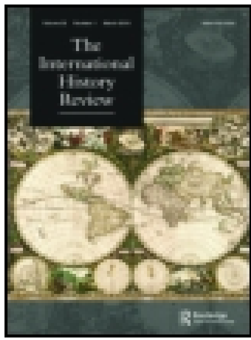

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Human Rights Rhetoric and Policy in the Kennedy Administration

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ABSTRACT

With his administration's shift away from reactionary anti-communism, concern about American support for right-wing dictators, and expressed commitment to welcome nationalist movements rooted in in self-determination, John F. Kennedy had the potential to be the first US president to prioritize human rights abroad. He had spoken out against colonialism and in favor of human rights as a member of Congress and a presidential candidate. In office, however, he yielded to other foreign policy priorities. Analyzing his administration's record on human rights reveals the Cold War utility of human rights rhetoric and the limits to US support for human rights in these years.

KEYWORDS

Human rights; John F. Kennedy; United States; Cold War

President John F. Kennedy included the term 'human rights' in his 1961 inaugural address, which was a rhetorical shift from the Eisenhower years when some conservatives viewed human rights as a plot to undermine national sovereignty.[1] Kennedy declared that a new generation of Americans was 'unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this Nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world'.[2] The Kennedy administration often used the language of human rights and civil rights interchangeably, demonstrating that – at least for a White, Democratic president – human rights had again become more politically tenable. With his administration's shift away from reactionary anti-communism, concern about American support for right-wing dictators, and expressed commitment to welcome nationalist movements rooted in self-determination, John F. Kennedy had the potential to be the first US president to prioritize human rights abroad. He had spoken out against colonialism and in favor of human rights as a member of Congress and a presidential candidate. In office, however, he yielded to other foreign policy priorities. Analyzing his administration's record on human rights reveals the Cold War utility of human rights rhetoric and the limits to US support for human rights in these years.

Beyond public statements, the Kennedy administration's broader foreign policy meaningfully addressed the human rights situations only in a few, select countries. The administration was interested primarily when concern fit with the president's wider foreign policy goals. First, the administration paid attention to political prisoners in Cuba. Given the Kennedy administration's obsession with Fidel Castro's regime, it is unsurprising that it sought to highlight human rights violations there. Second, as Kennedy was eager to attract newly independent African countries to the Western side in the Cold War, his administration's focus on violations that resonated widely on the continent fit with his policy priorities. Therefore, the Kennedy administration

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closely followed Portuguese colonialism in Africa, racial discrimination in Southern Rhodesia, and apartheid in South Africa. Finally, fearing potential destabilization in a Cold War hotspot, the Kennedy administration pushed for improved political rights in South Korea despite the countries' close military alliance. This article will address each instance in greater depth.

This article will demonstrate that the Kennedy presidency was not a period of wholesale neglect of international human rights as some literature has portrayed.[3] Scholars of US interest in human rights internationally have largely pointed to two periods of heightened attention – the late 1940s and 1970s.[4] For historian Mark Philip Bradley, the concern of American citizens and their leaders came late, and when it did arise, it relied upon the importation of a 'guest language'.[5] Instead this article reveals both high-level use of the rhetoric of human rights and attention to human rights violations abroad in the early 1960s. Yet, in contrast to subsequent years and administrations, Kennedy frequently used the term 'human rights' when discussing domestic rights and his administration concerned itself with only a limited range of foreign rights abuses.

Kennedy's concern about human rights conditions in foreign countries was often tied to his belief that repressive regimes put their countries at risk of falling to communist uprisings. Therefore, a country's domestic practices, not only its foreign policy, needed to be aligned with the United States' Cold War aims.[6] In terms of human rights, the Kennedy administration largely focused on abuses by communist regimes, imperialism, and racial discrimination. These emphases meant that the Kennedy administration criticized the Soviet Union and its allies; European powers, such as Portugal, that retained colonies; and racially discriminatory regimes like South Africa. The most significant instance in which the Kennedy administration targeted an ally for infringements of political rights was South Korea.

Thus far, there has been limited discussion of Kennedy's human rights record. Popular accounts such as Robert Dallek's *John F. Kennedy: An Unfinished Life* do not mention human rights or address some of the places where violations were of most concern to the administration such as South Africa or Southern Rhodesia.[7] Similarly, former Kennedy aide Arthur J. Schlesinger's classic book does not talk about Kennedy's record in terms of human rights.[8] Scholarly works have assessed his policies toward Africa or Cuba but have not linked them or framed them in the context of human rights. One historian who has examined the Kennedy administration's human rights record in Latin America is Stephen Rabe, who finds a mixed record when evaluating its 'commitment to constitutionalism, democracy, and human rights', noting that the United States ignored human rights violations by Rafael Trujillo in the Dominican Republic because he was an ally in World War II and the Cold War.[9] Yet Rabe also recounts how in 1962, Kennedy pressured the Peruvian military to improve its human rights practices through a public denunciation, suspension of Peru from the Alliance for Progress, and terminating diplomatic relations. In response, the Peruvian military took steps, including releasing political prisoners and making commitments to observe civil rights.[10]

A more dominant theme in the literature on Kennedy's administration has been his focus on development and the influence of modernization theory on his foreign policy.[11] Barbara J. Keys explicitly argues that Kennedy's commitment to economic development and specifically his program for Latin America, the Alliance for Progress, was not a human rights effort because 'they did not appeal to international law, nor were they legitimized with rights talk'.[12] Other scholars have highlighted the 'coercive' side or 'authoritarian flavor' of modernization and even termed the governments that pursued such policies 'developmental dictatorships'.[13] These critical works, however, have devoted less attention to human rights violations or activism in the Kennedy years.[14] The dominance of the development narrative and limited characterizations of it as connected to human rights may help explain why human rights have received relatively less attention by scholars of US foreign relations in the Kennedy years.

The terms 'human rights' and 'civil rights' have been used for decades with evolving, often overlapping meanings. In the wake of the 1941 Atlantic Charter, 1945 United Nations Charter, and 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, some Americans, in particular African American

activists, utilized 'human rights' to address nonfulfillment of rights domestically. Historian Carol Anderson has shown how using the phrase 'human rights' became a liability for African American activists as it was increasingly tied to communism in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Thus, those active in the struggle for African American freedom largely framed their claims in 'civil rights' terms.[15] The rhetorical tactic employed by the activists Anderson analyzes was significant as it rooted African American claims in the US Constitution, not international human rights documents. At the time human rights advocates had sought to move away from the idea that the country of one's citizenship, rather than one's humanity, was the source of one's rights and their protections. This shift was necessary to ensure respect for an individual's rights regardless of national boundaries. Instead, those committed to greater rights for Black Americans but constrained by anticommunist politics employed American exceptionalism for their own ends and limited the basis of their claims to national commitments exclusively.

Close analysis of Kennedy's rhetoric reveals a reversal from the trend identified by Anderson in the 1940s and 1950s. Despite his conflation of the terms civil rights and human rights, when talking about human rights, Kennedy's focus was predominantly domestic. This pattern is also distinct from that of the 1970s when Bradley has shown that Americans only used the term 'human rights' to describe the 'suffering of others'.[16] The Kennedy administration's conception of human rights as a primarily domestic matter can be seen most clearly in the White House Central Subject Files. 'Series 22 – Human Rights' includes documents relating to racial equality; access to employment, housing, education, and public accommodations; as well as freedom of speech, press, and religion. When his administration did focus on human rights internationally, the scope was limited, and criticism of other countries was restrained.

Whereas later presidents came to adopt a division between human rights as something that are violated overseas and civil rights as something that might not be fulfilled domestically, Kennedy talked about human rights in both the domestic and international spheres. Kennedy mentioned the term 'human rights' in thirty-eight public remarks.[17] He articulated his commitment before his inauguration, saying as he accepted the Democratic Party's nomination, '"The Rights of Man"—the civil and economic rights essential to the human dignity of all men—are indeed our goal and our first principles'. In the same speech he charged, 'A peaceful revolution for human rights –demanding an end to racial discrimination in all parts of our community life—has strained at the leashes imposed by timid executive leadership'.[18] During the campaign, he pledged to 'write human rights into Federal law', referring to the rights to unemployment benefits, freedom from discrimination, and a firmer social safety net. He also justified domestic support for human rights by claiming it would enhance the United States' international standing, 'Only a party that understands human needs at home can understand the rising hopes of people overseas – and help them peaceably to find their way to freedom. Only a party that acts on behalf of the people at home can deserve leadership around the world'.[19] The following month he told an audience in Philadelphia, 'If human rights and human dignity are not shared by every American, regardless of his race or his color, then those in other lands of other creeds and other colors, and they are in the majority, will treat our claims of a great democracy with suspicion and indifference'.[20] After he assumed office, Kennedy continued to frame issues such as voting rights – in this case for residents of the District of Columbia – in human rights terms.[21] Kennedy also talked about the struggle for rights in Birmingham, Alabama and his commitment to 'protect human rights and uphold the law of the land'.[22] He told a group of mayors, 'The improvement of race relations and the fulfillment of human rights is a continuing problem and continuing challenge'.[23] He also used the language of human rights to talk about segregation in public accommodations.[24]

