly redressed swiftly in the script, with opening-scene references to that overt paternal influence, a Harvard education and practical shortcomings being positively countered with humble declarations of patriotism, duty and responsibility. Unsubstantiated rumours<sup>232</sup> regarding his specific navigational capability - later repudiated by confident tiller-management images<sup>233</sup> - are dispelled by the exonerating proclamation that the vessel's design resembles a "plywood coffin";<sup>234</sup> it is also unable to engage reverse gear, tacitly reinforced by the opening aerial shot of Kennedy's particular boat dynamically spearheading other PT units across the Pacific.

Personal competence continues to be demonstrated in the scene where "Mr Kennedy"<sup>235</sup> is surrounded by his despondent marooned crew. Any culpability is

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<sup>231</sup> Although according to Salinger Kennedy's first choice is the much younger Warren Beatty, p.103.

<sup>232</sup> Dallek quotes PT commander Warfield's assertion that Kennedy "wasn't a particularly good boat commander", op. cit. p.95.

<sup>233</sup> "President John F. Kennedy Sails Aboard Yacht "Manitou", JFK-Library, [https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKWHP/1962/Month%2008/Day%2012/JFKWHP-1962-08-12-B?image\\_id=JFKWHP-KN-C23216](https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKWHP/1962/Month%2008/Day%2012/JFKWHP-1962-08-12-B?image_id=JFKWHP-KN-C23216) (14/08/2017).

<sup>234</sup> *PT 109*, 1963, Warner Brothers, directed by Leslie H. Martinson, [https://www.amazon.co.uk/PT-109-Leslie-H-Martinson/dp/B01N9TO9YN/ref=tmm\\_aiv\\_title\\_1?encoding=UTF8&qid=&sr](https://www.amazon.co.uk/PT-109-Leslie-H-Martinson/dp/B01N9TO9YN/ref=tmm_aiv_title_1?encoding=UTF8&qid=&sr) (14/08/2017).

<sup>235</sup> Ibid: a general appellation used by many of the crew.

swiftly attributed to his just being human: "...I guess it's a character flaw",<sup>236</sup> so that it is never really allowed to be registered by the audience as a fault. The 'flaw' instead is made out to be a virtue, a theme encouraged by the film's opening declaration:

"I suppose because we've always gone for the David and Goliath story that there's a special place in the memory of Americans for the PT...a story of courage and action, a story worth telling and a story which every American can feel proud."<sup>237</sup>

This demonstrates potent and controlled retelling of a narrative while also recalling the religious imagery associated by the newspapers with JFK's youth. Invocation of this biblical reference provides the film with similar moral credence: Kennedy becomes a saviour to his crew, defeating the larger adversary almost single-handedly. His heroism is made out to assume a near-transcendental quality, depicted with the crew's effusive praising of their "skipper".<sup>238</sup> It is as if he is already being prepared for his place in the nation's pantheon of heroes who soar as they transform its history.

Such iconic path-building by the Kennedys themselves is an illocutionary device that JFK is happy to exploit once in office. Initially this can be seen, for example, in the form of the rescue-message coconut shell he himself inscribes during the PT-109 episode.<sup>239</sup> It intimates the beginning of a developing visual narrative that is resumed during his Inauguration parade with a full-size replica float of the PT-109 'crewed' by all the surviving members.

Subtly adapting the title of Kennedy's second book, *The New York Times*' 1961 article: "A Profile in Courage, a Background of War" reviews a new publication on the PT-109 episode. Pulling away from endorsing any literary merit of the work itself, the journalist instead proceeds to retell through enhanced paraphrase and little critical distance from the original source, Kennedy's heroic exploits:

"...we see a man assailed by hunger, heat, cold and discouragement and danger rising, without dramatics or posturing, to greatness.... Our history is bright with those who have risen to the occasion."<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> Ibid.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid.

<sup>239</sup> Coconut reads: "NAURO ISL...COMMANDER...NATIVE KNOWS POS'IT...HE CAN PILOT...11 ALIVE...NEED SMALL BOAT...KENNEDY." This refers to the coconut that Kennedy gave to natives who delivered it to an Australian coast guard resulting in their rescue.

<sup>240</sup> Book review of the Kennedy-complicit Robert J. Donovan's *PT 109: John F. Kennedy in World War II*, "A Profile in Courage, a Background of War", *The New York Times*, November 19<sup>th</sup>, 1961,

The perlocutionary ‘assailing’ achieves its ‘sequel’ of “greatness” that is prescriptively concluded by the journalist - that is, object-as-sequel in its affording of acclamation for similar emulation. Kennedy’s war actions become elevated into an elite immemorial corps of Americans who enshrine the immutable values that variously conform to the exceptionalist rhetoric discussed earlier: “...he acted, not in panic but with coolness, with supreme self-confidence and a firm belief in his own and his country’s destiny.”<sup>241</sup> It is as if the review is merely the springboard for the journalist’s own separate laudation of the President, deliberately rekindling an episode - as well as personal literary output reminder - that occurs a whole “eighteen years” earlier.

References to Kennedy’s war-hero past continue to be captured pertinently post-assassination across the nation. *The New York Times* proclaims, “No words could describe better the man himself, whose record in war touched heroic proportions.”<sup>242</sup> It is embellished by *The Dallas Morning News*:

“As commander-in-chief of the U.S armed forces, John. F. Kennedy held an abundant right to a grave in the honoured military cemetery. But he was a war hero as well, having recovered from a serious wound as a Navy lieutenant in World War II only to be struck down on a Dallas street by a sniper’s bullets.”<sup>243</sup>

What purports to be a locutionary reference to the setting actually turns out to be perlocutionary in impact: a former war hero is slain on its streets; a man of service is killed by an opportunist. The newspaper implies that this is not the story it wished to report: it wanted to continue to communicate the tragic magnitude of loss rather than have to advert to a parochial tale of deranged evil, in which its residents are now vicariously associated. In so doing it actually elicits sympathy for the city through the ‘guilt’ while simultaneously enshrining this notion of Kennedy’s dedication to service.

It is significant that a ‘Positive’ quality continues to be imbued with deific resonance. This is pertinently captured in *The New York Times*’ reporting on the actual

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<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/11/19/101487275.html?pageNumber=137> (02/05/2015). Donovan’s consultations with JFK during the writing of the book and its subsequent use in the film attest to Kennedy’s own involvement in what is intended to be a big-impact retelling of the PT109 episode, see oral history transcript of interview held with Sheldon Stern, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/sites/default/files/archives/JFKOH/Donovan%20Robert%20JFKOH-RJD-01/JFKOH-RJD-01-TR.pdf> (1/12/19).

<sup>241</sup> Op. cit. Donovan book review, November 19<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>242</sup> ‘The transcript of Cushing Eulogy’, *The New York Times*, November 25<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/11/25/89604720.html?pageNumber=4> (05/05/2015).

<sup>243</sup> ‘Arlington Burial for Kennedy’, *The Dallas Morning News*, November 24<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

components of the funeral service. It attempts to be locutionary in describing the backdrop but is actually perlocutionary in its choice of imagery:

“President Johnson had already come forward, following a soldier who walked backward carrying a wreath of red and white carnations...only red velvet ropes and 25 feet of stone floor separated them from the catafalque upon which rested Mr. Kennedy’s coffin... Behind the commander, a sailor held the flag of the President. To the sailor’s right stood an unattended American flag...A military band played ‘Hail to the Chief.’ As the eight bearers removed the coffin from the caisson and bore it slowly up the marble steps, the band softly played - perhaps in honour of the service during which Mr. Kennedy nearly gave his life in World War II- the Navy hymn, ‘Eternal Father, Strong to Save’.”<sup>244</sup>

Symbolically Johnson the politician is following his predecessor at a distance: a cordon prevents his immediate proximity; a soldier is deferentially walking backwards although always remains closer to the “commander”. Kennedy is therefore depicted as forever being set apart. He ‘rests’ upon a “catafalque” such that all mourners have to look up to him. The perlocutionary connotations of both hymn titles enhance this reverence by implying required worship to someone who almost transcends the human condition as he is borne above “marble steps”. The journalist’s language continually endeavours to equate Kennedy’s war service with a positive permanence despite not quite sacrificing his life during combat, deliberately blurring the human-deific distinction. Kennedy is made out to be the nation’s saviour, physically and now spiritually. It is echoed by the same newspaper’s initially locutionary reference in a separate article that day to “a tray of boiled wheat” but here followed by its words: “a symbol of the Resurrection”<sup>245</sup> - in case the reader fails to make the connection - behind the cenotaph. Transcendence to the iconic is made out to be literally imminent.

Three years after his assassination the nautical war-hero imagery persists, with a retrospective from *The Dallas Morning News* citing the:

“President...jumping from the Honey Fitz [yacht named after maternal Grandfather] to go whisking across Lake Worth on a catamaran....One can remember John Kennedy’s office with its rocker and ship models and marine paintings and the old desk carved from the timbers of the Resolute and the engraved whale’s tooth and the coconut shell the young lieutenant cut his help

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<sup>244</sup> Tom Wicker, ‘Crowd is hushed: Grieving thousands file past Kennedy’s bier in the Great Rotunda of the Capitol’, *The New York Times*, November 25<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/11/25/89604703.html?pageNumber=2> (13/04/2015).

<sup>245</sup> ‘Memorial Service Are Held In Thronged Churches Throughout the City: Loss To Nation Told In Sermons’, *The New York Times*, November 25<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/11/25/issue.html> (13/04/2015).

message on in World War II. And in time it will be remembered that President Johnson liked a clean desk, installed news tickers in a not quite soundproofed cabinet giving the office a city room atmosphere.”<sup>246</sup>

The active war hero, perlocutionarily “jumping” and “whisking” is pitted against the sedentary, more impersonal politician. Yet the language also persuades here in its invocation of nostalgia as a ‘Positive’ force. The Resolute was a warship, salvaged from heroic action whose rugged timbers were reconstituted into a desk and subsequently utilized by every President from Hayes to Kennedy. Johnson is the first President who declines to keep it, purportedly to maintain its ongoing association with his predecessor as part of a travelling Kennedy Presidential Library exhibition. The symbolism nonetheless achieves the effect of separating the dull man of the moment – incidentally a Texan - for which in due course history will apparently record as such, with the untouchable hero of the recent past.

### **Intellectualism**

‘Service’ continues to be celebrated by the newspapers in Kennedy’s post-war transition to public duty and accompanying demonstration of intellectual competence. At a Minnesota Convention in 1958, *The New York Times*’ Cabell Phillips describes the aspiring Democrat nominee as having “a mind which is not only agile, but with some depth and perception as well.”<sup>247</sup> Culminating in *A Nation of Immigrants*, posthumously produced in 1964, Kennedy’s devotion to literary and scholarly pursuits is established by a Harvard education and his first title *Why England Slept*, published from his thesis in his early twenties.

*Why England Slept* covers the United Kingdom’s<sup>248</sup> lack of preparedness for World War Two, Kennedy’s intellectualism being picked up once more by *The New York Times*, which praises “...young Mr. Kennedy’s new book...as a careful...factual and unemotional approach to the problem.”<sup>249</sup> Following Kennedy’s Inauguration, the *British Times* quotes the new President’s “intellectual passion”, his being “quick in thought” and “admirably articulate”.<sup>250</sup> The coupling of these perlocutionary

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<sup>246</sup> ‘People remember JFK in a multitude of ways’, *The Dallas Morning News*, November 14<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

<sup>247</sup> ‘How to be a Presidential Candidate’, *The New York Times*, July 13<sup>th</sup>, 1958, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1958/07/13/91396488.html?pageNumber=189> (13/02/2015)

<sup>248</sup> ‘England’ is its inaccurate appellation throughout that text.

<sup>249</sup> ‘JFK: A time to look at the whole man’, *The New York Times*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1964.

<sup>250</sup> ‘Interview with the new Americans’, *The Times*, April 20<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

adjectives culminates in its sequel-compounding aura of competence beyond American shores.

In Kennedy's second book *Profiles in Courage*, it is the Senator's father who persuades Henry Robinson Luce, the American magazine magnate, 'the most influential private citizen in the America of his day',<sup>251</sup> to write the foreword. Joseph Kennedy tells his son that "you would be surprised how a book that really makes the grade with high-class people stands you in good stead for years to come."<sup>252</sup> Kennedy Senior also persuades Arthur Krock, Washington editor of *The New York Times*, political advisor and member of the Pulitzer board, to convince his colleagues to nominate the book for the Pulitzer Prize. It is awarded the Best Biography of 1956.

Obligingly, *The New York Times*, among other major newspapers, gives *Profiles in Courage* positive reviews. On 18<sup>th</sup> December 1955 it exclaims Kennedy to be "the sort to restore the respect for a venerable and much abused profession."<sup>253</sup> The perpetuation of this grateful, upbeat narrative in his early political career by influential media representatives helps to set Kennedy apart, as a young and innovative civic representative: "It is refreshing and enlightening...to have a first-rate politician write a thoughtful and persuasive book about political integrity."<sup>254</sup>

*Profiles in Courage* works as a production on three levels: perlocutionary confirmation of the bravery of its subject matter; an autobiographical guide; a statement upon his intellectual level. The book itself details the stories of eight senators of principle who prioritize the interests of the country and its people, irrespective of party criticism. It may also be seen as a veiled narrative to convey Kennedy's own outward political aspirations and convictions: the virtues he knows he must advance in order to increase the distance between himself and others competing for the highest political office. His purported singular commitment to these stated ideals accentuates

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<sup>251</sup> Robert Edwin Herzstein, Henry R. Luce, *Time, and the American Crusade*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2005, p.1.

<sup>252</sup> John H. Davis, *The Kennedys; Dynasty and Disaster*, S.P.I Books, Shapolski Publishers, Inc, New York, 1992, p.145. Interestingly, Kennedy apparently shares the same advice with Nixon: 'When I told him I was considering the possibility of joining the "literary ranks" of which he is himself so distinguished a member, he expressed the thought that every public man should write a book...because it tends to elevate him in popular esteem to the respected status of an "intellectual"', op. cit. Nixon, p.xi.

<sup>253</sup> 'The Challenge of Political Courage', *The New York Times*, December 18<sup>th</sup>, 1955, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1955/12/18/91381015.html?pageNumber=186> (18/03/2015).

<sup>254</sup> Thomas C. Reeves, *A Question of Character*, Three Rivers Press, 1997, p.128.

the impression of selfless dedication and vision so that upon assassination, *The New York Times* draws parallels again with this work - once more in significantly quasi-religious terms - to convey the notion of deep personal public loss and sacrifice: "...all [Kennedy's] heroes faced the hard choice either of giving in to public opinion or defying it and becoming martyrs."<sup>255</sup>

Indeed, the day after his assassination in the city, *The Dallas Morning News* reports that:

"The youthful chief executive was a patriot and blessed with an articulate intelligence. To such a mind and personality, success came early because his talents were utilized to the utmost. He was a master in the field of political science, the most tricky of all professions and the most uncertain as far as continuity of service is concerned."<sup>256</sup>

Again, 'Service' – both military and civic - is conjugated with the religious "blessed", while the adjectives now assume perlocutionary object-as-sequel force: the reader is definitively informed as to the specific nature and result of his intelligence while "success", "talents" and "master" all unequivocally continue to place him apart in general aptitude. Kennedy's continued ability to deliver public duty – the emphatic "most" is twice-prefacing – is conveyed by the similarly perlocutionary "master" and "tricky" adjectives against ambiguous reference to Dallas' own complicity in disrupting it.

Kennedy is happy to be perceived as culturally curious too. During his Presidency he is frequently seen to be mixing with prominent figures from the arts' world, cultivating the acquaintance, for example, of poet Robert Frost and composer Leonard Bernstein, who actually writes 'Fanfare for the Inauguration' in the new President's honour. One of the most significant performances during the Kennedy years is given by celebrated cellist Pablo Casals in 1961, who is also renowned for his stand on human rights – a useful personal association that helps Kennedy at the time to conclude "artistic achievement and action"<sup>257</sup> as an "integral part of our free

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<sup>255</sup> 'Why America weeps', *The New York Times*, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/11/23/89977681.html?pageNumber=1> (13/02/2015).

<sup>256</sup> 'John F. Kennedy', *The Dallas Morning News*, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1963.

<sup>257</sup> 'Remarks of welcome at the White House concert by Pablo Casals', November 13<sup>th</sup>, 1961, [www.jfklink.com/speeches/jfk/publicpapers/1961/jfk464\\_61.html](http://www.jfklink.com/speeches/jfk/publicpapers/1961/jfk464_61.html) (11/06/2017).



society."<sup>258</sup> Indeed, *The New York Times* even publishes a photograph of the concert on its front page the following day, in which:

“The intimate sound of chamber music was heard tonight at the White House...before a distinguished audience of musicians, diplomats and art patrons... [T]here has been music in the White House ever since Thomas Jefferson...but tonight’s was one of the few occasions where a program [sic] of serious chamber music, lasting almost an hour has been presented in these surroundings. The occasion also transcended mere music-making.”<sup>259</sup>

Chamber music is often performed in small auditoria thus enhancing close connection between the individual musicians and a usually musically-informed listener. Certain repertoires can sometimes incline towards the less-familiar and occasionally esoteric, implied here by reference to the “serious” music and its duration. The genre may therefore demand an acquired appreciation by its audience, amidst which Kennedy would be seen to be identifying. Such newspaper commentary is perlocutionary in impact because it persuades the reader to conclude the advanced level of this particular performance given in its content, delivery and presumed assimilation. Kennedy’s reputation is then similarly elevated - it is already implied that he is more musically-discerning than his Presidential predecessors - with reference to the recital’s transformative power beyond the “mere” effect of its actual music.

## **Cultured**

JFK’s intellectually-refined reputation is further consolidated by his wife’s cultural prowess. Jacqueline Kennedy, née Bouvier,<sup>260</sup> is proficient in several foreign languages, graduates with a degree in French Literature and has a keen interest in classical music, poetry and art history. Whilst Kennedy himself has been brought up in a certain cultural milieu, his wife’s commitment to reinvigorating the Arts within the White House accentuates it by sheer association: banquets are frequently held and often attended by poets and writers. Thanks to her charisma and diplomatic skills, Jackie manages to facilitate the French government’s loaning of the Mona Lisa for

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<sup>258</sup> ‘Casals plays at White House’, *The New York Times*, November 14<sup>th</sup>, 1961, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/11/14/118523097.html?pageNumber=1> (11/06/2017).

<sup>259</sup> Ibid.

<sup>260</sup> Despite its convenient French-sounding persuasion, a surname of Irish ancestry never denied.

exhibition in the USA - the first time it ever leaves Paris.<sup>261</sup> On the first anniversary of Kennedy's death, *The New York Times* continues to celebrate his cultural legacy:

“The memory of the President and of his interest in the arts will be honoured...with a ‘tribute in dance’ by The Dallas Civic Opera Guild. Some of the best-known stars of the New York City Ballet, The Paris Opera, The Royal Ballet, and the Ballet Folklorico of Mexico will perform. Some advertisement for the performance refers to it, in typical Dallas style, as the “greatest ballet event of the Western world.”<sup>262</sup>

It is now the world-wide culturally elite who are celebrating his life, and despite its slightly patronising tones – given the classical music event that particular newspaper had previously placed on its own front page - towards its Southern rival, still nonetheless repeats the perlocutionary claim of Kennedy's own broad aestheticism.

### **Forward-thinking**

Kennedy seeks the company and counsel of the intellectual elite in consolidating the character of his administration regardless of their actual political orientation. According to *The Detroit Tribune*: “The favourite books of the Kennedy Cabinet seem typical of a group with its known intellectual bent. The accent, a poll shows, is on classical works.” The article proceeds to list the worthy tomes in question with the significant inclusion that three of this cohort: “hold Phi Beta Kappa Keys”.<sup>263</sup> This refers to a ‘prestigious’ society that celebrates, in its own words, ‘excellence in the liberal arts and sciences’.<sup>264</sup> Kennedy's aspiration to surround himself with such people again represents a break from the past in its protocol. He is not seeking acolytes. Indeed, when Johnson assumes the Presidency he too recognizes his predecessor's astute appointment of staff, one of which he describes as a “dedicated and brilliant professor of economics, whom President Kennedy had bought to Washington”.<sup>265</sup> The ensuing administration therefore becomes comprised of technocratic intellectuals as well as Ivy League advisers, friends from his Harvard days, and similarly war-levelled veterans such as Lieutenants McGeorge Bundy and Kenneth O'Donnell, who now

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<sup>261</sup> BBC News: ‘How Jackie Kennedy brought Mona Lisa to US’, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/world-us-canada-43559777/how-jackie-kennedy-brought-mona-lisa-to-us> (12/06/2018).

<sup>262</sup> ‘Kennedy Epilogue: Shocked Dallas changing ways’, *The New York Times*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1964.

<sup>263</sup> ‘Cabinet Members name Favorite [sic] Books’, *The Detroit Tribune*, December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1961.

<sup>264</sup> Mission statement from The Phi Beta Kappa Society, <https://www.pbk.org/> (02/07/2018).

<sup>265</sup> Op. cit. Johnson p.69. See also Crown, ‘To an impressive extent Kennedy made key appointments on a basis of estimated competence rather than as a political award’, op. cit. p.105.

assist him in devising and articulating likewise new and innovative policies: ‘broad-minded men...in search of more effective action at home and abroad.’<sup>266</sup> Following his Inauguration, such proposals contoured from this body constitute the substance of ‘The New Frontier’. For Kennedy, achievement has to be intellectually premised: “We lack the scientists, the engineers and teachers our world obligations require...the basic research that lies at the root of all progress.”<sup>267</sup> The New Frontier must be forged because “The old ways will not do.”<sup>268</sup> Indeed, this recalls an observation cited as far back as his own Harvard days when Kennedy bemoans the English and French militaries’ inability to update themselves according to the urgent needs of the time: “...tradition governs everything, the old methods of doing things frequently present[ing] an immovable obstacle in the path of reform.”<sup>269</sup>

While frequently invoked in his speeches to convey the excited physicality of progress, ‘frontier’ also paradoxically derives its illocutionary strength for Kennedy from its own loaded historical resonance.<sup>270</sup> Kennedy revivifies the ‘frontier’ metaphor seemingly exhausted by the end of the literal nation-building: there may be no unconquered territory left to complete the United States of America but there are now new goals on the horizon towards which Americans should stride. In effect, the Nomination speech, which introduces the ‘New Frontier’ motif,<sup>271</sup> recasts the challenge posed by Frederick Jackson Turner’s 1893 paper presented to the American Historical Association, ‘The Significance of the Frontier in American History’. Turner lauds the European ‘civilizing’ of these supposedly new territories thus:

‘...each frontier did indeed furnish a new field of opportunity, a gate of escape from the bondage of the past; and confidence, and scorn of older society, impatience of its restraints and its ideas...have accompanied the frontier.’<sup>272</sup>

Turner believes that:

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<sup>266</sup> Op. cit. Dallek, p.321; Schlesinger, while acknowledging Kennedy never to entitle them as such, nonetheless describes its members as ‘determined to complete the unfinished business of American society....they propose to roll up their sleeves and make America over’, pp.190-3.

<sup>267</sup> ‘State of the Union’ 1961, op. cit. *Speeches* p.25.

<sup>268</sup> ‘Acceptance of the Democratic Party Nomination’, *ibid.* p.3.

<sup>269</sup> *Why England Slept*, op. cit. p.49.

<sup>270</sup> The ‘New’ epithet is similarly paradoxical in that there is long-standing resort to it in American politics e.g. Wilson’s New Freedom and FDR’s New Deal.

<sup>271</sup> Indeed, the JFK-Library archives it as ‘The New Frontier Speech’ 15<sup>th</sup> July, 1960, [https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKSEN/0910/JFKSEN-0910-015 \(5/5/20\)](https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKSEN/0910/JFKSEN-0910-015%20(5/5/20)).

<sup>272</sup> William Frederick Turner, ‘The Significance of the Frontier in American History’, <http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/gilded/empire/text1/turner.pdf> (16/03/2017).

‘...now, four centuries from the discovery of America, at the end of a hundred years of life under the Constitution, the frontier has gone, and with its going has closed the first period of American history.’

Whether or not Kennedy is personally familiar with Turner’s paper, for him a new frontier has opened up:

“I tell you, the New Frontier is here.... [b]eyond that frontier are the uncharted areas of science and space, unsolved problems of peace and war, unconquered pockets of ignorance and prejudice, unanswered questions of poverty and surplus. It would be easier to shrink back from that frontier, to look the safe mediocrity of the past, to be lulled by good intentions and high rhetoric... [b]ut I believe the times demand new invention, innovation, imagination, decision. I am asking each of you to be pioneers on that New Frontier.’<sup>273</sup>

Indeed, in his Rice University address, the Frontier motif is invoked again in: “What was once the furthest outpost on the old frontier of the West will be the furthest outpost on the new frontier of science and space.”<sup>274</sup> The angst of literal territory curtailment intimated at the end of Turner’s paper is averted by Kennedy’s ‘frontier’ extensions beyond earthly shores. It is an aspiration endorsed by Johnson later who similarly affirms his country’s progressive manner of establishment as the means to facilitate its continued ‘exceptionalist’ eminence in this particular arena:

‘The new adventures and space...bring with them excitement and accomplishment as great as anything we have witnessed in the epic period just passed, when we proved ourselves once more to be the sons of pioneers who tamed a broad continent and built the mightiest nation in the history of the world.’<sup>275</sup>

The semblance of the term’s familiarity is to be reshaped by the Kennedy administration headed by that “young, progressive and able”<sup>276</sup> leader Kennedy himself identifies in his own student thesis as requisite to meet perception of such diverse challenges.

*The New York Times* publishes several excerpts from other newspapers concerning Kennedy’s Inaugural address, celebrating the country’s new beginnings

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<sup>273</sup> ‘Acceptance of the Democratic Party Nomination’, op. cit. *Speeches* pp.5-6.

<sup>274</sup> ‘Address on the Space Effort’, ibid. p.224.

<sup>275</sup> Op. cit. Johnson, p.286. This language is similarly citizen-assimilated, see question from a Bob Eckart to Moon landing CBS programme presenter Walter Cronkite: “Wouldn’t it be wonderful if the Moon Landing could be used to make more Americans proud they were living on the greatest nation on earth?” in ‘Apollo 11: “The greatest single broadcast in American history”’, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-48857752> (11/07/2019).

<sup>276</sup> Op. cit. *Why England Slept* p.218.

with a President “...attuned to our times....The new generation of leaders in Washington...symbolise[s] the beginning of a new and reinvigorated era.”<sup>277</sup> It republishes Wilmington North Carolina’s *Morning News*’ claim that Kennedy is a man “who would help speed the world to unite, with new good will, in a great new, mutual effort of mankind.”<sup>278</sup> In addition to its simple perpetuation of an original article to reach its own particular demographic, the original language remains unedited to echo in linguistic unity, Kennedy’s innovative prowess. Not only is the word “new” utilized several times in close proximity to intensify the reader’s assimilation of its pioneering content but the surrounding words are also loaded with perlocutionary object-sequel cumulation. It commences with the illocutionary ‘symbolism’ to allow the reader very briefly to imagine what sort of good times will ensue before quickly becoming emphatic in its pronouncements. The perlocutionary force of “speed the world to unite” placed within a global context of “mankind”, suggests the inevitability of Kennedy’s epic success.

‘Newness’ also becomes a term Kennedy transforms for himself into a ‘Positive’ when used pejoratively by his political opponents in their reference to him as a ‘Liberal’.<sup>279</sup> Hitherto perceived as a weakness by the Republicans, Kennedy instead imbues the label with virtuous aspiration, having slowly denuded it, according to Schlesinger, of its more hackneyed ‘American pieties’.<sup>280</sup> In his 1960 ‘Address for Accepting the Liberal Party Nomination for President’, Kennedy states that:

“...if by a ‘Liberal’ they mean someone who looks ahead and not behind, someone who welcomes new ideas without rigid reactions, someone who cares about the welfare of the people - their health, their housing, their schools, their jobs, their civil rights, and their civil liberties - someone who believes we can

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<sup>277</sup> ‘Editorial comment across the nation on President Kennedy’s inauguration’, *The New York Times*, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1961, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/01/21/97650375.html?pageNumber=10> (12/03/2017).

<sup>278</sup> ‘Editorial comment across the nation on President Kennedy’s inauguration’, *The New York Times*, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1961, *The Morning News*, Wilmington, ‘New Good Will’, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/01/21/97650375.html?pageNumber=10> (17/03/2017).

<sup>279</sup> ‘Kennedy’s acceptance speech of the nomination for the Liberal party New York in 1960’, [https://www.jfklibrary.org/Research/Research-Aids/JFK-Speeches/Liberal-Party-Nomination-NYC\\_19600914.aspx](https://www.jfklibrary.org/Research/Research-Aids/JFK-Speeches/Liberal-Party-Nomination-NYC_19600914.aspx) (16/07/2017).

<sup>280</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.82, who later elaborates upon Kennedy’s evasion of categorization: ‘He was Irish, Catholic, New England; Harvard, Navy, Palm Beach, Democrat and so on; but no classification contained him. He had wrought an individuality which carried him beyond the definition of class and race, region and religion...he was, as much as man can be, self-determined and not the servant of forces outside him’, p.103.

break through the stalemate and suspicions that grip us in our policies abroad, if that is what they mean by a 'Liberal,' then I'm proud to say I'm a 'Liberal.'"<sup>281</sup>

One frontier-extending policy is Kennedy's Peace Corps' initiative, capturing what Schlesinger describes as Kennedy's conviction of 'a fund of idealism among the youth of America',<sup>282</sup> that is intended to provide education and aid to poorer countries:

"...a pool of trained American men and women sent overseas by the U.S. Government or through private institutions and organisations to help foreign countries meet their urgent needs for skilled manpower."<sup>283</sup>

Derided by liberals as a 'gimmick', conservatives as 'a nonsensical haven for beatniks and visionaries'<sup>284</sup> and Eisenhower, who calls it a "juvenile experiment",<sup>285</sup> *The New York Times*' Peter Braestrup nonetheless reports on the concept's popularity despite its acknowledged structural infancy: Washington apparently receives over 16,000 applications at the time the reporter writes. Three months later Braestrup updates the reader on its rapid progress, in which not only is confirmed "three to six months of training in language, culture and work skills" but also a particular secular insistence – perhaps to allay fears for both lingering Protestant sceptics and curious overseas observers – that such a service is delivered without "religious missionary purposes".<sup>286</sup> Just over a year later, the Senate Foreign Relations' Committee approves legislation to grant Kennedy \$63,750,000<sup>287</sup> to place 9,700 volunteers into the Peace Corps by Autumn 1963. In the meantime, a Domestic Peace Corps programme, intended "to work on social problems at home"<sup>288</sup> is set up at Kennedy's instigation, to complement assistance by providing:

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<sup>281</sup> Op. cit. September 14<sup>th</sup>, 1960. Sorensen confirms Kennedy's dislike of such labels: '...I found that he was the truest and oldest kind of liberal: the free man with the free mind', op. cit. p.23.

<sup>282</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.528 who reports on Kennedy's wistful admiration of Communist Cuba's ability to 'mobilize popular idealism' that is exemplified "Each weekend [with] 10,000 teachers go[ing] into the countryside to run a campaign against illiteracy."

<sup>283</sup> 'Establishment of the Peace Corps', March 1<sup>st</sup>, 1961, op. cit. *Speeches* p.39.

<sup>284</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.532.

<sup>285</sup> Peter Braestrup, 'Juvenile experiment, or new dimension in Foreign policy', *The New York Times*, December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1961,

<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/12/31/101492086.html?pageNumber=63> (16/07/2017).

<sup>286</sup> Although note Wayne Gard's inverted compliment in 'The Peace Corps', *The Dallas Morning News*, 16<sup>th</sup> June, 1962, that "Russia has started a rival organisation" known as the Comrade Corps.

<sup>287</sup> Peter Braestrup, 'Peace Corps Bill Gains', *The New York Times*, March 29<sup>th</sup>, 1962, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1962/03/29/83221363.html?pageNumber=17> (21/07/2017).

<sup>288</sup> Hedrick Smith, 'Kennedy to Ask for Domestic Unit of Peace Corps', *The New York Times*, January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1963,

“...vocational guidance counselling for teen-age school drop-outs, teachers’ aides and recreational workers in migratory labor [sic] camps, case assistance in mental hospitals, community development workers in areas of rural and urban poverty and managing day-care centers [sic] for children whose parents work or who come from broken homes.”<sup>289</sup>

The locutionary listing seems in itself the perlocutionary sequel to Kennedy’s call, the matter-of-fact precursor of financial acquiescence to enactment. By May 1963, *The Dallas Morning News* appears to have overcome its misgivings about the organization’s value, describing it as “going strong” thanks to “big, bustling, energetic, far-flung, successful”<sup>290</sup> Kennedy-family leadership.

Following his assassination, resonance of Kennedy’s peace-extending spirit continues to be lauded by *The New York Times*:

“In classical language and noble deeds, he inspired a confused America and a bewildered world in the mid-century to seek new frontiers of liberty, prosperity and peace... he became the voice of mankind to interpret the issues of the day and to lead our generation to higher levels towards an era of relaxing tension, humane hopes and peace on earth...he was taken from us on the very threshold of the promised land to which he had led us.”<sup>291</sup>

In perlocutionary object-as-sequel terms, “classical” elevates Kennedy once again to that timeless status; “noble deeds” resurrects the notion of heroism, while gloom is dispersed by his one-man spearheading of universal ideals. The perlocutionary force is intensified in its elevating of these human qualities into messianic proportions. Very physically active terminology is employed to convey the force of Kennedy’s loss: he is “taken from us” just as we are all about to cross with him into a new prosperous era. America has lost its Saviour, the man who has been busy cultivating that exciting path from the very outset of his Presidency, and symbolized by an Inauguration-day photograph showing his hand-gesture parting of the worshipping people-waves before him, to facilitate the beam of his vision.<sup>292</sup> Indeed, a photograph of him campaigning

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<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/01/14/89908762.html?pageNumber=1>  
(21/07/2017).

<sup>289</sup> Ibid.

<sup>290</sup> Editor’s note, ‘Born in the Shadow of Doubts Peace Corps Going Strong after Three Years’, *The Dallas Morning News*, May 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1963. Daily running is delegated to brother-in-law Sargent Shriver.

<sup>291</sup> John. H. Fenton, ‘Cushing Recalls “His Noble Deeds”’; World’s Capitals Join in Tribute’, *The New York Times*, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1964.

<sup>292</sup> ‘President John F. Kennedy and First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy in the Presidential Box overlooking the crowd at the inaugural gala’, January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1961’, by Paul Schutzer, *LIFE Magazine* Picture Collection, Getty Images, <http://time.com/4783803/paul-schutzer-six-day-war-remembrance/> (12/07/2017).

in Dallas prepares its audience for similar interpretation, with the candidate's raised hand being offered to the people at the city's circular Memorial Auditorium in which the lighting appears to climax as a halo, in an uppermost ring above Kennedy's head.<sup>293</sup> In 1962 *The New York Times*' Tom Wicker commends his President's ability to "impart a messianic ring to his voice; a missionary zeal to his words..."<sup>294</sup> Such Christ-like associations persist two days after his assassination with *The New York Times* reporting the following from Pope Paul VI at St Patrick's Cathedral: "He sought to feed the hungry, care for the sick, give freedom and dignity to the oppressed..."<sup>295</sup> Such words paraphrase St Luke's description of Christ's work,<sup>296</sup> the biblically-enhanced perlocutionary force of the verbs almost fusing the proximity between Kennedy and Christianity's ultimate icon.

### **Statesman diplomat**

It is a short and easy Presidential transition from initiating frontier-crossing Peace Corps' initiatives overseas to undertaking and extending personally their intrinsic complementary spirit through successful international diplomacy. At first, however, some US journalists anticipate that the President's youth might reflect political inexperience to other world leaders. Yet Kennedy immediately and successfully reverses Chancellor Adenauer's and Prime Minister Macmillan's purported pre-conception of a "chirpy ladies home journal atmosphere" at the White House, with objectivity rather than "hands-across-the-sea sentimentality about the future." James Reston reports Kennedy's "high" regard from his counterparts, impressing them by raising general world affairs' matters as well as country-specific issues. Adenauer is particularly reassured by Kennedy's knowledge and expectations from him personally regarding international assistance concerning nuclear non-proliferation. Reston concludes thus: "the new young President...has met the first important test of international personal diplomacy", reiterating the competence implied in his article's

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<sup>293</sup> Op. cit. Minutaglio and Davis, second page of first illustrated section, attributed to Shel Hersorn.

<sup>294</sup> Tom Wicker, 'Kennedy as a public Speakah', *The New York Times*, February 25<sup>th</sup>, 1962, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1962/02/25/113420399.html?pageNumber=209> (08/07/2017).

<sup>295</sup> 'Loss to a nation told in sermons', *The New York Times*, November 25<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/11/25/89604762.html?pageNumber=8> (13/06/2017).

<sup>296</sup> Luke ch.4 v.18-19.



headline.<sup>297</sup> Kennedy's status as a mature diplomat is accentuated by Robert C. Doty of the same newspaper, upon the President's first official visit to Paris:

“Would the old man patronize the young one, and, if he did, would the young one respond with resentment and quick Irish temper? Could a man who was commanding troops in battle in the year John Fitzgerald Kennedy was born see in the latter the captain of the West in the most desperate politico-military struggle of modern times?”<sup>298</sup>

The perlocutionary force of Doty's questions raise faux doubts as to possible aged-based clashes of temperament. Youth is continually packaged by Doty as evidence of Kennedy's matching worthiness. Charles de Gaulle is described as:

“...tall, monotone in coloring [sic] as though he were already hewn out of granite, his total displacement increased both psychically by hard-earned dignity and physically by an honourable and appropriate thickening through the middle...”

as if to convey that he has deserved the right to show less flattering signs of his age. The opening locutionary description segues into perlocutionary endorsement of his toughness. Kennedy “the American” by contrast, is imbued with dynamism, a tall frame and a thrice-repeated youth as if to obliterate any lingering correlation between age and political naïvety. He is “young – frighteningly young – and looking younger, his face ruddy, an athlete's flat abdomen and springy stride.” Such animation – particularly given his Addison's - and reference to a honed physique acquires illocutionary impact whereby Kennedy becomes the confident, attractive and capable metaphor for the nation he represents.

It is Kennedy's personality that engenders much of the entente de Gaulle purportedly lacked with the President's predecessors. The French President is reported as having experienced “deep-seated suspicions”<sup>299</sup> further to historical tensions between himself and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Doty claims that such feelings have been

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<sup>297</sup> James Reston, ‘Kennedy meets the test of personal diplomacy’, *The New York Times*, April 18<sup>th</sup>, 1961, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/04/16/101457279.html?pageNumber=178> (18/06/2017).

<sup>298</sup> Robert C. Doty, ‘Two Presidents Find Rapport in Paris’, *The New York Times*, June 4<sup>th</sup>, 1961, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/06/04/118912966.html> (18/06/2017).

<sup>299</sup> C. L. Sulzberger, ‘Foreign Affairs: Mr. Kennedy Succeeds in Paris’, *The New York Times*, June 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1961, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/06/03/118911576.html?pageNumber=22> (19/06/2017). Subsequent quotations within same paragraph pertain to same article. Schlesinger cites a conversation in which de Gaulle tells the President ‘that he had quarrelled violently and bitterly with Churchill but always felt a basic accord with him. He had never quarrelled openly with Roosevelt but never felt a moment of rapport’, op. cit. p.321.

“alleviated” by Kennedy who is described as “shrewd and tactful in this first major diplomatic test...” Such is Kennedy’s charm that “de Gaulle...displayed a warm and friendly attitude quite contrasting with his aloof public austerity.”<sup>300</sup> Interestingly, it is exactly the same adjective that is ascribed to the French President later in the same article as if to emphasize the scale of Kennedy’s mellowing achievement in encouraging extension of the diplomatic hand by his hitherto “austere French host”. As a result of the visit, the newspaper proclaims Kennedy to have achieved “restoration of truly close relationships between the United States and France”<sup>301</sup> compounded by de Gaulle’s assertion that “I have more confidence in your country now”.

Kennedy’s international reputation is further cemented by a united approval by his counterparts for “mastering the details”.<sup>302</sup> President de Gaulle “never thought much of Roosevelt, Truman or Eisenhower, but he liked Kennedy because Kennedy approached him with genuine admiration, and insisted in facing hard facts.”<sup>303</sup> Perlocutionary object-as-sequel force – Kennedy’s “heart” and “plunge” interrogation - is achieved through Doty’s assertion that his President “scored points with the French President as he went along by his thorough preparation and grasp of the dossiers, and his willingness to plunge into the heart of the subject”.<sup>304</sup> Reston also makes this methodical distinction between Kennedy and his predecessors, commending the current President’s ability to lead “conversations rather than the Eisenhower technique of relying primarily on his associates to do all the talking and explaining”.<sup>305</sup> Such tenacity is echoed in Paris with *Times*’ journalist Sulzberger’s possessive reference to “Our President” who “guided the conversations from point to point”<sup>306</sup> and is described by him as “particularly sage” in so doing. When Kennedy meets Khrushchev

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<sup>300</sup> See for example *Life*’s cover photograph of toys given personally by this purportedly icy French head of state to one-year-old John.

<sup>301</sup> Op. cit. Sulzberger June 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1961. Schlesinger similarly records that “The General had begun with a benignly avuncular attitude towards a young man not even born until Captain de Gaulle had fought three years on the western front in the First World War. The French leader came away with the impression of the American President as *un homme sérieux*, [a] serious man fully aware of the weight of the responsibilities he had accepted and fully capable of meeting them’, op. cit. p.324.

<sup>302</sup> Op. cit. Reston April 18<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>303</sup> James Reston, ‘Vienna: the psychological results of Kennedy’s trip’, *The New York Times*, June 4<sup>th</sup>, 1961,

<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/06/04/118912998.html?pageNumber=177> (19/07/2017).

<sup>304</sup> Op. cit. Doty June 4<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>305</sup> Op. cit. Reston April 18<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>306</sup> Op. cit. Sulzberger April 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1961.

in Vienna, again he argues a “legal and moral question, point for point”.<sup>307</sup> While the meeting itself may have resulted in political stalemate, Kennedy nonetheless is reported to emerge from his:

“...first major experience in ‘cold war’ diplomacy and has come out of it very well...he went away from here more experienced and he now rates more highly in the estimation of the men who watched these exchanges than he has at any time since he entered the White House.”<sup>308</sup>

If Adenauer is to be included here, Reston reports him as possessing not “‘the slightest’ worry’ about Kennedy negotiating with Khrushchev or anybody else.”<sup>309</sup>

Kennedy’s peace-making prowess is highlighted during the Cuban Missile Crisis. Both *The New York Times* and *The Dallas Morning News* commend the ‘President’ on his diplomacy and strength, or as Johnson more baldly describes it, ‘toughness’,<sup>310</sup> justifying *The Dallas Morning News’* early identification while Senator, of Kennedy as “a man with the cool and hard qualities of an individual diamond-cutting machine.”<sup>311</sup> Ignoring what the *Los Angeles Times* refers to as “false prophets”<sup>312</sup> - once more a Christ-like insinuation – from his Cabinet who call for military invasion of the island, Kennedy instead opts with his newly established specialist Executive Committee of the National Security Council, for negotiation culminating in a naval blockade in which only food and medicine are permitted access. Such individual restraint earns Kennedy Atlanta’s *Constitution* newspaper’s “monumental new respect” on behalf of the nation for “winning the victory through demands and a resolute ultimatum instead of invasion...which a hasty physical blow against the isolated island of Cuba could have dissipated.”<sup>313</sup>

*The New York Times* publishes a compilation of other excerpts from across the political and geographical spectrum that is united in its engendering of collective

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<sup>307</sup> James Reston, ‘Vienna Talks End’, *The New York Times*, June 5<sup>th</sup>, 1961, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/06/05/118040601.html?pageNumber=12> (18/08/2017).

<sup>308</sup> Ibid.

<sup>309</sup> Op. cit. Reston, April 16<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>310</sup> Op. cit. Johnson p.24.

<sup>311</sup> ‘Vigorous Mastery of Party Shown by Senator Kennedy’, *The Dallas Morning News*, July 18<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>312</sup> Matthew 7:15. ‘Editorial Comment on Cuba Accord’, *The New York Times*, October 30<sup>th</sup>, 1962, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1962/10/30/90571305.html?pageNumber=17> (18/08/2017).

<sup>313</sup> Ibid.

support - “monolithic unity”<sup>314</sup> - for this specific diplomatic policy. It cites the East Coast *News*’ ‘Independent’ perlocutionary object-and-sequel conviction that “...the President has acted magnificently and we feel confident that the American people will back him to the hilt in his new and courageous Cuban policy”.<sup>315</sup> Such single-handed prowess is similarly disseminated to the readers of Atlanta’s *Constitution* by a highlighting of a crisis Kennedy has handled “...bravely, responsibly and well”.<sup>316</sup> Even Kennedy’s Republican opponent is identified employing perlocutionary object-and-sequel language to convey the successful galvanizing rightness of the approach:

“Richard M. Nixon fully endorsed President Kennedy’s ‘strong action’ in Cuba tonight...the President took the ‘only action possible in the interest of the United States and the case of freedom.’”<sup>317</sup>

Such enthusiasm is echoed on the very same day by *The Dallas Morning News*, which credits Kennedy personally with ending “subservience” to the perceived ineffectiveness of appeasement. Peace is achieved through action to restore national pride and supremacy:

“The phrase ‘our President’ is used advisedly because Mr. Kennedy has made himself the President of all Americans by returning to standards of traditional pride and courage.”<sup>318</sup>

It is significant that this newspaper suddenly reverts to the appellation of “Mr Kennedy” rather than the more formal and detached “Mr President” to emphasize his return to what is, in its opinion, the common view and fold of the populace. This is a perlocutionary statement, a declaration intended to affect the reader’s mind-set by affirming the re-establishment of order amidst the impending threat of world destruction. The perlocutionary force is initially sustained the following day in its headline and sub-heading describing Khrushchev “tearing” down Cuban missile bases to the “hailed” acclaim of the President. However, the language quickly settles to a

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<sup>314</sup> ‘The Nation Rallies Solidly Behind The President’s Action’, *The New York Times*, October 28<sup>th</sup>, 1962, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1962/10/28/89886767.html?pageNumber=178> (28/05/2017).

<sup>315</sup> ‘Excerpts from Newspaper Editorials on Decision to Impose Arms Blockade on Cuba’, *The New York Times*, October, 24<sup>th</sup>, 1962: ‘Acted Magnificently’ *The News* (ind.) <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1962/10/24/90547053.html?pageNumber=26> (12//06/2017).

<sup>316</sup> Ibid: ‘Will is steadfast’, *The Constitution*, Atlanta.

<sup>317</sup> ‘Nixon endorses Kennedy actions’, *The New York Times*, October 28<sup>th</sup>, 1962, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1962/10/28/89883751.html?pageNumber=24> (16/07/2017).

<sup>318</sup> ‘America can hold head high again’, *The Dallas Morning News*, October 28<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

more locutionary level by directly, without intervention, reporting Kennedy's diplomatic commendation of the Soviet leader as "Statesmanlike" and making "an important contribution to peace".<sup>319</sup> By implication it cements the perception of Kennedy himself as the instigating peacemaker when confronting the rather more perlocutionary "war clouds" hanging over the world, although possibly not quite as effectively as *The New York Times* which, on the same day, perfunctorily confers matching locutionary weight across two conjugated extremes of sensibility: "Reason prevailed and the threat of mutual thermonuclear annihilation began to fade."<sup>320</sup> The magnitude of event is dissipated by one man's equally epic ability to mitigate.

The culmination of such adept and profound political management by the President is the seminal July 1963 signing, by Kennedy and Khrushchev, of a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty – another first of its type. Negotiation and diplomacy result in a reduced number of nuclear experiments and ensuing environmental harm. *The New York Times* reports this through Atlanta's *Constitution* in overt perlocutionary manner, culminating with object-as-sequel specificity as to its attribution:

"Paralyzed and locked to a seemingly accepted fate, mankind was moving as if mesmerized to the mushrooming thunderhead of nuclear war...The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty resulted. He thought it his greatest triumph...He broke the stride toward nuclear war by the power of his youth and faith."<sup>321</sup>

The seemingly hapless inevitability of nuclear destruction, borne out in the adjectives "paralyzed", "locked", "mesmerized", is pitted against its single-handed dissolution by sheer dint of Kennedy's will, his essential greatness harking back to the 'Positive' of his young age and the deliberately vague "faith" which conveys both Kennedy's political – and spiritually-supported – conviction.

The final incarnation of Kennedy's New Frontier policies literally is to extend global boundaries by landing "a man on the moon".<sup>322</sup> This represents a pinnacle of technological and scientific advancement that Kennedy has long identified as being

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<sup>319</sup> 'Soviet Premier agrees to tear down Cuban bases under U.N inspection', *The Dallas Morning News*, October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

<sup>320</sup> 'A Triumph of Reason', *The New York Times*, October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1962, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1962/10/29/90567774.html?pageNumber=28> (12/06/2018).

<sup>321</sup> Atlanta *Constitution* in 'Opinion of The Week: At Home And Abroad', *The New York Times*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1964.

<sup>322</sup> 'Kennedy's Address to Congress' on May 25<sup>th</sup>, 1961, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/AssetViewer/xzw1gaeTES6khED14P1Iw.aspx> (15/03/2017).

essential to his country's post-war recovery and soaring re-ascendance. Progress had been achieved through massive expansion of the Space programme. Kennedy's May 1961 address to a Joint Session of Congress comprises his candid expenditure justifications to fulfil this other-worldly, exciting aspiration:

“President Kennedy proposed to Congress today bold and expensive new measures to rocket a man to the moon, to expand non-nuclear military strength and to increase foreign aid spending.”<sup>323</sup>

“Bold” suggests political bravery while “rocket a man to the moon” implies human propulsion on an incredible scale by using the noun as a verb, the remainder of the statement recovering to more locutionary tones of nonetheless virtue-loaded proposals. It is a grammatical exploitation of which the newspaper seems particularly fond in applying, preceded by a block headline that month in which the ‘U.S. Hurls Man 115 Miles into Space’.<sup>324</sup> Later in July the ‘U.S. Again Fires Man into Space’<sup>325</sup> announcement compounds this sense of national relaunch being celebrated as well as facilitating so dynamically this individual venture literally to the next level. Smaller-circulation newspapers are similarly invigorated by the new possibilities of frontier-extending, epitomized by Massachusetts’ *Fitchburg Sentinel*’s coverage of Kennedy’s Rice University speech in Houston, 1962. Kennedy’s commitment to Space exploration is undiminished:

‘The president made clear during the exhaustive inspection tour...that he intends to press his challenge to Russia to reserve outer space for peaceful purposes...those were his occasions to speak. The rest of the time he spent listening, seldom commenting to government and industry rocketry specialists.’<sup>326</sup>

The active perlocutionary force of ‘exhaustive’, ‘press’, and easy human ability to ‘reserve outer space’ for the benefit of all is contrasted with the single contemplative figure quietly assimilating expert opinion, all of which must inevitably restore the

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<sup>323</sup> W. H. Lawrence, ‘Kennedy asks \$1.8 Billion this Year to Accelerate Space Exploration, Add Foreign Aid, Bolster Defense’ [sic], *The New York Times*, May 26<sup>th</sup>, 1961, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/05/26/101465157.html?pageNumber=1> (14/06/2018).

<sup>324</sup> Richard Witkin, ‘U.S. Hurls Man 115 Miles into Space’, *The New York Times*, May 6<sup>th</sup>, 1961, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/05/06/101461358.html?pageNumber=1> (15/06/2018).

<sup>325</sup> Richard Witkin, ‘U.S. Again Fires Man into Space’, *The New York Times*, July 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1961, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/07/22/98442608.html?pageNumber=1> (15/06/2018).

<sup>326</sup> ‘John. F. Kennedy Rice University Speech: JFK pledges U.S will be the first on Moon’, *Fitchburg Sentinel*, Massachusetts, September 13<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

rightful, harmonious order to the planet. Kennedy's iconic trajectory here surely reaches its tangible zenith.

### **Political acumen: oratory, appearance, media**

It is at this point that I wish to demonstrate how cultivation of this iconic progress is actively embraced and carried to its personal summit by Kennedy himself. 'New' is not just a quality hitherto associated with difference and freshness, it must also now be applied to how Kennedy uniquely interprets the role of politician.

John. F. Kennedy is initially no natural orator. Sorensen describes his tone then as 'monotonous'<sup>327</sup> while biographer Herbert S. Parmet records that many of Kennedy's early speeches were 'both mediocre and humorless [sic]...read from a prepared text with all the insecurity of a novice.'<sup>328</sup> Indeed, according to Robert Caro, 'Once afraid he was going to forget his speech, his sister Eunice mouthed the words at him from the audience as he spoke.'<sup>329</sup> Parmet cites JFK's Navy colleague Jim Reed describing Kennedy's delivery as "very fast" and rapid.<sup>330</sup> In 1956, in Kennedy's support at the podium for Adlai Stevenson's nomination, articulation is indeed compromised by both the speed and unvarying tone of its delivery; there is frequent glancing at the script before him hence little personal engagement with the audience as a result.<sup>331</sup> In 1958, in preparation for the Democratic nomination two years later Cabell Phillips identifies a "certain glibness of speech and manner"<sup>332</sup> which he considers as possibly disadvantageous to Kennedy if pitted against the experience of Republican opponent Richard Nixon.

Kennedy works hard to overcome this shortcoming: 'he learned to slow down and improved constantly.'<sup>333</sup> Indeed, *Profiles in Courage* is rife with his recognition

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<sup>327</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.61.

<sup>328</sup> Herbert S. Parmet, *Jack: The Struggles of John F. Kennedy*, Dial Press, 1980, p.149.

<sup>329</sup> Robert A. Caro, *The Years of Lyndon Johnson, Volume 4: The Passage of Power*, The Bodley Head, 2012, p.41.

<sup>330</sup> Ibid. p.137.

<sup>331</sup> 'The Democratic convention 1956', Youtube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A51FzF5Jbul> (17/09/2017).

<sup>332</sup> 'Presidential Candidate', op. cit. Phillips.

<sup>333</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.105.

and admiration for oratorical prowess both in terms of content and delivery.<sup>334</sup> The oratorical template is encapsulated by one Daniel Webster:

“...a very slow speaker, hardly averaging a hundred words a minute. Webster combined the musical charm of his deep organ- like voice, a vivid imagination, an ability to crush his opponents with a barrage of facts, a confident and a deliberate manner of speaking and a striking appearance to make his orations a magnet that drew crowds hurrying to the Senate chamber. It has been said that he could think out a speech sentence by sentence, correct the sentences in his mind without the use of a pencil and then delivery it exactly as he thought it out.”<sup>335</sup>

Instead, the current Senator has to start out by invoking his natural assets of ‘ingenuous...self-deprecating humor [sic]’<sup>336</sup> and quickness of retort: “[Kennedy] could think on his feet - could think fast.”<sup>337</sup> Soon vocal coaches are employed not only to hone his delivery in speed but also modify a Harvard-inflected Boston accent that might be deemed as alienating to a wider political audience - significantly a feature deliberately omitted from Cliff Robertson’s portrayal in *PT 109*.<sup>338</sup> According to Caro, Kennedy’s secretary at the time Mary Davis, describes some of his ensuing dictation to her as “com[ing] out beautifully - exactly what he wanted to say....I came to the conclusion that he was brilliant - the brightest person I’ve ever known.”<sup>339</sup> Yet Kennedy is keenly aware that the ensuing transposition of such thoughts into quality lines, however well-rehearsed, are without impact if he fails physically to incorporate them into a bigger conception of what it means to be a successful, enduring politician. It is a process already intimated by the astutely-observed formative effect of *Profiles in Courage*’s leading characters who each exhibit qualities deserving of consolidated political assimilation.<sup>340</sup>

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<sup>334</sup> Op. cit. p.242. See also for example, “Most of the [Senators] shared the ‘breath-taking talents of the orator’”; Senator Henry Clay’s “speeches, stripped of all excess verbiage, marched across the Senate floor in even columns, measured, disciplined, carrying all before them.”; p.59; James G Blaine: “Speaking simply and clearly...his full, rich voice touched the hearts of every listener...” p.152.

<sup>335</sup> Ibid. p.63.

<sup>336</sup> John Hellman, *The Kennedy Obsession: The American Myth of JFK*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1997, p.58.

<sup>337</sup> Op. cit. Caro, Volume 4, p.41.

<sup>338</sup> Trivia section IMBd overview [https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0057393/?ref\\_=tt\\_urv](https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0057393/?ref_=tt_urv) (03/05/2018).

<sup>339</sup> Op. cit. Caro p.51.

<sup>340</sup> For example, John Quincy Adams: “His experience illustrates as does almost none other that even this extraordinary equipment is not enough to succeed in American political life” p.30; or “he had few of the personal characteristics which ordinarily give color [sic] and charm to personality” op. cit. p.36. Interestingly, Kennedy’s own identification of an incomplete repertoire as politically disadvantageous is suggested early in his reference to British Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin as: “a master politician [who] made the most elementary mistakes in phrasing...”, *Why England Slept*, op. cit. p.140.



Polished articulation has to be married to convincing simultaneous body language beyond the ‘short jab’ exercised so far ‘to emphasize his points.’<sup>341</sup> Inadvertently this is improved and virtually overcome after powerful medical treatment for his many pre-existing physical ailments, amongst which is his chronic back condition that may also have explained both his steely demeanour and awkward posture at a tightly-seized podium in the above-cited 1956 Nomination gathering.<sup>342</sup> Once this fusion is achieved and coupled with his very fortunate ensuing appearance,<sup>343</sup> it becomes an almost an irresistible force: Kennedy is transformed as a person into the consummate political performer. He actively starts stage-managing his own role, overtly exemplified at his Inauguration speech from one of the Capitol’s balconies.<sup>344</sup> According to *The Dallas Morning News* “He stood there in the brilliant winter sunshine, bareheaded without a coat, slim and tall.”<sup>345</sup> The locutionary scene-setting is imbued with illocutionary content: the sunshine is “brilliant” as if bestowing virtue on the occasion, compounded by the President-elect’s apparent obliviousness to the weather, unlike the much older wrapped-up Eisenhower. The impression created is of a man absolutely devoted to his message, zealously delivered upon the most historic of stages. The newspaper is also communicating that Kennedy is aware of the different levels of audience which he has to reach. This is politician as actor.<sup>346</sup>

One article in *The New York Times* responds to this assimilation by him of the full political qualities he must embrace as prerequisites. In particular the “Captures Highlights as Well as Sidelights”<sup>347</sup> in its title absorbs this theatrical context. It reports television coverage seizing upon “intimate vignettes” of the principal players - the

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<sup>341</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.61.

<sup>342</sup> A back-brace was fitted to assist in alleviation of his chronic condition, the pain from which Kennedy was always encouraged, particularly by his father, to conceal from the public. As a mark of his physical oratorical progress, the later Kennedy-Nixon TV debates ironically highlight the same shortcoming in the Republican candidate’s podium adoption further to his more openly-known post-operative recovery.

<sup>343</sup> Again, compare *Profiles*’ Senator Webster’s: “striking appearance was half the secret of his power...”, op. cit. p.63.

<sup>344</sup> Compare the narrator’s admiration for the eloquent Governor Houston who “violated all precedent by delivering his inaugural address directly to the people from the steps of the Capitol”, *ibid.* p.204.

<sup>345</sup> ‘No longer a Young man: President appears older, harder, more purposeful’, *The Dallas Morning News*, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1961.

<sup>346</sup> Compare *Profiles*’ reference to Texas’ Senator Houston: a “natural actor with a strikingly handsome figure and a flare for picturesque dress and speech”, op. cit. p.107 or Daniel Webster’s “theatrical but formidable presence”, p.64.

<sup>347</sup> Jack Gould, ‘Coverage by Major Networks Captures Highlights as Well as Sidelights’, *The New York Times*, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1961.

'cast'- and describes "The thoughtfulness of those on the platform", while Kennedy waits in the "sidelight" wings, self-conscious in his:

"...use of a pocket comb on the reviewing stand. His animated conversation with former President Eisenhower, while both were sitting out the stage wait before the inaugural ceremony, was an absorbing study in its contrasting facial expressions."

This implies that Kennedy is already aware that he is never really off-stage even if he is not at that precise moment in the physical spotlight of that cold morning's piercing sun. He is ready with his lines, even those off-script: "He was the only man on the TV screen who seemed to know the words to the second verse" of the American national anthem. This is a perlocutionary imparting to the reader of a man cognisant of the simultaneous need to preen himself before an audience, both physically and metaphorically. In affirmation, Kennedy's speech is reported by *The Dallas Morning News* as "well-prepared", "well-delivered" and "impressive".<sup>348</sup>

The preceding chapter discusses the integral qualities of selected Kennedy speeches that renders them so positively attractive to an audience. Here I demonstrate my principal US newspapers' reaction and dissemination of these utilized speech-act devices as part of Kennedy's increasingly self-aware involvement in his own icon-building narrative. While the speech devices themselves are not new, the way in which they are applied both semantically and audibly is fresh and entirely captivating. When fused with their frequently-cited "eloquent"<sup>349</sup> delivery, an audience's attention is locked. *The Dallas Morning News* endorses the successful politicizing outcome such oratory generates with "Republicans Hail Kennedy's address" as its headline. It commences with:

"President John F. Kennedy drew the acclaim of Republicans as well as Democrats [on] Friday for what they described as a 'brilliant', 'inspiring' and 'magnificent' inaugural address."

It is apparently received by a leading Republican as "'inspiring' and 'a very compact message of hope.'" <sup>350</sup> While gently re-cultivating the quasi-Christ-like associations of its content, it is actually the insistence of the quoted superlatives "brilliant," "inspiring"

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<sup>348</sup> Larry Grove, 'Dallas viewers applaud speech', *The Dallas Morning News*, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1961.

<sup>349</sup> For example, "Mr. Kennedy was eloquent and persuasive. If his initial purpose was to inspire the American people to greater effort, he succeeded admirably," from 'Editorial comment across the nation on President Kennedy's inauguration', *The New York Times*, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1961.

<sup>350</sup> Here Sen. Everett Dirksen in *The Dallas Morning News* 'Republicans Hail Kennedy's address', January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1961.

and “magnificent” that confers unequivocal confidence in the President to its reader: “...deep conviction rang in his voice when he delivered his speech”.<sup>351</sup> It is as if Kennedy has already mastered the art form and once again becomes the human incarnation of a prevailing nationalistic ideal.

On the same day, a unified East-to-West USA cross-section of positive response collated by *The New York Times* to the Inauguration address is disseminated, thus perpetuating the iconic personae. For example, Chicago’s *Tribune* describes the speech as “rhetorically...very good”; *The Sun-Times* of the same city comments on his “passionate conviction and superlative choice of words”, that he “assumed leadership of the world yesterday...it was the voice of America speaking to other nations telling them what to expect of the new generation of leaders in Washington.”<sup>352</sup> By implication the readership is also being “told” that great change for them is imminent as the newspaper embraces the same perlocutionary tones it separately identifies within the content of the speech itself. This is reflected by its audacious claim that Kennedy is now not just in command of the USA but of the whole world.

Baltimore’s *The Sun* even partially replicates the contextual rhythm of what is identified in the first chapter as counterbalanced contrast – even down to its imitation of three-part couplings - in the following sentence: “The inaugural address was sombre without despair, firm without bellicosity, bold without arrogance...”<sup>353</sup> Such phraseology echoes the symmetrical patterning which Kennedy himself employs in the very same speech. It is as if the proximity between the effect of Kennedy’s oratory and its separate, locutionary reporting is closing. My selected newspapers here seem as if they are uncritically beginning to buy-in to the language of the speaker, actively becoming complicit in a narrative they not only disseminate but also now promulgate as their own, as if unfiltered conduits to a readership they seem here to hold in almost passive regard. It is a result Kennedy is adept at exploiting.

“I’ll be back here with Dad trying to parlay a lost PT boat and a bad back into a political advantage.”<sup>354</sup> Said with candid reference to an old friend regarding his

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<sup>351</sup> Op. cit. January 21<sup>st</sup> 1961, ‘No longer a Young man’.

<sup>352</sup> *The New York Times*, ‘Editorial comment across the nation on President Kennedy’s inauguration’, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1961.

<sup>353</sup> Ibid.

<sup>354</sup> Op. cit. Davis p.135. Conversation with friend Paul Fay.

post-war return, this quote also provides an early intimation of Kennedy's perception that received versions of stories may occasionally need to be re-appropriated and controlled in order to communicate the desired message for requisite heeding by its audience.<sup>355</sup> In response to an interviewer's "How easy was it to get information back in the Kennedy Administration...?" Helen Thomas, White House reporter to ten Presidential administrations commencing with Kennedy's, claims that: "Every administration that I've covered has managed the news, tried to." She continues:

"...every major story that affected this country came through the White House, and I was writing about it from the Washington point of view and from the White House point of view."<sup>356</sup>

Thomas contends that the Kennedy administration "came up with formalizing that concept of managed news..."<sup>357</sup> Kennedy retains Salinger as his Press Secretary into his Presidency who utilizes what Thomas describes as an ability to 'streamline, codify and expedite' "news dissemination".<sup>358</sup> In *Front Row at the White House*, Thomas claims that Salinger and his team:

"...would review a range of issues: (1) tracking the latest executive policies and news developments...(2) discussing the form and procedure for releasing information, (3) getting a handle on questions that may come up from reporters..."<sup>359</sup>

When Bradlee is quoted by name within Fletcher Knebel's 'Kennedy vs The Press',<sup>360</sup> article that parodies Churchill's Battle of Britain speech with its: "Never have so few bawled out so many so often for so little, as the Kennedys battle reporters",<sup>361</sup> he is

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<sup>355</sup> Newspapers have "an obligation to present the facts, to present them with candor [sic], and to present them in perspective", in 'Address to the American Association of Newspaper Editors', op. cit. *Speeches* p.49. Compare *Profiles*: "Those Kansas newspapers... who had bitterly denounced him in earlier years praised [Senator] Ross for his stand against legislative mob rule" p.144; see also Senator Norris whose "dry, simple but persistent language and the quiet intensity of his anger captivated his audience, as he insisted that their newspapers were not giving them the facts", op. cit. p.202.

<sup>356</sup> Helen Thomas interview with Riki Parikh, September 9<sup>th</sup>, 2005, <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Helen-Thomas-InterviewRiki-ParikhHearst-Newspapers9905.pdf> (29/06/2018).

<sup>357</sup> Helen Thomas, *Front row at the White House: My Life and Times*, A Lisa Drew Book/Scribner, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1999, p.133. Predictably the contention is denied by Salinger himself who perceives this tension as 'irreconcilable' in 'a free and open society', op. cit. p.149. His indignation continues with: "The fact was that the phrase, "management of the news" had first been used by James Reston of The New York Times to describe the activities of James Hagerty in the Eisenhower administration', p.296.

<sup>358</sup> Ibid.

<sup>359</sup> Ibid. See also Crown: 'Kennedy and his aides dealing with information policy did more than any previous administration to control, coordinate, and centralize the flow of information to the public', op. cit. p.15.

<sup>360</sup> *Look* magazine, August 1962.

<sup>361</sup> Op. cit. Bradlee p.23.

excluded for months from their company for his additional insertion of: "It's almost impossible to write a story they like. Even if a story is quite favorable [sic] to their side, they'll find one paragraph to quibble with".<sup>362</sup> Favour seems to be extended only towards those who will facilitate the narrative the Kennedys currently want told, a rueful Bradlee concluding that Kennedy only 'valued my journalism most when it carried his water.'<sup>363</sup> The sentiment is echoed in *The Dallas Morning News*: "No President has been so quick to praise a story he likes, or to remonstrate in person when one distresses him."<sup>364</sup> Arthur Krock - later similarly marginalized - is likewise surprised, despite his evident admiration for JFK's assiduous attention to the medium:

"President Kennedy reads more newspapers regularly than any predecessor appears to have done. And his bristling sensitiveness [sic] to critical analysis has not been exceeded by that of any previous occupant of the White House."<sup>365</sup>

Schlesinger, like Sorensen, cites the White House's suspending of its subscription to *The New York Herald Tribune*, as culmination of the President's 'inexhaustible capacity to become vastly, if briefly, annoyed by hostile articles...'<sup>366</sup> In October 1963, Kennedy requests removal of *New York Times*' David Halberstam from Saigon further to his many reported concerns as to the efficacy of US assistance to the South Vietnamese government against the Viet Cong. It is not a story Kennedy wants invading America's front pages.<sup>367</sup>

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<sup>362</sup> Ibid. p.226: Bradlee is '[cut]...out of a mainstream of information that had been enormously valuable to me....' p.24. Sorensen merely concedes Kennedy's 'oversensitivity' but denies White House exclusion to journalists, op. cit. p.314.

<sup>363</sup> Ibid. p.26.

<sup>364</sup> 'Carefully Molded [sic] JFK Image', *The Dallas Morning News*, October 14<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

<sup>365</sup> Arthur Krock, 'Mr. Kennedy's Management of the News', *Fortune* magazine, March, 1963. <http://fortune.com/2013/11/17/mr-kennedys-management-of-the-news-fortune-1963/> (02/05/2014).

See also Kennedy's 'The Religion Issue in American Politics' address on April 21<sup>st</sup>, 1960: "The members of the press should report the facts as they find them. They should describe the issues as they see them. But they should be aware, it seems to me, of either magnifying this issue or oversimplifying it. They should beware of ignoring the vital issues of this campaign, while filling their pages with analyses that cannot be proven, with statements that cannot be documented and with emphasis which cannot be justified." <https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-speeches/american-society-of-newspaper-editors-19600421> (21/07/2017). This recalls the "avalanche of abusive editorials" cited in *Profiles*, that have "temporarily or even permanently buried" many political careers, op. cit. p.17.

<sup>366</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.621. Bradlee, however, regards the *Tribune* cancellation as 'demeaning and petty of Kennedy', op. cit. p.103.

<sup>367</sup> This newspaper refuses, referring to Halberstam as a "brilliant, young New York Times correspondent in Saigon" who, together with his colleagues, values "freedom to get the news and get it back to their newspapers and radio and television networks" over his personal safety in a war zone, James Reston, "Washington: on Suppressing the News instead of the Nhus", *The New York Times*, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 1963,

Kennedy is actively aware of the power of the press, and frequently invites journalists and editors to the White House ‘to shoot the breeze’<sup>368</sup> or else befriends them in their own home states. Indeed, by deliberately privileging *The Dallas Morning News*’ Robert Baskin with the ‘nice newspaper coup’<sup>369</sup> of the President’s confirmed visit to the city, Kennedy hopes he can ‘sway the tone of coverage inside Dealey’s pages’ to thaw ‘the still-icy relationship’ of the editor’s evident charm immunity such a White House luncheon overture to Texan correspondents in 1961 clearly failed to dispel. The press is perceived by him as “an invaluable arm of the presidency”<sup>370</sup> but perhaps not just in the conventional sense the remainder of his particular press conference here proclaims. Despite his early years working as a correspondent for the Hearst Newspaper group, Kennedy is often irritated by some of journalism’s more independent representatives, including the tenacious young Miss Thomas, who would otherwise ‘be nice if she’d take that pen and pad out of her hand.’<sup>371</sup> Inaccuracies in reporting are regarded as irksome because they distort information given out by his administration although are just about tolerated if issued in a low-brow context. Bradlee’s *Conversations* memoir is replete with references to regular upbraids issued by the Kennedys further to their perusal of his and other published outputs, a practice the President’s successor apparently pursues even more vigorously.<sup>372</sup> Indeed, Minutaglio and Davis assert that the President gave up entirely on Dealey’s newspaper – a rarity given his consistently reported assiduousness here – on the morning of November 22<sup>nd</sup> 1963 as he alights upon its unique form of ‘Welcome’ to him personally in the form of a Ted Dealey-sanctioned advertisement. *Time* magazine is ‘a source of special despair’ to Kennedy, its ‘well written’ content giving ‘an impression of objectivity’<sup>373</sup> in its dissemination of a ‘highly misleading’ narrative

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<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/09/11/82148454.html?pageNumber=42>  
(21/06/2017).

<sup>368</sup> Op. cit. Bradlee p.19.

<sup>369</sup> Op. cit. Minutaglio and Davis p.234.

<sup>370</sup> ‘John F. Kennedy and the Press’ section, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/JFK/JFK-in-History/John-F-Kennedy-and-the-Press.aspx> (20/06/2017).

<sup>371</sup> Transcript of oral interview with Helen Thomas, June 19<sup>th</sup>, 2003, JFK-Library, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/sites/default/files/archives/JFKOH/Thomas%2C%20Helen%20A.%20%28Mrs.%20Douglas%20B.%20Cornell%29/JFKOH-HAT-01/JFKOH-HAT-01-TR.pdf> (18/09/2017).

<sup>372</sup> See Salinger’s: ‘Both Presidents Johnson and Kennedy frequently told me to call reporters to complain of unfair or inaccurate stories. With JFK I knew that in most cases it was a passing irritation, and I wouldn’t follow through. But I couldn’t get away with that with LBJ. He not only expected me to make the call but to report back to him on the conversation’, op. cit. p.340.

<sup>373</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.316.

Kennedy first challenges then diffuses, most notably through its sister publication *Life*, with canny invocation of another press staple: the photograph.

Jacques Lowe's photography is greatly admired by Joseph Kennedy who invites him in 1958 to cover the young Senator Kennedy's bid for re-election. Lowe becomes "almost a member of the family. His special rapport with his subject produced the most amazingly intimate photographs of a President ever taken."<sup>374</sup> Suddenly the power of the visual can transform any illocutionary newspaper reporting of an event into a perlocutionary dissemination. The Kennedy family has long embraced life in front of a lens as Lowe's extensive archive testifies.<sup>375</sup> Jackie is also familiar with photography's potential given her early stint as 'inquiring camera girl'<sup>376</sup> for Washington's *Times Herald*. *Life* magazine's front cover "Senator Kennedy Goes A-Courting" two months before JFK and Jackie marry, is actually a stage-managed release of a slightly disingenuous picture as the formal announcement of their engagement actually takes place on June 24<sup>th</sup>, 1953. According to Meagher and Gragg:

"...they courted for two years, but delayed announcing their engagement until the *Saturday Evening Post* [a nationwide magazine] published a feature article on Jack entitled 'The Senate's Gay Young Bachelor'."<sup>377</sup>

It is as if Kennedy still wishes to market himself as a winsome, available prize despite this marital commitment.

Lowe becomes a partisan conduit through which the Kennedys enticingly drip-feed selective 'natural' photos of their private realm. The conceit, however, is allowing it controlled public access so that the reader-cum-viewer feels simultaneously privileged, intrigued and inspired - as if the photographer's own illocutionary-cum-perlocutionary performative act, given fulfilment of both speech act terms here for the word 'privilege'. Awareness and accentuation of their own photogenic appeal only enhances the reader's stimulation. Like a series of pre-approved slides, perfectly coiffeured domestic family- and political life is now being played out before its

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<sup>374</sup> 'JFK: The Whole Man', *The New York Times*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1964.

<sup>375</sup> Jacques Lowe, *Kennedy: A Time Remembered*, A Quartet/Visual Arts Book, New York, 1983.

<sup>376</sup> 'Jacqueline Kennedy: Her life in pictures', *The Washington Post*, November 19<sup>th</sup>, 2013, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/jacqueline-kennedy-her-life-in-pictures/2013/11/19/3ec6f28c-5131-11e3-a7f0-790929232e1\\_gallery.html?utm\\_term=.29339596a363](https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/jacqueline-kennedy-her-life-in-pictures/2013/11/19/3ec6f28c-5131-11e3-a7f0-790929232e1_gallery.html?utm_term=.29339596a363) (14/03/2018).

<sup>377</sup> Michael Meagher, Larry Gragg, *John F. Kennedy: a Biography*, Greenwood Biographies, California, 2011, p.51.

audience to underscore the narrative the Kennedys are actively cultivating. Objections by Jackie as to inclusions of their young children in some of the releases are dismissed by Kennedy to Lowe because of the overriding substantiation such genial images confer upon perception of his own personality:

“He asked me to take some pictures of Caroline and give them to *Newsweek*, where Ben Bradlee, his good friend, was the Washington editor. I told him that I couldn’t do that, pointing out his wife’s rather final edict. He said that I should give the pictures to Ben without telling her, and... without mentioning his request.”<sup>378</sup>

When Kennedy appoints Robert as Attorney General, he too must conform to this raised visual expectation: “Damn it Bobby, comb your hair....Don’t smile too much or they’ll think we are happy about the appointment.”<sup>379</sup>

Jackie is far happier to indulge Lowe’s lens in her own right, complicitly becoming an integral adornment for her husband’s own self-projection. The strategy proves particularly successful on the international stage, exemplified by their 1961 visit to France in which Kennedy humorously introduces himself as “...the man who accompanied Jacqueline Kennedy to Paris, and I have enjoyed it.”<sup>380</sup> Jackie becomes the requisite dazzling presence, intelligent, cultured, glamorous and highly fashionable, qualities that quickly command the focus of worldwide newspaper obsession. At the Elysée Palace, Lowe captures Jackie once again donning long white gloves, as she did on her wedding day, now continuing as a motif for special occasions including Kennedy’s Inauguration ball and lunch with Queen Elizabeth II. *The New York Times* achieves its own political point-scoring for the Presidency the same year by featuring comments from Polish magazine *Swiat* - translating modestly as ‘World’ – that compromises its own ideological integrity by commending what it calls, according to the newspaper, “The Jackie Look”. To the *Times*’ perlocutionary delight, *Swiat* cites the First Lady as one of the few women who can set:

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<sup>378</sup> Op. cit. Lowe p.163.

<sup>379</sup> Ibid. p.161. Interestingly, Bryant describes Robert’s dragging of a comb through his hair as a sign of reluctant acceptance, op. cit. p.243, whereas Parmet declares his father’s uncontested insistence upon the appointment, op. cit. p.64. Dallek (2013), however, describes Joseph’s behaviour here as just an elaborate ruse to disguise JFK’s nepotistic intentions all along, op. cit. p.63.

<sup>380</sup> ‘Jacqueline Kennedy in the White House’ section, JFK-Library, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/learn/about-jfk/jfk-in-history/jacqueline-kennedy-in-the-white-house> (11/03/2019).



