



EDWARD M. KENNEDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interviewer's Briefing Materials **Milton Gwirtzman Interview, 05/29/2009, 08/05/2009**

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Miller Center Documents¹

- Milt Gwirtzman Timeline.
- Milt Gwirtzman Fact Sheet.

Secondary Source Materials

- Milt Gwirtzman bio, *Biography Resource Center*.
- William vanden Heuvel and Milton Gwirtzman, *On His Own: Robert F. Kennedy, 1964-1968* (New York: Doubleday, 1970) pp. 13-14, 56-57, 64, 189-191, 278-281, 290-291, 304-306, 316-317, 341, 343.
- Adam Clymer interview with Milton Gwirtzman, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 01/30/1993.
- Adam Clymer interview with Milton Gwirtzman, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 04/03/1993.
- Milton Gwirtzman interview, Robert F. Kennedy oral history project, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 02/10/1972, pp. 53-54, 60-74.
- Milton Gwirtzman interview, Robert F. Kennedy oral history project, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 04/04/1972 pp. 138-140.
- Adam Clymer, *Edward M. Kennedy: A Biography* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1999) pp. 52-53, 198.
- Adam Clymer interview with John Nolan, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, 03/03/1995.
- Burton Hersh, *The Education of Edward Kennedy: A Family Biography* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1972) p. 192, 254-255, 259.

¹ These are original documents created by Miller Center researchers for the Edward M. Kennedy Oral History Project. Please acknowledge credit for any use of these materials.

Oral History Interviews

- David Burke interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 06/19/2007.
- John Culver interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 03/31/2005.
- Gerry Doherty interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 10/10/2005.
- Mary Frackleton interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 07/08/2005.
- Joey Gargan interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 10/31/2005.
- Ted Sorensen interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 12/7/2006.
- Dun Gifford interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 07/13/2005.
- Jean Kennedy Smith interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 06/28-29/2005.
- Lester Hyman interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 10/06/2008.
- William vanden Heuvel interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 07/19/2005.
- Edward M. Kennedy interview, Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 06/17/2005.

MILTON GWIRTZMAN TIMELINE

Prepared by Bryan Craig

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 05/19/2009

1933

March Milton Saul Gwirtzman (MG) is born in Rochester, New York.

1950

Fall Edward M. Kennedy (EMK) enters Harvard University. MG also enters Harvard around this time. (MG graduates in 1954.) It is not clear whether EMK and MG knew each other at Harvard. While at Harvard, MG serves as editorial chairman of the *Harvard Crimson*.

1951

May EMK is expelled from Harvard after he is caught cheating on a Spanish exam. The dean offers to consider EMK's reentry into Harvard the following year. EMK decides to enlist in the Army, serving from 1951 to 1953. (Burton Hersh, *The Education of Edward Kennedy*, New York: Morrow, 1972, pp. 78-82)

1953

Fall EMK is readmitted to Harvard.

1954

Spring MG graduates *summa cum laude* from Harvard, authoring his thesis on *The Decline of the Democratic Party in New York State, 1932-1952*.

1956

Spring EMK graduates from Harvard University.

1958

Spring MG attains his law degree from Yale University.

1960

MG serves on Senator Stuart Symington's (D-MO) staff. During this time MG gets to know members of John F. Kennedy's (JFK) staff, such as Ted Sorenson, Mike Feldman, and Richard Goodwin. Two weeks before the Convention, Goodwin approaches MG with a job offer to work for JFK should JFK win the nomination. When JFK is nominated, MG accepts a position researching issues under Feldman for JFK's presidential campaign. He joins JFK on a visit to New

York City a week before the election. He also meets Robert F. Kennedy (RFK) for the first time. (Milton Gwirtzman oral history interview, JFK Library, 01/19/1966, pp. 3, 9, 12; Milton Gwirtzman oral history interview, JFK Library, 12/23/1971, pp. 1)

1961-1962 MG works as a legislative assistant to Senator Benjamin A. Smith II (D-MA). Smith, an old college friend of JFK's, had been appointed to fill the seat when JFK was elected president in 1960.