Given how Kennedy used the term to discuss both domestic and foreign elements, it is not surprising that he drew parallels between both struggles. For example, Kennedy's 1961 proclamation of 10-17 December as Human Rights Week drew explicit connections between the anniversaries of the United Nations (UN) Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the adoption of

the Bill of Rights in the United States.[25] He used parallel language when he declared Human Rights Week the following year.[26] In an address in Berlin, he made a similar point, explicitly tying the struggles for the rights of African Americans in the United States and the peoples of Eastern Europe under communism: 'The cause of human rights and dignity, some two centuries after its birth, in Europe and the United States, is still moving men and nations with ever-increasing momentum'.[27]

Kennedy's public discourse on human rights abuses abroad was infrequent, with only selective condemnation of specific human rights violations and calls on governments to improve their records. In several instances Kennedy used the language of 'human rights' to characterize what residents of West Berlin should enjoy.[28] At the UN's General Assembly (GA), for example, Kennedy said: 'For a city or a people to be truly free, they must have the secure right, without economic, political or police pressure, to make their own choice and to live their own lives'.[29] He also criticized the records of governments such as the People's Republic of China.[30] His Captive Nations Week proclamation in 1963, intended to signal US support for the peoples of Eastern Europe living under communist domination, used the terms 'human rights', 'national self-determination' and 'human freedom'.[31]

The dominant themes in scholarship examining the Kennedy administration's record on Cuba focus on the failed intervention, nuclear brinksmanship, covert operations, and anticommunism.[32] There has been less attention to the human rights dimensions of Kennedy's Cuba policy, which largely emerged after the failed Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961. It is possible that the administration's focus on Cuban human rights violations was a direct result of the botched invasion and the need for political cover.[33] United States Ambassador to the UN Adlai Stevenson deflected Cuban accusations regarding the invasion; instead, he shifted attention away from US actions with a long explanation of the circumstances that led to an increasing flow of Cuban refugees:

> The Cuban refugees are but a part of a great multitude of men who have left their homes, who have lost their all, who have risked death and disaster sooner than live in chains.
>
> Why? Because they long for security against unpredictable arrest, against the midnight knock on the door. They long to be free from malevolence and informers and spite. They seek a society in which a man may speak his mind, they want for themselves and their children a political system in which the law is a shield, not a trap, and in which the power of an omnipotent state does not exercise over them the terror of a nameless death.[34]

Such rhetoric sought to stigmatize the Cuban government for its human rights record and divide Cuba from the free world in front of an international audience.

In the American view, publicly highlighting disparities in legal norms and respect for human rights could influence not-yet-aligned states as they formed political and ideological Cold War allegiances. To that end, US official William J. vanden Heuvel urged a greater focus on Cuban human rights violations: 'By concentrating the spotlight on the refugees and the 50,000 political prisoners in Castro jails, we would remind the world that another Police State has been created which is capable of all of the torture and brutality which this century has symbolized'.[35] The Kennedy administration viewed Cuban refugees not only as a humanitarian concern, but also as a potential political force, and as people who could play a role in the 'liberation' of their country.[36]

Kennedy's obsession with Castro stemmed from a number of factors, including a sense that Castro had 'betrayed' the promise of his revolution and had allowed Soviet influence to violate long-standing United States policy, dating back to the 1823 Monroe Doctrine, which opposed foreign presence in the Western Hemisphere.[37] In historian Thomas Paterson's view, Cuba, 'challenged United States hegemony in Latin America', which presented a direct threat to US national interests.[38] Historian Louis Pérez argues that US efforts to remove Fidel Castro from power undermined American criticism of Cuba's human rights record.[39] Perez's perspective

demonstrates how politicized and contested US criticisms of Cuba's record and American human rights commentary more generally could be.

The Kennedy administration's condemnations of Castro's Cuba on human rights was both direct, principally at the UN, and indirect through cooperation with select nongovernmental organizations. One group, the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba, was formed in April 1963 to spur a national discussion about Cuba and what might be done to change the nature of the regime there. The committee was founded after the nongovernmental organization Freedom House called on Americans to 'unite in a movement for a free Cuba'. Its hope was that an 'Alliance for Freedom' could be formed that would bring together people living in the Americas on behalf of freedom.[40] US officials were occasionally frustrated that the group's newsletter was 'characterized by the frequent use of lurid and unsubstantiated refugee reports', and initially the State Department tried to keep its distance from the group. However, when the committee held a meeting in Washington and nonparticipation could have drawn negative attention, officials decided communicating State's 'view on the Cuban problem' was more pressing than discomfort with the group's tactics.[41] Whereas with Cuba there was a clear enemy in Castro, the calculus of supporting human rights in Africa was far more difficult.

Under Kennedy, the United States faced three pressing issues in Africa – Portuguese Africa, South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia – each was complicated by alliances with or ties to inherently racist governments. In each case the United States weighed different strategic, economic, moral, and political priorities. In the case of Angola and other Portuguese colonies in Africa, Kennedy and his aides sought to separate the US relationship with Portugal as an ally in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) from its repressive practices in Africa; in other words the administration was willing to largely overlook Portugal's tight hold on its remaining colonies. With South Africa, Kennedy eventually signaled his disagreement with apartheid, and in the case of Southern Rhodesia, he sought to encourage greater political representation for Black Africans there.

Despite a more liberal domestic record on race and greater interest in Africa overall than his peers in Congress and predecessors in the White House, Kennedy did not meaningfully shift US policy and is generally criticized by scholars with respect to racial discrimination in Africa. Academics such as Kenneth Janken have found fault with Kennedy's record, writing, 'In Africa, Kennedy supported Portuguese colonialism and apartheid and branded liberation movements as "terrorists'."[42] In Thomas J. Noer's view, 'caution' characterized Kennedy's policy toward Portuguese Africa.[43] Similarly, historian Philip Muehlenbeck writes, 'President Kennedy's handling of the racial problems of Southern Africa was certainly not his finest hour'. In his assessment, Kennedy's policy was 'rhetorical support for the idea of African self-determination without the use of sanctions or other direct pressure against Portugal or South Africa, which might have risked jeopardizing America's ability to fight the Cold War'.[44] In historian David Dickson's characterization, the Kennedy administration was concerned about potential radicalism in South Africa and sought to put pressure on the regime through 'coercive tactics' as well as rhetorical condemnation, but, importantly, did not seek to damage relations such that security links would be damaged. Dickson is highly critical of Kennedy's policy, arguing that it harmed the interests of Black Africans and, paradoxically, enabled the spread of Soviet influence on the continent. He writes,

> A seemingly bold policy, which gave African affairs a high profile, tolerated ideological diversity and blazed an independent path, was soon rejected. It was replaced by a policy which largely treated African affairs as a peripheral concern, promoted ideological rigidity, and adapted to Western European sensitivities … Under John Kennedy, U.S. policy did not keep pace with the tide of change sweeping across Africa. Nor did it adequately harness, on behalf of U.S. foreign policy, the spirit of nationalism and radicalism making inroads on the continent.[45]

Historian Thomas Borstelmann appraised Kennedy's record similarly: 'Initially tough on racism in southern Africa and guardedly sympathetic to those seeking to end its sway, the president and his most important advisers shifted over time to a more neutral stance in which they worked to limit criticism of the white authorities there'.[46]

To Borstelmann's point, Kennedy first showed potential as a champion of repressed, colonized Africans when he called for Algeria's independence in July 1957. [47] This speech prompted his identification with the cause of anti-colonialism, which he built upon during his 1960 presidential campaign. Kennedy took several steps to highlight the different approach he would bring to US policy toward Africa, including highly publicized meetings with African leaders and funding African students' travel to the United States. He also repeatedly spoke about the aspirations of people on the continent for 'freedom', 'human rights' and 'independence'.[48] With his rhetorical support for decolonization in Africa, Kennedy wanted to gain liberal and African-American support for his campaign; he mentioned Africa almost five hundred times in his presidential campaign.[49]

In Arthur Schlesinger's view, Kennedy's attention to Africa as president was demonstrated by the fact that his first State Department appointment was of G. Mennen Williams to be Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, which highlighted the significance of the region to the president.[50] The Bureau of African Affairs had only been established in 1958, and Kennedy's spotlight on William's nomination signaled rising US government interest in the region. Furthermore, Williams threw himself into the role and visited every independent country on the continent, except for South Africa, which denied him a visa.[51]

As president, however, Kennedy also had Cold War priorities. With seventeen newly-independent countries in 1960, Africa was a vast opportunity for the expansion of US influence.[52] According to Muehlenbeck, 'It is clear that Africa's main importance to Kennedy was strategic and geopolitical, as he was determined not to lose ground to Moscow on the continent'.[53]

