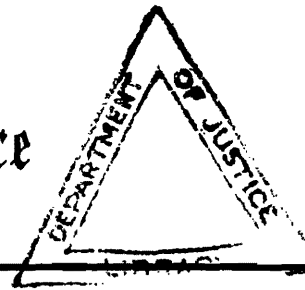




Department of Justice



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ADDRESS

by

HONORABLE ROBERT F. KENNEDY

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

at a

Meeting of the University of South Carolina Chapter

American Association of University Professors

Columbia, South Carolina

April 25, 1963

I am highly pleased and honored to be here with you in the State of South Carolina. This is the state that produced Marion and Sumter, Calhoun and Major Anderson.

It was just six months ago that Major Anderson made the pictures which alerted this Government and this country to the Soviet missile threat in Cuba. It was his death six months ago this Saturday which led the President to send notification to Mr. Khrushchev that strong and overwhelming retaliatory action would be taken unless he received immediate notice that the missiles would be withdrawn. And it was within 24 hours of his death that President Kennedy received the message from Mr. Khrushchev that the missiles would be taken out.

I remember when the President received the message about the death of Major Anderson. He turned to several of us who were in the room with him and said, "That's the worst thing about war -- the best and the bravest are the ones who are killed."

And so I'm proud and pleased to be here in your state with you at this university.

We live today in an era of challenge. This is a time of uncertainty and peril; it is also a time of great opportunity.

The decisions we make as a people, as a Government, during the next few years will affect this planet for generations to come. In fact, what the United States does can very well determine the more basic question whether there will even be generations to come.

This evening I would like to discuss with you just a few of the specific challenges we face during the 1960's. I would like to talk about what the Government is doing and what remains to be done.

I come to ask you not only for your understanding of these challenges but for your active partnership in the efforts to meet them. For the Government is your Government. It requires your ideas, your collaboration, your criticism and your support if it is to meet its responsibilities.

All of us are most concerned about the kind of America we want to pass on to our children. Every generation inherits a world it never made; and, as it does so, it automatically becomes the trustee of that world for those who come after. In due course, each generation makes its own accounting to its children.

When our time comes, we want to make sure that we bequeath to our descendants a better and a safer world than the one in which we live today--a world in which people will be free from the terrors of war and oppression, free from the handicaps of ignorance and poverty, free to realize their own talents and fulfill their own destiny.

This is the object of our foreign policy and of our defense policy. I will only say that, if the free world is to survive, it must accept

the responsibility to resist aggression. And aggression in the contemporary world takes a multitude of forms. It, therefore, requires a variety of responses. It is 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 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; and we have doubled the number of warheads in our strategic alert forces.

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, the following steps have been taken:

(1) A special committee of high officials has been established in Washington to supervise our counterinsurgency efforts on a continuing basis;

(2) By June, some 57,000 government officials will have attended courses dealing with counterinsurgency;

(3) The Army special warfare forces are now six times their 1961 strength; and

(4) Special warfare training is now carried out in several languages at the Special Warfare Center at Ft. Bragg, the Police Academy and Jungle Warfare Training Center in Panama, and at training centers in Europe, Okinawa and Viet Nam.

It is especially appropriate to mention counterinsurgency here in the capital of South Carolina; for your state nurtured the great partisan leaders of the American Revolution--Pickens, Sumter and Francis Marion.

The safety of our nation and the peace of the world constitute one great challenge. Another is our economic growth here at home. This is the issue which is the center of the controversy over the proposals currently before Congress to lower the income tax rates and reform the tax structure.

The objective of these proposals is to speed the rate of economic growth in our domestic economy which requires us to find 3,000 new jobs every week during this decade.

I know that many people are worried about the size of the federal budget. Yet, the budget is bound to grow as the country grows and as our global responsibilities to defend freedom remain heavy. A century ago, the total population of the United States was about 34 million -- just about the number of people we have added to our population in the few short years since 1950.

The growth of public expenditures is not confined to the federal government. It is worth observing that in your own state of South Carolina, the state budget has grown twice as fast as the federal budget over the last 20 years.

