the removal of the reduction gears. It was decided that this move should be made.

And, of course, by the time the experts had surveyed their own handiwork, they arrived at a decision that really the best thing to do to solve their problem would be to scrap the ship.

That was the end of the *Wamponoag*.

In reporting its findings, the board observed that the experience "nevertheless may serve as a source from which important lessons may be drawn, and among them it impresses the expediency of consulting, instead of ignoring, experienced and intelligent naval minds."

It was 20 years later, I understand, before the U.S. Navy again had a 17-knot ship.

I think this story points a moral.

To improve the performance and competitiveness of our merchant fleet and its usefulness as a naval auxiliary under emergency conditions, full application must be made of all new technologies. This was the motivation behind the legislation authorizing the construction of the nuclear ship, *Savannah*, which was first introduced in the Congress more than 8 years ago. No one expected the *Savannah* to be economically competitive. She represented that essential first step in the application of nuclear power to a surface vessel for peaceful purposes. She has had her problems—sometimes technical—more recently in the nontechnical area. If the *Savannah* had not been built we would probably not be much further ahead in our knowledge of the potentialities of nuclear ship propulsion than we were 8 years ago.

Whenever the subject of nuclear propulsion for merchant ships is raised, detractors still bring forth the argument that it is not economical; that it is too complex; that its safety has not been fully demonstrated, etc. What this really means is that it is new and will force a change in established concepts.

The *Savannah* has now been constructed and has provided sufficient operational experience to demonstrate that she is extremely safe, and that the propulsion of a merchant ship by means of nuclear power is practical. She has provided a testing ground for social problems which will have to be solved as we apply the new technologies to the merhcant marine of the future. She has been a ground breaker in obtaining acceptance in the very important area of port entry approvals here and abroad. I would not be so bold as to attempt to detail the various advantages offered by nuclear surface ship propulsion. They are many, as you know.

When considering the use of changed concepts in merchant shipping the key question always boils down to one of economics, so the question here is: "Can nuclear systems be used profitably?"

A new technology may offer unique advantages which, if properly used, could eventually lead to the replacement of a more or less conventional technology. On the other hand, the new technology cannot be forced into the straitjacket of the conventional, nor must it be rejected because it does not provide obvious advantages when used in accordance with conventional ground rules. Our *Wampanoag* story is a perfect illustration of what can happen with such a negative approach.

It is necessary to utilize the advantages offered by a new technology, first in those specific areas where maximum advantage can be taken, and then, as it enters useful operation, to improve it and its utilization until it becomes competitive in an ever-increasing area. In other words, use it where it makes the most sense.

According to what I hear from leading naval architects, high ranking Navy officers with intense and concentrated experience in nuclear propulsion for naval vessels, both submarine and surface, and from outstanding industry sources, we are now on the threshold of a breakthrough in nuclear ship applications which, if made now and used where they make the most sense, will produce economically justifiable reuslts.

On the strength of these authorities I take this occasion to urge that this country move forward to its next application of nuclear propulsion to a peaceful surface ship—an application whose success will be as assured as anything can be.

Some 6 years ago I introduced legislation to authorize the construction of an outstanding nuclear powered icebreaker for operation by the U.S. Coast Guard, capable of carrying out multiple missions in the Arctic and Antarctic regions—both areas in which we have great stake. I felt that taking all factors into account the construction of such a vessel made sense and was economically justifiable, even at that time. The legislation passed both Houses overwhelmingly, but was vetoed by President Eisenhower.

Our need for new icebreakers increases daily as our interests in the polar regions expands. This need is more than ever a national need, above and beyond the traditional roles and missions of the Coast Guard in the field of icebreaking. Criticism undoubtedly will still be heard concerning the cost of new icebreakers with nuclear propulsion. But I believe the truly wasteful and extravagant course would be to proceed with the construction of conventional ships which will be obsolete by the time the first one is completed several years from now. The long range course, the economical course lies in boldly taking advantage of the most advanced technological concepts presently available so we will have an outstanding ship which may well remain modern over much if not all, of its useful life.

Nuclear power in an outstanding icebreaker, highly mechanized, would pay immediate returns on the investment, plus providing a testing ground of incalculable value for surface shipping of the future.

Again, to advance a proposal which I unsuccessfully espoused before, I want to now seriously urge consideration of the building of another and outstanding superliner passenger ship embodying the latest concepts of nuclear power, large passenger and troop capacity, high speed and extensive mechanization.

I do not believe that large passenger ships have become obsolete, but rather that we are in a transition period marking an increasing demand for surface ocean travel. Rising income levels and the increasing lengths of vacations, both here and abroad, are indicators in this direction.

I do not believe that surface transportation for emergency troop lift has become obsolete. Despite the great utility and advantages and the increasing capacity of airlift, I do not believe it is safe or sound for us to be unable to balance our troop transport capability with a few ships designed with troop lift in mind. Obviously this can be done most economically through the construction of vessels which will be gainfully employed during peacetime periods. Here, again, the construction of such an outstanding ship will not only serve maximum purposes as an element of the peacetime American merchant marine, available for effective use in time of war, and, incidentally contributing to the relief of our balance-of-payments problem, but it will serve as a practical laboratory for the continued advancement of our maritime technology.

I know that research and development programs are being undertaken by the Maritime Administration. I believe they are good programs, conducted with dedication. But it does little good to engage in research and development without application of the concepts being studied. Moreover, unless we follow through to employ on a broad scale the advanced concepts which are developed, we will be hastening the digging of our own grave as our competitors learn of and adopt the advances we conceive.

I conclude with these wise words of Sir Walter Raleigh:

"Whoever commands the sea, commands the trade; whoever commands the trade of the world, commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself."

SENATE

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1963

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by the Acting President pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father, God, we turn to Thee with our drained lives filled with tension for the present, anxiety for the future, with deep concern about ourselves, our Nation, and our world; and yet with a radiant hope that sends a shining ray far down the future's broadening way.

In spite of all the diversities of gifts and thought, in a common unity help us to lay aside every weight of prejudice, of pride, or of covetousness, and with glad and eager feet to march with the army that goes to free, not to bind; to develop, not to rule; to cooperate, not to dominate, until the knowledge of the Lord, who is no respecter of persons, shall cover the earth as the waters now cover the sea.

May this be a hallowed session, as this day in this Chamber, where he served the Nation, there is honored one so suddenly snatched from his great task of world leadership. We will remember him always as—

"One who never turned his back
But marched breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted,
Wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise,
Are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake."

Now at noonday, in the bustle of man's worktime, he has greeted the unseen with a cheer.

Gird us all to work in sunny hours, knowing that the night is coming when man's work is done.

In the blessed name of the world's Redeemer, who accomplished so much in so short a span, we pray. Amen.

EULOGIES OF THE LATE JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. In accordance with the order of the Senate

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of November 26 last, supplemented by the order of yesterday, the Senate will now proceed with the delivery of eulogies by Members of the Senate on the life, character, and distinguished public service of the late President of the United States, and a former Representative and Senator from the State of Massachusetts, the Honorable John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, what I had to say on the assassination of John Fitzgerald Kennedy has been said. It was said in the rotunda when his body was delivered into the trust of the Congress and the people of the Nation for a day and a night. It was said when it fell to me to give formal notification of his death to the Senate. I ask unanimous consent that both of those statements be included as though read at this point in the RECORD.

Mr. President, a flame kindled of human decency, courage and dedication does not die. The light which was John Fitzgerald Kennedy will not fail. We must not fail.

It rests with us to fashion in the glow of our grief a renewed sense of high national purpose. It rests with us to labor with humility and forbearance, with dignity and with hope to bring forth a new decency in this Nation and, in this world, a reasoned peace.

The ring is continuous. There is no end except that there is a beginning. There is an hour to grieve and an hour to give meaning to grief. This is the hour for those of us who live. This is the hour to end, to begin, to continue.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EULOGY BY SENATOR MANSFIELD IN THE ROTUNDA, U.S. CAPITOL, NOVEMBER 24, 1963

There was a sound of laughter; in a moment, it was no more. And so she took a ring from her finger and placed it in his hands.

There was a wit in a man neither young nor old, but a wit full of an old man's wisdom and of a child's wisdom, and then, in a moment it was no more. And so she took a ring from her finger and placed it in his hands.

There was a man marked with the scars of his love of country, a body active with the surge of a life far, far from spent and, in a moment, it was no more. And so she took a ring from her finger and placed it in his hands.

There was a father with a little boy, a little girl and a joy of each in the other. In a moment it was no more, and so she took a ring from her finger and placed it in his hands.

There was a husband who asked much and gave much, and out of the giving and the asking wove with a woman what could not be broken in life, and in a moment it was no more. And so she took a ring from her finger and placed it in his hands, and kissed him and closed the lid of a coffin.

A piece of each of us died at that moment. Yet, in death he gave of himself to us. He gave us of a good heart from which the laughter came. He gave us of a profound wit, from which a great leadership emerged. He gave us of a kindness and a strength fused into a human courage to seek peace without fear.

He gave us of his love that we, too, in turn, might give. He gave that we might give of ourselves, that we might give to one another until there would be no room, no room at all, for the bigotry, the hatred, prejudice and the arrogance which converged in that moment of horror to strike him down.

In leaving us—these gifts, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, President of the United States, leaves with us. Will we take them, Mr. President? Will we have, now, the sense and the responsibility and the courage to take them?

I pray to God that we shall and under God we will.

STATEMENT BY SENATOR MANSFIELD ON NOVEMBER 25, 1963

DEATH OF JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY, 35TH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the Senate has assembled today to remark for the RECORD the death of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, President of the United States.

I shall be brief, for his life, too short, shut off too soon, speaks for him.

In these last hours, a profile in courage has emerged from the emulsion of his death. And the tears of those who knew him and those who did not know him will fix that profile forever in the experience of the Nation and the world.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy's courage was the human courage, the courage which all must have merely to live in this world, in the ever-present shadow of death. It was the special courage to defy the cold hand of death when it reaches out too eagerly, as twice it did—in the wounds of the war and in the grave illness of his Senate years. It was the quiet courage to accept death's finality when it would be denied no longer.

And his was an extraordinary courage. It was the courage to believe in, with all his heart, and to dedicate himself to, the attainment of the proposition that Americans—all Americans—are born with an equal right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

His was a universal courage. It was the courage of one who had bled in war to seek, unashamed, a peace of decency among all nations. It was the courage to join, before all else, the family of man and, in the joining, to affirm, before all else, the integrity of human life in the face of the powers of violence to destroy and desecrate it.

This is the profile of the man who walked among us not long ago on the floor of the Senate. This is the profile of the man who emerged to reawaken the Nation to its finest meaning. This is the man who struck new sparks of hope in a world dark with unspeakable fears.

His death, Mr. President, has fused the many faces of courage into a single profile of courage set in the enduring frame of faith and reason. This is what we have of him now. It is so little to have, and yet so much.

In a moment, I shall send to the desk a resolution of regret on the death of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. But that will not be the end. It will not be the end of our responsibility, of our debt to this decent man, this American who gave of himself until there was no more to give.

We will find, in his death, the strength to do what must be done to bridle the bigotry, the hatred, the arrogance, the iniquities, and the inequities which marched in the boots of a gathering tyranny to that moment of horror.

We will find, in his death, the strength to renew our faith in what is good in ourselves and in one another throughout this Nation.

We will find, in his death, the strength to follow the paths of reason on which he walked, until they lead us out of the morass of an all-consuming and cynical self-concern.

We will find, in his death, some of his love and reverence of life, some of his humility, some of his patience and forbearance, some of his wisdom, and some of his humor. And, so strengthened, we will join with the President in forging a new decency at home and a reasoned peace in the world.

God willing, these things we shall find or God help us all.

Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution which I submit on behalf of the 100 Members of the Senate.

The resolution (S. Res. 228) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has learned with profound sorrow and deep regret of the tragic death of Hon. John Fitzgerald Kennedy, late the President of the United States, and a former Representative and former Senator from the State of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That in recognition of his illustrious statesmanship, his leadership in national and world affairs, and his distinguished public service to his State and the Nation, the Presiding Officer of the Senate appoint a committee, to consist of all the Members of the Senate, to attend the funeral of the late President at noon today.

Resolved, That the Senate hereby tenders its deep sympathy to the members of the family of the late President in their sad bereavement.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives, and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the late President.

JOHN F. KENNEDY: THE MAN

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, the time was a few days before the vote in this body on the nuclear test ban treaty. Senator MANSFIELD and I made a call on the President. We were visiting quite informally in the Cabinet room. Secretary McNamara went by the window. The President asked him to join us. When the discussion was over, we stood a few paces from the others, to visit.

"Mr. President," I said, "my mind is made up. I shall support the treaty; and I expect some castigation for my vote."

He flashed a broad smile. "EVERETT," he said, "Have you read 'The Man and

the Myth'?" "No, Mr. President, I have not." Then, with a real chuckle, he said, "You do not know what castigation is."

I have not read the book. The John Kennedy I knew was not a myth.

Theodore Roosevelt was said to have remarked, on one occasion, that most of the world's work is done by people who do not feel well. The life of John F. Kennedy is an eloquent lesson to millions of people of things accomplished and work done by one whose life was besieged by ailments and sometimes crippling forces.

Jaundice delayed his college education. Injuries caused his rejection by the Army. Through months of strenuous exercise he qualified for the Navy. The Japanese destroyer which smashed his PT boat brought back the injury to his back. Malaria complicated his problem. The disk operation to his back in 1945 was another event in his struggle for health and vitality. His long hospitalization in 1954 and 1955 gave his family and friends real concern.

Despite these intruding forces, he was elected to Congress in 1946, 1948, and 1950, and to the Senate in 1952 and in 1958. Can anything more eloquently proclaim the determination and stamina of the man?

A presidential contest is a gruelling challenge to the mind and body of any man. Yet I know of no occasion in that contest when he relented in his vigorous pursuit of a victory. I know of no occasion when he whimpered or complained. I know of no occasion when he felt impelled to lay aside the burden of the campaign because of pain or ill health. Day after day he coursed over this land from ocean to ocean and from dominion to gulf. This is not a myth. This is not fantasy. This is the unadorned story of a man who with unquenchable zeal pursued his determination to render public service at the highest attainable level regardless of the handicaps which were his lot. This is the man who became the 35th President of the United States. This is the man who could laugh and smile through it all. This is the man who fought back the ills of the flesh, only to have his unconquerable spirit extinguished by a weapon in the hands of a fellow man with an evil brain and a black heart.

It brings back a picture of a smiling young man, at age 25, lying on a hospital cot in an Edinburgh, Scotland, hospital awaiting perhaps his 20th operation in as many months as physicians and surgeons strove to save his foot. The other had already been amputated. He had gone through illness, pain, suffering and now he was in the hands of the great Scottish physician, Dr. Joseph Lister, who had discovered a new method of treating infections. It was then, with courage high, with faith unimpaired, with the fortitude of a saint, that William Ernest Henley wrote "Invictus," a poem of force and power which has inspired millions to face the unkind blows of fate and triumph over their handicaps. In that hour when William Henley's very soul was tried in the crucible of faith this is what he wrote:

Out of the night that covers me,
Black as the pit from pole to pole,
I thank whatever gods may be
For my unconquerable soul.

In the fell clutch of circumstance
I have not winced nor cried aloud.
Under the bludgeonings of chance
My head is bloody, but unbowed.

Beyond this place of wrath and tears
Looms but the horror of the shade,
And yet the menace of the years
Finds and shall find me unafraid.

It matters not how strait the gate,
How charged with punishments the scroll,
I am the master of my fate:
I am the captain of my soul.

The student, the reporter, the Congressman, the Senator, the President, the PT-boat commander, John Fitzgerald Kennedy was truly the master of his fate—he was the captain of his soul.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, on Friday afternoon, November 22, 1963, a horrible tragedy saddened every true American citizen. We lost our President, a man whom we respected, one who was conducting the high office to which we had elected him with dignity, courage, ability, and firmness. This tragic event was doubly hard to bear because it happened in our country. Who could have believed that such an act could occur in the United States? We can only be thankful that it was apparently the action of a demented person and not one that can be attributed to any organized group or to any failure of our way of life. This does not, of course, lessen our grief over the loss of a man in whom the country had faith and reliance, a man who was in the prime of life.

We have set aside this afternoon to pay our tribute to John F. Kennedy. When he became a Senator in 1952 I walked up the center aisle with him and introduced him to the Vice President. As his Massachusetts colleague for 8 years in this body, I came to have a relationship with him that developed into a friendship and mutual confidence in each other that lasted through the years. The late President was "Jack" to most everyone, but he was always "John" to me until he became "Mr. President." We early agreed to work together on problems that affected our Commonwealth and we often talked about these matters. I believe we did help our State by supplementing each other before committees and on the floor of the Senate. We knew we would not always agree on national questions, although we often discussed them prior to a vote. On international problems such as foreign aid, NATO, and other understandings, our feelings were generally the same.

Our Massachusetts people have a long history of courage, leadership, dedication to public service, and the ability to rise to the challenge of the times. As a student of history, John Kennedy was aware of this tradition and he became part of it. The qualities that have made Massachusetts a good place in which to do business and to bring up a family formed the historic background and tradition which so influenced John Kennedy.

He was an able man and I enjoyed the opportunity I had to watch him grow and develop during the major part of his political career. Our ages were different and so to some our relationship seemed unusual, but fundamentally we trusted and respected one another and so remained on good terms even though our partisan politics were different. Certainly he was a man of good will, a man of ideas, and yet he was a man who had his feet on the ground. He was an attractive person, never flustered, quick to understand the pros and cons of a problem, a good administrator of his office, a person who demanded and obtained good advice. No one I have ever encountered in public life could size up the public reaction to a legislative proposal more quickly or more accurately than he. One of his greatest assets was his ability to meet a person, disarm him by quick repartee, and persuade him to do what John Kennedy wanted to have done. He was always courteous and straightforward, and could be counted on to live up to his agreements.

During the long illness which he had early in his Senate service, I tried hard to see that his name was included in all that affected our Commonwealth. This I think he appreciated. It helped to strengthen the bonds between us, to make us friends and it increased our determination to work closely together to help Massachusetts. I am glad I had the opportunity to work with him as I did.

So today we like to recall our association and experiences with our late President, our respect for his intellectual and personal character, his sense of humor—and, above all, his patriotism so clearly evident in his military and governmental actions, his firmness, his decision and his understanding.

Certainly the loyalty and affection which he stimulated in his own immediate family—his father and mother, his brothers and sisters, and the vital help that he received from his good wife—helped him enormously. And they gave him this loyalty and affection because they admired and trusted him. We share their grief and sense of loss.

We who knew him will miss him. His fellow citizens will miss him and the leaders of the free world and even those behind the Iron Curtain will miss him. But his spirit and what he stood for will always remain with us.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I was too near the one we mourn to attempt to sum up his career and contributions. I will leave that to others. Poets will raise lamentations for him as Whitman did for Lincoln. Historians will fix his place in the pantheon of our Nation's heroes.

And those who speak or write the definitive accounts need never have known him personally, for great men and great tragedies touch the souls of people everywhere. The evidence was in the

lines which moved endlessly past the bier in the Rotunda, reverent and inconsolable.

The tears which were shed nearly a century ago by the family and the Nation for Abraham Lincoln have long since dried. But the power of his ideals and of his tragic fate have remained to inspire the living. And some, reading his words and remembering his hopes, reach out to bigger deeds than they might otherwise accomplish.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy will likewise be a living force in generations unborn, through his idealism, his eloquence, and the terrible circumstances of his death. Because he was wise and generous in the choice of his successor, he may even prove to have been a greater immediate influence than Lincoln was on the bereaved Nation which he left behind.

There is a certain consolation in this knowledge that the causes John Kennedy believed in, will be served eternally by his tragic death. More than anyone I ever knew, John F. Kennedy had a sense of history's vast sweep, and an insight into his own special role as an active figure on history's stage. And it is in history that his full measure will be known. Great men are always so far ahead of their times that seldom are they recognized for their greatness while living. Many of President Kennedy's proposals—much of his program—were received with widespread consternation. But in our lifetime we shall see many of them receive general acceptance, and many of us will wonder why we could not see their value before.

More than anyone I ever knew, John F. Kennedy desired fiercely to achieve a greatness which would be remembered beyond his own time and place. His memory will be perpetuated—but not alone in the monuments and memorials of a grateful nation. It will live in the hearts and minds of people everywhere—who saw him grasp a world which was on the brink of an atomic holocaust, and firmly and coolly hold the line, turning it back on the path of a peace with dignity.

It is one of those ironies which I think John Kennedy would have appreciated, that the killer who struck him down in the high noon of his life, also immortalized him. But it is a consolation which provides little solace to those of us who loved him, not as a public person, but as a man. I will miss the inspired leadership, the cool courage, the shining phrases, as shall we all. But the void in my heart was left by the loss of the confident, smiling, vigorous, and yet always thoughtful and tender young man with whom I shared 17 years of friendship. I regret I do not have the words for the poignancy of the loss I feel.

He was just 46. He had talents—and the energy to serve them. He had important things left to do. He had the Irish gift of laughter and of compassion. He had the loyalty and the love of a father and mother, brothers and sisters, who formed as close-knit and active family as any man could wish. He had the adoration of a radiant and gracious lady and of two beautiful, budding children—Caroline and John-John—whom he adored in return. In brief, he was alive—in a sense that few of us ever were or will be. And now he is dead. And the worst of it is that this man who was so rational, so forbearing, so forgiving should have been struck down by a mad act of hate. The finality of it is still beyond bearing.

