

How do you explain that, Mr. President?

"Because Nixon is a shifty-eyed, goddamn liar, and people know it. I can't figure out how he came so close to getting elected President in 1960. They say young Kennedy deserves a lot of credit for licking him, but I just can't see it. I can't see how the son of a bitch even carried one state."

Mr. President, would it be fair to say that you dislike Richard Nixon?

More dry chuckling. "Yes, I guess you could say that. . . . Now I never carried personal grudges. Only two, only two. There are only two men in the whole history of the country that I can't stand. And . . . I've told you . . . one of them was the former governor of Missouri, Lloyd C. Stark, who followed me around like a poodle dog to get the support of the organization of which I was a member so that he could be governor of the state.

"Then he forgot where he got that support, and he did everything he possibly could to beat me for the Senate the second time I ran.

"And Nixon is in that same class exactly. He went down to Texarkana, Arkansas, and he called General Marshall and me traitors. And I knew it, and the big fat Leonard Hall, when he was chairman of the Republican National Committee, he said he'd give a thousand dollars to any charity I wanted if I could prove it, prove Nixon said that.

"Well, I sent down there and got the reports verbatim from the Texarkana paper and sent them to Hall, and I said, 'Now you can send that one thousand dollars to the Korean Red Cross.' But I never heard from him."

Do you know whether he ever sent it?

"He didn't, of course. He didn't think I could find it.

"But those are the only two, Nixon and Stark. I've often said around the country that if General Marshall and the former President of the United States are traitors, then the country's in one hell of a fix.

"You can't very well forget things of that kind, and that's why I don't trust Nixon and never will."*

*According to an Associated Press dispatch from Texarkana on October 2, 1952, Nixon said that Truman, Acheson, and Stevenson were all three "traitors of the high principles in which many of the nation's Democrats believe." These "real Democrats," he was quoted as saying, were "outraged by the Truman-Acheson-Stevenson's gang's toleration of and defense of Communism in high places."

But what he really said may remain as forever disputed as what his friend Senator

I gather you don't think he's much of a campaigner either.

"He's one of the few in the history of this country to run for high office talking out of both sides of his mouth at the same time and lying out of both sides."

Do you think he talks too long?

"Any talk at all from him is too damn long."

Some people think Senator Humphrey talks too much sometimes.

"Hubert has that same difficulty, but I wouldn't want to say it in public. . . . You can't win many votes if people are either asleep or walking out on you."

How did you learn that? Did you know that in your first campaign?

"I had to learn it the hard way like everything else. I learned it in a lot of campaigns, and I learned it by keeping my eyes and ears open. That's the only way you learn anything. But some men just never do it. I can't figure out why."

Anyway, you don't think Henry Wallace would have made a good campaign in 1944?

"No, he would not have, and what campaigning he did do he was no good at.

"Roosevelt didn't want him to have the nomination, but he couldn't tell Wallace to his face. Roosevelt wasn't much good at tell-

Joseph R. McCarthy really said that dark afternoon in February, 1950, when he made a Lincoln Day address before the Republican women of Wheeling, West Virginia.

The climax of the speech came when McCarthy waved a sheaf of papers in his hand and said, "I have here in my hand a list of. . . ."

After that, confusion. Either he said a list of 205 members of the Communist Party who were working for the State Department and whose names were known to the Secretary of State. Or else he said he had in his hand a list of 57 people who *probably were or appeared to be* card-carrying members of a party they *seemed to be loyal to*. Or else he said he had in his hand a list of 110 Communist sympathizers or anti-anti-Communists, which was pretty much the same thing.

In any case, the speech in Wheeling was delivered on February 9. On February 20 when it or something like it was placed in the *Congressional Record*, there was no list of any kind. The speech McCarthy read into the *Record* said, "The reason why we find ourselves in a position of impotency . . . is the traitorous actions of those who have been treated so well by this nation. It is not the less fortunate or members of minority groups who have been selling this nation out but rather those who have had all the benefits the wealthiest nation on earth has had to offer—the finest homes, the finest college educations, the finest jobs of the government that we can give. This is glaringly true of the State Department. There the brightest young men who were born with silver spoon in their mouth [*sic*] are the ones who have been worse [*sic*]."

Quite a different speech, and so in Texarkana Nixon may have said Truman and Marshall or Truman and Acheson and Stevenson were *traitors* to their party or to their country. No matter, really. *Traitors* was the operative word.