1962

February EMK travels to Washington, D.C. and informs Smith that he intends to run for JFK's unexpired Senate seat in the November election. Smith agrees to step aside and arranges to send MG to Massachusetts every week to brief EMK on key issues. (Adam Clymer, *Edward Kennedy: A Biography*, New York: William Morrow and Co., 1999, pp. 35; Theo Lippman, *Senator Ted Kennedy: The Career behind the Image*, New York: Norton, 1976, pp. 16; Gwirtzman interview, JFK Library, 01/19/1966, p. 26; John Culver oral history interview, JFK Library, 05/12/2003, p. 7)

EMK travels to Europe and Israel with Claude Hooton. Making his first trip to Ireland, EMK gives a controversial anti-British St. Patrick's Day speech, leading JFK to later joke with EMK that he has his own foreign policy. (Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. *Robert Kennedy and His Times*, New York: Ballantine Books, 1978, pp. 574-575; Clymer, pp. 35)

Summer MG and John Culver hold "Issue Days" for EMK on Fridays over the summer at the Cape to work on a relevant political issue. JFK and RFK often travel in from Washington and, with Joseph P. Kennedy (JPK), discuss the campaign. (Culver interview, JFK Library, pp. 5-6)

August MG, JFK, RFK, Sorensen, and Joey Gargan work with EMK at different times in Hyannis Port to help prepare EMK for his debates with Eddie McCormack. (Gwirtzman interview, 01/19/1966, JFK Library, pp. 28-32; Lester David, *Good Ted, Bad Ted: The Two Faces of Edward M. Kennedy*, Secaucus, NJ: Carol Publishing Group, 1993, pp. 77-78)

On the 27th, the day of the first debate, McCormack attacks EMK as unqualified and as running solely on family connections. EMK is reportedly upset after the debate and asks MG to debrief JFK. MG says it is not yet clear who won the debate, as it depends on whether the voters accepted McCormack's attacks as accurate, and whether they approved of McCormack's tactics. JFK tells MG that EMK "is the candidate" and that he needs to keep EMK's spirits up. (Gwirtzman interview, JFK Library, 01/19/1966, pp. 32; Clymer, pp. 41; Adam Clymer interview with Milton Gwirtzman, 01/30/1995, pp. 5)

- September* EMK meets with JPK, JFK, RFK, Culver, MG, and Gargan over Labor Day weekend to discuss his second upcoming debate with McCormack. (Gwartzman interview, JFK Library, 12/23/1971, pp. 6)
- November* EMK is elected to the U.S. Senate.
- EMK is immediately sworn into the Senate on the 7th, ahead of the other incoming senators, because he is filling JFK's vacated seat. The Democrats have a 67-33 majority in the Senate. (James MacGregor Burns, *Edward Kennedy and the Camelot Legacy*, New York: W.W. Norton, 1976, p. 99; Clymer, p. 44)
- Winter* EMK asks MG, who has been serving as Benjamin Smith's legislative assistant, to stay on to write speeches, handle broader policy and constituency issues, and serve as an advisor and Kennedy liaison. (It is not clear whether MG holds a formal or informal position, though the JFK Library website for MG's papers identify MG as EMK's legislative assistant in 1963.) Another staff holdover is Joe McIntyre, who serves as EMK's first chief of staff. MG also assists with the transition of replacing Smith's career Senate staffers with EMK's own staffers. (Hersh, p. 192; JFK Presidential Library & Museum Website)

1963

- January* EMK is assigned to the Judiciary Committee, the Labor & Public Welfare Committee (including the Labor, Employment and Manpower, and Migratory Labor Subcommittees), and the Special Committee on Aging.
- Jan.-Feb.* MG prepares a memo outlining RFK's options for after the 1964 presidential campaign. He specifically suggests that either running for the Senate from the state of New York or for governor of Massachusetts would not affect his own path to the presidency. He gives the report to EMK, who passes it to RFK. (Elizabeth Drew, *Senator*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1979, pp. 16; Gwartzman interview, 12/23/1971, JFK Library, p. 8)
- June* JFK gives an important nationally-televised speech to the American people on civil rights on the 11th.
- NAACP field secretary Medgar Evers is killed in Jackson, Mississippi on the 12th.
- The 1963 Civil Rights Bill is introduced in the Senate on the 19th. However, little progress is made on the bill over the summer. (Clymer, pp. 48)
- July* On the 23rd, JFK sends legislative recommendations to Congress on immigration reform, the main emphasis being the elimination of the national-quota system, which gives special visa priority to countries in Western Europe. Under the existing system, established by the 1921 Quota Act and subsequent legislation in 1924 and 1952, total immigration to the U.S. from non-Western hemisphere