Portugal's violent retention of its colonies created the most significant challenge for the United States as the use of its Azores air base was deemed essential; the Pentagon could not identify any other 'fully satisfactory alternative'.[54] At the time, 75-80% of all US military planes used the Azores as a transit or refueling point.[55] A Defense Department memorandum classified the base as 'the single most valuable facility which the United States is authorized by a foreign power to use'. If the United States could not use the Azores base, it would have 'the gravest military consequences' and necessitate a 'major overhaul of United States wartime plans'.[56] Yet Pentagon officials recognized that staying quiet on racial discrimination in Africa for the sake of its relations with Portugal could negatively influence other US strategic interests in North Africa by alienating independent allies there. For example, the United States relied on Ethiopia to host a communications station, Libya for access to Wheelus Air Base, and Morocco for communications capabilities. In addition, these countries' strategic location on the southern Mediterranean and close to the Middle East made positive relations important to the United States.[57] Given these conflicting interests, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara advised Secretary of State Dean Rusk to 'avoid prejudicing our relationship with either side in this dispute'.[58] Tactically, the Pentagon advised trying to separate UN criticism of Portugal and South Africa, and if the administration chose to take a stand it should be on apartheid, not Portuguese colonialism.[59]

The lack of support against the vestiges of European colonialism in Africa frustrated newly independent African leaders. Even after the United States ultimately supported a 1961 United Nations Security Council resolution that urged Portugal to end its colonialism (France and Britain abstained, and the resolution did not pass), Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah sought more.[60] Nkrumah wanted the United States to push Portugal out of NATO.[61] State Department officials recognized that the United States was seen as insufficiently depriving Portugal of the military supplies to continue suppressing anti-colonial forces in Angola, and this frustrated many African leaders.[62]

Administration officials such as Stevenson recognized and made Kennedy aware that African leaders continued to frame the administration's decision as between the Azores base or 'self-determination and human rights'.[63] Although the Kennedy administration initially took a strong stance against Portugal's continued hold on its African colonies through actions in the United Nations, reductions in military aid, and ending commercial arms sales, its stance weakened as access to Azores became an increasing concern.[64] Indeed, the United States sharply decreased

its links with nationalist leaders in 1962 and 1963 despite Mennen Williams' dissent.[65] Meetings with Angolan nationalist leader Holden Roberto began again in June 1963 at which point the administration was reconsidering its approach. State Department documents preparing the Under Secretary of State for a visit to Lisbon in August outlined a plan to urge the Portuguese leadership to 'make some clear move toward self-determination in Portuguese Africa'.[66]

Williams' disagreement with other administration officials about maintaining contact with nationalist leaders represented a broader debate about administration priorities. Although Kennedy administration officials strongly condemned apartheid in public, behind the scenes there were divisions within the State Department regarding how it should approach votes at the UN on Portugal and South Africa. The three officials principally responsible for African affairs in the State Department – Mennen Williams, Wayne Fredericks, and Chester Bowles – all prioritized relations with African leaders over European powers when crafting US policy toward Africa.[67] Not surprisingly, their views were not shared by those more focused on Europe and the containment of communism. For example, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs William Tyler argued in a memo to Williams that 'a single tactical plan' was not appropriate to all cases of concern.[68] Furthermore, former Secretary of State Dean Acheson believed the United States should support its European allies. Acheson charged the US was 'subsidizing Portugal's enemies', whereas Kennedy viewed his approach as preventing Angolan nationalists from falling under the influence of the Soviets.[69] In March 1961, when the United States supported a UN resolution in favor of Angolan self-determination, Acheson was critical of such policy, believing the United States was allowing its policy to be guided by 'emotion' not interests.[70] Throughout this period, the United States weighed the different risks in formulating its policy, including that an independent Angola might lean communist and that the United States could alienate its NATO allies with its support for self-determination.[71]

Williams focused on at least maintaining the goodwill of newly independent countries. He wrote to Rusk, 'In order to maintain a viable position among African, Asians, and Latin Americans, we must have some kind of forward movement on our African policy. If we can take some positive action with respect to South Africa, we can avoid action in depth in Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories'.[72] As Williams saw it, 'Our immediate task is to retain as much as possible of the influence we now enjoy in Africa – as well as to protect our strategic interests, including military facilities and installations, in the rest of Africa – without paying a price that would injure our broader interests'.[73]

Given concerns about upsetting colonial European powers, Williams' advice to concentrate on South Africa's system of apartheid seemed logical. According to Schlesinger, when the United States did focus on South Africa as a target, it was to compensate for a softer approach toward Portugal: 'But South Africa was a different matter; and, indeed, pressure here could do something in African eyes to make up for restraint in the case of Portugal'.[74] As discussed above, given that South Africa was less significant to the United States militarily and strategically than Portugal – the missile tracking station there was deemed 'not vital' – the United States was less constrained in its stance toward the apartheid regime.[75] Yet, despite his condemnation of racial discrimination in his speeches, the policy Kennedy's National Security Council (NSC) formulated did not pursue an aggressive posture against South Africa; it did not support economic sanctions, it did not favor bringing the case of South West Africa to the International Court of Justice, and it opposed efforts to expel South Africa from the UN.[76]

The administration's soft stance on South African was driven partly by concerns regarding trade. Trade with South Africa was not that meaningful when compared with other regions or continents, but within Africa, South Africa had the greatest proportion of trade with the United States.[77] In 1960, the United States had $277 million in exports to South Africa, $108 million in imports, and investment of $286 million.[78] These interests motivated the Kennedy administration to resist sanctions and reduced its early opposition to apartheid to rhetorical and symbolic measures, such as integrating social functions at American facilities in South Africa.[79] In November

1962, US Ambassador to the UN Francis T. P. Plimpton said in an address to the UNGA regarding sanctions for South Africa:

> Would the passage of a resolution recommending sanctions bring about the practical result we seek? We do not believe this would bring us closer to our objective – the abandonment of *apartheid* in South Africa. We see little value in a resolution which would be primarily a means for a discharge of our emotions, which would be unlikely to be fully implemented and which calls for measures which could be easily evaded by the country to which they are addressed—with the result of calling into question the whole efficacy of the sanction process.[80]

Even if US policymakers did not initially target South Africa, that strategic assessment may have facilitated the administration's condemnation of apartheid rhetorically. In a special committee meeting during the UNGA, Plimpton linked American opposition to apartheid to the US Declaration of Independence and framed the government's disapproval in explicitly human rights terms: 'Deliberate deprivations of human rights had always been and must continue to be the legitimate concern of the United Nations, whether the victims were Black South Africans, Hungarian patriots, Tibetan nationalists, East Germans hemmed in behind barbed wire fences and concrete walls, or others who had been systematically deprived of freedom'.[81] Plimpton also revealed private diplomatic efforts to shape South African policy, claiming there was substance to support the administration's rhetoric.

Growing calls for greater opposition to apartheid by domestic and international constituencies also drove the administration's rhetoric. For example, on December 17, 1962, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. and other African American leaders met with Kennedy, petitioning him to impose sanctions against South Africa and bolster African efforts for independence.[82] Such pressure highlighted the ways in which the domestic and international struggles against racial discrimination were increasingly intertwined by the early 1960s.[83]

Such efforts continued and by the middle of 1963, the United States announced it would stop selling arms to South Africa by the end of the year. The move represented an effort to avoid damage to its reputation, particularly with Black African nations and African Americans at home. The Kennedy administration hoped that, at least temporarily, a unilateral suspension of arms sales to South Africa would satisfy those who wanted the United States to take a tougher stance against apartheid.[84] The United States' decision was driven in part by a recognition that Black African leaders were stepping up their pressure on the United States and the United Kingdom (UK) in the face of intransigence in Pretoria.[85] Given that the United States was not a significant arms supplier to South Africa, the move was designed to garner positive attention at the UN and internationally, at low cost to the United States.[86] The United States could more easily suspend arms sales than support South Africa's expulsion from the UN, an international arms embargo, or sanctions, and policymakers worded the US decision to allow for future sales if warranted by the need for common defense.[87] Announcing US policy at the UN, Stevenson strongly condemned apartheid: 'The policy of apartheid denies the worth and dignity of the human person'. He went on to say,

> We have affirmed and reaffirmed that apartheid is abhorrent. Our belief in the self-evident truths about human equality is enshrined in the Charter. Apartheid and racism – despite all of the tortured rationalizations we have heard from the apologists are incompatible with the moral, the social and the constitutional foundations of our societies.[88]

South Africa, not surprisingly, opposed the United States decision, charging that decolonization and the rise of new African nations had led the United States to abandon 'its one tried and true friend on the African continent'.[89] The symbolism, however, was stronger than the practical impact of US policy.

