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Mr. Weisberg -

I received the books and a note from your wife postmarked May 1, 1975. I was sorry to hear that you are ill and I hope you get better soon because your work is needed by the world and from what I have read you are a very sincere human being that wants to make this messed up world a better place to live. I admire your writing style and determination to find the truth.

The kitchen debate picture is still on my mind because I have gotten no response from any assassination researcher that confirms that the man with the hat to the left of Brezhnev at least resembles the short tramp. Maybe when you are feeling better you could write a response regarding the comparison of the tramp pictures with the kitchen debate photo - don't rush your health is more important. Enclosed is a newspaper I have worked on and ^a class handout. ^{Get Well soon,} Mark Monroe
Your work is a necessary reality.

COLD WAR BACKGROUND

The McCarthy hearings in the early fifties bred an anti-communist hate into the mainstream of Middle American Mentality. Since both the U.S. and U.S.S.R. had nuclear bombs since 1949, the Cold war had intensified.

Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, summed up the new policy when he proposed the doctrine of massive retaliation. U.S. would depend in the future "primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate, instantly, by means and at places of our choosing." Which means that J.F.Dulles was for the U.S. countering local aggression not with limited warfare but by nuclear strikes against U.S.S.R. or China.

Vice President Richard Nixon then said "We have adopted a new principle, ... Rather than let the Communists nibble us to death all over the world in little wars, we will rely in the future on massive mobile retaliatory powers."

In other words from '49 to '57 the leaders of our country were backers of the theory of nuclear holocaust if the "commies" gave us any trouble anywhere, we would blow the major communist countries up. The U.S.S.R. had the power at the time to blow us up too so they said they were going to blow up the world.

But the reality of this, even to Nixon, was proved not in effect as far as the real world goes.

John Foster Dulles devised a new military pact to thwart off communism in Southeast Asia called the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) which included 3 Asian states (Thailand, Pakistan and Philippines), with the U.S., France, Australia and New Zealand. A special protocol extended the protecting (from Communism) arm of the organization around South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. The Dulles plan for military containment required Laos to build an army of 25,000 men. From the mid-fifties to the end of 1960 the U.S. sent 300 million dollars to outfit this army with conventional weapons. The problem though was that the Communists were guerrilla warfare fighters and the Royal Laotian Army was only trained to fight conventionally, like the methods of WW II. Also the men in power had much corruption going on.

So after Dulles proposed this, Nixon backs him up in a speech - See Mahoney Newspaper - Laos split one side communist, the other "free", country changing leaders every other year - unstable government.

Kennedy inherited this and confronting the fall of a free Laos, transformed the existing corps of American military advisors in Laos, she up to this point had wandered about in civilian clothes, into a Military Assistance and Advisory Group, authorizing them to put on military uniforms and accompany the Laotian troops.

While this was going on, The Bay of Pigs was being contemplated and Nixon came to the White House and urged an invasion of Cuba, and also urged "a commitment of American Air Power" to Laos. There was established guerrilla conflict in Laos at the time of Kennedy's inaugural Jan.21,1961

The Rand corporation (Research AND Development) was instituted by the Air Force in California after the war. This group of engineers advised President Kennedy to escalate American involvement in Vietnam.

Military-Industrial Complex Background

On the evening of January 17, 1961 President Eisenhower went on television to make his farewell address to the American people. The great Presidential seal flashed on television screens across the nation, and then the probing camera eye turned its intense scrutiny upon the face, etched deep now with lines of age and illness and care, of the man whom history will probably judge one of the best-loved, best-intentioned and least effectual of modern American presidents. The President speaking now for the last time from the pinnacle of prestige and power of the world's most awesome elective office, began in characteristic terms. He recalled his fifty years of service to his country, his gratitude to those with whom he had worked in Congress in and out, his desire in this moment of leave-taking to share "a few final thoughts with you, my countrymen." All this was characteristic of Eisenhower, and it gave no hint of the uncharacteristic words to come - words of warning and of portent that would compose one of the most discussed messages in America in the years ahead.

The President approached the central theme of his speech by referring to the long Cold War that has divided Soviet Russia and the United States, that has split the world into camps of East and West. So we were confronted, he said, by "a hostile ideology - global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose and insidious in method." "The danger it poses" he added, "promises to be of infinite duration." He warned his fellow countrymen that "a long and complex struggle" lay ahead; he recognized that the frustrations of such a struggle might lead to demands for drastic action, for the violence that seeks a quick and clearcut victory; and he pleaded for the national self-control that would enable the American people to reject such counsels of rashness.