countries is capped at approximately 158,000, with visa quotas allocated according to the national origins of the U.S. population in 1920. This favors nations who sent early settlers, like Great Britain, Germany, Ireland and Scandinavia, countries which are also predominantly white. Very few quota visas are awarded to other countries (though countries in the western hemisphere do not come under the quota system and face no cap) and many feel the system is discriminatory. Individuals could be exempted from the quota system by a private bill in Congress. (1965 CQ Almanac, pp. 459, 461)

August MG visits Pennsylvania Governor William Scranton, reportedly by Smith's request, to get a briefing on Scranton's progress as governor. (*The Washington Post*, 08/11/1963)

September The Senate votes overwhelmingly to ratify the Partial Test Ban Treaty, which bans nuclear testing in the atmosphere as well as underwater and in outer space. EMK says "A limited test ban is better than an all-out arms race, and the time to make that choice is now." (Clymer, pp. 51)

EMK travels with Joan Kennedy to Yugoslavia, where he speaks to the Inter-parliamentary Union in Belgrade on civil rights and has lunch with Ngo Dinh Nhu, sister-in-law of the South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem.

Summer/Fall MG accepts a research job with Stephen Smith at the Democratic National Committee to lay the groundwork for JFK's re-election campaign. (Gwirtzman interview, JFK Library, 01/19/1966, pp. 36-37)

November JFK is fatally shot in Dallas, Texas on the 22nd. MG drives Claude Hooton and EMK to EMK's Georgetown home to see Joan. While EMK tries to find an active phone line, MG picks up Joan Kennedy, who is at a beauty parlor preparing for the Kennedys' fifth anniversary party scheduled for later that night. MG returns and drives EMK to the White House, where it is confirmed that JFK has died. (Clymer, pp. 52-53; Hersh, pp. 185-186; Gwirtzman interview, JFK Library, 01/19/1966, pp. 42-44; Burns, pp. 103-104)

On the 24th, EMK joins Gargan, Ed Moss, and MG to view the casket of JFK lying in state in the U.S. Capitol. (Clymer, pp. 53-54)

1964 EMK and MG work together on *The Fruitful Bough*, a book of essays about JFK, who has been left incapacitated from a stroke. (Clymer, pp. 62)

MG becomes partner at Dutton, Gwirtzman, Zumas, & Wise law firm in Washington, D.C. He remains a "political consultant" to RFK.

MG becomes Counsel to the John F. Kennedy Library Corporation, a job he holds until 1979. (John F. Kennedy Presidential Library & Museum Website)

- April* EMK gives his maiden speech in the Senate on the civil rights bill.
- May* While traveling through Europe in order to raise money for the John F. Kennedy Library and Museum, EMK retraces the steps of JFK's visit to Ireland eleven months prior. (Clymer, pp. 56-57)
- June* EMK's back is broken in a plane crash in Massachusetts.
- August* RFK announces he will run for the Senate from the state of New York. Days later, EMK asks MG to assemble material for RFK on New York and begin to research issues. MG goes on to serve as chief speech writer. (Gwirtzman interview, JFK Library, 12/23/1971, pp. 23, 26; *The New York Times*, 09/18/1964)

1965

- Spring* In his first legislative initiative, EMK takes on the poll tax. EMK comes up just a few votes short despite facing strong opposition from Mansfield and Dirksen.
- Summer* MG works for the campaign of Abraham D. Beame for New York City mayor. (Milton Gwirtzman oral history interview, JFK Library, 02/10/1972, pp. 56)
- September* EMK cosponsors and manages LBJ's 1965 immigration bill, ending the quota system.

On the 2nd, EMK signals to President Lyndon Baines Johnson (LBJ) via Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach that he would like LBJ to nominate Boston municipal judge and friend of JPK Francis X. Morrissey for a federal judgeship. LBJ reportedly tells Katzenbach that the nomination would be a favor to JPK, and LBJ aide Marvin Watson warns LBJ to frame the nomination in terms of "Senator Kennedy's interest and belief that this man was qualified." (Clymer, pp. 74)

On the 24th, EMK meets with LBJ at the White House. They call JPK to inform him that Morrissey will be nominated.