This is true of State expenditures generally. Twenty-five years ago the non-defense expenditures in the federal budget was just about equal to the total state and local expenditures; today, these federal expenditures are about 60 percent of state and local expenditures. Since 1948, state and local employment has risen by 81 percent while federal-civilian employment has risen 22 percent -- less than the rate of growth of the population as a whole.

The program of tax reduction is designed to raise our economy to new heights of activity and productivity. Those who worry about our nation's fiscal position should recall the lesson we all learned in 1959; it is recession rather than reduction which poses the gravest danger to fiscal balance. Another depression would cause a much larger deficit than anything contemplated in the proposed tax cut.

To enlarge the vistas of opportunity, we must also clear away those conditions which deprive our citizens, and especially our boys and girls, of the chance for a decent life.

As Attorney General, I have a number of specific responsibilities in this area. I would like to select just three for mention here tonight: the fight against organized crime; the fight against juvenile delinquency; and the fight for civil rights. I believe that we must make steady progress toward success in each of these areas if we are to build the kind of America which we would be proud to pass on to our children.

I might congratulate you tonight on the fact that there is little or no organized crime in South Carolina. This is true. May it always be so.

Two years ago we faced the frightening prospect of organized crime and racketeering steadily increasing their power in community after community throughout the land. This spreading blight was financed by the enormous profits of gambling. It was expanding most rapidly in narcotics, labor-management payoffs and corruption of public officials.

In 1961 with bi-partisan support, we were able to obtain passage of new anti-racketeering laws aimed against interstate gambling operations, to cut heavily into the gambling revenue which bankrolls organized crime. The FBI has made more than 10,000 investigations under these new laws.

The work of the FBI and all the other federal investigative agencies is being coordinated for the first time and intelligence is being gathered on the activities of 1,100 major hoodlums.

In the Department of Justice the work of the Organized Crime and Racketeering Section has been greatly expanded. The personnel strength of the Section has been tripled. Permanent field offices have been set up in Chicago, New York, Los Angeles and Miami. Total time in the field, in court and before grand juries has quadrupled.

We are now seeing the results of all this effort. Comparing 1962 with 1960, we find that indictments are up from 17 to 118, convictions are up from 22 to 86; the number of individuals indicted has increased from 49 to 350 and the number convicted is up from 45 to 138.

It may also be of interest to list briefly some of the individuals included in these statistics. Among those convicted have been Frankie Carbo, who ran boxing for the underworld, and his companions, Blinky Palermo and Truman Gibson, Jr.

The West Coast hoodlum, Mickey Cohen, has been convicted of tax evasion and is in prison. Tony "Ducks" Corallo, who received his nickname for his ability to duck the law, has been convicted and sentenced to two years for attempting to bribe a public official. "Trigger Mike" Coppola pleaded guilty to tax evasion charges and served one year in prison.

Two of the biggest narcotics rings this country has ever seen have been broken and the leaders convicted and given long prison sentences. There are others; Buster Wortman in St. Louis, Kid Cann in Minneapolis; Christopher Parker in North Carolina, and scores of lesser known figures.

The record to date is encouraging, but an enormous task remains in the fight against organized crime. We have made a beginning and we intend to keep going.

Thoreau once wrote, "There are a thousand hacking at the branches of evil to one who is striking at the root." In our work under the Juvenile Delinquency Act of 1961, we are trying to strike at the root.

In securing passage of this Act and establishing the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, President Kennedy has committed this administration more deeply than any in our history to assist states and local communities in taking effective action against juvenile delinquency and youth crime.

A definite program is in the making. The President's committee is working closely with cities and states from New York to Oregon in mobilizing community resources to combat delinquency. What is new in relation to this old problem is a steadier, firmer commitment on the part of the national administration to take an interest, support leadership and give assistance.

I might just cite two youth problems which concern us greatly. In Prince Edward County, Virginia, public officials met the legal requirement of equality in public education by closing all public schools in that county. Equality was achieved in the mathematical sense that zero equals zero -- that is, the lack of public education for Negro children satisfies requirements of equality if there is no public education for white children. The shocking result is that about 1300 Negro children in Prince Edward County have not attended school for four years.

These, are the lost children in an age of transition. They have been caught in a social revolution which, though not of their making, has made itself felt most directly on them.

We all have a responsibility to find a solution. The federal government is working actively to find what it can do to erase the mockery of "zero equals zero."