"Crises there will continue to be", he said. "In meeting them, whether foreign or domestic, great or small, there is a recurring temptation to feel that some spectacular and costly action could become the miraculous solution to all current difficulties."

But there were no such miraculous solutions. The great need of our times was for balance, restraint, the exercise of good and sober judgment. And so the President came to the core of his message.

Threats to democracy, "new in kind or degree," were constantly arising, and one of these, new both in kind and degree, Eisenhower proposed to discuss at length. He called it "the military-industrial complex," and he pictured it as a colossus that had come to dominate vast areas of American life.

"Until the latest of our history", he said, "the United States had no armaments industry. American makers of plow-shares, could, with time and as required, make swords as well."

"But we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense. We have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, three and a half million men and women are directly engaged in the defense establishment."

"Now this conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society."

"In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist."

"We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together."

In these words, the outgoing President projected the issue. As he continued speaking, he developed it in greater depth. He stressed that a "technological revolution" had led to "sweeping changes in our industrial-military posture." The very complexity of this revolution had made intricate and costly research essential to national survival. The result had been that "the free university, historically the fountainhead of free ideas and scientific discovery, has experienced a revolution in the conduct of research. Partly because of huge sums involved, a government contract becomes virtually a substitute for intellectual curiosity." The President feared "the prospect of domination of the nation's scholars by federal employment" and he feared, too - in words that suggested to some the haunt of Dr. Edward Teller, the so-called father of the H-bomb and the vociferous advocate of ever more powerful nuclear weapons - that dependence upon science would lead to a critical situation in which "public policy co itself become the captive of a science- technological elite."

Such was the one warning, the one issue Eisenhower stressed in his farewell words to the American people. What would the new administration of John F. Kennedy do about it?

It was a cold day in Washington when John Kennedy spoke these words:

" Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans- born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and better peace, proud of our ancient heritage."

"Let us begin anew, - remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate. The prospect would not be easy. All this will not be finished in the first hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first thousand days, nor in the life of this administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin." The burden of the "long twilight struggle" lay on this people and this generation. " And so my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country." Kennedy then concluded and stated " 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."

The New Frontier had begun.

Military-Industrial Complex Front begins

After Kennedy had experienced his first "hundred days", June 1961, the issue of the military-industrial complex became alive.

Early in the beginning weeks of the Kennedy administration, Robert McNamara, former Ford executive, was Kennedy's Secretary of Defense. Kennedy picked a man from the business community for the job to get things done.

The first clash came quickly. McNamara set out to put teeth into regulations, which had become virtually disregarded, giving the civilian Secretary authority over his mighty, many-starred underlings. Generals and admirals who had gotten into the habit of making verbal declarations of war on Russia almost every other day suddenly discovered that the most pulse-stirring phrases were being stricken from their prepared speeches and they were reminded sharply that the President and the State Department not the Pentagon, spoke for the nation on matters of foreign policy.

There was an instant and fierce resentment from the military brass which led to the kind of subtle and savage in-fighting in which an entrenched bureaucracy becomes so adept. The first six months of the Kennedy administration were filled with the muted danger of this internal war, waged largely out of public view (did not get reported in the news).

It sparked in 1961 in the Senate chamber when Barry Goldwater, the silver haired arch-conservative who is a Brigadier General in the Air Force Reserve and the darling of many forces of the radical right (Barry later became the 1964 GOP presidential candidate whose platform included nuclear weapons to be used in Vietnam. We can be glad he lost.) was speaking and had the floor when Senator Stuart Symington (Democrat- Missouri) himself a former Air Force secretary, had been known for years as one of the most stalwart advocates of ever mightier armaments, now surprisingly spoke out against the military in words that stung.

A condition had developed, he said "which is tragic and dangerous to the future security of our country. It has become clear that some members of the Military do not intend to give up to civilian authority any of the prerogatives of excess power they have been allowed to build up over the years at the expense of the civilian control. In fact, there now appears to be an organized effort on the part of some of the military to attack their civilian superiors under the vicious cloak of anonymity. This not only included the Secretary of Defense and some of his civilian assistants but in some cases, the President himself.... The point to note is that military men of high rank, disgruntled at their slice of pie, are now attacking the core of the American system... in a disloyal operation."