“...the tone and style of their epoch, create the fashions, become the arbiters of authors, composers, philosophers....This sort of woman has always existed, but never has her influence been so far-flung or so quickly disseminated. The face and silhouette of Jackie are known to all people over the whole civilized world.”<sup>381</sup>

Capitalism is also being acknowledged as more culturally and intellectually attractive than Communism here. Moreover, it is being represented by one person without words, across the globe. In testament to the First Lady’s aesthetic legacy, *The Dallas Morning News* concludes “Her bouffant hairdos and her ‘little nothing’ dresses [to be] copied all over the world, her elfish smile oddly comporting with her statuesque bearing, captivated everybody.”<sup>382</sup> Jackie is a celebrated figure who, upon the death of her husband, temporarily acquires equal status. She becomes the subject of the headline in her own right - even assuming centre-stage in a photograph taken the previous day for the article – rather than being described in a secondary capacity as Kennedy’s widow. This type of femininity works as an extra-perlocutionary performative: an inviolable template newspapers do not wish their readerships to disavow.

Such locating by the press is the culmination of a supporting role in which Jackie has steadily been developing since their marriage. As Hogan closely observes, the First Lady stage-manages her part of Kennedy’s message, pertinently captured for example, by Lowe’s photograph of her on board the ‘Caroline’ aircraft. In perfectly tailored suit and retained stilettos, she is shown engrossedly reading Jack Kerouac, pioneer of a group of contemporary writers whose works explore post-war America’s culture and politics. The photograph suggests both her intellectual curiosity as well as her wish to be seen as intellectually curious, by indulging in reading matter emblematic of youth and radical thinking.<sup>383</sup>

The success of this medium is perhaps best crystallized in Lowe’s photograph of the Democrats’ successful nominee of 1958. It shows Kennedy smiling broadly at a newspaper picture of himself, captioned in large letters with the words “The Winner”.<sup>384</sup> Indeed, just when it could be assumed that the family would want privacy, at the funeral of their baby son Patrick, Kennedy is careful to ensure that he himself

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<sup>381</sup> Arthur J. Olsen, “‘The Jackie Look’ Hailed by Poles”, *The New York Times*, April 9<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>382</sup> ‘World that has toasted Jackie weeps for her’, *The Dallas Morning News*, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1963.

<sup>383</sup> Op. cit. Lowe p.78.

<sup>384</sup> Ibid p.92.

still remains the object of mass public focus, at his son's casket. As Mark White concludes, '...it is extraordinary evidence of JFK's willingness to expose himself to the press in order to supply the American people with an intimate view of his life.'<sup>385</sup> White maintains that Kennedy wants the viewer to see his tears as if to register the magnitude of the loss to everyone. Therefore, through a progression of pictorial stage control, Kennedy can be seen to be generating his own personality cult.

Such visual enhancement to the narrative continues in the immediate aftermath of Kennedy's own death. Lowe's photograph of the late President's own casket at the Capitol's rotunda deliberately captures a beatific dimension: light pours in from every arched window but only devolves onto the flag-draped coffin, reminiscent of that piercing sun that picks him out at the same building for his Inauguration.<sup>386</sup> It is as if he is to be eternally perceived in bright light, temporarily intensified by his widow's presence, who is now herself described by *The New York Times* in terms that revive the 'Positive' qualities the newspaper hitherto attributes to Kennedy:

"At the side of the President in understanding devotion and affection behold his gracious and beautiful Jacqueline...The bond of love that made them one in marriage became like hoops of steel binding them together....a divine providence has blessed her as few such women in history by allowing her hero husband to have the dying comfort of her arms. When men speak of this sad hour in times to come they will ever [sic] recall how well her frail beauty matched the stalwart warrior which was her husband.... All that the young President promised...he delivered before his assassination. He has written in unforgettable [sic] language his own epitaph."<sup>387</sup>

John Kennedy is back in the spotlight, an almost consecrated figure requiring worship, as conveyed by the words "devotion", "affection", and the world's need to "behold" America's perfect First couple. As stated, Jackie is temporarily enshrined in similar terms, being elevated from the earthly bond of "hoops of steel" to a purveyor of sanctuary in her husband's last moments. Kennedy meanwhile is re-described as a "hero" culminating in the metaphorically-weighted "stalwart warrior" to confirm his unwavering service, in all forms, to this world. Such highly perlocutionary language demands total complicity from the reader, in agreeing Kennedy's rightful and elite

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<sup>385</sup> Mark White, *Kennedy: A cultural history of an American icon*, Bloomsbury Academic, London and New York, 2013, p.79.

<sup>386</sup> Op. cit. Lowe p.233.

<sup>387</sup> 'Cushing Eulogizes Kennedy as Both a Great Leader and a Family Man of Warmth: The Transcript of Cushing's Eulogy', *The New York Times*, November 25<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

place in history. Yet the newspaper is also unwittingly complicit in suggesting that even in death Kennedy somehow continues to exert narrative control over how he is to be remembered. It is exacerbated through Lowe's contrasting coverage of Johnson's less photogenically comfortable accession, and perhaps prefigured as early as the 1960 election campaign in which a poster of Kennedy's running mate is captured partly erasing Johnson's actual name.<sup>388</sup> Post-assassination, Lowe's Presidential coverage acquires darker hues, a dullness of genuine spontaneity and little direct eye contact.<sup>389</sup> The cultivated intimacy between reader and subject is now replaced by a natural distance between reader and object.

The Kennedy narrative achieves its multi-visual zenith in the transition from static image to rolling footage. It may be recalled that Joseph Kennedy has been a successful film presenter whose expertise proves integral to JFK's early campaigning as a Senator. In 1958 Kennedy releases a compilation of home movies to consolidate his nomination bid. 'Coffee with the Kennedys', a call-in television show first aired back in 1952, in which his entire family ingratiate themselves with the voter, may have informed this political strategy with its derivation being a series of 'teas' held across the country, mainly to target the female electorate, and for which the successful outcome of JFK's Boston electoral contest against Henry Cabot Lodge is in part attributable.<sup>390</sup> Interestingly, Lowe later changes his camera of choice when accompanying Kennedy's Presidential campaigning, to a smaller rapid-shutter, lighter 35mm device to capture images of turn-out spontaneity to the newspapers. There is mutual delight at the effects this achieves, particularly the political benefits that proximity alone can confer.<sup>391</sup>

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<sup>388</sup> Op. cit. Lowe p.108.

<sup>389</sup> For example where the Johnsons are shown to confer away from camera, the President cast almost totally in shadow from the window's sunlight rather than being illuminated by it, *ibid.* p.243.

<sup>390</sup> A rather different form of Boston tea party extended heavily to black housewives, *op. cit.* Bryant p.39. Such behaviour could also be argued as a natural extension of Honey Fitz' popularity cultivation technique to his grandson in which Kennedy is taught 'to remember each name with the face', during Sunday introductions to parishioners at St Stephen's Church, see Thomas Maier, *The Kennedys: America's Emerald Kings*, Basic Books, 2003. p.212.

<sup>391</sup> *The World's Most Photographed Man*, directed by Deborah Lee, BBC2, 2005. Such close access is relished by the crowds while Kennedy thrives on the popularity it engenders for him. Audience empathy not only assists in shaping future address approach but also usefully facilitates his later easy transition to the small screen. See also Sorensen *op. cit.* p.101.

In 1961, *Life* magazine publishes an article in which Jackie describes ‘her plans for the White House’.<sup>392</sup> According to White, she is reportedly shocked by what she sees in a private tour given by her predecessor, Mamie Eisenhower. The new First Lady is apparently:

‘...struck by the lack of stylistic consistency in the furniture and ornaments she saw, how the cumulative influence of previous Presidents had resulted in a White House that underwhelmed aesthetically.’<sup>393</sup>

Jackie prepares what the Kennedys want the audience to see as if a trailer for the grand television programme ‘A Tour of the White House with Mrs. John. F. Kennedy’, that is to follow. She is aware that appearance determines perception and literally sets out architects’ plans before the camera<sup>394</sup> to intimate fundamental transformation of image. Gadney states that:

‘...in order to see if the green paint in the White House dining room was covering up paneling [sic], Jacqueline was reported as having said “I’ll get my little knife out the first day and see what it looks like.”’<sup>395</sup>

The White House project and ensuing television programme microcosmically represent the multi-layered narrative the Kennedys are imparting. Jackie emphatically describes the project as a ‘restoration’ rather than ‘decoration’.<sup>396</sup> Period European furniture and architectural features enhance the aura of erudition and endurance in which this personalized conversion is to resonate; even the garden acquires ‘Versailles tubs’.<sup>397</sup> Inspired by his own estate’s transformation to a permanent Americana, Jackie solicits Henry Francis du Pont to chair a Fine Arts Committee for it, thus conferring ‘instant legitimacy’<sup>398</sup> upon the scheme. In so doing and with frequent assistance from high-profile donors including Henry Ford, she recreates a great American revivifying canvas – of Lincoln plates, Franklin and Jackson portraits and retrieval of the Resolute

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<sup>392</sup> ‘The first lady: She Tells Her Plans for the White House’, *Life* magazine, September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1961 <https://www.originallifemagazines.com/product/life-magazine-september-1-1961/> (09/06/2018).

<sup>393</sup> Op. cit. M. White p.44-5. See also Reg Gadney, *Kennedy*, MacDonald & Co (Publishers) Ltd, 1983, p.83, in which Jackie’s secretary Tish Baldrige documents the no-frills’ approach.

<sup>394</sup> ‘Interior Decorating with Jackie’, The LIFE Picture Collection/Getty Images, <https://www.gettyimages.fr/detail/photo-d'actualité/during-a-white-house-restoration-project-first-lady-photo-d'actualité/51139035> (23/06/2018).

<sup>395</sup> Op. cit. Gadney, p.82.

<sup>396</sup> ‘The White House Restoration’ <https://www.jfklibrary.org/JFK/JFK-in-History/The-White-House-Restoration.aspx> (12/06/2018).

<sup>397</sup> Op. cit. Gadney p.99. Schlesinger denies any self-interest by Jackie in the project: ‘She resolved on the spot to establish the President’s residence thereafter as unequivocally the nation’s house and transform it into a house in which the nation could be thoroughly proud’, op. cit. p.580.

<sup>398</sup> Ibid.p.94.

desk – in which the Kennedys will situate themselves right at its centre. A back-supporting contemporary rocker-chair – Sorensen alludes, without seeming irony, to ‘an antique chair which had suddenly cracked and collapsed under the President’<sup>399</sup> – fortuitously enhances the perception of its new, young Oval Office occupier restlessly expending energy on the nation’s next historical chapter. It is a performative act successfully fusing tradition and modernity.

In the same way Lowe captures and filters outward apparently spontaneous or relaxedly-posed snapshots of idyllic married and family life, Jackie is now portrayed before the lens impeccably attired<sup>400</sup> in a Givenchy dress and stilettos to lug unwieldy chairs and footstools into various chambers or heavy ornate candelabra onto grand mantelpieces, all to demonstrate her integral contribution and management from the outset. The contrast with their immediate predecessors, whose indifference to their surroundings is implied by a penchant for ‘din[ing] off trays’,<sup>401</sup> could not be sharper.

When the documentary is finally broadcast, Kennedy publicly commends ‘his wife’s endeavours...encouraging Americans to visit the White House to see her handiwork.’<sup>402</sup> It is exposure of the behind-the-scenes creation of images to apparently candid front-of-camera prominence that cultivates an intriguing ambivalence to the viewer of high artistic sophistication being made accessibly homely. It is a conceit that reaches its apogee in the TV documentary itself.

According to White, the ‘Tour’ documentary ‘played a major role in shaping national perception of the Kennedys as a couple of good taste and artistic

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<sup>399</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.385.

<sup>400</sup> Jocularly challenged by Steven Levingston in his description of Jackie’s slightly ruffled demeanour as she emerges from a basement lift at the White House unexpectedly before Martin Luther King, although as far as Lowe’s photographs here are concerned the appearances are consistently polished, *Kennedy and King: The President, the Pastor, and the Battle Over Civil Rights*, Hachette Books Group, New York, 2017, pp.203-4..

<sup>401</sup> Op. cit. Gadney p.84. See also photo of President Carter and his wife Rosalynn doing likewise, p.50, in his *Keeping Faith: Memoirs of a President*, William Collins Sons & Co Ltd, London, 1982. Salinger slightly exempts this behaviour given the White House’s physical layout in which the kitchen facilities were two floors apart, necessitating trays for private meal conveyance. However, it does not excuse for him the behaviour of past ‘Presidents and their wives who preferred Macy’s Modern to the historic treasures of America’s past’, p.305.

<sup>402</sup> Op. cit. M. White p.45.

sensitivity.’<sup>403</sup> *The New York Times* is utterly complicit. The next day, in “Mrs. Kennedy TV Hostess to the Nation”, Jack Gould reports that:

“Millions of television viewers went through the White House...with Mrs. John F. Kennedy leading the way. With verve and pleasure...she was to prove a virtuoso among guides... Mrs. Kennedy was a historian savoring [sic] the small facts and human story behind the evolution of the White House décor. She was an art critic of subtlety and standard. She was an antiquarian relishing pursuit of the elusive treasure. She was a poised TV narrator.”

Gould contends that it was:

“...the most extensive public view of the White House ever shown...the First Lady’s vivacious scholarship was fully as vital as the visual pageantry...the President appeared briefly to second his wife’s efforts to impart a sense of living history to the White House. An awareness of history can be a source of strength in meeting the problems of the future, he said.”<sup>404</sup>

History being positively reactivated is given as the main justification for the public invitation to view this exhilarating ongoing canvas of life. The medium of television has never been utilized like this before and there is even a hint of early interactivity with the viewer being almost led by the hand through this opulent interior. This is not a stultifying locutionary commentary on one woman’s quest to procure and bring rare items into the public domain but rather a perlocutionary endorsing of the First Lady’s multi-faceted talents, a “virtuoso” guide, “historian”, “art critic”, “antiquarian” and finally “poised TV narrator” who permits easy engagement with her audience. Jackie demonstrates consummate on-screen assimilation of her own aesthetic awareness to complement Kennedy’s own control over his full visual representation. The programme attracts a record 56 million viewers followed by a further 10 million for the repeat showing, and is “so well received that the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences awarded Mrs. Kennedy an honorary Emmy Award for her achievement.”<sup>405</sup>

Ultimately *Life*’s pictorial project-tracking and this documentary yield a perlocutionary visual statement to both reader and viewer of and from the Kennedys, to themselves: it is aspirational for the ordinary American to be invited in to admire

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<sup>403</sup> Ibid.

<sup>404</sup> Jack Gould, ‘Mrs. Kennedy TV Hostess to Nation’, *The New York Times*, February 15<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

<sup>405</sup> Op. cit. ‘Jacqueline Kennedy in the White House’, JFK Library).

interiors that now boast a warming fire in every restored room<sup>406</sup> and fresh flowers in the vases that Jackie has had procured for her. Yet it also demands reassurance from the targeted recipient that the Kennedys are also permanent occupants and guardians of that judiciously-selected, reinvented fabric of stability, tradition and timelessness. Significantly, completion of the works results in a public law that officially declares the building a museum: ‘It further protected the rooms of the White House from being radically altered in the future and clearly defined the project as historic preservation rather than mere decoration.’<sup>407</sup> While it represents a loaned gift to the nation, such ‘restoration’ is also executed on singular Kennedy terms as if to enshrine themselves permanently into a greater historical and positively enduring American narrative.

So convincing is this animated portrayal of private life made public that seven years later, the British Royal family attempts to emulate the feature with its own documentary, ‘The Royals’. Broadcast on the CBS network in the United States, it is greeted with similar curiosity and engagement. *The New York Times* reports it to be:

“...extraordinary not only for its many warm and human insights into Queen Elizabeth II and her family but for the fact that the monarchy should agree in the first place to the personalizing presence of television in Buckingham Palace...The late President Kennedy, shown reflecting on the intricacies of his office, and the White House Tour conducted by his wife, were among the first instances of those in positions of prominence using the TV medium to strengthen an entente with the citizens to whom they are accountable.”<sup>408</sup>

Kennedy goes to meticulous lengths to achieve this bond. He has been politically indulging such a vehicle since 1951 when audience figures would have been low given the average cost of a television set. Indeed, television is not a highly respected political debating platform in its infancy as there is little audience engagement, with the candidates instead tending to play to the camera. In 1952, Reston reports that “General Eisenhower and three or four of his prominent supporters...lobbed easy questions over the plate for the General to knock out of the park. In front of the television cameras, of course.”<sup>409</sup> As the decade progresses,

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<sup>406</sup> Op. cit. Gadney p.115.

<sup>407</sup> ‘White House Restoration’ section, JFK-Library, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/JFK/JFK-in-History/The-White-House-Restoration.aspx> (12/06/2018).

<sup>408</sup> Jack Gould, ‘Accent the “Family” not the “Royal”’, *The New York Times*, September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1969.

<sup>409</sup> James Reston, ‘Our Campaign Techniques re-examined’, *The New York Times*, November 9<sup>th</sup>, 1952.

Kennedy's appearances become more regular, consistent with its growing popularity and affordability.<sup>410</sup> He identifies its potential value to him<sup>411</sup> and in frequent conjunction with Sorensen and Salinger, ensures full preparation for its personal utilization. Indeed, such is his comfort with the medium that by 1963 Kennedy deliberately fills living rooms with appearances on new television programmes in order purportedly to "...show his support of more extensive news coverage over television in prime evening time."<sup>412</sup>

Prior to his campaign television appearances, Kennedy compounds the unexpected aesthetic benefits of his medical cocktails<sup>413</sup> by frequenting sunnier states to achieve his healthy-looking complexion.<sup>414</sup> It is a particularly astute measure for a medium 'that could transmit unforgiving close-up images directly into the living rooms of millions of Americans',<sup>415</sup> or as Nixon more grittily attests: 'The TV camera is like a microscope: it shows not how one feels but what his physical condition actually is.'<sup>416</sup> During their first televised debate, the contrast between the two candidates is exacerbated by Kennedy's shrewd change of wardrobe for this heightened level of exposure:

'Nixon's light-grey suit blended into the background of the television studio' whereas Kennedy's outfit 'contrasted with the backdrop sharply. When a producer remarked on the glare of the white shirt that Kennedy planned to wear, he dispatched an aide to the hotel to collect a blue one, which he changed into just before the debates started.'<sup>417</sup>

Nixon had been recovering from a leg operation which had left him unwell in the run-up to the debates and his continual refusal, unlike Kennedy – aided naturally by a

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<sup>410</sup> 'John F. Kennedy's National Television appearances' (pre-1961), JFK-Library, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/Research/Research-Aids/Ready-Reference/JFK-Fast-Facts/Television-Appearances.aspx> (14/06/2018). See also M. White on 1950s' television statistics, op. cit. p.50. By contrast, according to Sabato: 'In 1960, 88 percent of U.S. households had one or more TV sets, an 11 percent jump from the previous decade', op. cit. p.65.

<sup>411</sup> See early reference in *Profiles* to "every day life is becoming saturated with the tremendous power of mass communications", op. cit. p.19. See also Bradlee: 'It is unbelievable to an outsider how interested Kennedy was in journalists and how clued he was to their characters, their office politics, their petty rivalries', op. cit. p.73.

<sup>412</sup> 'President to Be Guest On 2 New TV Programs', *The New York Times*, August 31<sup>st</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/08/31/issue.html> (15/06/2018).

<sup>413</sup> Op. cit. BBC2. See also Seymour Hersh regarding Dr Max Jacobson's medical administrations here, in *The Dark Side of Camelot*, HarperCollins Publishers, 1998, p.236.

<sup>414</sup> Op. cit. Nixon: 'I have never seen him look more fit. I remarked on his deep tan', p.337. It recalls the narrator's praise in *Profiles* for Webster's "wonderfully bronzed complexion", op. cit. p.70.

<sup>415</sup> Op. cit. M. White p.29.

<sup>416</sup> Op. cit. Nixon p.341.

<sup>417</sup> Op. cit. M. White p.29.



‘sunlit roof’<sup>418</sup> practice session at his hotel - to indulge in cosmetic preparation beyond a ‘Lazy-shave’ coating to conceal his ‘stubborn beard stubble’,<sup>419</sup> backfires as the intensity of the studio’s lights causes him to perspire in ‘rivulets’<sup>420</sup> thus streaking the powder. One commentator even contends that Kennedy has a cynical part to play here by requesting studio staff turn up the heating when Nixon commences his pitch so that his full physical discomfort can be visibly maximized; Sorensen will only concede that the studio was ‘cooled at Nixon’s request to end the perspiration on his makeup...’<sup>421</sup> Hersh similarly implies Kennedy’s less-than-saintly behaviour in metaphorically turning up the heat on his opponent to a degree Lazy-shave will never conceal by deliberately exploiting Nixon’s role as Vice President. Kennedy knows that such a position would entail access to state security secrets – including the following to which Kennedy is also apparently privy - Nixon would be unable to disclose, especially in front of a TV audience of millions. Nixon therefore also suffers excruciating political pain, what Hersh refers to as ‘an untenable public posture’,<sup>422</sup> at that podium during the fourth TV debate as Kennedy is able to indulge in populist anti-Communist soundbites while his opponent is reduced to wincing blander peace-wishing sentiments, regarding the diplomatic appropriateness of the US providing assistance to Cuban exile groups in order to eliminate the hated Castro: ‘I was in the ironic position of appearing to be “softer” on Castro than Kennedy – which was exactly the opposite of the truth, if only the whole record could be disclosed.’<sup>423</sup>

Kennedy’s telegenic qualities are further conveyed in his stature and expressions. During the introduction of the candidates, he assumes a very confident, symmetrical posture with his shoulders relaxed and his hands resting on crossed legs,

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<sup>418</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.198. Salinger conveys Kennedy’s continuing exploitation of television to complement visually his message in his contrasting desistance to any make-up application prior to his Cuban Missile Crisis address. As a result: ‘It took ten minutes to adjust the lighting...’ p.265. The inference is that Kennedy deliberately wishes to appear ashen-faced.

<sup>419</sup> Ibid. p.202. In Nixon’s ‘Checkers’ TV appearance, beard-stick is declined as he had just shaved, op. cit. pp.111-12; now, however, ‘I had vetoed...recommendation that I wear makeup and agreed only that...our TV staff might apply some “beard-stick” powder to help cover my perpetual “five o’clock shadow” – which the television cameras always pick up, even five minutes after I have shaved’, p.338.

<sup>420</sup> Op. cit. Parmet p.45.

<sup>421</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.206. See also Sabato op. cit. p.63.

<sup>422</sup> Op. cit. Hersh p.181. See also Nixon op. cit. pp.354-5: ‘...Kennedy had been so informed.’ Sorensen, however, denies Kennedy’s prior knowledge of covert CIA plans, op. cit. p.205 although appears to contradict this on p.291 when stating CIA briefings to be ‘far more revealing than those he had received as candidate...’

<sup>423</sup> Op. cit. Nixon p.355.

quite remarkable for somebody enduring – but never intimating to the screen - chronic back pain. By contrast, Nixon appears awkwardly poised, one hand either frequently applied to that painful leg he also knocks against his car en route to the studio, or else matching the other for balance, when it is his turn to speak, by tightly gripping the wooden podium. Kennedy’s eye contact remains fixed while Nixon’s focus betrays frequent distraction between the moderator and the camera. Mindful of different camera angles, Kennedy tilts his head upward at the podium. With accompanying hand movements this also creates the impression of addressing a wider congregation – consistent with the newspapers’ quasi-religious cultivation - beyond those immediately gathered before him, the corners of his mouth raised in benign smile. Such a perception seems validated by an opening and closing address being issued to the American people that, unlike his opponent, evades the charge of preachiness.<sup>424</sup> Nixon, on the other hand, frequently allows his head to drop as if only speaking to the assembled studio audience, his face constantly creasing to frowns, an eyebrow twitch and regular lip-licking intensifying the viewer’s distraction from what Nixon believes to be his more substantive message.<sup>425</sup>

With regards to actual content, Kennedy’s ability to communicate salient information proportionately is still a quality successive Presidential candidates aspire to emulate.<sup>426</sup> Nixon, by contrast, announces his more detailed campaign pledges in a reactive, defensive monotone, with an accompanying shake of the head. He also feels the need to tell his audience that he is “sincere”<sup>427</sup> in his wishes rather than trusting in his performance to elicit automatically that conviction from within the observer. As Dallek concludes:

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<sup>424</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen: ‘preachy platitudes and dramatic gestures’, p.199. Schlesinger even asserts this manner to be extended to Kennedy personally: ‘Nixon...started waving his finger in Kennedy’s face to give the impression that he was telling off Kennedy as he had told off Khrushchev. Kennedy described this episode with mixed incredulity and contempt’, op. cit. p.62.

<sup>425</sup> Ibid. p.240. It is interesting to note that radio listeners believe Nixon wins the debate. See for example, Kayla Webley, ‘How the Nixon Kennedy Debate Changed the World’, in *Time* <http://content.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,2021078,00.html> (15/03/2017).

<sup>426</sup> In the TV campaign contest between Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford, the journalist reports that “unlike Kennedy” neither candidate “marshaled [sic] the numbers to establish a more general point. The questioning from the panel of reporters concentrated heavily on taxes, budget balancing and economic policy – vital but dry topics”, *Time Magazine*, October 4<sup>th</sup>, 1976, p.20.

<sup>427</sup> First Kennedy-Nixon Debate, 26<sup>th</sup> September 1960, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/TNC-172.aspx> (15/03/2017).

‘The difference was telling. Kennedy came across as a leader who intended to deal with the nation’s greatest problems; Nixon registered on voters as someone trying to gain an advantage over an adversary.’<sup>428</sup>

Jack Gould’s 1962 ‘Candidates on TV’ similarly concludes that it takes more than a “...powder job on a heavy beard or a glaring pate, a different hair cut or the use of non-reflecting eyeglasses...”<sup>429</sup> to transform political fortunes through this platform. The political advantageousness of the visual disparity the new medium of television creates between the candidates is originally picked up and interrogated by Gould in his October 1960 article: ‘TV: Increase in Tempo. Candidates Sharper in Theatrically and Politically Warmer 2D Debate’. Nixon apparently considers his experience alone as sufficient to have won him the first debate although concedes that not only must he improve his aesthetic appeal but also his physical engagement with the camera if he is to win votes:

“Mr. Nixon this time fared better at the hands of the make-up artist and lighting experts but still rang second to his democratic opponent...Softer lighting in front of Mr. Nixon was most beneficial while he was talking. There were better graduations of flesh tones and he wasn’t ‘washed out.’.... Mr. Nixon’s trouble seems to be that he has been over-coached; he appears to pay too much attention to the TV cameras. Last night, in all his replies, he stared unswervingly at the lens and never looked at his interrogators...Mr. Nixon similarly retained a rigid posture with eyes straight ahead. His was the self-consciousness of one standing to attention. In contrast, Senator Kennedy intuitively capitalized on greater simplicity in behaviour. While looking at the camera he also included the person who asked him the question...His face reflected, accordingly, a wider range of expressions. The debate illustrated one of the oddities of television: naturalness is never important except when it is missing....after two joint appearances it may be that TV more than anything else has disposed of the controversy over his youthfulness. The difference in the ages of the candidates now seems as small as it is.”<sup>430</sup>

What begins with a locutionary interrogation of stylistic contrast concludes with the gentle intimation that Kennedy’s stature, thanks to television, has been elevated to more than that of a political equal. It is Nixon, the Vice-President, who instead comes across as the inexperienced candidate: he is the person, after all, “standing to attention” as if awaiting to be informed rather than the one doing the informing. Salinger is similarly unimpressed: ‘[JFK] came across on TV as a mature, knowledgeable, attractive man. Nixon came across with all the sincerity of an actor reading a toothpaste

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<sup>428</sup> Op. cit. Dallek p.285.

<sup>429</sup> Jack Gould, ‘Candidates on TV - the ideal and others’, *The New York Times*, October 28<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

<sup>430</sup> Jack Gould, ‘TV: Increase in Tempo’, *The New York Times*, October 8<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

commercial.’<sup>431</sup> Despite boasting ‘enough experience in speaking on television to be confident that with any reasonable amount of preparation I would not fall on my face’,<sup>432</sup> corroborated by a concerned Sorensen towards his inevitably amassing ‘intimate knowledge’ of the medium,<sup>433</sup> Nixon’s engagement with television appears to have progressed little since the propriety of his 1952 campaign fund had to face similar nationwide public scrutiny.

In the same 1962 article, Gould confirms this private challenge to be ongoing:

“Before the development of the picture tube, a politician could confine any uneasiness over his facial serenity to the privacy of his shaving mirror. Now he lives with the terrifying thought that an unpersuasive smile, a twitching jowl or a pair of sad eyes will be produced from coast to coast. The temptation to rehearse the muscles of the face is overwhelming, especially for anyone who has experienced one of the cruellest ordeals known to the modern man: seeing himself in taped close-up.”<sup>434</sup>

By contrast Kennedy finds it easy to adjust his range. He masters the paradox of reaching a wider audience by thriving on the proximity Lowe’s adapted camera work latterly encourages. He learns from his oversight in the first TV debate immediately to include the wider audience in his localized, seated response to a channel executive:

“...when the candidate enters the small confines of the TV studio he is psychologically entering the viewer’s living room, which is even smaller. Now he is not talking to a sea of happy faces but to one person at a time. It is an intimate relationship...”<sup>435</sup>

Intuitively, and harking back to the conceit of the White House documentary’s intended accessibility, Kennedy utilizes the very specific confines of television to make the individual feel as if he or she is being personally addressed and is also worthy of that personal address. Kennedy is eliciting his audience with self-esteem. Such engagement therefore heightens their receptivity. As Hellmann asserts, it would also ‘add power’ to a Kennedy message ‘being understood as pure fact’, that is, improve its rhetorical ‘credence’, given that his words are not being delivered ‘in a darkened fantasy domain [of a cinema] but in a well-lit living room where television functioned as part of the actual environment.’<sup>436</sup> Nixon is aware during the debates that most

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<sup>431</sup> Op. cit. Salinger p.54.

<sup>432</sup> Op. cit. Nixon p.108.

<sup>433</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.169.

<sup>434</sup> Op. cit. ‘Candidates on TV’.

<sup>435</sup> Ibid.

<sup>436</sup> Op. cit. Hellmann p.91.

people will be watching him from millions of living rooms but fails to adjust his receptivity approach accordingly. Kennedy, rather less dogmatically to that nestling-sofa viewer, works on becoming an extension of the furniture.

There is also a happy self-consciousness betrayed by Gould's 1962 article, in that a journalist too is being embraced by television as a primary political platform. The development of such a strategy can be traced back to the successful rapport Salinger observes Kennedy to generate with newspaper reporters during the 1960 Presidential campaign:

‘The key to the whole press operation...was the availability of John Kennedy. He made himself accessible to the reporters as often as they needed to see him, and by doing so gave the press a real feeling of being on the inside of the campaign...’<sup>437</sup>

Gould enjoys Kennedy personalizing responses back to the individual members of this press corps;<sup>438</sup> like Kennedy's television audience it would make them feel important, valued and respected even if it is only undertaken by the President as a huge memory test to win favour with them.<sup>439</sup> Gould's colleague Arthur Krock is similarly impressed by the effect this tactic generates: “I have myself on occasion been infused with the warmth of goodwill engendered by this courtship by a suitor of such charm and unique public distinction.”<sup>440</sup> To enable press exchanges to take place:

“Mr. Kennedy prefers the intimate background briefings of journalists, and their publishers, on a large scale, from which members emerge in a state of protracted enchantment evoked by the President's charm and the awesome aura of his office. The success of his efforts is attested by continent-wide glow in news reporting, editorializing and comment, which otherwise might register the lower temperature of impersonal objectivity.”<sup>441</sup>

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<sup>437</sup> Op. cit. Salinger p.33. Indeed, one extreme example of its reciprocation to Kennedy is recalled by Sabato citing Halberstam's summation of journalists Drew Pearson's and Jack Anderson's dubious procurement of evidence linking Nixon's brother to an unrepaid loan from Howard Hughes, during 1960 Presidential campaigning: ‘...many journalists “liked Kennedy, agreed with his politics, and reveled [sic] in their acceptance...’’, p.67.

<sup>438</sup> Typified by Kennedy's “If it isn't Helen Thomas from the Universal Press” response at a White House picture-taking session in June 1961. Helen Thomas, *Thanks for the Memories Mr. President: Wit and wisdom from the Front Row at the White House*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1999, p.31.

<sup>439</sup> See for example, M. White op. cit. p.52 and Crown's: ‘Of course, Kennedy had a morning of briefing for these conferences which included practice questions and answers, and no one has ever denied an occasional planted question crept into the actual conference’, op. cit. p.115.

<sup>440</sup> Arthur Krock, “Mr. Kennedy's Management of the News”, *Fortune* magazine, March, 1963. <http://fortune.com/2013/11/17/mr-kennedys-management-of-the-news-fortune-1963/> (02/05/2014).

<sup>441</sup> Ibid.

It is the contradiction of a 'large-scale intimacy' that successfully facilitates newspaper journalists' narrative complicity. Here, the perlocutionary object-as-sequel result is the extended sense of collective uplift – "protracted enchantment" – directly attributable to the 'object' warmth of Kennedy's personality in which the perlocutionary 'sequel' force is achieved by the assonance of "awe..." and "aura" the reader might simultaneously 'hear' as the accompanying sound of admiration. In the final sentence, "success" engenders optimism, "attested" secures reassurance or confidence that achieves object-as-sequel conclusion in its yielding grand-scale professional pleasure more critical detachment would knowingly cool. It is as if Kennedy is being revered as Icon by the journalist for the reader's approbation.

Kennedy separately intuits the press' possible sense of demotion before the primacy of TV and redresses perceived imbalance and disaffection by inviting the press corps to become part of the programme being screened, in the form of live televised press conferences.<sup>442</sup> It fulfils Salinger's early assertion that 'Senator Kennedy...understood the massive importance of the press and treated the reporters as his equals.'<sup>443</sup> Such conferences, as stated, had been carried out before by some of his predecessors as a complementing medium to exchange views rather than becoming its primary platform. Eisenhower rejects such a final 'live' step out of concern that too much could go wrong. Kennedy instead relishes Salinger's 'radical'<sup>444</sup> proposal – or, as Reston declares it, the "goofiest idea since the hula hoop".<sup>445</sup> According to White:

'The exceedingly positive impression he made was due to the balance he struck between appearing generally serious-minded and knowledgeable on the one hand, and charming and intermittently humorous on the other hand.... It was not something a presidential aide could instil; it was an attribute he simply possessed.'<sup>446</sup>

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<sup>442</sup> See also the 'President and The Press', April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1961: "I think it is highly beneficial to have some 20,000,000 Americans regularly sit in these conferences to observe, if I may say so, the incisive and the courteous qualities displayed by your Washington correspondents.", op. cit. p.74; and Bradlee: '[The] president went on television live tonight....I watched it at home, and felt professionally threatened as a man who was trying to make a living by the written word', op. cit. p.128.

<sup>443</sup> Op. cit. Salinger p.46.

<sup>444</sup> Ibid. p.53. Salinger continues: 'the reaction was swift and violent. I had to contend with strong disagreement among JFK's closest advisors, much head-shaking in the State Department, and a near riot among the White House correspondents.'

<sup>445</sup> Sorensen quoting Reston, op. cit. p.323. See also Sorensen's endorsement as providing 'a direct communication with the voters which no newspaper could alter by interpretation or omission', p.325.

<sup>446</sup> Op. cit. M. White p.53. Consider also admiration for Senator Lucius Lamar's extemporizing: "No notes were in his hand, for he was one of the most brilliant extemporaneous speakers ever to sit in the Senate", op. cit. *Profiles* p.170.

Press support becomes so strong that some of its key members decline to publish a major policy misjudgement as a failure. In the Bay of Pigs' aftermath, Kennedy unusually refuses to take pointed questions from the press. Instead he insists that a previous statement must suffice. Journalists in turn do not seem to want to tarnish on paper the centre of their perlocutionary affections. Indeed, both *The New York Times* and *The Dallas Morning News* carry the same article by Reston on the same day but attribute it with significantly different headlines, both of which nonetheless continue to exonerate Kennedy from any personal responsibility. *The New York Times* heads its article "A Sadder and Wiser Young President"<sup>447</sup> thus immediately demanding reader sympathy at his essential humanity whilst *The Dallas Morning News* shifts the impression of personal culpability towards others in whom Kennedy would have placed his political trust: "Cuba Leaves President Wondering About CIA".<sup>448</sup> Both then proceed to report identically, commending Kennedy's salutary reaction to the episode: "...he is not looking for scapegoats. He is taking full responsibility for the government's part in the adventure..." In the penultimate paragraph Reston anaphorically echoes Kennedy's own type of rhetoric in reporting the effect it must inevitably have elicited upon the President as a man:

"His confidence in the direction of the CIA has clearly been shaken...his confidence in the effectiveness of the inter-American system to deal with Communist subversion in the hemisphere has also been shaken..."

The article invokes the "brave words", "self-examination and self-criticism" of the opening paragraph to contend that there is "nothing mournful or impetuous in his reaction". The only other difference in its reporting is that *The Dallas Morning News* removes the editorial intervention of *The New York Times'* perlocutionary sub-headings throughout the article as if trying to facilitate its own consolidation of reader opinion in order to demonstrate Kennedy's reassuring assimilation of the events as a formative part of his own learning curve.

Kennedy tacitly minimizes any possible lingering press damage to himself by inviting journalists back to a news conference a mere six days later. Here he insists

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<sup>447</sup> James Reston, 'A Sadder and Wise Young President.' *The New York Times*, April 21<sup>st</sup>, 1961.

<sup>448</sup> James Reston, 'Cuba Leaves President Wondering About CIA', *The Dallas Morning News*, April 21<sup>st</sup>, 1961.

that each maintains their high reporting standards in the interests of greater national security while sycophantically praising their integral and altruistic importance as the:

“...recorder of man’s deeds, the keeper of his conscience, the courier of his news [from where] we look for strength and assistance, confident that with your help man will be what he was born to be: free and independent.”<sup>449</sup>

Localizing a bad story by side-stepping it becomes even further removed in impact by its subsuming replacement of praise for their purported transparency in giving the nation an accurate view of the greater context in which American citizens’ ultimate values could be threatened, in this case by the spectre of Communism. Kennedy’s public approval ratings increase to 83 per cent as a result.<sup>450</sup>

Press loyalty is retained and maintained by confirming its equal media primacy. At Kennedy’s Inauguration, *The Dallas Morning News* very excitedly comments that “All The Networks are bringing up the big guns to give this one the works.”<sup>451</sup> In a *New York Times*’ article regarding non-abandonment of Cuba to Communism, the speech is given “...before the American Society of Newspaper Editors [and] broadcast by television and radio...”<sup>452</sup> demonstrating different media sources overlapping in a consolidated production of the same message. Televised addresses are reported as verbatim content transcripts, typified within the same newspaper’s coverage of Soviet missile deployment in Cuba where this is even extended to “special radio facilities”.<sup>453</sup> Purported locutionary scene-setting is again loaded with perlocutionary intent, confirming Kennedy’s mastery in delivering a narrative as an unassailable communication. In the opening two paragraphs the “established fact” of a weapons’ presence is conjugated with its emotive location within an “imprisoned island” full of what is latterly described as “captive people” even if this only actually refers to ‘incarceration’ by an opposing Communist ideology. The locutionary reference to the time this information is received provides the justification or “evidence” that the nation

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<sup>449</sup> ‘The President and the Press’, April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1961, op. cit. *Speeches* pp.78-9.

<sup>450</sup> Gallup polls taken in April-May 1961 showing 83% approval rating for Kennedy with 61% of Americans approving his handling of the invasion, *George H. Gallup*, Random House, 1972, p.1721.

<sup>451</sup> Fairfax Nisbet, ‘Theater-Of-The-Air: Inaugural Events In Air Spotlight’, *The Dallas Morning News*, January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>452</sup> W.H. Lawrence, ‘Speech is Strong: President Says Policy of Nonintervention [sic] Has Its Limits’, *The New York Times*, April 21<sup>st</sup>, 1961.

<sup>453</sup> ‘Text of Kennedy’s Address on moves to meet the Soviet build-up in Cuba’, *The New York Times*, October 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1962, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1962/10/23/90541679.html?pageNumber=18> (14/05/2017).



is confronted by the panic-engendering value judgement of a “new crisis”. There follows an unembellished description of the missile sites and their contents whose locutionary tone is immediately uprooted by deliberate discomfoting prioritizing of their being “capable of striking Washington” first and then other major cities across continents. It is the candid specificity of target by the missiles’ range that consolidates fear within the recipient to this news. The perlocutionary reference to “sudden mass destruction” is pitted against the listing of formal agreements that will be contravened by it. The locutionary recitation of Soviet defensive justifications that concludes with the blunt “That statement was false” is repeated at the end of the next paragraph as if to emphasize the apparent moral rectitude of the aggrieved nation. The perlocutionary adjectival compounds of the alliterative “deliberate deception” followed by “offensive threats” which all culminate in “maximum peril” ends with the purportedly locutionary self-evident explanation as to the weapons’ capability that is undermined by the emphatic reference to its “‘definite’ threat to peace”. The delicate détente between the nations is now threatened by the figurative reference to “a cloak of secrecy and deception” with its innocent citizens now being exposed to “living on the bulls-eye of Soviet missiles...”

At this point the newspaper helpfully provides its readers with its own corresponding map of concentric circles depicting the various missiles’ potential target area. Already explored in Chapter One, the cultivation of fear within the individual is maintained by repetition of the unknown through language such as “clandestine”, “cloak” and “secrecy”. Appeals to a nation’s patriotism and lessons learnt from history as justification to avoid its apocalyptic impact is suggested through consecutive referencing to the “Western Hemisphere”. Kennedy promises to be measured in his response “in which the fruits of victory would be ashes in our mouth” otherwise. Locutionary justifications ensue, preceded by the invoking of the land’s highest moral and legal authorities and particularly reflected in the phrase “clear and present danger”, an early 20<sup>th</sup>-century Supreme Court reference to restraints upon the concept of free speech. Finally, there is the formalized address on behalf of his nation for Khrushchev to consider the magnitude of his actions that, if changed, can also place him in that same illocutionary bracket as Kennedy implies for himself, by “mov[ing] the world back from the abyss of destruction” in order to “transform the history of man.” Kennedy appeals to Cubans’ innate patriotism in conclusion, with reference to a

betrayed “fatherland” whose similarly virtuous aspirations have been destroyed by overseas “puppets”. The perlocutionary staccato-like assertions as to the moral rightness of retaining its ideological independence, conveyed by the seven-times’ repeated “free”, culminates once more in the fear-engendering outcome of the unknown. The possible “path” of action is “full of hazards” which Kennedy implores his own nation once again to straddle in order to prevent attacks on its own cherished “freedom”. Kennedy manages to pass off the perlocutionary as fact to galvanize unequivocal support for his own acts.

Back in 1958, Cabell Phillips reported upon the apparent effusiveness from a Minnesota audience hitherto sceptical towards Senator John Kennedy because of his wealthy background combined with a “Harvard accent, the Brooks Brothers’ couture and... egg-head ideas.”<sup>454</sup> At the time Phillips is concerned that such efforts would lead to “ennui”.<sup>455</sup> Instead it results in euphoric consolidation of every asset available to the aspiring Presidential candidate. By 1962 the Kennedys are in comfortable control of their story and able to exert their unique seal upon JFK as America’s new iconic hero. The reader-cum-viewer-cum-listener is assailed by novel ‘Positivity’ narratives that compound assimilation of their separate parts. However, the next chapter exposes how this intensely-crafted narrative may be slowly unpicked, with subsequent control of its thread being compromised by the remaining protagonists’ own management of it. Contextual background events further conspire against the strength of the Icon trajectory, leading to a sea-change in newspaper reporting. In demonstration of Carr’s contentions regarding selectivity of ‘fact’ to impart different tellings of history, Kennedy’s story can be unfolded very differently.

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<sup>454</sup> ‘Presidential Candidate’, op. cit. Phillips.

<sup>455</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter Three

### Telling the story as Myth

At his Yale University address, Kennedy describes ‘Myth’ as “persistent, persuasive and unrealistic.”<sup>456</sup> It is an embellished narrative that either distorts the truth to make a more edifying story and/or is the result of retellings the passage of time naturally distances from the true events through constant renewal and the filter of cultural context or reference, for which Carr would have the new teller be sensitive.<sup>457</sup> This chapter will therefore aim to show how the Kennedy narrative also defies control of those who cultivate it by demonstrating its intrinsic ambivalence to kindle other – often false - versions of the story. I commence with the Kennedy family’s efforts to sustain ‘Myth’ as a ‘Positive’ force to project a different, ‘new’ reality, an illocutionary storyline they determine and commit to inhabiting. Exploration subsequently will be made of my newspapers’ ability to reflect this through similar speech-act assessment of a transition from the generally complicit perlocutionary-as-locutionary reporting to a gradually unfreighted locutionary narrative akin to that from which Arthur Krock earlier admits willing departure.<sup>458</sup> In so doing, the reader’s perception of Myth as a creation that uniquely unfurls, empowering its own separate storylines, is accentuated.

The inherent volatility of a cultivated trajectory may be seen to begin its implosion before JFK is assassinated, with Joseph Kennedy suffering a stroke. Hitherto, his involvement in dictating the family narrative is seminal to dissemination of its Myth as well as Icon. Chapter Two describes Joseph’s promotion to *The New York Times* of Kennedy’s *Profiles in Courage*. Caroline Howe cites Joseph’s similarly heavy involvement in ‘selling the mythology of PT109’<sup>459</sup> to a larger *Reader-Digest* audience based upon its condensed – and consequently more impacting - retelling by *Time-Life* journalist – and personal Kennedy friend – John Hersey. The enhanced

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<sup>456</sup> ‘Yale University Commencement’, op. cit. Speeches p.212.

<sup>457</sup> Op. cit. Carr p.24 and p.30: ‘history consists essentially in seeing the past through the eyes of the present and in light of its problems...’

<sup>458</sup> See thesis p.117.

<sup>459</sup> Caroline Howe, ‘How John F. Kennedy revealed his father exploited the PT109 incident to make his son a hero and pave the road to the White House’, *Daily Mail* online, October 7<sup>th</sup>, 2015, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3262024/My-story-collision-getting-better-time-ve-got-Jew-n-r-John-F-Kennedy-revealed-father-exploited-PT-109-incident-make-son-hero-pave-road-White-House.html> (23/07/2018).

progress of the ensuing ‘Survival’<sup>460</sup> piece, crafted from personal interview, apparently becomes a source of amusement to its central protagonist: ‘...Kennedy marveled [sic] how his father had worked in some aspects of the story to appeal to everyone: “My story about a collision is getting better all the time.”’<sup>461</sup> Joseph exploits the kernel of this tale to increase his son’s heroic and therefore suitable public profile. In so doing, he indulges in careful fact selection to imbue and superimpose a text. It is a talent for which he proves particularly adept especially when articulating his own family narrative, often withholding information from press dissemination, to protect his own illocutionary cultivation of the story he wants told of his son.

While it is obviously difficult to assert the existence of a narrative that is either suppressed or rewritten, the examples selected here are based wherever possible upon the retrieval or subsequent official disclosure of tangible records to counterpoint claims of narrative superimposition taking place by Kennedy members. It is for this reason, in order to conform to my ‘Review’-cited methodology of original source-based trajectory generation, that the section on JFK’s personal suppression of private lifestyle is essentially confined to verifiable corroboration rather than prolonged invocation. I am aware, however, that in the light of Carr’s misgivings regarding the sanctity historians often afford ‘the document’ as an inviolable form of truth enshrining,<sup>462</sup> that I may be similarly superimposing one version of Kennedy’s story over another. I intend only to demonstrate here its competing force upon an evolving storyline rather than ascribing to it any definitive status.

One withheld narrative is that of Joseph’s family itself, portrayed to East-Coast society as the perfect unit. Well-documented under what is now termed the ‘Kennedy Curse’,<sup>463</sup> the image belies the essential fallibility of its constituent parts, to be explored later in this chapter. Here, however, restriction will be made to specific instances of Joseph’s active intervention in preserving his illocutionary storyline. I commence with his eldest daughter Rosemary, named after his wife, who is relocated to institutions from her teenage years after failing to recover from the consequences of oxygen deprivation at birth. She is left mentally disabled and an embarrassment to her

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<sup>460</sup> John Hersey, ‘Survival’, June 17<sup>th</sup>, 1944, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1944/06/17/survival-2> (20/07/2018).

<sup>461</sup> Op. cit. Parmet p.111.

<sup>462</sup> Op. cit. Carr: ‘No document can tell us more than what the author of the document thought’, p.16.

<sup>463</sup> A term initiated by Edward Kennedy on ABC News, July 25<sup>th</sup> 1969, after Chappaquiddick.

parents' projection of inviolable perception and behaviour. Her father's radical solution is to employ neurological surgeons to perform a lobotomy upon her without apparently disclosing his intentions to either his wife or the rest of his family. The failure of the procedure results in total incapacity and permanent removal from the Kennedy clan, even apparently down to excision by her mother of Rose's name from all family correspondence.<sup>464</sup> Joseph also overtly removes his daughter's existence from his own narrative. According to his adoptive granddaughter Amanda Smith, who gains access to the family's private files, Joseph Kennedy on paper makes 'almost no mention of Rosemary...after 1940....'<sup>465</sup> Rose Marie Kennedy dies in 2005.

Family shame of a different kind is again concealed by Joseph when his second daughter, Kathleen, marries non-Catholic aristocrat William Cavendish. When her new husband is killed in action in 1944, four months after a low-key wedding in which only her eldest brother Joe attends, enmity between daughter and parents remains. It is compounded two years later by her second Protestant relationship, this time with the married Earl Peter Wentworth-Fitzwilliam. The comparative newspaper silence following the death of her first – war-hero - husband<sup>466</sup> is now replaced by a false text in which Joseph is reported to be instrumental in disseminating. According to *The New York Times*, four bodies are found at the crash site in an “unidentified British aircraft”<sup>467</sup> thus anonymizing the event – although significantly restoring ownership of the article with his own culminating named association - without applying any expected curiosity as to its own locutionary statement. The starkness of Joseph's

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<sup>464</sup> Indeed, it is not until October 1963, following the passing of her son's mental health bill, that Rose is publicly prepared to confirm her daughter's “retardation” although the article omits the reason it happened: “Rose Kennedy Tells of Her Retarded Daughter”, *The New York Times*, October 31<sup>st</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/10/31/80478935.html?pageNumber=21> (12/06/2017).

<sup>465</sup> Amanda Smith, *Hostage to Fortune: the letters of Joseph P. Kennedy*, Viking, 2001, p.516. The sense of affection and shock at what becomes of his oldest sister seems obliquely confirmed in Kennedy's: ‘Proposals to Liberalize Immigration Statutes’ in which a section specifically allows for “Persons afflicted with mental health problems [to] be admitted [to the USA] provided certain health standards are met...any person afflicted with a mental disease or...psychotic personality can enter this country...if a private bill is enacted for his benefit”, from *A Nation of Immigrants*, op. cit. p.80.

<sup>466</sup> For example, “Kathleen Kennedy loses her Husband in Action”, *The Pittsburgh Press*, September 18<sup>th</sup>, 1944, <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1144&dat=19440918&id=TTIgAAAAIBAJ&sjid=nUwEAAAIAAJ&pg=5419,6383565> (12/06/2017).

<sup>467</sup> ‘Air Crash Kills Lady Hartington, Daughter of Ex-Envoy J.P. Kennedy’, *The New York Times*, May 14<sup>th</sup>, 1948, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1948/05/14/97152116.html?action=click&contentCollection=Archives&module=LedeAsset&region=ArchiveBody&pgtype=article&pageNumber=1> (12/06/2017).

reported reaction therefore when meeting the French authorities in Ardèche, the region in which the accident happened, is all the more accentuated through this linguistic unvarnishing: the locutionary phrase for once is allowed to remain stable. The newspaper's reference to subsequent identification only being possible through retrieval of his daughter's passport conveniently consolidates Joseph's wish to give the impression of Kathleen's complete obliteration from the scandalous liaison her parents perceive her to be conducting. A different, more respectable version of the events therefore has to be generated with Joseph turning to his *New York Daily News*' associate Joseph Patterson, to publish that re-description. *The New York Times*' journalist-unattributed article instead only includes reference to Kathleen's pre-deceased husband, both to conclude on a note of sorrow but respectability and to insert temporary replacement in the reader's mind as to the fatality's remaining unnamed victim once the pilot and radio operator have been passively attributed to half of that flight's doomed contingent. Kathleen is re-inscribed by first name only upon a tombstone back in Derbyshire with the generous 'Joy she gave, joy she has found' suggestion of her mother-in-law Duchess, safely and now indelibly suppressed by the greater physically dominating reference immediately above her to 'the Hon. Joseph Kennedy, sometime Ambassador of the United States to Great Britain'.

As the transferred object of Joseph's political aspirations after his eldest son Joe dies as a pilot, purportedly literally trying to achieve re-ascendancy in his father's estimation,<sup>468</sup> over his younger Lieutenant brother's recent heralding - that next Kennedy son in the family line compliantly acquiesces into being written into his father's tight script as Joe's Presidential replacement.

For this role, he must therefore appear to be the perfect son, hailing from that ideal family - an expectation Kennedy already separately seems to accept as integral to political success, with historical reference to another father-and-son team in *Profiles in Courage*. John Quincy Adams is described as possessing "an integrity...constantly driven onward by his conscience and his deeply felt obligation to be worthy of his

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<sup>468</sup> Apparently not to be outdone by JFK's naval heroics, Joe Kennedy is said to have knowingly undertaken an unnecessary and dangerous drone mission, known as Project Aphrodite. See Maier, *op. cit.* p.180 and documentary 'The Kennedys: A Fatal Ambition', Channel 5, Executive Producer Jeff Anderson, 2018. See also Dallek (2013) for the mission's failure being attributed to accidental jamming by radar signals that conflicted with Joe's cockpit's remote-control function, *op. cit.* p.9.

parents....”<sup>469</sup> Such need for approval manifests itself in “heartwarming [sic] devotion to his father” while “the latter’s steadfast loyalty to his son regardless of political embarrassment offer[s] a single ray of warmth in an otherwise hard, cold existence”. While little actual affection is cited between members of the immediate Kennedy family,<sup>470</sup> the filial bond remains strong despite Joseph’s ignominious departure from his UK ambassadorship. Perceived by others as a “brash...freshman Senator” John Kennedy also identifies President Adams’ son as “a renegade in his party who is the “son of an unpopular father”.<sup>471</sup> Kennedy himself, the Choate student of ‘louche charm’<sup>472</sup> and later “the man with his shirttail out...clearly visible from the galleries”<sup>473</sup> who may only have accessed that particular stage floor through his father’s financial facilitation,<sup>474</sup> is elected to the Senate at the age of 35.

Joseph’s zealous ambition is absorbed fully by his remaining sons, just as is his private behaviour, which is profoundly at odds with the manicured family-perfect campaign film, even down to the women’s complementing pearl necklaces. It is narrated initially by Rose and released in 1958, entitled ‘At Home With The Kennedys’.<sup>475</sup> Preceded by an article of the same name in which the journalist frames in a box column a “family spirit” borne out of a “combination of intense solidarity and mutual pride”,<sup>476</sup> the televised feature gradually devolves centre-stage – or living room in this instance – to Rose’s second son who candidly proceeds to answer questions from the public as to his prospective election intentions.

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<sup>469</sup> Op. cit. pp.36-7.

<sup>470</sup> See especially Theodore White’s original post-interview typed transcript in which Jackie states: “...his mother readily didn’t love him...she didn’t love him...”, ‘Copy of White’s 19<sup>th</sup> December 1963 transcript of interview notes’, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/THWPP/059/THWPP-059-013> (16/05/2016).

<sup>471</sup> Op. cit. p.42.

<sup>472</sup> Eoin Cannon, ‘Kennedy, Boston and Harvard’ in *The Cambridge Companion to John F. Kennedy*, edited by Andrew Hoberek, Cambridge University Press, 2015, p.13.

<sup>473</sup> Op. cit. Healy, *The Saturday Evening Post*.

<sup>474</sup> See Seth M. Ridinger, ‘John F. Kennedy: public perception and campaign strategy in 1946’, *Historical Journal of Massachusetts*, Vol.41, (2), Institute for Massachusetts Studies, Westfield State University, 2013, <http://www.wsc.mass.edu/mhj/pdfs/John%20F%20Kennedy%20article.pdf> (12/03/2015).

<sup>475</sup> ‘At Home With The Kennedys’, October 28<sup>th</sup>, 1958, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dDFNKkqQZyc> from the JFK Library, September 13<sup>th</sup>, 2016, (15/01/2017).

<sup>476</sup> Op. cit. Phillips, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1958/07/13/91396488.html?pageNumber=225> (15/01/2017).

Such a visual template, another extra-perlocutionary performative act of perfect family life, helps to keep suppressed Joseph Kennedy's earlier affairs with Hollywood's leading ladies. This does not, however, preclude him from intervening in the domestic destinies of those who might continue his name. In 1962 *The New York Times* reports that *The Washington Post* issues vehement denials by its own reporters for its subsidiary *Newsweek* publication – significantly described within its own article as being “headed by... a close friend of President Kennedy”<sup>477</sup> – that JFK is anything more than an acquaintance of the then twice-married<sup>478</sup> leading socialite – and non-Catholic - Durie Malcolm. Yet according to back-in-favour Ben Bradlee, the narrative is once again suppressed courtesy of an affidavit Salinger is said to have had issued through Kennedy's lawyer against the aggressively re-circulating claim.<sup>479</sup> Publication in 1957 by distant relative Louis L. Blauvelt of his family tree, in which Durie is cited to have “married, third, John F. Kennedy, son of Joseph P. Kennedy”,<sup>480</sup> prompts disclosure of a document addressed to “Director, FBI”<sup>481</sup> dated 14<sup>th</sup> November 1961, now held as a record card at the Library of Congress, in which an otherwise heavily redacted text still manages formally to confirm repetition of such claims. In both documents, Kennedy is clearly named as Durie's third husband although when the full record is sought, Bradlee cites a ten-Congressmen-long waiting list for it, with the item constantly missing from the shelf.<sup>482</sup> Hersh asserts that long-time Kennedy friend Charles Spalding ‘confirmed his personal knowledge of the marriage’ adding that ‘he and a local attorney visited the Palm Beach Court House a few days later and removed all of the wedding documents.’<sup>483</sup> It is done in accordance with Joseph's insistence that ‘all record of the marriage was destroyed while the Kennedy brothers used their influence to keep the story from being published.’<sup>484</sup>

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<sup>477</sup> ‘Kennedy Rumor [sic] Held Unfounded: Reports of Early “Marriage” Published and Discounted’, *The New York Times*, September 18<sup>th</sup>, 1962, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1962/09/18/90184902.html?pageNumber=21> (15/04/2018).

<sup>478</sup> ‘After’ Kennedy, Durie Malcolm marries Firmin Desloge IV and Francis Henry Appleton.

<sup>479</sup> Op. cit. Bradlee p.46.

<sup>480</sup> Jerry Oppenheimer, *Daily Mail Online*, July 20<sup>th</sup>, 2015, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3154984/Was-JFK-bigamist-eve-Jackie-Kennedy-s-86th-birthday-mystery-president-married-Palm-Beach-socialite-lingers.html> (14/04/2018).

<sup>481</sup> United States Memorandum, November 14<sup>th</sup>, 1961, <https://i.pinimg.com/originals/22/5b/92/225b92adc46c1193ee44c82093fd81bf.jpg>

<sup>482</sup> Op. cit. Bradlee p.45.

<sup>483</sup> Op. cit. Hersh pp.2-3.

<sup>484</sup> Francis Mulraney, *IrishCentral*, July 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2015, <https://www.irishcentral.com/roots/history/was-president-john-f-kennedy-really-a-bigamist> (14/04/2018).



While the Kennedys seem to be initially successful here in eradicating a tangible narrative, oral curiosity is never entirely stifled obliging Kennedy eventually to indulge in some myth-making storylines of his own. For this he looks astutely towards Bradlee for its generation, in order for the journalist to regain both social and professional acceptance into the Kennedy fold. Hersh contends that Bradlee's counter-narrative is obliged to invoke non-existent FBI files – or 'solid FBI documentation'<sup>485</sup> - as evidence to obliterate any lingering credibility afforded to Blauvelt's research. This behaviour bluntly enacts Carr's misgivings as to document sanctifying, with this time the journalist 'reverently'<sup>486</sup> succumbing to its supposed authenticity. Fulfilling the remit 'to print the story in the form of a false rumor [sic] revealed, denied, and hopefully buried', Bradlee's refuting *Newsweek* article is 'reprinted in full by the *Washington Post* and cited in newspapers around the world' on September 24<sup>th</sup>, 1962. With tremendous good fortune given Kennedy's reported particular discomfort with the publication, is the story's inclusion in *Time* magazine<sup>487</sup> that even incorporates a 'categorical denial' by one Durie Malcolm herself.

However, physical eradication of a marriage certificate does not mean status nullification. Yet inability ever to prove its existence is sufficient for Joseph to proceed in undertaking matchmaking of his own, although the evidencing of a divorce certificate would ironically have rectified the lingering notion of bigamy that is never quite extinguished by the indisputable marriage to Jackie. To the public, Kennedy is still an unattached bachelor, indulging in a paternally-endorsed lifestyle that at 36 must be reigned-in for admired voter perception by a union his father deems entirely appropriate and overtly contrives as if also visually to eschew permanently any vestige of a previous spouse. Not only does Joseph utilize the ensuing desired ceremony as an elaborate campaign platform for his son but he also apparently even intervenes in the choice of his prospective daughter-in-law's wedding dress which, Jackie later laments, particularly given her more regular White House penchant for single-toned Oleg Cassini-inspired couture, "made me look like a lampshade".<sup>488</sup> Arrangement, built on

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<sup>485</sup> Op. cit. Hersh p.337; Bradlee: Retention apparently is "not to exceed twenty-four hours. It was specifically understood that I was not to xerox anything in the FBI files...", op. cit. p.115.

<sup>486</sup> Op. cit. Carr p.16.

<sup>487</sup> 'The Press. An American Genealogy', *Time*, September 28<sup>th</sup>, 1962, Vol. LXXX, no.13.

<sup>488</sup> Op. cit. 'The Kennedys: A Fatal Ambition'. Such sharp disjunction in taste is also consistent with Jackie's preference for Kennedy's funeral mass to be held at the 'simple rather than ornate' St Matthew's Cathedral, see Hogan op. cit. pp.88-9.

status rather than affection, recalls the narrator's comments in *Profiles in Courage* regarding Texas' Senator Houston who resigned as its governor because just after marrying he discovers that "his young and beautiful bride had been forced to accept his hand by an ambitious father, when in truth she loved another."<sup>489</sup> Jackie had recently been engaged;<sup>490</sup> paternal intervention<sup>491</sup> or example had so far shaped many of Kennedy's own female relationships.

While a society marriage in particular may have been intended to confer respectability upon his oldest living son, it does little to curb the promiscuous lifestyle Kennedy continues avidly to pursue. The promulgated appeals in particular to the female voter, as the handsome and therefore somehow virtuous option, and to the male voter as a man's man frequently seen to be playing football or occupying the helm of a vessel, disguise a prodigious sexual appetite about which the newspapers at the time remain self-interestedly and consensually quiet. Kennedy might be endorsed by many of them positively as a young man with new ideas but he is no new man, instead channelling an innocent masculine stereotype very differently from the honourable, idyllic images his family disseminate, and newspapers promulgate as an extra-perlocutionary performative act of masculinity.

One of the earliest deviations from the 'subsequent' marital narrative can be confirmed in the FBI's actual retention and 1998 Congress release<sup>492</sup> of some of the records relating to the 50 letters sent to prominent figures and newspapers, including Ralph McGill of *The Washington Star*. McGill pursues the story until apparently threatened by a Joseph Kennedy lawyer, much as JFK himself is accused of doing to the woman who distributes it at the time, by threatening her husband's employment. Each letter contains an incriminating photograph of Kennedy by the Catholic Florence Mary Kater, a landlady to the 'young and beautiful'<sup>493</sup> Pamela Turnure – appointed in retaliation subsequently by Kennedy as Jackie's Press Secretary – from whose

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<sup>489</sup> Op. cit. p.107.

<sup>490</sup> To John Husted Jr.

<sup>491</sup> For example, Kennedy being re-posted further to Joseph's intervention regarding suspected spy Inga Arvad upon whom the FBI had retained files following early surveillance of her.

<sup>492</sup> Mary Ferrell Foundation, 'Preserving the Legacy', <https://www.maryferrell.org/php/jfkdb.php?field=docfrom&value=KATER%2C+FLORENCE+MARY> (14/11/2018).

<sup>493</sup> Salinger's description, op. cit. p.311.

bedroom the married Senator is seen to be ‘tomcatting’.<sup>494</sup> The ‘spicy capers’ are perceived by Kater as an affront to her faith and therefore any Kennedy bid for public office: ‘Ninety percent of [one hundred people] would not vote for a philanderer to head up the First Family.’ Kater refuses to be silenced. Her own credibility, however, is eventually undermined by similarly FBI-retained production of a letter by her, published in the Ku-Klux-Klan-affiliated Nation States Rights’ Party magazine *Thunderbolt*.<sup>495</sup> Such association invalidates the integrity of her tangible four-year counterpointing of the Kennedy family-man narrative.

Shortly before Kennedy’s wedding to Jackie, Swedish socialite Gunilla Von Post consolidates her acquaintance with the Senator, continuing their liaison into the early years of his marriage. This is confirmed by a letter attributed to personal documentation illegally retained for private sale by Evelyn Lincoln, Kennedy’s personal secretary from 1953 until his assassination, intended for National Archives’ preservation that has subsequently found its validated way to public auction.<sup>496</sup> In a 1955 letter, Kennedy expresses his desire for a rendezvous in Sweden, to resume a relationship started the year before: “...after all these months....it is a long way to Gunilla – it is worth it. Jack.”<sup>497</sup> In the same auction, another letter by him dated the following year admits to “a wonderful time last summer [spent] with you...you are wonderful and I miss you. Jack.” A separate letter, meriting vaunted authentication by an auction house when it is ‘held to the light’ showing ‘the faded Presidential seal watermarks’<sup>498</sup> hails from the same source and features Bradlee’s sister-in-law, and

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<sup>494</sup>See Massachusetts auction item number 8013, ‘John F. Kennedy “Secret File” Senate Extortion Letter and Candid’,

[http://media.liveauctiongroup.net/i/28411/24803759\\_1.jpg?v=8D37F2C279A8AE0](http://media.liveauctiongroup.net/i/28411/24803759_1.jpg?v=8D37F2C279A8AE0) from, [www.icollector.com/John-F-Kennedy-Secret-File-Senate-Extortion-Letter-and-Candid\\_i24803759](http://www.icollector.com/John-F-Kennedy-Secret-File-Senate-Extortion-Letter-and-Candid_i24803759) (05/07/2017).

<sup>495</sup>FBI Files: ‘Early Accusations Of J.F.K Infidelity’,

<http://edition.cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/1998/05/14/kennedy/> (05/07/2017). For specific invocation of this proceeding positive epithet see, for example, ‘The Man in the White House: A Personal Assessment’, *The New York Times*, September 8<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/09/08/306233962.html?pageNumber=217> (21/10/2017).

<sup>496</sup> ‘National Archives Recovers Treasure Trove of Kennedy Materials’, March 5<sup>th</sup>, 2014, <https://www.archives.gov/press/press-releases/2005/nr05-80.html> (06/07/2017). See also ‘Kennedy’s children Assail Auction and Father’s Secretary’, *The New York Times*, March 17, 1988.

<sup>497</sup> ‘Kennedy, John Fitzgerald Group of Autograph Letters to Gunilla von Post’, Lot 286, Doyle Auctions, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2015, <https://doyle.com/auctions/15bp02-rare-books-autographs-photographs/catalogue/286-kennedy-john-fitzgerald-group-of> (06/07/2017).

<sup>498</sup> Amanda Jackson, ‘JFK’s love letter to his mistress is up for sale,’ June 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2016, CNN, <https://edition.cnn.com/2016/06/02/us/jfk-love-letter-auction-irpt/index.html> (01/05/2017).

Kennedy Georgetown neighbour, artist and socialite Mary Meyer. In this 1963 missive, apparently never received by its intended recipient, Kennedy invites her to:

“...come and see me....I know it is unwise, irrational, and that you may hate it...I will love it. You say that it is good for me not to get what I want. After all these years – you should give me a more loving answer than that. Why don’t you just say yes?”<sup>499</sup>

Not unlike her stoic mother-in-law, Jackie apparently keeps a dignified silence regarding these priapic indiscretions. However, intended for auction in 2014, one document retained by All Hallows College Dublin confirms a confessional outlet to her in the priestly shape of perhaps ironically the closest proper ‘Father’ figure she ever knows, Sligo-born Joseph Leonard, with whom she maintains an earnest, long-term friendship. Amongst the collection<sup>500</sup> of her private correspondence to him, tangible evidence is briefly procured to confirm her profound regrets at the true behaviour of her husband beneath the sparkling veneer of their marriage. Interestingly, the letter is recalled by the surviving members of the Kennedy family just before the auction commences although by this time its contents have already been circulated. In it Jackie cites invidious parallels with her own father:

“He’s like my father in a way - loves the chase and is bored with the conquest - and once married needs proof he’s still attractive, so flirts with other women and resents you. I saw how that nearly killed Mummy”.<sup>501</sup>

Insofar as more professional relationships are concerned, it could be argued that initial perceptions of Kennedy are shaped by the often more pejorative association with his father that suppresses ability by JFK to solicit appropriate company independently. Hersh asserts that President Franklin D. Roosevelt deliberately bypasses his UK ambassador upon receipt of reports confirming Joseph’s political indiscretions, war-isolationist penchant and thinly-disguised personal aspirations to replace the man intent upon securing a third term in office.<sup>502</sup> In the 1952 Senate race, regular weekend visitor to the Kennedy home at Hyannis Port, fellow Irish émigré and

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<sup>499</sup> Ibid.

<sup>500</sup> ‘New letters reveal more intimate side of Jackie Kennedy’, *The Boston Globe*, May 13<sup>th</sup>, 2014, [https://www.bostonglobe.com/news/nation/2014/05/13/newly-discovered-letters-with-irish-priest-reveal-more-intimate-side-jackie-kennedy/DBKztSL3er50p7z7KRAc5N/picture.html?p1=Article\\_Gallery](https://www.bostonglobe.com/news/nation/2014/05/13/newly-discovered-letters-with-irish-priest-reveal-more-intimate-side-jackie-kennedy/DBKztSL3er50p7z7KRAc5N/picture.html?p1=Article_Gallery) (01/05/2017).

<sup>501</sup> ‘Letters to priest provide rare insight into life of Jackie Kennedy’, *The Irish Times*, May 13<sup>th</sup>, 2014, <https://www.irishtimes.com/life-and-style/people/he-s-like-my-father-in-a-way-loves-the-chase-and-is-bored-with-the-conquest-1.1792148> (21/10/2017).

<sup>502</sup> Op. cit. Hersh p.73.

Catholic, Senator Joseph McCarthy, receives funding from Joseph in ardent support of his anti-Communist stand but only in purported agreement not to compete against Joseph's son for the Massachusetts' ticket. It may therefore explain Eleanor Roosevelt's reported "chiding", in Cabell Phillips' already-cited article, of Kennedy for "never having taken a forthright stand against 'McCarthyism'."<sup>503</sup> It is a restraint further compounded by the appointment of Kennedy's brother Robert to the infamous Investigations' committee McCarthy chairs, and may also provide the flimsy reason as to why Kennedy, lacking the 'courage' of his recently much-acclaimed book on the subject, remains absent from voting against the "Wisconsin witch hunter"<sup>504</sup> thanks to a convenient hospital appointment the same day. Even Dallek cannot defend this action: "The matter was more a moral issue than a legal or technical one, and it had not come out of the blue but after years of McCarthy's behavior [sic]."<sup>505</sup>

In a conspicuously dissenting 1961 article carried by *The New York Times*, negative perception of Kennedy is affiliated to an ideologically antithetical news' network against which the host paper distances itself by its adoption of surrounding inverted commas as if to imply mockery at the perlocutionary tirade that is nonetheless given extensive column inches. In 'Peiping "Exposes" Kennedy Cabinet' reference is made on behalf of the Chinese-Communist backed press to Kennedy's previous role as "an active supporter"<sup>506</sup> of McCarthy. The article cites the President's strong links with "groups of monopoly capital" while heading an equally dubious Cabinet comprising: a "big oil tycoon" and "slavery"-defending descendent Vice President; a Secretary of State "who pushed for a militarized Germany" as well as previously "unleashing the U.S war of aggression against Korea", and next a Treasury Secretary whose "plundering" hands in South Africa "are soiled in human blood". The language is excessive and confident. Yet while it may not provide any independent factual

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<sup>503</sup> Op. cit. Phillips. Sorensen more bluntly exclaims: 'that was wrong', op. cit. pp.47, 86. See also *Letters* op. cit. pp.681-2 for Mrs. Roosevelt's caustic perceptions regarding his Nomination spending.

<sup>504</sup> Ibid.

<sup>505</sup> Op. cit. Dallek p.191. Bryant, however, is more tolerant of the absence given its near-culmination in the last rites, although cannot exonerate Kennedy from failing to seek 'a colleague on the opposing side willing to forgo his vote', p.47.

<sup>506</sup> 'Peiping "Exposes" Kennedy Cabinet', *The New York Times*, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1961, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/01/21/97650402.html?pageNumber=13> (14/06/2017). 'Peiping' is used from 1928 to describe the Republic of China's capital. It was officially discarded in 1949, along with its status, by the new People's Republic of China government.

substantiation – nor indeed initiate openly a negative Kennedy trajectory – by allowing it to remain unchallenged the spectre of insidious connection is likewise undiminished.

While such a column could be easily dismissed by its readers, negative intimations as to the professional company with whom Kennedy chooses to surround himself seem separately resurrected by the JFK-Library's retention in particular of a 1967 oral history given to it by Ralph Dungan, Labor [sic] aide to Kennedy from the mid-1950s. In it Dungan bemoans the absence of mutual support from fellow White House colleague and Kennedy intimate, Ted Sorensen. Dungan describes him as possessing a 'sharpness of manner... brusqueness' and being 'just plain impolite.... in a working situation this became very difficult for everybody, I mean stenographers and the professionals and everybody.' Resulting from the actual source of the acrimony, Dungan continues, '...if it in any way impaired his relationship with the principal, Sorensen would pitch anybody over.'<sup>507</sup> At his earlier time of writing Schlesinger, while effusive as to Sorensen's 'written' telepathy with Kennedy, hints at similar singularity of character:

'I had known Ted for some years but never well; it was hard to know him well. Self-sufficient, taut and purposeful, he was a man of brilliant intellectual gifts, jealously devoted to the President and rather indifferent to personal relations beyond his own family.'<sup>508</sup>

Kennedy's 'New Frontiersmen' also attract negative perception, their educational elitism ring-fencing Kennedy from the scorn they apply to those outside that intellectual circle. According to Caro, Johnson is mocked by them for his strong Southern accent, and earns the nickname of 'Uncle Cornpone' – a derogatory reference to the coarser bread commonly accompanying that region's meals – who is married to a 'Little Pork Chop'.<sup>509</sup> In a 'Letters from Readers''<sup>510</sup> feature in *The Dallas Morning News*, the Texan community variously but unitedly identifies an unattractive gulf between intelligence and aptitude in Kennedy's close-team administration, one reader's correspondence describes as comprising:

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<sup>507</sup> Ralph A. Dungan, Oral History Interview, December 9<sup>th</sup>, 1967, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/sites/default/files/archives/JFKOH/Dungan,%20Ralph%20A/JFKOH-RAD-01/JFKOH-RAD-01-TR.pdf> (16/04/2017). See also Dallek (2013) reference to Sorensen's 'abrasive personality', op. cit. p.81 and especially his relationship with O'Donnell.

<sup>508</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.187.

<sup>509</sup> Op. cit. Caro, Volume 4, p.198.

<sup>510</sup> 'Back to Intelligence', *The Dallas Morning News*, May 14<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

“...men of great knowledge but of little wisdom, of high IQ but little real understanding. It is a misguided ship run by an intelligent but erratic captain who sees everything but the point.”

Continuing to exploit Kennedy’s educational background and Naval associations his New Frontiersmen:

“...crew with its convincing array of talent is winning nearly every skirmish; but unfortunately it will lose the war – America’s battle for a sound future based on real principles instead of the fantasies of a young man who learned all about life in books.”

While contentious given Kennedy’s apparent PT109 exploits, such perception is later compounded by the President’s removal of Chester Bowles, his first Under Secretary of State, for his vocal opposition to the Bay of Pigs’ invasion in which: “...the humiliating failure...shattered the myth of a New Frontier run by a breed of incisive, fault-free supermen.”<sup>511</sup>

More significance should also be afforded to the narrow margin of victory Kennedy actually achieves in the 1960 Presidential election,<sup>512</sup> insofar as it may provide an ancillary barometer as to the extent to which Kennedy himself is able to engender separate, personal popularity. In *Profiles in Courage* this seems obliquely to be admitted in the narrator’s assertion that:

“Americans want to be liked – and Senators are no exception...We enjoy the comradeship and approval of our friends and colleagues. We prefer praise to abuse, popularity to contempt.”<sup>513</sup>

Indeed, in *The Vantage Point*, Johnson cites ‘civilized but chilly relations between Eisenhower and Kennedy’,<sup>514</sup> a dutiful sobriety often informing his own regard towards the man he prematurely replaces. Nonetheless, it is an improvement upon his early opinion of JFK as a young Senator. According to Caro, Johnson – unaware at the time of Kennedy’s suppressed disclosure of his chronic back condition and Addison’s diagnosis - claims he ‘never said a word of importance in the Senate and he never did a thing’.<sup>515</sup> At Kennedy’s Inauguration, Louis Menand describes a scene in which

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<sup>511</sup> Op. cit. Parmet from Bowles’ memoirs, p.174.

<sup>512</sup> The results for the popular vote are 49.7% to Kennedy and 49.5% to Nixon.