On the 26th, LBJ announces Morrissey's nomination as a federal district judge in Massachusetts. Morrissey's qualifications are assailed by *The Boston Globe*, members of the American Bar Association (ABA), and the senior judge on the court to which Morrissey has been nominated. During a tough closed door meeting with Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen (R-IL), Morrissey admits that his law practice has been "inconsequential" and that it was "very stupid" of him to attend Southern Law School. (Clymer, pp. 74-75)

At the request of EMK, MG takes a primary role in preparing Judge Frances X. Morrissey for his nomination battle for a Federal judgeship. (Hersh, pp. 237; Clymer interview with Gwirtzman, 01/30/1995, pp. 9-11)

- October* On the 12th, Rep. John McCormack (D-MA) and EMK lead eight witnesses in their praise of Morrissey. Dirksen and an ABA representative claim that Morrissey is not qualified for the position in terms of legal training and experience. (*1965 CQ Almanac*, pp. 1432)
- On the 15th, Morrissey is recommended 6-3 by the Judiciary Committee. EMK votes in favor. (*The New York Times*, 09/30/1965)
- EMK asks Katzenbach to provide a strong statement supporting Morrissey reflecting a confidential FBI report that states the Georgia law degree Morrissey received is legitimate. EMK asks MG to go to Katzenbach's office as EMK's representative during the preparation of a statement. (Gwirtzman interview, JFK Library, 02/10/1972, pp. 67)
- After *The Boston Globe* publishes a series of stories that contradict Morrissey's Senate testimony, senators that were less concerned with Morrissey's qualifications become angered by his apparent lies. Senator Joseph Tydings (D-MD) presses EMK and RFK to withdraw the nomination. RFK and EMK meet with Dirksen, who is threatening to use reports that EMK and Morrissey had met with a deported Mafia don on Capri in 1961. RFK tells him, "You hate the Kennedys." (Clymer, pp. 75-76; Hersh, pp. 247-248)
- On the 20th, EMK privately tells LBJ that he intends to back down on the Morrissey nomination. According to LBJ domestic policy advisor Joseph Califano, LBJ did not actively lobby for the Morrissey nomination until he was sure it would be defeated. (Clymer, pp. 76)
- On the 21st, EMK agrees to send the Morrissey nomination back to the Judiciary Committee. MG helps draft a speech for EMK defending Morrissey on the Senate floor. After EMK leaves that night for Vietnam, RFK has Morrissey write LBJ and ask that the nomination be withdrawn. (Clymer, pp. 77; Hersh, pp. 248; *The New York Times*, 10/22/1965)
- October* As chairman of the Judiciary's Subcommittee on Refugees and Escapees, EMK leads his first inspection tour of Vietnam.
- 1966**
- January* On the 19th, MG gives an interview for the JFK Presidential Library Oral History Program.
- June* MG, Smith, and William vanden Heuvel work on the campaign of Samuel Silverman for New York Supreme Court. (*The New York Times*, 06/13/1966)
- September* MG, Smith, and vanden Heuvel begin work on the campaign for Frank O'Connor's run for New York Governor. (*The New York Times*, 09/01/1966)

1967-1968 MG allows Joe Dolan to use his law firm to set up and run an exploratory committee for RFK's possible run for president. (Evan Thomas, *Robert Kennedy: His Life*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000, pp. 358)

1967 MG works on EMK's book, *Decisions for a Decade*.

1968

January EMK leads his second inspection tour of Vietnam.

March On the 4th, RFK instructs Fred Dutton to inform EMK that he has decided to pursue the Democratic nomination for president. According to MG, EMK had been arguing that RFK should wait until 1972 to run. RFK sends a message to McCarthy about his decision on the 11th. (Milton Gwirtzman oral history interview, JFK Library, 03/16/1972, pp. 106, 107; Clymer, pp. 106-107)

McCarthy loses the New Hampshire primary on the 12th but demonstrates LBJ's vulnerability by receiving 42.2 percent of the vote. (*1968 CQ Almanac*, pp. 975)

