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with us before we could find out if we could work together, as we seem to be so good at doing with many bloody dictators in the world.

Senator Mike Mansfield also reasoned with Kennedy and told him to withdraw, after returning from a trip to Vietnam in 1962. Kennedy told O'Donnell after the meeting, "I got angry with Mike for disagreeing with our policy so completely, and I got angry with myself because I found myself agreeing with him."

There was also a political equation. Kennedy had to wait until the next election. He told Senator Mike Mansfield in the Oval Office in Kenneth O'Donnell's presence that he agreed with Mansfield that we had to withdraw all of the military from Vietnam but he said "I can't do it until 1965--after I'm reelected." When Mansfield left the office, Kennedy said to O'Donnell: "In 1965, I'll be damned everywhere as a Communist appeaser. But I don't care. If I tried to pull out completely now, we would have another Joe McCarthy Red scare on our hands, but I can do it after I'm reelected. So we had better make damn sure that I am reelected." (Life, August 7, 1970, excerpts from Kenneth O'Donnell, Johnny, Johnny, We Hardly Knew Ye,)

Kennedy was not chicken. That is not why he began to sidestep out of Vietnam. He had proved his manhood in World War Two and in the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis. The fact is, he had learned from the Bay of Pigs that military solutions are not always the best.

But as Senator Mike Mansfield, a close friend of Kennedy had said, "It was not unusual for him to shift position. There is no doubt that he had shifted definitely and unequivocally on Vietnam, but he never had the chance to put the plan into effect." (speaking of the intent to withdraw from Vietnam) (Washington Post, August 3, 1970) Mansfield also said in that interview with the Post, that Kennedy "had definitely and unequivocally made that decision." This was at a Congressional breakfast with Kennedy. "President Kennedy didn't waste words. He was pretty sparse with his language."

The issue here is one of statecraft. There is the Machiavellian view, of doing whatever you have to do, ruthlessly if necessary, to achieve your goal, letting the chips fall where they may. That means lying, murder, whatever. The Prince was Machiavelli's crucial work on the subject, and his philosophy was adhered to for centuries by rulers.

The expectations of the Cubans in that Brigade may have been unrealistic, and of course colored with the false promises or implied promises of American military backing for their invasion. They certainly had a large paramilitary force with them supplied by the CIA.

Since some of these same cubans may have later helped kill Kennedy, we need to think long and hard about what we say as well as what we do. If the government is going to support