Senator Hubert Humphrey, the liberal Democrat from Minnesota, jumped up to applaud Symington's "courageous statement".

Senator Bob Bartlett (Democrat- Alaska) and Senator Kenneth Keating (Republican- New York) also quickly supported Symington.

The next few weeks brought about a defense for our military machine which was lead by conservative Senator Strom Thurmond, an Army Reserve Major General, democrat from the South. Thurmond kept a daily oratorical barrage rolling in the Senate; he whipped up a wave of propaganda in the nation's heavily conservative press; he finally forced a Senate investigation of his loudly shouted "muzzling" charges. He charged William Fulbright with trying to muzzle the military and what he thought, consequently, national security. Fulbright had made some statements that were not favorable to the military in a memorandum sent to McNamara.

All across the nation, the conservative Washawck Hammond was given vociferous support of "project alert" and "strategy for survival" rallies, financed by literally millions of dollars contributed by major American industries and dignified by the continued appearance of braided military front men collaborating with the radical right.

The very threats to democracy "new, in kind or degree" as former President Eisenhower warned; were being integrated and accepted into the national forum of consciences, with the help of money financed by the major corporations in this country, airplanes, oil, tanks, armaments, communications, nuclear bombs, various others and the front men in the guise of politicians and generals. In the first year of the Kennedy Administration, the technologically oriented military-industrial complex had begun advertising on a broad national basis. At this time Kennedy was busy opening New Frontier programs and dealing with the problems of the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Laotian Civil War and what the American policy should be on an international scale. There was a lot going on at one time. Defense Secretary McNamara sums it up, I think, when asked how he liked his job and he replied "This place is a jungle - a jungle."

Diem - President of S. Vietnam - eventually assassinated. American assistance to Diem, in the fifties, after Eisenhower's domino theory speech of 1954 averaged about 300 million a year. Advisors in Vietnam during this time were mostly officers from the Korean Conflict. A senate subcommittee concluded in 1960 "on the basis of the assurances in Vietnam that the U.S. Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) can be phased out in the foreseeable future.

Vietnam was not an immediate crisis, as in Laos and Cuba, but rather a situation, of deepening military and political shakiness. Kennedy believed Khrushchev's January 1961 speech about the use of guerrilla warfare as opposed to nuclear or conventional as the main communist tactic. Kennedy believed the communists would likely rely on guerrilla tactics as opposed to nuclear or conventional warfare.

Middle level officials in State and Defense who were generally holdovers from the Eisenhower -Nixon administration, reached a conclusion that the battle was not won on the frontier, but in the villages. Countering the Vietcong guerrilla tactics; the countering or meeting guerrilla information with more information, in other words, it was a war of politics in the first stage to recruit fellow guerrillas for, in this case, the communist cause in South Vietnam, is called counter insurgency.

A counter insurgency plan for Vietnam, prepared in the winter of 1960 (the president-elect reign of John Kennedy) was approved by Kennedy in 1961. This counter insurgency plan proposed an extensive program of military and social reforms; "if these recommendations were carried out," the report said, "the war could be won in (18_ eighteen months." A Vietnam Task Force set up in April, enumerated points to these military and social reforms.

At this point in time, Lyndon Johnson was in Southeast Asia making a tour as Kennedy's Vice-President and stopped at S. Vietnam at the capital of Saigon.

At the time of Johnson's southeast tour there was a UN project for the multi-purpose development of the lower Mekong River being considered by the UN. This project would bring together the countries of Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and South Vietnam in a joint effort for electric power, irrigation, navigation and fisheries development for the benefit of the whole area. It strongly appeared to appeal to V.P. Johnson; as he said when he visited the headquarters of the U.N. Economic Commission for Asia the Far East in Bangkok.

"I am a river man. All my life I have been interested in rivers and their development." He invoked F.D.R. and the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Bonneville and Grand Coulee Dams in public speeches after his trip to S.E. Asia. The memory of the Mekong River Valley Project stayed with Lyndon Johnson.

Johnson reported to Kennedy after his Southeast Asia tour. He said to the President, "our mission arrested the decline in confidence... It did not - in my judgment - restore any confidence already lost... If these men I sqw at your request were bankers, I would know - without bothering to ask- that there would be no further extension on my note." Time was running out, and "the basic decision in Southeast Asia" he told Kennedy "is here".