“That about his mind was a damn lie. He wasn’t well, but his mind—his mind was just as sharp as ever it had been, and that was the case whenever I saw him right up to the end.

“And Mrs. Luce—well, she said things about Mrs. Truman that I never will forgive her for, and that’s another reason I never had the Luces to the White House. I don’t care what they say about me, but when you get into saying things about Mrs. Truman and Margaret, you’re bound to have some trouble on your hands.

“And before the campaign was over, the Hearst papers said I’d been a member of the Ku Klux Klan, which was a damn lie as I told you. But as I say, that was the worst campaign I ever can remember. They even claimed I was Jewish because I had a grandfather named Solomon.”

What kind of audiences did you have?

“I had every kind of audience there was from those big auditoriums in places like Boston and Madison Square Garden to . . . one time in a little town in Idaho there were just three people showed up, three schoolteachers as I recall it.”

Did you give them a speech anyway?

“Of course I did. It wasn’t their fault that only three people were there, and they deserved the same consideration as the audience at Madison Square Garden, and I believe I can safely say that I gave it to them.

“. . . As I say, we went just everywhere, Los Angeles and San Francisco and then up the coast, stopping at various places as we went along, and we stopped in Seattle and in St. Paul and Minneapolis and in Chicago, and we were in Boston.

“And when we were in Boston, Bob Hannegan was in a suite at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, and who should be in his suite but old man Kennedy, the father of the boy that’s in the White House now?

“Old man Kennedy started throwing rocks at Roosevelt, saying he’d caused the war and so on. And then he said, ‘Harry, what the hell are you doing campaigning for that crippled son of a bitch that killed my son Joe?’

“I’d stood it just as long as I could, and I said, ‘If you say another word about Roosevelt, I’m going to throw you out that window.’

“And Bob grabbed me by the arm and said, ‘Come out here. I’m gonna get ten thousand dollars out of the old son of a bitch for the Democratic Party.’ And he did.

"That is absolutely correct and the way it happened. I haven't seen him since. . . . When they asked me down in Richmond, I was down in Richmond, Virginia, delivering a lecture on the Constitution to the law school down there, and one of the smart-aleck kids got up—this was before the 1960 election—got up and said, 'What's going to happen when the Pope moves into the White House?' I says, 'It's not the Pope I'm afraid of, it's the Pop.' And that's still true. Old Joe Kennedy is as big a crook as we've got anywhere in this country, and I don't like it that he bought his son the nomination for the Presidency."

He really did buy it?

"Of course he did. He bought West Virginia. I don't know how much it cost him; he's a tightfisted old son of a bitch; so he didn't pay any more than he had to, but he bought West Virginia, and that's how his boy won the primary over Humphrey.

"And it wasn't only there. All over the country old man Kennedy spent what he had to to buy the nomination. . . . Of course, he didn't buy the Presidency itself. He didn't have to. I told you. When you're running against a man like Nixon. . . . Oh, my, I do regret I never had the chance to run against him."*

*Mr. Truman and I never got back to the subject of Joe Kennedy buying the Democratic nomination for his son in 1960, but Robert Alan Aurthur recalls a conversation among Truman and two advisers, David Noyes, and William Hillman. The conversation took place at about the same time as the above during a ride between Independence and Kansas City, as dreary a stretch of road as there is anywhere in the world:

". . . Mr. Truman reiterated his disappointment when Kennedy had taken the nomination from Lyndon Johnson in 1960. In response to my question as to what specifically had set him against Kennedy, Mr. Truman answered abruptly, 'I felt he was too immature.'

"The Boss doesn't like wealthy Northeast elitists,' Hillman told me, sotto voce, to which I commented that Franklin Roosevelt had been exactly that.

"'But one of the greatest politicians that ever lived,' Mr. Truman said, putting the art of politics above anything else.

Noyes observed that at least Jack Kennedy was willing to listen, and he seemed to be maturing fast. Mr. Truman laughed.

"The Presidency will make a man out of any boy," he said.

Hillman wondered if anyone could fault the Kennedys as practical politicians, citing their extraordinary gift for organization, and Mr. Truman mumbled something half under his breath to the effect that ". . . if you have enough money you can buy almost anything.

"With Mr. Truman no more than two feet from us, Hillman whispered loudly to me, 'He hates the idea that Joe Kennedy bought the nomination for his son Jack.'

". . . Mr. Truman stared straight ahead, thin lips pressed tightly together to indicate his residual disapproval of Joe Kennedy. It was quiet for a moment, and then