<sup>513</sup> Op. cit. p.4.

<sup>514</sup> Op. cit. p.553.

<sup>515</sup> Robert Caro, *The Years of Lyndon Johnson, Volume 3: Master of the Senate*, Jonathan Cape, 2002, p.646.

Eleanor Roosevelt declines ‘to sit on the platform with the other grandees’,<sup>516</sup> while Johnson looks distractedly at a piece of discarded paper, his personal antipathy towards Robert – dismissively described in 1966 by him as ‘just a matter of chemistry’,<sup>517</sup> – picking up on a memorandum made out to the then Attorney General in 1964 stating that it would ‘be inadvisable for you to be the Democratic candidate for Vice-President in this year’s election.’<sup>518</sup>

This is more overt than any direct criticism Johnson levels at Robert’s older brother.<sup>519</sup> Indeed, the personality traits that elicit his scepticism may only be obliquely inferred by the comments he retrospectively makes upon the anticipated political effectiveness at the time of the newly-elected President of the Dominican Republic, Juan Bosch in 1962. Johnson describes the democratic successor to the assassinated Rafael Trujillo as:

‘...an intelligent, pleasant man with an attractive personality...full of ideals, but it was my impression that he had no solid plans for overcoming the profound problems this country faced. Nor did I think he had the experience, the imagination, or the strength needed to put whatever plans he might have into effect.’<sup>520</sup>

Unlike the commended Romulo Bettancourt of Venezuela whose election similarly follows the aftermath of another Latin American dictatorship, Johnson doubts successful emulation:

‘While his aspirations were admirable, his performance was weak. He could inspire men with his words, but actions rarely followed the rhetoric. He lacked

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<sup>516</sup> Op. cit. Menand, ‘Ask Not, Tell Not’.

<sup>517</sup> Op. cit Johnson p.539; Dallek op. cit. p.593. See also Dallek (2013) who claims Robert to feel family-slighted by Johnson’s rejection of Joseph’s offer to fund his campaign if he runs against Stevenson in 1960. Johnson’s rejection is apparently based upon perception of the advantage it would yield Kennedy later if Johnson lost, op. cit. p.47. See also Caro Vol. 3, p.647.

<sup>518</sup> Op. cit. Johnson p.576. Hogan describes them as ‘repelling opposites’, contrasting Robert’s diminutive stature with a man whose hands are ‘the size of bear paws’ whose frame ‘looms large’ and whose face was sometimes ‘so close [you] could have felt the spit from his mouth’, op. cit. p.72.

<sup>519</sup> Johnson professes having ‘achieved real friendship’, op. cit. p.99, with Kennedy although genuine warmth between them is difficult to identify. Salinger will only say that ‘Senator Kennedy was an admirer of LBJ’s’, op. cit. p.46. This is understood, however, purely in the context of political aptitude. Once in office, and indeed in a Caro chapter entitled ‘Genuine Warmth’ Kennedy’s instruction is for Johnson to be handled respectfully without being granted equal status, see Vol. 3 pp.176-80. Bradlee asserts ambiguity by JFK towards him: ‘Kennedy is funny about LBJ. He really likes his roguish qualities, respects him enormously as a political operator, a politician....But there are times...when LBJ’s simple presence seems to bug him. It’s not very noble to watch...’ op. cit. p.194. Hersh is predictably less equivocal, referring to Kennedy’s apparent consideration of a different running mate for the 1964 election, resulting in Evelyn Lincoln’s conviction of Johnson’s culpability in JFK’s assassination, pp.406-8.

<sup>520</sup> Op. cit. Johnson pp.188-9.



the capacity to unite under his leadership the various elements that wanted progress and constitutional government – elements of the non-Communist left and center [sic]. Nor was he able to control or satisfy the rights including powerful elements in the military, who looked on him in suspicion.’<sup>521</sup>

Bosch’s tenure is resultantly short, as Johnson predicts, the succeeding military junta returning instability to the region. Yet the parallels with Kennedy are difficult to ignore here and will be explored later in this chapter with specific reference to the proclivities of Kennedy’s rhetoric, and at the beginning of the next, with particular regard to the military advice contributing to the divisiveness exposed by the Warren Commission’s attempt to yield the official narrative to Kennedy’s assassination.

Warm or unconditional friendship rather than exploited or loyal acquaintance seems rarely intimated towards Kennedy. Indeed, despite his sustained effusiveness towards Kennedy, Schlesinger admits to being ‘not one of his intimates, if indeed he had real intimates outside his family.’<sup>522</sup> Kennedy is popular because he is rich and indulged: as Dallek asserts, ‘His strong family connections and frenetic womanizing gave him all the companionship he seemed to need.’<sup>523</sup> Indeed, Parmet declares that ‘The one female in his life who brought unmitigated joy was little Caroline; the others, obligations and anxieties along with a pleasurable sense of danger.’<sup>524</sup> Those women later prepared to disclose their intimate relations with Kennedy speak more of physical duty borne of awe at his status rather than the receipt of any genuine affection. One anonymous interviewee to Hersh states that:

‘...it was painful to have it called love....it was painful to be chosen and to have someone be interested in me for my class, my speech, my looks, my whatever – but my heart....Mythologizing this man did not help him and did not help us, because it allowed us not to take responsibility for our participation in the public life.’<sup>525</sup>

Although it is regrettable that such a source cannot be tangibly verified, it is nonetheless interesting that mythmaking here is similarly denuded of positive value by her rather than its more regular mis-attribution to indefinite, un-impugned celebration.

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<sup>521</sup> Ibid.

<sup>522</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.70.

<sup>523</sup> Op. cit. Dallek p.151.

<sup>524</sup> Op. cit. Parmet p.106. Judith Campbell later bemoans her utilization: “I was there to service him [and it] began to really trouble me”, p.120.

<sup>525</sup> Op. cit. p34.

The platonic company Kennedy does more openly choose to keep likewise inhibits convergence of his own personally disparate narrative. While his sister Patricia's marriage to Rat Pack member Peter Lawford may initially confer mutual respectability, accentuating his attractive masculinity to both sexes, it also belies its convenient access for him to a less edifying community<sup>526</sup> through whom Kennedy's power base is often bolstered and threatened. CNN cites a memo, again released through the National Archives, from the FBI, stating mobster Sam Giancana's CIA-financed facilitation through Frank Sinatra to help Kennedy's Presidential campaign in the overwhelmingly Protestant West Virginia primary in 1960.<sup>527</sup> Non-reciprocal protection, later accentuated by Robert's zealous crusade as Attorney General against Teamster corruption in particular, stokes predictable enmity between the administration JFK ultimately is to head and the compromised or ruthless elements within and outside it his father in particular unscrupulously enjoins to keep him there.

There is finally the obscured narrative of Kennedy's own health, which Parmet likens to 'trying to uncover aspects of vital nation-security operations.'<sup>528</sup> From early childhood Kennedy is frequently ill and regularly attends hospital for a variety of ailments. In a letter to his mother in January 1931, he declares that:

"I have hives, that is a sickness which everything begins to itch....the doctor is coming to see me because my face has grown red....My knees are very red with white lumps of skin but I guess I will pull through."<sup>529</sup>

Joseph Kennedy informs his son Joe that upon JFK's arrival at Palm Beach in 1934, his brother appears:

"...in terrible shape weighing about 125 pounds....His case is the subject of an article now being prepared by Dr William P. Murphy of the...hospital in Boston for discussion before the American Medical Association, because it is only one of the few recoveries of a condition bordering on leukaemia, and it

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<sup>526</sup> JFK Assassination System Identification Form, released August 29<sup>th</sup>, 2017, <https://www.archives.gov/files/research/jfk/releases/docid-32304320.pdf> (14/03/2018).

<sup>527</sup> Op. cit. FBI Files, May 14<sup>th</sup>, 1998. Hersh additionally cites the unexpected support of the Protestant churches by quoting Cardinal Cushing's later remarks to Hubert Humphrey: '...he and Jo[seph] Kennedy had agreed that West Virginia's anti-Catholicism could be countered by a series of cash contributions to Protestant churches, particularly in the black community...' and then Cushing directly: "'We decided which church and preacher would get two hundred dollars or one hundred dollars or five hundred dollars...'", op. cit. p.100. Bryant similarly affirms Kennedy's success here to thanks to 'Joe Kennedy's two-million-dollar war chest', p.121.

<sup>528</sup> Op. cit. Parmet p.120.

<sup>529</sup> Op. cit. Smith p.92.

was the general impression of the doctors that his chances were about five out of one hundred that he ever could have lived.”<sup>530</sup>

Caro twice recalls Johnson’s poor, specific opinion of his Democrat rival as “‘malaria-ridden and yellah; sickly, sickly.’”<sup>531</sup> Suspicion that an illness is being hidden with a view to shrinking Johnson’s own chances in the 1960 Democratic nomination, meets with savage rebuke from Robert, who is keen that any hint of physical weakness is immediately dispelled, given what Parmet confirms as its ‘potential for devastating political advantage.’<sup>532</sup> Kennedy issues a more direct denial to Schlesinger, admitting only to ‘a malfunctioning of the adrenal glands but that this had been brought under control.’ Apparently suffering none of Addison’s overt ‘black spots in the mouth’ or those ‘yellowed skin’ symptoms, Johnson repeatedly observes in him, Kennedy proclaims that “‘No one who has the real Addison’s disease should run for the Presidency....’”<sup>533</sup> The suspicion is nonetheless picked up in a *Dallas Morning News*’ article<sup>534</sup> in which the health credentials of both candidates are debated. However, this narrative is immediately countered, superimposed by production and dissemination of a false narrative to the press by Drs Janet Travell and Eugene Cohen. Travell is a member of the medical board that confirms in July 1960 Kennedy’s Addison’s diagnosis as: “‘a tuberculose destruction of the adrenal gland’”<sup>535</sup> - as denied earlier by Robert amidst growing convictions as to this hormone-deficiency condition, from the Johnson camp. Admission that Kennedy has the disease and should declare it before the possibility of Democratic nomination is actually evidenced in Joseph’s letter to his son Edward back in 1956<sup>536</sup> during the run-up to the Vice-Presidential campaign that year. In a letter to Kennedy five days later, Joseph expresses concern to his son that Presidential nominee Adlai Stevenson is going to reject JFK because “‘he is definitely worried about your health’”.<sup>537</sup> However, it is an issue that his father believes can be astutely deflected by the simple advice to decline the opportunity anyway on the

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<sup>530</sup> Ibid. p.134.

<sup>531</sup> Op. cit. Caro, Volume 3, p.646; in Volume 4 this is slightly de-Southernized into: “‘malaria-ridden and yellow, sickly, sickly’”, p.33. See also Sorensen op. cit. p.39.

<sup>532</sup> Op. cit. Parmet p.120.

<sup>533</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.16.

<sup>534</sup> ‘Kennedy Health Raised as Issue’, *The Dallas Morning News*, July 5<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>535</sup> ‘Johnson Backers Urge Health Test’, *The New York Times*, July 5<sup>th</sup>, 1960,

<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1960/07/05/99503749.html?pageNumber=19> (17/06/2017).

<sup>536</sup> Op. cit. Smith, letter of July 18<sup>th</sup>, 1956, p.676.

<sup>537</sup> Op. cit. Smith, letter of July 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1956, pp.676-7.

grounds of Kennedy's senatorial commitment to the "finest position" of Massachusetts: "in your own words this should get out [to the press] in order to have the proper effect for your candidacy two years from now..." Kennedy's eventual form of words, as seen, continues to resist published confirmation of this personal truth.

Concealment of physical shortcoming – which, post-Truman, even seems to include the public wearing of spectacles<sup>538</sup> - however, is not unique to Kennedy: Franklin D. Roosevelt achieves press-acquiescence in rarely being pictured in his wheelchair. Indeed, in those photographs he does permit, many deliberately feature him standing, hiding in open sight his dependence upon surrounding aides or members of his family for physical support;<sup>539</sup> Eisenhower's coronary is initially concealed as his proclivity towards indigestion; Woodrow Wilson's final stroke is withheld for months even from his own Cabinet; George H. W Bush's Graves' disease, a thyroid deficiency, is not openly disclosed until 1991. While Sorensen alludes to a 'Kennedy-Johnson agreement'<sup>540</sup> in the event of Presidential disability, Arthur Krock reiterates in a *Times*' obituary report on Kennedy the "serious loophole" that the US simply does not have a formal precedent for a disabled leader. Had Kennedy survived his injuries yet proven unable to carry out his duties, what authority would anyone, presumably Johnson, have to continue the business of Head of State?

"If the President declares his 'inability,' does the Vice President exercise the powers and duties as President or as acting President during the period of the inability, whether or not that endures for the remainder of the term to which the President was elected?"<sup>541</sup>

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<sup>538</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen: 'His eyes required glasses for heavy reading, worn rarely for published pictures and never in public appearances', p.41. See also Salinger: 'The President...was sitting behind his desk signing letters, his glasses perched precariously on his nose. He wore those glasses in the privacy of his office, but carefully tucked them into his pocket when appearing in public', op. cit. p.2. Johnson is the first US President to wear contact lenses.

<sup>539</sup> For example, FDR family picture: <http://qph.fs.quoracdn.net/main-qimg-5dbe1fc7e0b8458c6520e7d07e7e11bb-c> (17/06/2017); see also for its rarity, 'Never seen before footage of FDR walking', Youtube, May 16<sup>th</sup>, 2014, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z\\_dWDqbX\\_P8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z_dWDqbX_P8) (17/06/2017).

<sup>540</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.267.

<sup>541</sup> Arthur Krock, 'The Continuum: Kennedy's Death Points Up Orderly Progression in U.S. Government', *The New York Times*, November 24<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/11/24/issue.html> (18/06/2017). Nixon states similarly after Eisenhower's heart attack: "The Constitution does not make clear...who shall decide when a President is disabled, whether the Vice-President assumes the "powers and duties" of the presidency or the "office" itself", op. cit. p.139. This is redressed in a 1967 Constitutional amendment, see Dallek op. cit. p.704. Johnson would assume Kennedy's duties only upon 'legal justification' from the Attorney General further to Cabinet agreement – concrete insurance, given the AG occupant.

Kennedy's seemingly radiant appearance, however deceptive, uplifts his country, chiming with an exceptionalist mind-set insofar as it reinforces the primacy the nation both gives and has conferred back to it by its leading figurehead, something Salinger similarly identifies when he declares: 'the impression a President creates overseas invariably bounces back to the citizens of his own country.'<sup>542</sup> This attention to appearance would also conform, as Menand asserts, with Americans' pleasure to think of their President as someone special, a different breed from the rest of us'.<sup>543</sup> It perhaps explains Kennedy's wish for his hectic summer 1961 schedule to remain little changed despite severely aggravating his back condition during a tree-planting ceremony in Canada that would ordinarily have reduced him to prolonged dependency on crutches had it not been for his imminent overseas public encounters with both de Gaulle and Khrushchev. An unusual chink in the Kennedy armour in the form of an interval after an outdoor White House awards' ceremony, however, results in the President being spotted conceding temporarily to crutch utility that results in *The New York Times*' unexpected deluge of correspondence from concerned readers. Dutifully, however, it carries out Salinger's dismissing message as to its seriousness under the headline 'President's Physician describes his condition as a common one'<sup>544</sup> in which the disingenuousness of Dr Janet Travell's earlier report seems exposed by the journalist's over-zealous compliance. Not only is the reader informed that the shovel concerned is made of "silver" but also that the injury is incurred because of Kennedy's "over-vigorous" approach, detailed precisely as "six to ten shovels" as if to justify the inevitability of such incredible exertion. If this is insufficient to quell public anxiety, the journalist reminds the reader that a previous football injury – again as if selected to convey athletic predisposition – similarly did not affect Kennedy's later military performance, the reference to his service change to the Navy implying the President's ability to overcome any possible personal disappointment there as a result with yet more honourable conduct. Excessive page space is devoted to reader placation, complemented by distraction to an adjacent column entitled 'Supersonic Rays used on Kennedy' that should finally allay any lingering fears about the speed of the

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<sup>542</sup> Op. cit. Salinger p.131.

<sup>543</sup> Op. cit. Menand.

<sup>544</sup> Eugene Taylor, 'President's Physician Describes his Condition as a Common One', *The New York Times*, June 14<sup>th</sup>, 1961, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/06/14/97673994.html?pageNumber=39> (15/06/2017).

President's recovery as well as obliquely associating him in the same echelon as those representatives of his nation literally then being launched into the stratosphere.

Such personal assimilation of physical expectation may explain why subsequent Presidents are similarly eager to be perceived as physically robust: Bill Clinton in office is regularly televised taking runs<sup>545</sup> just as is his predecessor George H. W. Bush;<sup>546</sup> Barack Obama appears happy to oblige the cameras with his basketball skills.<sup>547</sup> In similar observation, Presidential Republican candidate Donald Trump in 2015 tweets his 'health, stamina and strength [as] one of my greatest assets. The world has watched me for many years can so testify – great genes!'<sup>548</sup> Less than an hour later his vaunted suitability for 2016 White House occupation continues with the claim that his full medical report will 'show perfection',<sup>549</sup> regardless of the strong intimations that he personally dictates to his GP the content of his own medical report. Dr Harold N. Bornstein concludes 'his' [my emphasis] letter with the confirmation that 'Mr. Trump is in excellent physical health'.<sup>550</sup> Such excessive, hyperbolic – 'exceptionalist' - language is reminiscent of Kennedy's own complicit doctors' report of June 1960 that continues, in its *New York Times*' publication, with:

“Your vitality, endurance and resistance to infection are above average. Your ability to handle an exhausting workload is unquestionably superior....Your superb physical condition under severe stress indicates that you are able to hold any office to which you may aspire.”<sup>551</sup>

The press' long-time predisposition towards citing Kennedy's "vigor" [sic] in particular,<sup>552</sup> appears to be kept safely intact by this un-impugned dissemination of

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<sup>545</sup> For example, 'Compilation Clip of President Clinton Jogging', Youtube, May 10<sup>th</sup>, 2012, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?time\\_continue=18&v=KE\\_VWIdRU2w](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=18&v=KE_VWIdRU2w) (17/06/2017).

<sup>546</sup> For example, Kevin Merida, 'Jogging with President George H.W. Bush', December 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2018, <https://theundefeated.com/features/jogging-with-president-george-h-w-bush/> (16/12/2018).

<sup>547</sup> For example, 'Obama Basketball Highlights: President Shoots Hoops at Easter Egg Roll', Youtube, April 1<sup>st</sup>, 2013, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?time\\_continue=11&v=aKEjiM7TxA8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=11&v=aKEjiM7TxA8) (18/06/2017).

<sup>548</sup> Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), 3 December, 2015, 7:19 a.m. Tweet. (20/06/2017).

<sup>549</sup> Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), 3 December, 2015, 8:08 a.m. Tweet. (20/06/2017).

See also reference to himself as: 'so great looking and smart, a true Stable Genius!' Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), 11 July 2019, 4:52 p.m. Tweet. (12/07/2019).

<sup>550</sup> 'Donald Trump wrote his own health letter, says physician Harold Bornstein', BBC News, May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2018, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-43970908> (11/07/2018). For the original letter see, for example, 'Donald Trump releases detailed medical records for world to see', *Business and Politics*, September 15<sup>th</sup>, 2016, <https://www.bizpacreview.com/2016/09/15/donald-trump-releases-detailed-medical-records-world-see-wont-believe-numbers-390849> (11/07/2018).

<sup>551</sup> Op. cit. 'Health Test', July 5<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>552</sup> A popular Kennedy adjective, exemplified in 'Republicans Hail Kennedy's Address', the Japanese Ambassador commends its reflection of "his youth and vigor", *The Dallas Morning News*, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1961; see also 'A Need For Vigor Cited By Kennedy', *The New York Times*, February 26<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

such professional opinion. However, rival Democrat candidate Stuart Symington is less convinced, wondering the following day whether such a defiant statement “is a medical report or a nominating speech?”<sup>553</sup>

Candidates for and occupants of the Presidency must therefore at all costs be seen to be invulnerable: Eisenhower delays his hospital discharge until he is able to walk rather than be carried out of it; when Reagan is shot, the 70-year old is quickly lauded for his incredible four-week recovery which enables him physically to stand once again before Congress, to propose tax cuts.<sup>554</sup> This may therefore also explain why there is embarrassment – Nixon’s pallid 1960 TV debate appearance - and exploitation – or Kennedy’s knowledge of campaign rival Johnson’s 1959 heart attack<sup>555</sup> - when they fall short: something literally achieved by Jimmy Carter when he succumbs while jogging to heatstroke,<sup>556</sup> the acute public discomfiture at Reagan’s exposed, increasing dementia; the simple but persistent cold Hillary Clinton could not immediately shift during the 2016 campaign. The fallibilities of the human condition seem simply incompatible with ‘Presidentiality’ and in Kennedy’s case, if exposed, could also have cast an unwanted shadow over another ‘Positive’ quality hitherto fêted by my primary newspapers in particular: his actual war heroism.

Firstly, for a father so keen to engage the press in unequivocally positive projection of his son, Joseph seems unusually reticent regarding JFK’s receipt of the Purple Heart award, the first President to bring such a title into office. According to Mark White, Joseph Kennedy pushes for the ‘more prestigious Congressional Medal of Honor’[sic].<sup>557</sup> This award for Gallantry powerfully implies untinged heroism at no cost to oneself, replacing in a contemporary reader’s mind the possibly more sympathetic association of the recently-introduced Purple Heart being awarded for

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Hersh separately asserts Sorensen to generate the medical statement that is dictated to the press and that Dr Janet Travell also documents evidence of the President’s ongoing venereal disease afflictions, op. cit. pp.231-3.

<sup>553</sup> ‘Candidates Fight Battle of Bounce’, *The Dallas Morning News*, July 6<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>554</sup> ‘Economic Recovery: President Reagan’s Address to Congress on the Economic Recovery Program’ April 28<sup>th</sup>, 1981, Reagan Foundation,

<https://www.bing.com/videos/search?q=youtube+economic+recovery+programme+reagan+28th+april+1981&view=detail&mid=4319DD97A5B07E9EE95D4319DD97A5B07E9EE95D&FORM=VIRE>  
(12/05/16).

<sup>555</sup> Op cit. ‘Health Test’.

<sup>556</sup> ‘Jimmy Carter’, *Time*, Week of October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1979,

[http://content.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,2025424\\_2025864\\_2025986,00.html](http://content.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,2025424_2025864_2025986,00.html)  
(20/07/2017).

<sup>557</sup> Op. cit. M. White, p.9.

injuries incurred rather than injuries actively inflicted upon others. War wounds suggest a different type of bravery, that of victimhood, betraying physical vulnerability and permanent scarring: a rather different badge of honour to obscure from that conveyed by outward active heroism against the enemy. Uncannily, subsequent prominent political holders of this award have all been associated with unsuccessful Presidential candidacy: Robert Dole twice in World War II after sustained German gunfire attack in the Apennines; John Kerry, thrice in Vietnam; and John McCain who was shot down over Hanoi, his conspicuous injuries overtly questioned by President Trump as a justification of heroism.<sup>558</sup>

The Purple Heart is also awarded to Kennedy around the time that he is being treated not only for his own war wounds but also for pre-existing health conditions. Amongst these is previous aggravation to his back, exacerbated by Addison's-indicative signs of adrenal failure that had been diagnosed as early as 1940,<sup>559</sup> and from which hospital bed ironically, he is reported to have dictated his first-person narrative of PT-109 events to John Hersey.

Secondly, there is the question as to whether celebration of Kennedy's military prowess is actually merited. In his 'Remarks to the Graduating Class of US Naval Academy' there is an admission as to "my rather rapid rise"<sup>560</sup> within Naval ranks which disguise the fact that subsequent to Kennedy's failure of the Army medical<sup>561</sup> is indeed his rather swift transition to Navy service. It is an objection nonchalantly denied by his character at the beginning of the PT 109 film, concealing Joseph Kennedy's personal approach to Captain Alan Kirk, London Naval Attaché during his own time there as UK Ambassador. In a conversation in 1960 with George Weh, Chinese (Taiwanese) ambassador to the US, General Douglas MacArthur apparently rejects Yeh's invocation of the new President's 'great record' here, retorting:

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<sup>558</sup> 'John McCain: Five times he clashed with Trump ("McCain not a war hero")', BBC News, August 26<sup>th</sup>, 2018, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-45313845> (11/07/2018).

<sup>559</sup> Dr Lee Mandel, 'Endocrine and autoimmune aspects of the health history of John F. Kennedy', *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 2009, 151, pp. 350-4. <http://annals.org/cgi/content/full/151/5/350> (18/09/18). See also Kennedy's own confirmation in his letter to his parents on May 15<sup>th</sup>, 1943, in which his "back has really acted amazingly well – and gives me scarcely no trouble and in general feel pretty good", op. cit. Smith, p.554.

<sup>560</sup> Op. cit. 'Remarks to the Graduating Class of the US Naval Academy', June 7<sup>th</sup>, 1961, p.123.

<sup>561</sup> Op. cit. Smith, Joseph Kennedy diary entry of December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1940, p.496. Ironically, this does not stop exploitation as a draft-dodging ploy, of Democrat rival Hubert Humphrey's own state of health, during the 1960 campaign in West Virginia. Kennedy later apologizes for what is actually attributed to Franklin Roosevelt Junior's over-zealous campaigning here, see for example Bradlee op. cit. p.26.



‘[Kennedy] should have been court-martialed [sic]. Those PT boats carried only one torpedo. They were under order to fire it and then get out. They were defenseless [sic] and shouldn’t be anywhere in the vicinity of a Japanese vessel after they had fired their torpedo. Kennedy, however, hung around and waited. He should have been court-martialed [sic] for letting his PT boat get run over by the Japanese destroyer.’<sup>562</sup>

According to John H. Davis, Barney Ross, PT 109’s third-in-command, admits to crew embarrassment that out of the 15 vessels patrolling this part of the South Pacific, his skipper’s boat is the only one to be hit. Two lives are also lost: ‘Our reaction to the 109 thing had always been that we were kind of ashamed at our performance....I had always thought it was a disaster...’<sup>563</sup> Dallek, however, exonerates Kennedy by citing the general unsuitability of the vessel including its lack of radar<sup>564</sup> when entering the Blackett Strait. He remains quiet however, regarding Kennedy’s purported lack of direction issued towards the appropriate stationing within the vessel of his crew, despite earlier referencing fellow PT commander Thomas G. Warfield’s assertion that discipline on those boats was often poor. Davis duly elaborates:

‘The second in command, Lennie Thom, was lying on deck. Crewman Harris was asleep. Crewman Kirksey was lying down on the starboard side. Maguire, the radioman, instead of being charthouse monitoring the radio, was in the cockpit talking with Kennedy. There definitely seemed to be a lookout deficiency.’<sup>565</sup>

Kennedy himself later wryly admits that he accrues much of his heroic reputation through the paradox of lucky misfortune: “It was involuntary. They sank my boat.”<sup>566</sup>

Kennedy therefore wholly commits to his own family myth, physically deselecting or requesting others on his behalf to remove its non-conforming sentences in order to enhance the tautness of the script his father both helps to draft and continues

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<sup>562</sup> Drew Pearson, ‘Washington Merry-Go-Round: The Drew Pearson Diaries, 1960-1969’, Potomac Books, 2015, p.29, <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=9g5mCgAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=drew+pearson+diary&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiyn9LK0dvfAhX8QxUIHY3NAMMQ6AEILzAB#v=snippet&q=court-martialed&f=false> (15/07/2018). It is unclear whether such invective is also a response to JFK’s personal dislike of the General given Dallek’s claim that he is ‘no hero to him’ further to his wartime failure to provide back-up to the Marines at Guadalcanal, op. cit. p.92 and Dallek (2013) p.68. Parmet, however, describes a cordial Bay of Pigs’ joint post-analysis, op. cit. p.178. Bryant alludes to MacArthur’s appointment by Kennedy as a Birmingham emissary further to the Alabama city’s recent Baptist Church murders, op. cit. p.443.

<sup>563</sup> Op. cit. Davis p.117. See also Maier who refers to ‘the inept circumstances of the accident’, op. cit. p.166.

<sup>564</sup> Op. cit. Dallek p.96.

<sup>565</sup> Op. cit. Davis p.118.

<sup>566</sup> Op. cit. ‘John F. Kennedy and PT 109’ section, JFK-Library, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/learn/about-jfk/jfk-in-history/john-f-kennedy-and-pt-109> (22/07/2018).

to revise for him. However, in December 1961, Joseph suffers a stroke, damaging the imposed patriarchal text. This event shifts greater dependency onto Robert to help quell any slow rekindling of the dissenting embers home and international events independently contain<sup>567</sup> to affect more openly the ongoing direction of desired trajectory. In September 1963, *The New York Times* is quick to extinguish the “massive, prejudiced tome”<sup>568</sup> entitled *JFK: The Man and the Myth* by Victor Lasky, that casts a less iconic light over Kennedy and his administration. Wicker decries in his own paraphrase the contention that Kennedy is:

“...a weightless charmer, who has spent a political life-time trimming to every wind, buying his way on a determined father’s money, caring nothing either for principle or for those that stood in his way.”

It is nonetheless a rare and public disclosure for the time of an unsuppressed voice for which on this occasion the newspaper takes it upon itself to dismiss.

With Kennedy’s assassination, it is Jackie who immediately assumes the role of trying to enshrine his narrative in which she too has played such an intrinsic part in sustaining. Enhanced possibly by family-friend Mary Van Rensselaer who is selected to compile Jackie’s own first biography’s safe imparting, the story Jackie wants disseminated of her husband is recorded in a similarly loyal and predictably sombre fashion. The challenge is accepted by Theodore White in *Life* magazine just a week after the event,<sup>569</sup> his conspicuous double-signed disclaimer at the front of the original handwritten manuscript suggesting both her immediate presence in its dictation to him and his acceptance of full responsibility for its faithful outcome.<sup>570</sup> In a typed transcript generated by White the following month covering the interview itself, he states

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<sup>567</sup> For example, surprisingly from the hitherto Kennedy-complicit Arthur Krock, see: ‘In The Nation: The Intra-Administration War in Vietnam’, *The New York Times*, October 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/10/03/89964759.html?pageNumber=34> (23/08/2018). Krock criticizes the CIA and its indirect smothering of reporter integrity here.

<sup>568</sup> Tom Wicker, ‘The Man in The White House: A Personal Assessment’, *The New York Times*, September 8<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/09/08/306233962.html?pageNumber=217> (15/08/2018).

<sup>569</sup> Theodore White, ‘For President Kennedy: An Epilogue’, *Life* magazine, December 6<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timedotcom.files.wordpress.com/2016/12/jfk-epilogue.jpg> (22/06/2017). This is the same ‘Ted White’ whose *The Making of The President 1960* ‘had benefited enormously from his friendship with Kennedy and from Kennedy’s preoccupation with historians’, Bradlee op. cit. p.132.

<sup>570</sup> ‘White’s handwritten notes of 29 November 1963 interview with Jacqueline Kennedy’, JFK-Library, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/THWPP/059/THWPP-059-011> (18/07/2017). See also James Piereson, ‘when White phoned his editors to dictate his text (with Mrs. Kennedy standing nearby’, *Camelot and the Cultural Revolution: How the Assassination of John. F. Kennedy Shattered American Liberalism*, Encounter Books, New York and London, 2013, p.188.

Jackie's concern that many more journalists might wish to write a more extended version of her husband's story – or 'his-tory': "...all those people were going to write about him as history; and that was not the way she wanted him remembered."<sup>571</sup> It is consistent with Kennedy's anxiety that any biography written about him before he has opportunity to provide his own version, is accurate, Crown asserting the President's private 'caustic'<sup>572</sup> reaction to Lasky's "no-holds-barred"<sup>573</sup> manifestation in particular and disappointment at the positive attention it is afforded, including a contingent from the same newspaper as his Tom Wicker defender.

Therefore, in order to stifle the distinct possibility of continued, independent illocutionary retellings of JFK's story – prefigured by the visiting Schlesinger's loaded remark that his hostess, Mrs Kennedy, 'underneath a veil of lovely inconsequence...concealed tremendous awareness, an all-seeing eye and a ruthless judgment'<sup>574</sup> - Jackie, together with Robert, eventually commissions William Manchester to provide what she hopes to be the definitive version. Intriguingly, Theodore White purportedly rejects her much-considered original invitation. The first draft as to what becomes *The Death of a President* remains access-limited, the resulting text still apparently at deviance with her precise wishes for it, thus already hinting at the challenges in generating 'the' definitive narrative. While Manchester apparently accedes to insisted redactions and excisions by both,<sup>575</sup> Hogan cites the author's further battle with the family- and peer-attentive editor, Evan Thomas, of Kennedy-selected, generally Democratic Party 'go-to' publishing company Harper & Row: 'Manchester was accustomed to working with editors who championed the author's cause rather than amplifying the personal and political critiques of interested

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<sup>571</sup> Op. cit. JFK Library, December 19<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>572</sup> Op. cit. Crown p.46. Sorensen: 'JFK dismissed both book and author as more pitifully ridiculous than dangerous', op. cit. p.25. Crown further asserts Kennedy's anxiety to extend to 'household servants' who are to be banned from recording their own White House experiences, his administration's co-workers similarly 'to await his spoken guidelines on how much they should record or publish', p.49; Schlesinger, upon private permission to proceed with a memoir of him, states: 'President Kennedy said he did not want his staff recording the daily discussions of the White House. Remarks tossed off gaily or irritably in conversation...looked very different in print', op. cit. p.viii. Bradlee's declares own memories, recorded 'with President Kennedy's knowledge...would not be published without his permission for at least five years after he left the White House', op. cit. p.11.

<sup>573</sup> 'Best Seller', *The Dallas Morning News*, October 8<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>574</sup> Ibid. Schlesinger op. cit. p.15. See also Bradlee: 'I was convinced [Kennedy] knew I was keeping some kind of record, and obviously did not object. I was not so sure about Jackie, who is much more nervous and easily distraught by this kind of thing', op. cit. p.152.

<sup>575</sup> Crown asserts Manchester being 'induced to delete passages amounting to reportedly more than a thousand words', op. cit. p.144. Hogan reports this to include the Kennedy nanny breaking news to the children of their father's death, op. cit. p.106.

third parties.<sup>576</sup> The ensuing legal battle further to Manchester's plans to serialize the book in *Look* magazine, its own editor plagued by Jackie's continuing request for revisions, results in recall and public embargo by the family of the ten hours of recorded interviews Jackie provides for the project - until 2067: a century after the book's original publication. However, such a strategy is surely myopic, merely encouraging the gap it leaves to be filled with the distortion of history she fears, the version with which she is dissatisfied achieving unwanted primacy in the process.

Jackie's preoccupation with dissemination of one story also reflects her own critical misreading of it. In the immediate aftermath of the assassination, she stoically seems – consistent with Kennedy public behaviour – to resume its control, wearing her husband's bloodstains almost as a badge to confirm his sacrifice.<sup>577</sup> Yet unless swiftly removed blood forms an indelible mark, destroying the image of perfection hitherto so strenuously projected and that a quick tissue wipe latterly administered can never restore.<sup>578</sup> The scene is also filmed by an amateur cameraman, Dallas dressmaker Abraham Zapruder, rather than major television networks. Against usual security protocol, maximum visibility of this television 'first couple' – complete with bench-seat that also helps to rigidify Kennedy's back-braced posture, and reduced motorcycle outriders - has been deliberately requested by them. It is at this point that the Kennedys' threading of their own narrative unravels: being driven into a humbler, grainier form of film frame that traps permanently Kennedy's life within a further, hostilely narrative square - 'plaza' in translation - eponymously inherited by *The Dallas Morning News*' publisher's son,<sup>579</sup> ensures that it will never fit the closing of the story Jackie intended for its commemoration. Being gunned down 'by a silly little Communist'<sup>580</sup> wholly diminishes the lofty platform – or glitzier set – upon which the First Lady hoped the 35<sup>th</sup> President would indefinitely reside. For Jackie, as Mark White asserts:

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<sup>576</sup> Ibid. p.107. For example, *Robert Kennedy: His Life* by Evan Thomas.

<sup>577</sup> Piereson recites her words to Mrs. Connally as: "I want them to see what they have done," op. cit. p.89. It is supported by Bradlee's own reference to 'her bloody clothes' that represented 'some kind of dreadful badge of the disaster she had been through, and no one could persuade to remove them', op. cit. p.243.

<sup>578</sup> In Theodore White's typed transcript Jackie states that "...I saw myself in the mirror; my whole face splattered with blood and hair...I wiped it off with off...with Kleenex', op. cit. <https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/THWPP/059/THWPP-059-013> (16/05/2015).

<sup>579</sup> Dealey Plaza. See Chapter Four in thesis on the newspaper's far-right rhetoric.

<sup>580</sup> Op. cit. M. White p.86.

‘It would have been better for Kennedy’s reputation if he could have been seen to have fought and died for the noble cause of racial equality in America; the right sort of assassin would have helped with that. A neat comparison with the death of Abraham Lincoln, she implied, would have added lustre to Kennedy’s image.’<sup>581</sup>

When Jackie later declares that “...there’ll never be another Camelot again”<sup>582</sup> she betrays misappropriation of the story in which she wishes to have the memory of her late husband placed for the nation to cherish. Camelot, like myth, for – and of – the Kennedy administration in immediate retrospect is depicted as something noble, wise, progressive and positively enduring but the Arthurian legend is actually flecked with tragedy: Guinevere has an affair; Arthur is killed. There is actually darkness at its “shining”<sup>583</sup> heart as it ends in sadness and defeat. Jackie nonetheless persists in re-appropriating Camelot on her own selective terms, adversely re-describing the myth in the process: in 1968 she marries ageing Greek shipping magnate Aristotle Onassis, previously indicted in the US for fraud, thus bringing the unreality of their modern-day Camelot absorption to a similarly “brief”<sup>584</sup> end. The metaphor itself meanwhile generates its own post-hoc narrative, sustained by Jackie’s ancillary style of memorializing her husband’s Presidency, to be explored in this thesis’ final chapter.

The family dynasty meanwhile continues to endure, but now far more publicly, its constituent affliction and bereavement: Robert is captured on film being shot in the ignominious surrounds of Miami’s Ambassador Hotel’s kitchen by a Palestinian extremist as he returns from its front-of-house televised Presidential campaign stage; as passenger, Mary Jo Kopechne dies when Edward fails to control his vehicle on a single-lane bridge at Chappaquiddick. As a result of reckless driving Ted’s nephew Joseph paralyzes his brother David’s girlfriend in a Jeep accident; David himself dies eleven years later from an illegal drug overdose. Their brother Michael is later killed in a skiing accident, reminiscent of his Uncle John, while “pressing conventional limits”<sup>585</sup> playing football on the slopes. William Kennedy Smith, Ted’s nephew, is very publicly televised being escorted into a Florida court on rape charges. Grimly

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<sup>581</sup> Ibid.

<sup>582</sup> Op. cit. Theodore White, December 6<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>583</sup> Ibid. Note Bryant’s ambivalent ‘Black Camelot’ chapter title to describe the new administration.

<sup>584</sup> Op. cit. T. White, December 6<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>585</sup> Michael Janofsky, ‘Favorite [sic] Game for Kennedys Took Deadly Turn on Slopes’, *The New York Times*, January 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1998, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1998/01/02/891568.html> (25/05/2018).

reminiscent of Aunt ‘Kick’'s fate 51 years before him, Kennedy's son John, an inexperienced pilot but convinced nonetheless of his own invincibility, ignores dangerously adverse flying conditions – a conviction his father appeared to share given Sorensen's gratitude during Kennedy's 1950s' campaigning that:

‘...no large commercial airline could be induced to risk flying its planes in storms by the most persuasive United States Senator. The pilots of private planes, on the other hand, were often more willing to be daring...’<sup>586</sup>

Ultimately, the family totally underestimates the power of their often-uncanny narrative to remain within the confines of their retelling: its premise can be as weak – or ‘brief’ to retain the Camelot parlance - as it is fortifying. It can be replaced as peremptorily as the narrative of leadership, service and family cultivated by Kennedy's Presidential furniture of office. Immediately upon his death: ‘All of JFK's personal possessions had been taken away during the night – the rocking chair, the ship models, the marine paintings, the portraits of Caroline and John.’<sup>587</sup>

It must therefore be questioned whether Myth as a competing narrative in trajectory pre-determination can ever be sustained as that new reality even if Jackie was able to have aligned it better with the perfect, positive Camelot metaphor she believes the Kennedys to inhabit and bequeath. Even the printed word, what is written, can be susceptible to at least a re-reading insofar as the recipient may inadvertently infer a slightly different message from that imparted. *The New York Times* in particular is reluctant to tarnish its own, often perlocutionary, hero yet cannot always entirely suppress a narrative sub-text its various and complicit attempts at Icon cultivation often betray. The remainder of this chapter therefore assesses the disparities in the hitherto ‘Positive’-determining qualities Kennedy openly discloses to the newspapers to demonstrate their contribution, initially as random embers, towards smouldering that angle of Iconic trajectory.

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<sup>586</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.100.

<sup>587</sup> Op. cit. Salinger p.331. Indeed, the ‘curse’ appears to continue with the premature death of Robert's troubled granddaughter Saoirse in 2019. In April 2020 Maeve McKean and her son Gideon, his granddaughter and great-grandson, drown after their small boat capsizes in strong currents while self-isolating during the coronavirus pandemic.

## Immaturity

Recommencing with ‘Youth’, Cabell Phillips further argues that it must be tempered with maturity – “that vague hallmark of virtue”<sup>588</sup> – if political success is to result. It is his concern that as yet this attribute is:

“...not today conspicuous among Kennedy’s gifts....he has never had to hold down a job....his entire professional life...marks him as deficient in the sort of rounded experience with which maturity is equated.”

The euphemistic “not conspicuous” reaches swift perlocutionary denouement in the overtly castigating adjective of “deficient”, Phillips’ reference to Kennedy’s “attraction and charisma” evaporating upon his concluding ‘sequel’ doubts. This concern as to the flipside of Kennedy’s ‘Youth’ has already been identified by his father Joseph, possibly as a product of his indulged upbringing, in a letter to the Assistant Headmaster at Kennedy’s Connecticut school, Choate:

“...he still lacks the proper attitude toward the consideration of his problems...he is quite kiddish about his activities...I still feel that what he needs to be trained in most is the ability to get a job done.”<sup>589</sup>

Twenty years later the absence of a ‘proper attitude’ still persists, becoming a genuine worry for him. In a letter to Edward,<sup>590</sup> Joseph laments Kennedy’s ‘general attitude towards life’, mocking his son’s pretensions towards achievement of the Vice Presidency if he cannot even arrange for himself the appropriate attire for a gala evening out: ‘...he is back on crutches after having tried to open a screen in his hotel room, but if he hasn’t anymore brains than to try that, maybe he should stay on crutches.’ Such behaviour seems unwittingly corroborated by *The New York Times*’ complete reticence – backfiring if intended to highlight partisanship – in opposing its coverage of Republican Senator Hugh Scott’s elaboration of Kennedy’s record of inactivity during his own years as a Senator. The thrice-invoked “playboy”<sup>591</sup> credentials for the highest public office are interrogated through production of “a long printed sheet” documenting “six yards of absence” in the voting chamber. Excluding the “thirty-six” occasions attributable to ill health, Kennedy only exercises his

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<sup>588</sup> Op. cit. Cabell Phillips.

<sup>589</sup> Op. cit. Smith, letter of January 5<sup>th</sup>, 1935, p.148.

<sup>590</sup> Ibid. letter of September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1955, pp.670-1.

<sup>591</sup> ‘Kennedy Assailed by “Truth Squad”’: Republicans Assert Senator Is Too Often Absent – Term Him a “Playboy”’, *The New York Times*, October 4<sup>th</sup>, 1960, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1960/10/04/99958075.html?pageNumber=36> (28/01/2018).

senatorial prerogative for just over half the votes it is possible for him to have cast – since 1953, an objection which ‘work horse’<sup>592</sup> Lyndon Johnson frustratingly confirms and that seems to persist until at least 1957. Significantly, just like Phillips over two years beforehand, the article concludes on a perlocutionary negative of “naïveté and inexperience.” Resigning as a delegate to the convention, Harry Truman shares similar misgivings, describing the aspirant for the Democratic nomination in 1960 as “young and inexperienced” and even a little devious in trying to overcome such perceptions by ‘rigging’ the vote with his father’s money.<sup>593</sup>

Despite managing paternal concerns regarding the compatibility of such indolence with suitability for Presidential office, intimations as to its easy transition to political immaturity nonetheless prevail. Indeed, as stated in Chapter Two, Nixon regards his experience to be his major asset over the young Senator, an observation picked up in the September 1960 televised debate by intervening ABC reporter Bob Fleming who invites Kennedy to respond to Nixon’s previous allegation that ‘you are naïve and at times immature.’<sup>594</sup> It resumes in more locutionary fashion in a *New York Times*’ article a month later in which Leo Egan reports Nixon’s nationwide exclamation that his Presidential opponent “would be a well-intentioned, but naïve President.”<sup>595</sup> He, on the other hand, represents “the man best qualified by experience, training and judgement to head the nation...” While the journalist interjects ambivalent references to Nixon’s “folksy approach” as well as restraint, intimating contrivance and dullness respectively, perlocutionary concern as to the wisdom in electing inexperience is nonetheless emitted in the repetition of behavioural contrasting. It is initiated by shared assessment of the respect to be conferred upon an audience more engaged by reciprocal party name-baiting than foreign policy issues. It is brought to uncontested conclusion in Nixon’s own closing words to his address. The impression of Kennedy’s childishness is sustained throughout: Nixon is “[un]demonstrative”, he

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<sup>592</sup> Epithet applied by Senators to distinguish degrees of application within that chamber, see Caro Volume 4, p.33.

<sup>593</sup> Op. cit. *The Dallas Morning News*, July 5<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

<sup>594</sup> ‘Senator John F. Kennedy and Vice President Richard M. Nixon First Joint Radio-Television Broadcast’, September 26, 1960, JFK-Library, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-speeches/1st-nixon-kennedy-debate-19600926> (28/01/2018).

<sup>595</sup> Leo Egan, ‘Nixon Presses Hard on the Need for Experience In Standing up to the Menace of Communism’, *The New York Times*, October 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1960, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1960/10/23/99888110.html?pageNumber=203> (29/01/2018).



sensibly desists in making “direct attacks on Democrats” when campaigning in Democrat-held states, “in direct contrast with Senator Kennedy’s practice of assailing the Republican party at almost every opportunity.”

### **Egotism**

Such perlocutionary ‘warning’ elicitation upon the reader rekindles a concomitant quality inherent in the attractive confidence that nonetheless yields Kennedy Presidential office: ego. Invading a country variously described as ‘more a thorn in the flesh than a dagger in the heart’<sup>596</sup> or “‘bone” in the American throat’ has to be more proportionately considered after Kennedy’s Bay of Pigs’ humiliation. CIA officer Samuel Halpern cites Comandante Fidel’s removal as a personal obsession, a “‘family vendetta”<sup>597</sup> because “‘the family name was besmirched by [it]. Cuba stained the Kennedy escutcheon.” Parmet is rather more euphemistic over Cuba’s exploitation, stating that ‘The extravagant emphasis on vigor, [sic] toughness, on “getting this country moving again” had begun to substitute for rational analyses.’<sup>598</sup> Only Schlesinger seems prepared to offer some defence for Kennedy’s behaviour, on the speculative grounds of personal conscience:

‘...the overthrow of Castro would greatly strengthen Democratic prospects in the hemisphere; if he called it off, he would forever be haunted by the feeling that his scruples had preserved Castro in power.’<sup>599</sup>

Described by Sabato as ‘cartoonish’<sup>600</sup> the subsequent but unsuccessful Operation Mongoose and follow-up CIA raids seem not to satiate the quest, ‘his own deep feeling against Castro (unusual for him)’<sup>601</sup> even mystifying Sorensen. Indeed, Dallek points out that Kennedy’s Presidency ‘generated more documents and files on Cuba than on the USSR and Vietnam combined.’<sup>602</sup>

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<sup>596</sup> Op. cit. Dallek p.362; incidentally paraphrasing Senator Fulbright who Schlesinger records as saying, “‘The Castro regime is a thorn in the flesh; but it is not a dagger in the heart”’, op. cit. p.228; and Parmet op. cit. p.158.

<sup>597</sup> Op. cit. Hersh p.269.

<sup>598</sup> Op. cit. Parmet p.158.

<sup>599</sup> Op. cit Schlesinger p.233.

<sup>600</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.167.

<sup>601</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.306.

<sup>602</sup> Op. cit. Dallek p.340. Curiously, Castro bears Kennedy little personal animosity despite the instigation of sanctions and more imaginative assassination attempts that coincided with Kennedy’s Presidency. Indeed, in *My Life* Castro exonerates JFK from any personal blame. Kennedy – ‘a guy with a great deal of talent’ (p.295) - merely ‘inherited’ (p.269, p.295) what led to the ‘mercenary’ (p.265) Bay of Pigs’ invasion and is even commended by Castro for his ‘reasonable’ (p.289) actions concluding the Cuban Missile Crisis. His only criticism concerns Kennedy’s ‘irresponsible and unjustified

Presidential blushes seem subsumed into deflected attention towards the development of the Space programme, an area in which Kennedy hitherto has expressed little specific interest. Johnson, in *The Vantage Point*, is politically coy in denial about its timing:

‘I am aware of the allegation that President Kennedy tried to divert attention from that embarrassment by focusing public interest on space and announcing a moon objective. I will simply say that he never gave the least indication in any of our discussions that he thought there was any relationship. The discussions he and I had about space began long before the abortive Bay of Pigs episode, although the decision was reached soon after.’<sup>603</sup>

However, this statement is at odds with his proclamation shortly beforehand that:

‘Every President brings to the office his own special concerns, which are the result of his interests and experiences. Space was not one of President Kennedy’s primary concerns...’<sup>604</sup>

A first Moon landing, however, provides a tantalizing opportunity – one of the great human adventures of modern history<sup>605</sup>- to re-assert face-saving, exceptionalist-reinforcing pre-eminence Johnson considers appropriate for his country. It is particularly pertinent given Cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin’s successful completion of an orbital flight around the earth, three weeks before Alan Shepard becomes the first American to travel into space: ‘I remember the profound shock of realising that it might be possible for another nation to achieve technological superiority over this great country of ours.’<sup>606</sup> However erroneous, given Eisenhower’s knowledge to the contrary during his time in office, it is an easy perception to enhance and therefore justify to exceed given the Soviets’ similar primacy in launching the Sputnik satellite into Earth orbit in 1957.

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entanglement’ (p.295) in escalating Vietnam, see *Fidel Castro: My Life*, ed. Ignacio Ramonet, translated Andrew Hurley, Penguin Books, 2007.

<sup>603</sup> Op. cit. Johnson p.280.

<sup>604</sup> Ibid. p.278. See also Dallek on Kennedy’s comments to NASA head Jim Webb: ‘I’m not interested in Space...’ while urging critical reporters ‘to keep in mind that space expenditures translated into new industries and new technical skills’, op. cit. p.652.

<sup>605</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.256.

<sup>606</sup> Op. cit. Johnson p.272. In op. cit. ‘Apollo 11: “The greatest single broadcast in American history”’ Professor John Craft of the Walter Cronkite School of Journalism describes the Sputnik launch as ‘a challenge out there to our personal leadership in the world...’ Solid intelligence actually confirmed American technical superiority as well as no U2 evidence of a Soviet-deployed intercontinental ballistic missile. See also Sorensen op. cit. pp.612-3.

Seemingly less seduced by such cosmic possibilities anyway, neither is Eisenhower himself hoodwinked by its timing as a strategy to deflect attention from what he also considers to be gross policy misjudgement. In an article carried by *The Dallas Morning News* in October 1961,<sup>607</sup> Kennedy's predecessor describes the Cuban invasion as a "stupid blunder". However,

"Much worse...was the effort to cover the administration's embarrassment with a new set of headlines about a manned flight to the moon and sending 1,500 to West Berlin... the former President can think of no other explanation for those two moves."

The manner in which it is attempted further enhances perception of Kennedy's continuing immaturity and irresponsibility. Fiscally, the declaration does not complement the spirit Robert is being tasked to exert robustly over Teamster corruption, or what the President himself perceives to be the dishonourable conduct by steel industry executives' prior price rise settlement with the steelworkers; such scrutiny even extends to the financial propriety of Jackie's household expenditures that result in 'an accounting expert for various Senate committees for deciphering the financial records of Mafiosi...' <sup>608</sup> being called upon to impose restraint. Indeed, even during the 1960 campaign, Salinger notes Kennedy 'always [to be] cautioning his aides to hold down costs'. <sup>609</sup> Therefore, it is perhaps unsurprising that Congress' initial reaction to Kennedy's Moon pledge is described by Sorensen as 'something less than enthusiastic'. <sup>610</sup> Post-address, Sorensen significantly betrays an accompanying lack of private conviction from the President too: 'His voice sounded urgent but a little uncertain'. <sup>611</sup> Such doubts are nonetheless publicly subsumed by Kennedy's shortly winning-over of Capitol Hill sceptics in 'accelerated' pursuit of recapturing that international pre-eminence.

Just one month after the Bay of Pigs' episode *The New York Times* announces to its readership 'A 3-Man Trip to Moon...' <sup>612</sup> in which its subtitle makes conspicuous

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<sup>607</sup> Felix Belair Junior, 'Ike Seeks to Reshape GOP', *The Dallas Morning News*, October 15<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>608</sup> Carmine Bellino, in Bradlee op. cit. p.119.

<sup>609</sup> Op. cit. Salinger p.39. Salinger reinforces this later with reference to the White House's Chef Verdon: 'He had someone looking over his shoulder from time to time checking the cost of food – the President...the President was not a man to waste pennies', op. cit. p.87.

<sup>610</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.526.

<sup>611</sup> Ibid.

<sup>612</sup> John W. Finney, 'A 3-Man Trip to Moon by 1967 projected by White House Aides', *The New York Times*, May 26<sup>th</sup>, 1961,

reference to a “policy shift”. It is “in March” the reporter states that the President “rejected \$182,521,000 in additional funds requested by the space agency” whereas by May 26<sup>th</sup>, 1961 Kennedy “restored the funds” in financial imposition over the lingering “wisdom of spending billions in an all-out attempt to explore the moon”, the conjugation of “all-out” with “attempt” unwittingly betraying the risk in such an undertaking. In another article on the same day, the dynamically stated “sacrifices” the nation needs to make is termed – less nobly than Kennedy himself regularly articulates – a “burden”,<sup>613</sup> W. H. Lawrence’s column opening with reference to the President’s “bold and expensive new measures” in which “1.8 billion” is given as the current dollar figure requisite to achieve this ‘urgent’<sup>614</sup> aspiration. “Bold” has previously been affiliated, iconically, with ‘courage’; in this context, however, such political bravery is unable to shed its euphemistic proclivity towards foolishness.

Lawrence also makes invidious financial comparisons with Kennedy’s battle-hardened predecessor: “The final budget submitted by President Eisenhower as he left office was \$80,865,000,000, with an expected surplus of \$1,500,000,000.” Kennedy’s expenditure, however, anticipates “a total Federal budget of \$84,893,000,000 and an unexpected deficit of at least \$3,500,000,000.” The proximity of the negative counterbalancing of “unexpected deficit” with “expected surplus” is almost Kennedy-esque in its perlocutionary rhythmic damning. Indeed, in an unusually personal attack upon his successor, featured in *The Dallas Morning News*, Eisenhower reportedly “blasts”<sup>615</sup> such recklessness for paradoxically encouraging “sluggishness in [the] economy, continued unemployment, deficit spending and abusive ridicule.” Eisenhower implies further concern that the unnamed Kennedy is arrogantly exploiting the position of the Presidency:

“...the Democrats cannot make up their minds except for one thing – ‘They want more power for the executives - they grab for power, in the continuous effort to take away from the Congress its constitutional responsibilities.’”

Kennedy’s indirect retort is captured in *The Detroit Free Press* in which the concept of ‘race’ in the space pursuit is premised in near-childish terms. Helped by the

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<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/05/26/101465243.html?pageNumber=13>  
(17/09/2018).

<sup>613</sup> Op. cit. W. H. Lawrence, May 26<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>614</sup> Lawrence’s full sentence actually commences: “To emphasize the urgency of his proposals...”

<sup>615</sup> ‘Ike Blasts record made by Kennedy’, *The Dallas Morning News*, October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

newspaper's colloquial headline 'We Must Beat Reds to Moon – Kennedy',<sup>616</sup> the article encourages separate reconsideration by its reader of the President through the revived idea of contrast between the two men. Eisenhower's "go-slower policy" very much relegates him to the back in this new race. Kennedy meanwhile needs to "win first place" and therefore must establish a healthy – in this case financial - "lead" at "full-speed" by engaging "high gear".

Eisenhower's warning as to Presidential disregard for the due mechanics of government in pursuit of these veiled personal aspirations, is resumed in a January 1963 report in *The New York Times* in which once again the word "wisdom"<sup>617</sup> is applied by the newspaper in questioning conjunction with the goal of 'Reaching for the Moon'. It is twice ascribed the perlocutionary tag of "a crash project" because of its perceived rashness:

"This argument is based on the doubtful assumption that if we do not place a man on the moon in this decade, Russia will get there first. But the question remains whether the prospective gain in prestige outweighs the loss in development in scientific and human resources in other directions that the United States will inevitably suffer by such large-scale concentration of its energies and abilities on an intensified moon race."

'Energy' and "prestige", qualities hitherto 'positively' associated with Kennedy's vigour and status, here pejoratively cultivate the suspicion that space domination and the Moon programme in particular have become a self-interested, personal mission in which transparent debate has suddenly been replaced by a one-man lecture: "We hope it will be [restored] in the present Congress." The lament recalls the quiet anger of Eisenhower, a man reported by *The Dallas Morning News* to feel "deeply about the proper role of the Federal Government in the American scheme of things",<sup>618</sup> who further regards the mismanagement of the Bay of Pigs' episode as the product of egotistical disregard for government procedure. Even then he expresses concern that the Presidency is being reduced to a similar "'one-man'" [my emphasis] show, without any co-ordinated staff effort, or fixed meetings of the Cabinet and the National Security Council". His successor's "basic" motivation as he sees it, "stem[s] from a desire of the Kennedy administration to perpetuate itself in office." It is in stark

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<sup>616</sup>'We Must Beat Reds to Moon- Kennedy', *Detroit Free Press*, September 13<sup>th</sup>, 1962, <http://www.rarenewspapers.com/view/636423> (22/02/2017).

<sup>617</sup>'Reaching for the Moon', *The New York Times Western Edition*, January 29<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/01/29/issue.html> (18/09/2018).

<sup>618</sup> Op. cit. *The Dallas Morning News*, October 15<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

contrast to Eisenhower's own 1952 campaign pledge that the electorate would be voting for a 'team' rather than 'one individual, one symbol, one person to typify the might and majesty of America.' Nixon further recalls, perhaps in similarly veiled criticism of Kennedy's New Frontiersmen, Eisenhower's 'bringing to Washington [not] a group of personalities but rather a set of principles which would guide his Administration in all its endeavors [sic].'<sup>619</sup>

Perception that the accompanying 'acceleration' to Kennedy's financial re-appropriating is fully intended to endure throughout his Presidency, is betrayed in a 1962 speech by Kennedy at Yale University. Invoking the usually-reliable 'ethos' precept to provide him with credence, the President's rhetoric founders upon its own structuring as he tries to reassure his audience that his government can afford its financial commitments:

"President Roosevelt outspent President Hoover...President Truman outspent President Roosevelt. Just to prove that this was not a partisan matter, President Eisenhower then outspent President Truman...It is even possible, some think, that this trend may continue."<sup>620</sup>

Dependence upon invocation of his predecessors to imbue his declaration with justification is diffused instead by its repetitive patterning that generates freneticism bordering on rant: the claim is resultantly over-protected and unsubtly concluded. Uncannily, this speech seems to have been presciently parodied six months beforehand in a *Dallas Morning News* article of January 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1962. Dick West's 'That Big Octopus'<sup>621</sup> attempts to render coherent to the reader the matching stratospheric extent of the Kennedy administration's spending, by rescaling it to terms of more manageable – albeit implausible – assimilation:

"If 2,000 years ago you had started with \$1,000 an hour twenty-four hours a day by now you would have spent only one-fifth of what Mr. Kennedy asks to spend in just one year....if you had \$93,000,000,000 in ten-dollar bills and stacked one on top of another, your stack would be 558 miles high."

The article then quantifies the type of Kennedy speech yet to come, with some anaphoric indulgence of West's own:

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<sup>619</sup> Op. cit. Nixon p.140. Indeed, the term BOGSAT (Bunch Of Guys Sitting At Table) is coined in 1961 during the JFK administration to describe their less-regimented form of decision-making.

<sup>620</sup> 'Yale University Commencement Address', op. cit. *Speeches*, p.213.

<sup>621</sup> 'That Big Octopus', *The Dallas Morning News*, January 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1962.

“Under Herbert Hoover... spending was around \$4,000,000,000 a year.... Under Roosevelt, just before World War II, it went up to \$10,000,000,000 – and we thought FDR was a spender... under Truman... under Eisenhower... now with Kennedy the figure is \$93,000,000,000...”

This suggests that the “trend” has indeed already “continued” before Kennedy even reaches that university lectern. It is left to Johnson to pick up the budgetary pieces:

‘...we began a comprehensive economy drive to cut all excess expenditures throughout the government...a recent Harris poll had indicated that the most unpopular aspect of the Kennedy administration was what the public considered fiscal irresponsibility.’<sup>622</sup>

### **Indecision**

The Bay of Pigs’ episode exposes Kennedy’s naïvety in believing he can dissociate his administration from the disseminated understanding by some of its servants towards Castro’s removal - that it can be dismissed as purely a mercenary incident. The unspoken narrative carried out of the White House in the form of cigar-accommodating toxins by the now business-deprived Mafia in Cuba and CIA affiliates only contributes towards the awkward ensuing newspaper coverage in which denial assumes the contradictory form of covert disclosure.

*The Dallas Morning News* reports Kennedy to declare that his nation will desist from “[taking] action to stifle the spirit of liberty”<sup>623</sup> which conveys passive approval of what he hopes to encourage perception towards as independently-generated action by disaffected ex-Cubans. In a *New York Times* article of April 18<sup>th</sup>, 1961 US Ambassador to the UN Adlai Stevenson ‘categorically denies’ – just as the paper repeats of Kennedy the day before<sup>624</sup> - the Cubans’ “most low and astigmatic”<sup>625</sup> accusation. His undiplomatic retort uncannily paraphrases Kennedy’s own structured

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<sup>622</sup> Op. cit. Johnson pp.37-8.

<sup>623</sup> ‘Kennedy’s Message to Khrushchev’, *The Dallas Morning News*, April 19<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>624</sup> ‘Opinion of the Week: At Home and Abroad’, *The New York Times*, April 16<sup>th</sup>, 1961. Interestingly, Kennedy’s scepticism as to the efficacy of this body can be traced back to his diary entry of July 10<sup>th</sup>, 1945, in which his attendance at San Francisco’s conference to plan the UN’s establishment prompts early misgivings: “The great danger is that the mechanism will not be employed; the trusteeship machinery will be used for only unimportant islands...the General Assembly will merely issue significant pamphlets on world conditions...none of the larger countries will be willing...to put the decision of war or peace in the hands of a delegate to a council”, *Prelude to Leadership: The European Diary of John F. Kennedy, Summer 1945*, ed. Deirdre Henderson, Regnery Publishing, Inc. Washington, D.C, 1995, p.6.

<sup>625</sup> ‘Excerpts From Statements Made by Roa and Stevenson to U.N. Political Committee’, *The New York Times*, April 18<sup>th</sup>, 1961, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/04/18/101458216.html?pageNumber=16> (18/05/2017).

rhetoric in his – technically accurate - assertion that “there will not, under any conditions, be an intervention in Cuba by United States armed forces.” The perlocutionary imitation is particularly reflected in the threat that:

“Dr Roa [the Cuban foreign minister] will find that on the subject of tyranny – be it of the right or the left – be it of the minority or the majority – be it over the mind, or spirit, or body of man – that I have only one view – unalterable opposition.”

The anaphorically-initiated three-segment’s interchangeable “or” rather than “and” counterbalancing of opposites culminating in the triplet of “mind”, “spirit” and “body” for which active aggression just might eventually have to be triggered, is once again a curious, over-protected deflection of the stark evidence the same newspaper reports on April 7<sup>th</sup>. Tad Szulc describes in locutionary manner the conspicuous military and medical preparations taking place in Florida even down to the name of the hospital-converted yacht.<sup>626</sup> The subsequent elimination by Cubans of a mere four airborne US pilots sent in uncertain response to ground-troop complaints of abandonment ultimately confirms the invasion’s official sanctioning. Stevenson is not the only figure to appear compromised.<sup>627</sup> According to its managing editor Turner Catledge at the time, Kennedy castigates *The New York Times* for helping to leak the potentially incriminating suggestion of April 7<sup>th</sup> and then apparently re-castigates the paper for its subsequently reticent coverage he implies would have given him the opportunity either to delay or abandon the event. It kindles another intimation of journalistic irritation towards solicited press complicity:

““His logic seemed to me faulty...on the one hand, he condemned us for printing too much and in the next breath he condemned us for printing too little. He wanted it both ways, and he did not change my view that the newspapers, not the government, must decide what news is fit to print.””<sup>628</sup>

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<sup>626</sup> ‘Anti-Castro Units Trained To Fight At Florida Bases’, *The New York Times*, April 7<sup>th</sup>, 1961, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/04/07/101455093.html?pageNumber=2> (18/05/2017).

<sup>627</sup> Any residual ‘dovish’ perception is shed by Stevenson himself, who according to Salinger, regards this as his most humiliating moment in politics: ‘Stevenson felt that he had been made a fool of, and that his integrity had been seriously damaged’, op. cit. p.147.

<sup>628</sup> David W. Dunlap, ‘1961: The C.I.A Readies a Cuban Invasion, and The Times Blinks’, *The New York Times insider*, December 26<sup>th</sup>, 2014, <https://www.nytimes.com/times-insider/2014/12/26/1961-the-c-i-a-readies-a-cuban-invasion-and-the-times-blinks/> (10/05/2017). Later, Bradlee apparently has to promise not to divulge Kennedy’s seeming acceptance of the visual provocation alone of the long-term ‘27,000 US troops stationed in Turkey, right on the Soviet border’ versus suddenly ‘the presence of 17,000 Soviet troops in Cuba’, op. cit. pp.131-2.



In 1962, political naïvety is further exposed in Kennedy’s miscalculation of Soviet reaction towards the accommodation by its Turkish Black Sea neighbour of US mid-range nuclear missiles.<sup>629</sup> However, it is citizen vulnerability rather than removal of the obdurate Castro for his weapons-hosting complicity with Moscow, that is understandably of more immediate concern to *The Dallas Morning News*,<sup>630</sup> whose city Sorensen includes by name as within the ‘eleven hundred nautical miles’<sup>631</sup> of attacking range. It is also reminiscent of their hoodwinked demands for the President during the Bay of Pigs’ episode to have completed the job, of which insistence “to eliminate the ‘Communist cancer’ from Cuba”<sup>632</sup> alliteratively accentuates the physical spread and extent of local anxiety. Kennedy, once the vigorous man of action is now depicted as more inert than the missiles being transported into US view, with the newspaper asking through its editorial compilations why, in what is perceived in Texas as “timidity”,<sup>633</sup> “he hesitated and waited so long to take a stand.” In the extensive ‘Dallas Reaction to Move: OK, But Why Not Sooner?’<sup>634</sup> the disappointment at the tardiness in response is conveyed by the colloquial but reserved effect of “OK” rather than a more celebratory expression of relief. It is as if the newspaper is still pondering the President’s perceived reticence, invoked variously by its residents as “stupid” and even ‘foolish’. This accusation is overtly picked up in its *Buffalo Evening News*’ incorporation two days later from the US North East – to imply nationwide censure - that demands acceptance by Kennedy of his security obligations towards his nation: “The President himself cannot escape a large measure of responsibility for the predicament which has, at long last, called for his decision.”

Perhaps, however the most acerbic trajectory driver is accorded to *The Dallas Morning News*’ edition of 24<sup>th</sup> October 1962. In an ambiguously entitled ‘Long-Needed Leadership’<sup>635</sup> – as yet the reader does not know whether this will be a

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<sup>629</sup> In Salinger’s notes in advance of Kennedy’s television address, reference is made without irony to US conviction of ‘a big difference between offensive Soviet nuclear weapons in Cuba and our own in Turkey and elsewhere. Ours are an attempt to redress the power in Europe....We don’t deny that ours are there....But what is happening in Cuba is far different – a provocative change in the delicate status quo in this hemisphere’, op. cit. p.263.

<sup>630</sup> ‘Dallas Reaction to Move: OK, But Why Not Sooner?’ *The Dallas Morning News*, October 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1962. The proximity is specifically expressed here as “90 miles from our shores.”

<sup>631</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.675.

<sup>632</sup> ‘Americans Wire Kennedy, Urge War Against Castro’, *The Dallas Morning News*, April 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1961.

<sup>633</sup> ‘Editorials: Press Support Stand on Cuba’, *The Dallas Morning News*, October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

<sup>634</sup> Op. cit. ‘Dallas Reaction’, October 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1962.

<sup>635</sup> ‘Long-Needed Leadership’, *The Dallas Morning News*, October 24<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

confirmation or demand – the article quickly settles towards the latter view of its President of whom “For a long time, the American people have been far ahead....” In an illocutionary warning – or “lesson” – of its own, on behalf of its readership in response to the rhetorically-crafted warnings Kennedy has been disseminating towards them, the newspaper declares that “Support and cooperation of other nations are not created through weakness and indecision. They result from respect for strength and willingness to take effective action.” Even *The New York Times* concedes its frustration by giving column space to admission of a ‘mixed response’<sup>636</sup> from students who have apparently been polarized in opinion by the humanitarian consequences to the defensive blockading of Cuba by the US’ own vessels. The reaction captures the paradox actually achieved in Kennedy’s bringing the crisis to a peaceful conclusion: Kennedy will remove US missiles from Turkey and desist from invading the island the US has provoked Moscow into arming as long as Khrushchev removes all of the Soviet Union’s missiles from it. Cuba would otherwise remain, as the CIA’s Sam Halpern’s whimsically concludes, ‘a US-protected Soviet base...’<sup>637</sup>

### **Inaction**

It is from the nation’s South too, that Kennedy’s lack of confidence and misjudged response-speed is similarly conveyed, in his domestic-front Civil Rights’ management. It is a concern Eleanor Roosevelt already identifies during Kennedy’s nomination campaign back in December 1958. She demands therefore that Kennedy’s “charm”<sup>638</sup> is matched by the ‘courage’ exemplified by his prize-winning book’s eight Senators:

“I feel that I would hesitate to place the difficult decisions that the next President will have to make with someone who understands what courage is and admires it, but has not quite the independence to have it.”

Such confidence may also indeed have been dissipated by Kennedy’s own purported disinterest in this matter, with even Sorensen acknowledging early in his memoir that the President ‘cared comparatively little about the problems of civil

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<sup>636</sup> ‘Reaction Here Is Mixed’, *The New York Times*, October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

<sup>637</sup> Op. cit. Hersh, p.369. See also *The Dallas Morning News* op. cit. October 15<sup>th</sup>, 1961, in which Eisenhower identifies a similar lack of confidence in Kennedy’s failure to complete the mission with a deciding aerial bombardment of the island: “Even a cadet would know that once forces have been committed the entire plan of campaign must be carried out – not just part of it.”

<sup>638</sup> ‘Mrs. Roosevelt Lauds Humphrey’, *The New York Times*, December 8<sup>th</sup>, 1958, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1958/12/08/83430027.html?pageNumber=34> (17/1/18).

rights'.<sup>639</sup> This detachment may be attributable to a man whose only exposure to prejudice has been awareness of his father's acute sensibilities towards exclusion from Boston's elite business and social circles,<sup>640</sup> Kennedy's own rejection by the prestigious Groton preparatory school because of his Irish heritage, and later irritation towards defending the compatibility of his Catholicism with high public office bid. Kennedy recognizes the blacks' marginalization but only as 'an unassimilated immigrant group rather than a subjugated people'.<sup>641</sup> In *A Nation of Immigrants* he laments: "Only in the case of the Negro has the melting pot [the process of blending many strains into a single nationality] failed to bring a minority into the full stream of American life."<sup>642</sup> Kennedy fails to articulate their own forced 'contribution' of slavery as part of the nation-building he details of other immigrant groups.

There is also the strong impression of a voluntary marginalizing of himself from the issue, reminiscent of his senatorial reticence Bryant meticulously tracks during 1957's Civil Rights' debates. It is exemplified in Kennedy's Inaugural address too. Out of its 1,049 words Menand amongst others, identifies only two – "at home" – as obliquely cognisant of domestic obligation. Even then such words are apparently:

'...a late insertion, made in response to a plea by two Kennedy advisers, Harris Wofford and Louis Martin, [the latter, Kennedy's sole inner circle black aide] to say something to acknowledge the support that Kennedy had received from African-Americans.'

The contention is endorsed by Adam Frankel who cites Kennedy's January 14<sup>th</sup> draft inclusion of more Civil Rights' content, in which the words: "Our nation's most precious resource, our youth, are developed according to their race or funds, instead of their own capability"<sup>643</sup> are ultimately deleted by him out of what may once again

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<sup>639</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.17.

<sup>640</sup> Op. cit. Eoin Cannon, 'In [both Kennedys' and Fitzgeralds' fathers' time] Protestant elites continue to exclude Irish Catholics from positions of influence in finance and culture, [so that] the politics of ethnic resentment was a strategic and ritualistic language that arose as a consequence, rather than served as a cause, of Irish electoral dominance', pp.18-19. In *Nation* Kennedy cites, without seeming irony, Irish social and economic exclusion that seems uncannily reminiscent of contemporary public notices of black exclusion: "Advertisements for jobs specified: 'No Irish need apply'", p.18.

<sup>641</sup> Op. cit. Maier p.413.

<sup>642</sup> Op. cit. *Nation*, p.35. See also p.8: "Except for the Negro slave, [the immigrant] could go anywhere and do anything his talents permitted." 'Melting pot' is inherited parlance.

<sup>643</sup> Adam Frankel, 'Author, Author', *The New Yorker*, February 28<sup>th</sup>, 2011, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2011/02/28/author-author-adam-frankel> (17/04/2017). Bryant quotes Wofford's and Martin's proposed inclusions ending with: 'Are you willing to demonstrate in your own life – in your attitude toward those of other races and those here of other shores – that you hold these eternal truths to be itself evident?' p.210.

support Bryant's political expediency bemoaning. However, according to Sorensen, Kennedy considers the two-word insertion as sufficiently reflective of 'his commitment to human rights...'<sup>644</sup>

This disproportionate response or lack of articulated gratitude should not however suggest that Kennedy, unlike perhaps his father and elder brother,<sup>645</sup> is himself a racist: his black valet-cum-chauffeur George Taylor sits in – although under 'Jim Crow' rules physically apart - at Kennedy's invitation during his early years at speech-giving events, Broadway shows and operas,<sup>646</sup> and is retained by Kennedy into his Presidency. While this could be dismissed as trivial – and the later appointment menial - given the domestic arrangements typical of many affluent white households at the time, Crown and Bryant also make reference to Kennedy's donation of his Pulitzer prize-winning \$500 stipend to the United Negro College Fund;<sup>647</sup> Marian Anderson is recalled to sing the National Anthem at his Inauguration; Kennedy dances with blacks at its ball to which Sidney Poitier, Ella Fitzgerald, Nat King Cole and Mahalia Jackson are amongst those whose presence is personally requested. During Kennedy's Presidency, Prime Minister Verwoerd of apartheid-riven South Africa is never invited to the White House.

However, long-time Kennedy associate Sammy Davis Junior is excluded from the Inauguration gala following his recent marriage to white actress May Britt. The marriage itself continues to pose aesthetic problems for Kennedy's own perception of his ongoing political popularity, in the entertainer's partial exclusion at a 1962 black-tie event in which Kennedy allegedly tries four times to prevent Davis' name from appearing on the invitation list. It would take another five years for the Supreme Court to rule that state laws forbidding inter-race marriage is unconstitutional. In the meantime, Kennedy fears that being pictured with the couple would send 'a potent symbol to Southerners of the horrors of integration'<sup>648</sup> so tries to encourage

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<sup>644</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.243. Sabato, like Menand, reports Wofford having 'to fight hard just to get Kennedy to add "at home" to the sentence', op. cit. p.76.

<sup>645</sup> See especially concurrence with the view that Jewish business methods "were appalling", "quite unscrupulous but in every revolution you have to expect some bloodshed." in Joe's letter to his father of April 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1934, op. cit. *Letters* pp.130-1. Maier posits Kennedy's empathy with Joe's former teacher, the Jew Harold Laski, "'a powerful spirit doomed to an inferior position because of race – a position that all of his economic and intellectual superiority cannot raise him out of'", op. cit. p.195.

<sup>646</sup> See Levingston: 'Jack treated Taylor almost as one of the boys...seeking his advice, smoking cigars together...chatting...about their mutual passion for girls', op. cit. pp.8-9.

<sup>647</sup> Op. cit. Crown p.33; op. cit. Bryant p.95.

<sup>648</sup> Op. cit. Levingston p.310.

intercession from Jackie to prevent official disclosure to the public of the first visit of a mixed couple to the White House.

