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'Kiddie Corps' Is Kennedy Bulwark

By Richard Harwood

Washington Post Staff Writer

A BYSTANDER watched Robert Kennedy's entourage debark from an airplane the other day and asked a reasonable question.

"Who's the kid with the guitar?"

It happened to be Henry J. Greenfield, but the name didn't register, like a lot of the names in the Kennedy political cast of 1968—Adam Walinsky, Peter Edelman, Dun Gifford, Lewis Kaden and Michael Schwartz, to take a few examples.

They have been described as "the Kiddie Corps" by aging skeptics who find it difficult to fit 24-year-old speechwriters and 30-year-old social philosophers into the traditional scheme of things. But there they are at the candidate's side, beardless ghosts with portable electric typewriters, facilely producing rhetoric and schemes of social salvation between airport stops at Coos Bay, Ore., Rapid City, S.D., and the other way stations of American political life.

They are symbolic of all that has changed in the eight years since John F. Kennedy embarked on his own quest for the Presidency. He was surrounded then by academic celebrities, governors, a well-tested personal staff and an Irish Mafia that included such political operators as Kenneth P. O'Donnell and Lawrence O'Brien. It is, in the argot of the personnel trade, a "mature" and clannish group of men who functioned according to the conventional principles of American politics and according to the conventional wisdom of American liberalism.

Old-Timers Re-Enlist

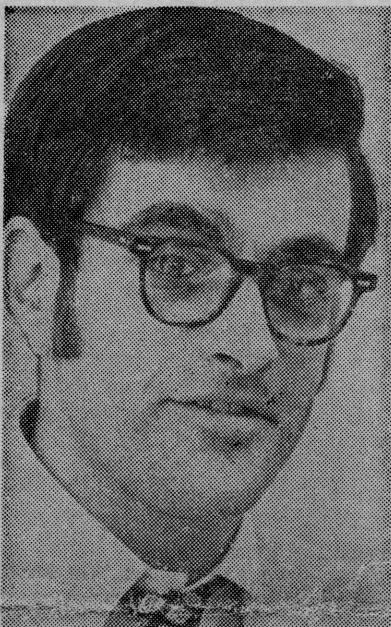
MANY OF THEM have re-enlisted for this newest Kennedy venture and have moved into the national campaign headquarters at 2000 L st. nw.—O'Donnell, O'Brien, Theodore Sorensen, Pierre Salinger and so on. But it is not the same. The clannish spirit of 1960 is gone; the old boys are burdened with mutual hostilities, conflicting ambitions, a sense of *deja vu*. O'Donnell and O'Brien, to take the classic case, "communicate but don't speak," as one of their friends has put it. Teddy Kennedy has been the target of intramural grumblings. There are reports of tension between Sorensen and speech writer Richard Goodwin, a referee



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Beyond that and more importantly, Robert Kennedy is taking a different road this year. His brother courted "the Establishment"—business, organized labor, Southern governors, big city machine politicians.

This time, it is Kennedy against the Establishment, partly out of necessity and partly out of the conviction that the Democratic Party must be purged and remade out of a new coalition of the dissatisfied and the disenchanting, suburbanites as well as the blacks of the ghetto.

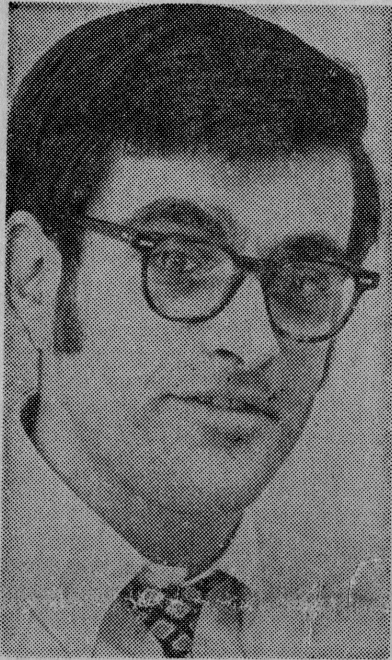
New Frontier Irrelevant

HIS BROTHER evoked the spirit and the philosophy of the New Deal and the Fair Deal. To Robert Kennedy, that philosophy, along with the philosophy of the New Frontier, has lost its relevance and has become inappropriate to the world today.

Indeed, his criticisms of the "tyrannical" Federal bureaucracy in Washington, his hostility to centralized decision-making, his attacks on "welfare handouts" and his eulogies to the "private enterprise system" often remind

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Photos by Bob Burchette—The Washington Post

Michael Schwartz . . . literal long-hair prepares drafts of speeches.



Associated Press

Henry "Jeff" Greenfield . . . youngest "bomb thrower" writes speeches and plays the guitar.

Kennedy Now Leans Heavily on

CAST, From Page B1

his listeners of Barry Goldwater's phrase-making in 1964. He preaches self-determination and self-help, decentralization of authority and popular democracy in forms that would reach up to the Presidency itself. ("As President," he has said, "I would get out of Washington and go talk to the people and listen to them.")

These radical departures from the rather simple Democratic liberalism of 1960 have, to some considerable degree, been the doing of the anonymous young men with whom Kennedy has surrounded himself over the past four years—the Walinskys and Edelmans of his staff. They are not the formulations of the O'Briens and Sorensens.

Youngsters At Center

THE NEW CIRCLE is broad, encompassing not only staff members but academicians, minority group leaders and such journalists as Pete Hamill, lately of *Newsday* and the *Saturday Evening Post*.