We have analagous problems in the District of Columbia. Statistics there show that before the District schools were integrated in 1954, they were separate but far from equal. Studies made since 1954 reveal that many of the children, who had been segregated in the Negro schools, have improved their academic standing by remarkable and measurable amounts. The point was illustrated again last month in Little Rock. Five short years after the schools there complied with the Constitution, a Negro girl made all A's and led her class.

But despite such progress, we have serious, deep-rooted problems in the District of Columbia. They are the types of problems that throughout our history have accompanied social and economic changes of sweeping impact.

Unless we move without delay to solve them, they will become explosive. The way to deal with these problems is not to turn back the clock, not to dream of another area, not to substitute one injustice

for another, but, rather, to treat these problems for what they are-- a logical outgrowth of long-term inequities and of dramatic change-- and to deal with them in the context of today's world.

That is what we are doing in the District of Columbia. Many people are now at work, with the full support of this administration, to wipe out the underlying causes of unrest and turmoil in our Nation's Capitol.

In conclusion, I would like to mention the toughest and gravest internal challenge which the United States faces today -- the need to grant full equality of opportunity to the American Negro in his own country.

The Negro baby born in America today -- regardless of the section or state in which he is born -- has about one-half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day -- one-third as much chance of completing college -- one-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.

I speak of this as a need, not a choice, for that is what it is. We as a nation have no choice but to make progress towards full equality of opportunity. I have learned in the past two years that the vast majority of our people accept this, as it must be accepted by any American who thinks about the problem in the light of history.

First, because, as the President has said, it is right. We are still a people moved by moral force. We believe that all men are created free and are equal before the law. One of our overriding moral drives now is to make that true for Negroes as well as others.

But the practical needs of the United States and the world today would compel our national government -- regardless of party or personal conviction -- to do everything possible to eliminate racial discrimination.

We are committed in the world to the cause of freedom. This is not a matter of words, but of compelling international politics. The Secretary of State has said that the single greatest burden he has to carry in dealings with other countries is the manner in which the American Negro is treated by his fellow citizens and often his own local government. I have seen this myself.

In the trip I made last year to Asia and Europe, the one issue which was raised in every meeting, by every group, was racial discrimination in the United States. And it makes sense that this should be so. The fact is that we live in a world that is ridding itself of the patterns of the past, and where immense international power has come to new nations and new leaders who are not white.

But we would have no choice whatever the moral issue, not even if we could live in isolation from the rest of the world.

It was been 100 years since the slaves were freed. During that time in many places little progress has been made to give full liberty to the descendants of the slaves. Now time is running out fast for this country.

We must recognize, as responsible citizens and as responsible government officials, that the Negroes in this country cannot be expected indefinitely to tolerate the injustices which flow from official and private racial discrimination in the United States.

The troubles we see now, agitation and even bloodshed, will not compare to what we will see a decade from now unless real progress is made. I am not speaking of the South alone, or even primarily of the South. These injustices are not a matter of region. More and more they are becoming centered in our great cities.

As years pass, resentment increases. The only cure for resentment is progress. The only antidote to agitation is the effort which federal, state and local officials are making to deal both with discrimination itself and with its deep-seated economic and social effects.

So despite the changes that are required, sometimes resisted, we are fortunate as a nation that these three great needs of our time -- the moral drive for equality, the necessities caused by our position before the world, and the surge for equality by Negroes throughout the country -- are met in the United States, as has been true of other needs in the past, by recognition in the law.

This great State acted under the law last January when Harvey Gantt was admitted to Clemson College without disorder, without bitterness, and without defiance to the orders of the Court. I am obligated by my oath of office to uphold and enforce the law. If you were in my position, you could do no less than I.

And I deeply believe that in this case the law accurately reflects the needs of the country and of its people.

Over the coming months and years, I am confident that respect for the law will prevail, and that the transition which is enjoined by the law will be made. And that accomplishment will be in accord with the deepest traditions of our history.

As Thomas Paine wrote in 1776, "Yet that we may not appear defective in earthly honors, let a day be solemnly set apart for proclaiming the charter; let it be brought forth, placed on the divine law, the work of God; let a crown be placed thereon, by which the world may know that so far as we approve of monarchy, in America the law is king."

Thank you very much.