



Department of Justice



ADDRESS

BY

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ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

to the

THE NORTH CAROLINA COLD WAR SEMINAR

ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

May 17, 1963

Mayor Eller, Mr. McPherson, Mr. Beverly, and distinguished guests:

I am pleased to join with you in this Seminar today--only hours after Major Cooper's flight. The millions of eyes that watched his launching could see in the process that our society is open and free.

The success of his flight demonstrated once again that our society is strong and prepared. It is upon this freedom, fully as much as this strength that we rely in the continuing hot-and-cold war of weapons or newer weapons, propaganda or truth, dictatorship or democracy, state or individual.

This is a freedom to explore and to understand, not just to accept and I compliment you on this intelligent effort to analyze the world position of the United States. This Seminar is an example of what is perhaps our most important weapon in the cold war: The interest and involvement of community leaders in public affairs, both national and local.

I need say little to this audience about the character of the cold war and the Communist threat. The Communist purpose, now as in 1917, is to remake the world in the Communist image. The Communist faith, now as ever, is that history inevitably will sweep all other forms of society, democracy included, into obscurity.

The Communist conviction is that any means is justified to undermine and capture free governments and free peoples.

The enormous global struggle which we call the cold war is being fought at every level. Moscow remains energetic and alert, and its challenge to our freedom is dangerous--and enduring. The Communist calendar of ambition is measured in decades, not weeks.

If the free world is to survive, it must resist aggression. Aggression today takes a multitude of forms. It requires a variety of responses.

It has been our purpose to develop balanced military forces, capable of countering every form of attack, from the nuclear strike to a Guerrilla attack, and then use the interval thus gained to work unceasingly toward disarmament and peace.

To this end, we have preserved our superiority in nuclear weapons. Our strategic nuclear forces today include 1,700 intercontinental bombers, including 630 B-52s, 55 B-58s and 1,000 B-47s;

We have doubled the number of warheads in our strategic alert forces;

We have increased our polaris missile procurement by 50%;

We have doubled our capability to produce the minuteman missile;

We have greatly increased our ability to airlift troops and equipment from this country to the point of attack;

Our strength in conventional military forces has been built up from 14 to 19 combat-ready Army and Marine divisions;

But we have learned that aggression is not limited to nuclear attack or even conventional warfare. We must be ready to meet "war by Guerrillas, subversives, insurgents, assassins, war by ambush instead of combat." Now, for the first time we have that capability.

To deal with Communist Guerrilla attacks and Communist-inspired insurgency,

- (1) A special committee of high officials in Washington now supervises our counter insurgency efforts on a continuing basis;
- (2) By next month, some 57,000 government officials will have completed counterinsurgency courses;
- (3) The Army Special Warfare Forces are now six times stronger than in 1961; and
- (4) Special training is now carried out in several languages at the Special Warfare Center here in your own state at Ft. Bragg, the Police Academy and Jungle Warfare Training Center in Panama, and at training centers in Europe, Okinawa and Viet Nam.

That these are only steps in a long and hard struggle is evident. But I believe the tide has turned. I believe it is within our ability to keep world communism on the defensive, and we intend to do just that.

I can report to you, as well, that the forces of this country are alertly arrayed against the danger of Communist subversion here at home, particularly through the noteworthy efforts of J. Edgar Hoover--who has just begun his 40th year as Director of the FBI.

Armed, in this arena, with legal weapons, we recently secured the conviction of the Communist Party, USA for failure to register as a foreign agent. Two men believed to be its chief officers are under indictment, and 14 other asserted Communists recently have been ordered to register by the Subversive Activities Control Board, following proceedings we instituted over the past two years.

The more dangerous problem at home has been that of espionage by official representatives of Iron Curtain countries.

A former soviet intelligence officer has estimated that most of the Russian officials stationed here have some kind of intelligence assignment. This assignment might be as simple as carefully reviewing newspapers and other publications.

It might be as significant as obtaining defense and industrial information, either classified or unclassified.

The FBI has done a remarkable job of keeping such activities in check. In recent months, it has uncovered and we are now prosecuting several important espionage cases.

For example, in one case, now in trial in New York, an American sailor is charged with conspiring to deliver classified Navy Publications to officials of the Soviet Mission to the United Nations in New York. The Russians in this case, as in others, left at the request of the United States to the United Nations.

Thus, we are doing all in our power to be strong and alert in the cold war both in military terms and security terms. But, there is yet another arena in which the battle is being waged--and increasingly so.

As communications improve--whether by an American Telstar or a new newspaper in an underdeveloped country-- more people around the world learn the facts about democracy and communism.

The bankruptcy of hope in East Germany is illustrated vividly by the Berlin Wall or by the picture of the people's policeman leaping over the barbed wire to freedom.