On the 13th, RFK meets briefly with McCarthy in EMK's Senate office. Later that day, RFK announces on the *CBS Evening News* that he is reconsidering his decision not to run in 1968. EMK and MG watch RFK's announcement on television while attending a meeting at Smith's New York apartment. The meeting had been initially convened to assess the impact of McCarthy's showing in New Hampshire, but quickly turns into a campaign organizing session. EMK subsequently takes responsibility for the non-primary states. (William vanden Heuvel and Milton Gwirtzman, *On His Own: RFK 1964-1968*, New York: Doubleday, 1970, pp. 306; James W. Hilty, *Robert Kennedy: Brother Protector*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997, pp. 614; Clymer, pp. 107-108)

EMK travels to McCarthy's house in Green Bay, Wisconsin the evening of the 15th to explain why RFK has decided to enter the primary and to discuss how RFK and McCarthy might work together to coordinate the anti-Vietnam vote. McCarthy refuses to consider making any deals and EMK returns immediately to RFK's estate, Hickory Hill, in the early morning of the 16th to pass on the news to RFK, Sorensen, Schlesinger and vanden Heuvel. Later that morning at breakfast, EMK ends Sorensen's, Schlesinger's and vanden Heuvel's questioning of whether RFK should enter the race, arguing, "No. He's made up his mind... We can't talk about it any more." (Schlesinger, pp. 854-855; Gwirtzman interview, JFK Library, 03/16/1972, pp. 111-113; Burns, pp. 348; Clymer, pp. 105-109)

On the 16th, RFK announces from the Senate Caucus Room that he will enter the Democratic primaries. EMK holds an important organizational meeting in his Senate office later that day to set-up campaign assignments. MG joins the campaign with the task of researching issues and helping write speeches.

(Gwartzman interview, JFK Library, 03/16/1972, pp. 113; Hersh, pp. 298; Clymer, pp. 108-109; *The Washington Post*, 03/17/1968)

RFK decides to enter the Indiana primary on the 25th. The decision is reached after EMK sends Gerard Doherty to Indiana to assess RFK's chances in the state. Upon Doherty's return, EMK and Doherty convince RFK at a meeting presided over by Sorensen and Smith in Washington, D.C. that RFK should enter the primary. EMK is assigned responsibility for Indiana, in addition to the non-primary states. (vanden Heuvel and Gwartzman, pp. 317; Gerard Doherty oral history interview, JFK Library, 02/03/1972; Burke interview, JFK Library, pp. 48- 51; Clymer, pp. 109-111; Hersh, pp. 298-301)

On the 31st, LBJ stuns the nation by announcing that he will not seek reelection. LBJ also announces a partial stoppage of the bombing in North Vietnam. Much of LBJ's support for the Democratic presidential nomination subsequently moves to Vice President Hubert Humphrey. (Clymer, pp. 110; *1968 CQ Almanac*, pp. 975)

April Martin Luther King, Jr. is assassinated on the 4th. RFK informs a black audience in Indianapolis of the tragedy and urges calm. (Clymer, pp. 111; Hersh, pp. 308)

MG heads out to Indiana to set up a research operation during the first week in April. (Gwartzman interview, JFK Library, 03/16/1972, pp. 114)

May RFK wins the Indiana primary on the 7th with 42.3 percent of the vote, defeating McCarthy and favorite-son Governor Roger Branigin. (*1968 CQ Almanac*, pp. 972, 976)

After Indiana, MG goes to Oregon and California. EMK spends much time in May campaigning in a number of states, including South Dakota, Pennsylvania, Iowa, Nebraska, Michigan, Arizona, New Mexico, Vermont and Maine. (Gwartzman interview, JFK Library, 03/16/1972, pp. 114; Hersh, pp. 315-322)

MG marries Elisabeth Ten Eyck Lansing on the 19th. (*The New York Times*, 05/20/1968)

Two days before the Oregon primary, EMK and Smith meet in a Portland restaurant to go over strategy. EMK had just come from Pennsylvania where Humphrey did very well, and had just met with Western states staffers, who had "discouraging reports." (vanden Heuvel and Gwartzman, pp. 363)

After the loss in the Oregon Democratic primary, RFK agrees to debate McCarthy. MG, Fred Dutton, Jeff Greenfield, Adam Walinsky, and Peter Edelman immediately start to prepare background papers for the debate. (Clymer, pp. 111-112; Plimpton, pp. 310; vanden Heuvel and Gwartzman, pp. 376)

June RFK debates McCarthy in San Francisco on the 1st.