Such attempted separation of the races for a photograph seems emblematic, however, of Kennedy's continuing inclination to detach himself personally from engagement with this increasingly non-passive issue. He disaggregates immediate responsibility for its active progress to Robert as the Attorney General;<sup>649</sup> he encourages suspicion of tokenism further to the raft of black appointments made after the Inauguration that fails to trigger a commensurate spike in activity towards Civil Rights' legislation. It is later confirmed by a *New York Times*' article in which Roy Wilkins, Secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored [sic] People - an organization Kennedy repeatedly refuses to join as Senator - expresses "disappointment' on civil rights in President Kennedy's first year in office": perhaps therefore "the Democrats [who] have more Negroes...can explain why we don't need such rights". David Anderson reports these representatives to be particularly:

“...disturbed because President Kennedy had not signed an order forbidding racial discrimination in federally assisted housing and racial policies followed in many state employment services.”<sup>650</sup>

Such desistance is contrary to the rapid momentum anticipated by what *The Dallas Morning News* of April 1961 perlocutionarily asserts to be “the most far-reaching pledges for legislative and executive civil rights' action ever made by a major US political party.”<sup>651</sup> Instead, as Douglas Field similarly articulates, there is only identification of the political predicament *non*-engagement with this issue would yield: “The Kennedys could not afford to lose the southern vote, which they would do if they vociferously opposed segregation; yet in so doing, they risked losing the African American vote.”<sup>652</sup> Civil Rights continues to be identified by Kennedy as an agenda irritation rather than profound plight, again consistent with a man who has no personal exposure to its experienced privations. Such tangible ignorance is an accusation *Dallas Morning News*' readers are similarly encouraged to level towards Kennedy in the newspaper's invocation of Washington businessmen's apparent deploring of the effect

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<sup>649</sup> See Dallek, that Robert 'took on difficult, unpleasant jobs Jack shunned', op. cit. p.173.

<sup>650</sup> David Anderson, 'Kennedy Record Vexes N.A.A.C.P', *The New York Times*, January 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1962, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1962/01/03/issue.html> (15/04/2017).

<sup>651</sup> 'Pledges on Civil Rights now Haunting Kennedy', *The Dallas Morning News*, April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>652</sup> Douglas Field, 'JFK and the Civil Rights Movement,' *Cambridge Companion*, op. cit. p.80.

the crusading Freedom Riders are having on their profits. Reciting verbatim the words of a local taxi driver, Dick West, in his very specific ‘Fifth of a series of editorial interpretations of the nation’s capital’, leaves this indignation uncontested: “‘What do these Kennedy boys, raised in a fancy resort place in the East Coast, where even some whites aren’t wanted, know about all this?’”<sup>653</sup>

Martin Luther King likewise suspects that redressing engagement by any white politician is borne out of professional self-interest and ultimately refuses to commit to either party in the run-up to the 1960 Presidential election. His perceptions acquire credence in the selection of entertainers Lena Horne and Harry Belafonte to appear in campaign adverts for Kennedy. Such suspicions are further supported in the unsubtle press leaks regarding the identity of the Senator caller to Coretta Scott King after a minor driving violation results in her husband’s incarceration, in which Kennedy deftly pledges his support. Anticipating concern typified by Robert in particular, that such an act could critically jeopardize Kennedy’s political fortunes amongst Southern whites, Kennedy, within a mixed campaign team of his own appointing – a strategy that served him well in his Boston-seat battle with Cabot Lodge<sup>654</sup> - delegates handling of the media assignments to his one, aforementioned, black publisher aide Louis Martin. This may be seen as shrewd ‘because it allowed the Kennedy campaign to tailor messages specifically for a black audience.’<sup>655</sup> Martin in turn apparently only informs black press agencies about King’s subsequently expressed gratitude to Kennedy for the Senator’s part in his release call so that: ‘By contacting black – but not white – journalists, Martin was able to increase Kennedy’s status in the black community without running the risk of alienating white southern voters.’<sup>656</sup> It is a tactic that seems to pay off, with white journalist Anthony Lewis in *The New York Times* commending the political value of that Coretta call that ultimately gives rise to her husband’s freedom. Lewis does this not only without interrogating the possibly self-interested nature of its methods that would explain his own bafflement at the delay in receiving

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<sup>653</sup> Dick West, ‘Integration In a Capital’, *The Dallas Morning News*, June 29<sup>th</sup>, 1961. Contrasts between North and South journalistic mutual observation will shortly be developed.

<sup>654</sup> Although as Bryant notes during that period, ‘Kennedy relied upon black campaign officials to deliver the vote but entrusted only white campaign officials with shaping policy’, op. cit. p.42.

<sup>655</sup> Ibid. p.165. Bryant later describes Wofford and Martin as ‘two of the most talented political strategists’ who ‘marketed Kennedy with flair and imagination’, p.189.

<sup>656</sup> Op. cit. Field, p.82, Bryant also points to his usefulness in managing ‘to persuade a number of leading publications to exercise leniency’ over their acerbic coverage of Johnson, op. cit. p.164.

news of King's release but also without reflection as to the penalty-proportionality of the offence itself:

“The most single important campaign move was undoubtedly Senator Kennedy's telephone call of sympathy to the wife of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. when the Southern integration leader was briefly in a Georgia prison on a traffic charge.”<sup>657</sup>

Indeed, at the outset of his Presidency, Kennedy's political predicament itself tends to be subordinated in these newspapers to the consequences of its management. Three months after Kennedy takes office the dilemma is acknowledged by *The Dallas Morning News*' Washington office, as follows:

“Because of the increased Conservative strength in Congress as a result of 1960's election, it was apparent to the administration strategists that immediate pressure for civil rights' legislation would delay the enactment of other programs [sic] considered vital by the President, and damage their ultimate prospects.”<sup>658</sup>

The consequences are less sympathetically reported by West in the same newspaper from a Dallas desk a year later.<sup>659</sup> Recognition of such politicking as the prevailing catalyst for non-legislative progress is picked up rather differently in 1963 where it seems to be *The New York Times*' policy to continue to exonerate and protect Kennedy personally from the issue's active momentum. This is typified in a September article in which it is rejected that “Kennedy and his administration are extremely unpopular in certain areas”. It is simply that some Southern Democrats hostile to his domestic spending programme through their innate conservatism means that they:

“...cannot afford to be tagged as Kennedy men, but it does not follow that they are personally angry at the President or determined to sabotage as much of his program as possible.”<sup>660</sup>

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<sup>657</sup> Anthony Lewis, ‘Negro Vote Held Vital to Kennedy’, *The New York Times*, November 27<sup>th</sup>, 1960, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1960/11/27/99971694.html?pageNumber=51> (18/05/2015).

<sup>658</sup> Op. cit. April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>659</sup> This chapter will shortly show Washington-disseminated news to Dallas to differ from Dallas-disseminated news to Washington. See Chapter Four of this thesis in which West proves just as ‘Fickle’ as his public, in an article of July 25<sup>th</sup>, 1962 in which such behaviour now appears an unexpected virtue rather than objectively-identified Presidential bar to progress.

<sup>660</sup> Joseph A. Loftus, ‘Southern Voting on Bills Assayed: No Link to Civil Rights Plan found in Congress Delay’, *The New York Times*, September 26<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/09/26/82150176.html?pageNumber=28> (23/05/2017).

Indeed, for a newspaper recognized for its ‘undisputed leader[ship]’<sup>661</sup> over others on racial matters – further to *Brown v Board of Education* – and adhering to an editorial policy in which its Sulzberger family owners ‘were sensitive to ethnic labels and rigidly enforced the newspaper policy’ of not referring to race ‘unless doing so would serve a legitimate purpose’,<sup>662</sup> many of its articles on this topic during Kennedy’s Presidency exhibit recalcitrance. This merely strengthens the negative trajectory course of Kennedy depiction that is facilitated bigoted accentuation in *The Dallas Morning News* through Ted Dealey’s enduring editorial presence.

*The New York Times* may cover desegregation issues more comprehensively but editorial intervention or assiduous interrogation per se seem infrequent.<sup>663</sup> One conspicuously dissenting example, however, that sits beneath the publisher’s banner on page 28 as if to confer the official view of the newspaper, occurs pre-Inauguration. Lament is expressed towards the President-elect’s “patently absurd”<sup>664</sup> response to the “mobster tactics” and “insurrectionary histrionics” currently impeding desegregation in New Orleans’ schools. Kennedy, just like his predecessor, is further accused of failing to exert what is repeated seven times throughout this article as any “moral” leadership. Instead, he tamely defers to Federal Court formal verdict upon the form of discrimination rather than nature preserving it. Resuming precisely its tenor in its ‘Commitment in New Orleans’<sup>665</sup> sub-heading, of February 9<sup>th</sup>, 1961, the now more established President apparently will still only ‘consider’ his own ‘commitment’ to the

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<sup>661</sup> David R. Davies, ‘Newspapers and the Civil Rights Movement 1954-1957’, <http://ocean.otr.usm.edu/~w304644/ch6.html> (22/05/2017).

<sup>662</sup> “...the race of a person suspected or accused of a crime shall not be published unless there is a legitimate purpose to be served thereby” from ‘Race In The News’, *The New York Times*, August 11<sup>th</sup>, 1946, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1946/08/11/issue.html> (24/09/2017).

<sup>663</sup> Later exceptions include again an unattributed-journalist editorial of May 18<sup>th</sup>, 1961 in which Kennedy is indeed criticized for his inaction, it apparently “not being necessary at this time to enact civil rights’ legislation” – a decision the paper claims the President “can only justify...on purely practical grounds.” However, such negativity only finds its voice here on page 34 in ‘Civil Rights Under Kennedy’, *The New York Times*, May 18<sup>th</sup>, 1961, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/05/18/101463943.html?pageNumber=34> (23/05/2017). Endorsed by a more conspicuous page 11’s ‘Kennedy’s New Policies: President Draws Criticism for Shifts in Programs at Home and Abroad’, June 16<sup>th</sup>, 1963. Krock is unusually critical of JFK’s anti-discrimination “inaction”, and “political temporizing”. Its timing, however, is somewhat curious given his newspaper’s celebration of Kennedy’s major televised Civil Rights’ legislation confirmation just five days beforehand, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/06/16/89927806.html?pageNumber=149> (23/05/2017).

<sup>664</sup> ‘The Moral Issue’, *The New York Times*, November 24<sup>th</sup>, 1960, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1960/11/24/issue.html> (25/05/2017).

<sup>665</sup> ‘Commitment in New Orleans’, *The New York Times*, February 9<sup>th</sup>, 1961, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/02/09/issue.html> (25/05/2017).



“matter”. He wishes “to think some more before taking any action” and demonstrates “extreme restraint in expressing...” – repeating from the previous article - ““moral indignation”” towards the plight of “those brave white and Negro families” experiencing daily such acute marginalization. This is a direct call by the paper to its readership for both moral abhorrence to what is happening to America’s national identity as well as profound disappointment towards the “remarkably similar” leadership maintaining that direction. Kennedy’s tardiness is accentuated by the article’s concluding sentence brevity in which the President’s commitment is required “totally, specifically, morally, and now.”

The newspaper’s strident perlocution to engender ‘object’ indignation and frustration, together with its ‘sequel’ approval of remedy that is continued in both legal and moral specificity conclusion, seems diminished as a construction against Kennedy in journalist-attributed articles. Instead, the loaded locutionary-perlocutionary style identified commonly in Chapter Two seems preferred, in the frequent ‘object’ eliciting of dilemma-sharing and topic complexity appreciation. Its ultimate perlocutionary drive seems to be the regular exculpation of the President’s handling of Civil Rights Anthony Lewis typifies in his similar concurrence of the “difficult questions”<sup>666</sup> this hitherto Kennedy-described mere “matter”<sup>667</sup> provokes.

In Claude Sitton’s ‘Wave of Negro Militancy’ – significantly here – front-page story, Presidential loyalty is similarly exhibited by article imbalance such a personalizing renders. The newspaper’s moral distance from its moral-cause focus is assumed by Sitton’s referencing of equality clamours it separately expounds, as “militancy”.<sup>668</sup> The distance is accentuated in utilization of language analogous to the aggressive course of a disease: disorder “boils”; it “spill[s] out of the ghettos” – a point Sitton ignores as possible justification for the protest - it “spreads” towards the estates of the “share-croppers” Southern whites have so generously leased to facilitate purported black economic independence, thus “conflicting” – significantly applied here as a passive verb rather than active noun as earlier invoked to mean ‘opposing’ –

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<sup>666</sup> Anthony Lewis, ‘Administration Studies Moves on Integration’, *The New York Times*, January 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1961, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/01/22/issue.html> (25/052017).

<sup>667</sup> Op. cit. ‘Commitment’, February 9<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>668</sup> Claude Sitton, ‘Wave of Negro Militancy Spreading Over the South’, *The New York Times*, May 14<sup>th</sup>, 1961, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/05/14/101462365.html?pageNumber=1> (23/07/2017).

with “the Kennedy administration’s efforts to extend Civil Rights’ guarantees”. The veiled moral censure towards the protesters rather than their grievance continues with reference to their compromising of ‘white merchant profits’ that recalls Dick West’s similar Washington bemoaning. Inference of unreasonableness is likewise conveyed by black demands for equality escalating to “a thundering chant” that, like the contagion-flood metaphor, “pours out into the night”. It is followed by a vernacularizing of their twice-articulated demand for “Free-dum!” in which it is surely no accident that the syllabic emphasis is split to conclude on a perlocutionary colloquial synonym for ‘stupidity’.

The newspaper’s equivocation may further, as demonstrated pertinently in the above example, be discernible in the page priority sometimes afforded to Civil Rights. South Carolina’s Rock Hill incident in which two Freedom Riders “test”<sup>669</sup> out desegregation statutes at bus terminals in the town – to violent conclusion, only makes it into print at page 25. The article establishes further distance from the attacked subjects it reports upon, reflected in its title ‘Biracial Unit Tells Of Beating In South’. The detachment is compounded by giving the words “‘peace corps’” double inverted commas as if to suggest that this may be both an ironic epithet for the group’s actual persuasion as well as a poor imitation of Kennedy’s identically-named New Frontier manifestation. The white attackers are referred to by the black narrator, James Farmer “executive director of the Congress of Racial Equality” – who is not actually present at the scene – as “hoodlums”. This insult is further desensitized by the closing acceptance of the police’s apparently calm diffusing of the confrontation. Farmer’s claim that no serious injuries in the “fracas” are sustained to either the white “architect” supporter Albert Bigelow or black student John Lewis is uncontested by the newspaper, so diminishing the incident especially given Farmer’s committed reputation. Exactly 20 years later however, *The New York Times* rather differently re-describes – on its front page incidentally, as if in commemoration - the same incident experienced by the now “retired navy officer”<sup>670</sup> Bigelow and the more respectfully

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<sup>669</sup> ‘Biracial Unit Tells Of Beating In South’, *The New York Times*, May 11<sup>th</sup>, 1961, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/05/11/issue.html> (17/06/2017).

<sup>670</sup> Reginald Stewart, ‘Freedom Riders Find Pride And Pain on ‘61 Route’, *The New York Times*, May 10<sup>th</sup>, 1981, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1981/05/10/113477.html?action=click&contentCollection=Archives&module=LedeAsset&region=ArchiveBody&pgtype=article&pageNumber=1> (17/06/2017).

addressed “Mr. Lewis”, that heralded the movement’s mission “to integrate the bus facilities”. In so doing both men were “greeted by mob violence that shocked the nation” – which is rather different from the small article reporting a local “fracas” that appeared on page 25.

Page priority is similarly epitomized in the newspaper’s coverage of the Easter 1963 shops’ boycott by Martin Luther King supporters, particularly in Alabama. While the locutionary title, ‘Police Break Alabama March’, suggests a similar style of reporting to follow, this is immediately undermined by a sub-heading declaring ‘Birmingham Protest Ended as Negro Attacks Dog’. This instead conveys moral censure of this particular action rather than any consideration of self-defence by the subject against the police dog that is released at him by one of Eugene ‘Bull’ Connor’s<sup>671</sup> men. The veiled condemnation is compounded by resuming perlocutionary reference throughout the article that commences with the non-protester having “slashed...with a large knife”,<sup>672</sup> “slashed at the dog” and later “attempted to slash the police dog” which only tore “the left sleeve of his coat”, without his actually being “bitten”, and therefore ruining the - syllabic rhyming order too – of a “calm Palm” and “beautiful” Sunday. Just as the reader is informed that this apparent perpetrator is actually “not one of the marchers” nor is the “slightly built, lame Negro who appeared to be somewhat under the influence of alcohol.” By drawing attention to a peripheral black character’s imperfections, the perlocutionary intent seems to be the engendering of discomfort in the reader towards black people and their nature both at and beyond the demonstration’s immediate physical fringes. It can even be detected much later in rare but deliberately quantitative reference to one of the nine “pickets” lining the entrance to New York’s Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. The venue is about to host – in locutionary-perlocutionary affirmation of enduring Kennedy popularity and rightness of political course – “1600” dinner guests for a speech by Robert on the inextricable connection between education and young black employment prospects. “William Worthy” is the only protester to be named here, publicized as “the Negro magazine writer, convicted of having entered the United States illegally after a trip to Cuba in 1961”. Again, the locutionary statement entails perlocutionary intent in its

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<sup>671</sup> City’s Public Safety Commissioner.

<sup>672</sup> Foster Hailey, ‘Police Break Up Alabama March’, *The New York Times*, April 8<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/04/08/issue.html> (18/6/2017).

imparting of Worthy's dubious choice of travel destination. The reader is subsequently informed that Worthy is "booked on disorderly conduct charges", whereas a following group of unidentified protesters "hardly noticed by passers-by" move away "without disorder". The article concludes with attention to the former mixed cluster of "nine" who are later similarly "arraigned...on disorderly conduct charges."<sup>673</sup> Worthy is therefore being highlighted twice for his deviance. However, it is possible that the reader may also 'hardly notice' this conceit, as it only features on page 79.

Such inflammatory episodes' consigning to the midst of the broadsheet is in sharp contrast with the newspaper's general lauding of formal Civil Rights' progress when dissociated from the marching ranks of the aggrieved. Front-page location of Sitton's 'Civil Rights Applauds Kennedy'<sup>674</sup> is a case in point. The physical gap between such coverage almost literally reflects Kennedy's addressing of this frequently highly tangible issue at similar passive distance. Such reticence is particularly discernible through Sitton's oscillating perspective, commending Kennedy outright in his perlocutionary headline that is revived 21 pages later under the continuation title 'Kennedy Praised For Rights Gains'. It is pursued in subsequent paragraph openings by switching the narrative voice to that of the mixed-race Southern Regional Council for their verbatim 'commending' of Kennedy's Office on Equal Employment Opportunities, and 'praising' of black recruitment in government agencies and public order attention. The ensuing 52-page report upon which the article centres but does not dwell, apparently matches the breakthrough "turning point" accomplishment of the 1954 Brown ruling.

However, the optimistic headlines or subtitles in the article can often be imperfectly fulfilled by their ensuing content. Criticism of Kennedy's administration is imparted, albeit often euphemistically, through that Council's voice, drawing negative attention again upon the theme of Kennedy's appropriate management "momentum" that becomes accentuated regarding its stated drawbacks on the executive action he is threatening:

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<sup>673</sup> 'Pickets Seized Before Speech by Robert Kennedy', *The New York Times*, October 6<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/10/06/89550757.html?pageNumber=79> (17/06/2017).

<sup>674</sup> Claude Sitton, 'Civil Rights Applauds Kennedy', *The New York Times*, March 26<sup>th</sup>, 1962, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1962/03/26/90161854.html?pageNumber=1> (15/06/2017).

“Activity and energy can become a substitute for results, especially in the fields of voting and educational rights....a department...sponsoring controversial legislation may be irresistibly tempted to court marginal Congressional votes by leaving civil rights alone. And it is true...that some cylinders of the executive engine have been quiet.”

The article resists depicting Kennedy personally in the same pejoratively “sharp” light as his active, mollifying brother towards Albany’s white civil authorities but nonetheless concludes equivocally in determination of Presidential perception, regarding Kennedy’s appointment of the – weighted locutionary - “Negro”. Consistent with its earlier subjective inversions - blacks seemingly peripheral or admitted innocent victims within civil dissension coverage - the newspaper conjugates this figure with lack of aptitude for the initiative upon which Kennedy as Senator promises could be achieved with “one stroke of the pen”,<sup>675</sup> Robert C. Weaver’s appointment as “administrator of the Housing and Home Finance agency gain[ing] the government ‘months of immunity from pressure for a fulfillment [sic] of the campaign pledge.’”

The newspaper’s self-comforting editorial recourse to either the aggrieved or self-interested parties in lieu of direct criticism is further evidenced in ‘Jewish Leader Scores Kennedy For “Failure” to Push Civil Rights’.<sup>676</sup> Firstly, the ‘Failure’ is made out to be apparent as it is given inverted commas to suggest an opinion not automatically to be shared by non-Jewish communities. Secondly, similar accusations of inappropriate momentum remain within their quotation suggested by “‘apathy’”, or urgent need for “‘active leadership’”, that requires the “‘vigorous support of the President’” and possibly the most overt condemnation of Kennedy personally, in their continued ‘wait’ “for Executive action where it was most needed – a Presidential order that would outlaw discrimination...”

Arguably, such equivocation reaches its apogee in the reporting of Martin Luther King’s major address in Washington on August 28<sup>th</sup>, 1963. The following day, while locutionarily commending any positives the Civil Rights’ leader’s speech might inspire, King’s oratorical style is described by Reston as “anguished echo

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<sup>675</sup> ‘Remarks of Senator John F. Kennedy, New York Coliseum’, New York City, November 5<sup>th</sup>, 1960, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-speeches/new-york-ny-coliseum-19601105> (22/06/2017). Bryant states Weaver’s appointment to be received with similar misgivings by the black community, while lambasted by southern lawmakers for his ‘left past’, op. cit. p.216.

<sup>676</sup> Irving Spiegel, ‘Jewish Leader Scores Kennedy for ‘Failure’ to Push Civil Rights’, *The New York Times*, May 21<sup>st</sup>, 1962, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1962/05/21/94102764.html?pageNumber=23> (17/06/2017).

peroration".<sup>677</sup> While this may convey King's emitted depth of feeling it also suggests to the reader its excessiveness in delivery almost to the point of mutual pain. Reston ceases further intervention in the sentiments expressed until he draws comparison in its magnitude with Kennedy's own Inauguration, the last time such a "performance" is given on this scale. This particular occasion, however, is distinguished by its "force of numbers, melodies of both the church and the theater [sic]". It is interesting that once again the level of support for a non-Kennedy figure is unquantified. Instead, "force of numbers" may be seen to betray perlocutionary strength of negativity in its engendering of intimidation at the unconfined extent of popular feeling. At this point too any sharing of the illocutionary uplift Reston's non-intervention in King's message may similarly be cultivating, is diffused by the journalist's derogatory observation of what may be assimilated by his own readership - or "audience" - as random stage extras. He describes the "platform [being] a bedlam of moving figures who seem to be interested in everything except listening to the speaker. This distracted the audience." Reston is imparting an extra-perlocutionary performative act as to what constitutes for him the proper setting for any political transformation: the chaos and madness he describes before him is in sharp contrast to the crisp orchestration that prevailed amidst freezing conditions *The New York Times* had depicted of the more formal Inauguration stage. Final tarnishing of the occasion is administered by reference to the gathering's indirect compromising of Congressional support for Kennedy by its alienating effect upon Republican contingents for whom such co-operation is deemed necessary.

Nan Robertson accentuates the newspaper's distance in its laudation of the event by reviving its implied accompanying incompetence. Firstly, order is undermined by non-adherence to punctuality: the "scheduled step-off"<sup>678</sup> is delayed by Civil Rights' leaders' non-arrival "Twenty minutes later". Next, they are announced by loud speaker – symbolically to both reader and crowd - as having been "lost". Such circumspection continues with recitation of "typical dialogue" Robertson proceeds to imitate in black patois. She then wrests this language back to its amused perception by "a matronly Negro" upon the "exuberant singing, youngsters", whose organist is

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<sup>677</sup> James Reston, "I Have a Dream...": Peroration by Dr. King Sums Up A Day the Capital Will Remember', *The New York Times*, August 29<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/08/29/issue.html> (15/06/2017).

<sup>678</sup> Nan Robertson, 'For 200,000 Who Were There It was a Date to Live Forever', *The New York Times*, August 29<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/08/29/issue.html> (18/06/2017).

meanwhile personally unable to “overcome” – thus at odds with the Civil Rights’ anthem<sup>679</sup> he intended to play – the absence of his sheet music that currently languishes within “a car bogged down in traffic...” The article concludes on the rather less vernacularly-reported invective from James Farmer, the animated Congress of Racial Equality member: “We will not stop...until the dogs stop biting us in the South and the rats stop biting us in the North”. The impact of denuding his rage of any similar patois in order to accentuate the fear engendered in the reader by his claim, is nonetheless diffused by Robertson’s swift reference to Farmer’s current residence “in jail” and it therefore being delivered by a substitute speaker. Here, the reader should be positively receptive to the moral import of Farmer’s message rather than alienated by it. Instead, Farmer is made out to sound as feral as the “dogs” and “rats” he condemns. There seems deliberate disparity in theme support and its articulation. Farmer’s ‘rabid’ nature is safely contained behind bars; the unspecified creature-attribution – in which the readership is invited to infer its own possible assumption of appalling form in spreading such discrimination – meanwhile continues to thrive.

The newspaper’s equivocal stance is more comfortably abandoned when given the opportunity directly to affiliate Kennedy personally with constructive action or success - even if it slightly bypasses the small matter of intrinsic progress, with commendation instead as to restoration of civil order. This is exemplified in an editorial in which finally the newspaper demonstrates its perlocutionary relief – perhaps its true voice – in being able to redirect skywards the Kennedy trajectory on this now “simple”<sup>680</sup> issue. ‘Mississippi Rejoins the Union’ is a hagiographic reaction to Kennedy’s placatory – legalese-laden – television address in response to the Mississippi stand-off further to black student James Meredith’s attempted enrolment at its university. Through his legal iterations – or “fine speech” - Kennedy alone seems to be able to facilitate the perlocutionary extension of the campus there from a “shrine to the supremacy of lawful progress” into a “global battlefield” upon which “the chief defender of the rule of law” – Kennedy and the “USA” appear interchangeable here – through “firmness” will never “retreat”. Attempts at a locutionary introduction to announce satisfactory resolution to the event expire upon its perlocutionary segueing

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<sup>679</sup> “We shall overcome”.

<sup>680</sup> ‘Mississippi Rejoins the Union’, *The New York Times*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1962, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1962/10/01/90192689.html?pageNumber=30> (14/07/2017).

into irony, with the journalist commending the state's Governor Barnett for finally adopting: "the course of honor[sic] and of wisdom in ending his rebellion against the Government" – interestingly, not his attitude towards Meredith. Meanwhile, the similar yet reasoned resolve of the Kennedy brothers – for which 'Government' here seems to be synonymous - is perlocutionarily affirmed in their "act[ing] without rancor [sic] but with an inflexibility that should have convinced the Governor of the futility of the course."

Such 'futility' is picked up by Reston in June 1963 in his perlocutionary "Canute"<sup>681</sup> appellation to an equally implacable, university-barricading Governor, Alabama's George Wallace. While the inevitability of federal law must likewise always prevail against obduracy of state custom, the article undermines itself in its seemingly persistent desperation to laud, through unwitting admission as to the belatedness – "just the beginning" – and inadequacy of momentum – "greater sense of urgency" – of Kennedy's now active management of the issue, nearly one year on from Barnett's similar steeliness. It further portrays intimation that may also be shared by the President, of proximity to an upcoming election rather than disseminating an unprovoked will to redress perceived ongoing injustice:

"President Kennedy's swift and successful action against Governor George C. Wallace, the King Canute of Alabama, is just the beginning of a bolder White House strategy in the field of Negro civil rights, jobs and retraining....He has...a greater sense of urgency about the race problem and a clearer conviction about how to deal with it."

The article further reveals the newspaper's more overt adoption of prejudice when unfettered personal commendation is enabled. Earlier it is glimpsed in the examples containing seemingly peripheral references to actual black contribution, and now it is exhibited in patronising, regional regard. Again, such recourse acts as a deflecting mechanism from scrutiny of Presidential management itself to the more comfortable territory of a Southern white target. In Sitton's aforementioned 'Civil Rights Applauds Kennedy', both he and the Council seem to acquire unified voice when it is reported that Kennedy's administration:

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<sup>681</sup> James Reston, 'Washington: Kennedy and King Canute of Alabama', *The New York Times*, June 12<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/06/12/80448367.html?pageNumber=42> (15/07/2017).



“...sensed accurately the temper of the Southern majority, which wants Federal aid when local authority cannot or will not move but wants that aid routinely and impersonally, and not as the outcome of high policy debates and negotiations”<sup>682</sup>

thus mocking Southern arbitrariness in acceptance of national legal obligation.

The North-South divide is further evidenced in the ‘King Canute of Alabama’ finally seeing sense; it is resumed in, for example, in the cartoon strip of September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1963;<sup>683</sup> it has been observed earlier in this thesis in *The New York Times*’ patronising reaction to Dallas’ own commemorative response further to Washington’s JFK anniversary memorial plans. Even when Federal troops are sent into Oxford, Mississippi, reneging on a promise recalled by *The Dallas Morning News* through Alabama Governor John Patterson’s belief that “federal troops would never be used by John F. Kennedy against Southern states”,<sup>684</sup> particularly given the “debacle of such a tyrannical act”<sup>685</sup> carried out at Little Rock by Kennedy’s immediate predecessor, *The New York Times* defends the President-authorized directive. It achieves this by replacing its regular equivocation with a sense of haughty moral integrity – the title already intimates the audacity of the Governor warning the President - in an article it affords to its front page in which the same Southern senior official apocalyptically berates the armed response ““as a dictatorship of the foulest sort. In truth it, it will mark the end of our existence as a democratic republic.””<sup>686</sup> Here, the perlocution of such absolutist regard seems intended merely to engender the mirth of the newspaper’s perceived core demographic.

Northern journalism prejudice is more overtly identified by another of its Southern targets, Lyndon Johnson, who laments:

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<sup>682</sup> Op. cit. Sitton, ‘Civil Rights’, March 26<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

<sup>683</sup> ‘Southern Comments on the Civil Rights Crisis’, *The New York Times*, September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/09/01/140348142.html?pageNumber=94> (18/09/2017). The strip depicts both colour and regional prejudice: the rough-shod walking over the Kennedy personified law; beleaguered Southern Governors succumbing to the club of federal law; faux kneeling by Kennedy to King’s rabble-depicted Washington August crowd; King aggressively threatening his shoe towards a seated white bureaucrat.

<sup>684</sup> ‘By Mississippians: “Troops Use Called Barnett Triumph”’, *The Dallas Morning News*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1962. Note here collective voice of ‘By Mississippians’, given full capitals in the original article, in contradistinction to *The New York Times*’ identified general equivocation in trying to tell this story.

<sup>685</sup> ‘Kennedy Warned by Gov. Patterson’, *The New York Times*, September 28<sup>th</sup>, 1962, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1962/09/28/82767921.html?pageNumber=1> (22/08/2017).

<sup>686</sup> Ibid.

‘One reason the country could not rally behind a Southern President, I was convinced, was that the metropolitan press of the Eastern seaboard would never permit it. My experience in office had confirmed this reaction. I was not thinking just of the derisive articles about my style, my clothes, my manner, my accent, and my family....I was also thinking of a more deep-seated and far-reaching attitude – a disdain for the South that seems to be woven into the fabric of Northern experience...To my mind, these attitudes represent an automatic reflex, unconscious or deliberate, on the part of opinion molders [sic] of the North and East in the press and television.’<sup>687</sup>

Such grievance recalls Bradlee’s report back to Senator Kennedy on Johnson’s potential as a Presidential candidate for the 1960 election in which the Texan is described as projecting a ‘poor’ image. In addition:

‘The accent hurts. Even if we assume that many people say that have no prejudice against a southerner, the fact is that in this country the Texan is partly a comic, partly horse opera figure. He is hard to take seriously even when he is being desperately serious. More than that...Johnson really does not have the requisite dignity.... His personal mannerisms are disruptive....He’s somebody’s gabby Texas cousin...’<sup>688</sup>

*The Dallas Morning News* exhibits similar sensitivity, bearing out David Davies’ contention that:

‘Southern resentments against Northern journalists was widespread. Southern editors, particularly those conservative on racial matters, had long resented the influx of Northern reporters covering Southern racial news after Brown.’<sup>689</sup>

Accordingly, this newspaper is rather less ambivalent in its projection to its reader of the proximity between Kennedy and his administration’s Civil Rights’ policies. When reporting from Washington, more impartial dissemination is generally identified, enhanced by frequent inclusion of syndicated *New York Times*’ articles. Even King’s ‘Dream’ speech coverage only infrequently betrays shared indulgence in Presidential condemnation<sup>690</sup> in what is – with the grating exception of ‘lashing’ black voices, intimating the newspaper’s own prejudice - a restrained, locutionary stroll by journalist Robert E. Baskin through the “well-behaved” crowd that day.

However, this does not completely preclude regional reciprocal journalistic retaliation. It is conspicuously conveyed, for example, in the pedantic cited prefacing

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<sup>687</sup> Op. cit. Johnson p.95.

<sup>688</sup> ‘Bradlee’s assessment of Johnson’s potential’, May 9<sup>th</sup>, 1959, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKPOF/028/JFKPOF-028-016> (19/10/2018).

<sup>689</sup> Op. cit. Davies.

<sup>690</sup> ‘March Speakers Demand Tougher Rights Legislation’, *The Dallas Morning News*, August 29<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

by West to his 'Integration In a Capital'<sup>691</sup> - interestingly applying the indefinite article here as if the capital does not also belong to the South. West expresses his caustic regard towards the effect of federal-law imposition upon Washington, "this once calm capital" that now "as a result of "integration"" has been given "its worst social headache in history". At all costs:

"Dallas, facing school integration in September, cannot afford to lose its head either way: It must not let the rabid integrationists dominate, as Washington has; and it must restrain the volatile segregationist element likely to create trouble."

This perlocutionary object-sequel statement, in which desegregation is conveyed in terms of unpredictable dangerous derangement that can physically be contracted, is reminiscent of Farmer's 'dogs' and 'rats' accusation. Such is the paranoia generated that object-as-sequel specificity conclusion is provided in the perlocutionary insistence upon the city's continued resistance. The speech act here enjoys freer rein in the journalist's perceived need to dictate to his audience. It is as if the locutionary tone more evident in the paper's syndicated articles or/and its Washington-desk imports, will no longer suffice when reporting from Dallas to the state and beyond, with Kennedy perception being similarly refracted.<sup>692</sup> The journalists frequently disseminate – often utilizing coinciding community views within its newspapers' regions to compound that voice – rather than reactively absorb disparate Kennedy perception, to encourage continued negative interpretation by the reader *The New York Times* generally seems reluctant to impart.

This is particularly evidenced in *The Dallas Morning News*' compilation of other newspapers' editorials regarding required conformity by the South and its Civil Rights' response to specific events. For example, within its edition of October 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1962 is reported from Tallahassee its residents' disagreement "with troops" ordered into Mississippi to break Governor Barnett's resistance although the community "concedes it is impelled by sincere benevolent motives politically acceptable to the

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<sup>691</sup> Op. cit. thesis p.166. Below the subheading the reader is informed that this is "Fifth of a series of editorial interpretations on the nation's capital", June 29<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>692</sup> Dallek identifies its 1956 inception when some Southern newspapers expressed hostility towards supporting JFK's Vice-Presidency further to farming legislation opposition perceived to advantage the South. Kennedy apparently notified the affected Governor, 'acknowled[ging] that his support of Massachusetts' interests sometimes clashed with those of Mississippi, [but] that he principally devoted himself to the national interest and looked forward to serving the needs of both their regions in the future', op. cit. p.214.

nation at large.”<sup>693</sup> Snapshots the *News* includes from other papers, however, appear less deferential to Washington’s well-meant intentions the North’s *Wall Street Journal* more bluntly articulates: “It is one thing to be concerned about federal erosion of states’ rights; it is quite another to go to the extreme of trying to put an individual state above federal authority.”<sup>694</sup> Alabama’s *Birmingham News* responds to such a ‘Press Attack’ affront against Southern resistance with: “While enforcement of desegregation in the South is distasteful at the least, Americans can only look to Congress for recourse.”<sup>695</sup> Federal rule must instead be overturned by identification of what it regards as the only legal force available – knowingly comprising majority white Southerners – to impede what is suggested here to be a distinct and un-American contagion, otherwise, “each man’s front door is made the less secure.”<sup>696</sup>

Pejoratively applying the same noun hitherto positively associated by many newspapers with Kennedy, the *Alabama Journal* similarly strains towards clasping this same “legal weapon at hand...to be used with firm vigor [sic] to deal with the harassing interference by Washington...”<sup>697</sup> The final – ironically ‘Canute’-type – act of editorial solidarity against the indignant Northern press tide of “frenzied determination” in this compilation is given to South Carolina’s *Charleston News and Courier*, that describes the federal troop presence in Mississippi as “organized tyranny”<sup>698</sup> of “mob spirit” upon “white Southerners”, their “bayonets...mopping up pockets of resistance.”

Splitting completely from *The New York Times* and particularly its earnestly proclaimed 1946 policy of justified ethnic labelling,<sup>699</sup> *The Dallas Morning News* proceeds ungraciously to lambast its frequent feeder of news in a 1963 editorial by West entitled ‘Old Chickens Home to Roost’ in which the journalistic fissures at least of the North-South divide are now brought acutely into focus. Resentment towards its perception of a Northern superiority complex is picked up by the newspaper’s similar denouncing of the effect Washington’s desegregation assimilation may have upon

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<sup>693</sup> ‘Editorial Views from the South’, *The Dallas Morning News*, October 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1962.

<sup>694</sup> ‘Press Attacks Gov. Barnett’, *The Dallas Morning News*, September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

<sup>695</sup> Op. cit. ‘Views’, October 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1962.

<sup>696</sup> Ibid.

<sup>697</sup> Op. cit. ‘Barnett’ September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

<sup>698</sup> Op. cit. ‘Views’, October 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1962.

<sup>699</sup> The article concludes: “We are sure that this policy meets the approval of fair-minded readers. News that encourages racial discrimination may sometimes be of interest, but responsible journalism has a higher law than a passing interest”, op. cit. ‘Race In The News’, August 11<sup>th</sup>, 1946.

employment circumstances in the South: “The Colored [sic] chickens have come home to roost in the editorial offices in The New York Times, which for some time has been telling the South how to handle its racial problem.”<sup>700</sup> In the immediate segueing of the figurative ‘old chickens’ into active ‘colored’ varieties is conveyed the perlocutionary threat of ease with which these physical black embodiments percolating beyond the North’s press offices can become as established as the Southern white-held wisdom that foresaw it. It is an issue that has apparently been expanding “under their good, gray [sic] nose” – a witty but supercilious retort to describe both the physical overall tint of a newspaper page as well as a metaphorical verdict upon the North’s ceding of racial supremacy that is now left somewhere between white and black. Employment equality between races in this city is perceived by West to be causing inevitable friction about which “We in the South have long been protesting” resulting in “‘Equality’ for the Negro” then becoming “inequality for the whites. The ‘civil right’ to work will be gained by the infliction of a civil wrong.” Self-righteous retaliation is now at least aphoristically complete.

The connection between the forced acceptance of federal legislation and its specific regional impact is picked up by Ted Dealey’s son Joe, in whose interview is posited subjectively a direct link between desegregation and the hike local industry experiences in nationwide steel production costs. Ignoring Kennedy’s overt ‘ice-cold’<sup>701</sup> insistence to reverse the broken agreement with steel executives,<sup>702</sup> the newspaper’s president views the threatened price increase as entirely consistent with that administration’s “‘stands on civil rights and stands on industries peculiar to us...oil for instance, in which they continue to attack the very things that make this country great.’”<sup>703</sup>

After Kennedy’s June 1963 television broadcast, such flashes of self-interest become more consistently angrily self-protectionist as if the vulnerability of that

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<sup>700</sup> ‘Old Chickens Home to Roost’, *The Dallas Morning News*, August 11<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>701</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.450.

<sup>702</sup> ‘Steel Price Rise Strikes Barrier: Move Called “Irresponsible” by Kennedy – Inland says Action Was Untimely’, *The New York Times*, April 15<sup>th</sup>, 1962, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1962/04/15/113426750.html?pageNumber=140> (27/09/17).

<sup>703</sup> ‘JFK Policies Worry Texans, Joe Dealey of News Reports’, April 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1962.

earlier cited “front door” has finally been forced open to allow for the irrevocable destruction of a way of life:

‘...anchored by myth and imagination. Southerners still nurtured fantasies of a past in which demure ladies with cavalier gentleman paraded through an agrarian landscape... Essential to the continuation of the fantasy was that blacks had to remain in their place as an inferior race. Southern romantics clung to this bigoted dream world and were convinced their lifestyle was moral and inviolable.’<sup>704</sup>

Gone is the irony and indignation; the newspaper’s invective starts to become personal, differently applying perception of Presidential misappropriation of momentum that continues nonetheless to accentuate the negative trajectory. Congress’ implacability – previously regretted as ineffectual by Southern readers in its failure to stall federal law application - is now positively identified by the newspaper as a virtue to “subdue”<sup>705</sup> Kennedy’s unseemly legal pace at least, pro-Civil Rights’ protesters separately have long too been very differently craving. The similarly “cocky” Franklin D. Roosevelt apparently confronted the same issue and like Kennedy today with his New Frontiersmen, tried during his Presidency to “purge Southerners who disagreed with him and to stack a Supreme Court which would not go along with every theory his brain-trusters conceived.” Reflective of his own approval, West now applauds in equally measured, perlocutionary sentences, as if to diffuse on the page the recklessness he attributes to Kennedy on this matter:

“...the genius of our constitutional system. The Lower House generates the most legislation. The Senate deliberates and serves as a brake. Both of them check on the White House. The whole set-up was devised to assure sensible compromises and prevent the concentration of power in any one place.”

Any imbalance therefore will constitute a “big job for conservatives of both parties. The country is drifting into an American version of socialism.” West exploits Eisenhower’s concerns about Kennedy’s self-determined ego-powered trajectory with separate perlocutionary warning of untrammelled ambition, intended “to set Washington on fire”, in which West indulgently recalls his own previous assertion, that: “all dictatorships begin by concentrating power in one place and few hands.”<sup>706</sup>

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<sup>704</sup> Op. cit. Levingston p.15. Minutaglio and Davis express such perceived capitulation through the minds of oil mogul Hunt and Baptist Priest Criswell: ‘the growing civil rights movement was just a way for soft-willed intellectuals and liberals to supercharge socialism, and open the door to a steadfast campaign by the communists to infiltrate America’, op. cit. p.13.

<sup>705</sup> Op. cit. ‘Fickle Public’, July 25<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

<sup>706</sup> Op. cit. ‘That Big Octopus’, January 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1962.

What masquerades above as West's appeal for readers to share in his historical privileging of them – albeit by dissociating themselves from the 'fickleness' of a public of which they just formed a part – so that they may independently conclude the likely course unchecked Kennedy re-election may entail, is abandoned in an article simply entitled 'Civil Rights'. The absence of an ascribed journalist to it implies collective resentment by the newspaper that now readily conflates identification of a single orchestrator with direct, appalling manifestation. Desegregation's anticipated impact upon employment opportunities is indignantly attributed to Kennedy alone in a perlocutionary tirade in which the *News* indulges in a little anaphora of its own. In its opinion, the South has already been overly concessionary: "...racial barriers have come down in an astonishing number of areas"<sup>707</sup> but:

"Apparently this is not enough. It has merely whetted the appetite for more. The Negro today...wants total eradication of discrimination...Apparently the President of the United States is prepared to give it to him."

Business, again through close conjugation with desegregation, is contiguously threatened, in the same way a manifestation of it, steel production profits, becomes nationally re-appropriated. Perlocutionary 'sequel' alarm at the prospect of that earlier 'socialist' destiny being reached, is ultimately conveyed by reference to the "assault on private property" in which "the President would forbid virtually every businessman in America from discriminating in his private establishment."

Kennedy's "radical" Civil Rights' behaviour is disseminated by the newspaper as an outright attack upon the South, the article's focus moving beyond journalistic retaliation against its Northern counterparts to an invective against the sort of administration and world Kennedy has engendered there, with:

"...big government getting bigger at the expense of the individual, the private property, the states and local communities. Washington, it seems, is to tell us all how to live, what we can earn and even with whom we must eat..."

The article concludes ambivalently by informing the reader that: "The Negro should be warned that with such power in the hands of the national government, tomorrow can be used against those whom it proposes to help today." It is unclear whether the – no doubt initially grateful - 'Negro' is being identified as just the simple victim of policy here or whether the newspaper carries a stronger perlocutionary force in its

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<sup>707</sup> 'Civil Rights', *The Dallas Morning News*, June 21<sup>st</sup>, 1963.

warning as to the likelihood of ongoing protection being afforded to this particular community by another should ‘tomorrow’ acquire a different, less indulgent government. ‘Menace’ seems to be the open-ended ‘sequel’ elicited here.

Concomitant with such warning is the newspaper’s increasing cultivation of object-as-sequel paranoia, Chapter Four will further explore. In the context of Civil Rights at this point, it is cumulatively achieved by exploiting the personal vulnerability of its citizens the paper itself has engendered, with their eventual destruction – “assault” – by a totalitarian force. The threat of racial dilution imposed by forced proximity in, for example, a restaurant, bus shelter or within one’s own home is made out ultimately to be Kennedy’s fault, with the scale of enemy expanding enormously beyond the state now to incorporate foreign, antithetical elements. In ‘Racial Crisis and Government’<sup>708</sup> West resumes this obsession with government size impinging upon individual security. In order to give his own rhetoric credence, West invokes Hitler, Stalin and Mussolini to suggest the persuasion of government that is similarly dictating “who can sit next to whom in a classroom” in which “its next step will be to mold [sic] your children’s minds by ordering what textbooks they must read and follow.” Enhancing neurosis through rapid-fire perlocutionary listing, the variously and twice-invoked “Big government” in consecutive paragraphs continues to take:

“...your money...and sends it abroad without your permission, to atheists, communists and deadbeats who would undermine our dearest traditions and institutions and who call us suckers for paying them to do it.”

After such a tirade the article recovers its equanimity through a stipulated ‘Reverting’ by West in which his need to impart such grave information to the reader is apparently justified out of his own sense of personal decency that likewise wishes to have protected the “the dignity and freedom of the Negro and the white man.” Interestingly, for the personally unattributed editorial feature cited above, discernible in this separate article are uncanny echoes as to the possible identity of those columns’ actual originator: “The governmental power, which seeks to help the Negro today, can be turned against the Negro tomorrow.” This is surely the most overt disclosure of the real meaning to the hitherto unspoken flipside of ambivalent warning invoked towards

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<sup>708</sup> Dick West, ‘Racial Crisis and Government’, *The Dallas Morning News*, July 28<sup>th</sup>, 1963.



the end of the ‘Civil Rights’ article. It is an interpretation enhanced by West’s near-confirmatory gap-filling assertion that:

“Ten years from tonight the Negro may not have ‘friends’ in the White House and in Congress. Suppose radical racists are on the throne and use big governments’ power to enslave the minorities?”

The perlocutionary threat of a different type of retaliation now becomes accentuated in sentence ‘sequel’: white supremacists in power could similarly apply their accrued might to reverse black-perceived progressive legislation. Concluding the ideological assault on the Southern individual in physical terms, the “double-edged sword” Kennedy is brandishing in his dangerously legislative concessions apparently “stab[s] at the jugular veins of both races.” The article concludes somewhat unwittingly in participatory language redolent of Kennedy himself, picking up on the tawdry - “slugging” - racial tussles taking place on the South’s streets, for immediate replacement by an intangible battle that must instead be waged against such destructive policy: “Let us not fight each other. Let us fight that.”

By August 1963 West’s despair seems complete. His ‘South Is Mad, And No Wonder’ opens defiantly with his own bullet-points taking renewed aim against Kennedy in which the first shot repeats the theme of macro-to-micro persecution: “States and communities in this country receive subtle and indirect threats of punishment, if they don’t go along with Kennedy and his program [sic].”<sup>709</sup> West follows this with expressions of humiliation in which “foreign countries – some of them communistic – can thumb their noses at America and receive pats on the back and millions in money.” It is:

“No wonder, therefore Governors Barnett of Mississippi and Wallace of Alabama hit the boiling point in every speech they make....Washington permits Russia to set up a military colony under Castro and hesitates to oppose it; at the same time, United States soldiers are sent to Tuscaloosa to force Alabamans, to change the character of their state university...a communist thug and playboy Sukarno in Indonesia took our money and bought private yachts, but one who owns a private restaurant and hotel in this country is being told that it isn’t ‘private’ property and he must submit to rules from Washington or go to jail.”

By inversely paralleling local sacrifice with its facilitation of international immorality, that feared form of ‘socialism’ finally appears to have been horrifically realized for

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<sup>709</sup> Dick West, ‘South Is Mad And No Wonder’, *The Dallas Morning News*, August 18<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

West, its sole means of extrication being recourse to the as-yet non-commandeered ballot box 15 months' hence, during which time: "the Rebel yells in Dixie are getting louder and the solid South less solid..."

By October, disseminated concerns for personal preservation become temporarily displaced by conflicted readership contribution as to the President's own safety, further to his scheduled Little Rock Livestock venue visit, at which some right-wing groups apparently "asked for a boycott".<sup>710</sup> Allen Duckworth's 'Arkansans Debate Just How To Receive Visiting Kennedy' betrays more than just uncertainty over the type of welcome to be afforded the President at such a symbolically potent venue, particularly given the actual location's still unchanged segregated seating arrangement. Assimilating collective viewpoint to strengthen its own dissemination again, readers are informed that: "Mr. Kennedy is showing real courage in coming to Arkansas after the way he is treating the South." Its community apparently "respect[s] the office of the President of the United States" but:

"We do not respect John F. Kennedy who occupies that office. We regard him as having betrayed the trust of Arkansans by his heavy-handed oppression of Southern white people."

It is therefore unclear whether more than locutionary dissemination is intended by reference to preparations for Kennedy's arrival including a helicopter pad "complete with a strong fence around it."

During Kennedy's Presidency, the divergent paths of unconvincing laudation – *The New York Times*' difficulty in telling the Civil Rights' story – and bigoted condemnation – *The Dallas Morning News*' commitment to its own parochial imparting – steadily appear to converge negatively to determine the course of trajectory perception. *The New York Times*' general equivocation exposes its lack of confidence in being able to assert Kennedy's capable management, echoed more directly by protesters who accuse him of overly slow progress on this matter; reactive defiance becomes the unified voice increasingly assumed by *The Dallas Morning News* in response to what is often self-interestedly perceived to be Kennedy's rashness

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<sup>710</sup> Allen Duckworth, 'Arkansans Debate Just How To Receive Visiting Kennedy', *The Dallas Morning News*, October 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1963.

on the very same issue. Such diverse dissemination of competence may ultimately be assimilated as Myth.

This ‘Negative’ depiction is fulfilled by Kennedy himself who delegates opportunity for its redirection to the man for whom less equivocation is afforded, at least by *The New York Times* – and on a first page too<sup>711</sup> – Robert. It is the Attorney General’s telephone call to Governor Vandiver that facilitates Judge Mitchell’s releasing of Martin Luther King from a Georgia jail; it is his own “resolute”<sup>712</sup> speech of “firm language” given courageously in person to University of Georgia students that elicits, albeit eventually, “thirty seconds” of “enthusiastic applause”, as well as positive reversion of the university’s extant hostility and cosmetic integration of black students Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes. It is Robert’s presence during Albany’s very public disorder that deflects anger from an anyway absent President – who is separately described by *The New York Times* as having “no plan”<sup>713</sup> elsewhere in Alabama to “confer on the uneasy racial situation in Birmingham” when he eventually does meet George Wallace – just as it is Robert who has to endure to his face vitriol from black activists such as Jerome Smith who he invites to a meeting in Manhattan in 1962. A more moderate black attendee, Kenneth Clark, later laments that, “‘had [Robert] lived, he really would have demonstrated a rare combination of courage, clarity, and concern about the same issues that concerned me.’”<sup>714</sup> Accentuating this sibling distinction enhances the separately-guided newspaper reader perception: ‘while the president still hadn’t found his voice, Bobby took on black rights as a moral cause and by his word and his example, urged his brother the president to do the same.’<sup>715</sup> It is Robert himself who enacts correct appropriation – reflected by newspaper acknowledgment of his “vigorous role”,<sup>716</sup> an Icon adjective usually reserved for his brother – of political and moral momentum. In words that the President

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<sup>711</sup> Anthony Lewis, ‘Robert Kennedy Vows In Georgia To Act On Civil Rights’, *The New York Times*, May 7<sup>th</sup>, 1961, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/05/07/issue.html?action=click&contentCollection=Archives&module=LedeAsset&region=ArchiveBody&pgtype=article> (25/06/2017).

<sup>712</sup> Ibid.

<sup>713</sup> ‘President Touring South Today, Faces Wallace At Muscle Shoals’, *The New York Times*, May 18<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/05/18/89922799.html?pageNumber=12> (15/08/2017).

<sup>714</sup> Op. cit. Levingston p.392.

<sup>715</sup> Ibid. Dallek also commends his ‘unblinking realism’, op. cit. p.166.

<sup>716</sup> Op. cit. ‘Robert Kennedy Vows’, May 7<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

seems only eventually able to embrace, Robert appears already definitive on this matter: “We will not stand by or be aloof. We will move.”<sup>717</sup>

### **Superficiality**

The final ‘Negative’ quality this chapter explores is the proportionality exercised between Kennedy’s application of style and substance. Recommencing with his international diplomacy, success seems to be concluded by *The New York Times* in particular according to personality rather than actual achievement. In the quoted 1961 article covering Kennedy’s Paris summit with de Gaulle, Reston declares that:

“Kennedy is not solving problems, but he is at least opening them up. He is reaching radical conclusions about his problems but meeting them with traditional methods which still fall far short of the transformations he keeps talking about.”<sup>718</sup>

Two months later the same newspaper diminishes the critical disparity it identifies here, in a somewhat curious reference to Kennedy and de Gaulle producing “little of substance – and were highly successful.”<sup>719</sup> It is followed by disproportionate celebration of Kennedy’s achievement of a personal “rapport” that paradoxically results in highlighting the extent of his political failure in dissuading the French President from his NATO-independent pursuit of a nuclear deterrent. This is evidenced by the deviant comments, escaping from the personality emphasis of the paragraph, asserting the meeting to have “produced little of substance”; that its anticipated “meager [sic] harvest of predictable agreements” is fulfilled; that - with perlocutionary gloss - “a twilight area of semi-agreement” is reached only regarding future top-level diplomatic negotiations between these nations that will be conducted in similar fashion. However, such ‘twilight’ seems swiftly extinguished by the mutual recognition that French calls for greater nuclear sovereignty are incompatible with Kennedy’s simultaneous pressure for the Soviet Union to agree to a test ban treaty. It is: “an area of total disagreement that was frankly and amicably explored...”

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<sup>717</sup> Ibid. In ‘Question-and-Answer Session on the 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court Decision, in Beltsville, Maryland’, President Clinton describes Robert as ‘killing himself trying to get the schools integrated and enforce the law, May 17<sup>th</sup>, 1994, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-1994-book1/html/PPP-1994-book1-doc-pg935.htm> (15/10/2019).

<sup>718</sup> James Reston, ‘Kennedy Meets the Test of Personal Diplomacy’, *The New York Times*, April 16<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>719</sup> Op. cit. Doty 14<sup>th</sup> June 1961.

The imbalance between substance and style persists in Reston's 1962 laudation of the US President's management of international relations, in 'New Kennedy Style in Diplomacy'.<sup>720</sup> This is a progressive title tweak to Reston's cited April 1961 article that now concludes a substantive and unique achievement by Kennedy in this "distinctive 'American style'... in diplomacy" that derives from Reston's perlocutionary affirming of the President's "unusual combination of informality, dignity and wit." Reston reassures readers that Kennedy's self-deprecation actually clarifies extant political conditions with its ensuing ability to puncture pomposity, transform political mood and facilitate constructive accomplishment. Yet, as before with Reston, insistence is overplayed, endangering perception of political decorum by trivializing the weighty political agenda with references to the White House "house party" atmosphere that "at times" resembles "a spree". It is followed by description of the venue's Correspondents' Dinner "as the biggest, noisiest American blowout since the Inaugural Ball" that follows Kennedy's first official meeting with UK Prime Minister Harold Macmillan - similarly hailed for its "informality and absence of pretense [sic]" that is "almost worth the hangover." At this point Reston undermines his own praise. He contends that such relaxed geniality is more than "merely a change of style". Instead, it is an integral rather than cosmetic cloak to "deal with things as they are", such "informal but searching" approach being carried to the Vienna summit the reader is then unexpectedly informed "without noticeable effect" against the implacable Khrushchev, however hard Kennedy "continues to try to cut away the fat and get to the bone." This implies that the crux of the matter cannot always be penetrated by the "lets-get-down-to-it style of Washington today" that may have worked on Macmillan and even de Gaulle despite Reston's continued insistence that this changed "atmosphere of the capital is not only a thing of manners but of political substance." The perlocutionary strain is rendered further vacuous by the near-knowingly irrelevant, forced invocation of Henry Thoreau, to which Kennedy apparently bears no similarity other than the tenuous comparison Reston draws from this apparently constructive private-encounter approach that expresses in "[Kennedy's] own way Thoreau's love of reality." Reston is providing here a false context to persuade the reader of supposed Presidential incisiveness by abusing the

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<sup>720</sup> James Reston 'New Kennedy Style in Diplomacy', *The New York Times*, April 29<sup>th</sup>, 1962, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1962/04/29/issue.html>

ethos element of rhetoric Kennedy so regularly embraces for similarly audience-reassuring perlocutionary effect.

*The Dallas Morning News*, however, applies somewhat blunter perlocutionary force in its extraction of the ‘bone’ from the Kennedy ‘fat’ of charisma, to paraphrase Reston, by reporting the President’s meeting with Khrushchev to be a victory for neither style nor substance. One day after the summit, Bill Rives perfunctorily answers anticipated objections from his own readership as to his own verdict upon Kennedy’s political encounter:

“Vienna – This is what happened, so far as concrete action is concerned, at the Kennedy-Khrushchev talks here this weekend: Nothing.

In sum and substance, the talks had only one value: they enabled the two world leaders to get a long look at one another...”<sup>721</sup>

Rives concedes agreement to be reached between the two leaders upon the neutrality of Laos – “The only possible source of genuine comfort” – although this is similarly undermined as un-progressive: “That means nothing, since it simply was a reaffirmation of previous stands.” Rives likewise dismisses contentions as to the establishment of an effective ceasefire: “That doesn’t say anything specific, either...” although upon overall reflection “this was the only area in which it might be said that genuine progress was made...” The summit is instead deemed a lost opportunity for the “young” and “new” President that Khrushchev luckily resists ‘stampeding’, with Laos and access-threatened West Berlin in particular, “momentous because of what they might have been, not because of what they were.”

Syndicating Eric Sevareid’s critical ‘New Frontier Taking Old Detour’,<sup>722</sup> the Dallas paper’s ongoing suspicions Parmet suggests the wider public possibly to share, that ‘all the intellectuality was but power wrapped in tinsel’,<sup>723</sup> is resumed in its similar cosmetic reference to the “fresh greenery” of Kennedy’s administration merely ‘dressing’ an unchanged approach to evergreen political issues. Sevareid contends a split loyalty operating within Kennedy’s non-green – ‘unnatural’ – intellect that in one

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<sup>721</sup> Bill Rives, ‘Kennedy-Nikita Talks Produce No Surprises’, *The Dallas Morning News*, June 5<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>722</sup> Eric Sevareid, August 5<sup>th</sup>, 1962. In *Dallas 1963* Sevareid, along with journalists Murrow and Lippmann, are purportedly identified by General Walker and his cohorts as ‘convinced communists’, op. cit. p.21. By invoking him, the newspaper seems to be compounding cultivation of public disappointment. See also ‘Dallas defended in other cities’, January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1967, in which Sevareid’s verbal attacks upon the city are met with similar retaliation by its *News*’ journalists.

<sup>723</sup> Op. cit. Parmet p.89.

respect he is exploiting to carve himself that coveted place in Presidential history but in so doing betrays matching inability to surmount “the familiar mountain range” of “old” agenda issues such as housing, farming and education that would surely have facilitated such transcendence automatically. Doubt is being cast as to Kennedy’s actual intellectual depth and its successful transition to facilitating new political solutions: “the substances of what he accomplishes.”

Such anxiety as to Kennedy’s intellectuality being a veneer rather than substantive tool of political change already seems intimated as far back as his Harvard undergraduate days. Even the usually discreet Schlesinger seems embarrassed at his audacity in ‘brashly’<sup>724</sup> adapting the title of Winston Churchill’s *While England Slept* for his own thesis as if attempting to score some sort of intellectual superiority over the work of one of his purported political heroes. Many commentators attest to Kennedy being a voracious reader<sup>725</sup> regular health incapacitation during childhood may have exacerbated, although this does not necessarily confer the familiarity his extravagant overtures to prominent figures from the Arts’ community, suggests. Mark White contends ‘the notion that JFK improved the arts in America was a fallacy, [although] his support for them strengthened his reputation as a cultured man.’<sup>726</sup> Association rather than innate aptitude is implied to provide the appearance of intellectuality that is mistaken for substance in order to impress. It is a suspicion shared by John Rosenfield of *The Dallas Morning News*: “The President himself, is said to be a notch lower than abstract expressionism in his tastes for all the arts but is not insensible to the more rarified [sic] regions.”<sup>727</sup> The article is headlined ‘The Passing Show: Our “Cultured” New Officials’ that seems to link it with the newspaper’s earlier cited similar reservation about the actual transformative capacity of Kennedy’s chosen New Frontiersmen. “Passing” here implies transience just as the punctuation emphasis on ‘Cultured’ queries similar qualification. Reference to “the more rarified [sic] regions” further hints at deliberate obscurantism. It recalls Schlesinger’s diplomatic

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<sup>724</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.77. Kennedy’s respect for Churchill is evident in his diary entry of July 10<sup>th</sup>, 1945, in which Churchill is described as forming “an admirable team” with Chamberlain for securing US entry into World War Two: “[Churchill] is given scant credit for it, particularly by the English people themselves, but perhaps history will be more generous”, op. cit. *Prelude* p.7.

<sup>725</sup> For example Salinger: ‘The President slept in an antique four-poster bed and his bedroom was always littered with papers, reports, newspapers, and magazines to fill his insatiable desire for reading’, op. cit. p.88.

<sup>726</sup> Op. cit. M. White, p.44.

<sup>727</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> January 1961.

commendation of Kennedy's apparent 'idiosyncratic taste',<sup>728</sup> in which obscurity seems to be equated with loftiness, rather than cynically identified as an intentionally selective means to substantiate an aura of erudition. Schlesinger reports that Norman Mailer is apparently 'startled' to hear Kennedy commend the writer's and counterparts' more esoterically-regarded texts such as '*The Deer Park*; Michener's *Fires of Spring*, Burdick's *The Ninth Wave*, not *The Ugly American*.' This seems particularly incompatible with Hogan's assertion that Kennedy's 'personal taste ran more to Hollywood movies and spy novels',<sup>729</sup> James Bond author Ian Fleming being a family visitor. Rosenfield intimates similar concern as to a disjunction between this possibly intellectual posturing and its even more unlikely substantive cultural transformation especially given "The Hoovers, Franklin Roosevelts and, yes, the Trumans [who] were artistic hepsters and nothing much happened to give the United States a cohesive artistic movement." Eisenhower, like Churchill, is an acknowledged albeit "academic quality" painter, a talent that nonetheless might just about qualify him for inclusion amongst the "highbrow" artistic circles. Yet his successor is attributed no such skills; it is simply "something Kennedy can not do"<sup>730</sup> in which the separating staccato effect of the last three monosyllables emphasizes that shortcoming in reader assimilation and by implication its similar concomitant national inefficacy.

At the Texas publishers' White House lunch in 1961 *The Dallas Morning News*' editor Ted Dealey is apparently observed to 'put the menu in his pocket'<sup>731</sup> as if a souvenir of the bewildering gastronomic affectation before him given its wholly French description. Indeed, privately Kennedy's tastes may be somewhat closer to Dealey's implied more comfortable culinary familiarity, with Crown's reference to the President as 'a beef and potatoes man'<sup>732</sup> who fuelled his political campaign trail with

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<sup>728</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.57, probably quoted from Mailer's own 1960 interview with Kennedy within 'Superman Comes to the Supermarket' in *Esquire*, Mailer's first foray into political journalism. Mailer is intrigued rather than blinded by the young Kennedy and 'his machine', hopeful the 'Fitzgerald' in this candidate can similarly inspire America to act upon its heroic imagination once more rather than collectively shrink back as 'mass man' on polling day into the comfort of mediocrity and security even Stevenson is depicted as struggling to continue to project as attractively virtuous, <https://www.esquire.com/news-politics/a3858/superman-supermarket/> (16/1/20).

<sup>729</sup> Op. cit. Hogan p.139. Hugh Sidey cites *From Russia With Love* to be one of Kennedy's top-ten favourite books, p.119 op. cit. *Prelude to Leadership*.

<sup>730</sup> Op. cit. 'Passing Show' January 27<sup>th</sup>, 1961. See also Bradlee: 'Kennedy finds it intolerable that he doesn't have the facility for language that others have, and his pride in Jackie's linguistic talents is tinged with jealousy and bewilderment', op. cit. p.95.

<sup>731</sup> Op. cit. Minutaglio and Davis p.106. Indeed, Bradlee in May 1963 may share Dealey's misgivings, being irritated that there was 'too much French being used to describe the menus', op. cit. p.196.

<sup>732</sup> Op. cit. Crown p.45.



‘milkshakes’. Cellist Pablo Casals, violinist Isaac Stern and composer Igor Stravinsky may be coveted invitees to Kennedy’s White House but Crown declares JFK’s personal taste more inclined ‘to the Marine band’ on its grounds ‘than any symphony he ever attended.’ Schlesinger similarly concedes that: ‘Serious music, it must be said, left him cold.’<sup>733</sup> Yet tellingly ‘...even here he believed it important for the President of the United States to lend his prestige to distinction of creation and performance’, that seems to confirm intellectual image substantiation by association rather than intrinsic ‘green shoot’ development Severeid’s earlier article appears to desire of him. In tacit confirmation that Mailer may indeed have been hoodwinked by Kennedy’s impressive recall of literary detail, Mark White asserts the President’s ‘industrious and resourceful staff’<sup>734</sup> having to provide him with checklists of composers and their works before he is introduced to them, together with a co-operative aide who is apparently instructed to ‘open a door by 2 inches in the president’s line of sight’ so that Kennedy knows when the last movement of a symphony is about to end in order to be seen to applaud in the right place.

The suspicion of intellectual veneer persists with reference to Kennedy’s actual authorship of books, that in turn draws attention to more serious questions as to the substance of his personal integrity. In the Preface to *Profiles in Courage*, Sorensen is stated to have “provided invaluable assistance”, such euphemistic proclivity being exploited by Drew Pearson during a 1957 television interview in which assumption of false authorship is asserted. Indeed, Dallek claims that ‘Kennedy asked Ted Sorensen to find other examples of Senators “defying constituent pressures”’<sup>735</sup> to populate his work, with Mark White obligingly even providing a list of its co-contributors.<sup>736</sup> Sorensen himself admits that ‘our working together...on *Profiles in Courage* brought us closer together.’<sup>737</sup> It leads Hellmann to conclude the result instead to be ‘a group

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<sup>733</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.631. Indeed, Salinger, an accomplished pianist, confirms that it is Jackie rather than JFK who is ‘primarily interested in setting a tone for the arts which would encourage culture around the country’, p.309. Nixon seems to share this view in his note to Jackie the day after Kennedy’s assassination: “...the nation will also be forever grateful for your service as First Lady. You brought to the White House charm, beauty and elegance as the official hostel of America, and the mystique of the young in art which was uniquely yours...” op. cit. Sabato p.301. Like Schlesinger, Salinger intimates Kennedy’s need to avow promotion of ‘the cultural program [he followed] with interest. It should be said, in fairness, that while not a devotee of classical music, he saw the importance of the program [sic]’, p.310.

<sup>734</sup> Op. cit. M. White p.41.

<sup>735</sup> Op. cit. Dallek p.118.

<sup>736</sup> Op. cit. M. White p.21.

<sup>737</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.29.

project that [Kennedy] sponsored and directed'<sup>738</sup> in which the Senator's ethics in accepting the Pulitzer Prize are seriously impugned 'since it was the product of many hands, of which Sorensen's seems to have been the busiest.'<sup>739</sup> Even upon the assumption of the Presidency, Crown appears sceptical regarding the plausibility of 'an extraordinarily busy Kennedy'<sup>740</sup> aligning his name to publications that should more accurately be identified as 'staff literature'.

Suspicions similarly extend as to the originality of other Kennedy ascriptions. In 'Ask Not Tell Not', Menand asserts 'Kennedy's rhetorical sails [to be] filled by the winds of other men.'<sup>741</sup> Possibly the Inauguration speech's most recalled line, 'Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country' can instead be attributed to its exploitation by the President of his Choate headmaster's mantra in which the student is to ask of his Alma Mater not 'What can she do for me?' but 'What can I do for her?'<sup>742</sup> Schlesinger is more generous in defending Kennedy's utilization of 'this line [that] was clearly Kennedy's own'<sup>743</sup> by demonstrating its consistency with his Nomination address in which the candidate describes his New Frontier as 'not what I intend to offer the American people, but what I intend to *ask* [Kennedy's attributed italics] of them.' It is sustained in a Detroit speech in which the New Frontier 'is not what I promise I am going to do for you. The New Frontier is what I ask you to do for our country.' However, even Schlesinger seems to experience a twinge of discomfort in full attribution of its originality towards the Presidential aspirant, conceding that 'like all such lines, it had its historic analogues'.<sup>744</sup>

In his closing comments, Parmet asserts that 'Glamour overshadowed quality'<sup>745</sup> and makes particular reference to 'Sorensen's lofty prose, which began to

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<sup>738</sup> Op. cit. Hellman p.76.

<sup>739</sup> Ibid.

<sup>740</sup> Op. cit. Crown p.31. See also M. White who draws a comparison with John Hersey's *PT109* which 'involved a certain amount of exaggeration...of an authentic courage' whereas *Profiles in Courage* is condemned as 'a deception, the transmission to the American people of the falsehood that...would be furthered when Kennedy accepted the Pulitzer Prize for a work he had not composed', op. cit. p.21.

<sup>741</sup> Op. cit. Menand.

<sup>742</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.469.

<sup>743</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.4.

<sup>744</sup> Ibid. Schlesinger proceeds to quote Gilbert Seldes' citation of US literary historian Van Wyck Brooks: 'Here may we be reminded that man is most honoured, not by that which a city may do for him, but by that which he had done for the city' or alternatively James Rowe's 'It is now the moment when by common consent we pause to become conscious of our national life and rejoice in it, to recall what our country has done for us, and to ask ourselves what we can do for our country in return.'

<sup>745</sup> Op. cit. Parmet p.353.

seem like the tinsel wrapped around an artificial world that posed as a modern Camelot.’ While reinforcing the impression of what is contended in this thesis as the Arthurian myth’s hollow core, this comment also draws attention to its vacuity, by substituting substance with rhetorical contrivance. In 1957 the young Senator accuses Eisenhower’s administration of “substitut[ing] slogans for solutions”<sup>746</sup> to countries uneasily emerging from nationalistic conflict. In his Nomination speech, Kennedy declares that “Our ends will not be won by rhetoric”,<sup>747</sup> the theme of words’ inadequacy alone being resumed in the Inauguration address with his illocutionary pledge “to convert our good words into good deeds”.<sup>748</sup> Such shortcoming in actual transition is picked up by Fort Worth’s *Star-Telegram* citing the safe – ‘uncontroversial’<sup>749</sup> – elements in it as if the speech is an end in itself, Chicago’s *Tribune* praising its “Rhetorically...very good”<sup>750</sup> qualities that must not, however, substitute for the action it promises.

Affirmation of speech replacing action is identified in the reported exasperations of Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt. ‘Brandt note to Kennedy urges “Political Action” not just talk on Berlin’<sup>751</sup> resumes the ‘rapport’ diplomacy apparently deemed so effective by Reston in enhancing US-French relations. Nonetheless, Kennedy once again finds himself rebuffed, albeit less directly than in his Khrushchev clash, by a beleaguered civic leader impatiently demanding “not merely words but political action” regarding Khrushchev’s threatened ‘frontier-crossing’ of his own in the form of a separate DDR peace treaty entailing Berlin’s full absorption, in violation of the US’ formal security commitment to West Berlin. The article describes the city’s “rising anger” that continues into its next paragraph: “anger over...failure by the Allies to take effective counter-action against the Communist measures.” Brandt lists the ominous consequences of international inaction, suitably greeted by the assembled crowd before him in which “derision” is expressed by them towards its form as a merely diplomatic protest to the USSR, while receiving “with silence the grave

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<sup>746</sup> John F. Kennedy, ‘A Democrat Looks at Foreign Policy’, *Foreign Affairs*, October 1957, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/1957-10-01/democrat-looks-foreign-policy>

<sup>747</sup> Op. cit. ‘Democratic Nomination Acceptance’, op. cit. *Speeches*, p.6.

<sup>748</sup> Op. cit. ‘Inaugural Address’, op. cit. *Speeches* p.18.

<sup>749</sup> Op. cit. ‘Editorial comment’, *The New York Times*, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1961.

<sup>750</sup> Ibid.

<sup>751</sup> *The New York Times*, August 17<sup>th</sup>, 1961, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/08/17/97615186.html?pageNumber=1> (18/09/2018).

warnings of the Mayor” who expresses similar ‘astonishment’ towards “the three-day delay in sending the first note...”

Polished oratory as a substitute for direct action is similarly bemoaned by *The Dallas Morning News*. Its weekly overview refers to “the Cuban problem”<sup>752</sup> whose solution, like “most foreign policy moves” it equates with this administration, assumes “the form of words”. A perlocutionary cross-head within the same page reads ‘Word Bombs Tossed at Cuba’ in which the newspaper expresses its profound discomfiture following House committee support to the President’s pending action towards Cuba. It demands at the very least ‘a toughening of language’ as a precursor to active intent rather than as a substitute for what Dallas Congressman Bruce Alger regards as the “weak, vague and indecisive” language that is totally commensurate with the lame decision for a naval blockade instead of island attack. Castro is similarly intrigued by the sophistication of the President’s verbal armoury as a political signifier. At the beginning of Kennedy’s Presidency, the Cuban leader issues his own challenge:

“We know what the new U.S President has ahead. If he goes through an honest path for the sake of the World and of his own country, we wish him luck. Meanwhile, we will wait for the facts that are more eloquent than his words.”<sup>753</sup>

As Chapter Four will discuss, amidst violent social breakdown in Mississippi during Meredith’s attempted enrolment, Kennedy’s first recourse is instead to a television address from Washington that impersonally appeals to respect for the law. Its oratorical incompatibility with its subject matter is symbolically confirmed by its embarrassingly premature declaration of the student’s as-yet denied admission.

Such inefficacious oratory is revealed in the transmission’s actual wording. Sorensen contradicts himself when subordinating style as an attractive facilitator to a substance he attributes to Kennedy’s ‘grace, wit, elegance and youthful looks’:

‘...what mattered most to him...was the substance – the strength of his ideas and ideals, his courage and judgment [sic]. These were the pith and purpose of his Presidency, of which style was but an overtone. I would be the last to diminish the value of his speeches. But their significance lay not in the splendor [sic] of their rhetoric but in the principles and policies they conveyed.’<sup>754</sup>

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<sup>752</sup> ‘A Newsmen Looks at the World’s Week’, *The Dallas Morning News*, September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

<sup>753</sup> Juan Carlos Rodriguez, *Bay of Pigs*, Ocean Press, 1999, p.232.

<sup>754</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen, p.7.

Those ‘principles’ and ‘policies’ however, are sometimes difficult to discern precisely because of their oratorical ‘tinselling’. As Chapter One demonstrates, Sorensen’s prose is often replete with self-conscious craftsmanship that frequently distracts as much as it accentuates in its intention, through its rhetoric’s grammatical devices about which Sorensen modestly denies formal schooling. Often, it is how something is said rather than its conceptual coherence that resonates, with soundbites in particular capable of mesmerizing a listener’s attention away from assimilating its import. While Kennedy/Sorensen, as stated, is generally resistant towards invocation of metaphor as perhaps more obviously obfuscatory, words adorned through dissonance, assonance, alliteration, chiasmus or counterbalanced imagery may subsume as much as enhance message leaving the audience uplifted yet possibly bewildered as to the specific nature of their own requested action. Kennedy rarely articulates precisely how an objective is to be achieved. His perlocutionary rhetoric is often deliberately non-prescriptive. Its refusal to specify object-as-sequel can encourage different understandings; it can mean different things to different people that may expose the practical limits of his ‘object’ exhortations. One example is Kennedy’s assertion during his second televised broadcast on Civil Rights, that “every American ought to have the right to be treated as he would wish to be treated...”<sup>755</sup> This principle can indeed be affirmed by everyone although be interpreted divergently so compounding disagreement. While here intended to defend Civil Rights for blacks, such insistence is nonetheless reliant upon Americans’ regard for each other and the behaviour they may wish to have extended towards themselves. In Kennedy’s Inauguration appeal conclusion, ensuing ‘what you can do’ understandings of altruistic patriotism can clearly be seen, for example in the South, to take opposing forms in protecting the US from its own constituent ethnic elements as well as the greater collective drive Kennedy may be requesting from each of his citizens for national self-improvement.

‘Tinselled’ words’ distraction of message substance may also be accentuated by the manner in which it is disseminated. In ‘Carefully Molded [sic] JFK Image on Trial’, Nixon’s TV debate misgivings as to the imbalance between content and delivery resurface in *The Dallas Morning News*’ concern that “In this topsy-turvy

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<sup>755</sup> ‘Radio and Television Report on the American People on Civil Rights’, 11<sup>th</sup> June 1963, JFK-Library, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-speeches/civil-rights-radio-and-television-report-19630611> (17/05/2018).

world, the image a politician casts is often thought more important than what he is or what he stands for.”<sup>756</sup> Forming an editor’s ‘Note’ in speculating upon Kennedy’s mid-term prospects, the paper’s unease over the physical effort expended is seamlessly continued – and endorsed for it - by printing Arthur Edson’s description of the Kennedy administration’s seeming ‘laborious’ prioritization of appearance over content. It acquires perlocutionary force through a simple, domestic analogizing:

“Be it potato chip or President, you can’t seem to market nowadays without a pretty package, hard sell and image projection. The proof of the potato chip is in the eating. The proof for the Presidency comes at the polls next month when it will be seen whether or not the public buys John F. Kennedy’s carefully groomed image.”

