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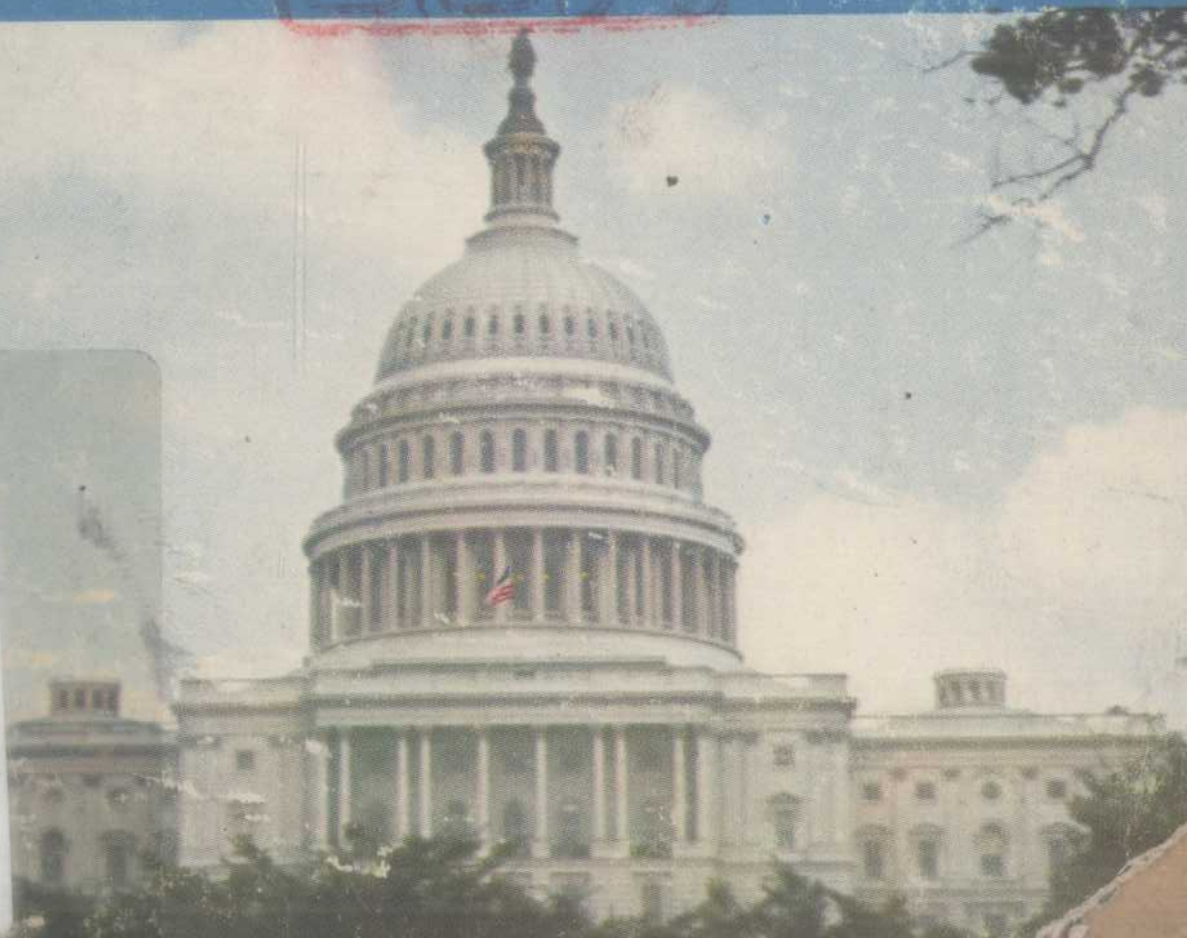
Story of the Kennedy

An honest report to the nation which reveals
that the threat to our survival is greater
than most Americans have been permitted to realize

FRANK L. KLUCKHOHN

A Ranking Officer of the U. S. State Dept., 1955-1961

FIRST PUBLICATION ANYWHERE



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THE REAL STORY

Jack Kennedy is of the fourth generation of an American family which raised itself by its bootstraps from the bottom of the heap to the very top. He is the son of a father who acquired great wealth and position, but who failed in his own greatest ambition—to be President.

Joe Kennedy never made any bones about the fact that he was determined to have one of his sons achieve what he could not. The man now in the White House is the son who fulfilled his father's ambition.