"We must decide whether to help these countries to the best of our ability or throw in the towel in the area and pull back our defenses to San Francisco and a 'Fortress America' concept. More important, we would say to the world in this case that we don't live up to our treaties and don't stand by our friends. This is not my concept. I recommend that we move forward promptly with a major effort to help these countries defend themselves."

He did not consider Southeast Asia lost, "and it is by no means inevitable that it must be lost." In each country, he said, "it was possible to build a sound structure capable of withstanding and turning the Communist surge. But this could only be done if the nations of Southeast Asia had "knowledge and faith in the United States power, will and understanding." The long term danger, he added, came not from communism but "from hunger, ignorance poverty and disease. We must, whatever strategies we evolve, keep those enemies the point of our attack, and make imaginative use of our scientific and technological capacity."

As for Vietnam, he found President Diem a complex figure beset by many problems. "He has admirable qualities, but he is remote from the people, is surrounded by persons less admirable than he. The country can be saved - if we move quickly and wisely." The Vice President did not envisage the commitment of American troops beyond training missions. "American combat involvement at this time," he said "was not only unnecessary but undesirable because it would revive anticolonial emotions throughout Asia. Instead, Johnson favored the reorientation of the military effort along with programs of political and economic reform. "It would be useful," he said "to enunciate more clearly than we have - for guidance of these young and unsophisticated nations - what we expect and require of them."

Under the pressure of Johnson in May, President Diem accepted the Vietnam Task Force enumerating these programs of military and social reform.

Although Diem accepted these reforms, with the money and advisors, he remained a private ruler operating out of a private palace. He did not seek "popular support" from the people. In modern journalistic terms, Diem was stonewalling the people.

Vice-President Johnson's trip to Southeast Asia was followed by an economic mission led by Eugene Staley.

The guerrilla tactics of the Vietcong guerrillas in S. Vietnam were succeeding in gaining control of the Southern Mekong delta. In September the Vietcong seized a provincial capital and beheaded the governor. Diem was losing the guerrilla war in Southeast Asia.

At this time Lyndon Johnson recommended a strong American military commitment in South Vietnam.

President Kennedy consulted many and sent a Vietnam task force headed by Taylor and Rostow to make a recommendation.

The Taylor-Rostow report called for American military troops to be sent into S. Vietnam. Kennedy's reaction told to Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. was this "They want a force of American troops. They say its necessary in order to restore confidence and maintain morale. But it will be just like Berlin. The troops will march in; the bands will play; the crowds will cheer; and in four days everyone will have forgotten. Then we will be told we have to send in more troops. It's like taking a drink. The effect wears off, and you have to take another". The war in Vietnam can only be won so long as it was their war. If it were converted into a white man's war, we would lose as the French had lost a decade earlier.

The main American emphasis turned from political reform to military. Advisors flocked in to S. Vietnam armed with weapons of modern war, from typewriters to helicopters. These military advisors helped plan military strategy but had no power to command S. Vietnamese soldiers.

In 1962, the Vietcong activity declined in the countryside. No more provincial capitals were attacked.

Robert McNamara, Secretary of Defense, stated on his first visit to Vietnam in 1962 "Every quantitative measurement we have shows we're winning the war."

General Maxwell Taylor of the Rostow-Taylor report said in '62 "a great national movement" was rising to thwart the Vietcong.

At the time of Kennedy's death there were 16,900 Americans in Vietnam. Seventy (70) of these had lost their lives.

Kennedy had decided that peace was an issue for the 1964 election because of the overall positive acceptance of the Test Ban Treaty idea which he talked about generally in his west whirlwind trip which included L.A. and Salt Lake City, cities known for the right wing ideology. In fact, Salt Lake City, traditionally a John Birch town, gave Kennedy a standing ovation at the point of his "peace" ideas in his speech.

He talked to Mike Mansfield, a prominent senator, of de-escalating American involvement in Southeast Asia.

In general Kennedy was privately very skeptical about staying or escalating American involvement in Vietnam because it was a guerrilla war which the French had been unsuccessful in victory with an army of 300,000 men. Kennedy was leaning toward getting out.

Harold Weisberg, who has sued the government several times to gain access to files not available to the public in the National Archives, states that he has found documented evidence in the Archives which spells out Kennedy's determination to get all American involvement out of Vietnam. The document is dated one month before John Kennedy is murdered.