And yet I know—we all know—that Jack Kennedy would have enjoined us to bear his death bravely and to carry on, as he said, "rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation." Jack Kennedy loved life and lived it exuberantly. He had everything to live for. But he never shrank from what life might bring. He understood the risks and the responsibilities of living at the vortex; and he accepted them—not with bravado, not with resignation, but with calm and purposeful courage.

For he believed, without being a reckless person, that fear or self-pity make a man the prisoner of circumstance. And so, while he always knew the odds, he did not surrender to them.

It was a constant of his personality. The determined frail freshman trying for the Harvard football team, the pain-wracked swimmer in the Pacific night, the invalid who earned a Pulitzer, the courageous campaigner on a thousand hostile platforms—all of these prefigured the mettle which he showed as President.

We live in a world of danger, he told us repeatedly, "but let us not despair." And he never did. And in the moments of deepest shock and sorrow, his own family showed us how to bear the tragedy of his loss and to do what must be done.

My wife, Rosemary, and my two sons, John and Bruce—both of whom dearly loved President Kennedy—join me in extending our deepest sympathy to his parents, his brothers, and his sisters. To Jacqueline and her two precious children, whose loss is greatest of all, go our love and our prayers.

Though the empty place to which he gave such vividness, such grace, such love, can never be filled, may they—and we—find comfort in lifting high the torch which has fallen from his hand and which now and forever will light his memory. "And the glow from that fire" will indeed "truly light the world."

We shall not see his like again in our generation.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, in joining with my colleagues in paying respect to the late President Kennedy, I do so with full realization that eulogies in themselves may be a weak apology for some of the things we may have done or have left undone.

The only lasting mark of affection and respect we can show for John F. Kennedy will be found in the work we do during our own "little day" and the contribution which that work may make toward the betterment of mankind.

If, because of his dedication to public service and as a result of his death, we dedicate ourselves to greater service, then we will have paid him the highest possible honor.

During his first weeks in office, I was not too sure that Jack Kennedy would be a good President.

The excitement—the glamour—the abandon of many of his enthusiastic friends and supporters seemed to indicate that we might be in for a "playboy administration."

Then came the episode of the Bay of Pigs.

Although he was not called upon to do so, he accepted full responsibility for the failure of that venture.

From that time on it was President Kennedy.

From that time on, it was apparent that the weight of his office rested more and more heavily upon his shoulders.

From that time on, he put forth an ever-increasing effort to insure national prosperity, human justice, and world peace supported by the necessary strength of our Nation.

He was called upon to meet crises both at home and in the international field.

With each new challenge, he seemed to gain strength and wisdom while the burden of his office bore down with an ever-increasing weight.

It may be said that many of his objectives were not achieved during his lifetime.

Granting that this is true, it may also be said that through his thinking and through his action and his utterances an untold host of people found themselves viewing their fellow man and the world itself in a changing light.

I am content to leave to history the record of John F. Kennedy, 35th President of the United States, in the belief that history will hold his finest eulogy.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, as we dedicate this day to the memory of a gallant American who graced this Chamber by his presence during 8 years of his and our lives, we recall to one another the high qualities and splendid accomplishments of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, our departed friend and leader.

No quality among the many that he possessed, in my judgment, and no accomplishment among the many that he achieved, can equal his deeply devoted love of peace and his ceaseless effort to consolidate the peace of the world.

John Kennedy thoroughly comprehended the nature of the times through which we pass. He had prepared himself well for the task he entered upon less than 3 short years ago. As he grappled with all the manifold problems, threats, crises, and dangers which have confronted this Nation during his brief Presidency, he broadened and deepened his knowledge and his understanding of the awesome challenge facing mankind.

Then, just 14 months ago, he stood alone and stared more deeply than any man has ever stared into what he described as that "dark and final abyss."

It was his courage and his genius that drew us back from that abyss.

He told his countrymen:

Peace and freedom do not come cheap * * * and we are destined to live out most,

if not all, of our lives in uncertainty and challenge and peril.

He told us:

Together we shall save our planet or together we shall perish in its flames.

He told us:

It is our intention to challenge the Soviet Union, not to an arms race, but to a peace race; to advance, step by step, stage by stage, until general and complete disarmament has actually been achieved.

John Kennedy conceived it to be the supreme duty of his Presidency to preserve the peace. He dedicated his full energies to binding up the old wounds of our world and to preventing infliction of new ones.

He tried by every means at his command to create an atmosphere of mutual confidence and understanding in which agreements designed to protect humanity from the holocaust could be reached and upheld.

In mounting and maintaining for our country the mightiest military force any nation has ever had, it was his solemn determination that this force shall be used only to keep the peace, to prevent war, to deter any adversary from attacking us or our allies.

Because John Kennedy seldom used the word "peace" without linking it to the word "freedom," the peace that he was seeking was not that of surrender to evil, but of the defense of freedom.

The treaty which the Senate ratified only a few weeks ago, ending nuclear experiments in the sky above us, in outer space and beneath the waters, John Kennedy intended to be only the first step toward the abolition of war as an instrument of national policy.

When the foul deed that struck him down was committed, he was already searching ahead for new ways of reducing the unbearable tensions which grip all mankind.

He saw in the exploration of outer space vast implications for the human spirit—the reactivation of the innate curiosity of the mind of man—new opportunities for the exercise of maximum ingenuity—wholly new, unexplored frontiers for American genius—an end to the suffocating atmosphere of complacency and frustration.

He knew that our age, the age of space, demands the highest order of initiative, intellectual cultivation, and attainment that has ever been required in any previous day in the history of this planet, and he urged us to follow the course of excellence in all things.

John Kennedy wanted America to lead the world toward peace, toward freedom, toward justice, toward a renaissance of civilization.

He wanted America to lead the world in unlocking the mysteries of the universe around us.

It fell to him to be our President at the moment when the revolution in military weaponry is reaching its apogee, when people everywhere have come face to face with the nightmare of the possible extinction of the human race.

Deriving from his own deep religious sentiment, carried forward by his luminous intelligence, expressed in scores of eloquent pronouncements, and sustained with ardor and bravery, the central purposes of the life of John F. Kennedy, I believe, were these:

To impel human beings everywhere to understand themselves and their fellowmen, to oblige every person who loves God to give of himself rather than to demand of others, to follow the ancient Greek injunction, "know thyself," and the ancient Biblical command, "love thy neighbor," to practice rather than to preach the Gospel of the Prince of Peace, to "remark not the mote in thy brother's eye but the beam in thine own."

May God grant that we shall have the wisdom and the humility to follow in the path of peace on which he led us.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, as we meet to commemorate the memory of one of our famous former Members, John F. Kennedy, our thoughts bring to mind many facets of his impressive career of public service.

Those of us who had the privilege to serve with him in this body had an opportunity to observe and feel his keen interest in humankind, his dedication to the preservation of this Republic, his firm and abiding faith in his God, and his determination to devote untiring effort to promote peace in the world.

Much will, and should, be said about his service to our country and the nations of the world, but I want to direct my remarks to the spiritual qualities of this great man.

For many years I have been president of the International Council for Christian Leadership, and in this position presided at three Presidential prayer breakfasts in which President Kennedy participated.

At the first prayer breakfast, March 3, 1961, following his inauguration as President, he spoke in part as follows:

I think it is most appropriate that we should be gathered together for this morning's meeting. This country was founded by men and women who were dedicated, or came to be dedicated, to two propositions: First, a strong religious conviction, and secondly, a recognition that this conviction could flourish only under a system of freedom. I think it is appropriate that we pay tribute to this great constitutional principle which is enshrined in the first amendment of the Constitution, the principle of religious independence, of religious liberty, of religious freedom. But I think it's also important that we pay tribute and acknowledge another great principle and that is the principle of religious conviction. Religous freedom has no significance unless it is accompanied by conviction, and therefore, the Puritans and the Pilgrims in my own section of New England, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, the Catholics of Maryland, the Presbyterians of North Carolina, the Methodists and Baptists who came later, all share these two great traditions which like silver threads have run through the warp and the woof of American history.

At the beginning of the second year of his administration, speaking at the annual Presidential prayer breakfast March 23, 1962, he spoke in part as follows:

I want to, as President, express my appreciation to all those whose efforts make this breakfast possible. This is only one of a worldwide effort, I believe, to build a closer and more intimate association among those of different faiths, in different countries, in different continents, who are united by a common belief in God, and therefore united in a common commitment to the moral order and as Governor Daniel said, "a relationship of the individual to the state." * * *

On our program this morning, there is a quotation from Lincoln which I think is particularly applicable today. He said, "I believe there is a God. I see the storm coming, and I believe He has a hand in it. If He has a part and a place for me, I believe that I am ready." * * * We see the storm coming; and we believe He has a hand in it. And if He has a place and a part for us, I believe that we are ready.

This year, February 11, 1963, speaking at the 11th annual Presidential prayer breakfast, President Kennedy spoke in part as follows:

We cannot depend solely on our material wealth, on our military might, or on our intellectual skill or physical courage to see us safely through the seas that we must sail in the months and years to come.

Along with all of these we need faith. We need the faith with which our first settlers crossed the sea to carve out a state in the wilderness, a mission they said in the Pilgrims' Compact, the Mayflower Compact, undertaken for the glory of God. We need the faith with which our Founding Fathers proudly proclaimed the independence of this country to what seemed at that time an almost hopeless struggle, pledging their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence. We need the faith which has sustained and guided this Nation for 175 long and short years. We are all builders of the future, and whether we build as public servants or private citizens, whether we build at the national or local level, whether we build in foreign or domestic affairs, we know the truth of the ancient Psalm, "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it."

These quotations from President Kennedy reveal his sublime faith in his Creator and his dependence on his God to guide and direct him as he led this Nation through nearly three stable and prosperous years. As a legacy to him, we should rededicate ourselves to carry on in the faith that helped in dark and troublesome periods in his life of service.

As a part of these remarks, I ask unanimous consent to include an expression of sympathy adopted by the All-Student Council of Kansas University on November 23, 1963.

There being no objection, the extract was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The All-Student Council of the University of Kansas acknowledges with grief the tragic assassination of the President of the United States, John F. Kennedy. The very foundation of our democratic system is the peaceful settlement of disputes and change of governments. Americans and foreign students alike realize that the United States of America has lost more than a great President. The world has lost a statesman and mankind has lost a friend. The cause for which the late President died was consistent with the causes for which he fought.

The country must move on, as it will of course, united behind a new President. Yet the Republic will never be the same without the leadership of this man who asked of the people the same devotion he offered them.

Respectfully,

JOHN E. STUCKEY, Jr.

Concurred in by:

REUBEN MCCORMACK,
Student Body President,
The University of Kansas.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, on rare occasions in history figures appear on the world stage to capture the attention and excite the imagination of all mankind.

Such a figure was John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Around him was the aura of the age of chivalry. The world saw him as the young knight with the courage of a lion and the soul of a poet who sprang almost from virtual oblivion to world leadership and dared to challenge the dragons of war and human misery.

The tragic manner of his passing brought universal grief.

Nothing that I might say about his ability and statecraft can approach in eloquence the lofty tributes paid him by the leaders of the nations of the earth. No mortal words can reflect greater sincerity than the tears of millions of the humble who felt that they had lost a great and good friend.

It was my high privilege to have known this man personally and to have enjoyed several years of association with him. Among his other admirable attributes, he was a man of tolerance and understanding. He fought hard for those things in which he believed, but he well knew that all men would not see the same issue in the same light. He would have been the last to have expected anyone to stultify conviction merely to conform to his opinions.

This world is a much better place because he lived and passed this way. Some of his ideas and ideals will forever encourage and assist men in the quest for peace, justice, and the good life for all.

May he rest in peace.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I wish to join my colleagues in the Senate in paying tribute to the memory of our late President and former colleague in this body.

I knew Jack Kennedy when he first came to Congress. Later, of course, when he came to the Senate I came to know him even better. For a time he was a member of the Senate Small Business Committee of which I was chairman. Still later, he became a member of the Foreign Relations Committee on which I was serving. We served together on that committee and worked together until he assumed the Presidency.

I often think of Jack Kennedy as a Member of the Senate standing at his desk on the back row just under the clock. I have watched him so many times in presenting issues in which he was interested and in managing bills here on the floor of the Senate. I often watched him and was amazed at his tremendous grasp of facts in connection with any measure that he was handling. I was intrigued by his gentleness in debate, his willingness to listen with patience to the arguments that others might have and to work out differences with reference to legislation. He was an able and effective legislator—serious, conscientious, and dedicated.

So many times do I remember seeing him hobbling around the Senate on crutches or with a cane as a result of injuries received in the crash of his famed PT-109.

I have read of his experiences in the South Pacific during the war and have been impressed with the thought: Here was a man. I have read his book "Profiles in Courage" written from a hospital bed recovering from surgery that carried him to the brink of death.

It was my privilege to be closely associated with him at the time of his inauguration. I remember those friendly contacts that we had and I keep with pride on my office walls various pictures and mementos that he gave to me in connection with that inauguration.

While he was serving as President I was often in his office at the White House. I have seen the friendly manner in which he talked to adults and children with equal ease from his rocking chair.

I have seen him out on trips in Tennessee, Alabama, other places throughout the country, speaking to great crowds and then going among the people to speak to them and to talk with them.

He was a man of great intellect and sincerity of purpose. He was a man of courage as was amply demonstrated by his confrontation with Premier Khrushchev. He was truly a leader of the free world who built steadily a greater strength for our country and the free world to the end that Khrushchev openly admitted our overwhelming superiority. Through this strength he was able to push steadily for an advance toward peace. In my opinion he did more than than any other person in our time toward getting the world started toward peace—a durable, universal and dependable peace. We shall remember his work, and future generations will learn of it, in the cause of world peace and will, because of it, call him blessed.

He has been taken away at the time that his free world leadership was recognized throughout the world—at a time when he was still a young man with great promise ahead. We mourn with all the world his untimely death.

Behind him he left his devoted wife and two precious children. Mrs. Sparkman and I extend to them our deepest sympathy. May God watch over and keep them.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, in May 1962, the first White House Conference on Conservation in 54 years was convened here in Washington. The President of the United States, who called that historic meeting, addressed the closing session of the Conference. With his eyes on the horizon, his thoughts on the future, John Fitzgerald Kennedy declared:

> I don't think there is anything that could occupy our attention with more distinction than trying to preserve for those who come after us this beautiful country which we have inherited.

In his first message on natural resources sent to the Congress in 1961, President Kennedy declared:

> From the beginning of civilization, every nation's basic wealth and progress has stemmed in large measure from its natural resources. This Nation has been, and is now, especially fortunate in the blessings we have inherited. Our entire society rests upon—and is dependent upon—our water, our land, our forests, and our minerals. How we use these resources influences our health, security, economy, and well-being.
>
> But if we fail to chart a proper course of conservation and development—if we fail to use these blessings prudently—we will be in trouble within a short time.

There are many accomplishments in many fields which can be attributed to the regrettably brief administration of John Kennedy. Foremost among these are the achievements in the wise use and protection of the Nation's endowment of natural resources. And under this heading a distinguished record was created in adding to the national parks system, new areas of recreation, historic and scenic value. President Kennedy dramatized and articulated the fact that a rapidly growing, increasingly mobile population required a vigorous program of outdoor recreation planning and development by government at all levels. I dwell on this aspect of conservation today only because it is a subject of close personal interest.

During his first 2 years of office, 13 new national parks, historic sites, memorials and monuments were authorized by Congress or created by President Kennedy by Executive order. Some time ago I commented that the Kennedy administration was well on its way to one of the most distinguished national parks records in history.

Midway through President Kennedy's first year in office, he signed into law the act creating Cape Cod National Seashore—the first major addition to our national park system in 16 years. John Kennedy had a long and intimate tie with this stretch of sea and sand and marshland. He introduced the bill to create the park and later, as President, put his signature to the act. In another century, another distinguished son of Massachusetts, Henry Thoreau, said of the great stretch at Cape Cod:

> A man may stand there and put all America behind him.

Cape Cod blazed the trail for establishment of other seashore areas. Thirty miles north of San Francisco, Point Reyes National Seashore was created, accessible to 5 million people living within 100 miles. That was in early September of 1962, and before that month was out the President's pen again had signed the act of Congress creating Padre Island National Seashore.

So from the Atlantic, to the Gulf of Mexico, and on to the Pacific shoreline, 285 miles of unspoiled seacoast have been protected for public use.

By Executive order, President Kennedy created Buck Island Reef National Memorial in the Virgin Islands, thus protecting a coral barrier reef.

And while he was stimulating the creation of recreation areas by the sea, President Kennedy also urged favorable congressional action to bring into being new parklands in interior America—in Nevada, in Missouri, in Arizona, along the Indiana lakeshore, in Utah, and on the dunes of Lake Michigan.

President Kennedy called our attention to a new natural resources problem, generally unrecognized 30 years ago. This is the necessity to encourage preservation of open space in and near

our urban centers. Increasingly ours is an urban population. Even modest projections show that in merely 7 years an area roughly equal to the combined size of Maryland and Delaware will be engulfed by advancing urbanization. For the well-being of our people, the conservation of natural, green acres in and near urban centers is imperative.

President Kennedy declared in 1961 that "Land is the most precious resource of the metropolitan area." Deploring the present pattern of haphazard suburban sprawl, he won inclusion of the open-space land program in the 1961 Housing Act. Already, in 26 States, 114 grants are making communities more pleasant, better places in which to live.

The administration program for urban renewal demonstration grants induced several States to begin evaluations of their open space needs. New Jersey and Pennsylvania are studying the Philadelphia metropolitan region. Wisconsin is seeking to determine the best use of its waterfront lands, with all their potential for outdoor recreation.

An early request by President Kennedy to Congress was for legislative protection of the Nation's remaining wilderness areas. Preserved, these areas will stand as living reminders of the natural wilderness from which this Nation was wrested, and as a timeless gift of immeasurable value to future Americans.

President Kennedy sought the creation of a comprehensive Federal recreation lands program and the fostering of outdoor recreation programs by State and local governments. This is underway through the new Bureau of Outdoor Recreation. And before Congress now is a Presidential request for a land and water conservation fund. This fund would provide technical and financial assistance to State and local agencies in the planning, acquisition and development of recreational sites.

When visitors go to Mount Vernon to view George Washington's home and look across the Potomac they will see much the same view that Washington saw because President Kennedy and Mrs. Kennedy took a personal interest in the preservation of the historic Potomac shoreline in neighboring Maryland.

Last May, Mr. President, I had the pleasure of accompanying a group of people very much interested in the cause of conservation to the White House. I brought my granddaughter, Mary Elizabeth Roberts, along. I mentioned to the President that she was with me because the work he was doing for her generation is going to count in the future. We stood in the sunshine with President Kennedy and discussed his interest in sound resource programs. The President said he wanted to visit some of the wilderness and other key conservation areas of the Nation. We encouraged him in his plans and in the autumn he made that tour.

Significantly, it began with the dedication of the Gifford Pinchot Institute for Conservation Studies at Milford, Pa. There President Kennedy said:

> Every great work is in the shadow of man, and I don't think many Americans can point to such a distinguished record as can Gifford Pinchot, and this institute, which is only the latest manifestation of a most impressive legacy, I think can serve as a welcome reminder of how much we still have to do in our time.

On his trip the President was primarily concerned with the need to conserve and develop our natural resources, but he saw this need in the perspective of the long-term national interest. He saw conservation as one of the basic necessities to make sure that America remained both the land of the free and the home of the brave; he saw the emerging requirement in what he called the "third wave of conservation in the United States to make science the servant of conservation as we devise new programs of land stewardship." But beyond this he saw very clearly that what we did in the field of conservation might not materially alter our lives in the next 3 or 4 years, but it certainly would in the decades that lie ahead.

At the White House Conference on Conservation, President Kennedy closed his remarks with a story about the distinguished French leader, Marshal Lyautey. The marshal, as President Kennedy related it, told his gardener to plant a tree. The gardener replied that it would not flower for a hundred years. "In that case," said the marshal, "plant it this afternoon."

The new parks, the new national seashores, the natural monuments preserved will stand as tribute to the encouragement by President Kennedy of wise use of God's bounty. They are an appropriate inheritance to pass on to generations yet unborn.

I have stressed natural resources because his work in that field was typical of his work in many fields. Others, I am sure, will stress those accomplishments and I would want to echo every word of those eulogies. But in my own heart and mind I cannot fail to remember first the great leadership in the effort for conservation, which centers substantially if not primarily in the West, of this son of New England whom we so reverently remember today.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, if a man is fortunate he may have on one or two occasions in a lifetime, the chance to work in a cause he believes in completely in company with men whom he deeply admires. I had that supreme privilege in the Government service with John F. Kennedy.

I had the good fortune to serve with him when he first came to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1947. In 1952 we were both candidates for the U.S. Senate, and were elected that year. During the presidential campaign of 1960, I was associated with him as his chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Then here in the ranks of the Senate in the last 3 years, I have been an advocate or sometimes friendly critic of his policies and programs.

Words do not come easily to express the sense of loss at the death of this happy warrior.

The whole world has recognized his special gifts dedicated to the service of his country and to a just peace. His qualities as a great public figure have been extolled by the leaders and people of every country who have paid him respect in these last weeks.

I would like today to mention a special virtue of John F. Kennedy in the office of President—he deeply understood the supreme problem of this Nation as the wise use of our great power.