Has Jack Kennedy bravely undertaken more than he can handle? Is he a man who may be broken by trying to deal with something too big for him?

The story of the Kennedy Administration—and that of the Kennedy family—is a startling one. The real story, however, is not the one told by political propaganda and campaign literature.

Therefore, for those who want the truth, here is the inside story of our present Administration which started out with high hopes and higher promises and now has fallen into ineptitude, bewilderment and chaos.

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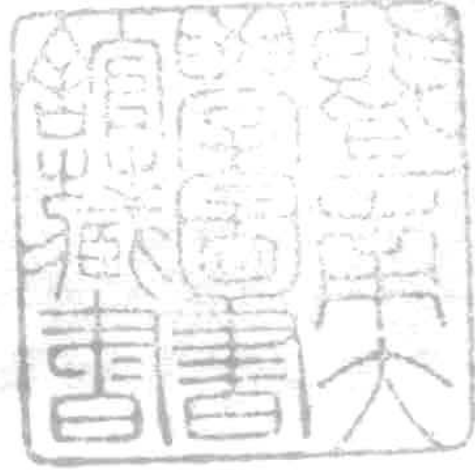
A Monarch Books Non-Fiction Headliner

AMERICA: LISTEN!

An Honest Report To The Nation Which Reveals
That The Threat To Our Survival Is Greater
Than Americans Have Been Permitted to Realize.

Frank L. Kluckhohn

Author of THE MEXICAN CHALLENGE



MONARCH BOOKS, INC.



Derby, Connecticut



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AUTHOR'S PROFILE

Frank L. Kluckhohn was born in St. Paul, Minnesota, graduated from the University of Minnesota and then attended the Centro de Estudios Historicos in Madrid, Spain.

Among the important positions he has held were: Adviser to the First Secretary of Defense, Special Assistant, Assistant Secretary for Security and Consular Affairs from 1955 to 1961 in the Federal Government.

During World War II he was the first *New York Times* war correspondent sent overseas and he covered all the Allied landings from the first one in Africa to the last in Japan. He was the first correspondent to interview Emperor Hirohito of Japan after the Japanese surrender.

For almost 20 years he was a *New York Times* foreign and Washington correspondent, and was White House correspondent with Franklin D. Roosevelt through Pearl Harbor. He has worked in every country in Europe except Poland and in every American republic as well as the entire Far East and North and Central Africa. For a number of years he was in charge of the North African and Pacific war staffs of the *New York Times* and later became Chief South American correspondent.

He has written articles for many prominent national magazines such as *Reader's Digest*, *Look*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's*, and *Reporter*, and is the author of **THE MEXICAN CHALLENGE**, published by Doubleday.

FOREWORD

THE THREAT to our survival is greater than most Americans have been permitted to realize. The danger to us is immediate, both as a nation and as individuals.

Nikita Khrushchev is driving all-out to force United States compliance with Communist aims. He employs the threat of fallout from nuclear explosions and "rocket rattling" in an attempt to frighten us into a frame of mind for surrender. His many agents are now spreading the despicable phrase, "It is better to be Red than Dead."

Ninety miles from U.S. shores, in Cuba, the Red leader has established a Communist base, with his puppet, Fidel Castro, in complete control. This was Khrushchev's first major step toward abrogating the Monroe Doctrine, an important move in his drive to dominate all nations in the Western Hemisphere.

Already, Khrushchev is passing word around the globe that the United States will not fight under any conditions. As a result, nation after nation embraces neutralism, that halfway point to surrender.

In his campaign to isolate the United States, Khrushchev is pushing toward absolute control of the United Nations, not only by the *troika* plan but by inducing individual U.N. members, including the new countries of Africa, to vote against us.

Thus, at a point in history when man finally has acquired the ability either to reach other planets or to blow up his own, a struggle between two opposing philosophies and forces to control this earth and all mankind reaches a climax.

The outcome of this struggle will determine how we humans will live—if we live at all—for a long time to come. Every person, everywhere, has a stake and a part in it. Not only military, economic and political forces confront each other. Because of the peculiar nature of this conflict, the social fabrics of nations, and even of tribes, are a key factor in the struggle. Vital are the will power, the strengths and weaknesses, of peoples and of individuals.

The United States of America, heading one side in this gigantic test, proclaims the importance of the individual and his rights under the law. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, leading the mighty attack, asserts that the individ-

ual is merely an expendable tool of the State in a drive for the eventual material betterment of mankind. It is free enterprise versus production planned by a self-selected few.