Lyndon Johnson Background History

Johnson had a history of military spending. Johnson got into the senate by working first with the oil power in Texas. At the end of World War II and in the immediate post war years, Lyndon Johnson made himself even more respectable with the Texas business community by becoming an activist in Defense spending. He could be vigilant on the subject of Defense spending against the communist expansion, and simultaneously forge growing links to a massive new industry beginning to flex its muscle in American Society called the Military Industrial Complex.

President Eisenhower warned against the expansion of the Military Industrial Complex and stated in effect, that if it were not checked that it would get out of control.

Lyndon Johnson is quoted as saying on hearing the shots that killed Kennedy "..... that the communists had done it."

Before getting sworn in as president on Air Force One, Bill Moyers, an aide of Johnson who was with him at the time quotes Johnson as saying in response to a reference to Lyndon as Mr. President, Johnson replied, "Not yet" - then he went on "Kennedy is dead. The rest of the world will wonder if we're going to steer sharply off course. These fellows at the Kremlin must be wondering. The Negroes at home, especially - they're thinking a Southern President will just naturally be against 'em. And I'll bet Don Cook and his crowd are sitting up there wondering what the hell to expect now (Don Cook, chief executive of American Electric Power Co. was a businessman whom the new President considered a good mirror of the enlightened business community). "I've got to show the whole bunch of 'em that a steady hand's at the wheel. And I don't know how to do that except to take up where Kennedy left off."

"Let us continue" is what Johnson told the shocked nation.

Then as early as 1965 Johnson stated to his cabinet as quoted by David Habersham, "I am not going to lose Vietnam. I am not going to be the President who saw Southeast Asia go the way China went."

"I don't think Congress wants us to let the communists take over Vietnam". Johnson addressed his staff and asked each member of the state department, headed by Dean Rusk, to ask themselves "What have I done for Vietnam today?"

By November 1964, when Lyndon Johnson gets elected on his own account, the top U.S. command, recommended in a Life magazine inquiry, that more American involvement would be needed to win the war. Members of this committee included General William Westmoreland, Maxwell Taylor of the Taylor-Rostow Vietnam Task Force and a couple of other heads of government agencies. The "Great Society" begins.

We all know the rest. Johnson escalates American involvement in Vietnam. 50,000 Americans get killed and Nixon leads us on with Peace with Honor. There are many more aspects to the involvement but this paper is to get you to read, investigate for yourself and draw your own conclusion. President Johnson and President Nixon leave records that will speak for their respective administrations. Almost obliquely to the point that I have drawn the conclusion that these two past presidents are front men, paid off, for the Military Industrial complex. Even today we spent 85 billion dollars for defense in the past fiscal year. The Pentagon wants even more money for next year's fiscal year defense budget. President Ford ... going to Russia and talking about a ceiling on the manufacture of nuclear multimegaton weapons. They still make those bombs today and they can blow up the world several times over. What I'm talking about is overkill. For a better understanding, read the Pentagon Papers.

Kennedy stated in his first State of the Union Address a need for an increase in airlift capacity to strengthen conventional power, an acceleration of the nuclear missile program and an expansion of the Polaris submarine program to extend the invulnerability of the American deterrent. "The greater our variety of Weapons," he later said, "the more political choices we can make in any given situation."

By March 28, 1961, the review of our nations defenses by Kennedy's advisors McNamara, the Pentagon, The Rand Corporation and various other task forces, had advanced sufficiently for Kennedy to send a special message asking Congress for an additional \$650 million dollars for the defense budget. Here he restated the familiar themes. Our objective must be "to increase our ability to confine our response to non-nuclear weapons --- Any potential aggressor contemplating an attack on any part of the Free World with any kind of weapons, conventional or nuclear, must know that our response will be suitable, selective, swift and effective." He then proposed a series of measures to improve the national ability to deter or restrict limited wars, including the expansion of guerrilla warfare units, as well as other measures to improve and protect the strategic deterrent and defenses.

A third message "on urgent national needs", delivered in late May 1961, a month after the Bay of Pigs and responding to Soviet success in space - Yuri Gagarin's orbital flight around the planet in early April - called for a vastly enlarged space effort, including a landing on the moon by 1970.

Kennedy also requested "a further reinforcement of our own capacity to deter or resist non-nuclear aggression - greater modernization of conventional forces, greater mobility and more training in paramilitary warfare.

The factual numbers behind the military industrial complex tell the growth of this seemingly unstoppable "national defense: of the people?