After winning the California primary on the 4th, RFK is shot in Los Angeles on the 5th. EMK immediately flies from San Francisco to Los Angeles with Dave Burke and John Seigenthaler, a close friend of RFK's who has been heading the northern California campaign. RFK dies the next day. MG is deeply involved in the funeral proceedings and helps to write EMK's eulogy. (Clymer, pp. 112-114; David Heymann, *RFK*, New York: Dutton, 1998, pp. 508-509; Lippman, pp. 264)

On the 10th, associates of EMK report that he will not run with Humphrey or replace RFK as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for president. (*The New York Times*, 06/07/1968, 06/11/1968)

The New York Times reports on the 18th that associates of Humphrey are calling for a Humphrey-EMK ticket.

July EMK issues a press statement on the 26th announcing that he will not accept the vice presidential nomination in 1968. He explains that his decision is based on "purely personal" reasons and is "final, firm, and not subject to further consideration." (Public statement, Office of Senator Edward M. Kennedy, 07/26/1968)

August In a speech at Holy Cross on the 21st, EMK announces he will return to public life to continue fighting for his brothers' causes. This is his first public appearance since RFK's death. (Clymer, pp. 121-122; *The New York Times*, 08/22/1968)

Humphrey meets with EMK on the 22nd at his home in McLean, Virginia and asks him to join him on the ticket as vice president. EMK declines and assures Humphrey that he will not seek the nomination for president. (Clymer, pp. 122)

EMK sends Smith to Chicago on the 23rd. Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley urges EMK to consider accepting the presidential nomination, while aides such as MG and Burke fly to Hyannis Port to reportedly advise EMK to stay out of the race. EMK decides to stay out. (Hersh, pp. 351; Clymer, pp. 122)

The Democratic National Convention opens in Chicago on the 26th with a movement to draft EMK for the presidential nomination spearheaded by Daley, DiSalle, and Jesse Unruh, speaker of the California State assembly. Smith works behind the scenes tallying the number of potential votes for EMK. (Clymer, pp. 123-124; *The Washington Post*, 08/27/1968)

On the 27th, Smith meets with McCarthy to discuss a deal in which McCarthy would drop his candidacy and urge his delegates to vote for EMK. The deal collapses when McCarthy supporters leak information about the meeting to the press. When Smith calls EMK to tell him that he has the votes to be nominated for president, EMK makes the final decision to not accept the nomination. (Clymer, pp. 123-126; *The New York Times*, 08/28/1968)

Humphrey wins the presidential nomination on the first ballot on the 28th after the movement against him collapses in light of EMK's decision not to run. Senator Edmund Muskie (D-ME) is selected as Humphrey's running-mate. (*Wall Street Journal*, 08/29/1968)

1969

- January* EMK is elected Senate Majority Whip.
- July* The accident at Chappaquiddick occurs on the 18th. A group of Kennedy aides gather at the home in Hyannisport, where they debate whether EMK should address the nation. McNamara reportedly argues strongly that EMK should give a speech, and Sorensen, MG, and Burke are asked to prepare a draft. Other Kennedy aides in attendance include Goodwin, Kenny O'Donnell, and Burke Marshall. At one point, EMK reportedly suggests that he pledge never to run for president, but is convinced to remove this line by his sister Eunice. Generally speaking, EMK's younger aides push for a short, simple admission of guilt, but lose out to Sorensen and the more seasoned veterans for the longer and more emotional speech. EMK gives a nationally-televised address on the 25th in which he pays tribute to Kopechne, describes the accident and events afterward in detail, accepts responsibility for his role in the accident, and asks the people of Massachusetts whether they still have confidence in his ability to serve in the Senate. The response is favorable. (*Time*, 07/01/1969; Rose Kennedy, *Times to Remember*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1974, pp. 491-492; Clymer, pp. 151-152; Hersh, pp. 414)
- 1970-1971** MG participates in interviews for the RFK Oral History Project at the University of Massachusetts-Boston. MG's and vanden Heuvel's book, *On His Own: RFK 1964-1968*, is published in 1970.
- 1972** MG works as chief speechwriter for the McGovern-Shriver campaign. (Clymer interview with Gwirtzman, 04/03/1995, pp. 10)
- August* EMK gives a speech at the 1972 Democratic National Convention. An article in *The New York Times* gives credit to MG for that speech. In a letter to the editor, MG says Goodwin wrote it. (*The New York Times*, 08/20/1972)
- November* MG writes an article arguing that no event significantly alters an election or convention until the year of the election, except a dramatic event like Richard Nixon losing the 1962 California governor's race or Chappaquiddick. (*The Washington Post*, 11/05/1972)
- December* EMK tells MG that he has been discussing the possibility of running for the presidency in 1976 and that several prominent Democrats have offered to raise one million dollars for his campaign. (Clymer, pp. 197)