For example, consider these words at the University of Washington's 100th anniversary program in November 1961:

> Diplomacy and defense are not substitutes for one another. Either alone would fail. A willingness to resist force, unaccompanied by a willingness to talk, could provoke belligerence—while a willingness to talk, unaccompanied by a willingness to resist force, could invite disaster.
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> * * * * *
>
> While we shall negotiate freely, we shall not negotiate freedom. Our answer to the classic question of Patrick Henry is still no—life is not so dear, and peace is not so precious, "as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery." And that is our answer even though, for the first time since the ancient battles between Greek city-states, war entails the threat of total annihilation, of everything we know, of society itself. For to save mankind's future freedom, we must face up to any risk that is necessary. We will always seek peace—but we will never surrender.

During the time I knew Jack Kennedy, I came to especially respect his deep interest in people. He sincerely enjoyed people. We saw this on a recent trip to the State of Washington just a few short weeks ago. He went out of his way to mingle with the crowd, to shake hands, to autograph pieces of paper. It was a special tragedy that it would be on another of these triumphal tours that he would be cut down by an assassin's bullet.

And during the days following this tragedy we have witnessed the magnificent mettle and high courage of Jacqueline Kennedy—and all the Kennedy family. We are profoundly proud of them.

Clearly, John F. Kennedy brought to the Government of the United States and to the Presidency a very special luster that we will not soon see again.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, many words of mourning and of eulogy have echoed eloquently across this land. The Nation's leaders and its humblest citizens have poured from their hearts the testimony of their grief, their horror at a tragedy of unimaginable proportions, and their deep sense of personal and national loss.

I share that grief, that horror, and that loss.

We mourn the loss of John Fitzgerald Kennedy—a born leader, a man of brilliance, a giant among men. We have lost a great President and a rare human being. He was a man of knowledge and of vision—with a distinctive style marked by charm—and a grace tempered by wonderful wit. He brought to the Presidency a keenness of mind unmatched by all who served before him. His strength and courage were nobly translated into love of country and devotion to a world of peace and freedom. He was a young President who became for us—as for men and women and children everywhere—the symbol of a young, a free, a strong, a compassionate America.

With a sense of profound respect, we mourn our loss, and are humbly thankful for the time we knew him. For me it began in 1949. We were both young New England Congressmen. I sensed in him then the inner strength, the contained composure, indeed, the spark of greatness that so many would come to know. In days that followed we worked together, endured defeat together, rejoiced in victory together. With both the challenges of politics and the responsibilities of Government, I was proud and privileged to have had a part in helping him.

What is lost can be remembered in our minds, recalled in our words, and revered in our hearts. But what has not been lost will endure in more meaningful ways. So very much has not been lost. So very much remains.

John Kennedy rallied the forces of freedom throughout the world, and those forces and that spirit of freedom remain strong today. He led the world in a new quest for an honorable peace. He let our adversaries know that hostility meant disaster and that common understanding could lead to a decent world for all. With patience and persistence he worked to achieve the test ban treaty. The world felt and followed his leadership, and continues forward today on the course he set.

John Kennedy raised the sights of this Nation, and those sights are high today. He bid us all look with him at the unfinished business of our country, and those matters hold our attention today. He held up to us the plight of the uneducated, the unemployed, the ill and the poor. He pointed us toward the future of our cities, of our farms, of our industry, of our natural resources. The generation he inspired will never ignore these problems; we will never look away from that future.

John Kennedy set for our people a standard of excellence, a personal challenge to do our best in everything we do, and that personal challenge still lies before us today. He had the ability to lift those around him. He made us try to think more clearly, to read more widely, and weigh the facts more carefully—even to look around us at the pictures on our walls or the physical exercise we were getting—and ask ourselves if we could not do better. The generation he challenged will never cease to pursue the goals he set.

Most of all, John Kennedy caught the imagination of the young people of America, and their imagination remains fired today. He called upon those in their thirties to serve their Government, he bid those in their twenties to make the Peace Corps a reality, and he urged the teenagers to stay in school. Our Nation's youth responded to him, and the response is alive and vigorous today.

John Kennedy led us all to new frontiers and bid us across them with him. He knew the frontiers of our continent had been replaced by frontiers of our national problems, the world and space. Those frontiers remain today, and so does his challenge to cross them.

There remains, too, the spirit of tolerance he sought by personal example to encourage throughout the land. More than any President before him, he committed the Presidency to achieving full civil rights for every American. He opposed prejudice of every kind. There was no trace of meanness in this man. There was only compassion for the frailties of others. If there is a supreme lesson we can draw from the life of John Kennedy, it is a lesson of tolerance, a lesson of conscience, courage, and compassion. And that lesson remains.

For me there remain many memories from a long association. Among the clearest is a cold and windy night 3 days before the 1960 election.

We came to Waterbury, Conn., a little before 3 o'clock in the morning on a Sunday with the man who—the following Tuesday—was to be elected President of the United States. The square in front of the hotel where we were staying was packed with people. They had been waiting for many hours to see John Kennedy.

We came out on the balcony together. The candidate spoke: the crowds responded ecstatically shouting and cheering and showing their love for this young leader. They wanted more—more—more.

But he had had a long day and he was tired. "ABE, you go out and speak," he said, and I did, but the crowd still shouted for "Jack."

So, responding as he always did, he went back to them, and spoke.

"I will close," he said, "by telling you of the letter which Lincoln wrote in a campaign very much like this, 100 years ago, when the issues were the same. He wrote to a friend: 'I know there is a God and I know He hates injustices. I see the storm coming and I know His hand is in it. But if He has a place and a part for me, I believe that I am ready.' "

"Now 100 years later," John Kennedy continued, "when the issue is still freedom or slavery, we know there is a God and we know He hates injustice. We see the storm coming and we know His hand is in it, but if He has a place and a part for me I believe we are ready."

The last "I," he changed to "we." He wanted us to be ready. He lived, worked and died to make his country ready. All that he did, all that he inspired, all that he stood for remains.

As we mourn our loss, let us dearly prize what is not lost. Now 37 years from the 21st century, we are ready for the future and all that it may bring. President Kennedy made us ready, and so by the grace of God we shall remain.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, the Nation and the free world still mourn the death of our late President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy. We are all filled with a deep sense of personal loss.

On this day when it becomes our sad duty to honor the memory of President Kennedy in the Halls of the U.S. Senate where he served so well and where we first came to know him, I am reminded of a splendid October morning 3 years ago in Warm Springs, Ga.

The then Senator Kennedy was vigorously campaigning for the Presidency, and I joined tens of thousands of other Georgians in welcoming this young and energetic young man to our State, and to Warm Springs, the site of the Little White House, where the great President Franklin D. Roosevelt was taken from our midst at one of the most crucial times in the history of our Republic.

John Kennedy captured the imagination of the huge throng assembled there before the white portico of Roosevelt's Georgia retreat. He won their hearts and their support of his pledge to get this country moving again.

His visit to Georgia is now legend, and I am proud to have been a part of it. And Georgians are proud that he was there.

John Kennedy knew that he was asking for the most awesome and burdensome job in the world, and he was willing and able to face this great responsibility in keeping with the best of American tradition. As he told my fellow Georgians at Warm Springs:

> I do not run for the Presidency under any expectation that life will be easy for the next President of the United States or easy for the citizens of the United States. To be a citizen of this country is to live with great responsibility and great burdens.

Life was not easy for President John F. Kennedy, and he—perhaps as much as any other of our Chief Executives—lived with great responsibilities and burdens. The President discharged his duties well, and though the dastardly assassin's bullet took him from us in the prime of life, John Kennedy has assured himself of a prominent and respected place in American history.

He died a hero's death in the service of his country, to which he had dedicated his entire life.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, most Americans, following the events of November 22, felt as if a member of their immediate family had died.

I felt that way. I recalled simple personal things about John F. Kennedy, as I had known him. He had paid five visits to my State of North Dakota, the final time as President of the United States less than 3 months ago.

In 1959, when I was a freshman Congressman, my teenage daughter, Jennifer, went over to Senator Kennedy's office to get his autograph.

More than a year later, Senator Kennedy, as the Democratic nominee for President, arrived at the Fargo, N. Dak., Airport. Out of a huge throng, he spotted my daughter and called, "Hi, Jenny." She was ecstatic.

This little story may seem inconsequential, but I partly judged John F. Kennedy by his kindness to my young daughter. It is only human to remember a person in this way, even when the person happens to be President of the United States.

The world has lost a tremendous human being. He was warm and friendly, firm and determined. His quick mind, his wealth of knowledge and his charming manner are no more. But we will never forget him.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was superbly qualified for the Presidency. He had the qualities of greatness—the historical perspective, the wisdom, the sense of purpose, the ability to inspire people.

And he had just begun.

I am appalled by the waste. I am numbed by the magnitude of our loss.

The history books are likely to record that the paramount contribution of John F. Kennedy was to start a new trend in world relationships—a realistic understanding by nations of the necessity for living peaceably with one another in the shadow of the nuclear bomb.

The turning point may have come in October 1962, when we learned that the Soviet Union was emplacing missiles in Cuba.

With steady nerves, but with restraint, John F. Kennedy ordered the Soviet Union to remove the missiles. The Soviet Premier backed down. The missiles were dismantled. And the whole world had heightened respect for American determination to protect freedom and halt aggression.

The tension of that crisis had a sobering effect—the stark realization that, like it or not, nations will have to coexist, or run the risk of a nuclear holocaust.

John F. Kennedy, perceiving this reaction, pressed for a further relaxation of world tension. In July, he negotiated the nuclear test ban treaty, which he termed "an important first step—a step toward peace—a step away from war."

It was at this point that he was taken from us so abruptly.

The cool judgment, the respect John F. Kennedy commanded among other nations will be sorely missed, as we carry forward the unfinished work of building a more livable world.

Our responsibilities have been expressed in many ways since November 22. We have heard about the need to purge ourselves of bitterness, hatred and bigotry and about the hope that our common sorrow will unite us and uplift us.

H. A. Swenson, a member of the choir at the First Lutheran Church at Bismarck, N. Dak., was inspired to write a poem after hearing the sermon the Sunday following President Kennedy's death. It was entitled "The Lamp of Freedom":

The lamps of freedom often burn from blood by heroes shed.
The light of freedom is a gift from those who now are dead.
What does this mean to you and me who share this common good?
Who have not yet been called upon to give this precious blood.
We too must share in lesser ways to keep the fire bright.
There is so much that needs repair; there is some wrong to right.

With humble spirit, purpose true there is a work to do.
When we can clearly see our call and carry through.
Ours may not be dramatic spots that shake the very earth.
But in the simple, humble tasks, we need to prove our worth.

Likewise, the pupils in a small school in North Dakota caught the spirit in a resolution the day after the President's funeral.

An accompanying letter read:

PEKIN PUBLIC SCHOOL,
OSAGO SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 58,
Pekin, N. Dak., November 26, 1963.

DEAR SENATOR BURDICK: I enclose a resolution from our school (grades 1 to 12).

Our school just wanted to do something. Would you take the enclosed letter and do with it what you see fit? Perhaps you would care to file it with your other papers. We seek no publicity.

Sincerely,

HENRY X. HANSEN,
Principal.

The resolution, signed by all 76 pupils and the 5 members of the faculty, follows:

IN MEMORY OF OUR BELOVED PRESIDENT JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY

We, the pupils of the Pekin public school, dedicate ourselves to one special act of kindness each day for at least 1 year.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, unbelievable—still unbelievable—is the tragic passing of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy. In this Chamber of the U.S. Senate it seems only yesterday that Jack Kennedy moved among us—a colleague of the finest, friendliest character; an earnest youth but a statesman by every test; an ally to cherish; an opponent to command affection; a Senator who moved from our back row to the first seat of the Republic—and yet remained close, companionable to us all.

Our States were neighbors—his and mine—Massachusetts and Rhode Island—with no boundary visible to the naked eye or open heart.

Through all his years John Kennedy was a favorite of Rhode Island. He could not begin to accept the invitations we poured in upon him. When our Newport became the scene of his wedding, the romance seemed part of each Rhode Islander's life. When he favored us with his summer presence as a man of family and as President, an enthusiastic Rhode Island had to be restrained from giving him a summer White House.

So I had the privilege here in the Senate to work often with him on measures of mutual importance.

At the close of a day of taxing debate on the Senate floor—there would come a note of thanks personally penned because he felt you had helped him. Later, the White House telephone would be personally dialed—directly and delightfully—as he seemed never to have separated himself from our midst. On occasion the President has visited this Capitol—and homesickness has led him to this very door—to peer within—smile at a speaking Senator—and whisper, "It is just as I left it."

And when we visited the White House, he would walk outside with us after the meeting, walk to the gate—and even out on the public street—to our dismay and that of the men of the Secret Service—but to the President's delight.

For John Kennedy loved people—loved to meet them face to face—hand clasping hand—winning the hearts of the world to him.

We and the world have been robbed of all this by the senseless savagery of a misfit mind.

But out of the colossal cruelty was born a closeness of our country. A life of service and a death of sacrifice united a nation, revealing the true image of America.

Even in the depths of the tragedy we saw the far-reaching vision of a leader who sought and saw his successor in a colleague who shared this Senate Chamber with him and with us.

Our country saw the John Kennedy profile of courage was a profile of good counsel, commanding the confidence of the people and the continuity of the government, implicit in his selection of Lyndon B. Johnson—guaranteed by his sharing with him all the problems and programs and potentials of administration from their first moment as a team, to their last moment in the close companionship of that day of happy beginning and finality of deepest grief.

If we speak of a people's grief in that hour, words have not yet been fashioned to tell the torment of his closest of companions—wife and mother of the little family endeared beyond cavil to all the world—to tell of her torment or of her nobility, as womanhood has ever risen to nobility in the tragic trials of man.

I borrow the words of a religious editor of another faith to record:

In the searing and exacting duties that lie ahead, a quiet, slight young woman has given the United States an example of fortitude and strength that will not soon, if ever, be forgotten. In Jacqueline Kennedy, it has seen a pattern for its own devotion to the demands of the future.

All men bow their heads to the sacrifice and service of woman—sweet even in its sorrow—and strongest under bitterest blows.

When any of us in the Senate speak of those November hours of loss and loneliness, our words must needs be painfully personal.

What have we left of John Kennedy? Shall we count a photograph together—a flight together—an autographed volume—a family portrait—intimate letters with a signature that almost smiled as he penned it?

Yes—in our innermost hearts we shall cherish them—and as Senators and Americans we shall treasure all the imperishable words and all the unconquerable hopes of an American who shall possess the dreams and ideals of youth for all eternity.

Time shall never dim nor dull the ringing challenge of the young President at the very doors of this Capitol on the sunsplendored day of his inauguration.

Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy asked:

What can I do for my country?

He lived for it.
He died for it.

IN MEMORIAM

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, some day in the quiet of an evening, when his toys are put aside, a young boy will ask: "What was Daddy really like?"

In that fateful moment, when time stands still and all the world descends upon her, may she who bears the burden of the answer tell no tale of office gained, of prize attained, of battle lost or won.

But speak of him who loved the Lord and saw in the least of us the traces of His majesty and in this land the glory of His handiwork.

Or if she choose another way, why then just say: "Your father, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, was a good man."

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, the loss to the Nation, the free world, and

the free people in the captive world is great. No mortal man in the elapsed time created, in the world, a greater respect or image for what decent people want the world to be, than John Kennedy. Can we but build on his foundations, we can look forward with some hope in this terrible tense world. His decent approach to these should be a model for the betterment of mankind. We can do what he would want by dedicating ourselves to this great cause.

His understanding of our domestic matters was based upon a simple truth. That we were a growing expanding nation and that in these changing times there would be some Americans hurt in the process. Their needs required readjustment. He believed America was strong enough morally and economically to meet the needs of the people. He knew history. He knew that any government that failed to keep up with this responsibility weakened the whole fabric of the country.

The best memorial to him would be a dedication to this basic truth.

His contribution to tolerance was enormous. During 3 years as President, he proved a Catholic can keep his religion and work as President, separate and independent of each other. He was a Christian gentleman. He neither paraded nor preached his religion. He respected others' beliefs and laid no venom or intolerance to it.

He was my personal friend for many years. Even after he assumed the high office of President, he and I never lost that personal touch and on many occasions we met in that period, not on political or business purposes, but just to say "Hello" again as old friends. I will miss that.

He despised pettiness and bigotry in all human endeavor. His mind was sharp, keen, imaginative, but yet mellow as great scholars are wont to be. This may have well been his spark of greatness. Even in his relaxed moments it was there. History will make that greatness indelible in its appraisal.

To his family my deepest sympathy—but words are so futile—dedication to what he stood for will be more rewarding to me and to them.

But the ways of God work wonders. Maybe the country and the world needed a martyr to tolerance—this is a terrible price to pay. But God does reign in the heaven and thank God, the Government at Washington still lives.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert an address by Mr. Clarence C. Dill, of Spokane, Wash., in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JOHN F. KENNEDY MEMORIAL SERVICE

(Address of Clarence C. Dill, courthouse, Spokane, Wash., November 25, 1963)

Whenever an orator of ancient Athens arose to address the free assembly, he first offered a prayer to the immortal gods that no unworthy word would escape his lips. So today in the shadow of the terrible tragedy that took our President, I pray no unworthy word shall pass my lips.

We meet in this memorial service for memory and inspiration. John F. Kennedy had not passed on life's highway the stone that marks the highest point. As an English playwright said yesterday: "He was in the summer of his life." The fact is he was pressing forward with all his power, the programs he had proposed.

Although the President is dead, the program of help for the underprivileged of our own country and for the maintenance of human freedom around the world, a program to which he had dedicated his life, must be carried on. During the last 50 years our industrial, commercial, and social life has enlarged so rapidly and so enormously that new governmental remedies have been necessary for new national ills that developed from time to time.

Woodrow Wilson declared his proposed national remedies to establish the New Freedom. Twenty years later, Franklin D. Roosevelt proposed his reforms to give the American people the New Deal. Thirty years later, John F. Kennedy named his remedial programs, the New Frontier.

We are too close to the terrible tragedy that ended his career, to assess what the Nation and the world have lost, but through the gloom of grief we can discern the principal parts of the program he proposed and championed.

When Congress shall have enacted laws that will provide fully for the medical and hospital care of all the aged, and when that reform has been established to extend those same services to all our people, of whatever age, we shall have the full fruition of his dream for providing national medical and hospital service, whether it be by social security charges or some other method.

When Government and industry are able to cooperate so as to distribute the benefits of automation to aid in the employment of those affected by new machines, that will fulfill another of President Kennedy's dreams.

When all Americans, regardless of race, religion, or national origin, can be educated together, work together and have equal rights of every kind, that will be a national achievement of civil rights for which President Kennedy strove so continuously.

When all the great nations of the world destroy all their nuclear war weapons and make it an international crime for any nation to produce or possess nuclear weapons of war, so no wild man in control of any government can destroy the human race, that will be another victory for world peace which President Kennedy so much desired.

He was the symbol of youth to all the world. His Peace Corps has proved the most helpful organization for improving international relations devised by any nation during the 20th century for that purpose.

In addition to all these services to the Nation, we should recognize how well he protected his country in case of his inability to serve as President. First, he chose Lyndon B. Johnson to take his place, because he was a statesman with broad experience as a leader in the Congress, and second, he acquainted the Vice President with full knowledge of the national and international problems of the administration. As a result, despite this terrible tragedy, our land is bright today. The Nation knows and the world knows a strong man stands at the helm of the ship of state, prepared to weather any storm that may develop.

Turning now to John Fitzgerald Kennedy the man: He was born in New England, graduated from Harvard, cum laude, then studied in London and later became an itinerant observer and writer about world events. At 28 he was elected to the House of Representatives; at 38 he was elected to the Senate. He soon became one of the small number of Senators who are known outside their own States because of their independence, their ability, and their leadership. He won the Presidency at the age of 43 and was in the full flower of his leadership at the time of his death.

Television and radio had made millions of common folks feel they knew this man. It will not be easy to go on without hearing and seeing him from time to time by television in our homes. We shall miss the Boston accent of his voice that seemed a part of him. We shall miss too that eager, forward-looking attitude that he so often showed in discussing public questions. We shall miss his wit and charm in parrying political questions or his laughing at his own predicaments in his numerous press conferences. His friendly, almost neighborly style of discussing weighty subjects of legislation and international problems with seeming mastery, made his millions of listeners feel confident that he would meet all challenges with courage, intelligence, and a high sense of patriotism. He had won the respect of the leaders of the Nations of the free world. They looked to him for leadership with hope and confidence.

Although I did not know him as well personally as had I served with him in Congress, I recall an incident in the 1960 campaign when he spoke at the Lincoln Memorial at the corner of Monroe and Main at the noon hour, which like a chip of wood, shows the quality of the whole block.

At the close of his speech I tried to pilot him through the crowds to the Spokane Club. The pressure of those around us wishing to shake his hand and wish him success, was so great at times we could scarcely move at all. When I tried to apologize for not having had a police escort, he laughed and said: "Oh that's all right. I wanted this nomination and this is all a part of the fight."

During 3 years as President, he proved a Catholic can keep his religion and his work as President, separate and independent, each of the other. He was a Christian gentleman. He neither paraded nor preached his religion. On Sunday morning he took his family to the services of his church and seemed to enjoy attending services in the small, unpretentious chapels of the Virginia countryside as much as in the great cathedrals.

No eulogy should omit a tribute to the woman he chose for his wife, Jacqueline. The popularity of her beauty, her style of hair-do's and clothes with the women, were exceeded with the people only by her charming personality. The whole Nation gloried in her redecoration of the White House. She was a first lady of a different kind from all those who had preceded her, and with all this, she devoted herself to her children, Caroline and John, as her first duty.