Observers disagreed about the significance the US announcement. Within the administration, the decision was presented as a new step beyond what the government had previously undertaken.[90] According to US sources, external audiences such as the Liberian and Tunisian foreign

ministers both regarded the US decision as an 'important advance in U.S. policy'.[91] Yet for historian Thomas Borstelmann, Kennedy's tactic weakened opportunities for more far-reaching sanctions because the 'announcement of a unilateral partial arms embargo on South Africa in August 1963 symbolically disassociated the United States from the land of apartheid, while undermining the UN campaign for a more severe embargo and not materially damaging [South African prime minister Hendrik] Verwoerd's military strength'.[92] Muehlenbeck has similarly assessed the step as a moderate shift in policy rather than one that weakened South Africa domestically or internationally:

> While both black African nationalists and Afrikaner nationalists viewed the arms embargo as a significant policy change, the Kennedy administration ironically saw the measure as much more symbolic than substantive. For Kennedy, announcement of the embargo was intended to demonstrate hostility toward apartheid, but its purpose was more to appear credible in the eyes of African nationalists than to inflict real pain on Pretoria.[93]

The South African press and government did not discern a significant shift in US policy.[94]

After announcing the suspension of arms sales, in the late summer and early autumn of 1963 the United States repeatedly sought to chart a moderate course on South Africa, taking steps to limit the 'extreme proposals … Africans may wish to include for home consumption' such as an arms embargo of South Africa, calls for breaking diplomatic relations, withdrawing landing rights, closing ports to South African ships, and suspending South Africa's membership in the UN.[95] In a memorandum to the president in August 1963, State Department official George Ball outlined United States objectives as making American opposition to apartheid clear; stymieing efforts within the UN to expel South Africa or enacting mandatory sanctions on Pretoria; sustaining relationships with Black African leaders; and urging South Africa to make progress on its racial policies.[96] US officials remained focused on how best to exploit the suspension to win and maintain Black African support while avoiding alienating Pretoria or White Americans.

To highlight his administration's opposition to apartheid, Kennedy explicitly criticized it twice in his address to the UNGA several months later, perhaps reinforcing the idea that his administration's opposition was largely symbolic. First he said, 'We believe that all the world – in Eastern Europe as well as Western, in southern Africa as well as Northern, in old nations as well as new-that people must be free to choose their own future, without discrimination or dictation, without coercion or subversion'. Kennedy further declared, 'We are opposed to apartheid and all forms of human oppression … Our concern is the right of all men to equal protection under the law-and since human rights are indivisible, this body cannot stand aside when those rights are abused and neglected by any member state'.[97] Kennedy's most important audience was captive in front of him. Perhaps even more than the American suspension of arms sales, his UN speech was meant to convince Black African leaders that he cared about their concerns. State Department official Harlan Cleveland had predicted the Eighteenth General Assembly would be 'a kind of Human Rights Assembly', driven in part by Portuguese colonialism, South African apartheid, and race problems in the United States.[98] Likely, Kennedy hoped his rhetoric and policy would win support for his Cold War aims as well. Subsequently, the United States repeatedly reiterated its opposition to apartheid in UN debates, including in a plenary session in October 1963 when Ambassador Plimpton said, 'I think the whole world knows that the United States is uncompromisingly and irrevocably opposed to apartheid, opposed to racial discrimination anywhere, and opposed to injustice anywhere'.[99] Yet, at the time, US officials sought to avoid any UN Security Council sanctions against South Africa while conveying the 'seriousness' of US concern about apartheid.[100]

Beyond speeches at the UN, Williams argued the United States needed to earn the confidence of Black African leaders through more concrete measures:

> We cannot merely lecture Africans on the need for restraint, orderly behavior and constitutional procedures. We must convince them that a restrained, orderly and constitutional approach best serves their own interests and that we must show them that we are prepared to cooperate in such an approach. We cannot ask them to give up their only weapons and risk condemnation by their own people unless we can give more than lip service to their goals in the UN.[101]

In addition, Williams argued that American opposition to apartheid was supported by 'the moral ground of self determination'.[102] In the end, although Kennedy criticized apartheid, he did not break with the South African government.[103]

With South Africa's neighbor, Southern Rhodesia, the Kennedy administration adopted an approach similar to its early policy toward South Africa – strong rhetoric but minimal action.[104] Adlai Stevenson raised American unease about efforts to maintain a White-minority regime in Southern Rhodesia at the UN as early as June 1962. He articulated the US view, which was that the UK had a favorable record on decolonization and should be allowed time to facilitate the process for Southern Rhodesia, but he made clear that his support for delaying UNGA discussions should not be taken as an indication of waning American support for decolonization: 'The United States supports and has worked steadily for an orderly and rapid decolonization in Africa. We consider this to be one of the great political processes of our time'.[105] Yet, the US record on Southern Rhodesia received criticism from some at the UNGA, with a delegate from Cuba asking,

> Why is it that for the United States delegation the matter of representative democracy in Southern Rhodesia is not a matter of urgency and of principle? I have an answer to that question. The answer is that the representative democracy which the United States desires for Africa and for the world is the representative democracy of the white settlers. Freedom, yes, but freedom for the exploiters.[106]

A Cuban diplomat, of course, was hardly a neutral observer of US policy, but the critique highlights the broader East-West and North-South dimensions of the administration's stance.

The United States continued to track developments in Southern Rhodesia, realizing Black Africans were highly focused on the political situation there. In a telegram to the secretary of state, Stevenson raised uneasiness about how the US position would be regarded by Black Africans:

> I am concerned that the generally negative line we must necessarily take on African questions this year (opposing sanctions, expulsion, etc.) will give the appearance of our supporting Portuguese and South African reaction unless there is something else we can be for. We should also take care to avoid giving the appearance of supporting the status quo in Southern Rhodesia.[107]

To this end, Jonathan B. Bingham, a member of the United States delegation to the UN, affirmed the United States' continued interest in expanding voting rights in Southern Rhodesia in June and October 1962.[108] American policymakers realized there were multiple veins to African frustration, including the United States' inability to pressure the United Kingdom or Portugal to make progress on their colonial territories. Similarly, African leaders were irritated that the United Nations was not proving to be an effective forum for resolving these issues.[109]

One reason for international frustration with the muted American response to racial discrimination in Southern Rhodesia was the context of the civil rights struggle in the United States. Stevenson was attentive to public perceptions, particularly abroad, of the United States' domestic record on race relations: '[Press coverage of events in Mississippi] has no doubt impaired the image of the United States, created a distorted impression of the progress that we have made in the resolution of our racial problems in this country'.[110] US officials were cognizant of international observers' double disappointment with the United States' failure to condemn racial discrimination abroad sufficiently and domestic American racial strife.

With Southern Rhodesia, as with the Portuguese colonies and South Africa, the United States navigated a careful path to balance among various constituencies but did not develop a comprehensive approach to human rights issues in the region. Race, politics, and geography were all different factors at play as Kennedy's administration formulated its stances on Portugal, South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia. When confronted at the UN with discussions about the larger issue of racial discrimination, the United States supported measures in line with the American constitution and Kennedy's proposed civil rights legislation, but more specific language – particularly affecting institutions, groups, and individuals or making the resolution legally binding – went too far for the United States.[111] Given these challenges, NSC staffer Robert Komer wrote to National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy two months before Kennedy's assassination:

> Instead of dealing ad hoc with each of these problems as they come along, we also need to explain our overall rationale to our allies. We should point out bluntly that the loss of these vestigial colonial remnants is inevitable, and could not be stemmed even if we intervened. The only result would be that we, along with our allies, would go down to defeat after having wasted money and lives and used up what good will we still have in the Afro-Asian world. Thus we have to inform our allies that we can no longer afford to follow such a policy.[112]

Komer believed that the United States needed to develop a more coherent policy regarding newly independent states and articulate it to its allies, but it would not do so during Kennedy's remaining time in office. The rationale for Komer, who is well known for his hardline approach to winning the war in South Vietnam, was tactical rather than an expression of genuine support for self-determination.

With Cuba, Portugal, South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia there were key domestic and international audiences for the administration's criticisms. In the wake of a military coup in South Korea, however, Kennedy's pressure on the government in Seoul to return to civilian rule was not driven by forces outside his government. In particular, there was almost no domestic attention to events in South Korea. The one exception was Yongjeung Kim, President of the Korean Affairs Institute, who wrote to Rusk, 'Instead of South Korea being a showcase of freedom it is an ugly billboard for all Asia to see'.[113] In contrast, US policy seems to have been driven by Cold War considerations and a normative preference for civilian over military government. Due to its place as a strategic fault line in the Cold War, the Kennedy administration paid careful attention to South Korean domestic politics, prioritizing stability and anticommunism relative to democratic ideals. Therefore early on after the 1961 coup the Kennedy administration followed a similar approach to those pursued in Africa – express disapproval but acquiesce to human rights violations given other policy priorities. But, when ongoing military rule threatened Kennedy's efforts in the Cold War, his administration was more forceful in demanding its end.