One side stands for the theory that man is more than just an animal; that he has the right to think for himself and to select the kind of government he wants. The other side has rejected the idea of human dignity and denied the existence of spiritual values. The fruits of Judaism, Christianity and Mohammedanism are discarded and the idea that "Religion is the opiate of the people" becomes the new philosophy.

This is also a struggle between Western democratic thinking, which created the science of today, and an ancient Oriental concept of despotism, queerly blended with a belief in an exclusively "scientific" universe.

Karl Marx preached that only by doing away with capitalism could every man's lot be improved, and no doubt he was genuinely sincere in his views. But the present communist hierarchy has failed to take into consideration that today's free enterprise systems—especially in the United States and Europe—are vastly different from the predatory capitalism that existed in the Europe of Marx's day. Indeed, the "common man" has never lived as well as he does under the new benevolent capitalism. Communism, on the other hand, still seems incapable of providing for its citizens a life of comfort, dignity and freedom. And the State, far from "withering" away, becomes more despotic and absolute.

Disregarding its propaganda and its spurious claims to high ideals, we see the Soviet Union as it really is—a police state with a rigid class system—as opposed to a nation, the United States, which is rapidly attaining a much more classless society, with opportunity for all, instead of the few.

The true issue today is whether man is to go, at least for a time, back to the days of slavery or is to continue to improve his mastery of himself and his environment by his own free will.

The weapons in this basic struggle are many and varied. The Communists mobilize resentments, hates, hopes and ambitions. Nationalism, and even intertribal jealousies, are exploited. So are the individual's fears, and his sexual and other personal weaknesses. It is doubtful whether economic need is even the tenth-best Soviet weapon.

The West's weapons are many, but they are only partially exploited. Superior economic know-how and strength,

and a superior moral position, are among our advantages. Despite the fact that no man, or woman, likes to believe that everything begins for him on birth in this world and ends when he dies here, almost nothing has been done to exploit our advantage in holding a spiritual belief in immortality. Neither, despite Russia's extremely low birth rate, has the superior status of women in our society been exploited. We Americans still have, moreover, considerable military weapon superiority to fall back on in case of military attack, yet the world at large does not believe this.

The United States itself is the most expert nation in the world in the use of domestic advertising and publicity; and yet we are not even effectively challenging Communist propaganda, when, in the final analysis, will power and conviction may decide this great conflict.

We do very little toward destroying the many myths created by the Soviet Union, heartland of communism. Despite its claims, Russia is not a mighty monolith. The truth is that only about 40 per cent of the people of the U.S.S.R. are Russian. Some 60 per cent are of varied races, many of them, like the Ukrainians, deeply resentful of Russian domination.

Moreover, among the conquered peoples of Eastern Europe and elsewhere, now controlled by this multiracial State with so many chinks in its own walls, are once proud and independent people. Many of them are Christians. They are bitterly unhappy under the slave colonialism they are presently forced to endure. And then there is Red China, with its own ambitions.

Five million Communists, a relatively small group, control the 300 million people in the U.S.S.R. and its East European slave states. This handful of Party members not only rules autocratically, but they are the new royalty, the Party-designated elite, who are entitled to special privileges and special considerations. These are the "chosen" few who select for themselves the best and largest apartments in crowded Moscow, located in a choice district from which all others are excluded by armed guards. These are the people, too, who have houses and estates in the country, chauffeur-driven cars—in a land where few automobiles exist—servants, State-provided mistresses and other luxuries.

For the multitudes, including women, in sharp contrast, are left only unrestricted hours of toil for at least six days a week, crowded and inferior living quarters, scanty pro-

visions. Today only children of the Communist elect can attend the best schools, thus permitting the ruling caste to perpetuate itself. Even feudal England did not see such a rigid class system.

The leaders of communism have elbowed, and often murdered, in Byzantine fashion, their way to the top. The dark struggles for power in Russia are fought out in secret behind closed doors.

History, however, teaches that no tyrant is ever safe. Nikita Khrushchev himself gave us our best glimpse of this nightmare process in his speech before the XX Communist Congress, when he disgorged the secrets about Stalin and the horrors of his regime. One by one, Soviet leaders are killed or driven from power. None have the solid backing of an elected president or prime minister. A Molotov, one of the last survivors of the original founders of the U.S.S.R., sleeps with a revolver under his pillow wherever he is sent.