Early in the administration, little Caroline became the beloved child of all the people. Republican leaders often said they could oppose the President and might find something to criticize about Jackie, but freely said: "There's nothing we can do about Caroline."

Little John, who came as a kind of bonus son to the winner of the presidential election, had not yet reached the age to fascinate the people, but photo flashes show boyish activities which make understandable why his doting father nicknamed him "John-John."

But it was following the crash of the assassin's bullet when he slumped upon Jacqueline's lap that brought forth her hidden strength to meet such a tragedy. She pillowed his head in her arms while his lifeblood oozed away as the automobile rushed to the hospital. There, she remained at his side until life was gone. Then she rode the casket in the ambulance to the airport. In the plane she sat beside the coffin all the way to Washington. Then she went with the body to the funeral home. She remained there until 4 o'clock in the morning when she rode with him to the White House for the last time. Not until then did she cease her vigil of Spartan-like care.

But it is that act of delicate, almost infinite tenderness at the funeral home just before the casket was to be finally sealed, of

which I wish to speak especially. Alone, she went to the open casket, removed her wedding ring, placed it in his hands, and kissed his lips for the last time—a symbol of her love that would last forever. By these acts of devotion, she wrote a new and different chapter for closing the "Profile of Courage."

After this she turned over his mortal remains to the military for funeral services and burial in that American Valhalla for heroes who have served in time of war, the Arlington National Cemetery.

In all the mythological tales of the love of gods and goddesses, in all the love stories of the kings and queens of history, in all of Shakespeare's creation of love scenes, you will not find such a beautiful, exquisitely fine demonstration of wifely love as Jacqueline Kennedy's act to symbolize her everlasting devotion.

In conclusion let me call attention to the dramatic phase of President Kennedy's taking off. It was near the close of a highly enthusiastic street parade. Just as his car approached the underpass, with his wife's words, "Dallas has been kind to you," still echoing in his ears as he smiled and waved a responding salute to the cheers of those on the sidewalks, a bullet crashed through his brain. While the automobile rolled on into the underpass, his spirit at that moment must have leaped into the skies to his heavenly home and his spirit, even now, may be exploring the space world to which he planned the astronauts should some day go.

I close in the words of James A. Garfield to a street crowd in New York City the night Abraham Lincoln was shot: "God reigns in His heaven and the Government at Washington still lives."

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, November 22, 1963, will go down in American history as a day of national tragedy. The assassination of the 35th President of the United States on that date shocked and saddened Americans of all political persuasions. That act of perfidy, evidently performed by a man whose mind was poisoned with the Communist ideology which thrives on the totalitarian idea that the end justifies the means, closed a brilliant political career of one of the most personable and popular Presidents ever to serve our Nation. There were many disagreements with President John F. Kennedy's policies and proposals; but his personal popularity, according to public opinion polls, continued at an unusually high level for a man who was continuously in the national spotlight, actively seeking approval of his proposals and actions.

I had the pleasure, Mr. President, of serving with the late President Kennedy while he was representing the State of Massachusetts in this great body. We were both members of the Government Operations and the Labor and Public Welfare Committees. I particularly remember, Mr. President, the outstanding service which the then Senator Kennedy rendered to this body when he proposed, and then served as chairman of a special committee to select five great Senators of all time from among deceased former Members of the Senate. I was impressed with the selections made by his committee and with the objective manner in which he and his committee members performed their duties in carrying out this assignment.

I have always had a high regard, Mr. Mr. President, for the late President's appreciation of history, and particularly for his Pulitzer Prize-winning book, "Profiles in Courage." This book placed before each of us serving in the Congress and in public life excellent examples of some well-known and, until then, some little-known public servants who put into practice the high ideal of willingness to stand by the courage of their convictions in seeking to fulfill the trust reposed in them by their constituents.

Our country owes a great debt of gratitude to the late President for his foresight and vision in selecting as the man to succeed him in office, in the event of such a tragedy, one of the most experienced and capable leaders I have ever known. President Kennedy made certain that his Vice President, Lyndon B. Johnson, would be more than just a ceremonial officeholder to preside over the Senate. He helped prepare his Vice President for the awesome responsibilities which descended on his shoulders on November 22, by keeping him well briefed on national policies and decisions and by utilizing his talents, not only to serve our Nation, but also to make certain that the Vice President would be able to carry on the duties of the Presidency with the least possible confusion and loss of continuity.

Mr. President, I have expressed my deep sympathy to the members of the late President's family. In closing my remarks here today, however, I wish to take this opportunity to reiterate my condolences to Mrs. Kennedy, the children, and the other members of the Kennedy family, and also the heartfelt sympathy of the people of the State which I have the honor to represent in the U.S. Senate.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, the Senate of the United States, reflecting the poignant feelings of a bereaved Nation and of a mournful globe, pays tribute today to the life and memory of a martyred leader of America, who set his sights on the sublime cause of peace with honor for all mankind.

The late, great, and dear John Fitzgerald Kennedy, our colleague and our friend, emerged from this Chamber to become our Nation's President; and from the steps of this Capitol Building, on Friday, January 20, 1961, taking his oath of office, he cried out to his countrymen, in moving eloquence and ringing phrases, to unite and to move forward "to assure the survival and the success of liberty."

His was the same solemn charge taken before God by all his predecessors back to the beginning of the Republic.

But—

He said—

the world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe—the belief that the rights of man come, not from the generosity of the state, but from the hand of God.

Thus began the Kennedy administration.

The intervening months saw the new Chief Executive set about to move toward America's goals, as he saw the light, in a whole galaxy of Executive decisions and of recommendations for new laws. As in the life of any man, there were successes and failures, triumphs and tragedies, as this patriot, acting always as he believed he should, guided our country through days of peril and also through days of hope. Here, unfolding, was an exciting chapter in the life of America, where every conceivable passion, good and bad, where every conceivable feeling, constructive and destructive, made themselves heard in every area across our land.

And then, on another Friday, November 22, 1963, with an appalling suddenness, this valiant man was struck down by a mad assassin; and the people of our country—indeed, those of the whole world—stunned in disbelief and in dismay, sought to take hold of themselves, for the Government of our Nation must go on and the world must continue to turn. Our hearts poured out condolences to his widow and his children, to all his family, and to the Nation.

The late President was my friend. Courageous and intelligent, dedicated to his responsibilities and to his ideals, surely qualified for leadership, impatient at irrelevance but tolerant in disagreement with any of us, sustained by a sweet sense of humor, loved by a devoted wife and children and family, this grandson of immigrants from Ireland devoted his life to the people, and then gave that very life to the ages.

In his inaugural, the late President said:

We observe * * * not a victory of party, but a celebration of freedom.

How true. Freedom is not divisible. His earnest struggle to perpetuate our freedom, his quest for equal treatment under law for all citizens, marked no partisan boundaries. Rather did they, and do they, and shall they, stand as banners to which men of good will hopefully may always repair.

The world will not forget John Kennedy. The Senate will remember him. Perhaps, somehow, with God's good grace, this appalling tragedy may shock the American conscience into an earnest, prayerful rededication to brotherhood, where liberty and happiness may wash away all the evils which man has done to his neighbor too many times. There, I think, is the path which this lamented servant of the people would want America to tread, in memory of the zealous prayers he expressed in his all too short journey through this life.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD, in connection with my remarks, sundry comments by the press of my State of California.

There being no objection, the editorials and articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Sacramento (Calif.) Union, Nov. 23, 1963]

JOHN F. KENNEDY—IN MEMORIAM

A people grieve for the loss of their President, John F. Kennedy. In profound shock, the Nation offers its heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Kennedy, the children, and all the family.

Any death of a President in office must have terrific and personal impact upon the citizens; but when it comes so abruptly in the horrible form of assassination, and to a

man so young and virile as was our President, then words cannot voice our feelings nor the heart contain our emotions.

So little can be said at a time such as this. Whatever is expressed is incapable of conveying adequately confused and turbulent inner passions.

Nothing we write can alter the unalterable tragedy of the untimely death of our President. No eulogy can restore him to his family and his people from whom he was so suddenly wrenched.

Our bereavement is profound, affecting each of us individually. We offer our prayers for John F. Kennedy, late President of the United States, and pray to God in his memory and for our Nation, which now suffers the blow and the trial occasioned by his tragic loss.

Vale, Mr. President.

[From the Sacramento (Calif.) Union, Nov. 23, 1963]

A PROFILE IN COURAGE

Born May 29, 1917, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, 35th President of the United States, came to his untimely and tragic death November 22, 1963. Only 46 years old, he was cut off abruptly with the promise of a brilliant and dedicated life incomplete.

Only history can judge the merit of his brief span as President, but we already have lasting opinions and warm memory of John F. Kennedy, the man. His entire career was one of selfless service and devotion to the public welfare.

Son of a wealthy family, John Fitzgerald Kennedy was ever concerned with the welfare of those less fortunate. He was sensitive to the problems of the aged and sick, the needs of the unemployed, the justified aspirations of our Negro citizens, and to all whose cause deserved humanitarian championing.

Courage as well as compassion was an essential ingredient of his character. He sought no special advantage during World War II. As an officer in command of a patrol boat in the Pacific fighting, he distinguished himself.

When his ship was sunk in 1943, he saved the life of his seriously burned engineer despite his own badly wrenched back; and when the wreckage had to be abandoned, he swam to an island 3 miles away while saving another of his crew by holding the straps of a sailor's lifebelt in his teeth.

In times of peace, he showed equal fortitude and determination. It took both to challenge bigotry by running for President of the United States.

Courage was the foundation of his stand when, little more than a year ago, he defied Russia and Cuba about the Communist buildup in the Caribbean. He made clear our unretreating resolve to uphold our commitments to West Berlin—even as he did to other free nations on various occasions.

John Kennedy, a loyal Catholic, showed his firm moral fiber when he opposed the Roman Catholic hierarchy on the subject of Federal grants to parochial and private schools. His physical courage was of comparable fiber; he underwent a spinal operation in 1954 which nearly cost him his life, and he conducted the heavy burden of his office despite actual pain and the discomfort of a back brace.

At the age of 29, he was elected to Congress, and after twice being reelected, he won a Senate seat in 1952. In 1960, he became the youngest President in the Nation's history.

And now, at the age of 46, he is no longer with us. No man, however, left a greater heritage of pride to his family, of unstinting service to his Nation, and of consistent dedication to the ideals of peace and liberty.

No passage of time nor historical verdict is required to engrave eternally grateful memory of John F. Kennedy, respected President, upon the hearts of his fellow citizens.

[From the Sacramento (Calif.) Bee, Nov. 22, 1963]

THE NATION MOURNS

The entire Nation has been plunged into deep grief and shame—grief for its slain President, John F. Kennedy, and shame it could have bred an assassin capable of so cowardly an ambush.

He came to the Presidency, did Kennedy, in an hour of rising extremism and in an hour when the preachers of hate were spreading their gospels of fascism across the land and because this is a free land they were permitted to speak.

Now Kennedy is dead and a piece of America died with him. And in this hour of tragedy we think of another President who 98 years ago was felled by another assassin who had listened to the hate merchants.

Only several weeks ago another figure in American life, Adlai Stevenson, also visited Dallas and there was spat upon and hit on the head with a sign condemning Stevenson and the principles he has espoused as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations.

These were people who had listened, too, to the preachers of hate and of fear and who wanted all of life their own way.

Another went further today. He shot and killed the President of the United States.

[From the Sacramento (Calif.) Bee, Nov. 26, 1963]

HERE WALKED A GIANT—IF ONLY BRIEFLY

Never has the world witnessed a more spontaneous and more overwhelming outpouring of affection than shown here in the Nation which sired him and abroad where he came to be beloved, for the late President John F. Kennedy. In his brief years he had come to touch humanity, we learn in his hour of death, as few men have touched humanity and though he died with his song only half sung his place in history is abundantly secure.

In London, citadel of political sophisticates, they cried openly in Trafalgar Square. In West Berlin, where only recently the late President ignited fire in a crowd of more than 1 million when he said: "Ich bin ein Berliner," candles dedicated to his memory lit the night like a ricocheting, vagrant meteor. In Moscow a godless state gave its permission for memorial services and a stunned Nikita Khrushchev, with all the rest of Russia, openly grieved.

Here at home through the bitterly cold night hundreds of thousands gathered in the Nation's Capital to pass by the late President's casket which rested on the same catafalque where lay another martyred President, Abraham Lincoln, 98 years ago. There in their many ways, they paid their last respects. They felt awkward before death, as do all of us, but they wanted to say goodby, and so they came and they came and they came.

All of us are too close to this tragedy to weigh it. History will make its own assessment of Kennedy, man and President, but when it comes to writing the chronicle of his brief years and measuring him against his hour, well may it write: Here walked a giant only briefly.

Now may he rest.

[From the San Francisco (Calif.) Chronicle, Nov. 25, 1963]

SELF-SEARCHING BY A SAD PEOPLE

This is not America the beautiful, but America the troubled, upon which the world has looked this past weekend, and to which it has sent its leaders and heads of state for the funeral today of President Kennedy.

The great men are here to honor the late President's great qualities of mind and person, which they had learned to know, measure and respect. Yet may we not believe also that they are here to show, by the testimony of their presence, how much the example and leadership of the United States mean to them and their countries?

In the somewhat dreary discussions which we conduct in this country on our foreign relations and how much they are costing us and how little gratitude they seem to earn us and how weary we are of the burden of them, we tend to forget the force and power of the American example in the world.

President Kennedy never forgot. He never ceased striving to represent this country as strong, determined and resolute. From his inspiration let the American people take that renewed devotion of which Lincoln spoke at Gettysburg a hundred years ago when he said it was "for us the living" to carry on the work of those who have died to defend freedom.

Over this sad weekend, the people of this country, confused and bereaved by the loss of their President, have been engaged in self-searching. They have been asking themselves what forces of hatred have been let loose amongst us and how shall our freedom be preserved from the threats of these forces.

How true and apt, as if in reply to these questions, were the words of Chief Justice Earl Warren, spoken under the Capitol dome yesterday, when he said that if we are to learn from the tragedy, if we are truly to love justice and mercy, we must "abjure the hatred that consumes people, the false accusations that divide us, and the bitterness that begets violence."

THE HERITAGE LEFT BY PRESIDENT KENNEDY

The Kennedy years in the American Presidency have profoundly shaped the course of this Nation. As time passes, and as some of the still half-concealed events of the past 3 years come to light, we believe that the late President's style and judgment in dealing with international affairs will earn him an ever more secure fame.

At the same time, it seems clear that history will give him no very high score for domestic achievements—though that will not be seen as his fault altogether, rather the fault of an unresponsive and dilatory congressional system which can cheat a victorious President of his reasonable legislative hopes.

The Kennedy years began, of course, on a well-remembered, bright, cold day in January 1961, of which many people retain two outstanding memories: The sight of the greatest of American poets reading a specially written ode to the occasion, and the sound of a sharp, clear, New England-accented voice saying, "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country."

This was a happy, propitious, promising moment of taking over leadership by a man of the 20th century, a man who in the vigor of youth but with the authority of the oldest of republics could challenge Khrushchev and Mao and Adenauer and De Gaulle and masses of men everywhere to make the world a fairer place for men to inhabit.

Very soon after this, the promise which had been invoked by the confident new President was blighted by the Cuban invasion fiasco. This was the one resounding error of Kennedy's foreign policy, yet out of it was eventually to spring, ironically, his most impressive success: The showdown over the Soviet arming of Cuba and the withdrawal of their missiles.

It would be foolish to say that President Kennedy alone was responsible for sparing the world from nuclear war at that moment in October 1962, but it is surely not possible to take from him the credit for having safely

brought the Nation, and by extension the world, through the most perilous passage they have ever been through.

Threats and alarms of war have steadily receded since that great climactic hour. Yet it is sadly true that the country which was behind Mr. Kennedy to the man in staring down his adversary in the Cuban confrontation, failed to give him the same backing in reaching a solution of the great domestic crisis of Negro rights. For coming to terms with that revolution, we shall have to look to the new President, or his successors in office.

[From the San Francisco Chronicle, Nov. 25, 1963]

(By Herb Caen)

THE LONGEST WEEKEND

It is less than 72 hours since the shots rang out in Dallas, yet it seems a lifetime—a lifetime of weeping skies, wet eyes and streets, and emotions that couldn't always be kept in check. Americans are not, by nature, an emotional people; the San Franciscan prides himself on an unflagging gaiety. And yet, over the endless weekend, San Francisco looked like a city that was only slowly emerging from a terrible bombardment. Downtown, on what would normally have been a bustling Saturday, the people walked slowly, as in shock, their faces pale and drawn, their mood as somber as the dark clothes they wore under the gray skies.

I remember a famous picture, early in World War II, of a Frenchman crying uncontrollably on the Champs Elysées as the Germans marched into Paris; some people found the photo painfully moving, others criticized him for not keeping a stiff upper lip in the face of the Hun. A grown man doesn't cry in public: It is part of the American lexicon.

But we are affected variously by various tragedies, and there were grown men crying in San Francisco—the stinging tears of sorrow and frustration. It was already the day after, but it took only a quick reminder to bring the grief back to the surface.

A man walked past the blacked-out corner window of the City of Paris, with its small white card of tribute, and tears rolled down his cheeks. At Sixth and Mission, an old woman in black passed a late newspaper headline, and suddenly sobbed. At the opera house Saturday night, Sir Malcolm Sargent and the Royal Philharmonic of London opened the concert with "The Star-Spangled Banner," and the sense of loss was felt again; all over the house, tears glistened afresh.

The longest weekend, that was to have been the big game weekend, and never have perspectives been so suddenly shattered, never have day-to-day values come in for such an excruciating reappraisal. The few people in the downtown bars sat hunched over their drinks, staring down or straight ahead. For once, in the Nation that loves humor, there was none. All at once, a city had stopped smiling.

Gray skies, and the constant gray and black of the TV screen. For the first time, in these unprecedented hours, there was total television. You were irresistibly drawn to the tiny screen, as though you expected a miracle. But there were no miracles; only the minor miracle of three networks striving valiantly, and with commendable dignity, to transmit hour after hour of unfolding tragedy, symbolized by a flag on a coffin. You were immersed in a fantasy world of honor guards standing at attention in the rain, of endless streams of black limousines, of faces that suddenly became part of your life, and to whose familiar voice and manner you clung, as though seeking reassurance.

Over the weekend that lasted a lifetime—and ended a lifetime—the faces on the screen, switching from Washington to New York to Dallas and back again, over and over, became part of your reality. Their first names joined the family: Chet, Walter, Frank, David, Frank, Martin. The harried face of the police chief in Dallas became more familiar to you than that of the man next door. You learned more about Lyndon Baines Johnson than you had ever known, or thought you would care to know. Strange and unknown orchestras and choirs came and went before your swimming eyes. History was traced and retraced— a crash course in the Presidency for millions who too often take too much for granted.

For some of us, who spend too much time at our jobs and our pleasures, and too little exploring the manifestations of greatness, the weekend provided an awakening. As always, it came too late. For those of us who seldom have the opportunity to watch TV, John F. Kennedy became more alive in death than he had been in life. For hour after hour, through the marvel of electronics, we saw the President as though for the first time. His life, compressed onto the small screen, passed before our eyes, and we marveled at his spirit, his warmth, his humor, his brilliance. He seemed vibrantly alive, and his words had a life they never seemed to possess before. We drew strength from him, and, in a way difficult to define, hope. But the lump in the throat refused to be downed.

As you watched the fine young man, the utter senselessness of the tragedy that had snuffed out his life gnawed at you. There was not even a mad nobility in the act, no glimmer of even an insane purpose. This had not been a madman in the mold of John Wilkes Booth, leaping onto the stage of a theater, crying "Sic semper tyrannis!" This was not the inevitable gloomy grandeur from which Greek tragedy is forged, nor the uncontrollable furies of Shakespeare. This had been a warped young man—"a loner" they called him—who kept saying he didn't do it. In the confusion of his own life, he symbolized nothing. Or perhaps he symbolized nothing but confusion, and that itself is a symbol of the times.

And so today, a Nation already in shock goes into official mourning, and Arlington prepares to receive another fallen soldier. He died without knowing how much he was loved—or by how many.

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, Nov. 23, 1963]

OUR MARTYRED YOUNG PRESIDENT

Every true American, regardless of his political philosophy, and every citizen of the world who holds mankind's good in his soul, is shocked beyond belief by the murder of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, 35th and youngest elected President.

More than just a man was slain in the streets of Dallas on Friday morning. The assassin's bullet aimed at the very heart of something we hold most dear as a free people: the majestic office of the Presidency, wherein lies our best hope of liberty here and abroad.

Mr. Kennedy, at 46, had just crossed the threshold of rich maturity as the prime defender of global integrity against communism.

He had demonstrated statesmanlike courage under devastating enemy diplomatic fire.

And he had, at home, sought a program which in principle, if not its many specifics, sought justice for our myriad population.

When the stunned shock wears off—as indeed it will, leaving only shame and sorrow—the American people must find new ways to put aside their bitter divisions, new methods to achieve noble ends.

Out of President Kennedy's martyrdom, let us all pray, will emerge new strength to drive ahead, to persevere, and to triumph over the awesome problems which confronted this young man less than 3 years ago.

We can thank our Republic's founders that the continuity of our governmental affairs continues unabated, owing to their wisdom and foresight.

This is where the assassin's bullet failed. It might wound the heart, but it could not still the inexorable beat of America's destiny.