A Special National Intelligence Estimate in March 1961 had warned that there were 'mounting signs of frustration and resentment directed at the government and, increasingly, at the US, over the slow pace of reform and progress in South Korea'.[114] In May the military seized power in a coup, took over government and military buildings as well as the state radio station, dissolved the legislature, and arrested student, business, and political leaders; military rule would last for two years.[115] The UN commander-in-chief, American general Carter Magruder, would not assist Prime Minister Chang Myŏn's government in suppressing the May 1961 coup, arguing that he was charged only with ensuring the external security of South Korea.[116] Washington adopted a 'wait and see' approach to the new leadership.[117] Initially, the United States observed rather than influenced events in Seoul; it conveyed only its 'deep regret'.[118] Several days later an American official 'noted with satisfaction the expression of intention to return the government to civilian control', and the new ambassador, Samuel Berger, asserted the United States wished for a return to civilian rule in his second meeting with Park Chung Hee, who had come to power in the coup.[119] Over time, however, the embassy in Seoul came to see Park as a suitable and stable partner for the United States there.[120]

Its lack of meaningful pressure or action against Park's coup reveal that the United States essentially accepted the junta.[121] Communication within the Kennedy administration shows that the United States recognized the potential negative consequences of Park's actions but did not see a viable alternative. In a May memo updating Kennedy on events in Seoul, Acting Secretary of State Chester Bowles wrote, 'The Department of State believes that it is especially important that the Republic of Korea maintain its adherence to democratic procedures and constitutional processes, which are among the Republic's chief assets in its struggle against Communism'.[122]

The US embassy in Seoul expressed hesitation about Park's policies, particularly the imprisonment of South Korean military officers and efforts to tar previous leaders with links to communism. Yet, the embassy wrote to Washington, 'At the same time we face the fact that there is no alternative at present to giving [Park] our support and trying to encourage restraint and wisdom

in his exercise of his growing power'.[123] When Park announced in August 1961 that South Korea would return to civilian rule in two years, US officials reported, 'Although this timetable is somewhat slower than we would have preferred, General [Park]'s announcement does represent a step in the right direction in that it provides a public commitment to return to representative constitutional government by a specific time'.[124] Park also released more than 5,000 political prisoners and committed to an amnesty for others.[125]

The embassy in Seoul worried about the consequences of Park's policies, which it feared could weaken the government, and the United States hoped to moderate his authoritarianism. State Department records show that American attention to human rights violations was motivated not by moral concerns about repression and abuse but about how such a political climate could foster instability and leave South Korea open to communist incursions. In a telegram to Washington, an embassy official raised worries about South Korea using 'wire-tapping, informers and mail censorship' as well as abrogating due process with arrests without warrants and the extraction of confessions through force.[126] Yet, human rights were not on the agenda for Park's November meeting with Secretary of State Dean Rusk and other American officials, and they appear not to have been discussed; available records of their conversations do not include mention of Park's political repression.[127] The omission, however, does not mean that the United States had no stance on Park's policies. A position paper prepared by the State Department for Kennedy in advance of the visit outlined the US position as hoping South Korea would 'move rapidly toward full restoration of civil liberties and due process of law in accordance with the guarantee of the Korean Constitution for the sake of domestic stability and international reports'. Similarly, Kennedy's briefing book indicates that the administration sought a return to civilian government in South Korea.[128] Korean officials had expressed concern previously to US diplomats about the possibility that 'civil liberties in Korea' would be discussed, which could present difficulties for Park's regime.[129] Yet in his 14 November White House meeting with Kennedy, Park offered assurances that civilian control would resume in 1963.[130]

Despite Park's pledges to restore democracy within two years, US officials remained concerned about the path he and his senior advisers were taking. State Department officials cabled the US ambassador in Seoul that they were worried with 'how effectively to counter trends toward totalitarian control and ambitions of young colonels for political and personal power, and how to keep Korea somewhere near road toward democratic development'.[131] State Department officials asserted, 'We can tolerate ups and downs, but not major reversal'.[132]

Administration officials reserved the greatest caution for Director of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency Kim Chung Pil. Kim was regarded as somewhat unsavory by Kennedy administration members, and thus neither the president nor vice president met with Kim during his 1962 visit to Washington.[133] Embassy officials in Seoul alerted Washington about Kim's 'ruthless dedication' and 'fanatical zeal', warning that he needed to be 'impressed with limits within which MIL GOVT must remain if our support to be maintained'.[134] In Rusk's meeting with Kim later that month, he pressed for assurances of an upcoming election. Kim, however, cautioned that it might not be possible to transition fully to a democratic system in the next year.[135]

Kim's message foreshadowed Park's refusal to return to democratic rule, which the United States opposed with escalating measures throughout 1963. Early in 1963, the Department of State cabled Berger: 'At appropriate time assume you will wish to make use of improved rapport with Pa[r]k to advise him further on transition to civilian rule'.[136] To that end, historian Wol-san Liem reports that the United States Information Services (USIS) undertook a 1963 campaign 'to pressure the military government by creating an environment in which failure to hold elections would be a great embarrassment and make the regime appear out of favor with the United States' and undermine its domestic legitimacy.[137] On 16 March 1963, however, Park announced his decision to extend military rule for four more years. He had informed the US ambassador only the day before and did not solicit his views on the decision, which Park characterized as 'final'.[138] Several days later Park wrote to Kennedy to make his case, arguing, 'I have come to the

conclusion that the transfer of the Government, without any assurance of the political stability, to ever-corrupted politicians would pose danger for the national security and to do so would be considered as reckless and irresponsible on the part of the Revolutionary Government'.[139]

Park's plan to continue military rule for four more years risked sparking deeper unrest, and the threat to South Korean stability prompted the United States to exert pressure on him to hold democratic elections. In a 21 March meeting with Park, Berger advised that the United States 'cannot possibly approve, and might be compelled openly to oppose, continuation of military government for four more years'. Berger emphasized that open opposition 'would be a most serious step for us to take and would only accentuate crisis in country'.[140] A State Department official pronounced, 'We believe that prolongation of military rule could constitute a threat to stable and effective government, and we understand that this whole matter is being reexamined by the Korean government'.[141] In order to guide Berger's diplomacy, the State Department outlined its objectives for South Korea in a telegram to Berger:

a. Creation of stable government with sufficient base of political and popular support;
b. Removal of Korean military from political arena; and
c. Maintenance of international support of [Republic of Korea] and [United Nations Command].[142]

Although US officials had viewed Park's rule as acceptable, if not ideal, for some time, the administration now sought an end to military rule. After meeting with the South Korean ambassador two weeks later, Kennedy wrote to Park: 'We believe that a solution to the current political problem in Korea is to be found through consultations between your government and political leaders with a view to reaching an accord on a procedure for transition that will be acceptable to the Korean nation as a whole'.[143] Kennedy's communication indicated the United States did not seek to impose its will on Park but rather expected that Park should come to his own decision to pursue the preferred American outcome. Kennedy's reference to 'political leaders' implied that Park would consult outside his military regime and that varied South Korean leaders would work to facilitate the end of military rule.[144] On 3 April 1963, Kennedy said at a press conference, 'It is our hope that a situation will develop which will permit the blossoming of democratic rule, in responsible and stable democratic rule in South Korea'.[145]

Although the US tried to resist meddling in South Korean politics, to demonstrate American opposition to Park's plan, US officials threatened to withhold support for South Korea. NSC records indicate administration officials were uninterested in hearing from Park unless he sent a letter communicating a 'firm pledge to hold elections this year'.[146] Shortly thereafter, Park announced that elections would go forward. During the Kennedy years, the South Korean government was highly dependent on American aid, which was approximately $270 million in economic and military assistance annually.[147] In an effort to signal its seriousness, the United States had withheld $25 million promised to and needed by South Korea.[148] As embassy official Philip Habib put it, 'We laid down the law to them, and we made it stick'.[149] Scholar Bong Joong Kim, however, suggests that Park and his team may have created a false crisis 'to create the impression that they were flexible enough to listen to American advice'.[150] Either way, the United States regarded the eventual election, which Park won, as 'orderly' without the 'repression and wholesale rigging which we feared'.[151] In the view of US policymakers, the end of military rule after more two years was 'the direct result of US diplomatic intervention'.[152]

The return to civilian rule in South Korea arguably was the most tangible progress on human rights attributable to the Kennedy administration, but other issues beyond Cuba and Africa also captured its attention. Under Kennedy, American representatives to the UN Commission on Human Rights focused on concerns such as the plight of Jews in the Soviet Union, anti-Semitism more broadly, and commemoration of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.[153] Through bilateral ties, Kennedy pressured the Shah of Iran to reduce his authoritarianism, with some success, including the appointment of a former political opponent as prime minister.[154] In part, such an emphasis

fit with Kennedy's broader commitment to modernization in these years as political reform in Iran was seen as necessary for its economic development.[155] In addition, concerns that the South Vietnamese leader Ngo Dinh Diem was not sufficiently committed to political reform and religious freedom weakened administration opposition to South Vietnamese plots against him.[156] Finally, Kennedy sent three human rights conventions to the Senate for ratification: the Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, an International Labor Organization convention on the abolition of forced labor, and the United Nations Convention on the Political Rights of Women.[157] Nevertheless, Cuba, Portugal, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and South Korea garnered the bulk of the White House's attention with respect to international human rights.