1973

- August* MG is at EMK's house when Joe Kennedy III returns after a car accident in Nantucket that paralyzes one of his passengers, Pamela Kelley. MG states EMK and Joe went for a long walk. (Clymer interview with Gwirtzman, 04/30/1995, pp. 18)
- October* Nixon fires Archibald Cox, abolishes the special prosecutor's office, and accepts the resignations of Attorney General Elliot Richardson and Deputy AG William French Smith in what would become known as the "Saturday Night Massacre."
- MG, Jim Flaherty, Carey Parker, Marshall, and Smith meet with EMK to discuss how EMK should respond to the Saturday Night Massacre, as well as a potential 1976 presidential run. MG is asked to write a speech for EMK to give on the "Saturday Night Massacre." (Lippman, pp. 211, 264)
- November* Teddy Kennedy Jr. is diagnosed with cancer in his leg.
- During a flight back to Washington, D.C. after a JFK Presidential Library meeting, EMK discusses a possible 1976 run for the presidency with MG. MG says that it is a personal decision and that EMK can wait to make a final decision until August 1975. (Clymer interview with Gwirtzman, 04/30/1995, pp. 14-15)

1975

- October* MG writes an article on how the new dangers facing presidential candidates will affect political campaigns. He cites a memo from a "longtime associate" to EMK about the need to remove events like airport welcomes, outdoor speeches, and street campaigning, and analyzes how such safety measures could negatively impact the effectiveness of a campaign. (*The New York Times*, 10/12/1975)

1976

- April* MG becomes a political consultant for Governor Jimmy Carter's presidential campaign. (*The Washington Post*, 04/26/1976)

- 1977** MG is appointed chairman for the National Commission on Social Security, a bipartisan panel to review and investigate all aspects of Social Security and related programs. The report issued in 1981 has little impact. (<http://www.ssa.gov/history/councils.html>)

- 1979** Richard Burke claims MG authors a memo at the suggestion of Smith to consider how various scandals (regarding affairs) would be dealt with in a presidential campaign. (Richard Burke, *The Senator: My Ten Years with Ted Kennedy*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992, pp. 209-210)

- January* EMK becomes chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.
- October* MG organizes a party after the JFK Library dedication in the penthouse of the JFK School of Government. It is around this time that MG concludes his service as counsel to the John F. Kennedy Library Corporation. (*The New York Times*, 10/22/1979)
- November* A week before EMK announces his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination, MG, Edward Martin, Joan Kennedy, friend Sarah Milam, cousin Sally Fitzgerald, and Marcia Chellis, Joan's assistant, meet in Joan's Boston apartment to discuss her role in the campaign. (J. Randy Taraborrelli, *Jackie, Ethel, Joan: Women of Camelot*, New York: Warner Books, 2000, pp. 437-438)
- EMK announces he will challenge Carter for the Democratic presidential nomination. It is not clear what role MG played in the campaign. Robert Shrum and Carey Parker held chief speechwriting responsibilities.

1985

- June* MG writes a letter to the editor of the *New York Times* to correct Eugene Kennedy's travel article on Chicago, which states that EMK was in Chicago at the Standard Club during the 1968 Democratic National Convention. MG responds that he was with EMK in Hyannisport. (*The New York Times*, 06/02/1985)
- December* EMK announces in a televised statement that he will not run for president in 1988. He acknowledges the following day at a news conference that his decision may mean that he will never again run for president.