To Mrs. Kennedy and her two fatherless children, in their terrible grief, we offer our profoundest sympathy.

To President Lyndon B. Johnson, who now assumes the monumental burden of this office, we render our hopes and prayers for strength and wisdom at a bleak and critical time.

[From the Los Angeles (Calif) Times, Nov. 25, 1963]

EPILOG TO TRAGEDY

It did not seem possible that anything could compound the terrible ordeal of John Fitzgerald Kennedy's assassination.

But violence has begotten violence. And punishment has been visited upon the accused assassin, not by the law but by one man's twisted vengeance.

The murderer of the President deserved to die, although no penalty could be imposed that would be commensurate with his offense against the Nation and the world. Yet even the perpetrator of this most heinous crime was entitled to the due process of the law for if this right is abandoned for one, we are abandoning it for all of us.

President Kennedy died because of one man's violent hate, victim of the complete renunciation of law and order. His martyrdom will be cruelly diminished if his death does not inspire in all Americans a greater sense of common purpose and a stronger belief in the democratic process and in justice.

His murder left the Nation filled with not only grief but shame. No one man or group of men, however, can take retribution into their own hands. Nor can we permit blame for the assassination to be extended from one man to whole segments of American life.

As the ultimate manifestation of hatred and violence, the slaying of the President is a tragic warning that we canot tolerate the bitter divisiveness that any from of extremism inflicts upon the country.

If we would honor the memory of John F. Kennedy and redeem his sacrifice, we must emerge stronger and more united.

[From the Long Beach (Calif.) Press-Telegram, Nov. 22, 1963]

JOHN F. KENNEDY

The President is dead.

We cannot write words sufficient to express the sickening shock of Americans at the manner of his death.

Only a diseased mind could conceive and execute such a deed.

The madness of one—or a few—has robbed an entire Nation of its leader.

As he fought and suffered in World War II in the service of his country, John Kennedy has died in that service.

The heavy responsibility of the biggest job in the world now falls on the shoulders of Lyndon B. Johnson.

Let us remain calm in our sadness and give the new President the support he now must have as he takes up where the efforts of a courageous and beloved predecessor left off.

[From the San Francisco (Calif.) Examiner, Nov. 23, 1963]

JOHN F. KENNEDY

The assassination of President Kennedy has overwhelmed the Nation with grief. In Dallas, Tex., that grief must be almost intolerably compounded with shame.

As now is clear the assassination was committed by a Communist fanatic unaware of the depth of evil to which such dogma could lead him. In so doing he served the Communist cause its worst setback in the 46 years since its baneful inception.

And certainly the President was the victim of insensate hatred—so depraved and vicious as to be beyond normal understanding.

He was more than a victim. He was a martyr. Not a marytr of the Democratic Party, but one who exemplified in his character, in his acts, the decency, the reason, the freedoms of his country and all its people.

The assassin is a traitor to those qualities—to Americanism as we honor it and live it. That is one of the reasons why the murder of President Kennedy is so profoundly shocking, so incomprehensibly perfidious.

It is not too much to say that John Fitzgerald Kennedy gave his life for his country, just as once before, in World War II, he was willing to give his life, and nearly did.

Mr. Kennedy was a good, courageous President. He was a good, courageous American. It is a tragedy that his career had thus to end with an assassin's bullet when he had so much more to give.

To President Lyndon Johnson we offer our fervent prayers in the momentous task that now lies ahead.

[From the Long Beach (Calif.) Independent-Press-Telegram, Nov. 24, 1963]

A MOMENT OF MADNESS

The vast majority of Americans are sane, law-abiding people who respect their President even when disagreeing with him. But the Nation has its maniacal moments. Such a moment transpired Friday as President John F. Kennedy rode through the streets of Dallas enjoying the friendly and respectful greetings of sane, law-abiding Texans. The gun of the exceptional maniac poked through a window and swerved history in its course.

A man has been arrested and charged with the murder. It is not surprising that the suspect has been associated with the fanatical activities of the extreme left, and it would not have been surprising if he had proven to be a member of the fanatical far right. Extremes of all kinds are capable of inciting weak-minded or emotionally unstable men to acts of hatred and violence.

Now that the consequences of extremism and hate have been so stunningly demonstrated, we urge those Americans who are captives of extremist groups and causes to search their minds and hearts.

It is too early and the moment too full of stress for an objective and fair judgment of the place of John F. Kennedy in history. But certainly he was one of the most intelligent, fair-minded, and friendly men ever to hold the office of President. He had a thorough knowledge and firm grasp of the facts and problems of government. He bore criticism, of which there is always more than enough for every President, with equanimity. Despite great physical discomfort, he served devotedly. He was the President, and considering all the implications of that statement, there is no need to say more.

At the time of his death, Mr. Kennedy was deeply concerned with the issue of equal rights under the Constitution for all Americans. While at this time there appears no indication that the civil rights issue was in any way related to his assassination, his dedication to this cause and the work and leadership he had given to it will surely be a factor in the ultimate achievement of the honorable goals he sought. It is an important part of his legacy to a grateful country.

Of Mrs. John Kennedy it must be said that with the death of a husband following close upon the death of a child, she has had more grief in a few short months than any woman should be required to bear. The sympathies of the Nation are with her.

Meanwhile, as the Nation recovers from its shock and goes on with the business of living, Americans can be grateful for the stability and continuity of government which their system provides. Two hours after Mr. Kennedy had slumped in his car, dead of an assassin's bullet, a new President was receiving the oath of office and pledges of bipartisan support. Government goes on; a President has died, but the Presidency and constitutional government survive.

Eyes turn now to the future. Fortunately, the new President has had extensive and practical experience in American Government. As a former Representative, Senator, and Vice President, Lyndon Johnson comes to the office with above-average credentials. He knows Washington, its officials and its processes, as well as any man and better than most.

Even so, the new President will need the aid and good will of all Americans as he adjusts himself to the responsibilities and routines of his new and awesome office. Both in memory of the fallen President and in consideration for the new one, let there be a decent period without the raucous and distracting noise of partisan politics. And in our hour of sorrow and change, let us show to the world a countenance of dignity, calm, unity, and strength—which is, despite that maniacal moment in Dallas, the true countenance of America.

[From the San Francisco (Calif.) Monitor, Nov. 29, 1963]

TO A PRESIDENT'S SON

Last Monday, young John, you saluted your father on the way to his burial.

It was your third birthday and you could not understand. But you did well to salute him. And someday you will understand why.

Someday you will understand that God gave to your father all the qualities that other men admire.

Your father had exceptional intelligence. We marveled at his grasp of facts and his clarity of expression.

He seemed to have a natural compassion for all people. It just wasn't in him to be small in dealing with others. He was the kind of man who would have had compassion even for his assassin.

Though he was rich he was one of us.

Though he had every reason to, he never took himself too seriously.

He was young, and our civilization puts great store on youth.

God had given him handsome features and an attractive personality.

He was a man of straighforward religious faith. He attended Mass as easily and unaffectedly as he did everything.

He was apparently the kind of father all fathers want to be—loving you and your sister and loved by you.

More than anyone else in our memory your father seemed to have all the qualities we expect in a hero.

And with it all he had a humility which enhanced everything else.

To all appearances God had been unbelievably generous to your father. But to whom much is given, much is asked.

A man like this doesn't just happen. He is forged out of suffering and sacrifice.

God had asked him to carry many crosses. He had suffered the loss of a brother and a sister in the prime of life. He had seen another sister burdened with a serious affliction. He had been called to endure heroic hardship in a World War. In illness he had come so close to death he was anointed. As a father he had suffered the loss of your brother Patrick.

In his chosen profession he had assumed a job at a time in history when the burdens were enough to break the back of any man.

Though he served in an arena where deeds are sometimes sordid and principles ignored, this was a man demanded by his times.

Like you will be in a few years, young John, the world today is awkward. It is an adolescent asked to grow up faster than it can. It needed a leader with intelligence far above the average; it needed a youth to keep up with the jet-speed times; and most of all it needed someone with stability to temper the wild currents that are sweeping across the world and the passions inflaming the hearts of men.

He helped us in bewildering times.

You do not understand any of this now. But may you salute your father all through your life. May you do more than that.

Please God, may you resemble him.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, John F. Kennedy, our friend, our colleague, and our President, has passed into history. His image need no longer be veiled or shrouded by the mists of partisanship or contention.

He was a man ideally equipped by nature and by training for the leadership of this Nation and of the free world in its crisis of survival.

He was born to wealth. He could have spent his days in idle pleasure and luxury or in the pursuit of some worthy but pleasant endeavor. Instead he chose the most difficult, the most demanding and the most burdensome of all careers—the path which led him to the Presidency of the United States and to that unforgettable November afternoon in Dallas.

From an early age he dedicated his life to the service of his country.

He was a complex man with enormous talents and capacities which he organized and developed through a tremendous exercise of self-discipline.

There was a marvelous balance and proportion in John Kennedy that was not a product of our age but rather the result of a supreme lifetime effort to develop the qualities necessary to rise to the problems of our age.

He was thoughtful and reflective, yet he was a man of decision and action. He had great confidence and self-assurance, but there was nothing of conceit or arrogance in him. He was serious and solemn, yet he possessed a deep and rich vein of humor, which always flickered just beneath the surface and occasionally came into view, lighting up his face and warming all around him.

He was always in the center of action, yet he had the capacity to look at himself objectively and dispassionately as though from a distance.

He was a man of strong convictions, one who threw almost superhuman effort and commitment into the struggle to have his convictions prevail; but he was never intolerant of the views of others, never dogmatic, always modest in victory and philosophic in defeat. He demanded excellence of himself and made vast sacrifices to achieve it, yet he had a limitless compassion for the shortcomings of others.

He was a blend of the idealist and the pragmatist—idealistic in the goals he set for American society, but eminently practical in his efforts to achieve those goals.

He could meet almost any man on his own level. He was scholar and athlete, soldier and writer, hero and intellectual,

statesman and politician, a family man and a solitary man. Few American hearts were so narrow or hardened that John Kennedy could not join them on some common ground.

He had a fierce love of country which manifested itself not in hollow diatribes but in a total commitment of mind, spirit and body to the high purpose of making our Nation strong and secure and of making our society conform more closely to our ancient national ideals.

It is a profound tragedy to see this beloved man, this friendly man, this husband, this father, brutally cut down in the flower of his life.

It is a deeper tragedy to see a great life, a unique life, destroyed, wantonly and senselessly, in the midst of vast achievements, and on the threshold of a great design for human betterment to which he had consciously dedicated and disciplined his life.

The depth of our loss can be measured in some small way by the outpouring of emotion which plunged this Nation and most of the world into grief. What cannot be measured is the full meaning of this tragedy for our country and for the causes we uphold in the world.

For in John F. Kennedy as President there was a singular joining of the man and the office. He had the intellect to perceive coolly and clearly the problems of the Nation; the ingenuity to evolve solutions to those problems; the energy to press those solutions to a conclusion; the outward charm to win the hearts of people everywhere and the inner strength to win the respect of leaders of men.

He had 3 years of experience in the most powerful and demanding position on earth. He had mastered the job. He had the confidence of the people, the allegiance of our friends, the respect of our foes. On his shoulders rested the hope of freemen everywhere.

All this—laid in the dust by the bullets of a deranged assassin. The deeper tragedy, then, is the loss to our country and to the world. Every man, woman and child is wounded and harmed by this dreadful act.

The supreme irony of it all is that a John F. Kennedy should be slain by a Lee Harvey Oswald, for no man devoted more effort, more thought, and more care to the afflictions of the Oswalds of the world than John F. Kennedy.

Oswald was a twisted and pathetic product of the worst aspects of American life. He was the product of a broken home and a rootless life; impoverished, mentally disturbed, emotionally unstable, rejected in every phase of life, neglected by society, scorned by his fellow students and fellow workers and fellow soldiers. There were several occasions when he violently forced himself upon the attention of our various institutions.

He was not helped when he could have been helped. He was not curbed when he should have been curbed. He was allowed to sink deeper and deeper into progressive stages of rebellion and violence and finally was given free access to instruments of murder with which he killed the President of the United States.

Who has given so much attention and effort to the problems of which Oswald is representative than our fallen President? It was he who struggled ceaselessly to meet the legitimate needs of the unfortunate and the despairing—the under privileged, the fatherless children, the juvenile delinquents, the mentally ill, the economically impoverished, the unemployed, the untrained, the unfit.

It was President Kennedy who struggled with limitless devotion and ceaseless energy to create a new American society in which there was a place for everyone, an education for everyone, a future for everyone, a job for everyone, and equal opportunity for everyone, a society in which there was adequate medical care for the sick and mental care for the afflicted.

From all sides and from all places there are reports of monuments being raised in memory of President Kennedy. It is appropriate that this should be so.

Let memorials be raised in all corners of this land which he loved so well and which loved him in return.

But I suggest that it is in pushing forward these great causes to which he devoted his life that we can best pay tribute to our fallen leader.

In the midst of the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln said something that I think expresses a thought in all of our hearts today. He was grieving over the loss of his beloved friend and ally Congressman Owen Lovejoy of Illinois. He was asked what he thought of a proposal to raise a statue in memory of his friend. Lincoln replied, "Let him have the marble monument, along with the well-assured and more enduring one in the hearts of those who loved liberty, unselfishly, for all men."

It is in the hearts of the American people and grieving millions throughout the world that the truest memorial to John F. Kennedy resides.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, the many words of praise, sympathy, and rededication that are spoken today in memory of our late President can in no way lessen the tragic loss that this Nation and the world have suffered.

This is only one of the many ways in which we in the Senate can express our deep sense of loss for a man who rose from among us to become President of the United States. John F. Kennedy had the unique quality which compelled men to follow him, to listen to him, and to help him carry the awesome burden of the Presidency. He possessed the rare insight into human affairs that makes a man want to serve his fellow men in any way he can and devote his very life to that service.

We knew him in the Senate as a young man of exceptional ability and great desire, and we knew him in the Presidency as a young man of vision and determination, and we know him in death as a man who left his great dream that freedom and justice would be the destiny of all men and all nations, for the fulfillment of those who knew him and will always remember him. We will not forget, nor will we shy from the task before us. We will carry on, for such is the way of all men who love freedom.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. RIBICOFF in the chair). The Senator from Arkansas is recognized.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, it is not easy for any of us to speak in tribute to John F. Kennedy without revealing the sharp anguish which time has not dulled. The national consciousness is heavy with fatigue from sustained and genuine grief. "Just like losing a member of the family" one heard people say and, indeed, a great loss it was to the family of man.

Even as the Kennedy family drew together for comfort and support, so each of us have felt a greater bond with one another—a bond formed of common sorrow. In that time, little more than 2 weeks ago when we could not yet comprehend the tragedy, each man somehow seemed a bit more valuable—a bit more worthy of our respect and tolerance. It was as though in his death the message of reason, tolerance, and peace, so much the essence of him, was again proclaimed. Death, the ultimate mystery, always turns men to introspection, but so much more when we grieve for one who was so much to all of us, both in person and philosophy.

John Kennedy was a political man to whom ideas were the stuff of life—to be sifted, analyzed, and refined with the scholar's precision of thought, the historian's perspective, but finally the politician's view toward accomplishment.

And he was a public man who gave himself to the public's business with zeal and enthusiasm. There was no question of his desire to assume the burdens of the Nation's highest responsibility. He sought the Presidency purposely and devoted himself eagerly to the tasks of Government.

He came to authority in a difficult and perplexing age, filled at once with the possibility of total destruction and prospects for the ultimate conquest of the age-old human enemies—poverty, disease, and hunger. He sensed these challenges and with his great faculty for communication he sought to communicate them to his Nation and to the world. The frontispiece of his book, "The Strategy of Peace," carries this quote from Lincoln:

> The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves.

It is not by chance that John Kennedy would choose these words as a preface to this collection of his thoughts on the Nations' problems—present and future. As Lincoln, he saw the newness of his time and the need for new thoughts, new questions, and new solutions.

He was an activist. The Presidency was to him a positive force in our Government and in our society and he set about to be President. Many of his chosen tasks are yet undone and many will never be fully concluded, but true to his inaugural address he began.

He set out to conclude the association of the Western democracies perceiving that strength lies in unity and seeking

to achieve it through closer political, commercial, and cultural ties with our European allies. It will be left to others to conduct the trade negotiations and the political conferences aimed at this objective, but those who do will be equipped with tools he forged. Many frustrations beset him in this effort, but he persisted as we must persist to work for closer unity of the free world.

With our own Nation on the threshold of maturity he reminded us of our responsibilities to the emerging nations of the world in Africa, Asia, and especially Latin America. Many of our policies will long bear his mark. Each new Peace Corps teacher and Alliance for Progress project will be his memorial.

Above all, he forced our Nation and the world to examine the precarious position of civilization confronted with the awesome power of modern nuclear weapons and the seemingly insoluble ideological divisions which threaten to trigger them. Walter Lippmann said it well in his column of December 3:

> He achieved one thing brilliantly, which is changing the course of events, and that has been to convince the Soviet Union that it must perforce and that it can comfortably and honorably live within a balance of power which is decidedly in our favor. For that John F. Kennedy will long be remembered.

The nuclear test ban treaty—the historic "first step" with the Soviet Union—was his treaty. He fostered and championed it. While treaties have not the permanence of marble, the spirit of this one is the spirit of John Kennedy and humanity is indebted to him for it.

His quest for a peaceful world won the affection of men of good will everywhere. Particularly do those who share our Western heritage grieve for him. At the conclusion of my remarks I will ask unanimous consent to have a resolution of the British House of Commons commemorating his passing printed in the RECORD.

He was a completely reasonable and human man whose concern for people lay at the root of his efforts to create a better life for all Americans. His legislative proposals centered on people—their economic, social, and political welfare. We should be every grateful that from our society arise such men whose own security makes more acute their consciousness of the insecurity of others. He was endowed with this great concern and the people of America loved him for it with a love not yet come to full fruition. We do not expect young men to die and we do not expect Presidents to die at all. The editor of a weekly paper in Arkansas sensed this mood well. Tom Dearmore wrote in the Baxter Bulletin:

> The shock has been so great partially because the President of the United States is a great embodiment. In his person he is a symbol of the will of the people. But there was more than that in this anguish the Nation has undergone. In his death the people have found Mr. Kennedy. Many never really knew him until they lost him.

When the history of our time is written it will be recorded that in his election and service our democracy reached a new maturity. His election—as our first President who was a Roman Catholic—evidenced a calming of the religious intolerance which has been too much a part of our history. His funeral—as though to complete the effort—brought millions through television into the church which he claimed and for which he was criticized.

And yet other prejudices plagued him. The fruition of our Nation's melancholy history of race relations fell on his shoulders. One could sense the great sorrow this caused him and one must respect the great courage he displayed in meeting this domestic crisis. His courage was manifested, in part, by his refusal to vilify the South for what is truly a national problem.

In fact, one sensed that he had a special affection for the South and its problems. Only 2 months ago he spoke in my State of the new South and concluded by saying:

> This great new South contributes to a great new America, and you particularly, those of you who are young, I think, can look forward to a day when we shall have no South, no North, no East, no West, but one Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. That is what we are building in this country today.

It is our tragic loss that he will not see this dream fulfilled, as fulfilled it must and will be.

He was a young man and youth responded to him. The student paper at the University of Arkansas said:

> And youth identified themselves with him. They admired him, because they understood his haste and boldness. They criticized him because they felt they were his peers, entitled to judge one of their own. And all the while, they respected him, because they saw in him a leader who belonged to them, maybe even more than to the others.

Now the weight of responsibility has been lifted from him and others are left to do the tasks he so eagerly and conscientiously set out to do. It is our gain to have known him, the country's gain to have had him lead us for awhile, and humanity's gain that such a fine and decent man should have passed through our midst.

Our prayers have been and will be with his family and his successor.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution of the House of Commons, the editorial from the Arkansas Traveler, and a variety of other communications which were addressed primarily to the Senate but which came to me through the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, from many respected leaders of the world, may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution, editorial, and communications were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOUSE OF COMMONS, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1963—COPY OF MANUSCRIPT AMENDMENT TO BE MOVED BY A MINISTER OF THE CROWN (PRINTED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF MR. SPEAKER)

Assassination of President Kennedy: That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty praying Her Majesty to be graciously pleased to express to the President of the United States of America the shock and deep sorrow with which this House has learned of the death of President Kennedy; and to convey their sense of the loss which this country and the Commonwealth have sustained, and their profound sympathy with Mrs. Kennedy and the family of the late President, and with the Government and people of the United States of America.

[From the Arkansas Traveler, Nov. 26, 1963]

A UNIVERSITY REACTS

The university campus was still Friday afternoon. People whispered as they walked into 1 o'clock classes. Some teachers lectured jerkily, briefly. Others dismissed classes filled with tension. Groups of people crowded silently around those with radios, waiting to know for certain. When the short announcement came, "John Fitzgerald Kennedy, President of the United States of America, is dead," people turned without speaking and slowly drifted away. This was the university's first reaction to the news. It was one of disbelief, then of revulsion. "No it's not true. It couldn't happen in our civilized society." Then came the realization of the baseness of such an action, the animallike violence which shepherded one human thing into taking another's life.

As the weekend went on and the primary murder suspect was caught then killed before a confession was obtained, horror and insensibility seemed to pile on one another. The sequences of events took on a thicker coat of unreality. The consequences of these events, the succession of a new President, are so widespread, so infinite they have not been grasped. The death of this dynamic brilliant man has not really been accepted, cannot be understood.