In the absence of a robust record on human rights, Kennedy's attention to the cases of Cuba, Portugal, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and South Korea demonstrates the public diplomacy considerations that shaped US policy as well as the readiness with which the United States incorporated human rights as a consideration when it aligned with other goals. This article reveals that rhetorical support for human rights was not characteristic only of late Cold War US foreign policy, as earlier scholarship by Keys, Bradley, and others has suggested, and highlights consistency in US human rights policy by suggesting that as early as the 1960s, US policymakers were evaluating how the US could target states' human rights records for foreign policy aims.[158] The model of wielding human rights violations as a cudgel, in the ways that Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, and George W. Bush later did, had precedent.[159] Finally, such evidence suggests a longer degree of salience for human rights norms than previously acknowledged in literature on US foreign relations. Kennedy's administration did not prioritize or institutionalize human rights, objectives later US officials sought.[160] His rhetorical use of the term human rights as well as his selective attention to abuses abroad, however, normalized human rights within American domestic politics and facilitated greater attention in the years that followed.

Notes

1. On conservative opposition to human rights in the Eisenhower years, see Natalie Hevener Kaufman and David Whiteman, 'Opposition to Human Rights Treaties in the United States Senate: The Legacy of the Bricker Amendment', *Human Rights Quarterly* 10 (1988): 309–37.
2. John F. Kennedy, 'Inaugural Address', 20 January 1961, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=8032 (accessed 29 May 2013). Unfortunately, Kennedy's speechwriter Ted Sorensen does not write about the inclusion of the term 'human rights' in Kennedy's inaugural address. Ted Sorensen, *Kennedy: The Classic Biography* Rev. Ed. (New York: Harper Perennial, 2009). Taylor Branch points out that Kennedy did not mention 'segregation, civil rights, or race' in his inaugural address. Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-63* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988), 384.
3. See, for example, David P. Forsythe, 'Human Rights in U.S. Foreign Policy: Retrospect and Prospect', *Political Science Quarterly* 105:3 (Autumn 1990): 436–41.
4. Elizabeth Borgwardt, *A New Deal for the World: America's Vision for Human Rights* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005); Mary Ann Glendon, *A World Made New: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (New York: Random House, 2001); William I. Hitchcock, 'The Rise and Fall of Human Rights?: Searching for a Narrative from the Cold War to the 9/11 Era', *Human Rights Quarterly* 37:1 (February 2015): 80–106; Mark Philip Bradley, *The World Reimagined: Americans and Human Rights in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010); Barbara J. Keys, *Reclaiming American Virtue: The Human Rights Revolution of the 1970s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014); Joe Renouard, *Human Rights in American Foreign Policy: From the 1960s to the Soviet Collapse* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); Kelly J. Shannon, *U.S. Foreign Policy and Muslim Women's Human Rights* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018); William Michael Schmidli, *The Fate of Freedom Elsewhere: Human Rights and U.S. Cold War Policy toward Argentina* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013); and Daniel J. Sargent, *A Superpower Transformed: The Remaking of American Foreign Relations in the 1970s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015). Two exceptions are Stefan Ludwig-Hoffmann, 'Human Rights and History', *Past and Present* 232 (2016): 279–310 and Sarah B. Snyder, *From Selma to Moscow: How Human Rights Activists Transformed U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018).
5. Bradley, *The World Reimagined,* 125; and Mark Philip Bradley, 'American Vernaculars: The United States and the Global Human Rights Imagination', *Diplomatic History* 38:1 (January 2014): 14.

6. Elizabeth N. Saunders, *Leaders at War: How Presidents Shape Military Interventions* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 107.
7. Robert Dallek, *John F. Kennedy: An Unfinished Life, 1917-1963* (New York: Penguin, 2003).
8. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965).
9. Rabe is also critical about Kennedy's record in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Guatemala, where human rights violations were clearly not an administration policy priority. Stephen G. Rabe, 'John F. Kennedy and Constitutionalism, Democracy, and Human Rights in Latin America: Promise and Performance', *New England Journal of History* 52 (Fall 1995): 40–3, 52. Philip Muehlenbeck argues that Kennedy deliberately courted African rather than Latin American leaders because he did not want to be affiliated with 'military or autocratic leaders'. Muehlenbeck supports this by citing that Kennedy hosted twenty-eight African leaders for state dinners but only eight Latin American leaders. Philip E. Muehlenbeck, *Betting on the Africans: John F. Kennedy's Courting of African Nationalist Leaders* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), xv.
10. Rabe, 'John F. Kennedy and Constitutionalism, Democracy, and Human Rights in Latin America', 45.
11. For example, see Michael E. Latham, *Modernization as Ideology: American Social Science and 'Nation Building' in the Kennedy Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); and Thomas C. Field, Jr. *From Development to Dictatorship: Bolivia and the Alliance for Progress in the Kennedy Era* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014).
12. Keys, *Reclaiming American Virtue*, 40.
13. Daniel Immerwahr, 'Modernization and Development in U.S. Foreign Relations', *Passport* (September 2012): 23; and Nils Gilman, *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 9, 11.
14. See, for example, Bradley R. Simpson, *Economists with Guns: Authoritarian Development and U.S.-Indonesian Relations, 1960-1968* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), which emphasizes these impulses as more pronounced in the Johnson rather than the Kennedy years. As one measure of engagement, neither 'rights' nor 'human rights' are entries in the book's index; 'authoritarianism' is mentioned once.
15. Carol Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1955* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
16. Bradley, *The World Reimagined,* 224.
17. See *The American Presidency Project,* https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/.
18. John F. Kennedy, 'Address of Senator John F. Kennedy Accepting the Democratic Party Nomination for the Presidency of the United States', 15 July 1960, *The American Presidency Project* https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/274679 (accessed 21 October 2019).
19. John F. Kennedy, 'Speech of Senator John F. Kennedy', 8 September 1960, *The American Presidency Project* https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/274248 (accessed 21 October 2019).
20. John F. Kennedy, 'Speech', 31 October 1960, *The American Presidency Project* https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/274847 (accessed 21 October 2019).
21. John F. Kennedy, 'Statement', 29 March 1961, *The American Presidency Project* https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/234488 (accessed 21 October 2019).
22. John F. Kennedy, 'The President's New Conference', 8 May 1963, *The American Presidency Project* https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/236147 (accessed 21 October 2019).
23. John F. Kennedy, 'Address in Honolulu Before the United States Conference of Mayors', 9 June 1963, *The American Presidency Project* https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/236644 (accessed 21 October 2019).
24. John F. Kennedy, 'Special Message to the Congress on Civil Rights and Job Opportunities', 19 June 1963, *The American Presidency Project* https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/236711(accessed 21 October 2019).
25. John F. Kennedy, 'Proclamation 3442', 9 December 1961, *The American Presidency Project* https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/270218 (accessed 21 October 2019).
26. John F. Kennedy, 'Proclamation 3508', 28 November 1962, *The American Presidency Project* https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/269466 (accessed 21 October 2019).
27. John F. Kennedy, 'Address at the Free University of Berlin', 26 June 1963, *The American Presidency Project* https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/236872 (accessed 21 October 2019).
28. John F. Kennedy, 'Statement', 19 July 1961, *The American Presidency Project* https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/235153 (accessed 21 October 2019).
29. John F. Kennedy, 'Address to the General Assembly of the United Nations', 25 September 1961, *The American Presidency Project* https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/235679 (accessed 21 October 2019).
30. John F. Kennedy, 'Joint Statement Following Discussions With the Vice President of the Republic of China', 2 August 1961, *The American Presidency Project* https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/235293 (accessed 21 October 2019).
31. John F. Kennedy, 'Proclamation 3543', 5 July 1963, *The American Presidency Project* https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/270046 (accessed 21 October 2019).