Kennedy and his policies are confined to purely mercantile terms, their successful public purchase reduced to a simple transaction that is encouraged more by the ‘groomed packaging’ of the product’s ‘high sheen’ family presentation than the specific ingredients constituting that “chip”’s palatability.

Image’s reduction of substance likewise persists in appropriate utilization of a medium to accommodate it. For example, it is not just the ‘tinselled’ words in the form of what Lewis describes as “the lofty realms of the law”<sup>757</sup> that may be seen as a deflecting substitute for more robust intervention during the Mississippi race riots. The ensuing television broadcast should underscore that message rather than dictate it. One unexpected critic of Kennedy’s conduct here is the hitherto-supportive Jack Gould of the same newspaper who lambasts his President’s apparent near-default recourse to this medium, from which the White House-sanctioned documentaries ‘Crisis’ and later ‘Primary’ evolve. Gould expresses concern that TV determines a less than “candid”<sup>758</sup> behaviour ‘Crisis’ in particular purports to espouse, in the form of self-conscious image attention that is interspersed with an “incredible bit of play-acting” from Kennedy’s similarly ‘conscious-of-the-lens’ team. For Gould, such television exploitation is conveyed as disproportionate to the gravity of the subject: “The cause of curiosity was served but not history or information.” It is a rare moment of

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<sup>756</sup> *The Dallas Morning News*, October 14<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

<sup>757</sup> ‘A New Racial Era’, *The New York Times*, June 13<sup>th</sup>, 1963,

<https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-speeches/civil-rights-radio-and-television-report-19630611> (19/07/2017).

<sup>758</sup> ‘TV: Too Many Cameras’, October 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1963,

<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/10/22/121490404.html?pageNumber=75> (18/07/2017).

dissension from that newspaper, achieved through cold perlocutionary-to-locutionary conclusion. Reconstruction for media self-congratulation has instead entailed “the private deliberations of the executive branch of government being turned into a melodramatic peep show”. Like Kennedy’s policies, some subjects should simply not be reduced to attractive commodification for onward idle public consumption.

Unfortunately, Anthony Lewis appears similarly beguiled by the format in which the same Mississippi subject happens to be presented. Rather than interrogating the wisdom – Gould’s sought “raw substance” – of the strategy to be applied to resolve the state’s unrest, in which he has already acknowledged there to be “nothing in the President’s speech to indicate that any kind of formal agreement had been reached”,<sup>759</sup> Lewis, mid-article, becomes distracted by appearance rather than substance. The reader is suddenly informed, before the NAACP is given page space to respond, that Kennedy “...wore a navy blue suit before the cameras, a white shirt and a blue tie that was knotted slightly off centre of his collar.” While readers may be gratified that their President is sartorially co-ordinated, the imperfect alignment of his tie registers as a contrivance to convey his active engagement with the issue, a ploy whose redundancy seems confirmed by the self-evident conclusion that viewers would be watching this 1962 transmission in black-and-white.

At the beginning of this chapter, I questioned the stability of a narrative to yield a definitive storyline. By its close, it can also be seen that divergence may be as intrinsic as coincidence within any such chronicling, to produce a contrasting version of the same event. In befriending the newspaper corps in particular in his zeal for the right version of his history to be imparted, Kennedy’s concern for their enduring complicity is justified when reciprocation of information is periodically felt by some to be compromised by the President’s stated recourse to any necessary withholding of it, for example on the grounds of state security.<sup>760</sup> Recalling Carr’s fish-shoal analogy,

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<sup>759</sup> ‘Kennedy Appeals to Mississippi’s Honor [sic] and Bids State Comply with Federal Law: President Talks to Nation On TV’, *The New York Times*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1962, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1962/10/01/90192380.html?pageNumber=22> (19/7/2017).

<sup>760</sup> For example, Bradlee: ‘Closeness brings the access that is essential to understanding, but with closeness comes potentially conflicting loyalties’, op. cit. p.22; also Kennedy’s indignation overall regarding ‘managing the news: “You...are getting more information out of the White House...than ever before...except for the Cuba thing’, op. cit. Bradlee p.154. Finally, with reference to development of a new weapon for Vietnam: ‘The American public...tends to believe a president...whenever he claims that national security requires that certain matters stay secret, and tends to be suspicious...of claims by journalists that national security is not involved’ *ibid.* p.155. For

journalists' regular counter-argument would be that a public service is being stymied, the empty catch or story itself now being vulnerable to population with speculation or falsehood that may simultaneously compound or explode the storyline disseminated by Kennedy and his complicit family. This is pertinently demonstrated with reference to Vietnam, the doused counter-narrative embers, for example of Halberstam's bold curiosity, fully resurgent by the time of the President's visit to Dallas, as Schlesinger himself reluctantly acknowledges:

'As for the newspapermen, they resented the view that their duty was to write stories in support of official policy....They angrily refused to become, as they thought, myth-makers and invoked with solemn indignation the traditions of the free press.'<sup>761</sup>

Such independence anticipates Watergate and in particular *The New York Times*' purported continuing – detached, unfreighted locutionary - commitment towards 'getting things done that the government doesn't want us to get.'<sup>762</sup> Developing the qualities discussed that may be seen to consolidate such diverse perceptions of Kennedy, I will now explore whether the Myth trajectory of such divergently-composed descent is actually as Negatively acute as the Positive's Icon elevation. In the final chapter, qualitative evaluation will be made as to where the combined trajectories currently appear to converge, together with examination of the expanded nature of Austin's performative acts that assists in this conclusion.

## Chapter Four

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example, 'the gray [sic] area of the cold war', p.327 – or as JFK himself states, the "absence of open warfare" – presents to a Presidency a dilemma in its sensing of reduced ability to impose as forcefully press limits on reporting that would make it more vulnerable to accusations of censorship. Salinger claims Kennedy's 1961 address on this subject to the American Newspaper Publishers Association in New York, 'will be as valid in the year 2061 as it was 1961', op. cit. p.155. The Bay of Pigs' episode, in which the Cubans only had to read US newspaper coverage of the impending attack, seems to vindicate this change in press policy. It is later manifested in a checklist of national interest criteria Salinger issues to members of the corps during the Cuban Missile Crisis, op. cit. p.288. But ultimately: 'the government of the United States, as a free democratic society may be faced with an impossible choice: that choice is between using any methods at its disposal, including some secret opposition, to defend the national interest and doing everything out in the open with the accepted drawbacks that such a policy would produce', op. cit. p.329.

<sup>761</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.838.

<sup>762</sup> Op. cit. 'Reporting Trump's First Year'. See also *The New York Times*' CEO Mark Thompson's separate contention attributing increased subscribers to a public wanting 'professional, consistent, properly funded newsrooms holding politicians to account', Mark Thompson, 'How *The New York Times* is Clawing its Way into the Future', February 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2017, [https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story\\_fbid=903946739709038&id=116620298441690](https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=903946739709038&id=116620298441690) (23/11/2019).



## Reverberations: how the story continues to be told

Although this thesis discredits the iconizing of the ‘Camelot’ metaphor as a ‘Positive’ signifier, part-retention of such popular parlance admittedly inspired by Hersh’s 1997 bleak appropriation, is nonetheless convenient in categorizing the ongoing course of the JFK trajectory. This chapter is therefore broadly divided into three sections, commencing with ‘Reverberations’ empowered by ‘dark’ Kennedy narratives unleashed post-assassination. Presciently described by *The New York Times* as “a vast demonic chain by which we are about to be enslaved”,<sup>763</sup> many of these weighted storylines demonstrate the implosive potentialities of the ‘American Dream’ Kennedy may be seen to personify and renew, through the “monolithic and ruthless”<sup>764</sup> nature of reverberating ‘conspiracy’ to which many of them become attached or assume form. I concentrate on the self-generating nature not just of a loose narrative’s illocutionary ability to create Myth but also of the paranoia it often engenders through a proclivity to undermine what it creates. Just as the Kennedy narrative can seem ambivalent so too may the Kennedy body politic contain intrinsic antithetical elements to threaten its survival. Schlesinger makes a similar, apparently ‘belated’ recognition, citing:

‘...membranes of civilization, stretched so thin over a nation so disparate in its composition, so tense in its interior relationships, so cunningly enmeshed in underground fears and antagonisms, so entrapped by history in the ethos of violence.’<sup>765</sup>

The second section discusses the ‘lighter’ side – in the sense of it being flecked by darkness too – of Kennedy’s Presidency with sole regard to Civil Rights’ reverberations that may be seen to redound more positively upon Kennedy given its continuing challenges to his successors.

Finally, the more unambiguously ‘light’ side of the Kennedy years is examined to demonstrate what has positively been determined and endures. In so doing I highlight what it posits as issues for future research as well as ultimately concluding qualitatively which form of trajectory – and version of history – currently prevails.

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<sup>763</sup> Eliot Fremont-Smith, ‘History as Conspiracy’, *The New York Times*, November 15<sup>th</sup>, 1965, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1965/11/15/95002545.html?pageNumber=35> (15/08/2018).

<sup>764</sup> ‘President and the Press’, op. cit. *Speeches* p.76.

<sup>765</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.626. Later specifically embellished with relation to ‘the latent streak of violence under the surface of American life: the sun o’ercast with blood, the nation torn asunder and dismembered’, p.645.

## **‘Dark’ reverberations**

The assassination event shocked the world. Indeed, in Britain it seems to have fallen into common parlance among those present at the time that ‘everybody knows where they were the day Kennedy was killed’. Eerily, such a phrase can almost be attributed to the man himself when he exclaims in a 1961 Miami Address to the American Labor movement, that: “I suppose, really, the only two dates that most people remember where they were, were Pearl Harbor and the death of President Franklin Roosevelt...”<sup>766</sup> Shattering the ‘image and style [that] allowed him to embody the ideals of the generation that he came to represent’<sup>767</sup> immediately exposes the fragility of the ‘American Dream’ that is premised and frequently revived in optimism by him to his nation. Public demand for an immediate investigation manifests itself in Johnson’s rapid instigation of the Warren Commission,<sup>768</sup> with a remit to ‘[defend] the nation’s security by dispelling unfounded rumors [sic] that could lead to destructive...conflict.’<sup>769</sup> Yet, as with the Kennedys themselves, imposition of a definitive ‘truthful’ narrative upon the event fails to contain the disparate, often repelling elements of its composition so that the official findings, or the sanctity of documents Carr similarly contests as unimpeachably validating, remain disputed.<sup>770</sup> It is metaphorically borne out in the immediate chaos of narratives striving for articulation at the doctors’ press conference at Dallas’ Parkland Hospital, followed by the media’s placatory attempt at restoring story-line order from the remaining

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<sup>766</sup> ‘Address in Miami at the opening of the ADL-CIO convention’, December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1961, op. cit. *Speeches* p.169. See also Hogan op. cit. p.53 for detailed similar reaction by American individuals; Bradlee: ‘...I think, that virtually everyone I know under sixty can remember exactly where he or she was when the news of the assassination struck them’ op. cit. p.239.

<sup>767</sup> Loren Glas, ‘The Kennedy Legacy: From Hagiography to Exposé and Back Again’, op. cit. *Cambridge Companion*, p.148.

<sup>768</sup> Op. cit. Johnson: ‘One of the most urgent tasks facing me after I assumed office was to assure the country that everything possible was being done to uncover the truth surrounding the assassination of President Kennedy. John Kennedy had been murdered, and a troubled, puzzled, and outraged nation wanted to know the facts’, p.25.

<sup>769</sup> ‘DCI John McCone and the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy’, [https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB493/docs/intell\\_ebb\\_026.PDF](https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB493/docs/intell_ebb_026.PDF) (28/01/2019).

<sup>770</sup> Op. cit. Carr p.16. Like Sabato’s similar exposés in *Half Century*, this assumes that all testaments will be truthful. Instead, ‘Myth’ is compounded by recorded confirmation of deliberate lies being issued. See for example Bundy testimony: FBI Files,

<https://www.archives.gov/files/research/jfk/releases/2018/124-10048-10267.pdf> (28/01/2019).

Piereson also draws attention to the final report being ‘poorly organised, such that the great volume of information gathered was never pieced together in the form of a narrative that was understandable to the American people, op. cit. p.128.

narratives that can still be procured.<sup>771</sup> Anika Bodroghkozy affirms this ‘recasting’ of the assassination ‘as a four-day story culminating with the closure of the funeral....By knitting together these events...journalists contextualized them into one seemingly coherent narrative.’<sup>772</sup> Television in particular becomes ‘the nation’s communal town hall’<sup>773</sup> to impart it. Sabato captures similar anxiety in his ‘Echoes’ chapter in which, bizarrely, the availability of too much information, regardless of these accounts’ often conflicting content, accentuates humans’ need to make sense of the event. A selection has to be made from Carr’s ocean-haul of ‘facts’ now overcrowding his fishmonger’s slab. Unfortunately, such choice may encourage ensuing extraction simply to fulfil personal conviction, ‘the path chosen by most authors and filmmakers’,<sup>774</sup> so emulating Carr’s similarly guilty historian who ‘cooks and serves [these ‘facts’] in whatever style appeals to him.’<sup>775</sup>

Such tidying confinement, however, is quickly punctured – not even Zapruder is able to keep possession of his own visual record<sup>776</sup> - defied by the many narratives, including those spawned by that film’s own frames, refusing suppression and instead whipping up paranoia in their wake. This recalls the glacier metaphor of constant re-imposition articulated less optimistically by William Fredrick Turner as well as Kennedy’s own more upbeat description, in *A Nation of Immigrants*. In this work, diversity as identity is created by wave upon renewing wave that sweeps up unsettled elements redistributing them for national establishment before the next incorporating surge empties itself onto what Kennedy regards as the welcoming ‘American Dream’

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<sup>771</sup> Salinger’s airborne receipt of the news captures this chaos in microcosm as generated piecemeal information, op. cit. pp.4-8. Sabato also conveys the absurdity created by the literal enacting of what Carr refers to as the ‘processing process’: television anchor-man Walter Cronkite attempts to draw some sort of coherence from the disparate narratives he receives on air before the nation, that is interspersed with returns to the fictionalized serial ‘As the World Turns’ this evolving real-life drama interrupts, op. cit. p.12. Dallek claims that Robert requests destruction of some of the autopsy records, a ‘deception...calculated to preserve JFK’s and Bobby’s dealings with the public’, op. cit. p.705, while Crown asserts that ‘brief, fragmentary pencil notes made by the doctors...were thrown away when the typewritten reports were prepared’, op. cit. p.148. Sabato provides photographic evidence (second illustrated section) of the ‘slop bucket’ used to clean away ‘precise proof of the spray pattern of blood’, op. cit. p.13 as well as stating random public retrieval of Kennedy skull fragments.

<sup>772</sup> Op. cit. Bodroghkozy ‘The Media’, *A Companion to John F. Kennedy*, p.201.

<sup>773</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.16.

<sup>774</sup> Ibid. p.159. See also: ‘Human beings notice different things during a crisis, and they see only a small part of the whole. They also tend to confuse media reports and stories of other eyewitnesses with what they actually saw or heard. And of course, some people will make wild statements to garner attention. The result is hodgepodge...’p.158.

<sup>775</sup> Op. cit. Carr p.9.

<sup>776</sup> Bought by *Life* magazine the day after Kennedy is killed.

shores of betterment and opportunity of a still-evolving homeland.<sup>777</sup> In *Kennedy and King*, Levingston describes its somewhat less lofty but similarly intrinsic positive incarnation in the peaceful aftermath to the mixed-crowd assemblage in the US capital to hear King's 'Dream' speech: 'With hardly a hitch, the buses and trains pulled out, and Washington was rapidly drained of the human tide that had washed in.'<sup>778</sup>

The journey of 'Myth' is similar given the consolidation of hearsay, reportage and speculation that in turn spawn separate narratives, few of which actually founder upon the rocks of scientific evidence. The cultivation of fear in much of Kennedy's perlocutionary rhetoric generates emotionally stronger, lingering power than simple acceptance of a locutionary explanation, particularly once the one person able to redress the oratorical imbalance he deliberately sets up for his audience,<sup>779</sup> is permanently removed from so doing. This may explain why the highly convincing contention ultimately that Kennedy's killer is hiding in plain sight, is still to many unsatisfactory because while it provides an answer to the immediate question, it is a disproportionate response to the morass of repelling narratives that continue to vie equally for ascendancy as well as suppression.<sup>780</sup> On the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his assassination, it is unsurprising that yet more hypotheses surfaced to compound the number of valid contenders for responsibility, the passing of time encouraging primacy to those theories benefiting from advances in technical reconstruction. One of these is suggested in 'JFK's Secret Killer: The Evidence' in which retired detective Colin McLaren plausibly concludes a suppressed narrative of FBI incompetence, through forensic re-assessment of bullet trajectories, in which subsequently corroborated records<sup>781</sup> suggesting a social proximity between bar owners and law-enforcers result in only the driver amongst the latter being deemed fit for duty the following day. Replacing a regular marksman from the protection team, FBI employee George Hickey finds himself aligned directly behind Kennedy in the motorcade. He stumbles in trying to stand up in a moving car to turn around from the direction of travel while wielding an unfamiliar primed weapon in the vicinity of the gunfire. In so doing, the trigger is

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<sup>777</sup> Op. cit. *A Nation of Immigrants*, p.10. See also pp.31, 36 and inclusion in two of its chapter titles.

<sup>778</sup> Op. cit. Levingston p.425.

<sup>779</sup> Examples of which are given in Chapter One's analysis of rhetorical counterbalance.

<sup>780</sup> Consider for example, FBI records on one disgruntled Dante Marochini, subpoenaed by Jim Garrison as an associate of some suspects, for whom an 87-page document alone is generated: <https://www.archives.gov/files/research/jfk/releases/2018/docid-32248477.pdf> (12/10/2019).

<sup>781</sup> FBI document from Manning C. Clements, <https://www.archives.gov/files/research/jfk/releases/2018/docid-32144566.pdf> (12/10/2019).

released before he is properly able to take aim, thus delivering the fatal shot to Kennedy's head with a different-issue bullet from the two associated with Oswald's firearm.<sup>782</sup> Hickey does not testify to the Warren Commission.

Instead, it is the amorphousness of idea and that aforementioned indefinable magnitude or scale – ironically the very qualities Kennedy encourages for individual consumption – associated with the irrepressible list of other suspects that unsettles and intimidates. It contributes towards the paranoia endemic to a psyche often defined by concomitant anxiety towards losing or having destroyed something which it either creates or nurtures. This dichotomy recalls the reference in *Profiles in Courage* to the young US nation being “nourished as an infant” out of the simultaneously volatile yet strengthening qualities of “individualism and dissent”.<sup>783</sup> It is borne out in Hollywood's creation or interpretation of US folklore – knowingly ‘Myth’ – in which a dark – or at least non-white - often indigenous force frequently capitalizes on people's fears resulting in the need for a saviour. This may explain why perhaps Kennedy is often quoted or photographed in quasi-religious terms, as the hero to dispel the nebulous threat posed by forces identified as antithetical to substantiation of the US' own perception of its benign, organic exceptionalism.<sup>784</sup> The anxiety persists to date with President Trump's invocation of ‘the swamp’ of federal government needing to be ‘drained’ less positively than Martin Luther King's naturally receding Washington audience. It continues with the requirement to protect his country against immigrant invasion, with a 30-foot-high border wall to combat this rather different type of Mexican wave, from its positively renewing metaphorical invocation Kennedy identifies with Jewish émigré Emma Lazarus' sentiments etched upon the Statue of Liberty, in which reference to welcoming the ‘wretched refuse of your teeming shore’<sup>785</sup> is particularly apposite.

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<sup>782</sup> Op. cit. Granberry, ‘Endless Procession of images, sadness for many in the motorcade, tragedy will never come to a full stop’, *The Dallas Morning News*, November, 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2003. Here Win Lawson's eyewitness account “recalls two more [shots] though [is] puzzled by the quicker pace between the second and the third.” Castro, an accomplished marksman, is similarly sceptical: it was ‘incomprehensible’ that such a rifle action ‘could be repeated with incredible accuracy in a very short length of time’, op. cit. *My Life*, p.290.

<sup>783</sup> Op. cit. p.19.

<sup>784</sup> Consider similar image of reverence at base of Lincoln's Emancipation certificate, for example, <https://catalogue.swanngalleries.com/asp/fullcatalogue.asp?salelot=2308+++++105+&refno=++672020>

<sup>785</sup> From bronze plaque inscription at its base.

Extending the metaphor of the dichotomous wave, the following examples are therefore selected to demonstrate their self-reflexive capacity to engender this fear-mechanism as separate storylines. I start with intimidating consideration by the government at least, of Kennedy himself as a target of international retribution against the US: the Dominican Republic's dictator Rafael Trujillo is killed by CIA-supplied bullets, American armed forces quickly escorting his vengeful family out of the country for replacement by a far more preferable Juan Bosch; providers of uranium to the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs, mineral-rich Congo – in which Kennedy was to have deemed US non-intervention an impossibility<sup>786</sup> - sees its first post-independence Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba assassinated.

In the example of Vietnam's Ngo Dinh Diem, possible targeting of Kennedy may be attributable to what Chomsky describes as 'client'<sup>787</sup> governments or 'regimes' the US has put in place to prevent the 'virus' of what must go under the name of 'Communism' regardless, spreading against US national self-interest:

'A virus must be destroyed, and surrounding regions inoculated to ensure that the disease does not spread. That may require measures of extreme savagery, which are, accordingly, acceptable or even admirable.'<sup>788</sup>

It results in what Hersh describes as Kennedy's continued 'waging' of a 'twilight war...through surrogates all over the world.'<sup>789</sup>

South-Vietnam's repressive Diem-Nhu 'regime', replacing 'Washington engineered...Bao Dei, the ruling emperor',<sup>790</sup> is one such – initially US-approved – 'surrogate' until it has the independent audacity, cognisant of its own limitations,<sup>791</sup> and supported in spirit by its own colonial master France, to consider

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<sup>786</sup> "In this administration also it has been necessary at times to issue specific warnings – warnings that we could not stand by and watch the Communists conquer Laos by force, or intervene in the Congo", op. cit. Trade Mart address. See also Schlesinger: 'The martyrdom of Lumumba at the presumed hands of imperialist agent raised the mistrust of the West to a sudden frenzy of hatred', op. cit. p.481.

<sup>787</sup> Noam Chomsky *Rethinking Camelot*, Pluto Press, London, 2015, p.41.

<sup>788</sup> Ibid. p.18.

<sup>789</sup> Op. cit. p.193.

<sup>790</sup> Op. cit. Dallek p.187 who describes Diem's regime as 'a cauldron of intrigue, nepotism, and corruption joined to administrative paralysis, p.449.

<sup>791</sup> Op. cit. Johnson p.56. Here Diem's letter to Kennedy of December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1961, states: '...Vietnam is not a great power....We have no intention, and indeed no means, to free [the people of the North] by use of force...'

‘neutralization’<sup>792</sup> with the North whilst desiring reduced US military presence that facilitates and maintains its establishment:

‘...the Kennedy Administration therefore resolved to overthrow the client in favor [sic] of a military junta that would be fully committed to this objective. The planned coup took place on November 1, 1963, placing the Generals in control.’<sup>793</sup>

Johnson indeed concedes the existence of ‘a hasty and ill-advised message’<sup>794</sup> that had been ‘prepared in the State Department’.<sup>795</sup> It insisted upon both restoration of religious tolerance and diminution of Diem’s brother Nhu’s own growing power, and is to be delivered by US Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge together with a warning of support withdrawal if the demands were rejected: ‘If Diem refused, the United States could no longer support him. If the military leaders then took over, we would support them.’<sup>796</sup> Hersh reports Kennedy’s apparent ‘shock’<sup>797</sup> rather than guilt upon learning of his former friend and – awkwardly – fellow Catholic’s murder; Minutaglio and Davis cite Defense Secretary Robert McNamara’s reference to the President’s visible ‘blanching’.<sup>798</sup> Interestingly, however, Johnson describes Kennedy’s reaction to the coup, specifically as ‘deep concern’ rather than immediately sharing the ‘profound regrets in Washington’. Kennedy duly orders ‘his principal advisers and the top echelon....to conduct a full-scale review of all aspects of the situation’<sup>799</sup> as if already cognisant of the chaos that might ensue in Saigon and its possible attribution back to him for its instigation.

Both Hersh and Chomsky suggest additional political-expediency reassertion by Kennedy in his wish actually to keep the war going<sup>800</sup> until he can be assured of victory, at which point only can withdrawal take place – impossible if the President accedes to Nhu’s request for force reduction in the meantime. There is the small matter

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<sup>792</sup> Op. cit. Chomsky p.55.

<sup>793</sup> Ibid. p.42.

<sup>794</sup> Op. cit. Johnson p.61.

<sup>795</sup> Ibid. p.60.

<sup>796</sup> Ibid. p.61.

<sup>797</sup> Op. cit. Hersh p.415.

<sup>798</sup> Op. cit. Minutaglio and Davis p.261.

<sup>799</sup> Op. cit. Johnson p.64. Sabato describes ‘what amounted to a personal confession of [Kennedy’s] role in the assassination. “We must bear a good deal of responsibility for it”’, p.125. He also cites Nixon’s identification of Kennedy’s ‘central role’ to justify his own administration’s increased involvement, p.313.

<sup>800</sup> Op. cit. Hersh p.436. Dallek however, argues ‘the art of the possible’ in resistance to the idea of an open-ended campaign as well as precise confirmation as to US force withdrawal, p.669.

of the 1964 election in which ‘withdrawal of American military personnel from Vietnam...would [provoke] a wild conservative outcry against returning him to the Presidency for a second term’;<sup>801</sup> withdrawal indeed can only be contemplated “‘after I’m re-elected. So we had better make damned sure that I am re-elected.’”

The war in Vietnam also highlights the senior US military’s discontent at the prospect of appeasement, their behaviour accentuating Kennedy’s own misgivings, formed while a PT commander himself, as to their balanced assessment in critical decision-making.<sup>802</sup> At the beginning of his Presidency, Sorensen suggests such volatility in Kennedy’s bemoaning of ‘high-ranking military officers, whose remarks had not always reflected the President’s point of view about peace’;<sup>803</sup> it is a strain that endures ‘for a large portion of his term’ and seems confirmed by Kennedy’s later opposition to a bill fixing four-year tenure upon Joint Chiefs of Staff. At the Executive Committee of the National Security Council (ExComm) meetings convened in response to Cuba’s hosting of Soviet weapons, ‘brass hats’<sup>804</sup> Generals Le May and Taylor again support air attack over the apparent softer resolve by a resultantly ‘disgusted’<sup>805</sup> Kennedy for a blockade. Sheldon M. Stern, having listened to the tapes made subsequently available from this period, states Kennedy to be ‘profoundly

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<sup>801</sup> Op. cit. Chomsky p.144, quoting from White House aide Kenneth O’Donnell’s memoir.

<sup>802</sup> Asserted by Bryant regarding Army readiness to support marshals at Mississippi, op. cit. p.150, and Dallek op. cit. pp.92-3 with Kennedy’s attack on Generals Walker, p.517, Le May, p.555; and Krulak p.671 regarding differing Vietnam progress reports. See also Schlesinger of Krulak and State Department official Joseph Mendenhall: ‘Krulak told the assembled dignitaries the war was going beautifully, that the regime was beloved by the people and that we need have no undue concern even about Mr. Nhu, Mendenhall... that South Vietnam was in a desperate state, that the regime was on the edge of collapse and that Nhu had to go. The President listened politely and finally said, “Were you two gentlemen in the same country?”’ op. cit. p.84 and Dallek (2013) p.407. Stephen G. Rabe, *John F. Kennedy, World Leader* Issues in the History of American Foreign Relations series, Potomac Books, Inc, 2010, p.57, also notes Joint Chiefs of Staffs’ consensus to Kennedy that the Cuban exile army was likely to overcome Castro’s forces at the Bay of Pigs, ignoring unfamiliarity with its challenging terrain – described by Schlesinger as comprising ‘a hopeless tangle of swamps and jungles’, op. cit. p.226 – that uncannily anticipates similar issues in Vietnam. Schlesinger describes the JCS’ ‘evaluation’ to Kennedy as ‘a peculiar and ambiguous document’, *ibid.* p.216, later citing the exiles’ encountering of ‘coral reefs, not mentioned in the briefing...’, *ibid.* p.248. Admiral George Anderson is later posted as Portuguese Ambassador for his attempted contravention of the Cuba blockade.

<sup>803</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.606 but especially pp.286-7: ‘Not all the military understood. Not all agreed to speak with one voice, that of their civilian Commander in Chief’.

<sup>804</sup> Op. cit. Dallek p.555.

<sup>805</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.692. Schlesinger is more euphemistic: ‘On Sunday morning a final conference with the military leaders satisfied him that the strike would be a mistake’ op. cit. p.691. Minutaglio and Davis remind the reader that Le May ‘directed the bombing campaign against Japan during World War II’, his aircraft ending ‘the Pacific war by obliterating Hiroshima and Nagasaki’, op. cit. p.88. See Sabato similarly for reference to the ‘hawkish Airforce chief of staff, ‘architect’ of this ‘incendiary’ mission’, op. cit. p.104. Sabato goes on to commend Kennedy’s ‘wisdom and sober judgement’ for not capitulating before his military staff, p.110.



unsettled by [Taylor and] McNamara's cold certainty'<sup>806</sup> in sanctioning small depth charges that could apparently be 'used harmlessly' against Soviet submarines, just as Sorensen conveys Kennedy's bewilderment at military zeal towards renewed nuclear testing given its possibly profound fall-out hazards. Kennedy's frustrations as to their myopic 'expertise' seems justified: post-assassination Johnson, absent from the seminal Saturday evening ExComm meeting in which Kennedy actually conciliates with Khrushchev, accedes – perhaps in deference to his memory of Kennedy's alleged tough October 1962 stand – to 'most distinguished'<sup>807</sup> and 'trusted'<sup>808</sup> General Maxwell Taylor's encouragement of increased US military presence based on South Vietnam being 'not an excessively difficult or unpleasant place to operate', whose terrain is mostly 'comparable to parts of Korea where US troops learned to live and work without too much effort' and for whom its communist North territory is identified as being 'extremely vulnerable to conventional bombing.'<sup>809</sup> According to Johnson:

'This meant expanding the US Military Assistance Advisory Group, assigning our men to work directly with Vietnamese combat units, and increasing our support for the South Vietnamese government with armed forces. The number of American military advisers...was increased about 400 per cent'.<sup>810</sup>

It is a zeal that appears undiminished. Presciently identified by Schlesinger as possessing a 'susceptibility to quantification',<sup>811</sup> the once-regarded moderate Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara recommends to Johnson in 1966 an increase in combat battalions 'to thirty four' and that if the Koreans fail to provide similar support promised, that 'we should make up the difference – a total in that case of forty-

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<sup>806</sup> Sheldon M. Stern *The Cuban Missile Crisis in American Memory: Myths versus Reality*, Stanford University Press, California, 2012, p.61. Separate retellings of the Crisis by ExComm members, extracted from their collective capturing on tape at the time, consistently portray Kennedy's single-minded trade-versus-invasion to remove weapons' stance. They also expose JFK's frequent isolation from his 'hawkish' appointees whose subsequent memoirs are invoked by Stern to reveal self-interested mythic vindication rather than remorse for what can now be proved to have been said. See also Dallek (2013) on General Taylor, 'the tough-minded soldier' who is stated to incur Kennedy's distrust of his judgement: '...it raised questions with Kennedy about Taylor's reliability as an advisor', p.281. Dallek later reports here upon Kennedy's refusal 'to include any military officers in the Moscow delegation' to negotiate a comprehensive test ban agreement, p.381.

<sup>807</sup> Op. cit. Johnson p.55. Stern states Johnson's key advisers 'consciously kept him unaware after November 22, 1963, of the full story of how the missile crisis had actually been settled', op. cit. p.149.

<sup>808</sup> Ibid. p.58.

<sup>809</sup> Op. cit. Hersh p.264. See also Dallek, p.526 who cites Taylor's 1962 report back to Kennedy on the supposedly safe-haven hamlet program to farmers against the Viet Cong, in which 'the military progress had been little short of sensational', p.526, Schlesinger reporting its 'idyllic conception' being 'read with elation' by Washington, op. cit. p.478.

<sup>810</sup> Op. cit. Johnson p.57. Sabato hints this deference from Johnson to be a product of domestic-agenda rather than foreign-policy experience, see op. cit. pp.280.

<sup>811</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.846.

three battalions. That would raise the level of our forces to 175,000 men'<sup>812</sup> with the further request to 'ask Congress for the authority to call up 235,000 more' and 'increasing the size of the regular armed forces by 375,000 men.' Again quantifying is being proffered as a means to suggest manageability whereas by now its excessiveness prefaces meaninglessness against an opposition that often quite literally cannot be seen in their innumerable spread. Even after the Tet Offensive's failure, Taylor is said to be 'dismayed'<sup>813</sup> by one contingent amongst Johnson's 'Wise Men' recommending disengagement, as it markedly differs from his ongoing unique assessment of events. In Kennedy's undelivered Trade Mart address, these tensions already seem ambiguously acknowledged by him in the detailed over-quantifying of weapons' stockpiling – consistent with the location's function as 'a warehouse...where mainstream retailers can inspect and select massive quantities of ...merchandise'<sup>814</sup> – as a strategy both to placate the anticipated hostility of a Dallas audience paranoid about his softness on Communism as well as the US armaments' manufacturing industry and its chief buyer.

Retaining Chomsky's parlance, one particularly resistant 'virus' for Kennedy is Cuba, for whom the 'client'-replacing, inoculation-dodging Castro administration allege over 600 assassination attempts to have taken place at the behest of its Northern neighbour. Suspicion of Cuban retaliation, latterly supported by disclosure of the CIA's equally insidious culpability in the attempted removal of its leader,<sup>815</sup> conveys an unedifying and disturbing lack of cohesion<sup>816</sup> within the country's national security services. Hersh identifies this as endemic given its adherence to a code of 'plausible deniability' he describes as 'the CIA's sacrosanct procedure for insulating the president from any responsibility for a failed, or exposed, intelligence operation'<sup>817</sup> as well as the administration's paradoxically intrinsic reliance upon the Mafia, together to bring about elimination of Cuba's new socialist leader. It is a reliance upon which

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<sup>812</sup> Op. cit. Johnson p.146.

<sup>813</sup> Ibid. p.418.

<sup>814</sup> Op. cit. Minutaglio and Davis p.273.

<sup>815</sup> Castro, FBI investigation files, <https://www.archives.gov/files/research/jfk/releases/docid-32112987.pdf> (28/09/2019); Sabato similarly quotes 600 attempts on Castro's life, p.192. Hersh describes Operation Mongoose as being reliant upon 'propaganda, economic sabotage, and the infiltration of small-unit exile teams to create the conditions for an internal revolt', op. cit. p.269.

<sup>816</sup> See for example 'Cuba Leaves American President Wondering about CIA', *The Dallas Morning News*, April, 21<sup>st</sup>, 1961, in which the scapegoated CIA is described as a "vast organization with some 10,000 employees in Washington and several thousand more overseas or outside the federal capital."

<sup>817</sup> Op. cit. Hersh p.186.

Kennedy also separately intimately indulges and for which Hersh asserts of Sam Giancana in particular an understandable sense of grievance to be incited, and to persist through Kennedy's brother's zealous and very public persecution.

The malignant centre in the form of the Soviet Union itself, however, does seem to be exonerated from direct physical involvement in Kennedy's assassination. An FBI document of 1<sup>st</sup> December 1966 cites former KGB agent Yuri Nosenko, who is previously stated to have tracked Oswald's arrival in his country. Again justifying Carr's reservations upon the 'Ark of Covenant'<sup>818</sup> sanctity – or 'fetishizing' – of the document as a physical enshrining of 'fact' ripe for historical consolidation, the uncontested opinion of this 'defector' proclaims Kennedy to have 'been held in high esteem by the Soviet Government, as a person interested in maintaining peace.'<sup>819</sup> It is as if his testimony, which Sabato in particular questions as to its reliability<sup>820</sup> given 1967 proof of his country's active disinformation policy, is allowed to speak for Nosenko's former homeland. However, in this instance such a view does seem reinforced upon announcement of Kennedy's assassination. Guards purportedly stand aside at Moscow's US embassy to allow public expressions of condolence to take place, the news of JFK's murder being reported generally across the USSR to have been met 'with great shock and consternation... church bells were tolled in the memory of President Kennedy.'

Yet the psychological fear of Communism – its intangible spread for which Khrushchev asserts 'No immunization [to be] possible'<sup>821</sup> – remains. It seems ironic that it is only Lee Harvey Oswald himself, the lone gunman on the sixth floor of Dallas' Texas School Book Depository building, who becomes increasingly disregarded as a capable candidate.<sup>822</sup> The country simply does not feel safer for his individual death

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<sup>818</sup> Op. cit. Carr p.16.

<sup>819</sup> 'Reaction of Soviet and Communist Party Officials to JFK Assassination', FBI Investigation files, <https://www.archives.gov/files/research/jfk/releases/docid-32204484.pdf> (28/09/2019). Sabato regularly alludes to US disinclination, however, to blame Moscow directly, given inevitable public demand for 'nuclear retaliation' over their probable lack of appetite for a more conventional physical confrontation while Vietnam tensions persisted, op. cit. p.193.

<sup>820</sup> Op. cit. Sabato e.g. pp.164, 191, 500.

<sup>821</sup> Schlesinger, of the Vienna meeting in which Khrushchev describes the unconfined spread of 'ideas' that cannot fully be ascribed to Soviet generation: 'once born, they grew', op. cit. p.326.

<sup>822</sup> See op. cit. Crown: 'in 1968 Gallup and Harris polls showed that six out of every 10 Americans think the Warren Commission did not tell the whole story in concluding that Oswald acted alone...', op. cit. p.20. See also Piereson: 'There is no solid evidence to suggest that Oswald worked with others in the weeks and months leading up to the assassination...nor is there any solid evidence to suggest that he was working in formal cooperation with any foreign government', op. cit. p.128.

nor is it perhaps willing, as Dallek contends, even to permit the idea of one man as being solely capable of unleashing such chaos.<sup>823</sup> Despite demeaning refutation by Moscow as to his personal value, it is the establishment of Oswald's incontrovertible links – including a Russian wife – to the Soviet Union<sup>824</sup> and more active Cuba sympathies that prevails to substantiate this conviction. In so doing, assimilation of a larger insidious ideological pervasiveness is stimulated, re-physicalizing acutely discomfiting proximity to the destruction of values Kennedy himself regularly warned against.

While Kennedy may have neutralized the immediate threat of external Communist attack, the perceived menace of internal Communist subversion persists. It revives most conspicuously memories of the relatively recent inquisitions by the House of Un-American Activities Committee, set up in 1938 to investigate 'treason' by private US citizens. Similarly, from 1950 Senator Joe McCarthy conducted inquisitions in his capacity as Chairman of the Government Operations Committee, into alleged Communist infiltration of both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations. Both were overt displays of paranoia engendered by a nation increasingly distrusting its own disparate but constituent elements. The magnitude of the individual case becomes hysterically inflated, generating for its exponents the events of history itself. According to Richard Hofstadter, conspiracy becomes:

'...*the motive force...*History is conspiracy, set in motion by demonic forces of almost transcendental power, and what is felt to be needed to defeat it is not the usual methods of political give-and-take, but an all-out crusade.'<sup>825</sup>

The script seems pre-determined – some non-compliant testimonies are apparently even rewritten if necessary – relentlessly ignoring retaliatory invocation, for example, of the Fifth Amendment prerogative to which accused individuals such as Paul Robeson have resigned recourse.<sup>826</sup> Exposure of genuine guilt through incessant

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<sup>823</sup> Op. cit. Dallek: 'The plausibility of a conspiracy is less important to them than the implausibility of someone as inconsequential as Oswald having the wherewithal to kill someone as consequential... as Kennedy', p.699.

<sup>824</sup> For example, Radio broadcast reference in FBI letter of June 5<sup>th</sup>, 1964, <https://www.archives.gov/files/research/jfk/releases/2018/124-10157-10037.pdf> (28/09/2019) ; 'Conversations between the Soviet Union and Cuban Embassies in Mexico City', <https://www.archives.gov/files/research/jfk/releases/2018/docid-32107690.pdf> (28/09/2019).

<sup>825</sup> Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1963, <http://faculty.washington.edu/wilker/353/Hofstadter.pdf> (20/4/17).

<sup>826</sup> "You Are the Un-Americans, and You Ought to be Ashamed of Yourselves": Paul Robeson Appears Before HUAC <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6440/> (28/09/19).

articulations of pre-existing conviction by the interrogator becomes self-defeating as ‘this effort to amass [evidence] has rather the quality of a defensive act which shuts off his receptive apparatus....He is not a receiver, he is a transmitter.’<sup>827</sup> ‘Felicitous’ participation is duly broken.

It is a dubious talent for which Kennedy also often proves himself adept. On October 6<sup>th</sup>, 1960 he arrives in Cincinnati to give a speech in which the extent of Castro’s ideological ambitions are exaggerated with reference to Havana becoming a “base from which to carry Communist infiltration and subversion throughout the Americas.”<sup>828</sup> Kennedy desists from applying any tools of oratorical counterbalance thus allowing the paranoia free-flow until the end; the threat that Cuba has become is attributed to American economic disregard and blind support for Batista which allowed Communism to flourish there in the first place. Once again individual vulnerability is encouraged through reference to physical proximity. The distance between the two countries is thrice-invoked as a mere “90 miles” but is made to feel perilously even closer by its rhetorically culminating route from the Caribbean “shores” to the domesticizing culmination of “our very doorstep” in “our front yard”. Cuba may be physically small but is a terrifyingly proximate staging-post for World Communism. With huge irony given Kennedy’s own invasion plans in 1961, Castro and his ‘bearded bands’ have provocatively – and alliteratively for rhetorical consistency – “rattled red rockets” at its large Northern neighbour which now must stay vigilant to the prospect of “a potential enemy missile...only 90 miles from our shores” before he resorts to what Hofstadter identifies as a popular motif in paranoid rhetoric:<sup>829</sup> the imminent apocalyptic threat in which, due to continued American neglect, ‘Today time is running out’<sup>830</sup> on the rest of “Latin America” against the Communist advance. Identified as a disorientating oratorical tool towards the end of Chapter One, syntactical reverse-affiliation counterbalancing prefaces the increasingly negative, anaphoric climax of inactivity-to-warning in his next sentence, Kennedy’s unsettled audience being informed that “although the cold war will not be won in Latin America, it could very well be lost there.” Identified in that chapter as part of rhetoric’s

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<sup>827</sup> Op. cit. Hofstadter.

<sup>828</sup> ‘Remarks of Senator John F. Kennedy at Democratic Dinner’, Cincinnati, Ohio, October 6<sup>th</sup>, 1960, JFK-Library, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-speeches/cincinnati-oh-19601006-democratic-dinner> (21/07/2019).

<sup>829</sup> Op. cit. Hofstadter, ‘Time is forever running out.’

<sup>830</sup> Op. cit. Kennedy, October 6<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

‘pathos’ facet, methodical listing is invoked by Kennedy to achieve cumulative, coherent threat yet seems disproportionately too powerful here convincingly to encourage any prospect of a resurgent American-borne “light of freedom” being able to “burn brightly from the Arctic to Cape Horn”.

Such escalated rhetoric, however, is something Johnson himself apparently rues as a necessary political evil ‘by my predecessors’<sup>831</sup> to prove their hard Cold-War credentials, identifying its legacy as requiring management if constructive dialogue with the Soviet Union in particular is properly to resume. Instead this ‘by-product of the “McCarthy era”’ merely informs ongoing suspicion among ‘many Americans’ who ‘continued to see a Communist “conspiracy” in almost every aspect of US policy they opposed, whether in foreign trade voting rights, or other areas.’<sup>832</sup> Indeed, one of his first Presidential directives is to halt the CIA’s ongoing campaign of obsessive sabotage and terrorism against Castro and Cuba, grudgingly acknowledge ‘the bearded nuisance’s’<sup>833</sup> widespread, popular support rather than oppression, and resort instead to the more covert and enduring policy of economic sanctions.

Engendering the sense of persecution encourages deep self-analysis in which examination often yields distrust rather than reassurance. Aware that it is still a ‘juicy’<sup>834</sup> target for the very minimum of finger-pointing accusation by the anti-Communist West, that FBI Nosenko file also conveys Moscow’s conviction of a far-right ‘conspiracy’ within the US being responsible. The political climate of Dallas could provide ample sustenance for this theory. The Moscow document acutely perceives what Hofstadter described as the ‘paranoid style’ in American politics:

‘The old American virtues have already been eaten away by cosmopolitans and intellectuals; the old competitive capitalism has been gradually undermined by socialist and communist schemers; the old national security and independence have been destroyed by treasonous plots, having as their most powerful agents not merely outsiders and foreigners but major statesmen seated at the very centers [sic] of American power. Their predecessors

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<sup>831</sup> Op. cit. Johnson p.470. Ironic given thesis p.221 reference to his Hoover meetings in particular.

<sup>832</sup> Ibid. See also Dallek on Johnson’s instigation of televising McCarthy’s army hearings in order to ‘break his hold on the country...he’s got people scared to death some Communist will strangle ‘em in their sleep...’ op. cit. p.188.

<sup>833</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.630. See also Schlesinger who notifies JFK of reporter Joseph Newman’s ‘citing a piece which reported the strength and sentiment behind Castro’, op. cit. p.223. Sabato claims that Kennedy’s ‘unrelenting hostility’ has hindered any subsequent attempts over the decades ‘to reverse course’ op. cit. p.65.

<sup>834</sup> Op. cit. Sabato, p.193.

discovered foreign conspiracies; the modern radical right finds that conspiracy also embraces betrayal at home.’<sup>835</sup>

Dallas at the time epitomizes this in its most acute form: the fear that America itself was being conspiratorially subverted by un-American leftist contagion that had infected the very top of government, pervaded the opposition to the Kennedy visit in 1963. A vitriolic advertisement in *The Dallas Morning News*, is paid for and signed-off by ‘three’<sup>836</sup> members of what is actually an imaginary group, ‘The American Fact-Finding Committee’, to coincide with the actual day of Kennedy’s arrival. It reflects the – again unquantifiable – antipathy towards him, analogized coincidentally by Hogan as ‘mighty swells rolling inexorably’ toward a ‘dangerous shore’,<sup>837</sup> waves powered by ‘haters...not from society’s fringes but from its pathologically angry haute bourgeoisie’.<sup>838</sup> Schlesinger attributes such ‘incoherent resentment of the frightened rich and the anxious middle class’<sup>839</sup> hailing from Texas in particular, to ‘raw new money’ *The New York Times* 25 years later still confers upon it as undiminished “imperial optimism”.<sup>840</sup> Such attitude is facilitated by Schlesinger’s reference to the ‘discovery of the East Texas oil pool’,<sup>841</sup> that Communism, federal ‘big’ government – for which as seen, *The Dallas Morning News* long contends Kennedy to personify – desegregation and foreigners all apparently threaten to disperse. Given its emergence as ‘the newest rich city in the country’ into which ‘the oil money is flowing furiously’<sup>842</sup> Schlesinger – albeit with hindsight – argues its lack of time to acquire:

‘...neither a traditional aristocracy nor a strong labor [sic] movement to diversify its opinions or temper its certitudes....the whole community....carefully cultivated the myth of the old Texas and its virile, hard-riding, hard-shooting men taking the law into their own hands. Texas had one of the highest homicide rates in the country...Dallas....murdered more people some years than England... a city of violence and hysteria, and its atmosphere was bound to affect people who were already weak, suggestible and themselves filled with chaos and hate’<sup>843</sup>

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<sup>835</sup> Op. cit. Hofstadter.

<sup>836</sup> Vindicating that particular Moscow document’s subsequent reference to the assassination being ‘a carefully planned campaign in which several people took part.’

<sup>837</sup> Op. cit. Hogan p.91.

<sup>838</sup> Timothy Noah, ‘The Day Before Kennedy was Assassinated’, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2013, <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/america-the-day> (15/09/2018).

<sup>839</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.644 and later: ‘In the two years after November 1961 the Secret Service investigated thirty-four threats against the President’s life from the state of Texas alone’, p.648.

<sup>840</sup> Op. cit. Applebome ‘25 Years’, November 21<sup>st</sup>, 1988.

<sup>841</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.864.

<sup>842</sup> Op. cit. Minutaglio and Davis p.10.

<sup>843</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.865.

The insidiousness of this violence, part of Hogan's composite 'swell' reference, is metaphorically intimated in the ethereal guise assumed by the Ku-Klux-Klan who make Texas their base. Johnson's 1960 campaigning return to his home state is greeted with 'screaming red-faced insults' in which lack of 'Christian civility' or 'even entrepreneurial formality'<sup>844</sup> bear out Schlesinger's rueful observation. In the month before Kennedy is scheduled to arrive in the city *The Dallas Morning News* promises will "[shed] its sharp cleavages of partisanship"<sup>845</sup> in welcome, his UN ambassador Adlai Stevenson is publicly bayed, spat upon and injured by random members of a 'cacophonous' crowd 'of scope'.<sup>846</sup>

The Ted Dealey-approved advertisement itself, later submitted for incriminating consideration by the Warren Commission, lambasts what it believes to be Kennedy's treacherous foreign-policy manifestations.<sup>847</sup> It is preceded just two days beforehand by the publicly-invasive distribution, including insertion under windscreen wipers and inside newspaper vending machines, of 5,000 leaflets in which Kennedy is depicted as the subject of a Wanted poster. Its captured front-and-side profile of the President emulates the form of a mug shot, while spelling errors attest to the impression of ignorance and a panicked production borne of prevailing community neurosis.<sup>848</sup> Its origination is ascribed to General Walker who has subsequently crusaded on behalf of the far-right in the state in which he too now resides. The physical evidence is apparently removed from Kennedy's sight on his arrival whereas the President's direct acquaintance with the advertisement is confirmed<sup>849</sup> together with its predictable publication by the newspaper that has, with increasing animation, conflated Civil Rights' injustices to Southern whites with weakness in Presidential defiance of Communism, across the state. It is confirmed in Dealey's personal insult at a White House Texan press luncheon in 1961 in which the President is accused by the editor of spearheading anti-Communism from the seat 'of Caroline's tricycle'<sup>850</sup>

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<sup>844</sup> Op. cit. Minutaglio and Davis p.60.

<sup>845</sup> 'The President', *The Dallas Morning News*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1963.

<sup>846</sup> Op. cit. Minutaglio and Davis p.244.

<sup>847</sup> 'Welcome Mr. Kennedy to Dallas', *The Dallas Morning News*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1963.

<sup>848</sup> 'Wanted for Treason', for example in *Dallas 1963*, second illustrated section. Spelling errors include 'consistantly' and 'marraige'. Cuba is also described as one of America's 'friends'.

<sup>849</sup> For example, Sorensen among many to quote Kennedy's entering of "Nut country", op. cit. p.750.

<sup>850</sup> Dealey's prepared luncheon statement. The *News* reacts by balancing the extreme responses from its readers in 'Mixed Reaction to Dealey', October 29<sup>th</sup> but later extends reaction by encouraging responses from "telephone calls, telegrams and letters" in which it reports on November 12<sup>th</sup>, 1961, that "84 per cent approve Dealey statement."



rather than ‘what many people in Texas and the Southwest’ metaphorically demand – consistent with their mythical recreation of robust identity – as ‘a man on horseback’, for which some see General Walker as its appropriate embodiment.

The immediate reaction to such perceived Presidential softness – Kennedy having just returned from a fractious Khrushchev encounter in which Soviet belligerence over Berlin in particular prompt his declaration that his nation is living “in the most dangerous time in the history of the human race”<sup>851</sup> - is again paranoia. As part of Kennedy’s ensuing civil defence programme, it manifests itself within Dealey’s community, much as elsewhere, in the form of “back yard fall-out shelters” as well as “sickening but serious debate on whether a man with his own shelter should shoot down his neighbour and his children if they tried to enter.”<sup>852</sup> Sorensen maintains that Kennedy merely wished ‘to bestir a still slumbering public’ with his words but acknowledges instead the unfortunate release of a ‘balloon’ that ‘not only went up, it disappeared from sight.’<sup>853</sup>

Dealey’s tirade becomes the point at which the newspaper overtly starts to unshackle itself – at least from its Dallas desk – more sharply from political moderation. The violent suppression of the desegregation movement is the physical retort to perceived persecution of the white South’s reimagined cultural body of values. The *News*’ complicit promulgation of the paranoid literature is another example of its culmination. Kennedy is clearly stung by Dealey<sup>854</sup> into recognition of the intrinsically reflexive nature of paranoia his rhetoric may have accentuated. He intimates from the editor’s words its capacity for distorted application to its community and he personally strives to alleviate it. At a California Democratic Party dinner just two weeks later, Kennedy sets out to refract Dealey’s barb in order to nullify “the discordant voices of extremism [that are] once again heard in the land” from people who “look suspiciously at their neighbors [sic] and their leaders”, who “find treason in our churches, in our highest court, in our treatment of water.” Such paranoia is rebuked by Kennedy as

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<sup>851</sup> News conference 17, October 11<sup>th</sup>, 1961, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-press-conferences/news-conference-17> (19/08/2018).

<sup>852</sup> ‘Morals and Morale’, *The Dallas Morning News*, October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>853</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.615.

<sup>854</sup> Minutaglio and Davis report Kennedy’s ‘coldness’ at the time, op. cit. p.109; Schlesinger cites Dallas’ *Times*’ editor claiming Dealey’s ‘Morning’ paper ‘did not speak for Texas’ to which Kennedy apparently ‘scrawled a postscript on his acknowledgement: “I’m sure the people of Dallas are glad when afternoon comes”’, op. cit. p.646.

dangerously misdirected: “Men who are unwilling to face up to the danger from without are convinced that the real danger is from within” and therefore “call ‘for a man on horseback’ because they do not trust the people.”<sup>855</sup>

Nevertheless, from whatever larger saddle the President may now be straddling, the condition is not easily cured through such counselling counter-rhetoric or what Sorensen terms here as Kennedy’s attempted ‘reason or charm’.<sup>856</sup> Dealey’s disrespectful soundbite also betrays petty-mindedness for immediate peer-approval as well as its uncontested acceptance and concurrence by an ‘overly insular’,<sup>857</sup> amorphous ‘grassroots’<sup>858</sup> readership suggested already to be highly protective of its huge wealth-generating oil and other white-held business interests. In October 1962 Kennedy introduces an act intended to remove the distinction between repatriated profits and profits reinvested abroad. Wealthy oilmen therefore anticipate reduction in their foreign investment earnings by nearly one half; the ‘Oil Depletion Allowance’ similarly rescinds considerable tax privileges to them the following January. Two of the sponsors to the newspaper’s ‘Welcome Mr Kennedy’ advertisement are oil industry executives Harvey Bright and Nelson Bunker Hunt, son of H. L. Both are active John Birch Society<sup>859</sup> supporters whose members, in the immediate aftermath of Kennedy’s assassination, merely suspend their recruitment vitriol in the newspapers out of declared “good taste...even at the cost of inconvenience to our subscribers”.<sup>860</sup>

As a lingering metaphorical footnote to the extended sort of readership Kennedy posthumously determines within some parts of Dallas, whose holiday-denied<sup>861</sup> ‘school children applauded the news’<sup>862</sup> of his assassination, is Crown’s reference to *Profiles in Courage* returning to the top of national book sales one month

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<sup>855</sup> ‘Address at California Democratic Party Dinner’, Los Angeles, California, November 18<sup>th</sup>, 1961, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKPOF/036/JFKPOF-036-020> (14/07/2019).

<sup>856</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.335.

<sup>857</sup> Op. cit. Applebome ‘25 Years’. See also Minutaglio and Davis’ claim of Dealey’s private delight with the ‘notoriety’ his outburst has snowballed into national headlines, p.109.

<sup>858</sup> Ibid. p.105.

<sup>859</sup> Far-right group set up in 1958 by Robert Welch, named after an Air Task force member murdered by Chinese Communists in 1945. Membership led to Walker’s expulsion from the military.

<sup>860</sup> John F. Fenton, ‘Magazine Halted by Birch Society’, *The New York Times*, December 17<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/12/17/89990657.html?pageNumber=31> (11/08/2019).

<sup>861</sup> Op. cit. Minutaglio and Davis p.287.

<sup>862</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.869; op. cit. Minutaglio and Davis p.319.

later.<sup>863</sup> In this city, however, ‘conservative columnist’<sup>864</sup> Victor Lasky’s *JFK: The Man and the Myth* becomes the Christmas bestseller version of the Kennedy story its Texas residents apparently choose to read.

Dallas’ exposed vitriol may have inadvertently assisted in tipping the slim margin of victory in Kennedy’s favour back in 1960, an appalled wider media audience beyond Texas witnessing twice – with coverage of Adlai Stevenson’s attempted exit from his UN Day address to follow – the effect of its citizens’ self-absorbed behaviour the discovery of oil has induced. Minutaglio and Davis identify it as a ‘clutching ambivalence’:<sup>865</sup> wanting to keep their oil for themselves whilst craving greater national approbation. It is kept ‘tight that way’<sup>866</sup> by the Dallas Citizens’ Council to prevent ‘explosion’ of such a resource for non-Texan benefit. The city’s ongoing inability to separate itself from ‘condemning its worst impulses’<sup>867</sup> microcosmically chimes with the wave metaphor of intrinsic antithetical forces destructively defying controlled, progressive channelling into making Dallas a city of admiration characters such as visionary Arts’ patron and Neiman store owner Stanley Marcus believes it has the potential positively to attract.<sup>868</sup> Instead, upon Stevenson’s arrival, Marcus, appositely, is said to ‘[feel their] waves of hatred washing over him’.<sup>869</sup>

Implosive paranoia is similarly identified in the chaotic aftermath of the assassination act itself, in which Johnson is advised that, given the possibility that the assassination is part of a wider attack on America’s ‘top leadership’,<sup>870</sup> to return to Washington immediately. It is certainly a conviction Jack Ruby believes to be justified but in a manner to spotlight the increasing schisms within government and party. This is even reflected in the Dallas 1963 motorcade – the conspicuously bold continuation of a covert objective to unify what the *Dallas Morning News* refers to as an

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<sup>863</sup> Op. cit. Crown p.134. See also ‘In and Out of Books’, *The New York Times*, December 29<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/12/29/89640226.html?pageNumber=146> (11/08/2019).

<sup>864</sup> Op. cit. Minutaglio and Davis p.128.

<sup>865</sup> Ibid. p. 95.

<sup>866</sup> Ibid p.155.

<sup>867</sup> Ibid p.95.

<sup>868</sup> Ibid p.229. Marcus: ‘has learned to appeal to Dallas’ vanities – but he is convinced this mercantile angling is also nourishing Dallas’ soul, making the city realize that the things from the outside, from the other worlds, are not so threatening.’

<sup>869</sup> Ibid. p.245.

<sup>870</sup> Op. cit. Johnson p.9.

“internecine battle”<sup>871</sup> and Schlesinger ‘the wracking fight’,<sup>872</sup> within Kennedy’s own increasingly fund-stricken party. It manifests itself with Texas Democrats’ liberal-leaning Ralph Yarborough and his own description of the “so terribly uneducated governmentally”<sup>873</sup> conservative John Connally refusing yet again to sit in the same car; Johnson eventually concedes to the former’s company at Presidential insistence. It is in sharp contrast with the relative harmony suggested by September 1960’s campaigning Dallas motorcade in which ‘Kennedy and Johnson are riding next to each other in the open air’, the latter ‘waving his cowboy hat’ while the Presidential aspirant ‘grins his wide, polished smile.’<sup>874</sup> In footage shown just after he is captured, Jack Ruby – or Jacob Rubenstein, as FBI records later confirm,<sup>875</sup> as if his Judaism is prudently to be concealed<sup>876</sup> - immediately and loudly implies the new President Johnson to be the chief perpetrator of Kennedy’s assassination, as the night club owner is led away to a prison cell after killing a curiously poorly-protected Oswald within a police station two days after Oswald’s own purported act. In contrast with Oswald, there seems unspoken relief in *The New York Times* at the September 1964 Commission conclusion that “Ruby acted alone”<sup>877</sup> in the murder, shared by a separate claim on its front page that also “unanimously” rejects the “theory of conspiracy by right or left”. Many others were not as placated. Sabato cites his own family’s shared suspicion at the time of watching ‘the nation’s first-ever live TV homicide.’<sup>878</sup> The paper may have been sedated by the ‘act-alone’ conclusions about both Oswald and Ruby but this was not a sense of closure that was widely shared: ‘Whether true or not, Americans sensed that large, evil, unseen forces were at work, and this gnawing

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<sup>871</sup> Robert E. Baskin, ‘Split State Party Continues Feuds’, *The Dallas Morning News*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1963.

<sup>872</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.862 who cites the division arising from the oil industry’s attraction to ‘young suburban businessmen and rural conservatives, while the liberal Democrats had joined the old populist tradition with the force of organised labor [sic]’, to which Johnson is affiliated in spirit but no longer regarded in person by them.

<sup>873</sup> Op. cit. Baskin ‘Split State’, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1963.

<sup>874</sup> Op. cit. Minutaglio and Davis p.51.

<sup>875</sup> FBI Investigation document on Jack Ruby and his Jewish heritage, <https://www.archives.gov/files/research/jfk/releases/2018/docid-32279111.pdf> (16/07/2019).

<sup>876</sup> See for example, FBI investigation document on Ruby’s Israeli background, <https://www.archives.gov/files/research/jfk/releases/2018/docid-32148156.pdf> (16/07/2019).

<sup>877</sup> Anthony Lewis, ‘Warren Commission Finds Oswald Guilty and says Assassin and Ruby acted alone; Rebukes Secret Service, Asks Revamping’, *The New York Times*, September 28<sup>th</sup>, 1964, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1964/09/28/issue.html> (16/07/2019).

<sup>878</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.200.

suspicion added immensely to the disquiet of the time.’<sup>879</sup> Neither Ruby’s nor Oswald’s removal dispels audience distrust and fear of its nation’s ‘dark side’.

Ruby’s disconcerting allegation gains further credence through perception of Johnson’s close friendship with FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, in which *Time* later describes the former as ‘the worst offender in demanding political information’.<sup>880</sup> Hersh suggests the friendship further facilitates confirmation to Johnson of Kennedy’s prodigious philandering so giving him some extra political leverage in procuring the Vice-Presidential nomination, particularly after he reluctantly concludes his own chances in beating Kennedy for the top job.<sup>881</sup>

Johnson’s professional ambitions, described by Levingston as being ‘as deep and wide as his home state of Texas’,<sup>882</sup> and possibly frustrated by Kennedy’s apparent knowledge of his ‘moodiness in the Vice-Presidency’,<sup>883</sup> may similarly have been intuited by the Soviets as strong reason for suspicion, particularly if enhanced by Johnson’s awareness of his possible replacement by Governor Terry Sanford at the next Democratic Convention given the financial scandal embroiling his own political protégé, Bobby Baker. Schlesinger dismisses the idea as rootless; *The Dallas Morning News*, however, carries a feature on the day of Kennedy’s fateful visit to the city in which the currently politically-defunct former rival to the President, Richard Nixon, interviewed somewhat coincidentally from its Baker Hotel suite, describes the Vice President as “a political liability in the South”.<sup>884</sup> In that same Nosenko FBI file, it is stated that KGB operatives in Moscow have previously been ‘in possession of data purporting to indicate [that] President Johnson was responsible for the assassination of the late President John F. Kennedy.’<sup>885</sup> Knowing little about the nature of the new President’s policy towards their country and fearing re-escalation in nuclear tensions,

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<sup>879</sup> Ibid. p.204.

<sup>880</sup> ‘The Truth about Hoover’, *Time*, December 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1975, p.30. Note Sorensen’s denial that Kennedy ‘was having Johnson spied upon’, op. cit. p.266. Sabato states Kennedy to have left ‘125 tapes and 68 Dictabelt recordings of conversations, and Lyndon Johnson had made extensive tapings, too, without the knowledge or permission of other participants’, op. cit. p.314.

<sup>881</sup> See also Caro Vol. 4, pp.112-15.

<sup>882</sup> Op. cit. Levingston p.32.

<sup>883</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.861. See also Dallek (2013) who describes Johnson as a ‘rudderless, energetic, vice president’, frustrated at being ‘a fifth wheel’, p.167.

<sup>884</sup> Carl Freund, ‘Nixon Predicts JFK May Drop Johnson’, *The Dallas Morning News*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1963.

<sup>885</sup> Op. cit. ‘Reaction of Soviet and Communist Party Officials to JFK Assassination’, FBI Investigation files. Johnson also tops Evelyn Lincoln’s list of suspects, Sabato op. cit. p.223.

instruction is therefore issued ‘to develop all possible information concerning Lyndon B. Johnson’s character’ – including the unwittingly prescient request to elicit the type of ‘personal relationship’ that exists between Kennedy’s successor and the remaining members of his family, in which Robert is specifically named. Jackie never revisits the White House under Johnson’s tenure.

Paranoia flourishes most when personal trust is broken or intimate confidence shattered. Despite frequently traded collusion with the press, Johnson cites Kennedy’s bemoaning as to covert, confidential gatherings’ continued proclivity towards news’ leaks: ‘President Kennedy had learned to his regret...that when the findings of his task forces were prematurely disclosed opposition had plenty of time to form.’<sup>886</sup> The obsessive monitoring of the USSR from its U2 aircraft is reflected in similar anxiety at ground level, in a White House already fitted out with recording and surveillance devices. Martin Luther King is apparently most surprised at being whisked into the Rose Garden post-1963 ‘Dream’ speech laudation by Kennedy, to discuss, at least for the President, a realistic course of Civil Rights’ legislation: ‘King immediately wondered...whether the Oval Office was bugged...’<sup>887</sup> Ostensibly, such equipment is indulged by the media-attentive Kennedy to encourage business transparency while simultaneously attempting to create an official soundtrack of his Presidency he is keen for history to record.<sup>888</sup> Unofficially – and certainly not unique to Kennedy – such recording equipment often extends beyond the confines of both the Oval Office and

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<sup>886</sup> Op. cit. Johnson p.328. See also Sorensen op. cit. p.314.

<sup>887</sup> Op. cit. Levingston p.414. King’s associate Stanley Levison and attorney Clarence Jones are both FBI wire-tapped upon suspicion of Communist leanings. The JFK-Library confirms that: ‘The actual recording device was confined to one of two rooms in the basement. The President did not have access to the tape recorder itself; he could only turn the system on or off in the Oval Office by hitting a “very sensitive” switch concealed in a pen socket on his desk, in a bookend near his favorite [sic] chair or in a coffee table in front of a fireplace [by] his desk. The Cabinet Room switch was installed on the underside of the conference table in front of JFK’s chair. The Oval Office microphones were hidden in the desk knee-well and in a table across the room; the Cabinet Room microphones were mounted on the outside wall directly behind JFK’s chair in spaces that once held light fixtures’, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/learn/about-jfk/jfk-in-history/white-house-tape-recordings> (17/06/2019). Crown also states McGeorge Bundy’s request for Lincoln’s assistance in collating national security information as ‘it would be helpful in reconstructing the record of the Administration’, op. cit. p.47.

<sup>888</sup> Installed merely to provide ‘an accurate record of his administration for his personal use after he left the White House’, op. cit. ‘The JFK Library White House Tape Recordings’. Dallek also cites Kennedy’s wish for a public record: “If this planet is ever ravaged by nuclear war...I do not want one of those survivors to ask another, ‘How did it all happen?’ and to receive the incredible reply: ‘Ah, if only one knew’”, op. cit. p.505. Sabato, however, is slightly more cynical. While acknowledging Kennedy’s prescience in providing ‘future generations of scholars with a record, the President may also have envisaged ‘immediate and long-term personal uses for these transcripts, from holding his advisors accountable for writing his memoirs...’ op. cit. p.102.

the Cabinet Room, to facilitate incrimination or extortion of information for personal advantage, suggesting a chief executive feeling the need constantly to keep a check on his own administration. Such interrogation acquired accelerated momentum during Franklin D. Roosevelt's Presidency when J. Edgar Hoover is directed by him to carry out 'FBI name checks on US isolationists' which includes 'wiretap[ping] some of his own top advisors'.<sup>889</sup> In so doing, Hoover's FBI organization gains:

'...the right to become entrenched in all areas of domestic surveillance. Hoover expanded the FBI's use of bugging devices and wiretaps – and also expanded his personal Intelligence-gathering on politicians, public figures, and journalists.'<sup>890</sup>

Such privileging of position makes Hoover invaluable to his Presidents even if they, exemplified by Kennedy's uncertain reaction over King's apparent Communist connections, are made personally uncomfortable by such a conduit. It may explain Schlesinger's ambiguous comment that while he and Sorensen meet the President to discuss his forthcoming Berkeley University address, 'His luncheon guest was leaving as we arrived. Kennedy carefully refrained from introducing us, explaining a moment later that he did not want to upset Mr Hoover too much.'<sup>891</sup> Hoover can raise suspicions - often stemming from personal prejudice – with impunity. Often, as Levingston states, 'there were no documents to prove anything because they didn't exist, and in their absence the FBI chief simply asserted that the material was too sensitive to let out of his grasp.'<sup>892</sup> Carr's 'document' credence misgivings are once again surely validated.

Fears that there are subversive elements within the ruling elites continue to reverberate into the 1990s. Wanting to tell his own story lest younger generations passively accept the increasing "history textbook" tidiness of what is actually to him an "ignoble event",<sup>893</sup> Oliver Stone's 1991 film *JFK* redirects fictionally unedifying spotlight upon possible CIA, FBI and/or US military culpability that contributes towards the creation of the President John F. Kennedy Assassination Records Collection Act of 1992. Public disclosure – albeit often heavily redacted – of

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<sup>889</sup> Op. cit. *Time*, December 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1975, p.31.

<sup>890</sup> Op. cit. Hersh p.148.

<sup>891</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.536. See also Sabato: 'Hoover had cleverly accumulated evidence of JFK's infidelities and had made certain the Kennedys were aware of his proofs – which provided an unusual form of job security', op. cit. p.187.

<sup>892</sup> Op. cit. Levingston p.414.

<sup>893</sup> Philip Wuntch, 'Stone Not Surprised by skepticism' [sic] *The Dallas Morning News*, December 20<sup>th</sup>, 1991.

assassination-related documents is made possible by its National Archives' repository in 2017. This was brought forward from its original Warren Commission 2029 date-sealed, official-conclusion sanctuary. Remaining documents deemed similarly non-endangering are authorized Presidential release in 2021.

Paranoia nonetheless continues to reverberate across the next generation of Kennedys in their understandable conviction of the ongoing – and publicly exposed - 'Curse' – or a narrative that has overtaken and subsumes them in its wake. Indeed, with somewhat bleak timing it reverberates into the week of the tenth anniversary of Kennedy's death with *The New York Times* describing his nephew's recovery from a leg amputation,<sup>894</sup> while the boy's father Edward is reported as nearing the removal of his own back brace after an aircraft accident that takes place on the same day he attends Senate to witness the passing of the 1964 Civil Rights' Act instigated by his late brother. At the end of the 1990s, ripples from this 'Curse' extend beyond the cockpit of President Kennedy's son John's private plane, towards former First Lady Hillary Clinton, who had planned to run for the same Senate seat in New York, and for whom her husband's personal insistence upon a rigorous search for any remains is viewed by some<sup>895</sup> as a disproportionate response towards a private citizen.

### **'Lighter' reverberations**

Reverberations of a lighter hue may be discerned in the issue of Civil Rights. It has been a consistent challenge to subsequent Presidents, rendering Kennedy's diversely perceived negative management of it at the time, through newspaper depiction herein at least, as perhaps deserving of more positive revision. The 2008 election of Barack Obama nearly fulfils Robert Kennedy's prediction that the US would have a black man in the White House within 40 years.<sup>896</sup> However, in the same way that Kennedy is a President "who happens to be a Catholic",<sup>897</sup> Obama is a President who happens to be black. Elected with anticipatory fervour reminiscent of Kennedy's own, such energy instead rapidly has to be harnessed into overcoming economic crisis and two unpopular

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<sup>894</sup> 'Kennedy Doctors Optimistic', *The New York Times*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1973, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1973/11/22/87595747.html?pageNumber=38>

<sup>895</sup> For example, relentless Clinton-conspiracy theorist Roger Stone.

<sup>896</sup> From Robert F. Kennedy interview with 'Voice of America': 'Negro can be US President Atty Gen Says', *The Washington Post*, May 27<sup>th</sup>, 1968.

<sup>897</sup> 'Address to the Greater Houston Ministerial Association', September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1960, op. cit. *Speeches* p.12.



wars, rather than prioritized pursuit of the race-themed issues his Nomination speech anticipates. In it echoes of Kennedy may be heard, for example, in the similar contentions about black prospects in ‘inferior segregated schools’.<sup>898</sup> Racial rights’ oppression per se, understood under a general ‘Civil Rights’ banner by the Kennedy administration, instead becomes absorbed into – not dissimilarly – a wider human rights’ regard. Impassioned rhetoric, consistent with that expressed during that earlier campaign speech, only eventually seems to be expended reactively further to the shootings of Trayvon Martin in 2012 and eight worshippers together with their church pastor in Charleston towards the end of Obama’s Presidency. General disillusion, in contrast with Kennedy’s increasing moral anger, shortly to be tracked in more detail, may nonetheless explain the similarly disappointing public assessment of Obama’s overall political management of this issue as suggested by a *New York Times*’ poll at the end of his second term.<sup>899</sup>

Kennedy’s own behaviour therefore may require re-examination to determine whether restoration of a more positive trajectory course can be justified. His own background suggests that he had more to learn to become sensitive to the issue, a hazy goal continually clouded by what Levingston elucidates as an ongoing battle between political expediency and private personal sensibility. It is particularly exemplified by the Coretta Scott King telephone call, that could be described as both a cynical act to procure essential black votes and a canny response to circumstances otherwise politically compromising – as initially feared by Robert. As Levingston asserts, if Kennedy: ‘acted on King’s behalf, he risked a vicious backlash from Southern whites. The Senator had to walk a fine line: show decency to a black man without alienating the white community.’<sup>900</sup> Kennedy has to be a politician but at this point he has also recently become a father himself. This therefore may betray a glimpse of personal

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<sup>898</sup> ‘Barack Obama’s Speech on Race’, *The New York Times*, March 18<sup>th</sup>, 2008, <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/18/us/politics/18text-obama.html> (15/03/17). Compare Kennedy’s June 1963 Civil Rights’ address: “Too many Negro children entering segregated grade schools at the time of the Supreme Court’s decision nine years ago will enter segregated high schools this fall, having suffered a loss which can never be restored. The lack of an adequate education denies the Negro a chance to get a decent job.”

<sup>899</sup> The 2016 poll showed a 69% disapproval rating of Obama’s Civil Rights’ handling. The President’s supporters would nonetheless point out his achievements including greater life expectancy for African Americans, highest ever high school graduation rates and growth in median household income. Giovanni Russonello, ‘Race Relations Are at Lowest Point in Obama Presidency, Poll Finds’, *The New York Times*, July 13<sup>th</sup>, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/14/us/most-americans-hold-grim-view-of-race-relations-poll-finds.html> (16/3/2017).

<sup>900</sup> Op. cit. Levingston p.81.

conscience Schlesinger more generously ascribes to a ‘grace of force of feeling which lay beneath the supposedly cool façade’,<sup>901</sup> to balance against interpretation of a self-interested act it would be tempting to conclude particularly if the Senator had also made the call to Judge Mitchell to facilitate King’s jail release. Instead Kennedy’s phone contact – apparently dialled by his brother-in-law away from political advisors – may instead be viewed as symbolic of a greater unspoken message rather than the bland, 90-second locutionary exchange that actually takes place. It is not what is said but the fact that Kennedy musters both the personal and political courage to make it at all; it is the unarticulated understanding emanating from its mere occurrence that radiates beyond the black community. Once released, even King tacitly acknowledges the balanced judgement of the phone-call action taken: “‘I think he did something that expressed deep moral concern, but at the same time it was politically sound.’”<sup>902</sup> Indeed, it is not the only occasion that such a call is made for King, nor indeed bail surreptitiously paid to facilitate the Civil Rights’ leader’s many incarcerations. Kennedy is surely working at the very edge of his political confines.

As President, particularly with such a small majority, this discernible sensibility may be seen to assume more active, vicarious form through Robert. Kennedy trusts in him for Civil Rights’ progressive management, particularly given his own resigned perception as to the futility of any significant advance through a legislature dominated by ‘a tight-knit cabal of white supremacists’,<sup>903</sup> to which Kennedy’s agenda is ‘held hostage’, or more prosaically: ‘Southern lawmakers who saw his reforms as a threat to racial segregation’.<sup>904</sup> Continued advocacy of Civil Rights within such a chamber may therefore, as *Profiles in Courage* anticipates, only ultimately permit Kennedy “to seek his dignity rather than a legislative

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<sup>901</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.67.

<sup>902</sup> *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King*, oral history excerpt, Stanford University Library, 1964, [https://swap.stanford.edu/20141218230019/http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/kingweb/publications/autobiography/chp\\_15.htm](https://swap.stanford.edu/20141218230019/http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/kingweb/publications/autobiography/chp_15.htm) (12/11/2018).

<sup>903</sup> Op. cit. Livingston p.15. Bryant shows this to be an inherited problem, citing FDR’s reluctance in confronting ‘a rump of segregationists, whose tight control over committee chairmanships and readiness to launch paralyzing filibusters, gave them the power to wreck his legislative program...to champion civil rights was to rip its [electoral tent’s] delicate fabric in two, an orthodoxy that dominated Democratic thinking for the next three decades’, op. cit. p.21. Schlesinger cites Kennedy’s ‘virtuoso account of the role which timing, persuasion and parliamentary tactics played in getting bills through’, op. cit. p.9.

<sup>904</sup> Robert Dallek, Kennedy’s Legacy of Inspiration, *The New York Times*, November 21<sup>st</sup>, 2013, <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/22/opinion/kennedys-legacy-of-inspiration.html> (13/04/18).

accomplishment.<sup>905</sup> Any ‘...raging back’ or ‘fighting harder’ against such ‘entrenched power at that time of the conservative coalition’ might also alienate these colleagues in their support of other ‘less controversial bills’.<sup>906</sup> This may therefore explain his delay as President in signing an Executive Order banning discrimination in public housing the many pens sent to him as Senator wished him just as speedily to effect.