Perhaps the young will have the hardest time making any sense of this weekend. The youth never really sees death in relation to himself. How can he with a whole life of desires and plans before him? He must concentrate on fulfilling these plans; he must have done with the bothersome blocks in his way. He never dreams he might suddenly be stopped in the middle of fulfilling his goal. Yet, today the sense of death is brought home to him.

John F. Kennedy was a young man, at 46, the youngest to ever hold the office of President of this equally young Nation. He was like a character from a romantic novel. He had a brilliant mind; he had a dynamic warm personality; he had a true sincerity in his beliefs, and most symbolic of his youth, he had an indomitable will. Will these qualities he attained in less than one term a greatness matched by only a handful of his predecessors. He led his people strongly and surely in an unbalanced world. He led them quickly with the haste of his youth.

And youth identified themselves with him. They admired him, because they understood his haste and boldness. They criticized him, because they felt they were his peers, entitled to judge one of their own. And all the while, they respected him, because they saw in him a leader who belonged to them, maybe even more than to the others.

DER PRÄSIDENT DES NATIONALRATES,

November 28, 1963.

HON. PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The National Council of the Republic of Austria has mentioned by a manifestation of mourning held on November 26, 1963, the bereavement the United States of America and their friendly nations had to suffer by the death of the honorable President, John F. Kennedy.

I have the honor to enclose the text of the speech I addressed to the National Council on this occasion. At the same time I beg you, dear Mr. President, and the Members of the Senate to present my personal condolences as well as those of the Austrian parliamentary representation on this tragical event.

With the assurance of my highest esteem I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

ALFRED MALETA,
Director, Parliament of Austria, Vienna, Austria.

NOVEMBER 28, 1963.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Meeting today, for the first time since the staggering events of Dallas, the Foreign Affairs Committee, before beginning its session, said a few words in homage to the memory of President Kennedy.

Its members have unanimously charged me with transmitting to you their expression of deep condolences and to inform you of the hopes which they felt with the speech of President Johnson who assumes these highest duties in the most tragic circumstances.

In reaffirming to you the personal expression of my emotion and of my sadness, please accept my warmest wishes.

MAURICE SCHUMANN,
President, Foreign Affairs Commission, National Assembly, Republic of France.

TEHERAN, *November 23, 1963.*

Hon. RICHARD B. RUSSELL,
President of the American Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

Deeply distressed by learning the tragic news of the death of the President John F. Kennedy. With profound sympathy I extend to you and to your colleagues of the Senate on my own behalf and on behalf of all my colleagues the Iranian Senators our sincerest condolences in this deeply painful circumstance through which the American Nation and the whole world suffer the loss of a highly distinguished and peace-loving personality of the modern history.

DJAAFAR CHARIF-EMAMI,
President of the Senate.

CANBERRA, *November 23, 1963.*

THE PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE OF THE SENATE,
Washington, D.C.:

Profoundly shocked to hear of tragic death of President Kennedy. Please accept the deepest sympathy of all Members of the Australian Senate in the great loss your country has sustained.

A. M. MCMULLIN,
President of the Australian Senate.

OSLO, *November 23, 1963.*

The PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
The Capitol,
Washington, D.C.:

The Norwegian Storting wishes to express to the Senate of the United States its profound sympathy with the people of the United States in their grief over the death of President Kennedy.

NILS LANGHELLE,
President of the Storting.

BRUSSELS, BELGIUM,
November 23, 1963.

To the PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE,
Washington, D.C.:

The Dallas crime has plunged the entire people of Belgium into mourning and consternation. They are deeply touched and indignant at the tragic death of the great American President, whose eminent role in critical moments of the world's history and whose firm determination that peace in justice and honor should prevail they will never forget. Belgium recalls with gratitude the loyal friendship of the late President. It is with deep emotion that the Chamber of Representatives of Belgium conveys the feeling of the Belgian people and sends to the Representatives of the American Nation its heartfelt sympathy and sincere condolences.

A. VAN ACKER,
President of the Chamber of Deputies of Belgium.

WARSZAWA,
November 23, 1963.

Senator CARL HAYDEN,
President pro tempore of the Senate,
Capitol Hill,
Washington, D.C.:

Profoundly shaken with the horrifying news of the assassination of John F. Kennedy, President of the United States of America, distinguished statesman. I am sending you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Sejm of the Polish Peoples Republic and in my own name expressions of the most sincere sympathy. President John F. Kennedy enjoyed admiration for his efforts aiming at the consolidation of peace and promoting of international cooperation. In the person of President John F. Kennedy the American Nation has lost its eminent leader who also displayed concern in the development of the friendly American-Polish relations.

CZESLAW WYCECH,
President of the Sejm of the Polish Peoples Republic.

BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA,
November 22, 1963.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE,
OF THE UNTED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, D.C.:

In the name of the Argentine Senate and in my own name I express to you the deep feeling of regret caused by the death of the illustrious President of your Nation, John F. Kennedy, whose death has so closely affected the free citizens of the world who shared the ideals of peace and brotherhood among men.

CARLOS H. PERETTE,
President of the Senate of the Argentine Nation.

CLAUDIO A. MAFFI, *Secretary.*

TOKYO,
November 28, 1963.

Hon. J. W. FULBRIGHT,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Deep condolence for late President.

KANESHICHI MASUDA,
Japanese Diet.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
November 22, 1963.

Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT,
Washington, D.C.:

I wish to express my condolences and sympathy on the tragic occasion of the death of President Kennedy.

ALI BENGELLOUN,
Ambassador of Morocco.

It is with profound sorrow that we have been informed of the tragic loss of President Kennedy. The entire world, in addition to the American Nation, mourns for the loss of the greatest protector of its ideals, a man who had devoted his very life to defend world peace and the prosperity and happiness of peoples.

On behalf of the Senate of the Turkish Republic and in my own behalf, I wish to extend to you, Mr. President, and to the Members of the Senate of the United States, our deep feelings of sympathy and our condolences.

ENVER AKA,
President of the Senate of the Turkish Republic.

BRITISH-AMERICAN PARLIAMENTARY GROUP,
London, November 27, 1963.

Hon. J. W. FULBRIGHT,
U.S. Senator from Arkansas, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Senate Wing of the Capitol, Washington, D.C., United States of America.

MY DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: The Executive Committee of the British-American Parliamentary Group at their meeting held yesterday (November 26) in Westminster Hall, Houses of Parliament, unanimously passed the following resolution which it was directed should be sent to you, as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, and to Dr. THOMAS E. MORGAN, Member of Congress, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, namely:

"The British-American Parliamentary Group offer to their congressional colleagues their deepest sympathy on the tragic and untimely death of President Kennedy whose work for those high ideals, common to our two assemblies, they so greatly appreciated and respected. We share in the great sense of loss which has been felt throughout the world."

With kindest regard.

Yours sincerely,

Sir HOWARD D'EGVILLE,
Hon. Secretary.

COLOMBO,
December 4, 1963.

PRESIDENT, SENATE,
Washington, D.C.:

The Senate of Ceylon has nemine dissetiente resolved as follows begins this house desires to convey to the President and Members of the Senate of the United States of America an expression of the deep sorrow with which this house has learned of the assassination of the President of the United States, the late John Fitzgerald Kennedy, and to express their sympathy with his family and with the Government and people of the United States.

THOS. AMARASURIYA,
President.

ROME.

PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D.C.:

The death of President Kennedy is an irreparable loss not only to the United States, but to the entire community of peoples, for in him they had a most vigorous defender of the ideals of liberty and peace and of social justice in the world. His work will remain as a milestone on civilization's road and from it and our affectionate memory of him, man will in years to come obtain inspiration and instruction on the way to achieve progress and on the exaltation of the values so constantly affirmed by him. The Senate of the Republic of Italy, which remembers with emotion his recent visit to Italy, unanimously joints in the grief of the noble American Nation our friend, and shares the loss it has suffered today, which has deprived it in such a tragic manner of its first citizen.

CESARE MARZAGORA,
President of the Senate of Italy.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D.C.:

In the name of the Peruvian Senate and in my own name, I convey to you our expressions of profound sadness and sincere condolences of the irreparable loss of the illustrious President Kennedy, and at the same time, our condemnation of this atrocious crime. World democracy loses an outstanding champion, the United States an esteemed

leader, and Latin America a loyal friend. We convey our deepest sympathy to you and to the Senate of the United States.

JULIO DE LA PIEDRA,
President of the Senate.

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, we meet here today as desolate men and women who have come together to eulogize a fallen leader, John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

We would extoll his many virtues in the language of the gods, had we but that gift, but as T. S. Eliot once wrote:

Words strain—crack and sometimes break under the burden—under the tension, slip, slide, perish, decay with imprecision.

We stand here bewildered in the darkness of a grotesque nightmare, the shadows illuminated only by the flickering of an eternal flame on the hills of Arlington. Yet in the infinite quality of that flame lies the legacy passed on to us by a young man who had so much more to give. Thank God that he was able to give enough.

More than anything else, John F. Kennedy taught us to be men of resolution, but also men of reason. This, he told us, is the way to world peace. He could leave no greater gift to all mankind.

John F. Kennedy rekindled within us a burning sense of our national mission, reminding us that we hold within our hands the future of the entire free world.

In his insistence that civil rights be extended to all, he mandated us to be not a nation of words—but a nation of deeds.

Here was a man, a product of our Nation's finest schools of learning; a man whose character was forged in the fire and destruction of a great World War.

When he ascended to our Nation's highest office, an entire generation was on trial. There were grave doubts in the minds of many of our people that this young man—and his generation—would be equal to the task.

We now know that the man—and his generation—met the acid test of history in a grave national crisis. But for this man, we might not exist as a nation today.

I would like to close with a few words of Vachel Lindsay:

Sleep on, O brave hearted, O wise man that kindled the flame. To live in mankind, is far more than to live in a name, to live in mankind, far, far more * * * than to live in a name.

May his soul rest in peace.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, the date of November 22 and the national tragedy caused by the wanton and senseless act of an assassin has been seared into our memories as individuals and as a nation. On that day we lost a great leader. Many of us standing in this Chamber lost a good friend.

In the days since President Kennedy's death we have emerged from the initial shock of disbelief. As a nation we have roused ourselves from the numbness of despair to a sense of resolution under a new President. In the depths of our grief we were sustained by the memory of a man of wisdom, wit, heart, and grace. We achieved new dignity as a nation through the inspiration of the President's widow, his children, and his family. We have been challenged by President Johnson to take up our tasks in the spirit of President Kennedy.

Today we pause in the course of our work to eulogize our fallen leader. For me this brings a flood of memories—of a young Senator speaking out courageously for a free Algeria—of a bright and forceful presidential candidate inspiring a crowd in a cold and snowy Maine park in the early hours of a November morning—of a new President issuing a challenge and a call to the Nation and the world on his inauguration—of a warm friend reading poetry and musing on the place of America in history as we sailed off the coast of Maine—of a thoughtful President wrestling with issues which had concerned him as a Senator and now confronted him in the new context of the Presidency—of a seasoned and vigorous world leader talking of peace and wisdom and understanding at a gathering of Maine citizens at the University of Maine less than 2 months ago—and, finally, of a man whose responsibilities encircled the globe, yet whose interests involved the needs of each State in the Union and the rights of each citizen, whatever his race, creed, or color, or economic status.

We of Maine are grateful for those golden years which John F. Kennedy gave us. They were not easy years, but they carried, with them the light of promise. President Kennedy, the man, can do no more on the unfinished tasks he set for himself and the Nation. The legacy and the promise of President Kennedy rests with us.

As Norman Cousins has written:

The ultimate tragedy of a man is represented not by death but by the things he tried to bring to life that are buried with him. The legacy of John Kennedy can be a large one—if that is the way the American people wish it to be.

We, the people, will determine whether the spirit of John F. Kennedy lives or dies; we, the people, will determine whether the eternal flame which burns on a Virginia hillside is the symbol of continuing hope or a shattered dream; we the people, must decide.

Mr. President, many tributes have been paid to President Kennedy. As an indication of the respect and affection in which he was held in Maine, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this time a group of statements and editorials which have been printed in Maine, including three of my own comments to the citizens of Maine.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE UPON THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY—FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1963

It is difficult to adjust to the shock of the news. It is impossible to comprehend the motives of one who would do this to his country. We have lost a great leader. I have lost a good friend. If I were to suggest what President Kennedy would say, if he were here, it would be: "This is a time to pray for our country." We must be restrained in our reactions; we must stand together—and, I repeat, pray for our country.

REPORT TO MAINE FROM SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE

Hatred and virulence reached a tragic climax in Dallas, Tex., last week. As I said upon learning of the President's death: "It is difficult to adjust to the shock of the news. It is impossible to comprehend the motives of one who would do this to his country. We have lost a great leader. I have lost a good friend. If I were to suggest what President Kennedy would say, if he were here, it would be: 'This is a time to pray for our country.' We must be restrained in our reactions; we must stand together—and, I repeat, pray for our country."

As Americans, we mourn the loss of a great President, cut down in his prime. As individuals, our hearts go out to the Kennedy family. In the space of a few short months, Mrs. Kennedy lost a son and a husband. May God grant her the physical and spiritual resources she must need to persevere in the face of this tragedy. May God care for her two children.

Deep as may be our grief, we must immediately reaffirm our faith in our system of government, designed to preserve continuity even in the face of such trying circumstances. Our Republic—although its head may now be bowed in shame that this could happen here—will survive. America will continue to grow and prosper. Freedom will be maintained. However disastrous, this one insane act cannot stem the tide of freedom. I am confident that Americans of all political persuasion will unite behind President Johnson to complete the unfinished business which President Kennedy so capably and so eloquently set before us.

We, in Maine, will long remember his moving plea for peace and understanding, expressed in his address at the University of Maine on October 19.

He was a man of dignity; yet he was humble. He was a man of great intellect; yet he spoke in simple terms. He was born to great wealth; yet his great concern was for the poor, the oppressed. John F. Kennedy's place in history is secure, but all mankind is immeasurably poorer without him.

LETTER TO MAINE FROM SENATOR ED MUSKIE

DECEMBER 11, 1963.

DEAR FRIENDS: None of us will ever forget the 22d day of this past November, or the sad days of deepening, yet unbelieving, awareness that followed.

The memories, though shared with hundreds of millions around the globe, will always be as personal as the tears which stung our eyes and the ache which filled our hearts.

We will remember a President who loved our country deeply, not only for what it has been and is, but also because he believed that it is America's destiny to point the way to a better world for all mankind.

We will remember a leader who dared to lead us where his understanding and his convictions told him we must go.

We will remember the voice of a man who found unforgettable words to remind us of our heritage, to express our hopes, and to summon us to the great unfinished work which is ours to do.

We will remember a warm-hearted friend whose love of home and family were symbolic of his devotion to all those who labored to serve.

We will remember him as one who loved life and lived it fully, welcoming the challenges of the Presidency and thriving on its burdens, stimulated by the wide-ranging interests of a thoroughly civilized man, appealing in the simplicity of his tastes and his clear-eyed faith in the essential goodness of his fellow man.

He believed in us and in our capacity as a people to help build a world where compassion, understanding, and reason will rule.

We will never forget him.

As we remember him, we should bear in mind these words of Norman Cousins "The ultimate tragedy of a man is represented not by death but by the things he tried to bring to life that are buried with him. The legacy of John Kennedy can be a large one—if that is the way the American people wish it to be."

Sincerely,

EDMUND S. MUSKIE.

[From the Lewiston Daily Sun, Nov. 23, 1963]

PRESIDENT ASSASSINATED

An assassin's bullets have destroyed the life of the President of the United States, and changed the course of history.

The rifle shots which rang out as the official motorcade rode through the streets of Dallas, Tex., wrote a violent end to the career of President John F. Kennedy and plunged the Nation and the world into mourning.

In the few brief moments of the terrifying sound of gunfire, the President and the Governor of Texas lay wounded. America's First Lady had flung herself in front of her husband in a brave but vain attempt to shield him from the bullets which already had found their mark.

President Kennedy was in Texas as part of an effort to strengthen the Democratic Party there. He had spoken out against factionalism and strife within his party. He did not foresee that a fanatical assassin would take matters into his own hands to strike a blow against life itself. Even the extraordinary precautions always taken to protect a President were not enough.

Violence is common to the politics of many countries. It is unusual and all the more shocking in the United States. That there were hotbeds of extremism in the West and Southwest has been a matter of common knowledge. That it would kindle the awful flames of assassination was unexpected.

The President's assassination cut short his brilliant career at its very height. He was in the preliminary stages of a campaign for another 4-year term, although he had made no official announcement of his candidacy. His visit to Texas, like the tours into other parts of the country, including the recent trip to the University of Maine, formed part of that background campaign.

Every American, regardless of party, has suffered a personal loss. America has lost an outstanding leader whose brave program for a peaceful world was the hope of all mankind.

There are no words to soothe the pain of his grief-stricken wife and family. But an America in mourning strives to share that great sorrow.

[From the Daily Kennebec Journal, Nov. 23, 1963]

THE PRESIDENT PASSES

Telephones jangled in every newspaper office in the land Friday—as anxious Americans sought to learn: "Is it true, what they say about the President?"

This is A.D. 1963, a supposedly civilized era.

Yet civilization's veneer is thin indeed. Friday's tragedy in Dallas brings America up short, in the realization that—for all our devotion to the rule of law, there still are mad dogs among us who obey only the law of the jungle.

It takes a brave man to be President of the United States. President Truman's temporary Washington residence, Blair House, was shot up by a handful of fanatics and Mr. Truman himself had a narrow escape. A shot fired at Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 killed Mayor Anton Czermak of Chicago. Theodore Roosevelt was wounded by a would-be assassin. President James Garfield was mortally wounded by gunshot. President William McKinley was killed. Abraham Lincoln lost his life to an assassin's bullet.

Yet in this day and age, many Americans had hopefully assumed that civilization had advanced to a point at which law and reason—at least in this great country—had everywhere superseded outlawry, or the taking of law into one's own hands. The assumption was premature. Anyone who reads the grim daily grist of crime news from one end of America to the other should understand how utterly uncivilized a large segment of the population still is.

The terrible news from Dallas should move every good American not only to demand a restoration of law and order everywhere in this country, but also to take direct, personal responsibility—at every opportunity—to support and assist all law enforcement agencies.

John F. Kennedy served his country courageously and to the best of his ability throughout his tragically short term of office. His sudden passing shocks and saddens all America.

And—politics or no politics—all America knows today that John F. Kennedy laid down his life for his country.

[From the Waterville Morning Sentinel, Nov. 23, 1963]

MAINE GRIEVES FOR A NEIGHBOR

It was 100 years ago that a gaunt President of the United States was shot in the back by an assassin.

He was President of a country torn by a civil war whose guns had only recently been stilled.

There is no evidence that President Kennedy's life was taken by a racist, but the tensions in the land today bear a frightening parallel to those which beset Abraham Lincoln.

And overlaying the civil rights issue which again divides North and South is the constant threat of nuclear war posed by the ideological differences between the Communist world and the free world.

How clear is the parallel between the times of Lincoln and the times of Kennedy will be visible only through the perspective of history to be written in another generation.

But, dim though they now may be, the outlines are there.

And only in the pages of history yet to be written can there be an evaluation of President Kennedy's place among U.S. Presidents, even as Lincoln's place was determined only by time.

Few have faced more monumental tasks than did the young man from Massachusetts. He faced them with courage and with dedication to his principles. His fateful trip to Texas was taken to support those principles.

A man of wealth, he might well have chosen the easy life of a moneyed and cultured gentleman. He did not. He chose, rather, a career of service to the country which had given him and his family that wealth.

That career has now been ended by the useless act of an assassin. The nasal New England voice through which his quick, well-trained mind was articulated will be heard no longer.

Maine has special reasons for sadness. President Kennedy vacationed on our coast and only a few short weeks ago he was made on honorary alumnus of the University of Maine.

As a man of Massachusetts he has been, throughout most of his life, our close neighbor and during his career as a Senator from Massachusetts he personally met and impressed many Maine people through his visits.

Every American today mourns the death of his President. Every heart goes out to the family which must bear the most intimate of griefs. A President has been cut down in the prime of his life, but so also has a husband, a father and a son.

[From the Lewiston Evening Journal, Nov. 23, 1963]

THE BLACKEST DAY

Today we, the American people, mourn the death of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy. There are no words which can be written to describe adequately the depth of emotion we are feeling over the untimely, brutal, calculated murder of our youthful President.

His near 3 years as leader of our Nation were marked by severe international crises, domestic problems that featured racial bitterness in the South and in some of our larger cities and problems involving a Congress which did not always see eye to eye with him insofar as certain important legislative matters were concerned. Despite the complex and often irritating issues which faced President Kennedy these past 3 years, he maintained a basic good humor and a sense of purpose that made his political opponents like him as a man and admire him for his persistency.

The great warmth of the late President was exemplified many times during the course of his press conferences. Many Maine citizens had a recent opportunity to witness it upon his visitation to the University of Maine where he received an honorary degree. And most remembered of all, of course, were those pictures of John Kennedy which appeared in the press and on the television screen to show him the uninhibited, loving father and family man.

Friday, November 22, 1963, will go down in American history as one of the blackest days this Nation has ever faced. It definitely represents the most tragic single event since the surprise attack upon Pearl Harbor. It was a deed most obviously undertaken by one imbued with the stark, deadly hatred which moves only within those who have taken up the cause of the lunatic left or the radical right. The assassination of President Kennedy carries within it the curse of Cain as so often witnessed to by those who are extremists. May his death bring all who have veered over into paths of intolerance and hatred back to the reality demanded of all who have faith in God; back to a realization that intolerance and hatred solve nothing, and that only love of one's fellow man possesses the virtue to bring understanding.