32. See, for example, Thomas G. Paterson, 'Fixation with Cuba: The Bay of Pigs, Missile Crisis, and Covert War Against Fidel Castro' in Thomas G. Paterson, *Kennedy's Quest for Victory: American Foreign Policy,1961-1963* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Thomas G. Paterson, *Contesting Castro: The United States and the Triumph of the Cuban Revolution* (New York: Oxford University, 1995), 258–9; and Aleksandr Fursenko and Timothy Naftali, *"One Hell of a Gamble": Khrushchev, Castro, and Kennedy 1958-1964* (New York: Norton, 1997).
33. Elizabeth N. Saunders points out that, as a member of Congress, Kennedy had been tolerant of Castro, given the previous regime's 'dictatorship' and abuse of 'popular rights'. Saunders, *Leaders at War*, 106.
34. Press Release 3706, 20 April 1961, Folder 2, Box 175, Adlai E. Stevenson Papers, Public Policy Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. (Hereafter Stevenson Papers.)
35. William J. vanden Heuvel, 'Cuba: Its Refugees and its Liberation', 6 September 1962, Cuba, Subjects: Cuban Refugees, 8/61-3/63, Box 56A, Series I, National Security Files Staff Files, John F. Kennedy Library, Boston, Massachusetts. (Hereafter NSF and JFKL.)
36. *Ibid.*
37. Paterson, 'Fixation with Cuba', 123–5.
38. *Ibid.,* 127.
39. Louis A. Pérez, 'Fear and Loathing of Fidel Castro: Sources of US Policy toward Cuba', *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34:2 (May 2002): 227, 253.
40. Williams to Rusk, n.d., Cuba: General, 6/63, Box 38, NSF, Country Files, JFKL.
41. Martin to Harriman, 7 June 1963, Cuba: General, 6/63, Box 38, NSF, Country Files, JFKL.
42. Kenneth R. Janken, 'Making Racial Change, Managing Radical Change: The Civil Rights Movement, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Race Relations on the World Stage', *Diplomatic History* 25:5 (November 2003): 722. See also Luís Nuno Rodrigues, '"Today's Terrorist is Tomorrow's Statesman": The United States and Angolan Nationalism in the Early 1960s', *Portuguese Journal of Social Science* 3:2 (2004): 115–40.
43. Thomas J. Noer, 'New Frontiers and Old Priorities in Africa' in Paterson, ed. *Kennedy's Quest for Victory*, 269.
44. Muehlenbeck, *Betting on the Africans*, 120.
45. David A. Dickson, 'U.S. Foreign Policy toward Southern and Central Africa: The Kennedy and Johnson Years', *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 23:2 (Spring 1993): 305–6.
46. Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 170.
47. Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days,* 553; and James N. Giglio, *The Presidency of John F. Kennedy* 2nd ed., Rev. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006), 237.
48. John F. Kennedy, 'Speech', 12 October 1960, *The American Presidency Project* https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/274523 (accessed 21 October 2019).
49. Giglio, *The Presidency of John F. Kennedy*, 237; and Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days*, 554.
50. Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days*, 555.
51. Muehlenbeck, *Betting on the Africans*, 53.
52. Noer, "New Frontiers and Old Priorities in Africa," 256.
53. Muehlenbeck, *Betting on the Africans*, xi. See also Noer, 'New Frontiers and Old Priorities in Africa', 254; Michael L. Krenn, *Black Diplomacy: African Americans and the State Department, 1945-1969* (London: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), 116; Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line*, 138–9, 153; and Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 152–3.
54. Taylor to McNamara, 10 July 1963, South Africa General 6/3/63-7/12/63, Box 159, NSF, JFKL.
55. Muehlenbeck, *Betting on the Africans*, 103.
56. Rodrigues, '"Today's Terrorist is Tomorrow's Statesman,"' 127; and Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days*, 562.
57. Taylor to McNamara, 10 July 1963, South Africa General 6/3/63-7/12/63, Box 159, NSF, JFKL. See also Gretchen Heefner, '"A Slice of their Sovereignty": Negotiating the U.S. Empire of Bases, Wheelus Field, Libya, 1950-1954', *Diplomatic History* 41:1 (January 2017): 50–77.
58. McNamara to Rusk, 11 July 1963, South Africa General 6/3/63-7/12/63, Box 159, NSF, JFKL.
59. Taylor to McNamara, 10 July 1963, South Africa General 6/3/63-7/12/63, Box 159, NSF, JFKL.
60. Noer, 'New Frontiers and Old Priorities in Africa', 269–70.
61. Muehlenbeck, *Betting on the Africans*, 102.
62. New York to Secretary of State, 4 December 1962, United Nations Cables Vol. 1, Box 312, NSF, JFKL.
63. Muehlenbeck, *Betting on the Africans*, 115.
64. Dickson, 'U.S. Foreign Policy toward Southern and Central Africa', 302, 305.
65. Rodrigues, '"Today's Terrorist is Tomorrow's Statesman,"' 127, 133–4.
66. Scope Paper, 21 August 1963, Under Secretary of State Ball's Trip to Lisbon, 8/63, Box 387, Series 9, William H. Brubeck Files, NSF, JFKL (hereafter Brubeck Files).
67. Giglio, *The Presidency of John F. Kennedy*, 238.

68. Tyler to Williams, 10 October 1963, South Africa and Apartheid 10/63-3/64, Box 99, Harlan Cleveland Papers, Public Policy Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. (Hereafter Cleveland Papers.)
69. Rodrigues, '"Today's Terrorist is Tomorrow's Statesman,"' 119.
70. *Giglio, The Presidency of John F. Kennedy,* 244.
71. Rodrigues, '"Today's Terrorist is Tomorrow's Statesman,"' 136.
72. Williams to Rusk, 10 October 1963, South Africa and Apartheid, 10/63-3/64, Box 99, Cleveland Papers.
73. *Ibid.*
74. Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days*, 582.
75. Taylor to McNamara, 10 July 1963, South Africa General 6/3/63-7/12/63, Box 159, NSF, JFKL; Muehlenbeck, *Betting on the Africans*, 109; and Rodrigues, '"Today's Terrorist is Tomorrow's Statesman,"' 115.
76. Some UN member states wanted to petition the International Court of Justice to terminate South Africa's UN mandate in South West Africa. Muehlenbeck, *Betting on the Africans*, 181, 187.
77. As a point of reference, in 1965, exports to South Africa made up 35% of all US exports to the continent. United States-South African Relations, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 89th Congress; 2nd Session, 1, 2, 3, 8, 10, 15, 17 March 1966.
78. Noer, 'New Frontiers and Old Priorities in Africa', 275.
79. 4 July 1963 marked the first July 4th reception at the US embassy in Pretoria that was integrated. *Ibid.,* 276.
80. Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days*, 580.
81. Francis T. P. Plimpton Speech, 24 October 1961, available at undocs.org/en/A/SPC/SR.268 (accessed 15 July 2020).
82. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 684. See also Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days*, 581.
83. Krenn, *Black Diplomacy,* 116.
84. Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days*, 583.
85. Memorandum for the President, 13 July 1963, South Africa 3/63-8/63, Box 387, Brubeck Files, NSF, JFKL.
86. Bundy to Rusk, 17 July 1963, South Africa General 7/13/63-7/31/63, Box 159, NSF, JFKL; and Noer, 'New Frontiers and Old Priorities in Africa', 277.
87. Ball to Kennedy, 16 July 1963, South Africa General 7/13/63-7/31/63, Box 159, NSF, JFKL; and Telegram, State to USUN, 1 August 1963, South Africa General 7/13/63-7/31/63, Box 159, NSF, JFKL.
88. Press Release 4233, 2 August 1963, SOC 14-1 Discrimination/Protection of Minorities S AFR UN 8/1/63, Box 4215, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1963, Record Group 59, National Archives, College Park, Maryland. (Hereafter RG 59.)
89. Memorandum, 24 July 1963, South Africa General 7/13/63-7/31/63, Box 159, NSF, JFKL.
90. It did consider further sales of submarines and spare parts for C-130s to South Africa. Brubeck to Kennedy, 2 August 1963, South Africa General 7/13/63-7/31/63, Box 159, NSF, JFKL; and Ball to Kennedy, 28 August 1963, South Africa General 9/18/63-9/29/63, Box 159, NSF, JFKL.
91. Telegram, USUN to Secretary of State, 3 August 1963, South Africa General 7/13/63-7/31/63, Box 159, NSF, JFKL.
92. Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line*, 155.
93. Muehlenbeck, *Betting on the Africans*, 192.
94. Ball to Kennedy, 28 August 1963, South Africa General 9/18/63-9/29/63, Box 159, NSF, JFKL.
95. Telegram, State to USUN, 2 August 1963, South Africa General 7/13/63-7/31/63, Box 159, NSF, JFKL; and Telegram, USUN to Secretary of State, 2 August 1963, *ibid*.
96. Ball to Kennedy, 28 August 1963, South Africa General 9/18/63-9/29/63, Box 159, NSF, JFKL.
97. John F. Kennedy, 'Address before the 18th General Assembly of the United Nations', 20 September 1963, *The American Presidency Project* https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/235814 (accessed 28 May 2013).
98. Cleveland to Tree, 25 June 1963, in *FRUS, 1961-3: Volume XXV.*
99. Press Release No. 4259, 11 October 1963, South Africa and Apartheid, 10/63-3/64, Box 99, Cleveland Papers.
100. Department of State to USUN, 8 November 1963, United Nations Cables Vol. III, Box 312, NSF, JFKL.
101. *Ibid.*
102. Memorandum of Conversation, 3 June 1963, South Africa 10/61-10/62, Box 387, Brubeck Files, NSF, JFKL.
103. Muehlenbeck has argued historians assessing Kennedy's policy toward South Africa need to incorporate the vantage points of his successor Richard Nixon, Portuguese leaders, and white and Black Africans, all of whom regarded it as marking a fundamental break with US policy. Philip E. Muehlenbeck 'John F. Kennedy as Viewed by Africans' in Cyrus Schayegh, ed. *Globalizing the U. S. Presidency: Postcolonial Views of John F. Kennedy* (London: Bloomsbury Press, 2020), 38.
104. On the United States' response to Southern Rhodesia's 1965 Unilateral Declaration of Independence, see, for example, Gerald Horne, *From the Barrel of a Gun: The United States and the War Against Zimbabwe, 1965-1980* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Carl P. Watts, 'The United States, Britain, and the Problem of Rhodesian Independence, 1964-1965', *Diplomatic History* 30:3 (June 2006): 439–70; and Snyder, *From Selma to Moscow*, 42–59. Thus far there has been less examination of the American record in the preceding years.