The free interplay of forces in a country like the United States makes for right answers to problems and the correction of wrong ones. This is not true in any totalitarian society where rigid, planned decisions are made by one man or a mere handful.

Communists like to claim that they do not make mistakes, and the rest of the world for some self-deprecatory reason, swallows this fable. In reality, Soviet mistakes are plentiful if we but open our eyes to them. As an example, it is probable that communism would have easily dominated all of Europe had not the Red Army frightened it by its insistence on remaining as far west as Germany instead of withdrawing to its own borders. Were the advantages of taking Czechoslovakia in 1948 by murder, trickery and the threat to use the Red Army for a takeover worth the subsequent effective re-arming of the free world? Austria was able to move out from behind the Iron Curtain because the Red leaders completely miscalculated on how the Austrian people, who had seen communism in action, would vote in free elections. The Communists obtained less than four per cent of the vote.

There are cracks and crevices all over the Soviet system. Bluff—clever bluff, but still bluff—has had to take the place of strength on many occasions. It is disconcerting to note how many of these bluffs have worked in the past and how many continue to work in the present. Subversion and perversion have often had to take the place of economic

power, and propaganda has to take the place of accomplishment.

But what of our side? What of our leadership?

Obviously, it should be tough, experienced and convinced of the strength of our system. It should be strong but flexible, and readily able to deal with Red aggressions, machinations and sudden shifts in strategy. It should not be a leadership that is easily frightened into hysterically—and usually disastrously—jumping at every twist and turn of the Russian maneuvers. It should be a leadership that does not delude itself into thinking that Russia can be charmed or swayed from its purpose: **THE EVENTUAL DOMINATION OF THE WORLD!**

At this time of great crisis in our history, we cannot afford to settle for less than a dedicated leadership. This is no time for leaders without convictions, men who, for the sake of ambition, are ready to accept the convictions of nonelected advisers who have for years sat patiently on the sidelines, waiting for the opportunity to promote the unorthodox and the bizarre; men who are anxious to change our form of government—without the consent of the governed.

This is no time for leaders who, bored with themselves and with the orthodox and the proven, use the government for wild experiments, ego inflation and self-aggrandizement. This is no time for the creation of our own wealthy elite, a group which, because of vast sums of money, can afford to *play* at politics.

What, then, of our present leadership? What of the man now in power? How does he stack up against the requirements and the lacks?

There is an old saying that every nation gets the leadership it deserves. Certainly in a democracy the leaders are, to a considerable extent, the product of their society and their age.

In our time, in this United States of America, the leader of the Free World, people tend, perhaps more than ever before, to live by self-set standards. It has been widely said, and with a high degree of accuracy, that we have become a nation of conformists. What has not been as adequately emphasized is that these standards of deportment, conduct and living are arbitrary, and perhaps largely false.

One of the undeniable factors in our American civilization of the mid-1900's is our insistence that our children do

well competitively, whatever their qualification or whatever their own desires. High marks, higher education—the highest possible—are hallmarks for success in this generation. Ambitious parents all over the U.S. push and prod their children, sometimes beyond their capacities, allegedly for their own good. Too often, the parents are obviously trying to express themselves, their ambitions, fears and hopes, through their children. The children are thus forced into a highly competitive life where, it is made clear to them, they cannot fail if they are “to amount to anything.”

The story of the free-world leader of today, the story of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, is a tale of such prodding and molding and, perhaps, of reaching beyond capacity.

As a boy, he tried to excel; he was taught, in fact, that there could be no failure. One can understand and sympathize with the driving and successful father who was responsible for this. He wanted the very tops for his son. Jack Kennedy's is the story of a sensitive boy and young man who was forced into a mold unnatural to him. His father himself thought he should be a writer or teacher. Yet the death of his elder brother—a tougher, harder, more worldly type—forced John F. Kennedy into the crucible of national politics. His parental training compelled him to take his brother's place.

Jack Kennedy is of the fourth generation of an American family which raised itself by its bootstraps from the very bottom of the heap to the very top. He is the son of a father who, largely by his own efforts, acquired great wealth and position, both public and social, but who failed in his own greatest ambition—to be President.