There are no tears shed which can relieve us of a terrible sense of loneliness and lostness. There are no emotions sufficient to disclose the measure of our sympathy for Mrs. Kennedy, 6-year-old Caroline, and 3-year-old John. Only through our prayers and our faith may we hope to walk from the valley of shadow back into the light.

Today the world shares the bereavement of John Kennedy's family and friends. May the American people of the immediate tomorrow assure the end of any similar future tragedy by dedicating themselves to the sacred task of building and preserving peace for our time at home and abroad. Then and only then may the American people proclaim that the death of this dedicated American was not in vain.

[From the Daily Kennebec Journal, Nov. 23, 1963]

THE GREATEST CASUALTY

Friday, November 22, 1963, was a sad and a critical day in the history of the Republic.

A century after a great President had laid down his life in the cause of racial equality another President appeared to have suffered the same fate.

It had not been determined at the time of this writing whether President Kennedy was shot by a fanatical segregationist. The point is that the war hero occupying the world's most powerful and one of its most uncomfortable positions of leadership, believed that the issues of the day called for militancy, whether it be the conflict with world communism abroad, or the struggle for civil rights at home.

A century ago the racial struggle divided the Nation and nearly brought about its extinction. President Lincoln saved the Republic, but in doing so he sacrificed his own life to the most despicable of all adversaries, an assassin.

President Kennedy realized, as many thoughtful observers have confirmed, that the Nation has been drifting perilously close to another internal explosion. He combated this drift in the two ways he knew best, as a battle-scarred soldier openly defying the forces of reaction, and as a skilled politician, carrying his case to the masses, scorning the safety of Secret Service cordons and bulletproof bubble tops.

He paid the supreme sacrifice proving his contention that every American must take risks to protect his rights and his freedoms.

He failed to provide answers available from no other President, living or dead—why does hate displace charity in our differences between fellow Americans, and why does our generosity abroad generate universal suspicion and dislike?

As he rocked in his chair to ease the pain of his wounds, President Kennedy knew there was no soft security and no solace beyond an appeal for men of good will to search resolutely and prayerfully for a common solution to their differences.

His brutal slaying focuses attention on a vacuum in leadership that will mean many sleepless nights for Americans until it is filled by a statesman equal to its fearful demands.

[From the Portland Evening Express, Nov. 23, 1963]

AN INSTANT IN DALLAS

The United States is a nation in shock today.

Millions of Americans awoke this morning still at a loss to comprehend the events of yesterday; it remains all but impossible to accept the reality of that terrible moment in which was destroyed the life of the most popular President this country ever knew.

But reality it is; stark reality born in an instant of violence in the Texas city known as Dallas. John F. Kennedy, yesterday's President, is dead. Today's President is Lyndon B. Johnson, curiously enough a son of that State which will henceforth be remembered for this deed of infamy as much as for its claims to greatness.

The death of a President during his term of office brings a nation to its knees. The suddenness and malice in the violence of assassination compounds the tragedy. But it seems neither extravagant nor emotional to suggest that the death of no other President in our history, from whatever cause, could have caused so many Americans to feel so deep a sense of personal loss. No President ever has shared such an intimacy with his people as did John F. Kennedy.

The sympathy of the entire world goes out to Jacqueline Kennedy, widow, a lovely and charming lady who yesterday as the vivacious and elegant First Lady was the envy of all. That instant in Dallas has plunged her into bereavement in the most crushing event in what has been a year of great personal tragedy for her.

We pray now for Mr. Kennedy, for Jackie and Caroline and John, Junior, and all those who shared the family circle of the late President. We pray, too, for Lyndon B. Johnson, a man who thought the expenditure of thousands of dollars and months of energy could not win his way into the Presidency but who, through an instant of barbarism in his home State, is thrust into that high office. The best of those among us will pray also for the man who in madness or hate has so lost his sense of balance as to commit so foul a deed.

Mr. Kennedy's innate friendliness and the very qualities which have so endeared him to Americans and the peoples of nations he has visited, have often caused concern for his safety. At home and abroad he mingled and became caught up in crowds as none of his predecessors had done. In so doing he exposed himself to innumerable dangers.

There were those, we are told, who were apprehensive about his Texas tour because it has become an area known for its reactionaries and displays of extremism. In Dallas only a few short weeks ago Adlai E. Stevenson, Ambassador to the United Nations and once a presidential aspirant himself, was insulted and molested by extremists of the street.

But it was felt that any danger that might be attached to the Presidential visit would be at the airport. But it was not so. When the evil thing was done it was not when he was caught up in the embrace of a crowd but at a moment when he was thought to be relatively safe; at a moment when all the precautions and security in the world could not alter things.

The ideals and principles which Mr. Kennedy brought to his great office will not be lost with his passing. But foremost in our tributes to him should be a firm and steadfast resolve to bring this Nation back to its proper reliance on peaceful processes, to renounce street pressures and gutter tactics which reach their most despicable example in such demonstrations as that degrading and terrifying instant in Dallas. If we do only this Mr. Kennedy will not have died in vain.

We bow today in mourning but we must not bend in despair. The grief which has seized this Nation must not be coupled with fear. The United States is not, nor has it ever been, one man. It is with considerable difficulty that we strive for objectivity at such a moment, but we must cling to the certain knowledge that our country has not been left leaderless nor given into the hands of irresponsible individuals. The changes precipitated by that cruel and senseless instant in Dallas may be less than those occasioned by an election.

The Nation, so shaken now, will go on not weakened or uncertain, but strengthened, sustained, and rededicated by the service, sacrifice, and martyrdom of John F. Kennedy.

[From the Portland (Maine) Evening Express, Nov. 23, 1963]

A MADMAN SLAYS THE PRESIDENT, PLUNGING THE NATION INTO GRIEF

The most incredibly tragic news that can befall a country such as ours is the successful assassination of its Chief Executive.

And this is the news that all Americans still numbed by shock, are trying to grasp today.

The youthful, vigorous, personable John F. Kennedy who rode into Texas on Thursday, fell victim yesterday to the dread that haunts every President and his family and his associates—the madman's bullet.

Ever since the dawn of our Nation's history it has been fired for many reasons, or for no comprehensible reason at all. For every attempt made on a President's life, others are thwarted. We do not know, at this writing why the bullet was fired at Dallas. That is far less important, right now, than the stunning realization that the President is dead.

So the Nation grieves, regardless of party, regardless of religion, regardless of national origin, with Mrs. Kennedy, and his family and hers. Yet even as we mourn, we take confidence in the strength of the American system which has already installed his successor, Mr. Lyndon Johnson, until yesterday the Vice President and President of the U.S. Senate.

It is the very strength and stability of our system of executive succession that makes assassination so futile, at least in this day when political moderation is the rule and not the exception in American politics. Of course, there will be changes, but the Republic will go on.

That is for the future to bring. Today we mourn the death of the President of all the American people, struck down in the full flower of manhood, his potential unrealized, his ambitions for his people unfulfilled. It is a desolate day that finds words empty to convey the full tragedy that a single warped mind has heaped upon the Nation, and the world.

[From the Bangor Daily News, Nov. 23–24, 1963]

THE NATION MOURNS

At one moment, a man alive, healthy and smiling; a man waving to well-wishers as he rides with his wife in broad daylight along the street of an American city.

The next moment, a man felled by a bullet; inert and dying in his wife's lap as stunned witnesses gasped in disbelief.

Thus did death come yesterday to John Fitzgerald Kennedy at the prime of his life and of his brilliant political career—a good man, a good American, dedicated to serving his country in war and in peace.

There was peace, in Dallas yesterday. Or there seemed to be. Oh yes, the President was in a State where political differences were flaring.

But when were there not political differences, when was a President not caught up in controversy? He might be heckled, the target of a critical wisecrack—but slain, shot down in cold blood in his native, civilized land?

Unbelievable.

But it has to be believed. It happened. Hate brooded in a twisted mind—brooded and planned, and then pulled the trigger of the assassin gun.

And so today, the Nation mourns the loss of a good man, a good American—a man who risked his life in battle but lost it, ironically, in peace. A man slain like another President almost 100 years ago—Abraham Lincoln—a martyr to the causes he championed.

The prayers of the Nation today are for the Kennedy family, especially Mrs. Kennedy, who has lost an infant son and her husband in less than 4 months' time.

[From the Portland (Maine) Sunday Telegram, Nov. 24, 1963]

PRESIDENT'S DEATH IS GRIEF MAGNIFIED

(By Len Cohen)

The death of a President is the shock and sorrow of bereavement magnified. It is not so intense to the average citizen as a death in his own family; but it is a broader kind of shock for it affects the whole country, the whole structure of society that gives people a sense of security in their government and in their nation.

Someone who had visited the White House several times and dined with President and Mrs. Kennedy said Friday, "I can't believe it"—a phrase that undoubtedly was repeated many times that day by those to whom the late President was a warm friend as well as a public personality.

Those who are no longer young remember, still with vividness, the feeling of disbelief, the sense of personal loss that flooded in on millions when Franklin D. Roosevelt died. There was more reason for that feeling then. Roosevelt had been President 12 years and he had become a father image to multitudes of citizens.

I remember, too, the sense of unreality that permeated the statehouse in Augusta only a few years ago when Governor Clinton Clauson died suddenly after only a year in office.

For the newsmen who were covering the statehouse then, there was the same stark quality about the long day when they waited for the new Governor, John H. Reed, to arrive and take the oath—the same, in a smaller way, that those on the scene in Dallas and Washington must have felt on Friday.

Together with the personal shock and the unreality, there was the whole human drama of a shift in power—the shattering of a power structure built up by one group, the falling of the scepter into new hands, eager to grasp it, despite the restraint imposed by grief and respect for the fallen Chief Executive.

And so today, my thoughts are carried back to the day when Governor Clauson's body lay in state in the hall of flags and citizens of Maine, great and small, filed by to publicly express their respect and their grief.

My thoughts go back further to those 2 days of mourning that were observed by the Nation when President Roosevelt died. All the stores in Portland were closed those 2 days; window displays gave way to floral arrangements, from modest wreaths to great basketfuls of flowers.

But if there was grief in the death of Roosevelt, who had worn out heart and brain in the great fights against depression and foreign enemies, there was a tragic loss in the killing of John Kennedy. For he was not the father image. He was the image of youth, of energy, of the young hero who would lead us not only against the foreign enemy but against the enemy within our own country in the form of prejudice and bigotry—in short, the enemy within ourselves.

For Maine people Kennedy held a special place. For he had come to Maine more than any President in modern times. I remember his first visit as a Senator, when he spoke to a Democratic dinner, at the end of a long evening, reading a speech perfunctorily, skipping pages to shorten it, maybe a little irked at the wearying speakers who preceded him.

I remember his coming back, to another party dinner in Augusta, as a candidate for the nomination, this time purposeful, incisive, bold, thoughtful.

He came back again, during the election campaign, radiating the confidence of the man who had won a hard fight for the nomination. He visited again in the summer of 1962, this time for a weekend of relaxation, adding little to the gradually building image of a young man of action tempered by thought. His testing in the crucibles of Oxford, Mississippi, and Cuba was still ahead. He came again, in full vigor, only last month to receive a degree at the University of Maine.

Now he will come no more, to Maine or any other earthly place. And the people mourn him, as they mourned another President who was cut down by an assassin's bullet almost 100 years ago.

We are never prepared for death. We shall always be shocked by the brutality of assassination. And so we move forward unwillingly into the future, like children entering a dark room.

[From the Portland Press Herald, Nov. 25, 1963]

FREEMEN EVERYWHERE MOURNING LEADER OF UNREALIZED POTENTIAL

The Nation is still too close to the shocking tragedy enacted in Dallas on Friday to view very clearly what will happen at Washington, or in the 50 American States, or in the world at large, as the result of John F. Kennedy's murder, and the process that transfers Executive power to Lyndon B. Johnson.

Today everything but the country's heartbeat halts as we bury the martyred President. This is not a fit time to talk about politics, in the narrow meaning applied to partisan strife.

The primary task of any President is to execute the laws and take appropriate measures for national security. As the leader of a political party he is required to be a politician. As the Chief Executive of the United States, he is compelled to be a statesman. The late President John Kennedy excelled as a politician, in contrast with the personality of his predecessor. Whether he was a great statesman is too early to judge. Twenty years from now, or a half century hence, it may be possible, putting events of the 1960–63 period in correct perspective, to say that the man whose life was snuffed out 3 days ago was a great statesman as well. It may be discovered that while he made mistakes, and admitted them, he had an intuition for doing the right thing, based upon the information available at the time.

Unlike those who have no responsibility for the conduct of foreign policy in the interests of national survival, Presidents must take the long view of history, a duty rendered all the more urgent today because we must accommodate ourselves to living with other nations in the nuclear age. The Kennedy policies were built around retention and improvement of an immensely powerful military force, economic and military alliances with other free nations, programs of assistance to emerging countries unsure of their future destiny, and with a close eye to changes of a beneficial kind felt to be taking place in the world's second most powerful nation, the Soviet Union.

To carry out these policies, the late President called to his side exceptionally able men, among them Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Defense Secretary Robert McNamara. And merely to list the broad elements of the American foreign policy he pursued shows how difficult it is to evaluate their worth over a scant 3-year period. Profound changes in world history are not made that quickly, and when one adds to all of this political duties of a President, among them the necessity of dealing every day with an often rebellious Congress, there is a temptation to agree with those who insist that being the Chief Executive of the United States is simply too vast a task for a single person.

Yet there was never any indication that the late President Kennedy felt he could not cope with the burdens of the Presidency. A rich man who loved ordinary people, a fairly uncommon thing in itself, he had a great love for life, he enjoyed the accompaniments of the high office he held, he had an instinct for sensing the feelings of all sorts of minority groups, and he enjoyed playing what Frank Kent once called "The Great Game of Politics."

What kind of a record he might have made, as a politician and statesman, given 8 years in the White House, we shall never know. Yet while we mourn our own loss, his death is a great deprivation for the free world within which he moved, and which he was determined to sustain and preserve and expand against the evil forces that have assailed national sovereignty and individual freedom from time immemorial.

[From the Portland (Maine) Evening Express, Nov. 25, 1963]

POLICEMAN AND PRESIDENT

Two men were carried to their final resting places today, a policeman, and a President.

Each man died in violence, each man died in the course of his duty. They died but a few minutes apart. But for the death of the President the policeman would not have died. But for the death of the policeman the man presumed to be the assassin of the President might not have been apprehended—and he might not have died.

Two women, in stations as vastly different as those of the men they mourned, made their final farewells to their husbands today.

They had nothing in common, these men and these women, but they had everything in common. The men, each in his own way, were keepers of the peace, protectors of the people, symbols of the law and order by which an advanced civilization lives. In those roles the two men lived and in them they died.

And the women, strangers 3 days ago but intimates in grief today, shared the duties of wife, mother, companion. One performed her duty well and the front pages of the world's newspapers noted it. The other, just as equal to her responsibilities, lived in obscurity until the 1 day of tragedy that linked them in the heart of the Nation thrust her unwillingly into the headlines.

So it has been wtih our Nation. To create it, to build it, to preserve it, the meek, and the mighty have stood together and fallen together. And their women have mourned.

The policeman and the President stood and fell together. The widows stand apart but together. Let those women lean on the sympathy of a bereaved Nation. And may their children find proof in their time that their Nation became stronger and better because of the sacrifice of their respective fathers, a policeman and a President.

[From the Lewiston Daily Sun, Nov. 25, 1963]

NATION BOWED IN MOURNING

This day a sad nation, bowed in mourning and prayer, will bury the youngest President it ever had—a President it lost under tragic circumstances.

We will stop our normal daily activities as a solemn requiem Mass is sung for John Fitzgerald Kennedy, 35th President of the United States, in St. Matthew's Roman Catholic Cathedral at Washington, D.C. And we will grieve with his family and friends for the loss all of us feel.

That sense of loss perhaps can be expressed in how a young girl explained President Kennedy's assassination to her small playmates. "They must need 'doers' awful bad in Heaven," he said.

It is fitting, too, that President Kennedy will be buried in Arlington National Cemetery at the wish of his family and probably at the wish of many, many Americans who will visit his grave in the days, and weeks, and years to come. He was one of the Nation's war heroes and he died still in the service of his country—a vigorous fighter for freedom and the dignity of man.

Among the many world leaders, statesmen from foreign lands and officials of our own Government, joining the family of President Kennedy for the state funeral today will be representatives of countries not counted among our allies—even among our friends. These representatives, here to express the formal solicitude of their governments, should be accorded respect and courteous treatment during their stay. They came on a grave and somber mission and we should not let any incident, however trivial, mar their visit.

It already is enough that President Kennedy was struck down by an assassin in a brutal barbarian assault which does not re-

flect the democratic and peaceful processes by which we settle our internal differences. We want the world to know our orderly and kindly ways and not picture us as an unruly ruffian. The face the United States shows to the world was of much concern to our late President.

[From the Lewiston Evening Journal, Nov. 25, 1963]

OUR FINAL PRAYER

On this national day of mourning the thoughts of the American people have been and remain directed upon the tragic, untimely death of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Not only is all America concentrating its attention upon the funeral and burial today of our country's youngest Chief of State, but similar consideration is being given this sad day throughout much of the world.

Chiefs of state from many nations, allied to the United States by a mutual interest in the preservation of human freedom, arrived in Washington all day yesterday. A number of important dignitaries from behind the Iron Curtain also were in attendance today at President Kennedy's funeral.

There is no question but what this young leader won the admiration and respect of Americans generally. Even though there naturally was disagreement on the part of various segments of the populace with some of his views, the vast majority of those who disagreed with John Kennedy couldn't help liking him. He was that kind of man.

This same attitude prevailed among foreign leaders who met him or who knew him indirectly through interpretation given them by their own diplomatic corps. Both allied chiefs of state and those heading up countries generally regarded as cold war foes felt respect for the American President. There is no question but what Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev, for example, admired Kennedy's firmness and determination, even though he naturally would have wished for our country to be headed by a less dedicated man.

Today we mourn our late President. In doing this we should not forget our obligation to give of our best as citizens in support of our new leader, President Lyndon B. Johnson. Such would be the wish of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, who never placed anything ahead of his duty to his country.

Our final prayer today in remembrance of our murdered President would be that all Americans might emerge from this tragedy possessed with the same desire for international peace and domestic tranquility as that which prevailed in the mind and heart of John F. Kennedy.

[From the Bangor Daily News, Nov. 25, 1963]

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS OF THE EARTH

As John Fitzgerald Kennedy is laid to his eternal rest today, sorrowing Americans can find comfort and reassurance in the great outpouring of sympathy that has come from all parts of the world.

The formal diplomatic messages were to have been expected. But there has been much, much more.

France's Charles de Gaulle will attend today's services in Washington to bid final farewell to the man who was leader of the free world as well as President of the United States. Britain will be represented by Prince Philip and Prime Minister Sir Alec Douglas Home. Chancellor Ludwig Erhard of West Germany will be a mourner.

Their presence is a tribute to the late President and to the Nation. But most heartwarming of all has been the spontaneous response of the world's common people.

In West Berlin, 80,000 free world men and women marched in a solemn torchlight parade, demonstrating their grief over the loss of the young and vigorous free world leader. Candles were burned in the windows of Berlin homes.

The commander of the Japanese naval craft that sunk Kennedy's PT boat in World War II—and thus very nearly taking Kennedy's life at that time—sent condolences to the Kennedy family. The camel driver friend of President Lyndon B. Johnson sent his personal message of sympathy from Pakistan. A Russian woman—a private citizen—brought an armful of roses to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

And so it went after the news of the late President's assassination was flashed to the far corners of the earth. The plain and good people of the world were shocked and grieved.

More than that, their words signified encouragement to the Nation that has the task of leading the struggle for freedom and justice for all men everywhere. They were speaking from their hearts. They were expressing gratitude for what this Nation has done for them. And they were rallying behind the cause which John Fitzgerald Kennedy symbolized as the President of the United States.

Today's sorrow must be borne. Life must go on. The struggle must go on. The burden is made lighter by the outpouring of sympathy that has streamed into the Nation's Capital from the plain, good people of the world. They have faith in America. This strengthens the faith of Americans in themselves.

And so now to the sad task of saying farewell to John Fitzgerald Kennedy—whose dedicated service to his country was cut short by an assassin's bullet.

[From the Lewiston Daily Sun, Nov. 26, 1963]

HEAVY BURDEN CHANGES HANDS

Many an eye shed a tear in sorrow Monday as the United States buried its 35th President and Mrs. John F. Kennedy laid to eternal rest her husband and the father of her two children.

Leaders from many parts of the world came to pay their respects and, in tribute, walked behind his casket the long half mile from the White House to the church—walked through crowds of onlookers in a display to the world of the kind of freedom that this country really possesses. Some would not have dared to appear so openly in their own lands.

Among the leaders of our Nation was one with a new job—President Lyndon B. Johnson, already burdened by the heavy responsibilities of his office. But it must have been apparent to those representatives from other countries that the United States was not without leadership; that another hand was at the helm of state even as one loosened its grip.

That this was so is due to the foresight of our Nation's founders who established the Vice Presidency—some with misgivings about its usefulness—for just such a dire contingency as did occur last Friday.

Within hours of President Kennedy's death, his office was assumed by the Vice President, and that was as it should be and as our forefathers planned it. No nation can long drift on the world's troubled waters and those waters were turbulent even then.