Thus, reporters tell the world that Red China's great leap forward is a tragic failure--exactng an enormous toll in famine, flood and suffering among the Chinese people.

How do we stand in this part of the cold war conflict?

Think of the recent picture of Negroes and police dogs in Birmingham.

Moscow radio has devoted fully a fifth of its total broadcast time to Birmingham. Tass, the Soviet News Agency, has said the situation "Borders on genocide.....if America's rulers can act like slave holders toward millions of their own people. What can nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America expect of them?"

That kind of propoganda might be expected from the Soviet Union. But what of the reaction outside the Iron Curtain?

A newspaper in Ghana said that Birmingham "demonstrates beyond doubt that America herself is far from free and what she calls democracy is a limited liability democracy which only white men enjoy."

A headline in Indonesia said: "United States Government continues oppressing Negroes."

An editorial in West Germany asked: "Who is familiar with the complicated system of federal and state competencies and who wants to listen to juridical argumentation when human dignity, morale and decency are concerned."

There are answers, of course, to such questions. The Federal Government has responsibility for defense and for internal security. But unlike our adversaries in the cold war, our Government is not omnipotent.

It does not have responsibility for problems, which while important, remain local. Indeed, our democracy rests on the rights of states and the freedom of individuals, as well as on the Federal Government.

Such answers are hollow exercises in political science, however, unless these rights and freedoms mean something. The aims of any Governmental system can be described in idealistic terms. But what is their significance if such a system cannot correct injustice?

Consider the problem of racial discrimination as an example.

The Negro baby born in America today--regardless of the state--has about half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day;

--A third as much chance of completing college;

--A third as much chance of becoming a professional man;

--twice as much chance of becoming unemployed;

--about one-seventh as much chance of earning \$10,000 per year;

--A life expectancy which is seven years less;

--And the prospects of earning only half as much.

These are facts and these are faults, but the most important fact is that our system can correct injustice, because freedom of action in America carries with it civic responsibility. And the truth is that we must correct injustice, not because of a bad press around the world, but because it is injustice.

The damage done to the United States in the eyes of the world press by incidents like Birmingham is great, it is superficial. What really counts is how the citizens of the communities of America respond to such problems.

What we do to control Communist subversion at home, or to combat Communist Guerrillas, or to maintain our military strength, or to be first in outer space--none of these things will, in the end, amount to much unless we truly believe that liberty and law are inseparable and that social progress strengthens and enlarges freedom.

It is in fulfilling those beliefs of legal and social justice that every citizen can and must be a soldier in the cold war--by fighting to improve the soul and not just the face of America.

For example, we must recognize, as responsible citizens and as responsible Government officials, that the Negroes in this country--in the North as well as the South--will not tolerate indefinitely the injustices which flow from racial discrimination,

The demonstrations we have witnessed in the past few weeks--including some in your own state--are not the last--and perhaps not the largest we shall see in coming months and coming years.

The American Negro is only beginning to raise his voice in protest.

His protest is justified, and our responsibility is clear.

The ultimate outcome of the cold war will depend on the responsibility and wisdom with which we fashion solutions to such problems, internal as well as external, for the distinction between internal and external problems is fast disappearing.

That responsibility and wisdom may, in part, be exercised by Government. But they do not flow from Government. One of the fundamental truths of our system is that Government exists for the people, not the people for Government.

The need is clear: All citizens, but particularly you in positions of community influence and leadership, must participate in the business of Government. The responsibility goes beyond this Seminar.

You must seek the facts about America's position, not only in relation to the world, but in relation to our own ideals. You must make judgments and speak out. A career in business does not foreclose active participation in public affairs.

For businessmen to play a leading role in public affairs is not new. A contemporary described Thomas Jefferson as, "a gentleman of 32 who could calculate an eclipse, survey an estate, tie an artery, plan an edifice, try a cause, break a horse, dance the minuet, and play the violin."

Francis Hopkinson, another signer of the Declaration of Independence, was a businessman. He also practiced law, served as a Judge, wrote poems, designed the American Flag, composed cantatas, played the harpsichord, and was a leader in his church.

I don't know many jaycees who are talented on the harpsichord, but I do know how well you understand the importance of participation in public affairs.

Whether Republican or Democrat, such interest, versatility, and intellectual energy put to the service of our country represents America's greatest resource.

For in the end, it will be these qualities which will lead us to a solution of such problems as racial injustice. It will be these qualities which will lead us to ultimate victory in the cold war. It will be these qualities which will continue to infuse our democracy with vitality.

Woodrow Wilson said, "I believe in democracy because it releases the energy of every human being."

Let us cultivate that energy and use it--as citizens of America, as adversaries in the cold war, and, above all, as free human beings.