In the eight years of the Eisenhower administration, more than 350 billion was spent for defense. In the last Eisenhower years, annual military expenditures were pegged at around \$46 billion, by 1962 the military budget had grown, under Kennedy to \$52 billion for that fiscal year. Plus another 3.7 billion was allocated for the fastly growing space agency. The defense budget for the past fiscal year, which ends in July 1973 is set at 85 billion.

During the Cuban missile crisis, after the quarantine - blockading Cuba to stop the delivery of the Russian made nuclear missiles the New York Tribune wrote "It may well be that Kennedy is risking blowing the world to hell in order to sweep a few Democrats into office". Among the pacifists of the time, Bertrand Russell, who was already on record calling Kennedy "much more wicked than Hitler," sent messages to Khrushchev: May I humbly appeal for your further help in lowering the temperature ... your continued forbearance is our great hope. - and to Kennedy: Your action desperate... no conceivable justification. We will not have mass murder... end this madness.

During the crisis Billy Graham was in Buenos Aires preaching the "end of the world".

The world became more aware of the possibility of nuclear holocaust and the total destruction of the world after the Cuban missile crisis. Kennedy had become dedicated towards the first step of disarmament, a nuclear test ban treaty which would eliminate any danger of fallout as a result from above ground testing.

Kennedy addressed the nation a day after Secretary of State Dean Rusk initialed the treaty in Moscow. Kennedy recalled mankind's struggle "to escape from the darkening prospects of mass destruction." Yesterday, a shaft of light cut into the darkness." He did not exaggerate the significance of the agreement. It was not the millennium; it would not resolve all conflicts, reduce nuclear stockpiles, check the production of nuclear weapons or restrict their use in case of war. But it was "an important first step - a step towards peace - a step toward reason - a step away from war." He concluded with the Chinese proverb he had put to Khrushchev two years before in Vienna: "A journey of a thousand miles must begin with a single step."

Kennedy then had to sell the idea of the test ban treaty to the Congress to get it ratified officially by the government. He also saw it his task to sell the idea of disarmament to the people of this nation and the world. Kennedy had told his aides that he was determined to get the test ban ratified by Congress even if it cost him the election of 1964. In the year 1963 Kennedy made many speeches on the hope for cooperation between the two super powers.

Kennedy ruled in a time when his administration could blow up the world if there was nuclear aggression from the other side. Kennedy said in March of 1963, "I am haunted by the feeling that by 1970, unless we are successful, there may be ten nuclear powers instead of four, and by 1975, fifteen or twenty... I see the possibility in the 1970's of the President of the United States having to face a world in which fifteen or twenty nations may have these weapons. I regard that as the greatest possible danger."

On June 9, 1963, President Kennedy addressed the campus of American University of San Diego, California during his western tour. He started by referring to what he called "the most important topic on earth." By peace, he said he did not mean a "Pax Americana enforced on the world by American weapons of war," nor did he mean the peace of the grave or the security of the slave. He meant peace which enabled men and nations to grow and to hope and to build a better life for their children, "not merely peace in our time but peace for all time." In the nuclear age, peace had become "the necessary rational end of rational men." It was said he continued that it was idle to dream of peace until the Soviet leaders adopted a more enlightened attitude. "I hope they do. I believe we can help them do it." He added, in a sentence capable of revolutionizing the whole American view of the Cold War, "But I also believe that we must re-examine our own attitude - as individuals and as a nation - for our attitude is as essential as theirs."

Too many Americans, he went on, regarded peace as impossible and therefore war as inevitable. "We need not accept that view. Our problems are man made - therefore, they be solved by man." Nor was it correct to suppose that peace would end all quarrels and conflict. It "does not require that each man love his neighbor - it requires only that they live together in mutual tolerance." History taught us moreover, that enmities between states did not last forever; "The tide of time and events will often bring surprising changes in the relations between nations."

The communists were of course trapped in conspiratorial hallucinations about the United States; but that should warn us "not to fall into the same trap as the Soviets, not to see conflict as inevitable, accommodation as impossible and communication as nothing more than an exchange of threats."

No government or social system is so evil that its people must be considered as lacking in virtue." he reminded his listeners, "ever suffered more than the Soviet Union suffered in the course of the Second World War." If World War should come again, all both sides had built, all we have worked for, would be destroyed in the first twenty-four hours. Yet "we are both caught up in a vicious and dangerous cycle in which expansion on one side breeds suspicion on the other hand, and new weapons beget counter weapons."