105. Press Release 4007, 12 June 1962, Folder 7, Box 178, Stevenson Papers.
106. Garcia Inchaustegui Statement, 27 June 1962, available at undocs.org/en/A/PV.1119 (accessed 15 July 2020).
107. Telegram, New York to Secretary of State, 18 September 1962, United Nations Cables Volume I, Box 312, NSF, JFKL.
108. In the Kennedy years, the United States did not regard a unilateral declaration of independence, which came in 1965, as likely. Press Release 4075, 26 October 1962, Southern Rhodesia Working File, 9/5/63, Box 387, Brubeck Files, NSF, JFKL.
109. Analysis of the Principal Actions at the Seventeenth General Assembly, U.N., United Nations: General 9/62-12/62, Box 310A, NSF, JFKL.
110. Transcript, 30 September 1962, Folder 6, Box 179, Stevenson Papers.
111. Position Paper, 4 September 1963, United Nations 9/4/63-12/10/63, WH-22, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Papers, JFKL.
112. Robert B. Rakove, *Kennedy, Johnson, and the Nonaligned World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 94–5.
113. Kim to Rusk, 13 May 1963, Arranged Correspondence: M-Z, Box 2, Yong-jeung Kim Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, New York.
114. Special National Intelligence Estimate, 21 March 1961, Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961-1963: Volume XXII* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1996), Document 206.
115. Chae-Jin Lee, A *Troubled Peace: U.S. Policy and the Two Koreas* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 46. Noted historian of Korea Bruce Cumings does not see evidence that the State Department, US military, or Kennedy administration had advance knowledge of Park's 1961 coup. Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2013), 353.
116. Donald Stone Macdonald, *U.S.-Korean Relations from Liberation to Self-Reliance: The Twenty-Year Record* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991), 208; Magruder to Lemnitzer, 17 May 1961, *FRUS, 1961-1963: XXII,* Document 218; and Gregg Brazinsky, *Nation Building in South Korea: Koreans, Americans, and the Making of a Democracy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 119.
117. Brazinsky, *Nation Building in South Korea,* 119.
118. Bong Joong Kim, *Democracy and Human Rights: U.S.-South Korean Relations 1945-1979* (PhD Dissertation, University of Toledo, 1994), 145.
119. Macdonald, *U.S.-Korean Relations from Liberation to Self-Reliance*, 217. Park specified his preferred transliteration for all publications and correspondence was Park Chung Hee, although inconsistences remain in the record.
120. Forrestal to Kennedy, 28 March 1963, *FRUS, 1961-1963: XXII,* Document 298. See also Daniel A. O'Donohue Oral History Interview, 28 May 1996, *The Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training,* Library of Congress, Washington, District of Columbia. (Hereafter ADST.)
121. Kim, *Democracy and Human Rights*, 149. As Daniel A. O'Donohue, who served in the US embassy in Seoul under Berger, said, 'Berger had cast his lot with President Park Chung Hee and his military government'. Daniel A. O'Donohue Oral History Interview.
122. Bowles to Kennedy, 18 May 1961, Korea General 6/63-11/63, Box 127A, Country Files, NSF, JFKL.
123. Seoul to Department of State, 9 July 1961, *FRUS, 1961-1963: XXII,* Document 235.
124. Progress Report, 24 August 1961, *FRUS, 1961-1963: XXII,* Document 242.
125. *Ibid.*
126. Seoul to Department of State, 28 October 1961, *FRUS, 1961-1963: XXII,* Document 244.
127. Chairman Park's Visit, Park Briefing Book Part II, Box 128, Country Files, NSF, JFKL; Memcon, 14 November 1961, 10 AM, *FRUS, 1961-1963: XXII.,* Document 246*;* and MemCon, 14 November 1961 3:30 PM, *FRUS, 1961-1963: XXII,* Document 247.
128. Position Paper, Park Briefing Book Part II, Box 128, Country Files, NSF, JFKL.
129. Seoul to Secretary of State, 31 October 1967, Park Visit, 8/61-10/61, Box 128, Country Files, NSF, JFKL.
130. Press Release, 14 November 1961, Korea Subjects Park Visit, 11/61-12/61, Box 128, NSF, JFKL.
131. Department of State to AmEmbassy Seoul, 5 August 1962, Korea Cables 7/21/62-8/31/62, Box 129, NSF, JFKL.
132. *Ibid.*
133. Forrestal to Kennedy, 17 October 1962, *FRUS, 1961-1963: XXII,* Document 284.
134. Seoul to Secretary of State, 16 October 1962, Korea Cables 9/62-10/62, Box 129, NSF, JFKL.
135. Memcon, 29 October 1962, *FRUS, 1961-1963: XXII,* Document 283.
136. Department of State to Embassy in Seoul, 24 January 1963, *FRUS, 1961-1963: XXII,* Document 286.
137. Wol-san Liem, *Telling the 'Truth' to Koreans: U.S. Cultural Policy in South Korea during the Early Cold War, 1947-1967* (PhD Dissertation, New York University, 2010), 343.
138. Seoul to Secretary of State, 15 March 1963, Korea Cables 3/1/63-3/21/63, Box 129, NSF, JFKL.
139. Park to Kennedy, 19 March 1963, Korea General 4/63-11/63, Box 127A, Country Files, NSF, JFKL.
140. Seoul to Secretary of State, 21 March 1963, Korea Cables 3/1/63-3/21/63, Box 129, NSF, JFKL; Macdonald, *U.S.-Korean Relations from Liberation to Self-Reliance*, 223. See also Daniel A. O'Donohue Oral History Interview.

141. Kim, *Democracy and Human Rights*, 178.
142. Department of State to Embassy in Seoul, 28 March 1963, *FRUS, 1961-1963: XXII,* Document 297.
143. Kennedy to Park, 31 March 1963, *FRUS, 1961-1963: XXII*. US officials in Seoul stated that they would not publicize Kennedy's letter if progress was made. Seoul to Secretary of State, 2 April 1963, Korea Cables 4/63, Box 129, Country Files, NSF, JFKL.
144. The embassy in Seoul was then instructed not to get too involved in Korean discussions about resolving the political situation. Department of State to Embassy in Seoul, 8 April 1963, *FRUS, 1961-1963: XXII,* Document 300.
145. Kim, *Democracy and Human Rights*, 179–80. Political scientist Hyug Baeg Im argues Kennedy 'scarcely hid his contempt' for Park's regime. Hyug Baeg Im, 'The Origins of the *Yushin* Regime: Machiavelli Unveiled' in Byung-Kook Kim and Ezra F. Vogel, ed. *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 259.
146. Draft Cable to Seoul, 10 April 1963, Korea Cables 4/63, Box 129, NSF, JFKL.
147. Administrative History of the Department of State Volume I: Chapter Seven, Special Files, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, Austin, Texas. (Hereafter LBJL.)
148. 'Silent Sam, the Pressure Man', *Time* 19 April 1963.
149. Philip Habib Oral History Interview, 24 May 1984, ADST.
150. Kim, *Democracy and Human Rights,* 181–2.
151. Department of State to Embassy in Seoul, 22 October 1963, *FRUS, 1961-1963: XXII,* Document 316.
152. Administrative History of the Department of State Volume I: Chapter Seven, Special Files, LBJL.
153. Tree to Rusk, 17 April 1961in Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961-1963: Volume XXV* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 2001); Tree to Rusk, May 14, 1962, *ibid;* and Memcon, 21 April 1963, *ibid.* Documents published by the State Department detailing Soviet-American relations during the Kennedy administration demonstrate that human rights received very little attention. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961-1963: Volume V: Soviet Union* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1998).
154. David R. Collier, *Democracy and the Nature of American Influence in Iran, 1941-1979* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2017), 186–200.
155. *Ibid.*, 186–7, 203–6, 214. See also Andrew David and Michael Holm, 'The Kennedy Administration and the Battle over Foreign Aid: The Untold Story of the Clay Committee', *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 27:1 (2016): 67.
156. Saunders, *Leaders at War*, 127.
157. John F.. Kennedy to President of the Senate, 22 July 1963, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy January 1 to November 22, 1963* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1964), 586.
158. See, for example, Keys, *Reclaiming American Virtue;* and Bradley, *The World Reimagined.*
159. Sarah B. Snyder, *Human Rights Activism and the End of the Cold War: A Transnational History of the Helsinki Network* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 85–6, 155–6; and Shannon, *U.S. Foreign Policy and Muslim Women's Human Rights*, 158–71.
160. David F. Schmitz and Vanessa Walker, 'Jimmy Carter and the Foreign Policy of Human Rights: The Development of a Post-Cold War Foreign Policy', *Diplomatic History* 28 (January 2004): 113–43; and Sarah B. Snyder, '"A Call for U.S. Leadership": Congressional Activism on Human Rights', *Diplomatic History* 37:2 (April 2013): 372–97.

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