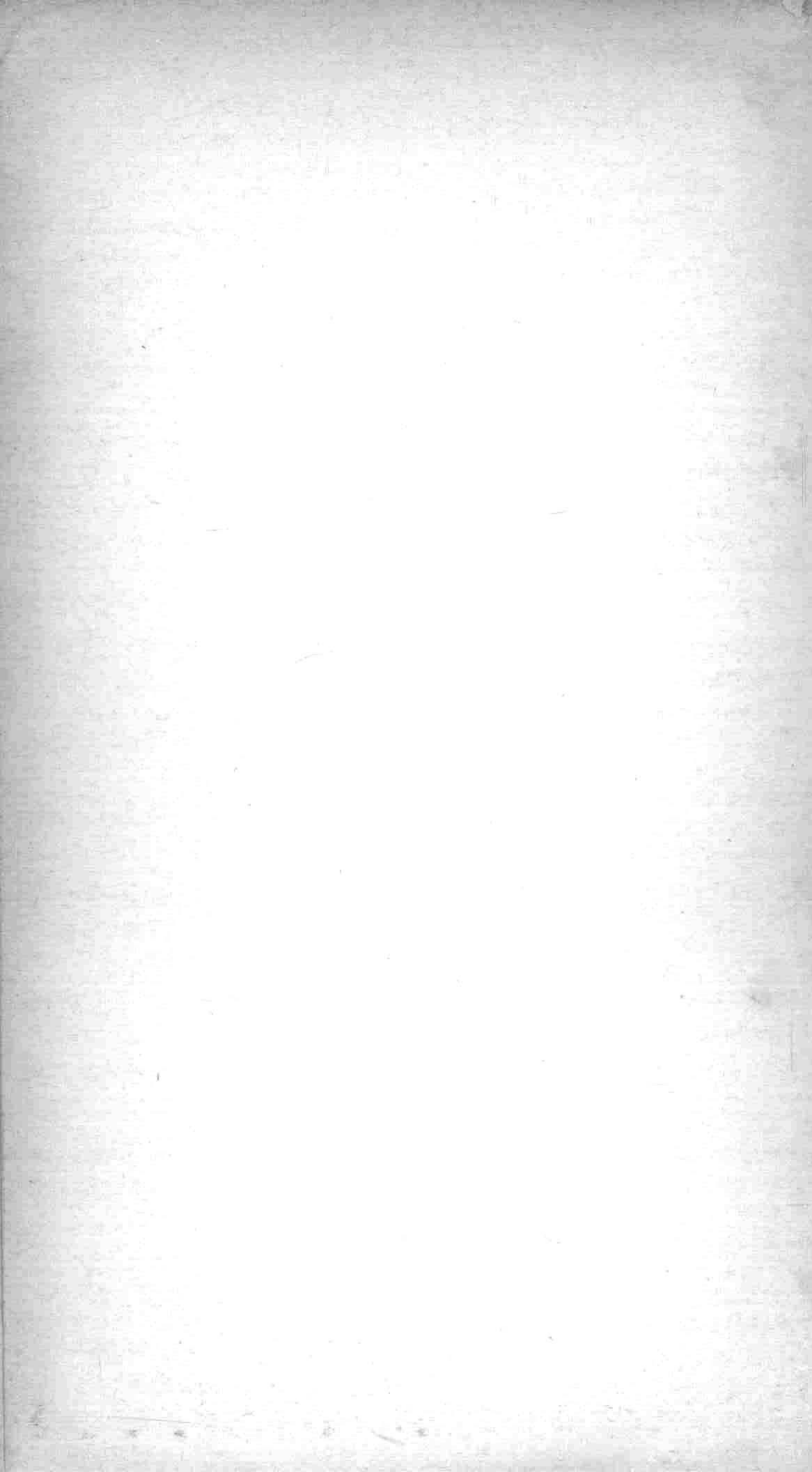
We must admire the tremendous determination, the stamina, the incredible patience and the long-range planning of Joseph P. Kennedy. He never made any bones about the fact that he was determined to have one of his sons achieve what he could not—the Presidency of the United States.

The man in the White House is a son who fulfilled his father's ambition, being forced into today's familiar American pattern and impelled to make good. Is it, however, the story of a man who has bravely undertaken more than he can handle? Is it the story of a boy, now become a man, who may be broken by trying to deal with something too big for him?

Jack Kennedy's look of sincerity, his appealing boyish charm, enchanted many Americans. They fastened their

hopes on him, saw in him the leadership they wanted and attributed to him qualities they wanted him to possess.