Such ‘burial ground’<sup>907</sup> implacability of Congress, as the site where Kennedy’s New Frontier aspirations are interred, is actually recognized by *The Dallas Morning News* although it is quickly subverted into a personal defeat. Cited in part in Chapter Three, Dick West’s ‘The Fickle Public’ article is almost gleeful in its retribution:

“Campaign assurances have become bogged in the mire of defeat and red tape. Medicare is blocked. So is a farm bill, as he wants it. His proposal to create a new department of urban affairs earlier was demolished, and he almost lost foreign aid on the terms he demanded....His life’s cup has spilled over with success, and now he is learning that every bed of roses has its thorns.”<sup>908</sup>

This, however, merely accentuates perception of a persistent will to improve that is practically constrained by the “thorns” of arcane and parochial mind-sets. Kennedy always seems bewildered by entrenched factionalism, showing ‘a subtle yet steadfast disgust with segregation...his actions sprang from an instinct to treat all humans equally.’<sup>909</sup> Such regard seems supported by recollection of his own irritation towards invocation of his Catholicism as valid objection against competent political conduct, an annoyance that later manifests itself in his refusal to support public funding of parochial schools, which Dallek asserts is the source of ‘unyielding opposition from Catholics’<sup>910</sup> to Kennedy. Instead, consistent with his speeches in which there is repeated yearning for division to be usurped by unity, the following ‘Kennedy and Segregation’ article confirms an overarching, non-partisan vision, that is only accentuated by the newspaper’s own myopia: “It is my position that all students should be given the opportunity to attend public schools regardless of their race, and

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<sup>905</sup> Op. cit. *Profiles* p.30. See also Dallek op. cit. p.589.

<sup>906</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.616. He later elaborates these ‘other purposes’ to include ‘bills, like those for education and increased minimum wage, of direct benefit to the Negro’, p.794. Congressional support for a Department of Urban Affairs and trade expansion bill is cited by both Dallek and Schlesinger as reasons for the stalling on the housing order, pp.806-7.

<sup>907</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.476.

<sup>908</sup> Op. cit. July 25<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

<sup>909</sup> Op. cit. Levingston p.224. *Profiles* is deliberately bi-partisan as is JFK’s Inauguration address. Bryant even asserts his reluctance for Party pigeon-holing: ‘By the beginning of the 1950s, it had become increasingly clear that he was first and foremost a Kennedy, not a Democrat’, p.31.

<sup>910</sup> Op. cit. Dallek p.379.

that is in accordance with the Constitution.”<sup>911</sup> The journalist sardonically describes the statement as “amazing”, a superlative that certainly earns it positive strength given its simultaneous misappropriation by the reporter as ‘outrageous’ or ‘incredible’, feeling the need to point out to Kennedy that his state’s own schools do indeed already conform to these legal requirements – but just separately, within their own black or white premises.<sup>912</sup>

Yet it is precisely what Stephen G. Rabe identifies earlier in Kennedy’s career as ‘racial egalitarianism’,<sup>913</sup> this reluctance to make any human distinctions into difference-sensitive causes that may be seen as an unwitting shortcoming.<sup>914</sup> Instead, it is interpreted as chronic indifference by those communities conspicuously suffering discrimination, rather than Kennedy’s perlocutionary affirmation of heightened collective regard. As Sorensen asserts of Kennedy:

‘To him Negroes were no different from anyone else. He did not treat them differently, look at them differently or speak of them differently. They were not set aside as a Special Problem or singled out as a special group...’<sup>915</sup>

Sopel implies a similar aggravating contention towards President Barack Obama, suggesting his ebbing support amongst the black community not wholly to be a product of his mixed-race heritage but instead a greater refusal to utilize at the outset his non-white skin colour to encourage prioritizing over other policy objectives: ‘Barack Obama wanted to be a president for all the people, not perceived as the wholly owned subsidiary of the black lobby.’<sup>916</sup>

Kennedy is nonetheless forced to confront his innate mystification given the less-conflicted vision of the Freedom Riders crusading rather more quickly along the

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<sup>911</sup> ‘Kennedy and Segregation’, *The Dallas Morning News*, February 10<sup>th</sup>, 1961. Bryant thinks this tame although shortly concedes mild approbation as well as positive substantiation, op. cit. p.233.

<sup>912</sup> In suggesting that equal but separate facilities actually does conform to legal requirements, the article is implicitly challenging the constitutional authority of the Warren Court’s *Brown v. Topeka* ruling overturning the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* judgement that had formerly enshrined the constitutionality of equal but separate. See also Sopel, op. cit. p.62.

<sup>913</sup> Op. cit. Rabe p.17.

<sup>914</sup> See Levingston: ‘Jack and his siblings learned compassion for the disadvantaged, but blacks weren’t singled out for special attention’, op. cit. p.7. Interestingly, at the beginning of *Nation*, equal standing seems afforded to crew composition filling the three ships sailing to America, that include: “an Englishman, an Irishman, a Jew and a Negro”, op. cit. p.10. It is just a locutionary description. Later in this work, Kennedy describes racism as a “phony issue” given its easy destruction by greater events such as The Depression and First World War, p.39.

<sup>915</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.471.

<sup>916</sup> Op. cit. Sopel p.48, citing Obama’s: ‘there would be no more blue states; there would be no more red states – there would only be the United States.’

South's auto-routes, to test the practical spirit of extant legislation to which Kennedy takes recourse, and assist dynamically in affecting its currently delicate progress.

However, with the challenge of its practical application being exposed by white opponents at journey's – usually premature – end, the President is finally obliged to consider Federal assistance. Yet personal sensitivity and political judgement are simultaneously exercised insofar as it deliberately materializes at Montgomery, Alabama in the form of local marshals<sup>917</sup> and police rather than US Army troops, who are nonetheless on airport standby in Georgia. Anthony Lewis observes that Kennedy does not specifically highlight any perpetrator during the Mississippi clashes: “There were no recriminations in the President's talk nor even a reference to Governor Barnett”,<sup>918</sup> it happens again in Alabama later when Kennedy takes to the TV but desists from mentioning Governor George Wallace to the nation by name. When the troops are about to be federalized in Mississippi, in the spirit of transparent government and perhaps self-conscious positive historical confirmation,<sup>919</sup> a recording of the telephone conversations<sup>920</sup> that take place between the President, Robert and the state's Governor Barnett conveys Kennedy's patience, lucidity and respectfulness towards the official, his similar priority being a cessation of violence that has already claimed the lives of a local man and an overseas reporter, in which Barnett's concerns as to “how can I...live with the people of Mississippi?” are calmly retorted by Kennedy's insistence upon the same unified regard being afforded to the law by all persons rather than conformity to a “law of Mississippi”. Bryant nonetheless laments Kennedy's refusal to deploy the federalizing deterrent available to him that his predecessor utilized, regarding his disinclination to impose ‘the smack of firm presidential

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<sup>917</sup> Recalls JFK's Nixon-debate claim for marshals not troops at Little Rock, see Bryant op. cit. p.174.

<sup>918</sup> Anthony Lewis, The President asks Mississippi to comply with US Laws, *The New York Times*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1962, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1962/10/01/90192380.html?pageNumber=1> (17/09/18).

<sup>919</sup> Although officially justified as: ‘the president simply wanted accurate records for writing his memoirs’, op. cit. ‘JFK Library White House Tape Recordings’.

<sup>920</sup> Telephone Recordings: Dictation Belt 4C.1. University of Mississippi Crisis, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKPOF/TPH/JFKPOF-TPH-04C-1/JFKPOF-TPH-04C-1> (17/09/18). Stern expresses similar sentiments regarding the subsequent declassification of ExComm tapes in which the President's behaviour is justifiably described as ‘understated... remarkably consistent and effective. He never lost his temper and remained all but imperturbable... He was never arrogant... never put anyone down harshly, and barely raised his voice...’ op. cit. p.156. See also Bryant about Kennedy's growing maturity on Capitol Hill: ‘Rational, calm, and phlegmatic, he approached problems with cool detachment; flashes of anger, remorse or any other kind of outward emotion were rare’, op. cit. p.30.

leadership...on an unruly segregationists’, as a failing given ‘that a massive federal response might be the best way to confront massive resistance.’<sup>921</sup> Minutaglio and Davis instead imply the delaying of such force actually to be consistent with Kennedy’s greater perception of damage limitation, particularly as: ‘The white resistance has learned its lessons since Little Rock. This time the mob is much bigger. And it is heavily armed.’<sup>922</sup> Ironically, this opinion seems shared by *The Dallas Morning News*’ reference to Mississippi Senators’ concern that sending in troops against Barnett would be “a holocaust in the making”.<sup>923</sup> Kennedy’s decision seems consistent with the humanitarian regard implied by his intimated incredulity towards the invasion-regardless attitude from some of his military staff concerning Cuba in October 1962, and mystification at adviser reluctance a few months later to negotiate a nuclear test ban treaty.

Unfortunately, such outwardly calm conformity to what Bryant describes as ‘constitutional originalism’,<sup>924</sup> or what Obama later describes in his campaign speech as adherence only to ‘words on a parchment’<sup>925</sup> is simply inadequate to stop the bloodshed in the South caused by the increasingly volatile oscillation of Federal law meeting obdurate state custom interpretation, that federalized forces would surely be challenged in constantly meeting if Kennedy was roused as Bryant advocates. It is absurdly manifested in the Montgomery anomaly of King and his extended Baptist church congregation being given protection by Patterson’s own Alabama guards – ordered in separately by the Governor to show that he can control his own city – against Kennedy’s mustered forces intended for the same purpose. Kennedy’s mixture of what seems the increasingly unsustainable placation-with-steeliness approach nonetheless persists into a televised address<sup>926</sup> in which his defaulting to the “integrity of law”,

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<sup>921</sup> Op. cit. Bryant p.87.

<sup>922</sup> Op. cit. Minutaglio and Davis p.167. Kennedy’s sensitivity is further evidenced by Salinger’s reference during the Cuban Missile Crisis for the preferred ‘quarantine’ over ‘blockade’ to be used because “of its less bellicose tone and because it would prove more palatable to certain of our reluctant allies”, p.259. See similarly Sabato op. cit. p.106.

<sup>923</sup> ‘Mississippi guard put under Federal Control’, *The Dallas Morning News*, September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1962.

<sup>924</sup> Op. cit. Bryant p.247.

<sup>925</sup> Op. cit. Obama Speech, March 18<sup>th</sup>, 2008.

<sup>926</sup> ‘Radio and Television Address on the Situation at the University of Mississippi’, September, 30<sup>th</sup>, 1962, JFK-Library, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKWHA/1962/JFKWHA-132-002/JFKWHA-132-002> (15/06/2018).

“observance of law” and intolerance of “defiance of law”, is over-emphasized, almost robotically disguising its clear insufficiency. As Levingston asserts:

‘...the Kennedy administration had...only demonstrated its will to maintain order. The issue at the heart of the crisis went unaddressed: neither the attorney general nor, more important, the president said a word about the prevailing injustice that had inspired blacks to risk their lives.’<sup>927</sup>

The rigidity of the address is unexpected for someone usually so apposite in rhetoric, although perhaps the convalescence of Sorensen at this point from a stomach ulcer, should not entirely be overlooked as a contributing factor to its perfunctoriness. The speech evades acknowledgement of the innate wrongness of inequality, instead generally abhorring sectionalism, upon which Kennedy has previously appeared far more impassioned, and then appeals safely to the Mississippians’ invaluable military, sporting and academic contributions to American society, all of which have been achieved within the confines of the law to which obeisance rather than necessarily personal agreement is demanded.

The discourse does, however, shift dramatically from February to June 1963 to demonstrate that Kennedy’s next recourse voluntarily<sup>928</sup> to a television address is a cumulative rather than incident-reactive response his 1962 appeal seemed:

‘On the one side was George Wallace...with a hardened, unyielding conscience who confirmed the biases of his followers; and on the other was John Kennedy, who had an aptitude for enlightenment and empathy, qualities he hoped to inspire in the country at large.’<sup>929</sup>

In proof that a deepening of moral sensibility is taking place, many of the June address elements are extracted from a ‘Special Message to Congress’ Kennedy delivers on February 28<sup>th</sup> – itself a personalized expansion of Harris Wofford’s bald 1960 compilation of black-baby statistics for Kennedy’s first Nixon TV debate – in which is finally confirmed appropriate engagement with a specific black plight, through a precise quantification Senator Obama, as stated, similarly echoes 35 years later:

“...the Negro baby born in America today...has about one-half as much chance of completing high school as white baby born in the same place on the same day...one third as much chance of completing college...one seventh as much

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<sup>927</sup> Op. cit. Levingston p.184.

<sup>928</sup> Op. cit. Bryant p.421 in which Kennedy ‘personally contacted executives...to request airtime’.

<sup>929</sup> Op. cit. Levingston p.432.

chance of earning \$10,000 per year...a life expectancy which is seven years less...and the prospect of earning half as much.”<sup>930</sup>

Kennedy’s language is immediately more fervent: Discrimination is “a cruel disease” that is indiscriminating. It is “wrongful”, “harmful”, “wasteful”: “it is wrong” whereas equality is essential because “it is right”. This indignation is finally consistent with articulations he too is able to state more freely as Senator in which the “strong moral leadership” of the future Presidency would be:

“...exercised until every American, of every color [sic] and faith has achieved equal access to all of American life – and that means equal access to the voting booths, to the schoolroom, to jobs, to housing and to the lunch counters.”<sup>931</sup>

The limits of the law are finally defied by the personal spirit of Kennedy himself: “...progress for the Negro has been too often blocked and delayed. Equality before the law has not always meant equal treatment and opportunity”; “Federal executive action...no matter how speedy and how drastic...can never fully correct such abuses.” Kennedy insists on the need “to free the forces of our democratic system”; act positively on the gap “between our precepts and our practices” he initially is so reluctant to separate, similarly conceded later by Senator Obama as the ‘promise of our ideals and the reality of their time’.<sup>932</sup> Here Kennedy surely finally and properly validates those two words “at home” added in seeming afterthought in his Inauguration address, with his insistence that, “This is an effort in which every individual who asks what he can do for his country should be able and willing to take part.”

It is not quite the overly enunciated “moral” message as if too premature for the sensitivities of a Congress comprising ‘loyal friends for years’ of Johnson in particular, whose acquaintance - anticipated politically for himself by Kennedy – is quickly lost upon the former’s passing of the bill into an Act ‘destined to set me apart forever from the South’.<sup>933</sup> Yet in Kennedy’s highlighting of the ‘Negro’ by name, acquisition at least of an overriding moral conscience now appears confirmed, indeed segueing into the June TV address with the explicit reference to this “moral issue” and

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<sup>930</sup> ‘Special Message to Congress on Civil Rights’, February 28<sup>th</sup>, 1963. <https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKPOF/043/JFKPOF-043-002> (15/06/18).

<sup>931</sup> ‘Statement of Senator John F. Kennedy following a meeting with the Executive Committee of The New York State Liberal Party’, New York, June 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1960, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-speeches/new-york-state-liberal-party-19600623> Bryant lists examples of Kennedy’s early support as a freshman Congressman for new Civil Rights’ legislation, op. cit. p.26 as well as noting that ‘during his 6 years in Congress he never missed a civil rights’ vote’, p.29.

<sup>932</sup> Op. cit. Obama Speech, March 18<sup>th</sup>, 2008.

<sup>933</sup> Op. cit. Johnson p.38. See also Bryant p.462.



“moral crisis”.<sup>934</sup> The Alabama stand-off episode of 1963 must therefore be regarded as the tipping- rather than guilt-tripping point. Kennedy finally admits publicly the insufficiency of purely legal recourse: the “law alone cannot make”; it is “not a legislative issue alone”; “Legislation cannot solve this problem alone”. He is belatedly acknowledging openly to both himself and the nation that this is an emotive issue, that the legal response to the quintessentially moral issue it is designed to protect will always be outstripped by the active pace the unconfined intensity from the “fires of frustration and discord”, recently fanned so graphically in Birmingham, engenders.<sup>935</sup> The black plight and quantifying from the February Congress address is invoked verbatim and then embellished, incorporated within a more holistic moral language that is finally both politically and personally proportionate: legal discourse is enshrined in moral terms as “human decency”. It is accompanied for good measure by the unusual conspicuousness of a fist-tapping from the hand of an otherwise resurgent prodding finger, to insist upon “the equal right to develop talent” for the national good, as well as what Levingston, Bryant and Lewis later affirm as heavy extemporizing beyond a hastily-cobbled script, Sorensen particularly regards as taking the form of ‘a heartfelt conclusion.’<sup>936</sup> In a return to rhetorical – here, counterbalancing – form, Kennedy’s chief speechwriter declares: ‘He was not interested in a “moral victory” on a legislative issue – he wanted a legislative victory on a moral issue.’<sup>937</sup> It is demonstration of an impassioning that is sustained beyond the public address by Kennedy asking his nation, through revisions that appear to take place between the 14<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> June, of his proposed next address to Congress, to have blacks fully integrated into that hitherto marginalizing “melting pot” into which is generated “a country, proud of its heritage – the heritage of the melting pot, the heritage of equal

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<sup>934</sup> Televised Address to the Nation on Civil Rights, June 11<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/learn/about-jfk/historic-speeches/televised-address-to-the-nation-on-civil-rights> (15/06/2018).

<sup>935</sup> ‘Events drove Kennedy more than he drove them and, while his administration ultimately pushed civil rights forward more than his predecessors, by the time he fully enjoined the issue, events were moving more rapidly than most every president could address’, op. cit. Catsam, p.555.

<sup>936</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.495. Levingston op. cit. p.402, Bryant op. cit. pp.422-3; Anthony Lewis: “[Kennedy’s] speech had been written hurriedly and was not complete; towards the end he spoke extemporaneously”, ‘At Home and Abroad’, *The New York Times*, January 18<sup>th</sup>, 1971, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1971/01/18/83199592.html?pageNumber=39>. (15/06/2018). Dallek (2013), however, regards it as an irritating intrusion upon JFK’s Vietnam deliberations, its worthy sentiments compromising the President’s re-election chances. Dallek totally negates the cumulative – and rhetorical - sensibility-thread identified herein.

<sup>937</sup> Ibid p.498.

rights, the heritage of one nation and one people.”<sup>938</sup> In a ‘Supplemental message’ of June 17<sup>th</sup>, 1963, the ‘Conclusion’ to the draft suggests that this is still angrily awaited, particularly in the pointed paragraph prefacing of “in the continued absence of Congressional action...”

Recognition and acknowledgement that legislative steps alone may never match moral progress or enlightenment is already conceded in Kennedy’s incremental achievements up to that point detractors suggest could at least have been precipitated or emboldened if less inhibited by certain Democrats. Bryant argues that Kennedy needed to engage more forcefully with the various factions in Congress – even Reston at the time mentions timidity here<sup>939</sup> - similarly expected by Schlesinger in his commendation of Kennedy’s Vice Presidential choice, Johnson’s prowess as Senate Majority Leader being deemed ‘essential for the success of a Kennedy legislative program [sic]’:<sup>940</sup>

‘Not since James F. Byrnes had Congress seen a man so skilled in modifying a measure to enlist the widest possible support, so adept at the arts of wheeling, trading and arm-twisting, so persistent and so persuasive. Yet these talents went largely unemployed in the Kennedy years.’<sup>941</sup>

Such reticence therefore seems unconfined to Civil Rights per se; Kennedy is not prejudicial to just this specific cause.<sup>942</sup> It is accentuated separately by Schlesinger’s slightly daring reference to Kennedy’s ‘perhaps oversensitive’<sup>943</sup> regard for Congress’ inflexibility for which this ‘activist’ President with ‘too many new ideas’,<sup>944</sup> ‘too cool and analytical a tone’ and ‘too critical’ a view of American society, seems momentum-wise frustratingly incompatible. The ensuing modest results include

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<sup>938</sup> ‘Civil rights: General, June 1963, 14-30’, p.8’s ‘Equal Accommodation...’, JFK-Library, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKPOF/097/JFKPOF-097-003> (16/6/2018).

<sup>939</sup> “He is in despair about the organisation of Congress and the tyranny of conservative committee chairmen on Capitol Hill, but he is unwilling either to attack the Congressional ‘establishment’ or reconcile himself to it”, James Reston, ‘Hard Education of John F. Kennedy: Doubt, Drift Replacing Exuberant Optimism of Early Days of Term’, *The New York Times*, February 18<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/02/18/issue.html> (15/06/2018).

<sup>940</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.41.

<sup>941</sup> Ibid p.612. However, Dallek (2013) contends that utilizing Johnson ‘would have undermined Kennedy’s presidential standing by implying that the younger, less experienced Kennedy needed his more seasoned vice president to manage Congress. It would have diminished Kennedy...’p.114.

<sup>942</sup> Op. cit. Parmet pp.206-7. See also Sorensen: ‘John Kennedy was not one of the Senate’s great leaders. Few laws of national importance bear his name’, op. cit. p.43. He later attributes this to ‘deference’ given Kennedy’s previous outranking by such members usually a generation older, p.345. Schlesinger confirms their similarly suspected ‘resentment’, p.615.

<sup>943</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.589.

<sup>944</sup> Ibid p.615.

the 1961 enhancement of the 1956 bus-desegregation legislation with its extension to interstate terminals and their facilities; 18 rail operators in the South agreeing to desegregate their carriages, followed voluntarily by three airport terminals' integration of their facilities; and a Plans for Progress enterprise that same year which Dallek notes nonetheless as being 'the first time any White House had made a serious effort to compel integration by companies on government contracts.'<sup>945</sup> It is followed by instigation of an advisory committee on armed forces integration, a move embraced more extensively decades later by President Obama's gender-integration combat effort and earlier 2009 repeal of the military ban on homosexuals. In 1962 the Voter Education Project is launched in which the Kennedy administration openly supports help to register black voters, even instructing the FBI to 'investigate any obstruction of workers trying to register blacks.'<sup>946</sup> Perhaps its subsequent effectiveness in the form of 1965's Voting Rights Act is confirmed right into the 21<sup>st</sup> century by North Carolina's efforts amongst other states across the country towards its rescinding, a 2013 Federal Court ruling declaring it 'an unconstitutional intrusion on state autonomy'.<sup>947</sup> Sabato also points out Kennedy's unsung 1963 role in facilitating the eventual ratification of the 24<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the US Constitution. This is intended to abolish a voter-eligibility tax imposed annually in the five Southern states of Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas, Virginia and Alabama – a measure Kennedy perceived to be unnecessarily oppressive to poor White and African Americans.<sup>948</sup> Bryant, however, regards most of these initiatives as lip-service mixed-success achievements borne of an infuriatingly gradualist agenda. Schlesinger would instead argue these to be healthy shoots within an overall strategy in which 'the ground had to be sowed...if the crop were to be harvested'.<sup>949</sup>

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<sup>945</sup> Op. cit. Dallek p.492.

<sup>946</sup> Op. cit. Levingston p.219. See also Schlesinger's '...Robert Kennedy directed the FBI to join the Department [of Justice] by moving not only into the drive against organised crime but also, considerably more alien to the Bureau's folkways, into the enforcement of the civil rights laws', op. cit. p.605. In *Nation* JFK cites irrelevant tests as a barrier to Chinese immigration: "...in 1897 Congress, for the first time provided a literacy test for adult immigrants....Presidents Taft and Wilson vetoed similar bills on the ground that literacy was a test only of educational opportunity and not of a person's ability or his potential worth as a citizen" op. cit. p.41.

<sup>947</sup> Op. cit. Soper pp.67-71. This time premised on voter fraud justification in which voters would have to present ID and vote in the location they are registered, its legislature already cognisant that most black voters preferred to vote early, many were unlikely to possess the requisite ID as they could not afford to drive nor travel extensively and therefore would prefer to vote according to their own convenience. The Federal Appeals' Court overturn the measure.

<sup>948</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.545.

<sup>949</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.617.

Bryant does, however, concede demonstration of Kennedy's continuing will for Federal government to lead the way in providing equality of opportunity in employment, epitomized by Kennedy's 1961 Presidential statement being 'placed on prominent display in every federal building across the country', although this is offset by similar suspicions of ongoing tokenism despite this proposal's concomitant meritocratic insistence to appointment.<sup>950</sup> While in just under three years in office, Kennedy still makes more black appointments<sup>951</sup> to the Federal bench than any President before him – indeed only Obama outstrips him, with 62 lifetime appointments<sup>952</sup> - even the generally supportive *New York Times* seems unable convincingly to dispel negative perception of its genuine altruistic utility despite the expectation raised by the newspaper's declamatory 'Kennedy Counters Negro Criticism on Judgeships'<sup>953</sup> headline. Instead no such defence seems levied against the reported Civil Rights' activists' contentions therein that Kennedy's actions are insufficiently forceful to overcome these appointments' disproportionately excessive concentration "to benches in Northern states and the District of Columbia" rather than the South where such imposition – or "exercis[ing of any] power on racial segregation" – could be more immediately affecting. This is a situation Halberstam at the time and latterly Bryant intimate Kennedy himself to have self-interestedly compounded for a wider electoral mandate by making Southern Judge appointments to confirmed segregationists, a decision described by Bryant as causing 'incalculable damage'<sup>954</sup> as the positions entail lifetime tenure.

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<sup>950</sup> Op. cit. Bryant who describes Kennedy's 'appalled' reaction to the State Department's own racial composition, op. cit. p.213; p.217, however, conveys the blatant tokenism black Congressman William Levi Dawson boldly rejects in JFK's offer of Postmaster General to him.

<sup>951</sup> 50 according to Henry Louis Gates, in 'Who were the African Americans in the Kennedy Administration?' <https://www.pbs.org/wnet/african-americans-many-rivers-to-cross/history/how-black-was-jfks-camelot/> (12/10/18). Possibly the most significant is Thurgood Marshall, who successfully achieved the 1954 Brown ruling, his influence nonetheless displaced to New York.

<sup>952</sup> 'Progress of the African-American Community during the Obama Administration', The White House: President Barack Obama, <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2016/10/14/progress-african-american-community-during-obama-administration> (12/10/18).

<sup>953</sup> Marjorie Hunter, October 6<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/10/06/89550726.html?pageNumber=75> (13/10/18).

<sup>954</sup> Op. cit. Bryant p.287. Halberstam cites one of Kennedy's "first" such appointments being segregationist "Eastland friend" Harold Cox, "considered conservative in Mississippi political circles" and a member of the Hinds County (Jackson) organization. Eastland is "considered more oriented towards the State Rights faction in Mississippi politics, than toward the traditional Democratic Party." 'Kennedy Appoints Eastland Friend', *The New York Times*, June 21<sup>st</sup>, 1961, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1961/06/21/101467149.html?pageNumber=19> (13/10/18).

Civil Rights' legislation itself therefore may not have advanced with the necessary dynamism anticipated by Kennedy's campaigning rhetoric. Certainly, in comparison with the 'tepid' Eisenhower,<sup>955</sup> who demurs that such comprehensive 'legislation could never change the minds of men'<sup>956</sup> as if a reason not to try, or 'no comment' Nixon – together failing to galvanize black support for the Republicans back in 1960 – the politically ambivalent Johnson<sup>957</sup> and arch segregationists in Congress who continue to reject 'the judgement of history ahead of [their] continued career,'<sup>958</sup> Kennedy's progressivism appears acute by default. Indeed, the Republican Party's assumption of Lincoln's attributed legacy appears further weakened by the recently disclosed release of a 1971 recording between Nixon and Reagan. Following television coverage of the United Nations' support for its replacement of US-backed Taiwan's voting-seat by Communist China, the tape reveals the current and future Presidents venting their private frustrations upon the African delegates deemed responsible, who are 'still uncomfortable wearing shoes.'<sup>959</sup> Reagan remains the most uninhibited in his comments, Nixon directing the Governor's concern unfiltered to his own staff regarding the likely efficacy of his welfare-reform measures given the purported intellectual capacity of recipients within this particular ethnic group. President Trump's condolence visits to Dayton, Ohio and El Paso, Texas following mass racial shootings in August 2019 seem incompatible with the attack's attribution to white supremacists inspired by Trump's own anti-Hispanic rhetoric in particular, that is preceded just two weeks before by his suggestion for four Democrat Congresswomen of colour that are all citizens of the US, to 'go back and fix the totally broken and

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<sup>955</sup> Op. cit. Catsam p.113: 'King had chastised Eisenhower for his failure to use the power of his office to rally the nation around court-mandated desegregation' following *Brown v. Board of Education*. Kennedy's only progressive predecessor, as stated, seems to be FDR, Bryant asserting his economic reforms to have lifted 'blacks out of poverty and given them the means to rise further up the economic and social ladder...The president had persuaded black Americans he was paying closer heed to their unsettled grievances and that more meaningful reforms were on the horizon', op. cit. p.21.

<sup>956</sup> Ibid p.406. Sorensen is more tactful: 'Eisenhower...was sympathetic but not enthusiastic', op. cit. p.499.

<sup>957</sup> Schlesinger fails to persuade otherwise in stating: '...Johnson had regularly voted against civil rights bills till 1957 and had even described Truman's civil rights program [sic] in 1948 as "a farce and sham – an effort to set up a police state in the guise of liberty"', this attitude reflected Texas politics rather than persona bias', op. cit. p.796.

<sup>958</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.501.

<sup>959</sup> Tim Naftali, 'Ronald Reagan's Long-Hidden Racist Conversation With Richard Nixon's', *The Atlantic*, July 30<sup>th</sup>, 2019, <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/07/ronald-reagans-racist-conversation-richard-nixon/595102/> (5/11/19).

crime-infested places from which they came'<sup>960</sup> before they start criticizing 'the greatest and most powerful nation on earth.'

Such acute contrasts, however, should not deflect attention from Kennedy's own Civil Rights' enlightenment. Its progress, after all, has been composed from political straddles and reactive steps that demonstrate his difficult personal transition from purely intellectual to informed emotional empathy. With the passing of time, squandered opportunities for substantive reform may seem more difficult to understand or excuse despite Carr's appeal for 'some kind of contact with the mind of those about whom [the historian] is writing'.<sup>961</sup> However, the symbolic or cumulative value of Kennedy's administration's initiatives should not be overlooked, that continue to earn him mainstream black support. The consistency of his racially inclusive overtures he personally extends from the outset of his Presidency, on public and social platforms, is something subsequent political figures cannot easily disavow. His televised disclosure of a new, extensive Civil Rights' Act is made with, unhelpful in its timing and what he feared would be its volatility, separate news of a vast Washington march to be led by King in the centenary year of the Emancipation Proclamation. The President anticipates correctly its further antagonizing of his Southern opponents in Congress who now:

'...rose up in opposition...Former president Dwight Eisenhower...offered Kennedy no support for his legislation. After meeting with Kennedy and Vice President Johnson for more than an hour the day after the speech, Eisenhower dodged newsmen and slipped out of the White House without commenting.'<sup>962</sup>

Yet in taking such a risk, reflected firstly by fresh outbreaks of violence against the measure and secondly by a predominant white 'backlash' from Autumn 1963 particularly among voters hitherto constituting 'no broad public interest',<sup>963</sup> the 'great historical event'<sup>964</sup> Kennedy personally articulates inscribes him more positively into the record of posterity he holds so important. Dallek nonetheless does not desist from

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<sup>960</sup> Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), 14 July 2019, 1:27 p.m. Tweet. (15/07/2019).

<sup>961</sup> Op. cit. Carr p.24.

<sup>962</sup> Op. cit. Levingston op. cit. p.462. See also Dallek op. cit. pp.642-3: 'Publicly challenging the Congress on moral grounds had its limits, but a president who knew each member's personal wants and could make arrangements with them privately, quietly, would achieve more than a crowd of marchers flaunting their sense of moral indignation at lawmakers refusing to act.'

<sup>963</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.475. Schlesinger: 'Politicians...described widespread panic in traditional Democratic districts over the prospective inundation of their neighbourhoods and schools by Negroes; some thought that civil rights might very well lose the election for Kennedy in 1964', op. cit. p.823.

<sup>964</sup> Ibid p.505.

highlighting the President's subsequent vacillation with Congress towards which he, like Bryant, asserts that greater toughness should have been displayed at the outset.<sup>965</sup> This is evidenced by Kennedy's 'sugar-watering'<sup>966</sup> of its content regarding public accommodation and equal employment opportunity in particular. However, it does not ultimately militate against recognition of the bold, alienating and perhaps confirmatory politically incompatible stand the President finally assumes that fulfils part of his higher regard for his people. As Sean McCann asserts:

'...call[ing] for the legislation that would eventually become the landmark Civil Rights' Act of 1964, he did so in the language of elevated national purpose that was essential to his presidency,'<sup>967</sup>

The closest echo of this must be Sorensen's own summarizing 'counterbalance':

'In 1953 John Kennedy was mildly and quietly in favour [sic] of civil rights legislation as a political necessity consistent with his moral instincts. In 1963 he was deeply and fervently committed to the cause of human rights as a moral necessity inconsistent with his political instincts.'<sup>968</sup>

Both television addresses and the February and June Congress speeches reflect and increasingly enhance Kennedy's pre-existing larger dimension of esteem for all of his citizens as opposed to the unwavering Civil Rights' focus of Martin Luther King. Overcoming Eleanor Roosevelt's considerable misgivings as to his Presidential aptitude,<sup>969</sup> at least on this matter, Kennedy finally shows himself a contender to join that pantheon comprising those Senators admired in *Profiles in Courage*, by similarly demonstrating "acts of courage...more inspiring" which he knows may ultimately cost him re-election, as he too finally forgets "wholly about himself in his dedication to higher principles."<sup>970</sup> In perhaps more of an overblown homage to Kennedy rather than proportionate accrediting of this achievement, Johnson utilizes all his legislative prowess early, overcoming a 57-day Southern filibuster in the process, to pass 'the

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<sup>965</sup> Op. cit. Dallek p.650. See also repeatedly in op. cit. Bryant e.g. pp.11, 194 and 206 in which leading liberal progressives are replaced in departments by moderates.

<sup>966</sup> NAACP leader Roy Wilkins, in Manning Marable's *Black American Politics: From the Washington Marches to Jesse Jackson*, Verso, 1985, p.94.

<sup>967</sup> Sean McCann, "Investing in Persons": The Political Culture of Kennedy Liberalism', op. cit. *Cambridge Companion*, p.68.

<sup>968</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.470.

<sup>969</sup> See op. cit. 'Lauds Humphrey', December 8, 1958.

<sup>970</sup> Op. cit. p.238. Schlesinger acknowledges the former 'coolness' between Eleanor Roosevelt and Kennedy, but citing Kennedy's 'endless curiosity' about her husband, his frequent demands for 'Roosevelt quotations for his speeches', together with a shared Naval background, declares any enmity to have 'long since vanished. She was proud of Kennedy as President...' op. cit. p.586.

toughest desegregation act in US history’,<sup>971</sup> extinguishing those hints of content-rescinding while so doing, in his dedication of the Act to his predecessor:

‘We were not prepared to compromise in any way...I absolutely wanted no room for bargaining. And I wanted everyone to know this, from the lowliest bureaucrat to the members of my Cabinet, from the poorest black man in the slum to the richest white man in the suburbs, from the staunchest Baptist in the South to the most devout Catholic in the North.’<sup>972</sup>

The extent of Kennedy’s depth of sincerity and gratitude towards his entire nation’s valued constituent parts is reflected more intimately in the essays and papers making up *A Nation of Immigrants*. That first telephone call to Coretta Scott King provides a tiny portent of the mantle Kennedy more comfortably assumes here in which a social consciousness it seems difficult to embrace politically as President is more readily exposed and in which he, albeit again as a Senator, has clearly been able to negotiate some meaningful legal room to explore. While more restrained in admission than his grandfather, Honey Fitz,<sup>973</sup> Kennedy welcomes the contribution of immigration;<sup>974</sup> its value becomes a positive statement of national identity, for which Kennedy’s gratitude at least at its tangible successes sees a manifestation in his formalizing Proclamation of a Thanksgiving holiday on the fourth Thursday in November, the first to have taken place just five days after his death.<sup>975</sup> The immigration sentiment is latterly echoed by *The New York Times* – “The diversity of America’s population is one of its strengths”<sup>976</sup> - further to Kennedy’s proposed July 1963 liberalizing of immigration laws through abolition of the extant quota system he

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<sup>971</sup> Op. cit. Marable p.96.

<sup>972</sup> Op. cit. Johnson p.157.

<sup>973</sup> Op. cit. Dallek p.10.

<sup>974</sup> ‘JFK Urges Immigrant Boost’, *The Dallas Morning News*, July 24<sup>th</sup>, 1963. It similarly cites Kennedy to state that current quotas are “without basis in either logic or reason” and should be abolished....Kennedy argued that present quotas discriminate against most prospective immigrants except those coming from northern Europe....the President presented an alternative quota plan – sure to stir controversy – which he said would observe “principles of equality and human dignity”....Under present law, an annual immigration ceiling of 156,700 is divided among the other countries of the world in proportion to the ancestry of various nationality groups living in the United States in 1920.’

<sup>975</sup> Don Roberdeau, ‘President Kennedy’s 1963 Thanksgiving Day Proclamation’, The Education Forum, <http://educationforum.ipbhost.com/topic/5461-president-kennedys-1963-thanksgiving-day-proclamation/> (20/01/2019).

<sup>976</sup> A New Immigration Law, *The New York Times*, July 25<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/07/25/89947181.html?pageNumber=17> (1/6/2018). House Speaker Nancy Pelosi invokes a similar sentiment in quelling her apparent feud with Representative Ocasio-Cortez regarding segregationist accusations of the Party: ‘Diversity is our strength; unity is our power’, Ian Schwartz, *Real Clear Politics*, Pelosi on Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez feud: “Diversity is Our Strength, Unity is Our Power”, July 12<sup>th</sup>, 2019, [https://www.realclearpolitics.com/video/2019/07/12/pelosi\\_on\\_alexandria\\_ocasio-cortez\\_feud\\_diversity\\_is\\_our\\_strength\\_unity\\_is\\_our\\_power.html](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/video/2019/07/12/pelosi_on_alexandria_ocasio-cortez_feud_diversity_is_our_strength_unity_is_our_power.html) (05/08/19).



describes in *A Nation of Immigrants* as “without basis in either logic or reason...an anachronism [that] discriminated among applicants for admission into the United States on the basis of accident of birth.”<sup>977</sup> The newspaper anticipates Kennedy’s measure to have “brighter prospects than any liberalizing bill in years”.<sup>978</sup>

In 1958 the Senator introduces the Pastor-Kennedy-Walter Act. Its aim is to update and reform the contentious McCarran-Walter quota act of 1952 in which amended targets from the original 1924 legislation, by one-sixth of one per cent of each nationality, still restricted the proportionate entry of Asian applicants in particular. It is an anomaly that is still outstanding two and a half years after Kennedy assumes office, similarly acknowledged by the same newspaper: “The immigration of Asians never reached great proportions...” and resumed as follows:

“...Mr. Kennedy would abolish a lingering provision that restricts the immigration of persons of Asian descent on the basis of racial origin rather than country of birth. If that proposal is adopted, the racial exclusion lines inscribed in 1882 will finally have been expunged from the ‘golden door’ beside which the Statue of Liberty was supposed to lift its lamp.”<sup>979</sup>

The proposed legislation pushes further through its ‘golden door’, thus ‘melting’ away in the heat of that statue’s lamp ethnic distinctions – “group stereotypes”,<sup>980</sup> or what Kennedy himself in *A Nation of Immigrants* describes as “indefensible racial preference”<sup>981</sup> – in exchange for the “skill and talent”<sup>982</sup> these individuals may possess:

“Adoption of the President’s wise recommendations would be an act of justice and wisdom, as well as evidence that we fully understand the true nature of the changed world – now grown so small – in which all humanity lives.”

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<sup>977</sup> Op. cit. *Nation* p.43.

<sup>978</sup> Racial Restrictions Applied by Congress Since’ 82, *The New York Times*, July 24<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/07/24/82081589.html?pageNumber=12> (1/06/2018): “Since 1882 Congress has been more zealous in limiting immigration than it has been generous in authorizing it.”

<sup>979</sup> Ibid.

<sup>980</sup> Op. cit. July 25<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>981</sup> Op. cit. *Nation* p.45 In his efforts to assert greater fairness in reform quotas, demonstration of his continuing racial regard is confirmed in ‘President Kennedy’s Proposals to Liberalize Immigration Statutes of July 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1963’ in which ‘accidental discrimination against the newly independent nations of the Western Hemisphere’ listed under the sub-heading for ‘Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago’, ‘...should be corrected’”, *ibid.* p.80.

<sup>982</sup> Op. cit. July 25<sup>th</sup>, 1963. See also *Nation* p.48 of post-1952 reform proposals: “...instead of using the discriminatory test of where the immigrant was born, the reform proposals would base admission on the immigrant’s possession of skills our country needs and on the humanitarian ground of reuniting families.” See also p.50.

Reported also in this measure is Kennedy's "desire to serve compassionate ends by facilitating the reunion of separated families", an anxiety that reverberates far more negatively in the Trump Presidency, with the First Lady's unusually very public objection in 2018 as to this administration's failure to 'govern with heart'<sup>983</sup> on this particular aspect of immigration management. However, such pursuit seems unrelinquished in a further proposal to prioritize English-speaking skilled workers over applications based on family ties.<sup>984</sup> Then to be embraced by detailed legislation, Kennedy's prevailing holistic, benign regard – and foresight, such a disproportionate 21<sup>st</sup>-century comparison accentuates, is surely ultimate practical proof of his ability to rise 'above the narrow confines of his individualistic concerns to the broad concerns of all humanity'<sup>985</sup> – words not penned by Sorensen but one Martin Luther King.

Retrospective compounding of more positive JFK perception may further be seen in the reverberations of Kennedy-Wallace opposition. In 1965, segregationist adversary Governor George Wallace accedes to another Civil Rights' march "if a federal judge orders it."<sup>986</sup> It is again to take place "50 miles along the highway" from Selma to Montgomery, despite a similar event occurring the week before that ends in bloodshed, something *The Dallas Morning News* reports Wallace as having "regretted" if indeed it was incurred as a result of the very evident and unprovoked "police action" against the many smartly attired demonstrators indeed marching 'peacefully' along the town's streets. It is further undermined immediately by Wallace's defence that these people "were stopped for their own safety."

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<sup>983</sup> CNN: Melania Trump weighs in on border separations', June 17<sup>th</sup>, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JdajxyUXObY> (05/08/18).

<sup>984</sup> 'Trump unveils 'merit based' immigration policy plan', May 17<sup>th</sup>, 2019, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-48304975> BBC News (17/05/19). Trump has subsequently exploited the 2020 coronavirus crisis by banning all immigration on the grounds of not only infection reduction but also to secure 'American jobs for American workers': 'In light of the attack from the Invisible Enemy, as well as the need to protect the jobs of our GREAT American Citizens, I will be signing an Executive Order to temporarily suspend immigration into the United States!' Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), 21 April, 2020, 3:06 a.m. Tweet. (22/04/2020).

<sup>985</sup> Op. cit. Levingston p.110. Such regard seems inherited by Kennedy's nephew, Joe Kennedy III, in which he describes the condition of Southern US Border detention centres and treatment of its occupants as a 'betrayal of our values', *Boston Globe* (@BostonGlobe), 2 July, 2019, 9:30 p.m. Tweet. (3/7/2019); it is a 'humanitarian crisis at our nation's feet', Joe Kennedy III (@RepJoeKennedy), 1 July, 2019, 9:28 p. m. Tweet. (3/7/2019). His view contrasts starkly with Trump's declaration of their' non-obligation to make the journey in the first place: 'just tell them not to come', Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), 3 July, 2020, 22:30 p.m. Tweet. (4/7/2019).

<sup>986</sup> Fred Pass, 'Wallace To Permit March if Ordered', *The Dallas Morning News*, March 15<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

Wallace makes less progress than the distance attempted by the marchers – and indeed the editorial strides resumed and sustained post-Ted Dealey by *The Dallas Morning News*. Nine years later William Shannon of the same newspaper asserts Wallace’s active complicity in halting the demonstrators’ march, thus prompting a different comprehension of his stated ‘regret’ at the time: “Wallace...ordered the state police to attack the civil rights’ demonstrators with tear gas and cattle prods when they crossed the bridge at Selma in 1965.”<sup>987</sup> President Obama re-treads this symbolic Edmund Pettus outreach post in ‘bloody Sunday’ commemoration, 50 years later.

Continuing its significant shift in tone, the newspaper reports nervously upon Wallace’s third bid for public office. His 1968 performance that embraces the services of former Air Force Chief of Staff during John Kennedy’s tenure, Curtis Le May as his running mate, yields 46 electoral votes for the American Independent Party in the South. In 1974, it is Edward Kennedy who emerges as one of Wallace’s possible rivals. This is despite Wallace by now literally not being able to stand – an ill-portent for high office as previously discussed – having incurred a bullet of his own the year beforehand. Edward Kennedy visits Wallace in hospital,<sup>988</sup> his own ability to walk again invested with moral symbolism as well as a reminder of JFK’s own resilience<sup>989</sup> against this former antagonist, having physically recovered from his plane crash after which he had been likewise informed that he would be wheelchair-bound. Dismissive of Wallace’s predicament,<sup>990</sup> however, Shannon warns Edward that should he proceed, his “tough fight” for the 1976 nomination will be impossible if waged against Wallace’s “hard-core supporters” but that he could still compete for any of the Governor’s waverers in the North or West “because he has a family legend of his own to deploy against Wallace’s extra-rational appeal”.<sup>991</sup> Indeed, Shannon becomes so incensed by the possibility of a Wallace victory that President Kennedy’s unevenly-reported event-management at Birmingham at the time, positively reverberates almost by default against an individual, now described in perlocutionary object-sequel terms

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<sup>987</sup> William Shannon, ‘Assumptions about Wallace’, *The Dallas Morning News*, July 11<sup>th</sup>, 1974.

<sup>988</sup> Karen Elliott, ‘Democratic Unity Aided by Kennedy, Wallace’, *The Dallas Morning News*, July 8<sup>th</sup>, 1973.

<sup>989</sup> Hellmann recalls Kennedy’s dependence on crutches given his back deterioration in May 1954, in which doctors informed him ‘that he would probably live out his life in a wheelchair’, op. cit. p.74.

<sup>990</sup> “Buttering up Wallace...is not going to help in that hard fight and does positive harm. It confers on him a respectability that he does not deserve, and could not win, in any other way.” op. cit. Shannon July 11<sup>th</sup>, 1974.

<sup>991</sup> Ibid.

reminiscent of the paranoid rhetoric previously reserved by the newspaper for John Kennedy himself. Wallace remains a force:

“...who brooks no compromise, and who is willing to conjure up the demons of violence if they serve his purpose....Neither America nor the Democratic party can risk legitimizing the cruel and loathsome racial impulses in the South’s dark past which now live on in the nightmares of the whole nation.”

Marking the tenth anniversary of the President’s death, association of the two men curiously persists. Set against the context of enduring positive JFK recognition, Wallace temporarily removes his dark moral blinkers:

“Many seeds of racial justice planted during the short Kennedy years were brought to fruition by Lyndon Johnson’s landmark civil rights legislation...When President Kennedy refused to surrender to Governor Wallace’s defiant stand in the schoolhouse door, he could hardly have envisioned last week’s ceremony during which Mr. Wallace presided over the coronation of Alabama’s first black homecoming queen.”<sup>992</sup>

Carried the same day by *The Dallas Morning News* is Anthony Lewis’ editorial<sup>993</sup> that leaves Kennedy’s trajectory course elevated. Twice-hailed is the President’s moral maturity, his “remarkable testimony...of his development as a politician and a man” in which a June 1963 address follows:

“Eight days later [with proposal of] the most comprehensive civil rights’ bill in our history....That was a President who had not seemed especially sensitive to racial discrimination, who had said that needed federal action could be taken administratively rather than through the politically difficult course of seeking new legislation. He had changed his mind....The ability to change – to learn from events, to listen to reasoned argument, to admit mistakes – was a good part of the Kennedy secret. It was not changeableness one sensed, or equivocation; it was development.”

Gradualistic, reactive but personally conflicted, traits intensified by Civil Rights’ as an exceptional cause which continues to resist Kennedy’s unwavering human rights’ assimilation of it – but with a reputation later much more positively embellished by comparisons with invidious subsequent episodes in American political history: this must therefore confer upon Kennedy a mixed final regard here that nonetheless continues to highlight the complexity, risk and limitations in tackling a volatile theme of such ongoing magnitude.

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<sup>992</sup> ‘Ten Years Later’, *The New York Times*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1973.

<sup>993</sup> Anthony Lewis, ‘Long Ago and Far Away’, *The New York Times*, January 18<sup>th</sup>, 1971, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1971/01/18/83199592.html?pageNumber=39> (6/8/18).

## **‘Light’ reverberations**

Finally, examination is made of ‘light’ Kennedy reverberations, how his story is positively resumed – and often fortuitously sustained – together with attention to both tangible and intangible legacies perceived as directly attributable determinants of depiction regard. This section particularly assesses spontaneous, non-Kennedy-instigated acts of commemoration versus those more consciously initiated by the surviving denizens of Camelot, their courtiers and would-be successors, along with identification of what it is Kennedy is further perceived to have established that reverberates in such positive responses.

I commence with non-Kennedy instigated tangible commemorations. As Mark White asserts, ‘There are today more memorials in the United States named after John F. Kennedy than any other figure...’<sup>994</sup> Their existence allows his name to reverberate on many levels, including the daily and even mundane. ‘Minutiae memorializings’ are created to be presented into everyday life in the shape of postage stamps, coins and banknotes, of which the ‘Kennedy Half Dollar [is] Approved’<sup>995</sup> less than a month after he dies. The 1971 copper nickel carrying his imprint is still in circulation, an updated version of the half dollar appearing in 2015. However, while an honour also conferred upon some other departed US Presidents, White suggests posthumous Kennedy marketing here far to outstrip his predecessors, thus assisting in the subconscious perpetual assimilation by Americans of his positive regard: ‘an American could walk down a street; drop a child off at school; drive across a bridge; purchase a stamp, pay for milk and encounter John F. Kennedy’s name or image.’<sup>996</sup> The commercialization of the commemoration, however, seems an inevitable extension of a Kennedy merchandising zeal already in place in his Presidency, and to which Salinger is charged with controlling:

‘I must have written dozens of letters and had dozens of telephone conversations with merchants during my tenure as Press Secretary, telling them to desist in the sale of certain items. Where we were able to get to the merchants, we were usually successful, and the sale of the items ceased. But

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<sup>994</sup> Op. cit. M. White p.102.

<sup>995</sup> “The Senate completed Congressional authorization today for the use of a likeness of President Kennedy on half dollars minted after Jan.1”, *The New York Times*, December 19<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/12/19/89993860.html?pageNumber=25> (28/11/18).

<sup>996</sup> Op. cit. M. White p.103.

the United States is a big country, and there were just too many Kennedy products on the market for us to get to all of them.’<sup>997</sup>

There is clearly public demand for a memento of Kennedy’s Presidency at the time, and to own a connection with it; it is therefore unsurprising that this should have continued into commemorative requirement that is particularly exacerbated by the manner of his passing.

Internationally, one of the most physical tributes in his honour is the invitation shortly after his death for Robert to conquer Canada’s tallest unclimbed peak, in Yukon, its proximity to the US border at Alaska symbolizing the continued closeness of these countries’ alliance. One member of the mountaineering team is James Whittaker, the first American to scale Mount Everest and to whom JFK had presented the National Geographic Society’s gold Hubbard Medal at the White House in July 1963. As the first to reach its summit in 1965, Robert has the honour of planting the Stars and Stripes atop the newly named Mount Kennedy. It is testament to his own belief in his brother’s scale-themed frontier-extending rhetoric given Robert’s apparent fear of heights.

Otherwise, international Kennedy memorialization is most evident in infrastructural form, although – as with the uncontrollable production of merchandise – this does not explain their profusion unless this is similarly borne of widespread continuing appeal for the person and his impact. As Sabato confirms:

‘There seem to be few places abroad without a Kennedy plaza or street, and almost no states or major cities have failed to dedicate some monument, avenue or educational facility to JFK.’<sup>998</sup>

Indeed, a brief internet search at the time of writing confirms ten roads or bridges to be named after him across six African countries; three in as many Asian countries; and 117 across 15 European nations.<sup>999</sup> Such apparently is the “shock” in West Germany at Kennedy’s death that *The New York Times* reports “that the traditional reluctance to name streets, squares and bridges after a foreign head of state was totally forgotten.”<sup>1000</sup> One such manifestation is the immediate renaming to part of the Freie

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<sup>997</sup> Op. cit. Salinger p.316.

<sup>998</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.255.

<sup>999</sup> ‘List of Memorials to John F. Kennedy’, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_memorials\\_to\\_John\\_F.\\_Kennedy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_memorials_to_John_F._Kennedy) (29/11/18).

<sup>1000</sup> ‘Footnotes to the Assassination: The Kennedy Sense of History’, *The New York Times*, December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1963,

Universität academic institution Kennedy visited following his town hall 1963 Berlin address. It now becomes the ‘John F. Kennedy Institute for North American Studies’, a title that endures to date. In the UK, such academic perpetuation continues with Coventry’s ‘President Kennedy School’ and the 1967 establishment of the ‘John F. Kennedy Catholic School’ in Hemel Hempstead. Interestingly here, while the eponymous association is omitted in immediate reference, resonances of Kennedy’s Inaugural address and Peace Corps call can still be heard in the school’s mission statement ‘challeng[ing] all in our community to inspire, to achieve and to serve’;<sup>1001</sup> indeed ‘inspire’ is used more than any other verb in the Headmaster’s welcome message. In 2019 across the Irish Sea a Wexford summer school simply names itself after its county’s most famous descendant to the US, huge advertising banners either deifying or depicting him confronting successive political figures, as if already intimating the primacy and respect to be afforded his legacy as statesman.<sup>1002</sup>

However, perhaps one of the more unexpected academic conferrings of regard occurs in San Antonio, Texas. In ‘JFK High keeps memory of late president alive’,<sup>1003</sup> the anniversary-dated article recalls how the new school, opened in September 1963 and at the time the only one in the US to be named after him, has ceremonially remembered his assassination annually ever since as part of its own history. Devoid of overt journalistic intervention, the reader is informed that its students’ parents “keep pictures of the late president and Jesus Christ on the wall.” While Sabato asserts it to be ‘commonplace in Catholic homes, for years after 1963, to see photos of JFK next to images of the pope and Jesus Christ’,<sup>1004</sup> it still perpetuates his perceived connection to these figures that recalls the quasi-iconic symbolism identified with him. It also provides evidence of the power of nostalgia to reshape collective memory. *The Dallas*

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<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/12/02/89980483.html?pageNumber=22>  
(28/11/18).

<sup>1001</sup> John F. Kennedy Catholic School mission statement, <http://www.jfk.herts.sch.uk/headteachers-Welcome> (29/11/18).

<sup>1002</sup> Kennedy Summer School: A Festival of Irish-American History, Culture and Politics, 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> September 2019, <http://www.kennedysummerschool.ie/> (1/10/19).

<sup>1003</sup> *The Dallas Morning News*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1978. During his San Antonio visit on November 21<sup>st</sup> 1963, Kennedy had promised local Congressman Henry B. Gonzales that he would return for the school’s dedication ceremony, see ‘J.F.K. visit to S.A. still special to many’, Scott Huddleston, *San Antonio Express-News*, November 20<sup>th</sup>, 2013, <https://www.expressnews.com/news/local/article/JFK-visit-to-S-A-still-special-to-many-4996778.php> (28/3/20).

<sup>1004</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.27.

*Morning News*' stories of such effusiveness for Kennedy were certainly not reported by it while Kennedy was still alive.

### **Camelot as a fortuitous disjunction**

A similar substantiation of positive regard that thrives on active selectivity being reactively forged is the continuing success of the 'Camelot' metaphor. Its enduring, positive assimilation is perhaps twofold. Firstly, this may be attributable to its appealing, analogous application to the subsequent generation of Kennedys and their political careers it is unlikely would have materialized without JFK's Presidency. Here, the metaphor may persist in popularity given its own secular, aesthetically attractive connotations and equivalence to the early and regular Christ-like iconizing of Kennedy that, as seen, is applied by *The New York Times* in particular. This seems especially conveyed in the idea of the Resurrection, that there will be a Second Coming, someone will return; that Excalibur will be retrieved to be passed on: Arthur will come again to rescue Albion; likewise someone from the Kennedy dynasty will rise up and rescue America. It may explain why earlier attention is paid to Kennedy's own children, that is epitomized by such articles as 1974's 'What the Kennedy Kids Are up to Nowadays'<sup>1005</sup> in which the thread of professional continuity at least is suggested by reference to Caroline's photographic exhibition given her mother's former occupation. Meanwhile, John's own 'hero'<sup>1006</sup> public profile seems tacitly proffered to the reader with reference to his award by Mohammad Ali of the latter's "blood-stained" boxing trunks after his 1973 victory over Joe Frazier. The newspaper's interest seems to intensify in an article 20 years after his father's death in which the prefacing appellation "John-John", a familiarity that was never actually applied by his immediate family, is apparently "ready for a new chapter in history"<sup>1007</sup> after graduating "with a bang. Also, with a very respectable bachelor of arts [sic] degree in history." The level of academic achievement here seems almost incidental to the explosive endorsement of his personality. Yet neither child assumes their father's full political mantle, Caroline's 'brief, shining moment' captured as a speaker at the 2000

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<sup>1005</sup> *The Dallas Morning News*, December 26<sup>th</sup>, 1974.

<sup>1006</sup> Indeed, the closest John Jr. may personally come to fulfilling this accolade is in a commissioned story for *The New York Times* in 1992 which reports his rescue of a friend in a kayaking accident, that perhaps is intended to recall his father's own PT 109 bravery.

<sup>1007</sup> Diana McLellan, 'John-John's ready for a new chapter in history', *The Dallas Morning News*, June 5<sup>th</sup>, 1983.



National Democratic Convention coming to a more formal political end in 2017 after four years' service as the US ambassador to Japan.

Indeed, at the time of writing it is only Kennedy's grand-nephew Joe Kennedy III who revives the 'Camelot' successor associations. In 2013 he becomes the Democratic Party Representative for Massachusetts' 4<sup>th</sup> Congressional District, JFK's home state. The enduring popular indulgence for such full appellation nonetheless remains a pertinent signifier here of pseudo-dynastic family-line continuation. The descendant himself acquiesces in the Arthurian metaphor by adding to an already copious list of 'Camelot' entitled books,<sup>1008</sup> with his *New Camelot Dawning... So far* teasing a bolder resurgence of the family name. It seems substantiated by his September 2019 announcement of candidacy for 2020's Massachusetts' Senate seat.<sup>1009</sup> For good measure the book's content is selected and compiled by the 'Progressive Press Movement 2020 Roundtable'.

Secondly, aside from its facility to perpetuate the Kennedy name, is the fortuitous ability of the 'Camelot' metaphor to preserve Kennedy himself illustriously despite its non-application either by or of him at the time of his Presidency. 'Camelot' instead is actually the product of mis-mediated memory. It has become an illocutionary narrative that has acquired its own nostalgic empowering through a historically disjunctive view of Kennedy's administration that has become accentuated in audience and teller appeal given what follows, to the point of casual imposition: actual acknowledgement of 'Camelot' as a retrospective application to the Kennedy Presidency – and even then more by commentators rather than contemporary figures – appears to be readily forgotten. Kennedy becomes burnished as a 'Camelot' hero by exposition of Austin's 'felicity conditions' definition, in which Kennedy's regard seems to depend upon where the teller's temporal marker ultimately settles. As seen, *The New York Times* in particular carries reviews of more negative 1970s' versions in which the Kennedy story, vindicating Carr's acknowledging of the difficulty in suspending one's contemporary mind-set,<sup>1010</sup> is retold in the context of US decline.

Yet these views still compete with the 'Camelot' retelling that seems ultimately to prevail – of which the book naming above seems emblematic – against the

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<sup>1008</sup> Excluding Kindle, 60 listed by amazon.co.uk alone as at April 2020.

<sup>1009</sup> Joe Kennedy III was unsuccessful in his bid for the 2020 Massachusetts Senate seat.

<sup>1010</sup> Op. cit. Carr: 'The historian is of his own age, and is bound to it...' p.24.

bleakness-inspired counter-narratives. Possibly the hero-less ‘unexceptionalism’ is difficult to sustain or endure, the audience restless for an escape into which they choose to reconfigure the past nostalgically and for which coincidence with the ten-year anniversary milestone of Kennedy’s passing perhaps overly facilitates. One similarly backdrop-reactive commentator in *The New York Times* also resolves upon restoration of Kennedy as marking the end to the good times rather than the beginning of the bad. The country’s “ebullient optimism”<sup>1011</sup> has been replaced by “deeply disturbing changes that have reshaped this country in the post-Kennedy decade.” Direct attribution to the Kennedy personae seems also to be elicited in lament that: “Some of the exuberance has drained away. Years of a debilitating war have sapped American self-confidence and even self-respect.” Kennedy’s personal regard becomes endorsed with the regret that: “No nation is likely soon again to dominate the world’s economic scene or to hold out a credible promise to make the world safe for an ideal.” His laudation reaches its apogee in the next paragraph in which the Arthurian metaphor is reinvigorated in direct association against ongoing despondency at the US’ “debilitating loss of confidence in its institutions. The descent from the idealism and, perhaps the euphoria of Camelot...has gathered precipitous momentum.” Kennedy is not just positively contrasted; he and his administration is lionized.

Such perception distinction likewise persists among eye-witnesses recalling the day of the assassination 40 years later. Photographer Mal Couch declares Kennedy’s murder to have unleashed “a Pandora’s box, leading to Vietnam and two more assassinations...”<sup>1012</sup> Another interviewee that day to *The Dallas Morning News* similarly consolidates positive Kennedy memorializing by contrasting his own disillusion with what follows: “We believed that everything was going to be fine, even if things didn’t go right. But now you can’t believe that.”

In both examples, Kennedy’s historical reputation ‘is shaped by current and future events’<sup>1013</sup> rather than a singular act by him at the time. Similar concurrence comes perhaps somewhat unexpectedly from the newspaper’s Dick West who implies

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<sup>1011</sup> ‘Ten Years Later’, *The New York Times*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1973, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1973/11/22/87595734.html?pageNumber=36> (30/11/18).

<sup>1012</sup> Op. cit. Granberry November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2003.

<sup>1013</sup> Robert Dallek ‘Kennedy was a “Blank Slate”’, November 19<sup>th</sup>, 2013. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-24997064> (15/06/2018).

the preferable decisions Kennedy would likely have made if “he had been spared to handle the turbulent sixties”.<sup>1014</sup> Yet even outside of any anniversary-determining positive appraisal, eleven months later the newspaper syndicates a column from *The Washington Star* in which Mary McGrory’s ‘Floodgate of JFK Memories’<sup>1015</sup> again unfavourably pits current events against her own ‘Camelot’-reinforced contours of Kennedy regard.<sup>1016</sup> In an unsubtle jibe at President Carter and his administration she declares the nation to “long for leadership these days.” Indeed, apparently “We even brood about it.” She proceeds to acknowledge Kennedy’s own “trouble with congress [sic]” in which “Its members stalled its programs [sic]”, significantly separating the President from his own inaction here, and that despite what she assumes must have been his inevitable frustration at this he would nonetheless remain “civil and rational”; as a politician he was simply “several cuts above the usual kind.” Her article concludes with ‘Camelot’ resonances of the awestruck regard the world’s finest minds purportedly experienced upon entering this commensurately glamorous and accommodating bastion: “Nobel Prize winners were invited to the White House and waltzed in the foyer.” Once again, the contrast is heightened by its immediate juxtaposition “Looking back over the bitter years [that] followed...” Reprieve from the gloom is sought in re-imposition of the ‘inspiration’ she principally ascribes to the success of Kennedy’s own leadership.

Therefore, it is the convenient versatility of the Camelot metaphor that continues to serve Kennedy’s posthumous regard positively. Wistfulness, heroism, courage and almost millenarian belief in a better world to come: the metaphor’s connotations which are so enduringly suggestive. The Camelot ascription fixes and enshrines Kennedy in luminescence given the persistent penchant of many to forge a

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<sup>1014</sup> Op. cit. January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1978. It is a view robustly contested by Christopher Hitchens in his own 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary retort to Dallek’s *An Unfinished Life*. Hitchens cites Kennedy’s unlikely recovery from his many ailments, non-cessation of philandering and inadvertent complicity in the Berlin Wall’s erection. To him, the persistence of the ‘Kennedy Curse’ upon succeeding generations is therefore unsurprising. It is simply ‘Tinkerbell’ to opine the Kennedy years as somehow ‘Camelot’, see ‘In Sickness and by Stealth’ essay for the TLS, reprinted in *Love, Poverty, and War: Journeys and Essays*, Nation Books, 2004.

<sup>1015</sup> Mary McGrory, ‘Floodgate of JFK Memories’, *The Dallas Morning News*, 20<sup>th</sup> October 1979. See Sabato for similar reactivity to the Carter administration, op. cit. p336.

<sup>1016</sup> A close Kennedy-family friend, McGrory epitomizes the disillusioned progressives of the 1970s in her mourning of Camelot’s loss. As Lasch says, ‘...the legend of Camelot, as it took shape, enabled liberals to blame popular bigotry and “paranoia” for Kennedy’s death and for all the troubles that followed, including the disastrous decline of their own influence’, p.475, *The True and Only Heaven: Progress and its Critics*, W. W. Norton and Company, 1991.

distinction in the timeline that exonerates Kennedy from any culpability in the decline and fall that followed his death. As Sabato concludes, ‘Mrs. Kennedy’s postassassination [sic] creation of Camelot was a brilliant fiction, but we were ready to believe it. We wanted a larger-than-life myth, and Camelot gave us a happier story to summon up and heroic possibilities to realize.’<sup>1017</sup>

#### **a) Monuments and symbolism as fortuitous disjunctions**

‘Camelot’ is not the only form of historical disjunction that its originator inspires. More concerted is what Piereson tactfully attributes to Jackie’s zealous over-development sensibility that reveals a: ‘keen understanding that symbols and images often trump substance in shaping memory.’<sup>1018</sup> Hogan fleshes out this contention by repeated portrayal of Jackie’s accentuating of the disjunction between her husband’s actual political accomplishment and its subsequent consciously-crafted consolidations, both tangible and intangible, to determine public recall.

It is firstly evident in her own tangible memorializing that is designed to reinforce, beyond the spontaneous representations separately offered worldwide, the positive image Kennedy constructs or has constructed of himself. These assist in her refinement of her husband’s story of his history beyond the immediate bumpiness of Manchester’s attempted output. It is perhaps earliest identified in the form of the 1965 literary monuments by Kennedy aides Schlesinger, whose *One Thousand Days*’ tribute fills 900 pages, and Sorensen’s *Kennedy* that spans over 700. Both are submitted for Jackie’s approval prior to publication, Parmet regardless describing the latter’s output as ‘the nearest thing to the memoirs that Kennedy himself would have liked to have left behind.’<sup>1019</sup> Nonetheless, it is not the version *New York Times*’ journalist David Schoenbrun wants to read. He regards these tomes as sycophantic “distorted memoirs and apologias”<sup>1020</sup> confirming the disjunction between memory and memorializing of Kennedy to his readers – as if this would put a stop to the positivity of nostalgia. Indeed, Schoenbrun’s embitterment does little to hone or curtail the literary outputs. Catsam’s subscription to the Camelot metaphor in Chapter One’s ‘court historian’

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<sup>1017</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.425.

<sup>1018</sup> Op. cit. Piereson p.189.

<sup>1019</sup> Op. cit. Parmet p.158.

<sup>1020</sup> David Schoenbrun, ‘Was the king in Camelot in fact a cold Warrior?’ March 19<sup>th</sup>, 1972, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1972/03/19/93417068.html?pageNumber=151> (19/07/18).

reference highlights the sheer number of storytellers, both sycophants and detractors, the Kennedy personae continues to generate beyond just books. It is a ‘blizzard’,<sup>1021</sup> abetted by the drip-feed of classified documents Hogan cites academics to bemoan, which merely compounds sometimes obsessive public curiosity in the Kennedy story. Hogan asserts popular opinion currently still to incline towards the ‘old orthodoxy’<sup>1022</sup> of a Sorensen or Schlesinger regardless of academic opposition, perhaps vindicating Jackie’s perspicuity in quickly placing before the public her own outsized version of Kennedy’s tale.

Jackie’s version is substantiated by larger forms of monument-building to her husband: edifices deliberately designed for his celebration, illocutionary statements hosted by locutionary definitions. Their meaning is cultivated to extend beyond their immediate signifier to reflect Kennedy’s own aspirational rhetoric, complemented – as will shortly be demonstrated – by precise ceremonial and personal aesthetics to refract similar stimulation of visitor interpretation. Engagement with the buildings is to become an active synthesizing process, a performative act by the architect-teller upon the visitor or occupant in which there is perlocutionary intent: to encourage free interpretation but simultaneously to prescribe conformity in admiration towards the nature of form personifying Kennedy.

The first example of this double-edged invitation to the public, and specifically ‘requested by Mrs Kennedy’,<sup>1023</sup> is Florida’s National Aeronautics and Space Association base being renamed the ‘John F. Kennedy Space Center’. It is only the surrounding land that reverts to its ‘Canaveral’ appellation after public protest that ‘Cape Kennedy’ would undermine 400 years of national identity. This renaming, however, is ascribed solely to President Johnson’s over-enthusiastic consolidation of Jackie’s original request, having apparently consulted neither with the Kennedy family nor the local residents for the wholesale renaming of the cape. The separation nonetheless succeeds in accentuating, both figuratively and literally, the distinction

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<sup>1021</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.261. Written one month before the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his assassination, Jill Abramson cites ‘an estimated 40,000 books on Kennedy since his death’, few of which she claims have ever captured him in a way other Presidents have achieved near-definitive biographical acceptance’, ‘Kennedy, The Elusive President’, *The New York Times*, October 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2013, <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/27/books/review/the-elusive-president.html> (18/07/2017).

<sup>1022</sup> Op. cit. Hogan pp.126, 195-6.

<sup>1023</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.261.

between these levels of elevation: Johnson is ground-anchored at Canaveral; Kennedy is to continue his launch. As Mark White states:

‘By engineering the renaming of the country’s space facilities after JFK, Jackie Kennedy ensured that Americans were reminded of her husband’s leadership on space exploration, and particularly his May 1961 pledge to send men to the moon before the close of the decade; and safely return them, by the end of the 1960s....No other aspect of JFK’s Presidency could be used more effectively to portray him as a visionary, as a leader who was bold and innovative.’<sup>1024</sup>

Despite his later conceding of the controversy surrounding the expenditure committed by Kennedy towards the Space programme, Johnson believes it is vindicated in the legacy of exciting pursuit his predecessor helps bequeath here. Johnson hopes that as a result ‘we will move out to other planets’ and ‘never permit the plaudits that President Nixon and our other leaders have given our spacemen in this noble effort to be silenced by the pleaders for economy.’<sup>1025</sup> However, this is precisely the lament of the first man to walk on the Moon - and courtesy of that JFK launch site – and was returned safely to Earth, by the end of the decade. In 2011, Neil Armstrong lambasts President Obama’s financial timidity, accusing him of stemming ‘an ocean’ of national progress “set sail”<sup>1026</sup> upon by Kennedy: ‘For fifty years we explored the waters to become the leader in space exploration. Today...the voyage is over. John F. Kennedy would have been sorely disappointed.’<sup>1027</sup> This may be slightly unfair towards the 44<sup>th</sup> President given that while he may have exercised fiscal caution at the time he never disavowed similar aspiration. Indeed, in 2016, while too late for Armstrong, Obama delivers an address from the Kennedy Space Center itself, repeating his own 2010 claim that closely echoes the rhetoric of his Democrat predecessor, in his hope of ‘sending humans to Mars by the 2030s and returning them safely to Earth’.<sup>1028</sup>

Neither is there any hint of political deflection in Obama’s speech in proclaiming similar justification for ‘finding the next frontiers’ to facilitate continued technical progress rather than using such pursuit to reassert supremacy over another

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<sup>1024</sup> Op. cit. M. White p.87.

<sup>1025</sup> Op. cit. Johnson p.286.

<sup>1026</sup> ‘Address on Space Effort’, September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1962, op. cit. *Speeches* p.223.

<sup>1027</sup> ‘Column: Is Obama grounding JFK’s space legacy?’, Neil Armstrong, Jim Lovell and Gene Cernan, *USA Today*, May 24<sup>th</sup>, 2011, [https://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/opinion/forum/2011-05-24-obama-grounding-jfk-space-legacy\\_n.htm](https://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/opinion/forum/2011-05-24-obama-grounding-jfk-space-legacy_n.htm) (17/05/18).

<sup>1028</sup> Hanneke Weitering, ‘US Will Send People to Mars by 2030s, Barack Obama Says’, October 11<sup>th</sup>, 2016, <https://www.space.com/34351-obama-says-america-will-send-people-to-mars.html> (17/05/2018).

nation. As Chapter Three argues, exploitation rather than exploration is the opportunity that Space provides for Kennedy. Johnson describes him as being ‘relieved to have me take it on’<sup>1029</sup> in which may also cynically be inferred a shifting in immediate perception of responsibility should the programme founder.<sup>1030</sup> Sputnik’s successful orbit may indeed have provided Nixon’s 1960 Presidential rival with useful political capital to accentuate awareness of apparent US inferiority and therefore vulnerability. Yet upon securing office, supplemental funds NASA assume from this discourse to be forthcoming are not immediately approved by the new President towards the Apollo programme already in progress. As Megan Garber asserts, ‘The president sought space not because it was easy, but because it was expedient.’<sup>1031</sup>

Yet - as identified with the Obama example – the disjunction in credit proportionality once again persists fortuitously in collective memorializing. On the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Moon landing, the JFK-Library – the precise creation of which will be discussed shortly – continues to appropriate Space exploration as Kennedy’s noble legacy. Alan Shepard’s ‘Freedom 7’ Space Capsule that carried that first American into Space, enjoys residency there until the end of 2019. The venue’s ‘Space Summit’ conference that June is hosted by no less a personage than Caroline Kennedy, whose guests include Apollo 11 Command Module Pilot, Michael Collins. Celebrations are followed in July by ‘Space Fest’ presentations on the Moon-landing date itself by NASA engineers, concluding with an International Space Station greeting from astronauts Nick Hague and Christina Koch.<sup>1032</sup> While predictably absent at this particular venue, traces of egotistic motivation seem likewise excised from similar reconstitutions of public visual memory. Indeed, in the spate of television programmes on British television bookending the four-day lunar journey in half-century tribute, if there was coverage impugning Kennedy’s role as anything less than his country’s fulsome political pioneer, it was hardly conspicuous.

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<sup>1029</sup> Op. cit. Johnson p.278.

<sup>1030</sup> See Dallek (2013) for intimation of backfiring jest from Kennedy to Johnson who he makes Chairman of the Space Council. Regarding Shepard’s achievement, “...if that flight had been a flop, I guarantee you that everybody would have known that you were the Chairman,” p.180, to which Dallek adds: ‘Johnson did not share in the mirth...’

<sup>1031</sup> Megan Garber, ‘Kennedy, before choosing the moon: I’m Not That Interested in Space’, *The Atlantic*, September 12<sup>th</sup>, 2012, <https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2012/09/kennedy-before-choosing-the-moon-im-not-that-interested-in-space/262287/> (17/05/18).

<sup>1032</sup> ‘Welcome, ISS Greeting, and former NASA Astronaut Dr. Franklin Chang Diaz’, JFK-Library, Youtube, July 26<sup>th</sup>, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bT-9zJ7BE1M> (28/07/19).

At slightly lower altitude but still appropriate for celebrating Kennedy's continuing association with boundlessness is the swift renaming on 24<sup>th</sup> December 1963, of New York's Idlewild to John F. Kennedy International Airport. Again, it is a family member, this time Edward Kennedy who directly oversees the renaming ceremony further to Jackie's invited approval from the Mayor of the city in which she will later reside. In 'The Light That Does Not Fail'<sup>1033</sup> while the unnamed *New York Times* journalist remains mawkishly dismissive of any tangible monument's ability ever to do the memory of "this man of consummate taste and of an innate dignity" justice, it is conceded that this particular physical enshrining of Kennedy's name would most likely have met with his approval. Yet in sharp contrast with Jackie's intended plans for consolidation of public perception by quite conspicuously managing the type of memorializing she wants of her husband, the journalist instead anticipates her tribute similarly to be reflected:

“...not by the number or variety of places bearing his name, nor by the marble buildings erected in his honor [sic], but rather by the effect of his life on the freedom and welfare of the people of America and of the world – and that effect was not small....It would be most fitting that the President be given a resting place of maximum simplicity.”

Significantly, the journalist surmises that in Kennedy's expected final resting place “there is no need for a permanent flame” because “this is a symbol generally associated...with a memorial to all the heroes who have died in battle, or in a war, or in a generation.” Yet this is precisely how Jackie chooses for her husband to be remembered just in case that “light” does not quite “live on in the hearts of men”. Kennedy is similarly to be accorded such valorous association. It is the cumulative product of what Sabato describes as Jackie's full absorption of ‘the somber [sic] images and quiet dignity’<sup>1034</sup> of a May 1961 Paris visit in which the ceremony of dedication to the Unknown Soldier is purportedly registered by her as ‘a poignant way to pay tribute to fallen heroes.’ Jackie knows exactly what type of fish she wishes to select from Carr's haul to serve up her own dish for public consumption. As Piereson confirms, ‘up to the time of President Kennedy's death, an eternal flame had never before been dedicated to an individual.’<sup>1035</sup> Suddenly Kennedy is placed before his

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<sup>1033</sup> *The New York Times*, December 29<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/12/29/89639853.html?pageNumber=106> (28/11/18).

<sup>1034</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.88.

<sup>1035</sup> Op. cit. Piereson p.195.



nation in Arlington ground reserved for heroes felled in war – not its survivors – their anonymity marked by a flame she instead utilizes to highlight a very specific identity.