1993

- January* JFK biographer Nigel Hamilton charges that MG had told Hamilton to "alter his views" regarding JFK and Rose and tried to prevent Hamilton from reading letters between JFK and his parents. MG responds that he only marked sections that seemed to have distorted Rose's portrayal, and that he honored Hamilton's request to ask the staff at the JFK Library to look for letters in which JFK specifically professes his love for his mother. However none were found. (*The New York Times*, 01/22/1993, 02/01/1993)
- March* Clinton nominates Jean Kennedy Smith as U.S. Ambassador to Ireland.
- June* MG and the Kennedy's denounce Joe McGinniss' book, *The Last Brother*, for including inaccurate quotes and inventing dialogue. (*The New York Times*, 06/26/1993)

1994

- November* EMK narrowly defeats Mitt Romney to win reelection to the U.S. Senate.
- 2002-2003** MG donates money to the National Voting Rights Institute. (NVRI Newsletter Summer 2003)
- 2004**
- December* The Miller Center for Public Affairs at the University of Virginia is awarded the Edward Kennedy Oral History Project (KOHP). MG becomes EMK's liaison for the project and works with the Miller Center to prepare EMK for interviews. (*The Boston Globe*, 12/06/2004)
- 2006**
- January* MG and EMK attend a memorial service for *The New York Times* reporter David Rosenbaum, who died of injuries caused in a robbery. (*The Boston Globe*, 01/14/2006)

MILTON GWIRTZMAN FACT SHEET

Prepared by Bryan Craig

Miller Center, University of Virginia, 05/18/2009

Positions w/ EMK:

- 1962 Senate campaign: Gwirtzman worked with EMK on issues and with debates.
- 1963: worked for EMK in his first year in office on speeches, issues, and staffing; one of Gwirtzman's main responsibilities was to replace Smith's career staffers with EMK's own staff. According to the JFK Library, Gwirtzman held the formal position of legislative assistant.
- Senior Advisory Committee for the Institute of Politics at the JFK School of Government, Harvard University.
- Consultant for EMK throughout his career.

Other positions with Kennedy family:

- 1960: deputy director of research for JFK presidential campaign.
- 1963: oversaw research with Stephen Smith on the Democratic National Committee to help prepare for JFK's re-election campaign.
- 1964: chief speech writer for RFK's Senate campaign.
- 1964-1979: counsel, JFK Library Corporation.
- 1964-1968: political consultant to RFK.
- 1966: participated as a respondent in the JFK Oral History Program.
- 1967: worked with Stephen Smith on Frank O'Connor's run for New York governor.
- 1968: director of public affairs for RFK's presidential campaign researching issues.
- 1970: co-author, *On His Own, RFK, 1964-1968* with William vanden Heuvel.
- 1970-1971: participated as a respondent in RFK Oral History Program.
- 1972: chief speechwriter, McGovern-Shriver presidential election campaign.

Other positions:

- 1959-1960: legislative assistant to Senator Stuart Symington (D-MO).
- 1961-1962: legislative assistant to Senator Benjamin A. Smith II (D-MA).
- 1964-1969: partner at Dutton, Gwirtzman, Zumas & Wise.
- 1970-1971: chairman of the board, Overseas Information Systems, Paris, France.
- 1976: political consultant to Jimmy Carter's presidential campaign.
- 1977-1981: chairman of the National Commission on Social Security.

Possible topics include:

- 1963 JFK assassination: Gwirtzman was with EMK on the day JFK was shot and later accompanied EMK to see JFK's casket in the Capitol.
- 1964: helped EMK with the book, *The Fruitful Bough*, on JFK after JFK's stroke.
- 1965 Morrissey nomination: at EMK's request, Gwirtzman helped prepare Francis Morrissey for his confirmation hearings for a federal judgeship.
- 1967: worked on EMK's book *Decisions for a Decade*, which was published in 1968.
- 1968: argued against EMK's entering the presidential field after RFK's death.

- 1969 Chappaquiddick accident: Helped write EMK's formal statement after the accident.
- 1973: wrote EMK's "Saturday Night Massacre" speech.
- 1968-1976: was regularly consulted by EMK about whether to run for president.
- 1993: defends himself and the Kennedy family against two Kennedy books: *JFK: Reckless Youth* by Nigel Hamilton and *The Last Brother* by Joe McGinniss.
- 2004-present: Works as liaison between EMK and the Miller Center for Public Affairs (UVA) for the EMK Oral History Project. He also helps prepare EMK for interviews.