In short, both countries had " a mutually deep interest in a just and genuine peace and in halting the arms race... If we cannot end now all our differences, at least we can help make the world safe for diversity. For, in the final analysis, or most basic common link is that we all inhabit this small planet. We all breathe the same air. We all cherish our children's future. And we are all mortal."

So we must re-examine our attitude toward the cold war, "remembering that we are not engaged in a debate seeking to pile up debating points. We are not here distributing blame or pointing the finger of judgment. Our purpose must be to conduct our affairs so that the Russians would see it in their own interest to move toward genuine peace; "we can seek a relaxation of tensions without relaxing our guard." To move toward peace would require increased understanding between the Soviets and ourselves... increased contact and communication." In particular, it would require new progress toward general and complete disarmament. And in the area of disarmament one problem "where the end is in sight, yet where a fresh start is badly needed, is... a treaty to outlaw nuclear tests." The President then announced that discussions would soon begin in Moscow "looking toward early agreement on a comprehensive test ban treaty" and that the United States would conduct no atmospheric tests so long as other states did not do so. "We will not be the first to resume." "No treaty could provide "absolute security" against deception and evasion, but if it were sufficiently effective in its enforcement and sufficiently in the interests of its signers, it could offer far more security and far fewer risks than an unabated, uncontrolled, unpredictable arms race."

Kennedy gave a speech in New York at the UN on September 20, 1965. In this speech he talked of detente with the Soviet Union bringing up the possibility of a joint American-Soviet effort in putting a man on the moon. He said "Surely we should explore whether the scientists and astronauts of our two countries - indeed all the world - cannot work together in the conquest of space, sending some day in this decade to the moon not the representatives of a single nation but the representatives of all our countries."

He talked of a hope that the proposed test ban treaty would not be the end of cooperation but the beginning to a total disarmament. "If this pause in the Cold War merely lends to its renewal and to to its end" he said, "then the indictment of posterity will rightly point its finger to all."

In October 1963, Kennedy authorized the sale of surplus wheat to the Soviet Union as " a more helpful sign that a more peaceful world is both possible and beneficial to us all." Lyndon Johnson thought this grant was "the worst political mistake we have made in foreign policy in this administration. In November of 1965 Kennedy stated in a commentary on society and the arts in a speech at Amherst College, "that art is not a form of propaganda; it is a form of truth... In free society art is not a weapon and it does not belong to the sphere of polemics and ideology. Artists are not engineers of the soul. It may be different elsewhere. But democratic society - in it, the highest duty of the writer, the composer, the artist is to remain true to himself and to let the chips fall where they may. In serving his vision of truth, the artist best serves the nation."

So long as one power insisted that it had exclusive possession of the truth, that it would permit no competing truths within its domain and that it could not wait until its absolute truth obliterated competing truths in the rest of the planet, so long as it declined to accept the permanence of a diverse world, so long the cold war would continue. In the end peaceful co-existence had to mean the free circulation of ideas among all countries or it would mean very little.

In general by November 22, 1963, Kennedy was pursuing the goals of a peaceful international community and was active in the civil rights cause of the Black and recognized the dangers of the pollution of air and water.

The men who preached for the business community, politicians, generals and was in the business world, notably the Military-industrial complex did not like Kennedy's dream of a detente with Russia because. to them it would mean less business.

Kennedy's Legislative Record

1961:

Peace Corps
Alliance for Progress
Arms Control and Disarmament Administration
Area redevelopment
General housing act
Extension of unemployment compensation
Aid to dependent children of unemployed
Increase in minimum wage
Water pollution control
Juvenile delinquency program
Community health facilities

There were 53 total recommendations made by Kennedy administration in 1961; 33 of these were enacted into law.

1962:

Trade Expansion Act;
UN bond issue
Tax bill
Investment tax credit
Communications satellite
Manpower development and training
Accelerated public works
Drug labeling
Restraints on conflict of interest
Federal pay reform
Federal assistance for the immunization of children
Constitutional amendment abolishing the poll tax in federal elections
Farm bill with wheat control

There were 54 total recommendations made by Kennedy administration in 1962; 40 were enacted into law.

1963:

I did not find Kennedy's legislative record for 1963. Kennedy only had three years, not in their entirety, to implement some of his ideas of a society. His potential was thwarted and his policies did not always endure the future administrations of Johnson, Nixon and Ford.