Such physical and symbolic placement seems to be achieved without reported controversy. This exception even extends to Kennedy's pre-deceased children who are later relocated to surround him within the same plot. Jackie is reconfiguring a narrative before the public that tells them that her husband is both a man of ultimate service while forever positioned at the centre of his family. The success of the fusion – what indeed does turn out to be the product of the above journalist's "maximum simplicity" – is argued by Hogan to be responsible for such exoneration of traditional practice:

'Although cast in minimalist terms, the memorial grave had a grandeur that defied its simplicity. It became a solemn space, at one with nature and the divine. It sacralised the man who was buried there, made him more symbolic than human, and put him above reproach.'<sup>1036</sup>

The flame is also a sign of the Resurrection. In having it placed over Kennedy's grave Jackie seems to be insisting upon the late President's literally being celebrated by her unfolding story's curious followers, as an icon: like Christ, overcoming the forces of darkness, a Kennedy will likewise rise again. It is as if Jackie is determined to prove Camelot's validity.

Kennedy's grave at Arlington therefore becomes a shrine rather than just a static memorial. Its engineering beyond Carl Warnecke's skilled crafting of the gravestone extends precisely to the sort of geographical exactitude the above newspaper article dismisses as inconsequential to the greater intangible memories left by the President. The Arlington site is conveniently situated upon a direct path between the Robert E. Lee Memorial of Arlington House and the Lincoln Memorial that lies on the other side of Washington's Potomac. In choosing a gravesite at 'one end of the capital's great axial fabric...meant that her husband...shared space with the great monuments erected in honor [sic] of Washington, Jefferson and especially Lincoln.'<sup>1037</sup> It leads Hogan to conclude:

'...the former first lady no doubt [found] the symbolism of the Arlington site irresistible. It conveyed again the message she wanted her husband's funeral to forge in the memory of the American people, namely that he had inherited

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<sup>1036</sup> Op. cit. Hogan p.152.

<sup>1037</sup> Ibid. p.223.

Lincoln's legacy, had sacrificed himself to the principles of national unity, freedom, and civil rights that both he and the sixteenth president shared.'

This view seems vindicated by another *New York Times* article in which Jackie is reported immediately after Kennedy's death to have commissioned a research committee to "find out how Lincoln was buried."<sup>1038</sup> It apparently entails "10 hours of furious work" to prepare for the tangible consolidation of her husband's similar perception. Once again, Jackie is providing another illocutionary chapter to her story of her husband's Presidency. It is a section of narrative that Piereson in particular robustly contests as invidious in view of what he regards as Kennedy's Civil Rights' equivocations, incremental legislative achievements and overt efforts to convince the public of his personal separation of his religious denomination and secular duties of state. For Piereson, Jackie's Lincoln analogizing is a blasphemous attempt at historical skewing.<sup>1039</sup> Its augmentation is encouraged by her similar choreography or 'orchestration'<sup>1040</sup> of Kennedy's funeral. Like Lincoln, Kennedy is first brought back to chapels of rest both in the East Room of the White House and shortly afterwards, the Capitol's Rotunda. Next, the rider-less 'Black Jack' horse with reversed-serviceman's boots in the stirrups – signifying loss of a commander – parades once again Kennedy's own military service credentials before the crowds, which John Junior's salute poignantly honours. The locutionary version of the similarities with Lincoln make for a shorter retelling: Kennedy's election to office in the 61<sup>st</sup> year of his own century; both men having Vice Presidents called Johnson; both Presidents being assassinated by Southerners known by three names.

Nor is Arlington the only example in which location is symbolically indulged to consolidate a particular type of public positive regard. Outside of the US, it is the United Kingdom that swiftly offers up for Kennedy its 'most precious parcel of land'<sup>1041</sup> at Runnymede in Surrey where the Magna Carta was signed in 1215. This is the birthplace of liberties of citizens against government and by dedicating an acre of it to Kennedy immediately forges him - indeed very closely geographically – in connection with that seminal act. As Hogan states, by memorializing Kennedy in such a space 'the British...were identifying Kennedy not only with America but with

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<sup>1038</sup> Op. cit. December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1963.

<sup>1039</sup> Op. cit. Piereson p.196.

<sup>1040</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.30.

<sup>1041</sup> Op. cit. Hogan p.137. 10<sup>th</sup> December 1963 decision taken for such commemoration.

democracy as well, almost as if he and Runnymede were synonymous in their symbolism.’<sup>1042</sup> *The Dallas Morning News* similarly perceives it as one of the highest forms of international honour a country can bestow. Amongst the ‘Thousands of Memorials [that] Have Appeared for Kennedy’<sup>1043</sup> this “acre of green meadow and white stone monument” is “the best known” overseas gift and commemoration. The formal unveiling is made by Queen Elizabeth II on May 14<sup>th</sup> 1965. Jackie and her children are in attendance together with Prime Minister Harold Wilson and, honouring Kennedy’s personal British colleagues, former Prime Minister Harold Macmillan and UK ambassador to the US, David Ormsby-Gore, now Lord Harlech.

Runnymede’s Kennedy memorial’s architect Geoffrey Jellicoe is as complicit as Warnecke in making a physically symbolic statement about the person it is designed to honour. The site’s own “maximum simplicity”<sup>1044</sup> aspiration similarly belies a heavily-formulated conception of materials and their composition that connects to the spirit of Arlington’s location, with its culminating view over a river. The ascent to the woodland memorial is rough and uneven – the 50 separate steps to represent each American state, cannot be scaled evenly - as if to personify the struggles of one’s own path amidst the other crowd-jostling 60,000 setts comprising these stages – to fulfilling the challenges demanded at the end of the smooth flagstone preface to the memorialized figure. Hewn from the same quarry that had produced the stone to build St Paul’s Cathedral – and similarly intended to endure ‘in perpetuity’<sup>1045</sup> as the Queen’s address promises of the unprecedented land gift itself – Kennedy greets his visitor in iconized form as a near-floating inscribed plaque that the choice of location has symbolically already facilitated in such status for him. The memorial concludes a *Pilgrim’s Progress* allegorical journey of life, worshipped martyrdom and personal renewal commencing with a gate leading into arboreal darkness that ends in sacrificially-associated hawthorn, a tree whose flowers blossom in May – the month of this memorial’s dedication and Kennedy’s own birth – and decay from late Autumn as blood-red berries. Obligated to duck its one substantial perpendicular branch, as if forcing a bow before it, the visitor is greeted immediately by four lines of Kennedy’s

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<sup>1042</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1043</sup> November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1965.

<sup>1044</sup> Interestingly, the most common adjective in response to the architecture itself during my survey.

<sup>1045</sup> ‘In Honour of President Kennedy 1965’, British Pathé, historical collection, <https://www.britishpathe.com/video/in-honour-of-president-kennedy/query/Runnymede> (30/11/19).

Inaugural speech at the base of the Portland stone. Below his bold, capitalized introduction these words seem intended to have lingering import upon departure, the slab path assuming a right-angled direction towards a contemplative pause of memorial benches overlooking said viewpoint, with the resumed but now open, optically-smoother, sett-step-swallowing descent – as if a blessing or conversion has now been conferred upon the visitor - returning without further interruption to a figurative and physical lower level.

Curious as to whether the regard it seeks to enshrine is anywhere near as likely to endure as the Cathedral stone its shares, I conducted my own informal survey there 54 years after its creation, upon the 56<sup>th</sup> anniversary – also a Friday - of Kennedy’s death, to discover why he still attracts visitors.<sup>1046</sup> Out of 17 people approached on this wet November day, visitors from Kent to Anglesey, the six who were too young to remember him personally replied with admiration of his appearance first, family-man masculinity second, and three-times specifically referenced ‘Camelot’ First Couple glamour. Of those 11 visitors who did remember him in his lifetime – indeed all recollecting where they were the day Kennedy was killed – everyone likewise recalled his masculinity positively. He was a ‘man’s man’ to the male contingent questioned, with Soviet-handling ‘toughness’ deemed collectively a qualifying manifestation. Common to each age bracket was the sentiment, maybe somewhat predictable before his validated memorial, that Kennedy was taken too young too soon, so possibly insulating him from any volunteered negative regard. Nonetheless, the National Trust informed me that most tributes<sup>1047</sup> take place upon Kennedy’s birth and death dates but that the public often leave their own tokens to him whenever they visit.

The lessons figuratively intended to be taken from Runnymede’s combined symbolic intent assume literal form in the swiftly ensuing manifestation of the UK’s JFK Memorial Trust. This charity is responsible for the memorial the National Trust – initially, however, opposed to the land gift<sup>1048</sup> - today maintains. Epitomized by

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<sup>1046</sup> My thanks here to the National Trust’s James Evans, Runnymede’s Visitor Engagement Officer, for the yearly estimate of 250,000 visitors given the whole site’s six access points.

<sup>1047</sup> Ibid. Kennedy’s granddaughter Tatiana planting a tree on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his death; the National Trust itself offering a history walk on what would have been JFK’s 100<sup>th</sup> birthday; a yearly children’s ‘history trail’ on 29<sup>th</sup> May.

<sup>1048</sup> For example see ‘British Memorial Opposed by National Trust’, in which is stated “that land held by it cannot be either sold or given away”, *The New York Times*, April 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1964, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1964/04/03/106951011.html> (30/11/19). ‘Kennedy Runnymede Site is Questioned in London’, states that “The law places administration of Britain’s

appointment of Ford's Chairman Robert McNamara as his Defense Secretary and underscored separately by Kennedy's Rice reference to "leadership in science and in industry"<sup>1049</sup> – to have been echoed in Dallas in demanding integration of "community leadership" with "financial and political support" for continued graduate research projects that themselves attract "new and growing industries"<sup>1050</sup> – this charity is a direct response to Kennedy's embracing of technocratic leadership as the way forward.

Marketed online from 2010 and in continued hard-copy form yearly by the Trust to approximately 30 UK institutions,<sup>1051</sup> a total of 541 scholarships to date have been awarded to British post-graduate students to allow them to study at Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology.<sup>1052</sup> Funded at the outset – a one off 'substantial'<sup>1053</sup> government contribution in 1964 notwithstanding – by private and business donations, commensurately-generated scholarships fluctuate today between \$53,000 and \$70,000 to cover healthcare and tuition fees. Awards of \$2,500 post-course have also been made available for US vacation travel beyond the North-Eastern seaboard, with introduction in 2019 of a \$3,000 Kennedy Summer Research Scholarship as ancillary enhancement to thesis research during these months, and so far benefiting nine students. Competition for the main scholarship is intense, the 2017-18 intake year being typical in yielding a ratio of 184 applicants for 10 awards. In the 2020-21 intake year 160 applications have been received with 60 being long-listed.

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parklands with the trust [sic], with the proviso that the lands cannot be sold or given away", *The New York Times*, April 4<sup>th</sup>, 1964,

<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1964/04/04/106952609.html?pageNumber=20> (30/11/19). However, by 8<sup>th</sup> April such objections seem to have been overturned with a \$2.8 million fundraising campaign underway that included plans for a memorial at the site, 'Britain Begins Fund Drive for a Memorial to Kennedy', *The New York Times* <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1964/05/08/106966201.html?pageNumber=12> (30/11/2019).

<sup>1049</sup> 'Address on the Space Effort', op. cit. *Speeches* p.222.

<sup>1050</sup> Op. cit. Undelivered Dallas Speech.

<sup>1051</sup> My sincere thanks here to the JFK Memorial Trust's Secretary Annie Thomas for granting me an interview and access to its considerable archives for this extra information.

<sup>1052</sup> MIT is directly to have been cited by Kennedy at the Trade Mart in his general congratulation towards those establishments that would ultimately facilitate "continued progress and prosperity." Today most Trust applications across these institutions favour Harvard as their preferred study venue according to records seen e.g. 2011-12 year: of the 297 applications received, 264 stated Harvard preference; in 2017-18, only 14 out of 184 applied to MIT alone; in 2019-20 it was 13 out of 172; 2021-21 intake see 14 MIT applications out of 160 received.

<sup>1053</sup> Annie Thomas states that back in 1964: 'There was an agreed target of £1 million for the appeal. The final sum raised was £850,000, to which the government made a substantial contribution. (This is the only contribution from public funds which the Trust has received in over fifty years).'

Success is predicated upon criteria little changed since the Trust's first prospectus draft statement of 6<sup>th</sup> July 1965, to honour the:

'President's interest in bringing into fruitful combination the two great disciplines of traditional humane studies and modern technology and so making their strength effective in the activities of government and in the direction of world affairs.'

In 1987, on the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the original scholarships, this goal was enhanced as an application stipulation by the trustees. Public service commitment, both of practical – Peace Corps' reminiscent<sup>1054</sup> - civic and academic persuasion, remains dominant in current candidate statement, with Kennedy himself continuing to reverberate personally through some of the applications. One 2019 scholarship recipient cited a wish to 'demonstrate my commitment to public service by studying and researching the ways in which employment law can enhance equality, a cause that was close to President Kennedy's heart';<sup>1055</sup> another interviewee and 2018 award winner claimed initial stimulation from 'the Kennedy family's service' during previous study as consolidating her 'passionate public service' interest. Most of those students to whom I was given access stated overall personal concurrence with the JFK mission values the charity espouses, regular contact with the Trust ensuring their continued ambassadorship for it to prospective students. The Trust therefore continues to burnish Kennedy's connection with progressive facilitation – the 'humane study of economics and of modern technology'<sup>1056</sup> - by helping to breed the technocratic and public service elite for possible future top-level appropriation. 'Distinguished'<sup>1057</sup> UK alumni include former Foreign Secretary David Miliband (MIT); Home Secretary and Shadow Chancellor Ed Balls (Harvard); his wife Yvette Cooper (Harvard), former Secretary of State for Work and Pensions; 2003-13 Bank of England Governor Mervyn

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<sup>1054</sup> Student statements too numerous to list but made readily accessible testify to much overseas voluntary service typified by public health initiatives and humanitarian aid responses. Domestic volunteering commitments to the underprivileged were cited less but with matching zeal.

<sup>1055</sup> 2019 scholarship statements made available during my December 2019 interview.

<sup>1056</sup> 1993-94 Prospectus preamble. Remit extended in 2014-15 to Arts' disciplines and post-post-graduates, i.e. those with relevant work experience, up to five years after formal study completion.

<sup>1057</sup> Taken from 2020-21 *Kennedy Scholarship* flyer. In 2019-20 the Trust's statistical data shows 60% being Oxbridge applicants; in 2017-18 52% are Oxbridge applicants. 25 applicants were called for interview, with 11 representing these two universities alone. Little variation is evident in the preceding two years, the 25 shortlisted on both occasions yielding 43% (=12 students) and 42% (=13 students) Oxbridge representation respectively.

King (Harvard); Economics' historian Emma Rothschild (MIT) and 2008-13 BBC Economics' Editor Stephanie Flanders (Harvard).

Similar aspiration to enshrine Kennedy's intellectual regard may be seen in the tight family monitoring of the JFK-Library's conception and construction: another example of personifying buildings to impose a desired image somewhat disjunctive in execution of message. Essentially to be funded by worldwide donations, in which apparently "Almost every country in Africa has made a sizeable contribution"<sup>1058</sup> – as if to emphasize the extent of Kennedy's international and inter-racial regard – a Library statement of 1964 declares its intention to be 'an appropriate memorial [that] must also express President Kennedy's vivid concern for the unfinished business of his country and the world.'<sup>1059</sup> It is to be a three-part construction that links a museum, archive and an institute. However, 'The challenge to the architect will be to combine these elements in a single harmonious design which will both contain the various functions of the Library and celebrate the memory of President Kennedy.' It is a challenge Jackie eventually decides upon offering to I. M. Pei, who is later responsible for the design of the glass pyramid at Paris' Louvre Museum that was originally intended to have featured at the JFK-Library to symbolize the dramatic truncating of Kennedy's life. Instead, after resolving profound location issues, the glass pavilion makes the successful transition to the new harbour site in Boston. There the grand shard remains deliberately unfilled 'save for a large American flag...intended to make visitors reflect on JFK so as to think optimistically about the future.'<sup>1060</sup> Again reflection and refraction of the man seems somewhat to overshadow 'the various functions of the Library' itself compounded by this empty space 'with its windowed view of the vast horizon'.<sup>1061</sup> Apparently it is to invite the visitor to ponder how best:

'...to honor [sic] his memory...the boundless space beyond the celestial sphere where Kennedy's spirit could live on, if only the American people were inspired by his example to complete the work of democracy.'

Hogan becomes even more amused at the extent of contrivance in its imitation 'of a light house that shone the way, like the eternal flame, to the safe shores of Camelot.' The structure's open geographic forms linking the building's essential three

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<sup>1058</sup> Op. cit. *The Dallas Morning News*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1965.

<sup>1059</sup> Op. cit. Crown p.171.

<sup>1060</sup> Op. cit. M. White p. 109.

<sup>1061</sup> Op. cit. Hogan p.166

components is intended to emulate similar unconfined assimilation Kennedy inspires both of and from its visitor.

Library renovations in 1993, in conjunction with the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his death, include ending on 1960's election victory rather than chronologically upon the assassination. This is likewise intended to give the impression to the visitor that Kennedy lives on as s/he exits the hallway into another area dealing with legacy. Here a film invites people to relive his personal journey, almost as if partaking in one of his family's home movies before it segues into colour for the Inaugural address at which point the visitor becomes part of his audience. The novel simultaneous sensory assaults experienced by the electorate from the Kennedy campaign team of 1960 as described at the end of Chapter Two, are being given updated form to have the same enticing effect upon the contemporary visitor.

Unfortunately, less money seems to be lavished upon the building's archival component. This part of the complex remains slow to declassify documents to historians and academics which Hogan asserts the Kennedy trustees similarly to lack the enthusiasm to fund.<sup>1062</sup> Curiosity might also be raised about the objectivity of some of the Library-section's own pupil-based lesson plans. For example, in a 'Teacher's Answer Key'<sup>1063</sup> to the Bay of Pigs' episode, heavily encouraged is the impossibility of Kennedy alone being responsible for its outcome despite provision of the original script in which Kennedy confirms this publicly. Summarizing six reasons for this, the teacher is asked to consider 'who...you think holds the most responsibility for the failed invasion? (it can be more than one person or group).' While there is admission of personal fallibility, the exercise concludes with suggestion of its actual benefit to everyone in learning how to contain any further spread of Communism.

The Library is therefore a personally interactive didactic experience beyond its immediate museum concentration where the outright celebration of its namesake would be most expected. Instead the whole building – what President Carter at its formal opening unwittingly describes as a 'cathedral' to nourish Kennedy's memory<sup>1064</sup> – seems to have burgeoned into a fully-fledged engendering of Kennedy

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<sup>1062</sup> Ibid. p.204.

<sup>1063</sup> 'The Bay of Pigs: Lessons Learned', JFK-Library, [https://www.jfklibrary.org/sites/default/files/2018-06/Bay\\_of\\_Pigs\\_-\\_Lesson\\_Plan.pdf](https://www.jfklibrary.org/sites/default/files/2018-06/Bay_of_Pigs_-_Lesson_Plan.pdf) (18/09/2018).

<sup>1064</sup> '1979 Dedication Remarks by President Carter', JFK-Library, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/about-us/about-the-jfk-library/history/1979-dedication-remarks-by-president-carter> (18/9/2018).



worship rather than collectively consolidating a conducive springboard to further intellectual enlightenment. Indeed, in May 2019 – and overseen by Caroline Kennedy’s husband Edwin Schlossberg upon what would have been Kennedy’s 102<sup>nd</sup> birthday - designer Roger Westerman denies that his updating of the Library’s Legacy Gallery is meant to express ‘reverence for President Kennedy the person’,<sup>1065</sup> despite its rotunda with its ‘gently moving images’<sup>1066</sup> of the many place names in the President’s honour having striking connotations of a devotional chapel, its inset screens reminiscent of stained glass windows. Such deification of subject distracts in its mission to educate – other than very specifically about Kennedy. In *The Dallas Morning News*’ ‘Dedicated Friend of JFK laments shortage of heroes’,<sup>1067</sup> former Special assistant to Kennedy, Dave Powers, appointed as trustee to the Library by Kennedy’s family despite his total absence of qualification for the role, enhances this overall impression of the JFK-Library as a place of homage this “keeper of the [Kennedy] flame” continues to guard as such, against defiling cynicism, thus extending the zealous role of protector he adopts towards Kennedy during his lifetime.

The final example of fortuitous disjunction can be evidenced in the establishment of the Profile in Courage Award, for which the JFK-Library provides the stage. Firstly, the title confidently ‘authenticates’ Kennedy’s authorship of his Pulitzer Prize-winning book; secondly, it continues to bind him positively with all the various causes its winners espouse. Its award to three Presidents, Gerald Ford, George H. W. Bush and Barack Obama, retrospectively celebrates Kennedy’s ultimate bi-partisanship as does Senators John McCain’s and Russell Feingold’s joint award in 1999 honouring their cross-party reforms to political campaign financing. Yet in aligning Kennedy with the latter cause seems to bestow upon him what some might regard as undue respect: Hubert Humphrey’s ‘supermarket’ versus ‘corner store’ lament<sup>1068</sup> after his 1960 West Virginia primary defeat, for example, clearly bemoans the unfairness of the Kennedy money’s power in the Presidential contest. In 2001,

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<sup>1065</sup> Daniel Capello, ‘JFK’s Legacy Gets a Fresh New Design on his 102<sup>nd</sup> Birthday’, *Architectural Digest*, May 29<sup>th</sup>, 2019, <https://www.architecturaldigest.com/story/jfk-library-museum-legacy-gallery> (29/11/2019).

<sup>1066</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1067</sup> David Nyhan, *The Dallas Morning News*, May 9<sup>th</sup>, 1983.

<sup>1068</sup> Andrew Marr, ‘President John F Kennedy and the art of dirty politics’, November 19<sup>th</sup>, 2010, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-11718369> (15/12/2019). See also Maier’s reference to Joe Kane’s advice to his aspiring cousin regarding campaign prerequisites: “‘The first is money and the second is money and the third is money’”, op. cit. p.204.

former Freedom Rider John Lewis – his group an embarrassment to Kennedy at the time – is honoured for his lifetime commitment to Civil Rights, once again pretending to a closer proximity of conviction between the two men than was evidently the case.

### **Kennedy-determined ‘light’ reverberations**

#### **a) Culture**

Perhaps demonstration of these many projecting forms of narrative guardianship negates evidence of Kennedy’s own sensibilities and independent ability to determine his own justification for the historical regard he seeks. Would Kennedy’s esteem be so much diminished without these performative acts of idealization? The remainder of this thesis argues instead that they powerfully complement establishment of positive legacies on his own terms, some of which reverberate in behaviours and traits by which successive Presidents seem to be measured or choose to define themselves.

I commence with Kennedy’s cultural legacy. While Chapter Three implies Kennedy to be sometimes ignorant and contemptuous of, or at least aesthetically insensitive in his intimate proximity, to its various manifestations, he does not disregard its value. Jackie may have spearheaded individual events but Kennedy is attentive to their contribution to national life: ‘He was a President who pursued excellence, and excellence in creative activity, he believed, was essential to the nation both now and generations from now.’<sup>1069</sup> Kennedy may not have been familiar with the symphony, the composer or the work but he is appreciative of the skill or the outcome: the best that his people can achieve, or the substance to the style. In *A Nation of Immigrants*, for example – and therefore well before his accession to the Presidency – he expresses his gratitude to the German immigrants and one legacy of theirs in particular: “The fact that today almost every large American city has its symphony orchestra can be traced to the influence of German migration.”<sup>1070</sup> The Italians are likewise heralded for their “special contributions to the emergence of American culture, enriching our music, art and architecture.”<sup>1071</sup> The theme of “arts” is after all invoked in Kennedy’s Inaugural address at the conclusion to the preceding dynamic tenor that “explores”, “conquers”, “eradicates” and “taps” earthly extremities,

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<sup>1069</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.389.

<sup>1070</sup> Op. cit. *A Nation of Immigrants* p.21.

<sup>1071</sup> Ibid. p.27.

suggesting its frontier-expanding equivalence in his estimation to discovery, science and commerce. Again in *A Nation of Immigrants*, Kennedy invokes approvingly James Madison's identifying "That part of America which has encouraged [immigrants] has advanced most rapidly in population, agriculture and the arts."<sup>1072</sup> Arts is recognized by Kennedy as a commensurately progressive force<sup>1073</sup> even if he is unable to serve its many manifestations with personal distinction.

He can, however, serve his perception with constructive action. Schlesinger cites Kennedy's acquiescence with 'Special Consultant' August Heckscher's recommendations regarding cultural enrichment of the 'common life'<sup>1074</sup> that leads the President to set up an Advisory Council on the Arts. Heckscher is censorious of previous government shortcomings in this regard and his observations consolidate Kennedy's own misgivings having himself already made the connection between appearance and progressive enrichment. For example, as he looks over with dismay towards 'the pawn shops and the debris'<sup>1075</sup> from his Inauguration podium vista, he insists upon measures to improve it. This 'consuming interest in the physical appearance of the capital'<sup>1076</sup> is compounded by Schlesinger's assertion of Kennedy's 'strong architectural instincts' that seem borne out in Sorensen's similar attesting to the President's 'sweeping redesign of Pennsylvania Avenue between Capitol Hill and the White House.'<sup>1077</sup> Both aides credit him personally with sparing Lafayette Park, situated opposite, from ruination by 'modernist Federal structures on either side',<sup>1078</sup> Warnecke – later, as stated, to design Kennedy's own gravesite – being commended by Schlesinger for coming up 'with a brilliant solution which protected the historic

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<sup>1072</sup> Ibid. p.37.

<sup>1073</sup> See especially written reply to a Miss Theodate Johnson, September 13<sup>th</sup>, 1960, in which Kennedy makes a firm "connection...between achievement in public life and progress in the arts....The New Frontier for which I campaign in public life, can also be a New Frontier for American art." 'John F. Kennedy Quotations: The Arts', JFK-Library, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/learn/about-jfk/life-of-john-f-kennedy/john-f-kennedy-quotations> (20/09/18).

<sup>1074</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.389. See in particular Tom Wicker's article, 'US Role in Arts called Narrow in Heckscher Report to Kennedy', *The New York Times*, June 17<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/06/17/89536548.html?pageNumber=1> (21/09/18).

<sup>1075</sup> Susan Page, '50 years after win Kennedy legacy endures', September 26<sup>th</sup>, 2010, , *USAToday30*, [https://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/washington/2010-09-26-jfk-kennedy-mystique\\_N.htm](https://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/washington/2010-09-26-jfk-kennedy-mystique_N.htm) (22/09/18).

<sup>1076</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.635.

<sup>1077</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.386.

<sup>1078</sup> Ibid.

houses and placed new and harmonizing offices behind them.’<sup>1079</sup> Kennedy’s physical cultural legacy emanating from this restoration project is evidenced in ‘today’s stylish boulevard lined by the modernistic Canadian Embassy, the refurbished Willard Hotel, pricey restaurants and more.’<sup>1080</sup>

In his Amherst College address of October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1963, this notion of restoration goes further. Consistent with Lafayette Park, Kennedy proclaims his wish for his country “to preserve all the great old American houses and squares and parks of our national past” and “to build handsome and balanced cities for our future.”<sup>1081</sup> This even extends to the White House’s own Rose Garden, whose quality of lawn vexes the President so much that according to Salinger, he even has its bare parts sprayed green<sup>1082</sup> before greeting his guests there – an excessive measure perhaps but one again that chimes with a pre-articulated aesthetic sensibility in which gratitude is expressed for the larger-scale contributions made to the national environment by its Italian-immigrant landscapers.<sup>1083</sup> The Rose Garden remains little changed from the Kennedys’ redesign, remaining the ‘stage for numerous receptions, bill signings and media events.’<sup>1084</sup>

It is a legacy that does not just “nourish the roots”<sup>1085</sup> of Washington. In Dallas, Neiman store owner Stanley Marcus shares Kennedy’s perceptions of a beneficial ‘civilizing’<sup>1086</sup> relationship between a stimulating environment and its citizens. However, its current brutalist persuasion prevents its rejuvenation to ‘a Paris on a prairie’ he believes this city can one day become.<sup>1087</sup> In *Dallas 1963* physical ugliness operates as a crude metaphor beneath which operates a moral ugliness supervening on dehumanizing materialism. Yet just three days after Kennedy’s Amherst address, Marcus, who had forlornly sponsored local galleries and exhibitions while serving on the boards of the Community Arts Fund Center and Dallas Theater, is appointed to the Dallas ‘Arts Research Panel’. *The Dallas Morning News* emphasizes his specific remit

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<sup>1079</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.635.

<sup>1080</sup> Op. cit. Page ‘50 Years’.

<sup>1081</sup> ‘Remarks at Amherst College’, op. cit. *Speeches* p.310.

<sup>1082</sup> Op. cit. p.75.

<sup>1083</sup> Op. cit. *A Nation of Immigrants* p.28.

<sup>1084</sup> Taken from White House Fact sheet tours, April 16<sup>th</sup>, 2004, <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2004/04/20040416-1.html> (23/09/18).

<sup>1085</sup> ‘Remarks at Amherst College’, op. cit. *Speeches* p.310.

<sup>1086</sup> Used twice in Amherst address.

<sup>1087</sup> Op. cit. Minutaglio and Davis p.273.

“to study performing arts’ needs.”<sup>1088</sup> The article refers to his emulation of Heckscher’s similar role, quoting the latter’s declaration that:

“In the end, the individual artist is what counts, but the individual artist, without the support of a sound economic substructure, is not able to reach his audience or to attain the fulfilment of his talents.”

Upon Kennedy’s death, Dallas does make some funding available for this objective. It commences its moral redemption through architecture and art, embracing the personal-civilizing import of Kennedy’s ‘arts’ message to its citizens that has been long carried but unsuccessfully delivered by Marcus alone. On the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Kennedy’s death, the same newspaper reports the Dallas Museum of Art as following the example of the Nasher Sculpture Center:

“...across the street...by redesigning its [own] main entranceway and placing the works of some of the world’s best known sculptors on the first floor. The museum is also varying hours, sometimes staying open as late as midnight on Fridays with music, dancing and nonstop tours. Our congratulations to the museum for helping to build the momentum at the Dallas Arts District.”<sup>1089</sup>

The conclusion drawn is that Dallas has reshaped itself morally and physically. There is now active personal, reciprocal engagement with place. The city boasts a concentration of arts’ buildings, with renewed – easy access - encouragement to enter to admire acquisition of some of the finest works ever executed. Most importantly, confirmation is being made that this is a transformative legacy to endure well beyond Kennedy’s immediate anniversary tribute.

As if similarly heeding Heckscher’s words President Johnson releases federal funds to establish the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington. It becomes the largest centre of its kind in the US, a barometer to reflect and refract the quality of creativity Kennedy has long identified as essential towards fulfilling the “personal distinction” his Amherst insistence for the “full recognition of the place of the artist” hopes to facilitate. Johnson uses the same spade to break the ground for this site as was used to do likewise at the nearby Lincoln Memorial, thus symbolically enhancing the physical-foundation association between Kennedy and another heroically-regarded American progressivist: a more unforced parallel than Jackie’s strained form of commemorative emulation described earlier.

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<sup>1088</sup> ‘Marcus on Arts Research Panel’, October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>1089</sup> ‘Hits and Misses’, *The Dallas Morning News*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2003.

This section has discussed buildings in particular as embodiments of the way in which Kennedy's personality was often fortuitously and in a contrived manner, associated with grand or high art. Less illocutionarily disjunctive, however, are the more authentically Kennedy-esque memorials that he himself helps to inspire through ensuing physical and concomitantly personal transformations he variously instigates and that his death precipitates, that will "[strengthen] the fiber [sic] of our national life."<sup>1090</sup> Kennedy's cultural legacy is therefore a more integrated manifestation shaped by his own actions that seem as worthy of positive cognisance as the more forced posthumous monuments inspired of him.

### **b) Special Olympics and associated legacy**

Other self-determining positive legacies Kennedy bequeaths to his nation may be seen in the evolution of the Special Olympics and the manifestations of his Peace Corps. It is, of course, Kennedy's oldest sister Eunice - to whom the segregated Rose was apparently the most close<sup>1091</sup> - who is specifically attributed with the former's instigation. However, this should not militate against the importance Kennedy himself attaches to disability support as part of his larger human rights' commitment as well as own sibling regard; indeed the Kennedys are the first 'First' couple to employ 'a mentally retarded' member of staff at the White House.<sup>1092</sup> In October 1963, Eunice is in attendance at the Oval Office when her brother signs major legislation to combat mental illness and intellectual disabilities. The ensuing 'Maternal and Child Health and Mental and Retardation Planning Amendment, to the Social Security Act' recalls Kennedy's immigration stipulation in *A Nation of Immigrants* regarding the reunification of families hitherto separated by members with similar afflictions.<sup>1093</sup> Even during the Cuban Missile Crisis, Sorensen notes Kennedy to take time out to meet 'with his Panel on Mental Retardation.'<sup>1094</sup> Its facilitation of planning grants

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<sup>1090</sup> 'Remarks at Amherst College', op. cit. *Speeches* p.310.

<sup>1091</sup> Op. cit. Maier: 'Her older sister Rosemary's mental retardation and devastating lobotomy inspired Eunice to devote herself to that cause....She visited Rosemary, institutionalized in Wisconsin, as often as possible and sometimes shared vacations with her. Eunice would not forget her' p.253.

<sup>1092</sup> President Clinton's unfortunate epithet in his 'Remarks on the death of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis', May 20<sup>th</sup>, 1994, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-1994-book1/html/PPP-1994-book1-doc-pg956-2.htm> (1/11/2019). Interestingly, Kennedy's own regard here continues to be specifically recognized in MP Jenny Lee's acknowledgment, further to the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary founding of the JFK Special School, in the UK's East London: 'I know he had had a special feeling for this field...', <https://www.jfkspecialschool.lihtrust.uk/History-of-School/> (02/12/2019).

<sup>1093</sup> Op. cit. *Nation* p.80.

<sup>1094</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.676.

allows states to improve their own initiatives for people with intellectual disabilities while Kennedy's sister's opening of her own home as a day-activity and summer camp base sets the example for nationwide expansion. One of the final bills Kennedy signs is for the funding to the construction of care, research and treatment facilities for people with mental health disorders. Mission-echoed by her sister Jean's 1974 VSA (Very Special Arts) initiative, facilitating – from the Kennedy Center – JFK's associating of mental health improvement with the Arts, to the intellectually disabled community worldwide, Eunice extends Kennedy's bill's practical remit to include physical activities. A pilot project in Chicago between competing children's teams from across the country becomes formalized in July 1968 as the first 'Special Olympics Summer Games'. During its opening ceremony a teenage participant runs in with a torch to light the basin within a 45-foot-high edifice named the 'John F. Kennedy Flame of Hope'. The event continues to be celebrated 51 years later, with the President and First Lady personally greeting members of its team in the Oval Office in July 2019.<sup>1095</sup> Kennedy's nephew Tim Shriver currently heads the organization.

### **c) Peace Corps and volunteerism**

Actively overseen for five years by Shriver's father Sargent, the Peace Corps is a more directly-attributable Kennedy instigation. Despite its detractors, Sorensen describes it as the product of a personal conviction and gratitude from Kennedy towards those who share it: '...the Peace Corps volunteers, said the President – who met with groups of them every chance he could get – represented the highest response to his Inaugural injunction to "ask not".'<sup>1096</sup> A week after Kennedy's death, Norway's Foreign Minister describes the dynamic pace initiated by this New Frontier policy as "'one of the greatest achievements of President Kennedy's Administration.'" In particular, he shares Sorensen's perception of '...at least in the developing nations – [it becoming] the most stirring symbol of John Kennedy's hope and promise',<sup>1097</sup> by declaring it "'living proof of [Kennedy's] broad horizon and insight into and understanding of the problems of developing countries.'"<sup>1098</sup> Even Richard Nixon – once a sceptic –

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<sup>1095</sup> Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) July 18, 2019, 11:14. p. m. Tweet. (18/07/2019).

<sup>1096</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.532.

<sup>1097</sup> Ibid pp.531-2.

<sup>1098</sup> Norway's Peace Corps Hears Kennedy Praised, *The New York Times*, November 29<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1963/11/29/140365512.html?pageNumber=5> (1/2/19).

respects its mission, Sabato commending his own political courage in finding ‘the funds in other areas to transfer to the Corps, enabling it to continue operating at full strength’<sup>1099</sup> despite considerable antipathy from Southern conservatives in Congress at the time towards foreign aid expenditure of which this continued to be seen as a part. In July 1973 *The New York Times*’ David A. Andelman reports the Peace Corps still to boast “7,000 volunteers in 61 countries”<sup>1100</sup> and that while representing a reduction in number in contrast with the immediate popularity with response to its “beckon[ing] by John F. Kennedy”, is now more tailored in its appropriation of ambassadors. According to the programme’s director, instead of “parachuting them in”, specialists are now being sought “to fill the specific needs of a country.” That year, the Peace Corps amalgamates with its domestic counterpart VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America), to enjoy a combined operating budget of \$77 million and a new umbrella name of ‘Action’. Today, known as the Peace Corps once more it has attracted over 235,000 Americans to provide “helping hand”<sup>1101</sup> assistance across 141 countries. Prior to sustained budgetary attack from the Trump administration,<sup>1102</sup> it enjoyed bipartisan support with ‘Funding for the Peace Corps [being] included in the State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Appropriations bill’ from which it regularly garnered annually approximately one per cent<sup>1103</sup> of the Foreign Operations’ budget. Sabato cites the impact of it personally upon him in his Universal National Service proposal: ‘a useful complement to the Bill of Rights’<sup>1104</sup> in which two years of nationally beneficial activity would be legally demanded of all able US citizens. Wendy Kopp, founder of ‘Teach For America’ and ‘Teach For All’ similarly credits

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<sup>1099</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.312.

<sup>1100</sup> ‘Role Is Changing for Peace Corps’, *The New York Times*, July 10, 1973, [https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1973/07/10/90450416.html?pageNumber=15\(1/2/19\)](https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1973/07/10/90450416.html?pageNumber=15(1/2/19)).

<sup>1101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1102</sup> See ‘President Proposes cut to Peace Corps’ Budget’ in which the organization states a proposed ‘\$9.3million cut in baseline funding... for Fiscal year 2021....only the second time in the nearly 60-year history of the Peace Corps in which a president has proposed cutting agency funding for four consecutive years....As has been the case in the last three years, the White House has proposed the elimination of the Corporation for National Community service...which includes...Americorps and Senior Corps’, February 10<sup>th</sup>, 2020 statement, National Peace Corps Association, <https://www.peacecorpsconnect.org/articles/president-again-proposes-cuts-to-peace-corps> (6/3/2020).

<sup>1103</sup> Taken from Peace Corps website, ‘Leadership: US Government’, [https://www.peacecorps.gov/about/leadership/?\\_ga=2.41387554.1442181846.1571653620-824997712.1550572161](https://www.peacecorps.gov/about/leadership/?_ga=2.41387554.1442181846.1571653620-824997712.1550572161) (1/12/19).

<sup>1104</sup> See op. cit. Sabato op. cit. p.473 and Sabato’s *Crystal Ball*, ‘Universal National Service: The Case for a Constitution “Bill of Responsibilities”’, October 25<sup>th</sup>, 2007, <http://www.centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/articles/ljs2007102502/> (2/12/19).



the example of Kennedy's Peace Corps as inspiration for the successful manifestation of her own student thesis' investigation into the possibility of a national teaching corps.<sup>1105</sup> In 2004 Kopp wins the John F. Kennedy New Frontier Award 'for showing young Americans how they can change lives through their own public service.'<sup>1106</sup> Fifty years after his death, together with other community projects such as VISTA which President Clinton's own Kennedy-echoing 1993 'Americorps' programme assimilates, half a million applicants were recorded.

One of those who answers Kennedy's Peace Corps call is 68-year-old nurse Lillian Carter, mother to the 39<sup>th</sup> President, who serves as a health volunteer in India. A biennial award is made in her name to which her son presents its 2017 winner. In so doing, President Carter appropriates some of Kennedy's legacy, describing the Peace Corps as 'offering up some of America's best to the world, and bringing the world home to other Americans.'<sup>1107</sup> It is one of the more modest demonstrations of positive Kennedy association by a succeeding President, the following section identifying examples of his conscious invocation or emulation by other political figures that extend beyond mere deference to the nature of his passing, so continuing to enhance his iconic regard.

#### **d) Political emulation**

Lyndon Johnson's manner of succession would, nonetheless, seem the most compelled to avow Kennedy's memory positively. Johnson's purported insistence upon having Jackie stand next to him aboard Air Force One as he takes the oath of office may be seen to be forging a visual, stabilizing continuity with Kennedy's leadership. Sabato agrees, Johnson's perceived precipitous assumption of the role by Robert in particular being defended 'more neutrally' as behaviour designed to reassure 'a shaken nation of continuity in the Oval Office. Nothing could do that like the visible swearing-in of the next president.'<sup>1108</sup> Robert's accusation seems further diminished upon Salinger's consolidating recollection that:

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<sup>1105</sup> 'CEO Wendy Kopp Pays Tribute to John F. Kennedy, Teach For All', November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2013, <https://teachforall.org/news/ceo-wendy-kopp-pays-tribute-john-f-kennedy> (2/12/19).

<sup>1106</sup> Award given by the JFK-Library to the under-40s in honour of their commitment to public service. See <https://www.jfklibrary.org/events-and-awards/new-frontier-award> (2/12/19).

<sup>1107</sup> Taken from Peace Corps website, 'Awards', [https://www.peacecorps.gov/returned-volunteers/awards/?\\_ga=2.16598326.1442181846.1571653620-824997712.1550572161](https://www.peacecorps.gov/returned-volunteers/awards/?_ga=2.16598326.1442181846.1571653620-824997712.1550572161) (2/12/19).

<sup>1108</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.450.

‘The President’s first objective was to hold JFK’s Cabinet and staff in tact. He knew that wholesale changes in top-level personnel would be damaging to the transition and to the nation’s sense of continuity.’<sup>1109</sup>

In Johnson’s first Congress address just five days after Kennedy’s death, the new President invokes not only his predecessor’s words as part of that smooth transition but also much of its construction. Kennedy’s Inaugural address pledges to “support any friend, oppose any foe” to which Johnson seems directly to respond in its fulfilment with ‘we are a good and reliable friend...we can also be a formidable foe...’<sup>1110</sup> The counterbalance of theme with syntax is identified in commending an America under Kennedy that was able to demonstrate ‘that it has the courage to seek peace, and that it has the fortitude to risk war.’ Building on the doubly-assuring ‘courage’/ ‘fortitude’ counterbalancing of ‘peace’ with ‘war’, chiasmic characteristics, are assumed in affirming ‘the strong can be just in the use of strength; and the just can be strong in the defense [sic] of justice’. ‘Strong’ and ‘just’ here enjoy moral and adjectival interchange as well as maturation into clause endings’ ‘strength’ and ‘justice’ respectively. The device of ‘Anaphora’ is likewise specifically cultivated in the Kennedy Inauguration-reminiscent “Let us...” paragraph linkages. Johnson further makes reference to Kennedy’s alliteratively metaphorical ‘bearing the burden’, extending it beyond national expectation to delivery of what he likewise perceives to be his country’s responsibilities. Similarly, Kennedy’s “Let every nation know...” resonates in Johnson’s ‘Let all the world know...’ Finally, Johnson invokes ‘the light of learning’ that will be permitted by the swift passing of ‘pending education bills’. This recalls the phrase Kennedy himself was scheduled to have delivered in Dallas.

Johnson’s speech further acknowledges Kennedy as a man of ‘ideas and ideals’ which his successor promises to ‘[translate] in to effective action’. He dedicates, as stated earlier in this chapter, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to his predecessor and reflexes his legislative muscle to push through the Voting Rights’ Act of 1965, of which Kennedy so keenly oversaw the rectitude of its course.

Kennedy becomes a springboard for Johnson to launch his own social reform agenda. However, the perceived efficacy in invoking his predecessor’s name – the

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<sup>1109</sup> Op. cit. p.333.

<sup>1110</sup> ‘Address to Joint Session of Congress’, November 27<sup>th</sup>, 1963, Presidential speeches: Lyndon B. Johnson Presidency, <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/november-27-1963-address-joint-session-congress> (19/01/2020).

‘Ethos’ precept – to precipitate and justify his own proposals, only burnishes Kennedy’s memory in contrast by the end of Johnson’s tenure. Publicly donning spectacles, as if openly admitting Presidential imperfection Chapter Three of this thesis interprets of such action, Johnson misappropriates his predecessor’s rhetoric to justify his actions in Vietnam. Further ‘sacrifice’ is aligned by him as the precise ‘burden’ being ‘asked of us.’<sup>1111</sup> He also appears to add to that hope of its publicly-inferred moral credence by prefacing his interpreted justification with paraphrased biblical invocation from St Luke’s gospel: ‘of those to whom much is given, much is asked.’<sup>1112</sup> His predecessor extracts the same verse but as President-elect in application only to himself.<sup>1113</sup> Finally, in one of the most dramatic dénouements in the history of Presidential speeches, Johnson explicitly invokes the memory of Kennedy and his tragic death in his self-proclaimed dedication to American unity, peace and progress: in his own act of self-sacrifice he withdraws from the divisive partisanship of the Presidential race so that:

‘... we might continue America on its course, binding up our wounds, healing our history, moving forward in new unity, to clear the American agenda and to keep the American commitment for all of our people.’<sup>1114</sup>

Richard Nixon’s invocation of Kennedy appears to be a more reactive assimilation. As stated in Chapter Two, his former political adversary is credited with the recommendation for Nixon to write his own book. Yet this seems to be where direct reference virtually ceases although this does not diminish perception of Kennedy as an ongoing target of disdain the new President’s Inauguration speech immediately revives. Echoes of Kennedy’s “United, there is little we cannot do...Divided, there is little we can do” is duly trounced by Nixon’s flatter demand to ‘surmount what divides us, cement what unites us.’<sup>1115</sup> To prove his apparent intolerance of the oratorical art

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<sup>1111</sup> March 31<sup>st</sup>, 1968: ‘Remarks on Decision not to Seek Re-election’, Presidential speeches: Lyndon B Johnson Presidency, <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/march-31-1968-remarks-decision-not-seek-re-election> (19/01/2020).

<sup>1112</sup> Luke 12:48

<sup>1113</sup> ‘City Upon A Hill’, op. cit. *Speeches*. Johnson states ‘asked’ as if demanded; Kennedy states “required” as a responsibility.

<sup>1114</sup> Op. cit. Johnson’s ‘Decision not to seek re-election’.

<sup>1115</sup> ‘First Inaugural Address’, January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1969, Presidential Speeches, President Richard M. Nixon Presidency, <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/january-20-1969-first-inaugural-address> (20/01/2020). An exception in JFK referencing can be found in Nixon’s ‘Address to the Nation on the War in Vietnam’, November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1969, in which Kennedy’s ‘characteristic eloquence and clarity’ is made to sound ironic when applied to the ensuing blunt statement Nixon repeats from him that seems intended to exonerate Nixon from personal blame in continuing that war effort. Indeed, there is little eloquence and rather too much clarity in quoting Kennedy’s implied self-

possible within such counterbalancing, Nixon next decries the nation's undeserved affliction from its recent 'fever of words', the 'inflated', 'angry' and 'bombastic' rhetoric – incidentally all clustered within the same line as if to emphasize his revulsion, and that would also seem difficult to apply against Johnson<sup>1116</sup> - 'that postures instead of persuading.' Such antipathy seems least veiled in his declaration that: 'I do not offer a life of uninspiring ease. I do not call for a life of grim sacrifice' that seems to impugn Kennedy's qualification of challenge to his nation both at Rice and to its Peace Corps' volunteers, and Nixon's immediate Presidential predecessors in their differing global service expectations.

It is therefore unsurprising that Kennedy should be entirely deleted from mention, much to Sabato's disgust, during the 1969 Moon landing, he regards as a missed opportunity by Nixon to establish 'a powerful symbol of national unity to denote a supreme human triumph'.<sup>1117</sup> It is perhaps only obliquely revived – as if tacitly acknowledging that Kennedy's ghost cannot fully be exorcised – in a 1972 statement *The New York Times* publishes from the President upon the successful completion of Apollo 17. Nixon here announces "that the hopes and needs that unite our people and all people are of greater consequence than the differences in philosophy that divide us."<sup>1118</sup> The merits of such an oratorically unadorned simulation of Kennedy's 1961 Inauguration assertion nonetheless remain questionable: thematic uplift is undermined by unpunctuated structure; a noble moment for humankind is diffused with hints of personal retaliation.

Such behaviour seems entirely consistent with the petulance and brooding that can be tracked back at least to the frustrated mystification the 1960 television debates with Kennedy in particular may have accentuated. During that campaign, Nixon believes he can woo black voters with advertisements that highlight his moral worthiness in contrast with paid spots Kennedy takes out that blend message with

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defeating commitment to supporting South Vietnam's "struggle to maintain its national independence", he seems to purloin from Kennedy's 'News Conference 58', July 17<sup>th</sup>, 1963, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-press-conferences/news-conference-58> (20/01/2020).

<sup>1116</sup> Johnson's resignation speech call for unity over division is rather more artless: '... I would ask all Americans, whatever their personal interest or concern, to guard against divisiveness and all its ugly consequences', op. cit. 'Not re-seeking election'.

<sup>1117</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.311. Sabato goes further claiming Nixon only to revive memory of Kennedy in association with Vietnam and Watergate. Footnote 1114 supports this.

<sup>1118</sup> 'Nixon Statement on Apollo 17's Return', *The New York Times*, December 19<sup>th</sup>, 1972, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1972/12/20/79484386.html?pageNumber=30>

celebrities from its community. Yet all substance, no style is unappealing for the new medium of television, with few viewers engaged by someone ‘sitting on a desk and lecturing his audience on matters of policy...’<sup>1119</sup> Even after his live debate performances, Nixon remains fixated by a didactic-lecturing mode of messaging rather than adapting styles of political communication to the new medium: it could serve him better apparently if ‘[the debates] were limited to specific subjects...and if the time allowed for discussion were two hours.’<sup>1120</sup> It is only after he is out of office that Nixon reflects upon the wisdom of his campaign’s content’s structural balance: ‘...I spent too much time on substance and too little time on appearance: I paid too much attention to what I was going to say and too little to how I would look.’<sup>1121</sup>

Yet even when he tries to imitate the successful blending example he infers necessary from the unspoken object of his irritation, the result only accentuates his deficiency. Both Johnson and Nixon try to embrace the visual Kennedy style, with Johnson donning a two-button suit for *Gentleman’s Quarterly* magazine that recalls a similar pose Kennedy adopts for the same magazine in March 1962.<sup>1122</sup> Hogan likewise draws attention to Nixon’s attempt at sartorial nonchalance before the camera, ‘walking thoughtfully along the California coastline, trying to look like a contemplative Kennedy strolling along his Hyannis Port beachfront.’<sup>1123</sup> Unfortunately, as Hogan points out, Kennedy would never have worn ‘a dark suit, tie, and wingtips’ to do it. Nixon’s relentless seriousness, latterly informed by pique, engenders audience disengagement and ultimately political isolation.

Gerald Ford’s more open embracing of Kennedy as a Presidential measure - that also exposes his own shortfall by comparison - is immediately suggested by his ‘little straight talk among friends’<sup>1124</sup> in lieu of an Inaugural address especially as, speaking of his unexpected Presidential promotion, ‘I have not sought this enormous responsibility, but I will not shirk it.’ It seems conversely reminiscent of Kennedy’s

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<sup>1119</sup> Op. cit. Bodroghkozy p.191.

<sup>1120</sup> Op. cit. Nixon p.357.

<sup>1121</sup> Ibid. p.423.

<sup>1122</sup> *Gentlemen’s Quarterly*, <https://condenaststore.com/featured/a-gq-cover-of-president-john-f-kennedy-david-drew-zingg.html> and <https://condenaststore.com/featured/gq-cover-of-president-lyndon-b-johnson-leonard-nones.html> (20/01/2020). It may be sheer coincidence but the photos were also taken exactly four years apart on March 1<sup>st</sup>, making the mis-emulation seem even more acute.

<sup>1123</sup> Op. cit. Hogan p.193.

<sup>1124</sup> ‘Gerald R. Ford’s Remarks Upon Taking the Oath of Office as President’, August 9<sup>th</sup>, 1974, <https://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/speeches/740001.asp> (21/12/2019).

Inaugural vow: “I do not shrink from this responsibility – I welcome it.” Such standard-clambering persists into Ford’s 1976 campaign advertisement<sup>1125</sup> in which the President is to be seen acknowledging Texans in an open-top motorcade through a now apparently morally-cleansed Dallas – thus emblematic of the nation as a whole. Unfortunately, the scene is prefaced by what sounds like a gunshot from the crowd during a preceding podium address. It is as if Zapruder’s film has been remade for a redemptive ending. The advertisement is withdrawn unaired as distasteful.

The misfiring Kennedy invocations continue in Ford’s similar utilization of JFK’s live TV example as the template against which to improve his own television debating performance. In preparation for his contest with Carter, Sabato notes that Ford consults ‘the 1960 tapes for tips to use’,<sup>1126</sup> Hugh Sidey suggesting its necessity given Ford’s own admission ““that I am no great orator””<sup>1127</sup> – which he immediately proves with the follow-up ““or no person that got where I have gotten”” – prior to the President’s 1976 State of the Union address that is infused by ‘ranks of square, gray [sic] sentences marching by.’ While less successful in applying the tapes’ delivery lessons, Ford does eventually seem to earn Kennedy’s retrospective blessing with his receipt in 2001 of a Profile in Courage Award for his public pardoning of Nixon. Ford’s acceptance speech appears to induce much improved eloquence reminiscent of Kennedy himself, to whom it is dedicated, as well as Ford’s own seeming qualification for inclusion in the book after which his award takes its name: ‘...In the age-old contest between popularity and principle, only those willing to lose for their convictions are deserving of posterity’s approval.’<sup>1128</sup>

Jimmy Carter applies Kennedy’s debating-tape tips only slightly more successfully. In *Time*’s coverage of 1976’s July Democratic National Convention, the impression conveyed is that any edge will be essential in order to restore personality to the forthcoming Presidential contests which only Jackie Kennedy Onassis’ ‘mere entrance into a prominent box [with]...her stylish sister...and well-groomed friends’ currently provides. The contrast is further sharpened in their assumption of seats next

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<sup>1125</sup> ‘Never Aired Ford 1976 Campaign ad’, Ford Presidential Library, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8mLEkcrHvQ> (21/01/19).

<sup>1126</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.325.

<sup>1127</sup> Hugh Sidey, ‘The Presidency: Beyond the Facts & Figures’, *Time*, 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1976, p.23.

<sup>1128</sup> ‘Acceptance speech by Gerald Ford’, May 21<sup>st</sup>, 2001, JFK-Library, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/events-and-awards/profile-in-courage-award/award-recipients/president-gerald-ford-2001> (21/12/2019).

to the ‘plain...Carter sons...symbolic of a future, very different social scene in Washington.’<sup>1129</sup> Three months later, in the first set of televised debates for 16 years – a measure perhaps of Kennedy’s unmatched performance – *Time* reports the twice-urging by one of Carter’s advisors, of ‘Style over substance’<sup>1130</sup> in order to redress what is similarly anticipated to be Carter’s own Nixon-esque recitation of worthy detail before a President of similar televisual charisma. Indeed, the reporter claims the Democratic nominee to oblige: as Carter ‘warmed to his subject, he relaxed, smiled at his opponent’s exaggerations and showed flashes of spontaneity and an eloquence...’<sup>1131</sup> Ford, on the other hand, reminiscent of Nixon’s own posture, is described as having ‘gripped the podium tightly, his features uncustomarily taut’. Unfortunately, neither ultimately captivates their television audience’s full attention: even a 27-minute breakdown in transmission fails to restore viewing figures within New York City alone to above 54.2 per cent.<sup>1132</sup>

Twice invoking Kennedy in his eventual nomination,<sup>1133</sup> one of President Carter’s first requests is for the reinstatement of The Resolute desk, as the current model is ‘not the same one which had been photographed when John Kennedy was there, with his little son peeping out from the door underneath.’<sup>1134</sup> Carter also names Kennedy as one of his predecessors that ‘had chosen wisely’ in his selection of a ‘political family’.<sup>1135</sup> As President, Carter is invited to open the JFK-Library in 1979, deferring to the personal ‘relevance’ of Kennedy’s own ‘wit and...wisdom’<sup>1136</sup> by defensively invoking verbatim his 1962 press conference responses explicating the trials of Presidential office.

In Carter’s ‘Energy and National Goals: Address to the Nation’ later in 1979, Kennedy’s oratory echoes in Carter’s own invocations that implicate his own

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<sup>1129</sup> ‘A Happy Garden Party’, *Time*, 26<sup>th</sup> July, 1976 p.33.

<sup>1130</sup> ‘When Their Power Failed’, *Time*, October 4<sup>th</sup>, 1976, p.22.

<sup>1131</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1132</sup> *Ibid.* p.20 Nielsen survey.

<sup>1133</sup> First in opening invocation of Kennedy’s own, similar gratitude and wholehearted commitment; second as one of the Democratic Party’s recent great Presidents: ‘a brave young President who called the young at heart, regardless of age, to seek a “New Frontier” of national greatness...’, 1976 Democratic National Convention Acceptance Address, *American Rhetoric*, <https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/jimmycarter1976dnc.htm> (22/01/2020).

<sup>1134</sup> *Op. cit.* Carter p.24.

<sup>1135</sup> *Ibid.* p.41.

<sup>1136</sup> ‘Kennedy Library Dedication Remarks by Pres. Carter, Sen. Kennedy, And Joseph P. Kennedy II’, October 20<sup>th</sup>, 1979, JFK-Library, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/about-us/kennedy-library-fast-facts/dedication-remarks> (22/12/2019).

shortcoming by comparison. Fearing indolence and selfish indifference, Kennedy requests in his Inauguration speech for people to rediscover personal purpose in asking what they can do for their country; Carter confirms that the current energy crisis has sapped more than just the country's fuel supplies, in its 'loss of a unity and purpose for our nation.'<sup>1137</sup> Further detectible are Kennedy paraphrases: in Dallas, Kennedy was to have expressed his fears that capitulation against opposing ideologies would result in freedom being lost by "ballots as well as bullets"; Carter cites the Kennedy assassinations as embodying a loss of faith in what was once the 'nation of the ballot, not the bullet'. Carter's audience is likewise informed that its course along a seven-times' referenced 'path' will require 'sacrifice', as 'I do not promise that this struggle for freedom will be easy.' The oratory is neither uplifting nor galvanizing, its Kennedy echoes hollow when expressed as blame and desperation rather than motivating insistence. Passion from Carter is perhaps otherwise only exemplified, as a rhetorical theme, in his long-running insistence upon his nation of immigrants as 'a beautiful mosaic'<sup>1138</sup> over Kennedy's similarly unwavering "melting pot" conviction Carter actually rejects. A mosaic exhibits busy, uneven co-existence rather than integration: a visual 'picture'<sup>1139</sup> of permanent differences rather than harmonious blend. While asserted by Carter as no less diminished in its ensuing strength, the dispiriting inference Carter validates – and particularly unfortunate given its articulation at a dinner in Kennedy's name - is of Kennedy's celebrated US diversity as enduring fragmentariness. Carter's intended embellishment to Kennedy's metaphor backfires.

More skilfully upbeat in blending words for public delivery – many of which, including reversion to the "melting pot" analogy,<sup>1140</sup> are purloined from Kennedy's own rhetoric - is Ronald Reagan: an actor applying his skills to the role of politician just as Kennedy the politician assimilates much of the repertoire of the actor. In 1967 as Governor of California, Reagan's intense preparations for his own debate against

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<sup>1137</sup> 'Energy and National Goals: Address to the Nation, July 15<sup>th</sup>, 1979, <https://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/assets/documents/speeches/energy-crisis.phtml> (28/12/2019).

<sup>1138</sup> Starting in 1976 Kennedy-Lawrence Pittsburgh dinner (e-transcript for example on *The Presidential Campaign, 1976: Jimmy Carter*), and 'Columbus Day Proclamation Signing' draft September 27<sup>th</sup>, 1977,

[https://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/digital\\_library/sso/148878/44/SSO\\_148878\\_044\\_02.pdf](https://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/digital_library/sso/148878/44/SSO_148878_044_02.pdf) p.15. (29/12/2019).

<sup>1139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1140</sup> 'Radio Address to the Nation on Education', March 12<sup>th</sup> 1983, <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/31283a> (30/12/2019).



Robert is claimed by Sabato to be reminiscent of the homework Kennedy's team puts into his own televised debates with Nixon: 'Reagan took the confrontation seriously, commissioning a lengthy memo from his staff and rehearsing with aides a day before the event.'<sup>1141</sup> Robert is duly humiliated in the encounter, just as Edward years later verbally "stumbles"<sup>1142</sup> before the cameras when trying to articulate his own Presidential aspirations.

Such triumph over a Kennedy, however, does not diminish Reagan's continuing positive JFK invocations. Reagan's 'Election Eve' address thrice invokes Kennedy's own 'City upon a Hill' reference<sup>1143</sup> in which the 1961 President-Elect describes the *Arabella's* depositing of Puritan pilgrim John Winthrop upon Boston's shores to set up the first US community. Kennedy anticipates his own administration to attract similar scrutiny, its establishment being one that will not be judged by history entirely "on the basis of color [sic] or creed".<sup>1144</sup> Reagan likewise cites Winthrop's proclamation which Kennedy himself quoted, that 'the eyes of all people are upon us' as Reagan proffers his own template for government that similarly – in sharp public distinction to his telephone sentiments cited previously as Governor – will not be premised upon 'white or black, red or yellow...'

Reagan never disavows Kennedy's legacy, and even if it is not intentional, recreates the Hollywood 'star appeal' of the White House that Kennedy consciously initiates. This aura is immediately conveyed by his appointment, just as with Kennedy, of Frank Sinatra as chairman of the Inaugural ball committee. Kennedy appropriation, despite its opposing political tenor,<sup>1145</sup> resumes in the Inauguration speech itself with Reagan's demand for Americans to 'bear the burden',<sup>1146</sup> this time of personal governance prior to national administrative reform. He similarly pledges that the US will 'pay that price' to maintain its freedom just as that 'price...has been paid' already

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<sup>1141</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.340.

<sup>1142</sup> 'Tv Recalls the Kennedy Years', *The New York Times*, November 6<sup>th</sup>, 1983  
<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1983/11/06/011895.html?pageNumber=333>. The article refers to Edward's 1979 interview with CBS' Roger Mudd.

<sup>1143</sup> 'Election Eve Address: A Vision for America', November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1980,  
<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/11-3-80>

<sup>1144</sup> 'City Upon a Hill', op. cit. *Speeches* p.14.

<sup>1145</sup> See Sabato p.338 of Reagan's 1960 letter to Nixon in which JFK's 'big government' seems to be anticipated, later to be accentuated, as exposed herein, through the *News*' West articles in particular.

<sup>1146</sup> Inaugural Address, January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1981, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum,  
<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/inaugural-address-january-20-1981> (02/01/2020).

by those now at rest in Arlington following overseas deployments, so affirming Kennedy's reference to "the graves of young Americans...who...surround the globe" that similarly adhered fully to the preservation of national liberty. Finally, 'To our neighbors [sic] and allies' with whom common bonds are shared, Reagan provides assurances of 'support and firm commitment.' This recalls Kennedy's "To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends", both Presidents claiming defiance, respectively, against "those who would make themselves our adversary" or 'enemies of freedom [including] those who are potential adversaries'.

The glamour continues aesthetically with Nancy Reagan's own extensive White House refurbishments as well as ensuing public validation of them. Part of Reagan's own cosmetic addition to the Oval Office's furniture is retention of The Resolute desk, a Kennedy association that is swiftly consolidated by Hogan's assertion, throughout Reagan's Presidency, of his greater quoting of and from JFK 'more than any of his predecessors'<sup>1147</sup> Sabato separately numbers as '133 occasions'.<sup>1148</sup> One of the most conspicuous examples occurs upon Reagan's own visits to Berlin. In 1982 before the Charlottenburg Palace, Reagan invokes Kennedy's 'stirring words'<sup>1149</sup> of solidarity to West Berliners, declaring likewise that 'We in America and the West are still Berliners...and always will be.' In 1987, in his address before the Brandenburg Gate, Reagan again invokes Kennedy twice by name, the similarities overtly resuming – beyond, that is, his own repeat attempts at German – in his insistence extended to non-global Berliners<sup>1150</sup> that Mr Gorbachev not only 'come to Berlin',<sup>1151</sup> as Kennedy previously implores of the Soviets, but to 'Come here to this gate!'<sup>1152</sup> and 'tear down this wall!', the personalized prefacing with Kennedy effectively confirming him as instigator of this process should it ever happen.

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<sup>1147</sup> Op. cit. Hogan p.194.

<sup>1148</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.348.

<sup>1149</sup> 'Remarks to the People of Berlin', June 11<sup>th</sup>, 1982, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum, <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/61182b> (3/01/2020).

<sup>1150</sup> Reception of this address was physically extended to those citizens the other side of the wall yet to be embraced by Reagan's and recalls Kennedy's similar kinship claims: 'Every man is a German...Every man is a Berliner, forced to look upon a scar', from 'Remarks on East -West Relations at the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin', June 12<sup>th</sup>, 1987, The Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum, <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/061287d> (3/01/2020).

<sup>1151</sup> 'Ich Bin Ein Berliner', op. cit. *Speeches*, p.277-8.

<sup>1152</sup> Op. cit. 'Remarks', June 12<sup>th</sup>, 1987. Reagan apparently likewise inhibited his advisors by retaining the feared-inflammatory 'tear down this wall!' just as Kennedy alarmed his own aides through similar

On the domestic front, despite voting ‘for the other fellow’<sup>1153</sup> Reagan maintains strong ties with the Kennedy family. He hosts Rose Kennedy’s first return to the White House since her son’s occupation of it. He also pledges his own family’s support to the ‘full endowment’ of the JFK-Library, describing the passing of the ‘bright, young president’ as a ‘comet [that] disappeared over the continent’. In the same year, Eunice Kennedy is also invited to the White House to receive the Medal of Freedom in honour of her ongoing mental health work, four years after Reagan makes an award to her sister-in-law Ethel on behalf of Robert, that was ‘voted in by Cong. in 1978’ but for some reason ‘the former Pres. never presented it.’<sup>1154</sup> The Peace Corps is similarly respected, Reagan in 1983 describing its ‘spirit of voluntarism’ as ‘a deep and mighty river throughout our own country’<sup>1155</sup> that suggests its continuing healthy feed from Kennedy’s identification at its outset of his nation’s “immense reservoir”<sup>1156</sup> of altruistic zeal. On the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of JFK’s death, Reagan attends a Memorial Mass in which he greets six members from the attending Kennedy family.<sup>1157</sup> Consultation of Reagan’s own diary entries for his time in office also reveals at least 20 visits<sup>1158</sup> to the Kennedy Center to make presentations and attend concerts, including performances from many celebrities Kennedy himself entertained at the White House, that vindicate both Kennedy’s perceptive overtures towards attracting and advertising national talent as well as the endurance of the site’s cultural primacy.

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extemporizing. See *Wall Street Journal*, ‘Four Little Words’, by Anthony Dolan of November 8th, 2009, for confirmation of run-up disputes over Reagan’s line between his speechwriters, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748704795604574522163362062796> (3/01/2020).

<sup>1153</sup> ‘1985 Tribute by President Reagan’, June 24<sup>th</sup>, 1985, JFK-Library, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/about-us/about-the-jfk-library/history/1985-tribute-by-president-reagan> (03/02/2020).

<sup>1154</sup> Reagan’s own diary entry of June 5<sup>th</sup>, 1981, Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation & Institute, <https://www.reaganfoundation.org/ronald-reagan/white-house-diaries/diary-entry-06051981/> (06/02/2020).

<sup>1155</sup> ‘Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Peace Corps Awards’, April 18<sup>th</sup>, 1983, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum, <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/41883c> (06/02/2020).

<sup>1156</sup> ‘Establishment of the Peace Corps’, op. cit. *Speeches* p.39.

<sup>1157</sup> Nixon, as President, does not attend any 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary service commemorating JFK’s death, his official diary entry for the 22<sup>nd</sup> recording Thanksgiving Dinner attendance followed by *The Snows of Kilimanjaro*, Richard Nixon Presidential Library, Daily Diary, p.43, <https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/sites/default/files/virtuallibrary/documents/PDD/1973/112%20November%2016-30%201973.pdf> (03/04/2020).

<sup>1158</sup> Counted from Reagan’s own White House Diary entry references.

Ten years later this venue is still being hailed by a US President as ‘one of our country’s greatest artistic institutions’.<sup>1159</sup>

Reagan quotes from Kennedy’s ‘City upon a Hill’ theme in his 1989 ‘Farewell Address to the Nation’, by which time for him his country has become that city, a repeated ‘beacon’<sup>1160</sup> to those still ‘hurtling through the darkness’, that recalls Kennedy’s own penchant for simple metaphors of light to convey moral contrast. A week later, at the Presidential Medal of Freedom presentation, Kennedy again resonates in Reagan’s consolidating reference to ‘each wave of new arrivals to this land of opportunity...a nation forever young, forever bursting with energy and new ideas...always leading the world to the next frontier.’<sup>1161</sup> Republicans may continue to laud Reagan as their political icon but this would seem to overlook his own considerable deference to its inspiration for him.

Kennedy pretenders to Reagan’s political throne in 1984 include the young and new figure of Gary Hart, with what Sabato describes as his ‘Kennedy hair’<sup>1162</sup> who purports to have attended all of Kennedy’s campaigns and as a candidate even “employ[ed] Kennedyesque speech patterns and mannerisms”<sup>1163</sup> Sabato notes to include thrusting his hands into his pockets. In 1988 Michael Dukakis challenges George H. W. Bush for the Presidency by invoking his Kennedy associations that include a shared Bay State birthplace and the choice of Texan Senator Lloyd Bentsen as his running-mate that is hoped to emulate the success of a similar North-South partnership in 1960.

However, it is Reagan’s Vice President that achieves victory over Dukakis, an Inaugural ball for the new President taking place at the Kennedy Center, his

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<sup>1159</sup> ‘Appointment for the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1993, Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: William J. Clinton, Government Publishing Office, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-1993-book2/html/PPP-1993-book2-doc-pg2139-2.htm> (15/02/2020).

<sup>1160</sup> January 11<sup>th</sup>, 1989, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum, <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/011189i> (07/02/2020). This metaphor is recalled from Reagan’s Inaugural address.

<sup>1161</sup> ‘Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Presidential Medal of Freedom’, January 19<sup>th</sup>, 1989, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum, <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/011989b> (07/02/2020).

<sup>1162</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.357.

<sup>1163</sup> ‘The Kennedy Complex’, *The New York Times*, September 27<sup>th</sup>, 1987, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1987/09/27/130187.html?pageNumber=184> (07/02/2020).

predecessor later affirmed here by Bush as ‘valu[ing] the art [sic] as much as business or science or politics’<sup>1164</sup> that precisely recalls the equal primacy Kennedy’s Inaugural address accords to “arts and commerce”. Yet it is Bentsen who seems to win the debate with his own opposite number in their one televised encounter. Dan Quayle attempts to deflect questions about his youth and political inexperience by immediately invoking Kennedy’s 14 years of Congressional service with his own of similar duration. This moment is also reminiscent of Kennedy’s retort to similar questioning during his own 1960 debate in which he defends his experience by citing his shared 1946 Congress commencement with Nixon and their aforementioned time together in the Labor Committee.<sup>1165</sup> Unfortunately, Quayle’s self-comparison misfires leaving him, according to Sabato, as ‘the second Republican after Richard Nixon, whom John Kennedy defeated in a nationally televised debate.’<sup>1166</sup> Nonetheless, President Bush confers upon Quayle, as Kennedy did with Johnson, ‘Space’ responsibilities as Chairman of its national council, in which Bush also posits the possibility of a man landing on Mars that recalls Kennedy’s similar enthusiasm to surpass even the Moon as frontier.<sup>1167</sup>

In July 1989, Bush awards the Kennedy-re-instigated<sup>1168</sup> Presidential Medal of Freedom to Douglas Dillon, JFK’s Secretary of the Treasury, in which Bush lauds as ‘revolutionary’ the Kennedy administration’s ‘lower taxes and policies that worked...’<sup>1169</sup> In 2014, the JFK-Library returns the compliment, awarding to one half of a possibly less-expected US political family dynasty, its Profile in Courage award for Bush’s bi-partisan budget agreement which reneged upon his ‘No new taxes campaign pledge’<sup>1170</sup> that effectively cost him re-election. Obligated to tackle the US deficit with spending cuts and increased taxes, the award recognizes both Bush’s

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<sup>1164</sup> ‘Remarks at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts Musicales [sic] Reception’, April 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1991, George H. W. Bush Presidential Library & Museum, <https://bush41library.tamu.edu/archives/public-papers/2907> (08/02/2020).

<sup>1165</sup> Op. cit. September 26<sup>th</sup>, 1960, their first joint tv-radio broadcast.

<sup>1166</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.367.

<sup>1167</sup> First ‘State of the Union’ address, Mars to be probed alongside Venus, op. cit. *Speeches* p.32.

<sup>1168</sup> Kennedy amended award to include distinguished civilian service in peace time. Kennedy himself is a posthumous recipient in 1964.

<sup>1169</sup> ‘Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Presidential Medal of Freedom’, July 6<sup>th</sup>, 1989, George H. W. Bush Presidential Library & Museum, <https://bush41library.tamu.edu/archives/public-papers/636> (08/02/2020).

<sup>1170</sup> ‘Read my lips: no new taxes’ e.g. NBC News ‘1988 Flashback: George H. W. Bush’, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AdVSqSNHhVo> (10/02/2020).

personal sacrifice and the Board's perception of his greater unsung role in re-establishing national economic growth for the 1990s.<sup>1171</sup>

In 1992, Bush signs into law the 'John F. Kennedy Assassination Records Collection Act' in which 'all documents about the assassination should now be disclosed.'<sup>1172</sup> In his conclusion, Kennedy's positive impact upon his nation is conveyed by Bush as persisting, with the President's own hope that this new legislation 'will assist in healing the wounds inflicted on our Nation almost 3 decades ago.'

President Clinton's contribution to this curative process seems reflected by his own prolific – often adulatory – invocation of Kennedy's name '602 times – more than any of Kennedy's nine successors.'<sup>1173</sup> Kennedy's iconic regard is compounded by Clinton's continued close association with the remaining members of the Kennedy family. It persists throughout his Presidency, starting prior to it with their invitation to the Democratic Nomination Convention in which Clinton's pitch is delivered against a large backdrop showing him as a teenager shaking hands with Kennedy, as the President meets American Legion Boys Nation delegates in the Rose Garden in 1963. The illocutionary symbolism is obvious: a metaphorical torch is being passed from the heroic Kennedy to the youth who was destined to follow in his steps.

The day before his own Inauguration, continuing reverence is suggested by Clinton's private visit to Kennedy's grave. At the ceremony itself, the overtures persist with Maya Angelou being invited to participate as the first poet to do so since Robert Frost provided his own verse for the occasion upon Kennedy's request. Echoes of Kennedy's address are likewise literally to be heard in Clinton's Inaugural speech, especially concerning rectification of the national budget deficit: 'It will not be easy. It will require sacrifice'.<sup>1174</sup> Further identifiable is the counterbalancing in Clinton's repeating of Kennedy's "let us begin anew" to insist upon restoration of his nation's ideals. America needs to 'offer more opportunity to all and demand more responsibility

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<sup>1171</sup> '...he did what he thought was best for the country', George H. W. Bush Acceptance Speech background, 2014, JFK-Library, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/events-and-awards/profile-in-courage-award/award-recipients/george-hw-bush-2014> (09/02/2020).

<sup>1172</sup> 'Statement on Signing the President John F. Kennedy Assassination Records Collection Act of 1992', October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1992, George H. W. Bush Presidential Library & Museum, <https://bush41library.tamu.edu/archives/public-papers/5015> (10/02/2020).

<sup>1173</sup> Op. cit. p.431 and unsurpassed at the time of writing.

<sup>1174</sup> 'Inaugural Address', January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1993, Public Papers of the President of the United States: William J. Clinton, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-1993-book1/html/PPP-1993-book1-doc-pg1.htm> (21/02/2020).

from all’ in which the openness of ‘offer’ is pitted against the closure of ‘demand’. Unconfined ‘opportunity’ is reciprocally linked with the obligation of ‘responsibility’, the ‘to’ and ‘of’ preceding ‘all’ enhancing the promise of mutual benefit. Clinton then makes a Peace Corps-type challenge that calls ‘young Americans to a season of service’. The address reaches its Kennedy-reminiscent apogee through a culminating course of similarly anaphoric ‘Let us...’ appeals, to Clinton’s concluding ‘And so, my fellow Americans...’ in which the anticipated request revived by such a citation is likewise to be fulfilled by ‘a call to service’ that ‘we must answer’, so consolidating the “trumpet summons”<sup>1175</sup> Clinton has ‘heard’<sup>1176</sup> Kennedy sound.

In office, Clinton likewise chooses The Resolute desk as his centrepiece Oval Office furniture. He also appoints Kennedy’s sister Jean Kennedy Smith as the US ambassador to Ireland, her role in the peace process even prompting Sinn Fein’s Gerry Adams into admired recollection of Kennedy’s maintenance of church and state separation, ‘an important dimension...that could be fully duplicated here in Ireland, with the need to protect civil and religious liberties, but at the same time to ensure that politics and religion are not mixed.’<sup>1177</sup>

In October 1993, Clinton presides over the re-dedication of the JFK-Library in which he asserts the 35<sup>th</sup> President’s legacy to endure ‘in the new frontier we still explore.’<sup>1178</sup> Continuing to connect himself personally to it, the President proceeds to describe its ‘seamless’ thread – now being pulled along by the first graduate of a Catholic university to reach Presidential office – as being strengthened by Ted Kennedy’s religious freedom restoration act passed only that week in the Senate, which Clinton immediately links to JFK’s own Houston appeal for religious tolerance. Likewise tightened is his reference to Kennedy’s promotion of basic civil rights, which Clinton connects to his own recent ‘Motor Voter’ Act designed to improve and maintain voter registration nationwide. Kennedy’s immigrant-unifying hope is also celebrated in Clinton’s declaration that ‘we now have...the most racially diverse administration in the history of the United States.’ Clinton further asserts his faith in

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<sup>1175</sup> Kennedy Inaugural address: “Now the trumpet summons us again”

<sup>1176</sup> Clinton Inaugural address: ‘We have heard the trumpets.’