A half-dozen youngsters, however, are at the vital center:

- Edelman, a 30-year-old Yale law graduate who is Kennedy's legislative assistant and who contributed heavily to Kennedy's last book, "To Seek A Newer World." Conventional in appearance, unexcitable in action, he is considered a "stabilizer" among more emotional associates. His specialty is domestic affairs.

- K. Dun Gifford, 29, a legislative assistant to Teddy Kennedy. He is in

charge of the daily delegate count at national headquarters. A banker's son out of Harvard College and Harvard Law, he is the biggest man in the headquarters—6 feet 4, 220 pounds.

- Milton Gwartzman, the senior citizen of the group at age 35. Now in private law practice here, Gwartzman served with Gifford on Ted Kennedy's staff and helped ghost the Senator's book. With Edelman, he runs the research section—"the Think Tank"—at national Kennedy headquarters and conducts a private intelligence operation to keep the organization informed on what people are saying. "Milty," one of his associates reports, "has been keeping book on people for the last five years—a little black book." His law school was Yale.

- Lewis Kaden, 26, a short, curly-haired young man out of Harvard Law who worked for a time as Robert Kennedy's legislative assistant, resigned and then returned to work in the campaign. He is an "issues" man, working with Edelman in the "Think Tank."

- Michael Schwartz, also 26, Harvard Law, class of 1967. Literally a longhair, his present assignment is as a legislative assistant to Kennedy. He, too, spends his days researching issues and preparing speech drafts.

- Henry "Jeff" Greenfield, the youngest of the crew at 24. At the University of Wisconsin at the age of 18, he edited the newspaper and questioned John Kennedy's Vietnam policies as early as 1962. An accomplished guitarist and a large consumer of soda pop, he travels with Kennedy, turning

out finished speech copy. A year ago, after Yale Law, he was unemployed but then wandered into Kennedy's office and signed on as a legislative intern.

Senior Citizen Walinsky

AND THEN THERE is Walinsky, the prototype of the new Kennedy circle. Having reached the age of 31, he, like Gwartzman, is a senior citizen among his peers.

He was an undergraduate at Cornell, where, by his own account, he was more interested in girls and golf than geopolitics. After Yale Law (1961), he took a job in a Wall Street law firm and wound up in an obscure Justice Department office in 1963. The following year his only published article appeared in the *New Republic* under the title, "Keeping The Poor In Their Place."

His argument was that poverty could be abolished easily in the United States but won't be because the existence of an under class is the only thing that gives identity to a middle class that includes everybody from plumbers to eye doctors.

That same year he got involved in Kennedy's campaign for the Senate in New York. He has been on the payroll ever since, a slender, Mod young man with steel-rimmed spectacles, cuffless trousers, button-down shirts and regimental ties. His intellectual gurus include Eric Erickson, a social psychologist at Harvard; Hannah Arendt, and two former CIA men who now write on foreign affairs, William Pfaff and Ed-

His 'Kiddie Corps'

mund Stillman. He appreciates Play-boy, is fascinated by pinball machines and sings folk songs.

Walinsky and his young co-workers are well accustomed now to being called "bomb throwers" and "agents of the New Left." They were automatically blamed several weeks ago for inspiring Kennedy's sharp personal attacks on President Johnson.

They were, in fact, blameless, but because they are young and excessively precocious at times, they get identified with whatever "radicalism" Kennedy conjures up in the middle-class mind.

19th Century Liberalism

THEIR THOUGHT processes, however, like Kennedy's, owe more to the 19th century liberals—Thomas Jefferson, John Stuart Mill—than to Che Guevara and his Berkeley disciples. At times they sound nostalgic for Main Street and Town Hall America.

Walinsky was eating a hamburger another day and wondered aloud if things like food and houses weren't a little better "in the old days."

He talks passionately about "participatory democracy," about the insensitivity and authoritarianism of "anonymous centers of power"—the Pentagon, for example. And he has visions of a decentralized society in which neighborhood groups, from Scarsdale to Harvard, make the vital decisions that affect their lives.

One form or another, most of the ideas have found their way into Kennedy's recent books and into the program of his campaign. They are the product of an elaborate research-writ-

ing system that begins in Washington in the "Think Tank" on the seventh floor of the L Street building.

A research staff under the direction of Edelman and Gwirtzman assembles position papers, draft speeches and the collected thoughts of professors on campuses throughout the United States.

The phrases and ideas that survive the culling process are phoned to Walinsky and Greenberg aboard Kennedy's plane and are there turned into the finished speech.

The final editing is done by Kennedy and Fred Dutton, a former Assistant Secretary of State, who, as much as anyone, is to Robert Kennedy what Sorensen was to John Kennedy.

Old Boys vs. New

FROM ALL ACCOUNTS, there have been many tuggings and haulings between the old and new boys of 1968 over the postures Kennedy has taken in this campaign. And in most of these gentlemanly confrontations, Dutton has thrown his weight on the side of Walinsky, Edelman and their associates.

The result is the "new politics" Kennedy is espousing. From this and from other evidence, it seems reasonably certain at this stage that a second Kennedy Administration would not be a pale copy of the first, especially in terms of personnel.

Few if any of the old boys have expressed any desire for another stint in the White House. O'Brien is planning to enter private business within a few



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weeks and thereafter will devote only part time to the campaign. O'Donnell's wish is to run for the governorship of Massachusetts. Sorensen is said to have political and financial aspirations of his own.

"It is," a Kennedy man observed not long ago, "a whole new ball game and a whole new cast of characters."

No one around Kennedy is brash enough at this stage to speculate on who is going to be running the Government next Jan. 21. But if Kennedy should prevail, it is a fair guess that Adam Walinsky, Peter Edelman et al. will not be bit players in the events that follow. Guitars and all, they are likely to be on center stage.