His real story—and that of the Kennedy family—is a fascinating one. The real story, however, is not the one told by political propaganda and campaign literature. Therefore, for those who want the truth, here is the inside story of an American family which achieved the ultimate: The leadership of the entire free world. We can learn much from it.



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CHAPTER I

The Kennedys Come to America

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY would not be President, and the multitudinous Kennedys would not dominate the Washington scene, had not two events occurred, one over two decades ago, and the other a decade and a half ago.

The man in the White House, the developments of his Presidential Administration and the emergence of the Kennedy dynasty, cannot be either understood or evaluated except in the light of the significance of those generally unknown and long-forgotten happenings.

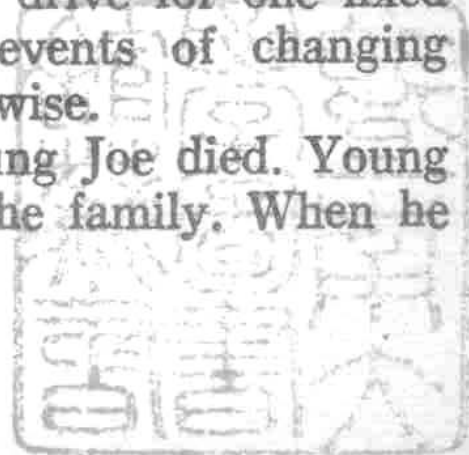
The first event occurred in 1940—to be exact, on October 29—when Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy climaxed a series of blunders as Ambassador to the Court of St. James by an interview in Boston which killed forever his own chances of becoming President. He said that Great Britain was finished and he questioned the wisdom of our supporting her losing cause.

The second event occurred four years later, 1944, when Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr.'s plane exploded on a combat mission.

It was when his own hopes were shattered that Joe Kennedy transferred his Presidential ambitions to his eldest son, Joseph, Jr. It was after Joe, Jr.'s death that Jack Kennedy, who had never before thought seriously of politics, entered actively into the political arena.

Unbelievable? Nonsensical? Well, the cause of Jack Kennedy's decision is certainly extraordinary. But then, Joseph P. Kennedy, Sr. is an extraordinary man. His fighting spirit, his personal acumen, his unswerving ambition and determination not only brought him vast wealth and high position, but they also induced him to drive for one fixed target, the Presidency, ignoring the events of changing decades and obstacles, human and otherwise.

"Jack went into politics because Young Joe died. Young Joe was going to be the politician in the family. When he died, Jack took his place."



These are his father's words to Thomas Winship of the *Boston Globe*, uttered freely and prefaced by the almost unbelievable words, "I thought everybody knew about that."

Softly, sadly then, the father said: "Joe used to talk about being President someday, and a lot of smart people thought he'd make it. He was altogether different from Jack, more sociable and easygoing. Jack, in those days back there, was rather shy, withdrawn and quiet.

"His mother and I couldn't picture him as a politician. We were sure he'd be a teacher or a writer."

These statements could have been judged by many as the usual, exaggerated hopes of a devoted parent, but not to those who knew the icy drive of Joseph P. Kennedy. Nor could such statements be disregarded by those familiar with the facts of his second son's early life and his devotion to pleasing his father and thus casting himself in the mold his father prepared for him. Jack's correspondence from schools and universities reflects this, and his actions down to the day he decided to take up politics prove it. Moreover, he himself has said, "I went into politics because Joe died."

Promises of pay for better marks, vacations overseas as rewards, and the boy's attempts to comply with his father's desires are further evidence of this. Bobbie's earliest memory is of cowering upstairs with his sisters while Joe, Jr. and Jack knocked each other about in a free-for-all downstairs, fighting of which his father was well aware. Jack was always compelled to compete with Joe in order to live up to the standards set up by his father.

Everyone who knew him up to several years ago was aware of Jack's tendency to shyness and quietness. The change in him was so marked when it occurred that David Sentner, chief of the Hearst Bureau in Washington, remarked privately: "He must have waked up in the dark one night, said to himself 'I'm going to be President' and bounced up to the ceiling and then down, a changed man."

The record shows that Jack Kennedy made himself over deliberately—at least outwardly—into a dynamic, outgoing personality with all the qualities which have become familiar to the nation and the world.

Joe, Sr. himself recognized the change almost with awe. "I was in Maverick Square in East Boston, in front of the bank we had there . . . I looked across the street and saw Jack getting out of the car and walking up to a bunch of