<sup>1177</sup> Op. cit. Maier p.382.

<sup>1178</sup> ‘Remarks of the Dedication of the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library Museum in Boston, Massachusetts’, October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1993, op. cit. Public Papers, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-1993-book2/html/PPP-1993-book2-doc-pg1857.htm> (11/3/2020).

Kennedy's aspirational visions – described the following year by him as both 'historic' and the propelling fire sparking human imagination<sup>1179</sup> - to be evidenced by Clinton's continued commitment 'even in difficult economic times, to explore the outer reaches of our universe' by supporting the International Space Station. Clinton's oration culminates with a shared espousing of Kennedy's conveyed benign national primacy: 'He believed that billions of lives depend upon our leadership and our ideals... That is why his picture still hangs in houses not only in the Irish wards of Boston and Chicago but also in villages and towns from Africa to Latin America.' This recalls Kennedy's Inaugural reference to the "huts and villages of half the globe" and achieves complementation with similar invocation, five and four times respectively across three paragraphs, of Kennedy's anaphoric "Let us" implorings.

In the same year – and compounded in theme and words<sup>1180</sup> by his signing of the National and Community Service Trust Act – Clinton responds to Kennedy's own call to public service by establishing his similar sounding 'Americorps' programme he later reiterates as giving: 'young people a chance to serve their country here at home...'<sup>1181</sup> Indeed, the Kennedy echo extends beyond its title into 1999's Americorps' address in Maryland. Here Clinton constructs his own division-and-unity aphorism that is reminiscent of Kennedy's double negative-positive – 'do-do not, do not-do' – counterbalancing of instruction:

'Where we do not ask people to check their differences at the door, but we do ask them to reaffirm our common humanity. We do not ask for a handout, but we do ask for a hand up for everyone who needs it...'<sup>1182</sup>

The internal weight of each clause is likewise evenly distributed with the doubt implied by the need 'to check' being righted by the insistence 'to reaffirm'; 'handout' implies un-channelled giveaway that is offset by 'hand up' to assist eventual self-sufficiency.

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<sup>1179</sup> 'National Apollo Anniversary Observance', July 19<sup>th</sup>, 1994, op. cit. Public Papers, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/WCPD-1994-07-25/html/WCPD-1994-07-25-Pg1523-2.htm> (11/3/2020).

<sup>1180</sup> Interpolating Kennedy's parlance with: 'not a series of promises but a series of challenges...', 'Remarks on Signing the National and Community Service Trust Act of 1993', September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1993, op. cit. Public Papers, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-1993-book2/html/PPP-1993-book2-doc-pg1543-2.htm> (12/03/2020).

<sup>1181</sup> 'Remarks on the 35<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Peace Corps', June 19<sup>th</sup>, 1996, op. cit. Public Papers, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-1996-book1/html/PPP-1996-book1-doc-pg930.htm> (12/03/2020).

<sup>1182</sup> 'Remarks at the "AmeriCorps" call to service, in College Park, Maryland', February 10<sup>th</sup>, 1999, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-1999-book1/html/PPP-1999-book1-doc-pg185.htm> (12/03/2020).



The source of its rhetorical inspiration is soon confirmed by overt reference to Kennedy's specific request for "remote villages" in Africa, Asia and South America to benefit from the Peace Corps' mission that links, as stated, with Clinton's Inaugural reference affirming the physical extent of Kennedy's aspiration for the programme.

The connection is formally – and literally – drawn between the two Presidents and these initiatives, with '...Sargent Shriver, [being] on hand [to lend] Clinton one of the pens Kennedy had used to sign the Peace Corps bill in 1961.'<sup>1183</sup> Shriver and his wife Eunice, are further thanked later 'for everything you have done for America and the world' upon the 35<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the programme Shriver formerly headed, as well as Civil Rights' aide to Kennedy, latterly serving the Peace Corps himself, Harris Wofford. In front of today's volunteers, Clinton describes the inevitable anticipation amongst young Americans that was engendered by the Peace Corps' inception:

'Wearing their Sunday best, they waited excitedly to meet President Kennedy...More than half of them were preparing to leave for Ghana, about to launch one of the greatest experiments in service to humanity in all human history.'<sup>1184</sup>

The President also honours the memory of Vice President Gore's sister, Nancy, who was one of the 'Thousands of young people [who] answered the call to serve at the vanguard of the New Frontier.' Clinton asserts therefore 'The Peace Corps [to symbolize] everything that inspired my generation to service.'<sup>1185</sup> He later recalls that his own brother-in-law Hugh served a year-long Peace Corps posting in Colombia.<sup>1186</sup>

Having himself answered Kennedy's call to the nation's youth to serve by becoming a member of the Boys' Nation group, as President he invokes that meeting's personal impact to members of the American Legion Boys' Nation:

'I sat where you are 31 years ago, and Senator Kennedy's brother was here as President. Ironically, Senator Kennedy pulled out the record of what President Kennedy said to us when I was here where you are...'<sup>1187</sup>

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<sup>1183</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.382. See Clinton's 'Remarks on Signing the National and Community Service Trust Act of 1993', September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1993, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-1993-book2/pdf/PPP-1993-book2-doc-pg1543-2.pdf> (12/03/2020).

<sup>1184</sup> Op. cit. 'Remarks on 35<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Peace Corps'.

<sup>1185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1186</sup> Op. cit. 'Remarks at the AmeriCorps call to service'.

<sup>1187</sup> 'Remarks to the American Legion Boys Nation', July 29<sup>th</sup>, 1994, op. cit. Public Papers <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-1994-book1/html/PPP-1994-book1-doc-pg1335.htm> (12/03/2020).

Clinton wants the boys to hear and be inspired by John Kennedy directly just as he was. Clinton is even more animated by the memory four years later:

‘It was exactly 35 years ago on this day, July 24, 1963 that President Kennedy spoke to us right here in the Rose Garden about our future. He made us believe that together we could change the world.’<sup>1188</sup>

He wants those boys to be suffused by the light of the torch passed to him that day. Recalling his own sense of exhilarating courage and uplift as a Southern delegate from racially-divided Arkansas: ‘...President Kennedy complimented us for supporting civil rights’ legislation which our Nation’s Governors had declined to do.’

One final example of enduring Kennedy ascription in both name, theme and perhaps personal fulfilment is provided in Clinton’s own American University address, 34 years after ‘...President Kennedy delivered what many people believe was his greatest speech.’<sup>1189</sup> In it Kennedy, calling for peace, suggests that at the very least “we can help make the world safe for diversity.”<sup>1190</sup> Clinton claims – again consistent with identification of his personal aspiration to fulfil Kennedy’s ‘challenges’<sup>1191</sup> - that ‘we are now living in a world John Kennedy imagined 34 years ago at American University’. He justifies this assertion through commendation of the institution’s ‘140 different racial and ethnic groups here...’ To Clinton it is endemic of the ideal upon which the US was founded and for which Kennedy specifically celebrates, declaring as a result that: ‘This diversity of ours is a godsend.’ As Kennedy encouraged his audience to look beyond the Cold War age, so Clinton invites those now before him to forge their own positive vision to carry into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

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<sup>1188</sup> Remarks to the American Legion Boys Nation, July 24<sup>th</sup>, 1998, op. cit. Public Paper <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-1998-book2/html/PPP-1998-book2-doc-pg1313-2.htm>

<sup>1189</sup> Remarks at the American University, September 9<sup>th</sup>, 1997, op. cit. Public Papers <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-1997-book2/html/PPP-1997-book2-doc-pg1136.htm> (10/03/2020).

<sup>1190</sup> ‘American University Commencement’, op. cit. *Speeches* p.267.

<sup>1191</sup> The word ‘challenge’ is much repeated by Clinton from Kennedy. See for example ‘Remarks to Democratic Members of the House of Representatives’, July 20<sup>th</sup>, 1993, in which Kennedy’s Moon speech is wrested by Clinton into a defence of his strategies to the reduce the budget deficit: ‘remember the challenge John Kennedy laid down in deciding to go to the Moon’, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-1993-book1/html/PPP-1993-book1-doc-pg1117-2.htm> (10/03/2020). Kennedy is used to justify Clinton’s goals while being unashamedly validated in the process. The ‘Urban League’ address, of August 4<sup>th</sup> 1993, similarly demonstrates fulfilment of the “God’s work must truly be our own” challenge mantra Clinton above and regularly cites (further examples in 1993 alone: ‘Remarks at the American Ireland Fund Dinner’; ‘Remarks at the National Prayer Breakfast’) that hails from JFK’s Inaugural address.

During Clinton's tenure therefore, Kennedy remains a personal source of inspiration revived overtly by acts in continuing dedication to him. As Sabato notes, Clinton delivers a commemorative speech upon the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Robert's death; a quarter-century celebration of the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, and as described, the 35<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Peace Corps: 'He was everywhere the Kennedys asked him to be.'<sup>1192</sup> In the 2008 Presidential race for which his wife Hillary runs, it might therefore have been expected that the Kennedys would be everywhere the Clintons want them to be.

Less reverentially, George W. Bush's invocation of Kennedy takes mixed forms. Copying Reagan in citing JFK before Congress in announcing tax cuts, Bush repeats Kennedy's lament that a high taxation policy does "not leave enough money in private hands to keep this country's economy growing and healthy".<sup>1193</sup> In echoes of the Cold War possibly becoming rather hot, Bush draws similar apocalyptic parallels with Saddam Hussein's exercise of 'nuclear, chemical and biological weapons'<sup>1194</sup> to Kennedy's necessity in 1962 to deploy the *USS Enterprise* 'to quarantine Cuba' from continued nuclear hosting. Continuing to indulge in Kennedy for credence, impending conflict in Iraq is mooted as justified by Bush who quotes the applicability of JFK's "extraordinary times. We face an extraordinary challenge. Our strength as well as our convictions have imposed, upon this nation, the role of leader in freedom's cause."<sup>1195</sup> At Georgia's Fort Stewart, Bush expresses his gratitude to its members by a verbatim Kennedy invocation from his own 1962 visit. Kennedy's: "in the final analysis it rests upon the power of the United States, and that power rests upon the will, and courage of our citizens and upon you in this field"<sup>1196</sup> is privileged by Bush as 'still true today'.

Days beforehand Kennedy's aesthetic legacy is honoured and extended by the First Lady, Laura Bush. Washington's vista has clearly been maintained

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<sup>1192</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.385.

<sup>1193</sup> 'Remarks on Transmitting the Tax Relief Plan to the Congress' February 8<sup>th</sup>, 2001, op. cit. Public Papers, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-2001-book1/html/PPP-2001-book1-doc-pg65.htm> (10/03/2020).

<sup>1194</sup> 'Remarks at Naval Station Mayport in Jacksonville', February 13<sup>th</sup> 2003, op. cit. Public Papers, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-2003-book1/html/PPP-2003-book1-doc-pg169.htm> (11/03/2020).

<sup>1195</sup> 'The Goal of Sending a Man to the Moon', op. cit. *Speeches* p.91.

<sup>1196</sup> 'Remarks to Military Personnel and Families at Fort Stewart, Georgia', September 12<sup>th</sup>, 2003, op. cit. Public Papers, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-2003-book2/html/PPP-2003-book2-doc-pg1141.htm> (16/03/2020).

sympathetically in the intervening years, with Mrs Bush remarking in particular upon ‘the trees in Lafayette Park [being] ablaze with red and gold’.<sup>1197</sup> More significantly she validates Kennedy’s perception of the environment as reflective and refractive of its people’s flowering:

‘The evolution of Pennsylvania Avenue is a mirror of the development of a government and of a nation. Progress made on the Avenue reflects the growth of industry, the economy and democracy.’

The address is made before John Carl Warnecke, the architect who helped ‘President Kennedy [to create] the Council on Pennsylvania Avenue’ to facilitate its first vibrant restoration Mrs Bush promises to perpetuate: ‘Today we take another step in fulfilling this vision...’ The President’s wife also continues the tradition ‘started way back when Jackie Kennedy was First Lady’<sup>1198</sup> and subsequently practiced by ‘first ladies...every Christmas’, of visiting the capital’s children’s hospital.

On the eve of the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Kennedy’s death, by now a man ‘who has been gone nearly as long as he lived’,<sup>1199</sup> President Bush still recognizes his predecessor as a figure for emulation, ‘a leader who called our Nation to high purpose, and saw America through grave dangers with calm discernment and personal courage.’ The national ‘wounds’<sup>1200</sup> which Bush’s father previously articulates as the tragic side of Kennedy’s legacy, still appear open in his son’s reference to the prevailing sense of ‘loss that defies the passing of years.’

In January 2004 Bush invites key staff to a detailed tour of the Oval Office’s artwork that he has had interspersed with paintings from his own state of Texas, to facilitate his personal but ‘temporary’<sup>1201</sup> integration into the room’s historical fabric. Pride of place is given to retention of the ‘fabulous’ Resolute desk, symbolic of historical continuity which conspicuously highlights Kennedy: ‘At that desk sat John

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<sup>1197</sup> ‘Mrs Bush Announces Pennsylvania Avenue Improvements’, September 8<sup>th</sup>, 2003, The White House archives George W. Bush, <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/09/20030908-4.html> (16/03/2020).

<sup>1198</sup> ‘Mrs Bush’s Remarks During a Visit to the Children’s Medical Center’, The White House archives George W. Bush, <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2006/12/20061208-7.html> (16/03/2020).

<sup>1199</sup> ‘Statement on the 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary on the Death of President John F. Kennedy’, November 21<sup>st</sup>, 2003, op. cit. Public Papers, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-2003-book2/html/PPP-2003-book2-doc-pg1601.htm> (17/03/2020).

<sup>1200</sup> Op. cit. October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1992, from George H. W. Bush Presidential Library & Museum.

<sup>1201</sup> ‘President Bush Addresses Members of His Team’, January 9<sup>th</sup>, 2004, op. cit. White House archives, <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/results/leadership/text/bush-card-200401-transcript.html> (17/03/2020).

Kennedy. And out of the door, that Franklin Roosevelt put on the desk [to hide his wheelchair]...popped John-John Kennedy, in the most famous Oval Office photo.’<sup>1202</sup> The invitation to reminisce upon that photo long since removed from this ‘majestic’ piece of furniture – and similarly specifically recalled fondly by Presidents Carter and Trump – immediately overshadows Bush’s El Paso paintings. Bush’s decidedly hawkish Vice President Dick Cheney, someone who might not immediately be thought of as sympathetic to Kennedy, upon a speech JFK delivers in 1963 at Cheney’s alma mater the University of Wyoming, declares that: ‘He had inspired us all...I was particularly grateful for the sense of elevated possibilities he described.’<sup>1203</sup>

Like Clinton before him, Bush similarly instigates a Peace Corps-inspired programme of his own, the Freedom Corps. Its mission is ‘to create a culture of service and citizenship and responsibility’<sup>1204</sup> in which echoes of Kennedy’s Inauguration speech challenge – beyond, that is, Bush’s regular diverse recourse to political appropriation of Kennedy’s ‘bearing the burden, paying the price’<sup>1205</sup> – are answered by Bush’s insistence that his own initiative will also provide ‘opportunities to be able to serve your country’.<sup>1206</sup> Bush quotes Kennedy directly regarding the first Peace Corps’ volunteers who went out to Africa 47 years beforehand, as he welcomes its current members about to depart for Guatemala. The President closes the gathering with the same scriptural invocation that Kennedy utilizes as his personal call to public

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<sup>1202</sup> See also ‘Remarks at the Luncheon for Gubernatorial Candidate Bill Simon in Santa Clara, California’, April 30<sup>th</sup>, 2002: ‘Perhaps you remember the picture of John-John Kennedy putting his head out of the door of that desk with his dad....The door that John-John Kennedy put his head out of the desk is there because Franklin Roosevelt had put that door on his desk to cover his infirmities.’ <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-2002-book1/html/PPP-2002-book1-doc-pg696.htm> (16/03/2020).

<sup>1203</sup> Dick Cheney (with Liz Cheney), *In My Time: A Personal and Political Memoir*, Threshold Editions, New York, 2011, p.32.

<sup>1204</sup> ‘Remarks on National Volunteer Week’, April 29<sup>th</sup>, 2008, op. cit. Public Papers, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-2008-book1/html/PPP-2008-book1-doc-pg601.htm> (16/03/2020). Bush proposes The Freedom Corps in 2002 in his State of the Union address.

<sup>1205</sup> For example, ‘Remarks in Cuba City’, Wisconsin October 26<sup>th</sup>, 2004, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-2004-book3/html/PPP-2004-book3-doc-pg2741.htm>; (16/3/2020); ‘Remarks in Findlay’, Ohio October 27<sup>th</sup>, 2004, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-2004-book3/html/PPP-2004-book3-doc-pg2769.htm> (16/3/2020); ‘Remarks at a National Republican Senatorial Committee Reception’, October 20<sup>th</sup>, 2006. <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-2006-book2/html/PPP-2006-book2-doc-pg1884-2.htm> (16/03/2020).

<sup>1206</sup> Op. cit. April 29<sup>th</sup>, 2008, Public Papers.

service, being his own family's mantra against noblesse oblige:<sup>1207</sup> ““To whom much is given, much is required.””

Closure to the symmetry of a Bush-Clinton-Bush succession commences in 2000 with Hillary Clinton's appointment of Robert Kennedy's son to manage her Senatorial campaign. Its unsuccessful culmination, however, prefaces similar later reversal in which it is Barack Obama who secures Kennedy family support against her in the 2008 Presidential race. Kennedy's daughter Caroline is particularly animated in her blessing, describing the Illinois Senator as sparking the 'same excitement now'<sup>1208</sup> as her father inspired of people in his time: 'I meet young people who were born long after John F. Kennedy was president, yet who ask me how to live out his ideals.... We have that kind of opportunity with Senator Obama.'<sup>1209</sup> The groundwork of Obama's connection to Kennedy already seems to have been in place with what is later acknowledged as a disingenuously edited anecdote. It commences with risqué gratitude expressed by Obama to JFK personally for his very existence given Obama Senior's receipt of a grant in 1960 issued by the Kennedy Foundation to 250 African students to study in an American university. It is at the University of Hawaii that Barack Senior meets Obama's mother. According to Schlesinger:

'In the summer, when students in Kenya who had scholarships in American universities could not meet their travel fares and the Eisenhower administration declined to do anything about them, Kennedy arranged through the Kennedy Foundation to bring them over on a well-publicized airlift.'<sup>1210</sup>

While the assistance is subsequently admitted by Obama's team as actually having arrived too late for his father,<sup>1211</sup> the story enhances the impression to a 21<sup>st</sup>-century audience [not only] of Kennedy's global progressive social enlightenment but also the implication that Kennedy's inspiration politically 'begat' Obama himself.

In 2006, the symbolism of his father's 'coming to America'<sup>1212</sup> for a better life is included in an address before a University of Massachusetts' audience, itself a 'sea of faces....that have come here from over 100 different countries...believing that they

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<sup>1207</sup> Op. cit. Maier p.83.

<sup>1208</sup> Ibid p. xv.

<sup>1209</sup> Op. cit. Mark White p.136.

<sup>1210</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.483.

<sup>1211</sup> See op. cit. Sabato pp. 397-8: 'This story was almost too good to check, and the candidate clearly did not. But when the Washington Post did, they found that the Kennedy foundation donation had been made too late to help Obama Sr. The Obama campaign admitted the error...'

<sup>1212</sup> Appropriated from Obama's Presidential election victory speech: 'Change is coming to America'.

too could find a home in this City on a Hill'.<sup>1213</sup> These 1961 Kennedy resonances continue in Obama's description of the discrimination immigrant families, like Kennedy's own, would have experienced, by citing, for example, Boston's former 'No Irish Need Apply' door signs to employment. He concludes with a request for his student audience to 'stay global', not 'to build walls around us', that recalls Kennedy's Berlin 1963 address Obama then weaves into paraphrase of Kennedy's Rice University 'Moon' speech by reiterating his audience's courageous need to banish insularity: 'But I hope you don't do what's easy. I hope you do what's hard.'

In 2008 Obama's arrival in Berlin is greeted with fervour reminiscent of Kennedy's 1963 visit. While Kennedy is not invoked by name, echoes of his "Let them come to Berlin" are heard in the Senator's six-times' anaphoric 'Look at Berlin'<sup>1214</sup> as well as Obama's promise that 'we cannot shrink from our responsibility' to combat terror, that recalls Kennedy's similar Inaugural freedom-spearheading pledge. Obama's remark that the sharing of ideals from diverse communities epitomizes this city so that everyone becomes 'citizens of Berlin', reinforced by his 'People of Berlin' refrain immediately losing its own 'wall' of separation by segueing into 'people of the world', likewise revives Kennedy's own claim of national kinship. Preceded by an Inauguration ceremony that also includes an invited poet Elizabeth Alexander to give a reading for the occasion, one of Obama's first actions in office is to choose as one of five quotations, Kennedy's "No problem of human destiny is beyond human beings"<sup>1215</sup> to ring the Presidential seal to the new Oval Office rug, to accompany the venerable Resolute desk.

A personal Kennedy family connection is established with Caroline's appointment as the co-chair of the Vice Presidential Search Committee to recommend a running mate and in that capacity she addresses the 2008 Democratic Convention. In Obama's second term, Caroline is appointed by him as the US ambassador to Japan. In Spring 2009 she is present during Obama's signing of a Service Act in her attending

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<sup>1213</sup> A Kennedy reference twice repeated in Obama's 'University of Massachusetts at Boston Commencement address', June 2, 2006, <http://obamaspeeches.com/074-University-of-Massachusetts-at-Boston-Commencement-Address-Obama-Speech.htm> (18/03/2020).

<sup>1214</sup> 'Obama speech in Berlin', *The New York Times*, July 24, 2008, <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/24/us/politics/24text-obama.html> (18/03/2020).

<sup>1215</sup> From Kennedy's 'American University' address, 1963.

uncle's name, 'a man who's never stopped asking what he can do for his country'.<sup>1216</sup> Thanks are also expressed by the President to the mental health work carried by Rosalynn Carter, also present. The Carter family's Peace Corps' commitment – the programme itself described by Obama – and in Michigan once again - as 'one of the most successful service projects in American history'<sup>1217</sup> – is also revived in Kennedy association by Michelle Obama's early embracing of President Clinton's 'Americorps' programme. She is a founder in Chicago of a 'Public Allies' training programme for careers in public service. Obama declares his own 'call to service'<sup>1218</sup> being likewise stimulated by Edward and JFK and requests the 100<sup>th</sup> day of his own time in Presidential office to 'ask every American to make an enduring commitment to serving your community and country in whatever way you can.' He concludes in acknowledging the example of the whole Kennedy family who continue to 'carry the torch' of service to inspire similarly the next generation.

Obama's 2016 Mars' quest repeats his 2010 expansion of Kennedy's extra-terrestrial vision the President also quotes verbatim upon visiting the Kennedy Space Center: 'By the mid-2030s, I believe we can send humans to orbit Mars and return them safely to Earth.'<sup>1219</sup> Claiming boyhood 'inspiration' from Kennedy's Space programme, Obama proposes a \$6 billion increase in NASA's budget, extending the life of the International Space Station and modernizing the Kennedy Center itself, all essential to maintaining the US' 'leadership' in space exploration. Two months later, in a 'New National Space Policy' announcement, echoes of Kennedy's rhetoric can again be heard in Obama's declaration that 'we continue to press forward in the pursuit of new frontiers',<sup>1220</sup> enthusing his own audience with the 'boundless possibilities of the future' in which once more 'our sights [are] set on Mars and beyond'. Obama

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<sup>1216</sup> 'Remarks on Signing the Edward M. Kennedy Serve America Act', April 21, 2009, op. cit. Public Papers: Obama, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-2009-book1/pdf/PPP-2009-book1-doc-pg534.pdf> (18/03/2020).

<sup>1217</sup> 'Commencement Address at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor', Michigan, May 1<sup>st</sup>, 2010, op. cit. Public Papers: Obama, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-2010-book1/pdf/PPP-2010-book1-doc-pg583.pdf> (18/3/2020). On 14<sup>th</sup> October 1960 Senator John Kennedy addressed University of Michigan students with a challenge that formed the germination of the Peace Corps: unfortunately, Kennedy was delayed and was not able to speak until 2am.

<sup>1218</sup> Op. cit. 'Edward M. Kennedy Serve America Act'.

<sup>1219</sup> 'Remarks at the John F. Kennedy Space Center in Merritt Island, Florida', April 15<sup>th</sup>, 2010, op. cit. Public Papers: Obama, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-2010-book1/pdf/PPP-2010-book1-doc-pg497.pdf> (18/3/2020).

<sup>1220</sup> 'Statement on the New National Space Policy', June 28<sup>th</sup>, 2010, op. cit. Public Papers: Obama, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-2010-book1/pdf/PPP-2010-book1-doc-pg895-2.pdf> (19/03/2020).



further revives Kennedy's direct connection of specific funding for research and governmental technocracy, in his own reference to the necessity of 'inspiring a new generation of young people to pursue careers in science and engineering' as 'our leadership as a nation will depend on them' in order to continue 'to lead the world towards new frontiers.'

On January 20<sup>th</sup> 2011 Obama honours the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Kennedy's Inauguration. It is preceded by full recitation of Kennedy's address at the Capitol's Rotunda, which House Speaker Nancy Pelosi - witness to its original delivery - declares still to be 'speaking for the ages'.<sup>1221</sup> For Obama, the 'handsome Bostonian'<sup>1222</sup> delivered a speech for that occasion that 'would become part of the American canon.' Speaking that evening from the Kennedy Center, the President also recalls as a boy thinking of Kennedy 'less as a man than as an icon...who graced this Earth for one brief and shining moment.' Such adulation is little diminished into adulthood. Echoing Dallek, Obama likewise refers to Kennedy's 'unfinished life', lauding him as a figure 'that inspires us and lights our way as we sail on to the new frontiers of our own time.'

In Obama's second Inauguration speech, on 21<sup>st</sup> January 2013 – and again with an invited poet<sup>1223</sup> to the occasion - personal assimilation of Kennedy's rhetorical devices continues in his own delivery. These include paragraph-reiterative anaphora, exemplified in Obama's five-times 'we, the people'<sup>1224</sup> or four-times 'our journey', and the inverse-paralleling chiasmic: 'Progress does not compel us to settle centuries-long debates about the role of government for all time, but it does require us to act in our time.' 'Time' here is conveyed as infinitude, a passive continuum that is counterbalanced against its own segmenting, actively of the moment. This phrase is also reminiscent, albeit reversing the counterbalancing of passive and active, of Kennedy's American University address in which he professes his wish to establish "not merely peace in our time but peace for all time."<sup>1225</sup> Obama again concludes with

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<sup>1221</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.75.

<sup>1222</sup> 'Remarks Honoring [sic] the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of President John F. Kennedy's Inauguration', January 20<sup>th</sup>, 2011, op. cit. Public PAPERS: Obama, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-2011-book1/pdf/PPP-2011-book1-doc-pg38.pdf> (19/03/2020).

<sup>1223</sup> Richard Blanco who reads 'One Today'.

<sup>1224</sup> 'Inaugural Address', January 21, 2013, op. cit. Public Papers: Obama, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-2013-book1/pdf/PPP-2013-book1-doc-pg45.pdf> (19/03/2020).

<sup>1225</sup> 'American University Commencement', op. cit. *Speeches* p.264

hope that America carries ‘that precious light of freedom’ into successive generations, so recalling the perpetuation imagery borne by Kennedy’s Inaugural ‘torch’.

Appointed to Obama’s second-term team is John Forbes Kerry as his Secretary of State. Kerry’s own Kennedy emulation, beyond sharing his initials, is stimulated by Kennedy’s personal invitation to a day’s sailing aboard his yacht when Kerry is 16. As the Democratic Presidential nominee in 2004, association with Kennedy is explicitly avowed: many of his campaign badges, for example, depict them together as if they are interchangeable.<sup>1226</sup> Despite losing to George W. Bush it fails to diminish his Kennedy regard. In 2015, nursing a broken leg Kerry attends a conference in Malaysia in which his Kennedy support assumes literal form in the shape of a walking cane passed down to him by the Kennedys, upon which his idol is said occasionally – but more discreetly<sup>1227</sup> - to have similarly depended. Kerry has no intention of hiding it from the cameras.

During 2013 Obama returns to Berlin’s Brandenburg Gate on the same date as ‘the stirring defense [sic] of freedom’<sup>1228</sup> speech which Kennedy had given. Again, Obama resumes his own plea for insularity resistance but this time frames it within a recitation of Kennedy’s 1963 injunction to Berliners: “‘Look...beyond yourselves, and ourselves to all mankind.’” While ‘living forever as a young man in our memory’ Obama insists that Kennedy’s ‘timeless’ message is enacted, repeating Berliners’ metaphorical applicability as ‘citizens of the world.’ Developing Kennedy’s request to “‘lift your eyes beyond the dangers of today’”<sup>1229</sup> Obama demands a collective ‘lifting up [of] our eyes today’ to acknowledge global interconnectedness rather than shielding this perspective with ‘walls of division’. If anyone doubts the relevance of Kennedy’s words, Obama interpolates them once again into his own parlance with a ‘let them come to Berlin’ to see enduring proof of freedom’s worldwide irresistibility.

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<sup>1226</sup> For example one exploits their initials with their full names spelt out against their portraits, with the slogan: ‘America needs another JFK’, Biagio Privitera, My JFK Memorabilia, <http://www.biagioprivitera.it/JFK/Kennedy-bookF2.htm p.2> (20/3/20).

<sup>1227</sup> For example, ‘JFK in Paris 1961’ in ‘John Kerry is Using JFK’s Cane for Support at Diplomatic Meetings in Asia, Nash Jenkins, August 5<sup>th</sup>, 2015, *Time*, <https://time.com/3985166/john-kerry-kennedy-jfk-cane/> (20/03/2020).

<sup>1228</sup> ‘Remarks at the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, Germany’, June 19<sup>th</sup>, 2013, op. cit. Public Papers: Obama, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-2013-book1/pdf/PPP-2013-book1-doc-pg635.pdf> (19/03/2020).

<sup>1229</sup> ‘Ich Bin Ein Berliner’, op. cit. *Speeches* p.278.

In 2016 Edward Kennedy is commemorated with Obama's formal dedication of an institute in his name. It is located next to the JFK-Library and intended to educate the public about the role of the Senate. Absentee John Kerry's own admiration for his President brother is revived by Obama's direct invocation of JFK's Inauguration address' fear-negotiation chiasmus with reference to Kerry's challenging Iran discussions; it is to be repeated in July by Obama at American University in demanding Congress' ratification of his Iran nuclear deal. For the President, the youngest Kennedy brother's often understated commitment to society's underprivileged is again heralded within a JFK paraphrasing of Edward's own response to his sibling's Inauguration command: 'It was about what he could do for others.'<sup>1230</sup> The dedication closes with reference to Edward as emblematic of 'an American family that has challenged us to ask what we can do...and sail[ed] against the wind in its pursuit'. Again Obama applies JFK's purportedly favourite quotation<sup>1231</sup> to a member of the Kennedy family, prefacing it into a rhetorical pastiche with appropriation of that President's own words.

In 2016 Obama vindicates the continuing 'living memorial'<sup>1232</sup> value he asserts back in 2011 of the Kennedy Arts' Center, by hosting an awards' ceremony in its honour. Echoes of the Kennedy First Couple are immediately revived in reference to the Obamas' own White House invitation to the 'best writers, musicians, actors, dancers...to inspire what's best in all of us'.<sup>1233</sup> In particular, the First Lady's efforts to extend its youth outreach develops Jackie's own spearheading assumption in encouraging pursuits of cultural excellence. Obama's allusion is made overt in

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<sup>1230</sup> 'Edward M. Kennedy Institution Dedication Address', March 30<sup>th</sup>, 2015, American Rhetoric, <https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/barackobama/barackobamatedkennedyinstitutededication.htm> (20/03/2020).

<sup>1231</sup> Obama informs his audience in the 2011 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration already cited, that Kennedy favoured these Oliver Wendell Holmes' words, duly favouring them himself as exemplified in his 2009 'Eulogy at the Funeral Service for Senator Edward M. Kennedy in Boston, Massachusetts' and 'Remarks on Signing the Edward M. Kennedy Serve America Act' of the same year. Indeed, Edward's own rhetoric is not averse to some fraternally-influenced blending of his own. In 1980's 'The Cause Endures' for example, emulation of speech devices employed by JFK abound in 'Let us' anaphora; the chiasmus of 'instead of shutting down [classrooms], let us shut off [tax shelters]'; JFK's reference to 'The New Frontier' and his Civil Rights' June address echoes in his brother's 'It is as old as the revolutionary belief...and as clear as the contemporary condition...', <https://www.historyplace.com/speeches/tedkennedy.htm> (20/03/2020).

<sup>1232</sup> Op. cit. '50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of John F. Kennedy's Inauguration'; in 2012 Obama refers to the venue as one of Kennedy's 'amazing legacies', 'Remarks at the Kennedy Center Honors Reception', December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2012, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-2012-book2/pdf/PPP-2012-book2-doc-pg1828.pdf> (20/03/2020).

<sup>1233</sup> 'Address at the Kennedy Center Honors Reception', December 4, 2016, American Rhetoric, <https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/barackobama/barackobamakennedycenter2016.htm> (13/02/2020).

acknowledgement of Kennedy's perception that the arts help 'inspire us to think about how things might be'. It is consolidated with recitation of a line from Kennedy's Amherst address: "In serving his vision on the truth, the artist best serves his nation" which JFK applied to the poet Robert Frost. Indeed, the 2016 reference picks up Obama's 2011 own Frost invocation during a similar arts' presentation in which the poet is cited as being 'dispatched by President Kennedy to visit the Soviet Union...[as] a gesture of good will.'<sup>1234</sup> During that speech Obama's acknowledgment of Kennedy's perception of the arts as expressive, indeed constitutive of, cultural civilization is reflected in his assertion: 'the fact is that works of art, literature, works of history, they speak to our condition and they affirm our desire for something more and something better.' This claim is revitalized in 2016, towards the close of Obama's own Presidency, with its 'think a little harder...and feel a little deeper' challenge to the ambassadors of Kennedy's ascribed hope who are present that evening.

Obama is also the third US President to receive a Profile in Courage Award. In 2017, marking the centenary of Kennedy's birth, he is honoured for moral leadership in public life that transcends partisan political divisions. In his acceptance, Obama reciprocates with a repeat of the blended Kennedy-sibling invocation he gives at the Edward Kennedy Institute, to thank the remaining Kennedys, a family 'that has done so much...and...sail[ed] against the wind'<sup>1235</sup> in pursuit of its realizable, idealistic missions. Kennedy is predictably cited as a personal inspiration, Obama commending in particular his courage in averting nuclear war, establishing the Peace Corps and facilitating desegregation within educational establishments. Thanking new Congress members who took the equivalent of Kennedy's 'hard' route to support Obama's own healthcare reforms, the 44<sup>th</sup> President declares them worthy candidates for inclusion in a 21<sup>st</sup>-century publication that would profile their own courage. He closes his response by promising to continue to 'advance the spirit of service that John F. Kennedy represents.'

Direct Kennedy invocation persists positively into the next administration. Vice Presidential candidate Mike Pence, on stage with Trump himself, announces

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<sup>1234</sup> 'Remarks on Presenting the National Medal of Arts and National Humanities Medal', March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2011, op. cit. Public Papers: Obama, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-2011-book1/pdf/PPP-2011-book1-doc-pg167-2.pdf> (21/03/2020).

<sup>1235</sup> 'Barack H. Obama: Acceptance Speech', <https://www.jfklibrary.org/events-and-awards/profile-in-courage-award/award-recipients/barack-h-obama-2017> (22/02/2020).

Kennedy to be one of the ‘heroes of my youth’.<sup>1236</sup> At Trump’s Inauguration ceremony, the new First Lady dons a powder-blue outfit that is heavily reminiscent of the attire worn by Jackie Kennedy for the same occasion 55 years earlier.<sup>1237</sup> Heraldizing Kennedy as one of the ‘great presidents’,<sup>1238</sup> Trump also retains The Resolute desk, echoing Presidents Jimmy Carter and George W. Bush in recalling it specifically in association with its fascination to Kennedy’s young son: ‘John Kennedy was right here, that’s a little door that opens up, and that was the famous picture...this is a very important desk’.<sup>1239</sup>

During St. Patrick’s Day celebrations in 2017, Trump reminds his luncheon audience of Kennedy’s election as the nation’s first Catholic President before specifically hailing this predecessor for spearheading the US’ first manned Moon landing. The achievement lays down an attractive gauntlet to the current President who will ‘try to top him’<sup>1240</sup> by pushing for similar American flag implanting upon Mars. The extended reception is concluded by Trump’s direct quoting of Kennedy’s address to the Irish Parliament in June 1963 in which JFK’s ancestral nation is celebrated as a “‘remarkable combination of hope, confidence and imagination’”,<sup>1241</sup> qualities Trump asserts to persist in its descendants within his own administration.

Kennedy is also invoked by Trump for credence in proposing tax reforms. At a 2017 Indiana rally, Kennedy is commended by the President for having ‘championed tax cuts that surged the economy and massively reduced unemployment.’<sup>1242</sup> Trump

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<sup>1236</sup> ‘Speech: Donald Trump in New York, NY – July 16, 2016’, Factbase, <https://factba.se/transcript/donald-trump-speech-new-york-ny-july-16-2016> (22/03/2020).

<sup>1237</sup> Behaviour that seems to be much repeated since, e.g. Caroline Hallemann, ‘Is Melania Trump consciously channelling Jackie Kennedy?’ May 30<sup>th</sup>, 2017, *Town & Country*, <https://www.townandcountrymag.com/society/politics/news/a9574/melania-trump-jackie-kennedy/> (22/03/2020).

<sup>1238</sup> ‘Interview: John Dickerson Interviews Donald Trump on CBS This Morning – May 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017’, Factbase, <https://factba.se/transcript/donald-trump-interview-cbs-this-morning-may-1-2017> (22/03/2020).

<sup>1239</sup> ‘Interview: Chris Wallace Interviews Donald Trump for Fox News at the White House -November 18th, 2018’, Factbase, <https://factba.se/transcript/donald-trump-interview-chris-wallace-fox-news-november-18-2018> (22/03/2020).

<sup>1240</sup> ‘Remarks: Donald Trump Addresses the Friends of Ireland Luncheon – March 15<sup>th</sup>, 2018’, Factbase, <https://factba.se/transcript/donald-trump-remarks-friends-of-ireland-congress-march-15-2018> (22/03/2020).

<sup>1241</sup> ‘Remarks: Donald Trump at the St. Patrick’s Day Reception – March 16<sup>th</sup>, 2017’, Factbase, <https://factba.se/transcript/donald-trump-remarks-ireland-dinner-march-16-2017> (22/03/2020).

<sup>1242</sup> ‘Speech: Donald Trump Discusses Tax Reform in Indianapolis – September 27<sup>th</sup>, 2017’, Factbase <https://factba.se/transcript/donald-trump-speech-tax-reform-indianapolis-september-27-2017> (22/03/2020).

quotes this ‘very wise’ predecessor’s August 1962’s description of federal tax policy as “a fiscal weapon” to wield the “right type of tax cut at the right time”.<sup>1243</sup> It is enough to validate Trump’s own reform proposals: ‘this is the right tax cut and this is the right time’ so long as he similarly can procure Congressional bi-partisan support to achieve it. In December, Trump again invokes the ‘Democrat’ Kennedy who ‘Fifty five years ago this week’<sup>1244</sup> oversaw a ‘historic effort to pass sweeping top-to-bottom tax cuts’ – action Trump again insists should transcend the political divide as it is really: ‘an American principle and an American idea.’

In 2018 Trump releases ‘long ahead of schedule!’<sup>1245</sup> most of the remaining JFK assassination files, in order to achieve ‘great transparency’<sup>1246</sup> here. However, 520 are still withheld to protect those individuals still alive. Kennedy remains a positively-recalled figure by Trump’s appropriation of him to vindicate his apparently similar popularity after the US mid-term elections, the results of which are hailed by Trump as ‘the largest Senate gains for a President’s party in a first midterm [sic] election since at least President Kennedy’s in 1962.’<sup>1247</sup>

Kennedy’s influence is also actively channelled by two of Trump’s Democrat opponents for the 2020 Presidency. In 2019, *Time* magazine profiles the candidacy of Pete Buttigieg, born 19 years after Kennedy’s death, who ‘is musing about redeeming American credibility abroad, sipping from his coffee mug emblazoned with JFK’s face’.<sup>1248</sup> A high-school winner in 2000 of the JFK-Library’s Profile in Courage essay contest, he is also the 2015 recipient of the John F. Kennedy New Frontier Award in recognition of his mayoral-public service initiatives in South Bend, Indiana. Another such award recipient is nomination aspirant Cory Booker, whom the JFK-Library honours in 2008 for reforms in Newark while similarly serving as its mayor.

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<sup>1243</sup> ‘Radio and Television Address to the Nation on the Economy’, 13<sup>th</sup> August, 1962, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKPOF/039/JFKPOF-039-030> (15/02/2020).

<sup>1244</sup> ‘Remarks: Donald Trump delivers Remarks on Tax Reform – December 13<sup>th</sup>, 2017’, Factbase, <https://factba.se/transcript/donald-trump-remarks-tax-reform-december-13-2017> (21/03/2020).

<sup>1245</sup> Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), 28, October, 2017, 10:15 a.m. Tweet. (21/03/2020).

<sup>1246</sup> Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), 26, October, 2017, 10:38 a.m. Tweet. (21/03/2020).

<sup>1247</sup> ‘Press Conference: Donald Trump Meets with Reporters after Election Day – November 7<sup>th</sup>, 2018’, Factbase, <https://factba.se/transcript/donald-trump-press-conference-midterm-elections-november-7-2018> (21/03/2020).

<sup>1248</sup> ‘The New Guy: How Pete Buttigieg became a surprise contender in the 2020 Democratic primary’, *Time*, May 13<sup>th</sup>, 2019, p.29.

To date, no other President appears to have been so consciously appropriated by politicians whether in familial befriending, personal citation, rhetoric, the themes that such rhetoric embraces or in tangible emulation. In particular, Kennedy's Inaugural demand for national participation actively reverberates in all manner of causes, calls and arenas. In so doing, Kennedy continues to be validated in that invocatory process, subsequent politicians identifying and absorbing aspects of his political performance they value for their own utility and application. Ultimately, they are responding to what I infer to be Kennedy's largely unwitting establishment of a 'Presidentiality' template.

### **'Presidentiality'**

This behavioural template which subsequent political figures positively assimilate may be seen to evolve through Kennedy's own innovative perspicuity: how to make and keep oneself politically attractive for public consumption. Linking most of the foregoing iconic Kennedy Presidential appropriations in particular, is rhetoric. Beyond the speech devices discussed in Chapter One, his ensuing oratorical packages are frequently the results of highly crafted, continually refined strategies that demonstrate Kennedy's intuitive management of information. He hones material to make it work for him. This does not necessarily require it being original but it does demand quality selectivity and a commensurate ownership, to ensure its effectiveness – the means by which Kennedy demonstrates his intelligence rather than professions of intellectuality the critics in Chapter Three myopically assert. Without the contiguity of these judiciously extracted elements for his own consolidation the output will founder. Kennedy never conceals assistance to the production of *Profiles in Courage*<sup>1249</sup> but is clearly sensitive to slights that misidentify contribution as part of a greater, cumulative purpose of ownership for him, in which he also plays an active part. According to Sorensen, while Kennedy is convalescing he 'reshaped, rewrote and co-ordinated historical memoranda'<sup>1250</sup> for the book while Gloria Sitrin, later a speechwriter to Barack Obama – thus subsequently showing authorship unashamedly as an open

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<sup>1249</sup> As Crown points out, Kennedy is generous in his credit to helpers, so: 'hardly the preface of someone intending to deceive his readers', op. cit. p.32

<sup>1250</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.67.

practice – is identified as the secretary who ‘personally took dictation from Senator Kennedy on the book...giving me his original [wording]’.<sup>1251</sup>

Similar participation as cumulative to effective individual execution may likewise be identified in Kennedy’s speeches. This is achieved not least by selecting Sorensen as his chief speechwriter who can write Kennedy’s voice and for whom Kennedy can intervene without a shift in authorship being noticeable. Schlesinger, another Kennedy contributor also working towards this oral fusion, highlights its ultimate articulator’s zealous involvement throughout the composition process:

‘He would never blindly accept or blandly deliver a text he had not seen and edited...he always altered, deleted or added phrases, paragraphs or pages. Some crafts he rejected entirely.’<sup>1252</sup>

Neither is Sorensen’s work immune from Kennedy’s scrutiny, with Schlesinger recalling Kennedy’s fastidiousness upon receipt of the Yale Commencement draft: ‘The result was too sharp, and Sorensen now produced a new draft. This was not right either. The President went- over it on Sunday morning...and suggested still more changes’.<sup>1253</sup> Once these are completed, the script is further subjected to revision on-board the aircraft taking him to that destination, in which Kennedy adds ‘several more paragraphs’. Bryant may be sceptical regarding Kennedy’s sincere commitment to Civil Rights but he is in no doubt about Kennedy’s sincere commitment of himself to the process of its precise articulation. In so doing, Bryant betrays glimpses of the personal sensibility he chooses to ignore as contributory to Kennedy’s equivocation. When Kennedy campaigns against Cabot Lodge for the Massachusetts’ seat in 1952:

‘One of his first acts was to sit down with a legal notepad and draft a handwritten speech, which he entitled “Kennedy Fights For Civil Rights”. It survives as a ragged document, peppered with errors, deletions and marginalia, as he toyed with various sentences and phrases.’<sup>1254</sup>

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<sup>1251</sup> ‘Gloria L. Sitrin Oral History Interview – JFK#1, 6/14/1966’, pp.5-6.

<https://www.jfklibrary.org/sites/default/files/archives/JFKOH/Sitrin,%20Gloria%20L/JFKOH-GLS-01/JFKOH-GLS-01-TR.pdf> (18/02/2019).

<sup>1252</sup>Op. cit. p.60. Schlesinger also cites the Alliance for Progress instigation, with Kennedy reading the aide’s offering ‘carefully and calmly...[but] cut[ting] out the two explicit anti-Castro passages on the grounds that he did not want to mix up the Alliance for Progress with Cuba, decided the text was too long, made some other cuts and revisions and then read it again’, p.240. Schlesinger likewise scribes a Berkeley University address in which he carries out Kennedy’s requested revisions, only to receive a telephone call: ‘It was the President calling from the swimming pool with some new thoughts...he extensively reworded the text the next day on the plane to California’, p.537.

<sup>1253</sup> Ibid. p.560.

<sup>1254</sup> Op. cit. Bryant p.36.



As President, federalizing of the troops in Mississippi seems matched by Kennedy's own strength of personal feeling he wishes to be communicated:

'...he made some last minute [sic] alterations to Sorensen's speech, frantically scrawling notes in the margins and crossing out large chunks of the prepared text. Eventually, he gave up on editing Sorensen's version and wrote out a completely new speech in childlike capital letters.'<sup>1255</sup>

This is hardly the action of tepidity. Kennedy's own contributions are constantly stimulated by personal conviction, audience sensitivity and proximity to the event itself in which the spontaneity recorded in either written or spoken comment evidences his need for producing the best of himself. The material must be as good as it can be, even if it means sentence revision, style tweaking, adage purloining or personal takeover – as evidenced early in his dissatisfaction at receipt of a draft nominating Stevenson as the 1956 Democratic Presidential nominee. According to Sorensen: 'He talked about a fresh opening, the points to make....There he worked it further, sitting in bed. I rushed back to my room to get it retyped.'<sup>1256</sup>

Sorensen seems further subordinated in Kennedy's June 1963 television Civil Rights' address, in which Levingston asserts him being denied 'the usual weeks to coddle the language for a speech of this magnitude'.<sup>1257</sup> Levingston suggests Sorensen to be highly precious of his speechwriting primacy to Kennedy as if this is a sufficient means to an end rather than as a submission for consideration towards a greater purpose: '...this time the President took the lead...he seemed to know what he wanted to say and how he wanted to say it.' The ensuing address is indeed sparser in adoption of alter-ego speech devices. This is reflected by its diminishing anaphora, and counterbalance being differently applied by working reiteratively with the themes the President appears to channel heavily instead from Martin Luther King's 'Letter from a Birmingham Jail' into his own appeal. From his cell in April that year, King declares the limits of black impatience having been reached: 'We have waited for more than 340 years for our constitutional and God given rights';<sup>1258</sup> Kennedy acknowledges at least "One hundred years of delay"<sup>1259</sup> to have passed since Lincoln's Emancipation

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<sup>1255</sup> Ibid. p.85.

<sup>1256</sup> Op. cit. p.87.

<sup>1257</sup> Op. cit. p.401.

<sup>1258</sup> 'Letter from a Birmingham Jail [King, Jr.]', African Studies Center – University of Pennsylvania, April 16<sup>th</sup>, 1963, [https://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles\\_Gen/Letter\\_Birmingham.html](https://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/Letter_Birmingham.html) (13/02/2019).

<sup>1259</sup> 'Televised Address to the Nation on Civil Rights', <https://www.jfklibrary.org/learn/about-jfk/historic-speeches/televised-address-to-the-nation-on-civil-rights> (13/02/2019).

Proclamation. King yearns for the opportunity for his people to be able to partake of meals ‘non-violently sitting in at lunch counters’; Kennedy expresses regret towards those who are “denied the opportunity to eat at a restaurant or lunch counter”; King abhors Alabama’s pernicious construction of law-making in which ‘all sorts of devious methods are used to prevent Negroes from becoming registered voters’; Kennedy wants eligible “American citizens of any color” [sic] to be fully – and safely – enfranchised. King describes Birmingham’s police dogs ‘sinking their teeth into unarmed, non-violent Negroes’; Kennedy confirms “repressive police action”. King declares there to be ‘two types of law: just and unjust’ that is particularly evident in a city whose ‘white power structure left the Negro community with no alternative’ but to challenge it physically; Kennedy seems to concur in his similar insistence that the law is to be obeyed but that it has to be “fair” in the first instance, the current moral inadequacy of “the old code of equity law” meaning that protesters’ “only remedy is in the street”. Kennedy chooses the rhetoric he deems most suitable to his message beyond the team he usually employs if instinctively it is not right for him. Sorensen tries to remain inscrutable towards the ensuing Civil Rights’ draft, his sense of marginalization only possibly glimpsed in surrounding the following comment with square brackets as if to flash his replacements’ own deficiencies here: ‘[The italicized portions were personally added by the President to the final draft].’<sup>1260</sup> Sorensen may provide Kennedy with a written voice but as Schlesinger states, ‘There was no question which was the dominant partner.’<sup>1261</sup>

Such overriding single-mindedness is further noted by Dallek in Kennedy’s rejection of his speechwriters’ advice in preparation for his first TV debate with Nixon: ‘an eight-minute opening statement did not satisfy him, and he dictated his own version to a secretary.’<sup>1262</sup> Speeches have to be the working tools of the highest order. While often jaded by familiarity with their content – resurgent references being likewise identified when turned into a similar analytical study – Kennedy continues to refresh the material even if the original version is fresh to his audience. Sorensen describes Kennedy’s private aircraft being replete with archives and ‘mimeographed stacks’<sup>1263</sup> of speech material on different subjects. Even as early as 1957, Kennedy tells Sorensen

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<sup>1260</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.499.

<sup>1261</sup> Op. cit. p.4.

<sup>1262</sup> Op. cit. p.285.

<sup>1263</sup> Op. cit. p.105.

that “I can’t afford to sound just like any Senator.” He needs to stand apart both orally and literarily. Bradlee notes Kennedy to “[relish] notable writing, and has ever since started collecting examples of good prose and putting them in a bound book, which he was still doing when he started running for president.”<sup>1264</sup> Schlesinger contrasts the ‘full, ripe dreariness of utterance with hideous ease’<sup>1265</sup> emanating from the State Department with Kennedy’s intolerance of cliché and insistence upon ‘a more exact statement of our issue...’<sup>1266</sup> Kennedy’s frustration similarly extends to translations of his rhetoric that apparently culminate in the procurement of Chancellor Adenauer’s interpreter to ensure that his Frankfurt and Berlin addresses are faithfully captured rather than just regurgitated.<sup>1267</sup>

Kennedy likewise refuses entirely to be anchored to a script. The extent of Kennedy’s involvement in the construction of speeches facilitates a confidence in their ad-lib extensions that conveys shrewd judgement of the audience in the product’s active tailored refinement before them. Kennedy’s advisors are apparently aghast at his freedom in using his Berlin script as a springboard in which to extemporize, that is, to embrace the script as a means to further personalized dialogue rather than keep to the confines of a supportive address. The crowd reaction elicited vindicates Kennedy’s instinct. Schlesinger admits to feeling ‘appropriately chagrined’<sup>1268</sup> at Kennedy’s near-abandonment of the speech he provides for him to announce the Alliance for Progress, the President’s ‘apt improvisation’ deemed by his aide to be ‘the most effective part of the address and drew only applause.’ This demonstrates Kennedy’s absolute comfort with handling his subject matter even if it is disconcerting to those who have helped him prepare it. Both Sorensen and Schlesinger attest to Kennedy’s mastery at interpolation that disorientates the press from trying to follow it verbatim on their advance copies.<sup>1269</sup> Salinger, as Kennedy’s Press Secretary, is

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<sup>1264</sup> Op. cit. Bradlee p.208.

<sup>1265</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.374.

<sup>1266</sup> Ibid. p.534.

<sup>1267</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.581.

<sup>1268</sup> Op. cit. Schlesinger p.241.

<sup>1269</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.331: ‘He became skillful [sic] at moving back and forth between his text and his interpolations that the press, unable to follow him on their copies, often assumed that an entire speech was extemporaneous when it was not’; Schlesinger op. cit. p.62: ‘he was a confident and skilled improviser who very often departed from or even abandoned his prepared manuscript – a practice which tried the warm affection of the newspapermen for him, since it required them to listen to every speech and, when he deviated from the text, to file a second story.’

predictably less sanguine about this behaviour, calling his President a ‘text deviate’<sup>1270</sup> as it immediately jeopardizes journalists’ pre-aired or pre-published announcements from it. Dallek notes 32 occasions during Kennedy’s Inaugural address – itself the second shortest ever delivered – in which the text is improvised; similar elaboration, as previously noted, occurs at the end of the President’s June 1963 Civil Rights’ address. To the receiver, however, the impression substantiated is of a politician mastering management of information in which his spontaneous behaviour, compatible with its tenor, enhances its crafting to secure maximum engagement.

The wrapping to such harnessed outputs is identification and procurement by Kennedy of practical strategies to ensure its successful dissemination. Sorensen implies Kennedy’s similar perception of a disconnect, in his acquisition of other political tools to complement his formulated eloquence: ‘More than any previous candidate in history, Kennedy sought help from the science of opinion polling...he sought modern tools of instruction about new and unfamiliar battlegrounds.’<sup>1271</sup> Coupled with air travel and employment of Robert as his campaign manager, Kennedy takes advantage of new information channels to target his political energy, updating the intensive electorate rapport his pre-1956 campaign team fosters in their instruction to prioritize response to every letter, personalizing where possible to make the voter feel individually considered, and befriend the local newspapers. Such rudimentary forms of market research mature readily into the mass-marketing era for Kennedy when embraced by the technology available to accentuate his audience knowledge and therefore appropriate connection with it. Salinger heightens awareness of a tangible sophisticated political machinery evolving in which the ‘by-the-book, just-the-facts ma’am’<sup>1272</sup> approach adopted, for example, by Hubert Humphrey, is quickly rendered archaic and unattractive. During the 1960 Presidential race, Salinger:

‘...asked...how difficult it would be to set up a twenty-four hour reporting service that would turn out instant transcripts of everything John Kennedy said on the campaign trail...it proved an instantaneous success.’<sup>1273</sup>

Campaigning is given vitality and definition by the canny adoption of technology. In July 1960’s Democratic Convention, Reston answers his own curiosity as how to how

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<sup>1270</sup> Op. cit. Salinger p.67.

<sup>1271</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.106.

<sup>1272</sup> Op. cit. Sabato p.50.

<sup>1273</sup> Op. cit. Salinger p.32.

Kennedy will be ‘representing himself’<sup>1274</sup> in his admiration for the candidate’s full extraction of utility:

“Of all the candidates...Kennedy was the one whose organisation knew where the votes were better than anybody else, whose men were in touch with one another in cars, on the floor, in the downtown headquarters...by shortwave radio and wireless telephone....”

Salinger corroborates the impression of maximized facilitation in his similarly elevated respect for Kennedy’s requisitioning, post-Home Show exhibition in Hollywood, of its Model Home by their team as a temporary base given the paucity of suitable campaign accommodation in this part of Los Angeles. Immediately it is turned into a ‘prime communications center’[sic]<sup>1275</sup> that becomes the first campaign facility to produce a daily convention newspaper. Internally, it refines its operation with production of a local telephone directory of delegates composed to ensure expedited contacts that is backed up by an indexing system that provides character thumbnails that could be exploited by Kennedy in his lobbying: ‘This had never been done before and was to prove highly effective...’ Like the content it embraces, campaign strategizing is the cumulative product of Kennedy’s co-ordinated composition and overseeing that is empowered by his unwavering commitment to effective personal interaction. Exploitation of television’s potential is therefore the obvious next step to meld message, image and delivery into fundamentals of political life.

The final innovative instigation shaping the ‘Presidentiality’ template is the Kennedys’ equally honed assimilation of cultural aesthetics for political ingratiation. Just as Kennedy works hard on his continual refinement of himself as product for public political consumption, so the First Couple do their research on the people before whom it is to be presented. Primarily it is Jackie who personifies this in what Hogan refers to as ‘fashion diplomacy’<sup>1276</sup> in which attention to a feature of another country’s identity is personally adopted in adornment. Jackie carries out extensive homework ‘on the history and culture of each country she visited, and then used her wardrobe, as well as her remarks, to pay tribute to what she had learned.’<sup>1277</sup> This is exemplified in

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<sup>1274</sup> James Reston, ‘Beyond the Victory: Kennedy has won right to Represent his party, his Generation and Himself’, *The New York Times*, July 14<sup>th</sup>, 1960, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1960/07/14/99949656.html?pageNumber=15> (14/06/2018).

<sup>1275</sup> Op. cit. Salinger p.36.

<sup>1276</sup> Op. cit. p.34.

<sup>1277</sup> Ibid.

her red Mountie-channelling attire, a gesture that conveys interest in its people that in turn makes her Canadian audience both appreciative of her and its own values she is respecting. Melania Trump's own green-flecked dress<sup>1278</sup> at the 2019 Shamrock Bowl presentation suggests such self-imposed attention almost to be mandatory and perhaps atones for her poorer quality homework in 2018 that resulted in the wearing of a colonial outfit during her first solo visit to Africa.

The appropriation of clothing as a physical gesture of personal respect is consolidated by what Sorensen describes as the Kennedys' new White House overture to foreign guests in particular, of 'gifts tailored to the recipient's interests'.<sup>1279</sup> Again this suggests bespoke attention to valuing a person individually and culturally: another cosmetic overture of symbolic substance to its outer physical style. Kennedy himself, like Jackie's embodying of an attractive America embracing tokens of another culture, is likewise keen to secure perception of reciprocal esteem. Just as he actively intervenes in scripts, so does Kennedy pay particular attention to selecting suitable tokens. According to Bradlee, Kennedy is apparently:

'...appalled that the gift scheduled for King Moulay Hassan of Morocco was a regular hi-fi set....The President said that he had overruled the gift and sent it back to the chief of protocol with a request that he come up with something more indigenously American and more special.'<sup>1280</sup>

In demonstration of the extent to which the gift must reflect symbolic value, Bradlee recalls Kennedy to show him:

'...the present that Jackie had personally designed for the King of Laos. It was a jagged chunk of brilliant green stone found in Arizona. It has been elaborately bound with a gold link chain, and was very striking.'

This fusion of highly-considered deference may also be identified in the welcome the Kennedys extend to foreign visitors. While Kennedy commissions Air Force One, its Andrews' Air Base is nonetheless regarded by the President as 'a dreary

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<sup>1278</sup> 'Remarks: Donald Trump Attends the Shamrock Bowl at the White House – March 14, 2019', <https://factba.se/transcript/donald-trump-remarks-shamrock-bowl-ireland-march-14-2019> (12/03/2020). In October 2019 the Duchess of Cambridge dons Pakistani-designed attire that likewise proportionately channels that country's culture, at the beginning of its 700-mile tour. Newspapers draw comparisons with Princess Diana's similar sartorial deference during her solo tour there in 1996. Jackie Kennedy, however, was already accessing aspects of this sub-continent style in her unaccompanied trip to India back in 1962, e.g. '23 Captivating Color [sic] Photographs of Jackie Kennedy's Trip to India', Pinterest, <https://www.pinterest.co.uk/pin/432697476674077128/?lp=true>

<sup>1279</sup> Op. cit. p.577.

<sup>1280</sup> Op. cit. p.130.

place to begin an official visit'<sup>1281</sup> and so 'institutes arrivals by helicopter south of the White House lawn'. Such a privileging overture to the personage continues with Kennedy's attention to the nearby Rose Garden's grass as formal greeting stage, which Kennedy himself personally spray-painted to conceal its bare patches. Such gestures to heighten appreciation may have all been heavily contrived but it is in segueing these honed mechanics of the contrivance into the ensuing perception of a desirable product that captivates high-profile figures and public alike in its successful execution.

### **Thesis Conclusion and research issues raised**

As suggested by Melania Trump's more considered attire, the consumer of the product offered has subsequently become habituated to the greater visual synchronicity the Kennedys both facilitated and pursued seamlessly. Regardless of our greater cognisance of such, rigorous contrivance or careful stage-management provides order and coherence to an occasion. We balk when it slips and the spontaneity becomes detached from its prepared base. Really being oneself sacrifices what the Queen Mother purportedly described as the British Royal Family's 'mystique'<sup>1282</sup> and may explain, as stated in Chapter Two, why their own candid 'Royal Family' film production is considered by its remaining cast members as inappropriate for full re-showing. Watson makes a similar contention regarding Senator Hubert Humphrey's 1960 television campaign for the West Virginia primary:

'Failing to understand the importance of controlling all the factors of a telecast over which one has control, the Humphrey campaign devised a program [sic] of true spontaneity, not one that simply gave the illusion of spontaneity. The Humphrey broadcast was a fiasco. It depicted a genuine spontaneity we no longer find attractive.'<sup>1283</sup>

The Kennedys' heightened self-consciousness in how to construct how we wish to be perceived, a dissemination whose disparity is embraced currently with, for example, the social media photo and video-sharing application Instagram that likewise encourages creation of an illocutionary narrative. Indeed, in 2016 *The New York Times*

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<sup>1281</sup> Op. cit. Sorensen p.577.

<sup>1282</sup> Matthew Kirkham, 'Revealed: How the Queen was criticised for 'revealing royal magic'', *Express*, April 12, 2019, <https://www.express.co.uk/news/royal/1113301/queen-elizabeth-ii-news-royal-family-criticised-private-life-film-spt> (19/03/2020).

<sup>1283</sup> Mary Ann Watson, 'The Kennedy-Nixon debates: the launch of television's transformation of US politics and popular culture', op. cit. *Cambridge Companion*, p.46.

even describes Jackie as Instagram's "first lady",<sup>1284</sup> her own crafted comportment still presented as a model for desirable emulation. So-called 'Reality TV' likewise projects a story to disguise or temporarily change reality rather than accept its sometimes less edifying actuality. President Trump is precisely aware of this: upon his first meeting with North Korea's Kim Jong-un, he highlights the greater process of aesthetic presentation by requesting photographers capture his best side. The Kennedys seamlessly managed the distinction.

Beyond his own immaculate attention to immaculate image, Kennedy's refinement of himself as a product for consumption continues ultimately into information presentation itself. Today President Trump in particular has drawn overt attention as to how news in particular may intentionally be shaped just as – less cynically – did Kennedy correspondents Reston and Krock, whose cognisance of Kennedy's 'self-editing' did little to diminish their own complicity in its dissemination. In 1963, Krock admits his susceptibility to the attractiveness of the product Kennedy offers, in *Fortune*:

‘...it is the indirect methods...by which “management of the news” is chiefly being accomplished by the Kennedy Administration. This is a public-relations project and the President is its most brilliant operator. Since the immediate objectives of this selling job are the news reporters in general (most definitely including the TV and radio broadcasters), widely read commentators and flattered editors, publishers and network moguls in particular, the project is much more actively identified by the phrase “managing the purveyors of the news”.’<sup>1285</sup>

While Krock conceded his own happy complicity,<sup>1286</sup> he knows it would have been disingenuous to depict Kennedy as a purely passive object. Like his oratorical scripts, Kennedy embraces media, and TV in particular, to make it work for him as he tailors himself to fit that expanding format Telstar's new communication satellite extends in

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<sup>1284</sup> 'Jackie Kennedy: the First Instagram First Lady', *The New York Times*, November 30<sup>th</sup>, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/30/fashion/jackie-kennedy-first-lady-natalie-portman.html> (28/03/2020). See Melania Trump's similar assumption in e.g. Jada Yuan's 'Melania Trump, a most private first lady finds her voice in a stay-at-home pandemic', in which 'with the pandemic requiring her messaging to come from a more controlled, stay-at-home environment, her Twitter and Instagram feed have become all coronavirus....[A]nd for the first time in nearly 3½ years, the First Lady seems to have found her voice', *The Washington Post*, April 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2020, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/melania-trump-a-most-private-first-lady-finds-her-voice-in-a-stay-at-home-pandemic/2020/04/22/a774dec2-83fa-11ea-a3eb-e9fc93160703\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/melania-trump-a-most-private-first-lady-finds-her-voice-in-a-stay-at-home-pandemic/2020/04/22/a774dec2-83fa-11ea-a3eb-e9fc93160703_story.html) (26/04/20).

<sup>1285</sup> 'Mr. Kennedy's Management of the news', *Fortune*, November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2013, <https://fortune.com/2013/11/17/mr-kennedys-management-of-the-news-fortune-1963/> (13/03/2020).

<sup>1286</sup> See for example thesis pp.118-9.



the range and speed in which it can carry Kennedy's addresses and images.<sup>1287</sup> Bodroghkozy asserts that Obama likewise 'master[s] and exploit[s] the era's new media technology'<sup>1288</sup> through social media adoption. In 2016 Trump identifies similar advantageous opportunity with his increasing exploitation of Twitter, not only to 'correct' perceived misconceptions of himself but forcefully to intervene in and indeed make political decisions according to personal whim. Technological exploitation has become a political pre-requisite to assert influence over how news may be imparted.

*The New York Times* acknowledges Twitter as a 'very attractive medium'<sup>1289</sup> by which it fears its own traditional 'editing structure built on print' to be seriously outpaced. Nevertheless the manipulation of social media can be seen as an extension of the practices which constructed the Kennedy image – and, indeed, Trump uses it to combat negative depictions of him in more traditional media. For example, he identifies this newspaper as one of the many fabricators of information to the public. In the newspaper's televised coverage of his first year in office, this indictment – 'failing' is the President's choice of epithet – causes it anxiety that such behaviour will hurt the way that the country thinks about the news particularly if it deteriorates to sustained insult so openly. In so doing, the challenge for this newspaper and other Trump critics in the media is how best to rebut the charge that their news is 'fake'.

In the UK 'Fake News' classes have recently formed part of school curricula so that pupils can acquire the skills to 'navigate the ocean of disinformation.'<sup>1290</sup> Abundant evidence is available of deliberate intention to myth-make, a compounding of fact and fiction, consciously creating disingenuous (mis)information for public consumption.<sup>1291</sup> Some of these perpetrators proclaim an ultimate motive to humiliate those gullible enough to believe their content. Yet without overt disclaimers in the pieces themselves, many articles continue to swirl as 'clickbait' in which extending Carr's piscine analogy once more, the potential consumer is enticed towards selecting

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<sup>1287</sup> Op. cit. Salinger p.143 in which Kennedy is purportedly 'amazed' that London's gold prices stabilize on the basis of being able to receive his address courtesy of such technology: 'It proved to him that a President of the United States could bring about massive support of his policies, if only he could be seen and heard directly.'

<sup>1288</sup> 'The Media', op. cit. *A Companion to John F. Kennedy*.

<sup>1289</sup> Ex-BBC Controller Mark Thompson CEO *The New York Times* on op. cit. 'Reporting Trump's First Year'.

<sup>1290</sup> Rory Cellan-Jones, 'Fake News: Can teenagers spot it?' November 14<sup>th</sup>, 2018, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/technology-46206675> (15/11/2018).

<sup>1291</sup> Anisa Subedar, 'The Godfather of Fake News', 27<sup>th</sup> November, 2018, BBC News, [https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/resources/idt-sh/the\\_godfather\\_of\\_fake\\_news](https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/resources/idt-sh/the_godfather_of_fake_news) (28/11/2018).

fish for a recipe from which it cannot be made but is still charged for the ingredients. Google- and Facebook-hosting platforms have since revised their facilitating algorithms to reduce this exploitation. Elimination, however, seems unlikely.

One measure taken by *The New York Times* to try to restore transparency and objectivity to a story is its ‘The Daily’ podcast instigation in which its editor attempts to reassure the reader of responsibly-generated content by providing insight into the – Carr-reminiscent – ‘minds of the people creating that journalism’.<sup>1292</sup> Yet even if these journalists are able to redress their perceived maligning by deferring more overtly to the stalwart principles of evidence and analysis – qualities Kennedy himself professes to be keen to prevail in his own newspaper editor addresses – concern remains as to whether this will be rendered futile against the immediacy of, say, a competing tweet. The newspaper’s hope is for an amicable co-existence that can withstand the fluctuating preferences in information consumption by remaining an available ‘honourable’ part of that selection, offering a justified, considered clarity. Reminiscent of Carr’s analogy of the meaningless haul of fish upon the fishmonger slab if it is not organised to support ‘a particular view’,<sup>1293</sup> Obama declares that:

‘If we are not serious about fact and what’s true and what’s not...then we have problems....In an age where there’s so much active disinformation, and its packaged very well, and it looks the same when you see it on Facebook page or you turn on your television...if everything seems to be the same and no distinctions are made then we don’t know what to protect.’<sup>1294</sup>

The reader must therefore choose the narrative he or she wants to follow. However, in that process the reader must also actively select, extract and impose as that new narrative or populated storyline, what we value and want to remember and memorialize, over the often simultaneously competing and increasing acknowledgement that this process may also be distortive. Kennedy presented his audience with a ‘very well packaged’ and ‘distinct’ version of his story that underwent a similar honed process. It is this version that they still choose to consume despite increasing cognisance of their active and required selectivity Carr elucidates, and that ‘Fake News’ similarly necessitates, in so doing.

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<sup>1292</sup> Op. cit. Trump’s First Year; Carr’s statement requiring that ‘some kind of contact with the mind of those about whom he is writing’ is achieved, op. cit. p.24.

<sup>1293</sup> Op. cit. Carr p.23 and 11.

<sup>1294</sup> Op. cit. Sopol p.317. See also ‘BBC director general warns against ‘assault on truth’’, July 11<sup>th</sup>, 2019, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-48948591> (12/07/19).

Ten years after the assassination, however, the polarities of depiction informed by Kennedy's story selection certainly appeared much closer, perhaps typified by the statement: "I don't think history will have much space for John Kennedy. History is unkind to transition figures."<sup>1295</sup> However, this implies 'History' to be some sort of static backdrop against which Kennedy's significance is and will always be deemed as peripheral. It does not see how history is not only told but retold according to shifts not only in tangible evidence but also the predilections of historians and those who consume the fruits of their labour. The porous, malleable nature of the man's story continues to empower both teller and audience curiosity and creativity.

In *Profiles in Courage* Kennedy advises that:

"A man who can inspire intensely bitter enemies as well as the intensely devoted followers is best judged after many years pass, enough to permit the sediment of political and legislative battles to settle, so that we can assess our times more clearly."<sup>1296</sup>

Yet after 57 years the 'sediment' mixtures of Icon and Myth that is John Fitzgerald Kennedy is still 'settling', its Icon elements however rising through the Myth to coalesce at its top.<sup>1297</sup>

(Word count: 97,415)

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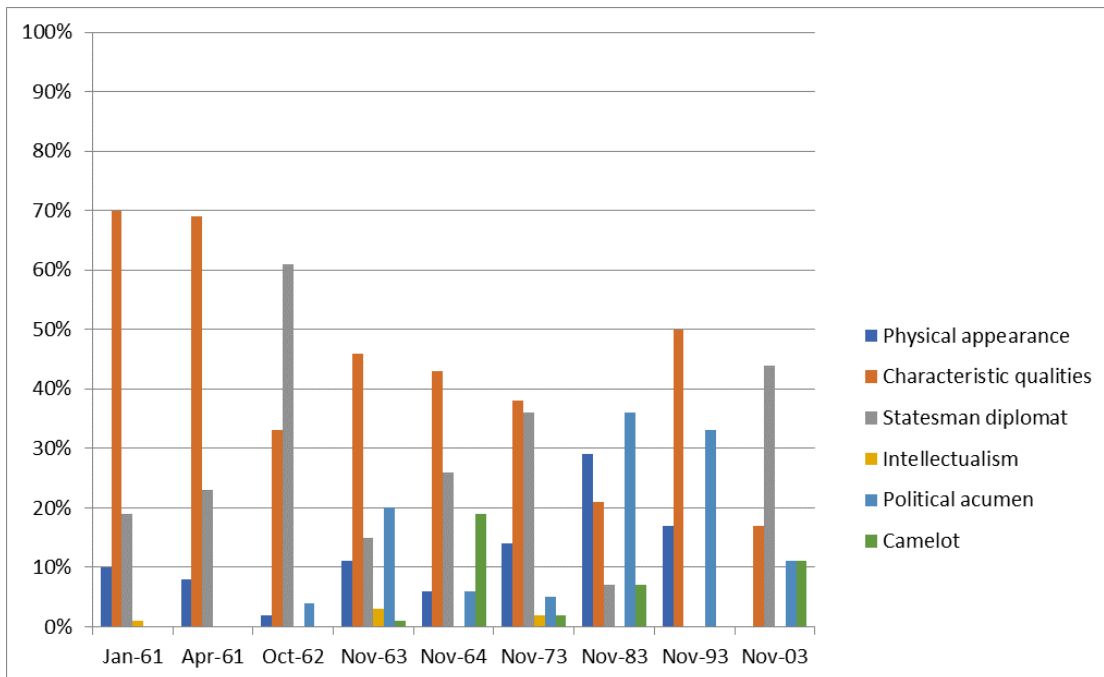
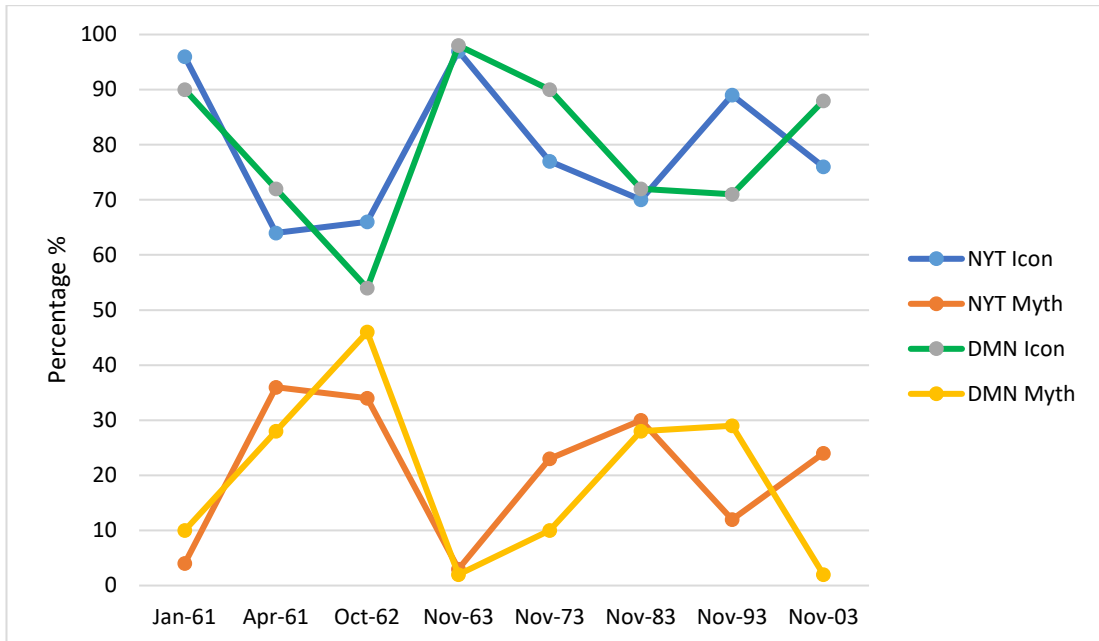
<sup>1295</sup> Robert Reinhold, 'Kennedy's Role in History: Some Doubts', *The New York Times*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1973.

<sup>1296</sup> Op. cit. *Profiles in Courage* p.215.

<sup>1297</sup> Further research would have attempted to explore my contention that, currently, the Positive/Iconic side prevails over the Negative/Myth side which seemed to have so decisively shaped the Kennedy story in the 1970s. Even the once counter-cultural Bob Dylan wishes to celebrate JFK, his first recording since becoming a Nobel Laureate being a 17-minute reverential mourning of Kennedy and what was lost in his death, in 'Murder Most Foul' released on March 27<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

## Appendix A

Reader's perception of JFK-image descriptors: a) as Icon or Myth b) Individualized characteristics.



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'JFK's Secret Killer: The Evidence', producer Michael Cordell, Cordell Jigsaw Productions PTY Ltd and Screen Australia, 2013.

## **Tweets**

Boston Globe (@BostonGlobe), 2 July, 2019, 9:30 p.m.

Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), 3 December, 2015, 7:19 a.m.

Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), 3 December, 2015, 8:08 a.m.

Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), 28 October, 2017, 10:15 a.m.

Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), 26 October, 2017, 10:38 a.m.

Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), 3 July, 2019, 22:30 p.m.

Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), 11 July, 2019, 4:52 p.m.

Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), 14 July, 2019, 1:27 p.m.

Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), 18 July, 2019, 11:14. p.m.

Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), 21 April, 2020, 3:06 a.m.

Joe Kennedy III (@RepJoeKennedy), 2 July, 2019, 9:28 p. m.