So on Monday the 36th President of the United States walked in the solemn funeral procession for the 35th President of the United States—probably acutely aware that he must now take up the immediate unfinished chores and plot our course for the future, aware that sorrow must be put aside for the good of a nation.

[From the Lewiston Evening Journal, Nov. 26, 1963]

A PORTRAIT OF COURAGE

There have been those who have criticized our former First Lady, Jacqueline Kennedy, as too young, too frequently pictured water skiing, and too much inclined toward high fashion. American First Ladies can expect this kind of criticism. If they happen to dress conservatively the criticism will go along another direction, including references to dowdy and uninteresting.

These past few days Jacqueline Kennedy has proved herself eminently worthy as First Lady. She has displayed the sort of courage that may be found in few people. Throughout these days from the moment she witnessed the assassination of her husband in the car with her, this tremendously brave young wife and mother has held her head high and carried through a multitude of obligations which do not confront the average woman following the death of a husband.

Nowhere along the way did Jacqueline Kennedy falter. It was she who told her two children that their father was dead. It was she who trudged the sad half mile from the White House to the cathedral where the pontifical mass was said. It was she who stood in the rotunda of the Capitol and listened to the moving words of Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana. It was she who returned to the rotunda unannounced to be near the casket holding the body of her husband once more. It was she who stayed the night with her husband's body at Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland.

Today we would salute as brave an American woman as any who have been written about in history. Jacqueline Kennedy was First Lady in the noblest sense these last, sad, few days. The heart of America has gone out to her, but it was clear she had within herself those firm, sustaining foundations which ever are found in people of great character.

[From the Bangor Daily News, Nov. 26, 1963]

A TIME FOR FAITH AND ALLEGIANCE

The Nation's elected leader—John Fitzgerald Kennedy—has fallen, victim of a madman's bullet. Yesterday, he was given a hero's burial in Arlington National Cemetery. Today, America moves forward under a new President—Lyndon B. Johnson.

The Nation must move forward without faltering. And it will.

Even as the shocked American populace was mourning the death of the late President Kennedy, it was rallying behind Johnson who, as Vice President, had quickly taken up the reins of Government.

Really, the people were rallying behind more than a man. They were rallying behind the Nation and what the Nation stands for—freedom and justice.

The new Chief Executive, fortunately, is a man of proven ability—and by far better fitted through experience to step into the White House than any Vice President before him who found himself in a similar position. Johnson had a long and distinguished career in Congress. As Vice President, he has had important roles in decision and policymaking. The late President entrusted him also with important assignments in foreign lands.

Still, there is no job quite like the Presidency. The President necessarily is leader of the free world as well as of the Nation. It is a lonely job and one of awesome burdens. The President is called upon time and again in this period of world turmoil to make momentous decisions and to assume full responsibility for them.

He is going to be sorely tested in the weeks ahead. The Communist world especially is going to set out to find what manner of man he is. And, of course, there are vital issues and problems at home.

And so, in this period of transition, he is going to need the moral support of the

American people. We are sure he can count upon it from the vast majority.

It is a time for faith to be reborn and allegiance to be roused and sustained. The struggle against communism must be carried on all over the world. At home, hate and violence must be purged from the Nation's life.

Today, it is essential that the Nation be united and move forward toward its worthy goals. We are confident it will.

[From the Daily Kennebec Journal, Nov. 26, 1963]

WHAT CAN I DO?

The words just won't come.

There's the awareness that words aren't going to do much good, anyway.

This is being written on Monday, the day of President Kennedy's funeral, when one would prefer to be writing nothing.

Augusta, like communities large and small wherever the American flag flies, is a city in mourning.

The erpression, "with a heavy heart," has a literal, physical meaning, one knows now.

So much has happened—so much that is so terribly wrong—since last Friday noon in Dallas. Yet this country must learn quickly to live with its grief. John F. Kennedy certainly wouldn't have wanted us all to sit around with long faces, leaving America's work undone.

Let's think of it that way, and roll up our sleeves and get on with the job, then—the job each of us has to do: Keeping the national economy ticking, doing our part in support of the national defense, striving toward better citizenship and, in consequence, better government at every level, for our country.

When he said it, in his 1960 inaugural address, it sounded a little melodramatic—to his critics, at least. But those words of President Kennedy have taken on new meaning now:

"Ask not what your country can do for you. Ask what you can do for your country."

All right. Let's ask—every individual one of us: "What can I do for my country?" And find an answer. And work at it.

If all will do that, there will be literally no limit to the greatness America can achieve.

John F. Kennedy gave his life for this America of ours. Keeping that in mind, let anyone ask, every day from now on: "What can I do for my country?"

[From the Bangor Daily News, Nov. 28, 1963]

THE LATE PRESIDENT'S WISH

This Thanksgiving Day will be a sorrowful one for America. The late President John F. Kennedy, who prepared a proclamation on the occasion of this traditional American observance, is dead, and the Nation is mourning its loss.

Yet, John F. Kennedy noted in his proclamation that America had much to be thankful for. And this still holds true even in a time of national tragedy. Here, using the late President's own proclamation words, are reasons why all Americans should join in thanksgiving today:

Going back to the early colonists, noted the late President, "they gave reverent thanks for their safety, for the health of their children, for the fertility of their fields, for the laws which bound them together and for the faith which united them under God * * *.

"Today, we give our thanks, most of all, for the ideals of honor and faith we inherit from our forefathers—for the decency of purpose, steadfastness of resolve and strength of will, for the courage and humility, which we must seek every day to emulate. As we express our gratitude, we must never forget that the highest appreciation is not to utter words but to live by them * * *.

"Let us gather in sanctuaries dedicated to worship and in homes blessed by family affection to express our gratitude for the glorious gifts of God; and let us earnestly and humbly pray that He will continue to guide and sustain us in the great unfinished tasks of achieving peace, justice and understanding among all men and all nations and of ending misery and suffering wherever they exist."

Let these words from the dead guide today's observances. Man is mortal, but not his principles. Let there be prayer and thanksgiving, though sorrow still hovers over the Nation.

A BRAVE AND GRACIOUS LADY

In the aftermath of John F. Kennedy's assassination, the world has been given a new and splendid insight into the character of the Nation's and President's "First Lady"—Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy. She resolutely controlled her own profound grief and faced up to the public role which necessarily befell her. She performed the role magnificently.

The Nation first came to know Mrs. Kennedy as "Jackie"—a beautiful young woman born to wealth and elegance. She loved to ride horses, to promote the arts, to travel and to enjoy gay parties. This, in the main, was the way the Nation thought of her.

But she's "Jackie" no more. This happy phase of her life was wiped out in a terrible twinkling of time on a fateful sunlit day in Dallas. One moment a happy married woman, the first lady of a great nation; the next a young widow and a former first lady—her beloved husband of only 10 years cruelly taken from her by the assassin's gun.

Under the circumstances, she might well have crumpled, and the Nation would have understood. But duty lay before her—duty to the memory of her husband, to the Nation and to her children, Caroline and John. She did not falter. Instead, she drew upon what must have been a vast amount of spiritual strength and met the ordealing days head on.

The President had been dead less than 2 hours when she stood beside Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson as he took the oath of office which made him her husband's successor. She added several thoughtful touches to the funeral arrangements, including the inviting of John F. Kennedy's Irish kin to the rites. And there was her unannounced visitation to the President's casket as it was being viewed by the public in the Capitol rotunda. There was the silent midnight visit to her husband's grave on Monday night where the eternal flame was burning. The flame, too, was her idea.

Throughout the 4 painful days, Mrs. Kennedy was a picture of grief, but of composed grief; a grief she sought to shield from her children and from the watching world. The children were too young to comprehend, yet at times they seemed to have a sense of the tragedy and when they did she was quick to console them.

Mrs. Kenndey won the heart of a heartsick world in her last role as First Lady. If her dead husband could speak, we think he might say to her with pride, borrowing a term from his naval days: "Well done."

[From the Maine Campus, Dec. 5, 1963]

HE LIVED SO MUCH

"There was a sound of laughter; in a moment it was no more. And so, she took a ring from her finger and placed it in his hand * * * and kissed him and closed the lid to his coffin." The words of U.S. Senator MIKE MANSFIELD will long be remembered by the millions of Americans who witnessed the tragic death of a beloved leader, a brilliant statesman, a humorous wit, a sincere man, a loving father, a giving husband who wanted that there be no room in our hearts for hatred and arrogance.

A stunned campus received the news of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy on that Friday afternoon 2 weeks ago with shock and disbelief. One young man, reluctant to turn away from a television set late that Sunday evening, said, "People find it hard to believe that he is really dead because he lived so much." It is true that he lived a lot. He lived in our hearts and it is there that we hope his spirit will continue to live.

The dazed University of Maine mourned and mourns with the rest of the world at our great loss. As so many others in the world, we feel that we have lost a true friend. The perfect American, President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, only a little over a month ago became an alumnus of the university when he addressed the people of Maine here.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy gave of himself, "above and beyond the call of duty" to his country; he made an indelible mark of progress in the quest for world peace; he achieved the supreme position of leadership in a modern, dynamic, powerful country. We, who considered ourselves friends of the late President, will never forget his energetic youthfulness, his brilliance of perception, his unfaltering memory, his commanding personality, and his high standards for himself and his country.

We extend our deepest sympathy to Jacqueline Kennedy and to the family of our late President.

[From the Maine Campus, Dec. 5, 1963]

UNIVERSITY OF MAINE,
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
Orono, Maine, November 22, 1963.

The news of President Kennedy's assassination comes as an incomprehensible shock to the university community. Only a month ago we were honored by his presence at a special convocation on our annual Homecoming Day.

Let us learn, however, from this shattering lesson that hatred can gain control of the human mind and override justice and truth. We are prone to make heroes or villains of our public figures in such a way as to cause some citizens to lose sight of their humanity as individuals. Our civilization must take cognizance of the creation of circumstances which have led to such a terrible event as that of the death of the President of the United States and muster all the forces of reason and judgment so that such an event cannot possibly happen again.

LLOYD H. ELLIOTT,
President.

[From the Bates News, December 1963]

TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY

Brought to an untimely and sudden end by an assassin's bullet in Dallas, Tex., November 22—always to be remembered by this and future generations as a day of infamy and agonizing grief, but also as a day of rededication, by all Americans, to the ideals and principles which inspired and guided our late leader in his relentless struggle for unity and peace for mankind here and throughout the world. Few nations down through the centuries have had the privilege and honor of vesting their responsibilities of high government office in a man equal to his brilliance, courage, loyalty, and compassion. It is most fitting that the world measures him as a statesman of great stature. Truly, if a man is to be inspired and influenced in his pursuit of a better and constructive way of life, he has but to follow the life and deeds of President John Fitz-

gerald Kennedy. For they provide the undimming beacon lights for that ultimate goal. History shall surely record that society was bettered by his many endeavors in private and public life.

TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY BY THE CUMBERLAND COUNTY WOMEN'S DEMOCRATIC CLUB, DECEMBER 9, 1963

To be thankful for the time he spent with us,
rather than to be sorrowful for his death;
To go on with the work that he began,
rather than to stand mutely stricken,
because he can't finish it himself;
To keep his qualities of character and
personality alive within ourselves,
Rather than to let them be buried in a grave
in Arlington;
Let this be our tribute to John Fitzgerald
Kennedy.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, it is difficult to speak of John F. Kennedy. One must be careful not to give undue significance to associations and experiences in the Senate, or elsewhere, happy as they are in our memories.

The outpouring of grief and concern which attended his death does furnish insights into the regard with which he was held by the people of our country and the world.

There is shock, of course, because of the tragic circumstances of his death. We can believe also that concern is caused in part by recognition of the importance of the office of the Presidency. And we can say humbly that it reflects the importance of our country to countries and peoples throughout the world.

But at last we know that the sense of loss and concern is personal. It comes from the knowledge that President Kennedy set high goals for our country—goals, though they have not always been realized, which have given hope throughout our history to the people of the world—equality of citizenship, the provision of opportunity for all our people, and compassion for the least fortunate among us.

He had a calmness about the problems of the world. He knew they could not be settled by some swift, clear stroke; and his calmness gave assurance to our people and to the other peoples of the world.

He had the courage to set in motion measures to cut through the cold war, to seek solutions of its issues, and to move toward peace.

The standards he set for our country were noble. They expressed more truly than our wealth and power the essence, the majesty, and the promise of our Republic, those goals which another martyred President said were the last best hope of man.

In time, because of his work, we shall come nearer to realization, and that, I believe, will be his best memorial.

He was an idealist and a realist, a man of reason and a man of heart, a man of courage and a man of peace.

We shall remember him as President. We shall remember always his tolerance, his essential fairness, his courtesy, his humor, the happy qualities of youth, and something about him which endeared him to us and made us love him.

I think John Mansfield's tribute is appropriate:

All generous hearts lament the leader killed,
The young Chief with the smiling, radiant
face,
The winning way that turned a wondrous
race,
Into sublimer pathways, leading on.
Grant to us life that though the man be
gone
The promise of his spirit be fulfilled.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a newsletter written by my wife, Mrs. John Sherman Cooper, on the late President John F. Kennedy, which was published in many Kentucky newspapers.

There being no objection, the newsletter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LETTER FROM MRS. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

NOVEMBER 25, 1963.

I have just come from the President's funeral. The house seems very still after the cathedral crowded with the mighty of the nations, followed by the long, slow procession past the Lincoln Memorial over the bridge to Arlington Cemetery. The afternoon was so bright and fair that the thousands of baskets of flowers, which had been sent regardless of the family's wishes, belied the autumn leaves and gave the impression of springtime. John and I mourned not only for our President but also for our friend. He was your friend too. Because it is so easy to forget, I am going to mention some of the things he did for Kentucky.

On January 21, 1961, Senator COOPER, Republican, of Kentucky, said on the Senate floor:

"I am glad that President Kennedy in his first Executive order acted to improve the amounts, variety, and nutritional quality of food distributed to needy families. For 3 years, I have urged this action by the Department of Agriculture. * * * I think it humane and appropriate that the first act of the new President was to help the neediest people of the Nation."

Also, in the beginning of 1961 he requested TVA to locate a steam plant in Knox and Bell Counties, on the Cumberland River, to stimulate the economy of southeastern Kentucky. TVA, however, had made a prior decision to locate the plant in Tennessee, but the President wanted it for Kentucky. This year, after the floods in eastern Kentucky, John and I went to visit the disaster area. After having see the terrible devastation, John went to the President, who, at his request, gave increases in funds for flood protection for eastern Kentucky. As you know, one of President Kennedy's last official acts was on November 13, when he said:

"I have today met with Gov. Bert Combs, of Kentucky, and members of the Kentucky congressional delegation to discuss a crash program designed to bring special attention to the especially hard-hit area of eastern Kentucky—the most severely distressed area in the Nation."

There have been many times in the last 3 years that I have asked the President or Mrs. Kennedy to give our State special consideration. I am sure that the thousands who heard the Lexington Youth Symphony or saw the Berea dancers perform on the White House lawn will never forget the honor it gave our State—an honor which every other State in the Union is trying to attain and which was made possible because I asked Mrs. Kennedy to bring it to her husband's attention. It would be impossible to mention the endless special White House tours and other marks of friendship and consideration. In fact, I have never had "No" for an answer in courtesies for Kentuckians. Although we belong to different political parties, John Kennedy was not partisan in friendship. Even when he came to Kentucky during a recent senatorial campaign he had good things to say about my husband, both at the airport and at the dinner in Louisville, which is most unusual in the heat of a campaign. I wish all of you had known him. This poem by Molly Kazan was printed in the New York Herald Tribune, gives you another glimpse of him.

"I think that what he gave us most was
pride.
It felt good to have a President like that:
Bright, brave and funny and good looking.
I saw him once drive down East Seventy-
second Street
In an open car, in the autumn sun
(As he drove yesterday in Dallas).
His thatch of brown hair looked as though
it had grown extra thick
The way our wood animals in Connecticut
Grow extra fur for winter.
And he looked as though it was fun to be
alive,
To be a politician,
To be President,
To be a Kennedy,
To be a man.
He revived our pride,
It felt good to have a President
Who read his mail,
Who read the papers,
Who read books and played touch football.
It was a pleasure and a cause for pride
To watch him take the quizzing of the press
With cameras grinding—
To take it in his stride,
With zest.
We were privileged to see him on the worst
day (till yesterday),
The Bay of Pigs day,
And we marveled at his coolth and style
And were amazed at an air (that plainly
was habitual) of modesty
And even diffidence.
It felt good to have a President
Who said, It was my fault.
And went on from there.
What was spoken
Was spoken well.
What was unspoken
Needed to be unspoken.
It was none of our business if his back
hurt.
He revived our pride.
He gave grist to our pride.
He was respectful of intellect;
He was respectful of excellence;
He was respectful of accomplishment and
skill;
He was respectful of the clear and subtle
use of our language.
And all these things he cultivated in himself.
He was respectful of our heritage.
He is now part of it."

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, I join my colleagues in the Senate today in paying tribute to a most distinguished former Member of this body, the late President John F. Kennedy.

There is little I could add to the millions of words of well-deserved tribute to this great young President of the United States who literally gave his life for his country. President Kennedy was the youngest man to ever assume the Presidency of the United States. He brought to this most important office, and all of the world, great intelligence, vision, and indomitable courage. More than any other President of the United States he

represented the hopes, dreams, and aspirations of the young people of this Nation.

His tremendous popularity here in the United States and all over the world is a great tribute to many causes he espoused and especially his efforts toward peace in the world. His hopes, dreams, and aspirations for a better world will live on. He left a spot in the hearts of untold millions of people that can never be filled by anyone else.

I will always cherish the memory of the warm personal friendship I enjoyed with him all during his service here in the U.S. Senate and as President of the United States. He was an exceptionally likeable person, and a friend one always felt had a real interest in him. Not the least among the fine qualities that endeared him to so many was his superb Irish wit and humor.

Mr. President, of the millions of beautiful and appropriate words written about the late President Kennedy and his wonderful wife, Jacqueline, the article written by Mr. Theodore H. White entitled "For President Kennedy: An Epilog—For One Brief Shining Moment, Camelot," seems to me to stand out above all others.

It reads as follows:

FOR PRESIDENT KENNEDY AN EPILOG—FOR ONE BRIEF SHINING MOMENT, CAMELOT

(By Theodore H. White)

HYANNIS PORT.—She remembers how hot the sun was in Dallas, and the crowds—greater and wilder than the crowds in Mexico or in Vienna. The sun was blinding, streaming down; yet she could not put on sunglasses for she had to wave to the crowd.

And up ahead she remembers seeing a tunnel around a turn and thinking that there would be a moment of coolness under the tunnel. There was the sound of the motorcycles, as always in a parade, and the occasional backfire of a motorcycle. The sound of the shot came, at that moment, like the sound of a backfire and she remembers Connally saying, "No, no, no, no, no."

She remembers the roses. Three times that day in Texas they had been greeted with the bouquets of yellow roses of Texas. Only, in Dallas they had given her red roses. She remembers thinking, how funny—red roses for me; and then the car was full of blood and red roses.

Much later, accompanying the body from the Dallas hospital to the airport, she was alone with Clint Hill—the first Secret Service man to come to their rescue—and with Dr. Burkley, the White House physician. Burkley gave her two roses that had slipped under the President's shirt when he fell, his head in her lap.

All through the night they tried to separate him from her, to sedate her, and take care of her—and she would not let them. She wanted to be with him. She remembered that Jack had said of his father, when his father suffered the stroke, that he could not live like that. Don't let that happen to me, he had said, when I have to go.

Now in her hand she was holding a gold St. Christoper's medal. She had given him a St. Christoper's medal when they were married; but when Patrick died this summer, they had wanted to put something in the coffin with Patrick that was from them both; and so he had put in the St. Christopher's medal.

Then he had asked her to give him a new one to mark their 10th wedding anniversary, a month after Patricks' death.

He was carrying it when he died and she had found it. But it belonged to him—so she could not put that in the coffin with him. She wanted to give him something that was hers, something that she loved. So she had slipped off her wedding ring and put it on his finger. When she came out of the room in the hospital in Dallas, she asked: "Do you think it was right? Now I have nothing left." And Kenny O'Donnell said, "You leave it where it is."

That was at 1:30 p.m. in Texas.

But then, at Bethesda Hospital in Maryland, at 3 a.m. the next morning, Kenny slipped into the chamber where the body lay and brought her back the ring, which, as she talked now, she twisted.

On her little finger was the other ring: a slim, gold circlet with green emerald chips—the one he had given her in memory of Patrick.

There was a thought, too, that was always with her.

"When Jack quoted something, it was usually classical," she said, "but I'm so ashamed of myself—all I keep thinking of is this line from a musical comedy.

"At night, before we'd go to sleep, Jack liked to play some records; and the song he loved most came at the very end of this record. The lines he loved to hear were: Don't let it be forgot, that once there was a spot, for one brief shining moment that was known as Camelot."

She wanted to make sure that the point came clear and went on: "There'll be great Presidents again—and the Johnsons are wonderful, they've been wonderful to me—but there'll never be another Camelot again.

"Once, the more I read of history the more bitter I got. For a while I thought history was something that bitter old men wrote. But then I realized history made Jack what he was. You must think of him as this little boy, sick so much of the time, reading in bed, reading history, reading the Knights of the Round Table, reading Marlborough. For Jack, history was full of heroes. And if it made him this way—if it made him see the heroes—maybe other little boys will see. Men are such a combination of good and bad. Jack had this hero idea of history, the idealistic view."

But she came back to the idea that transfixed her: "Don't let it be forgot, that once there was a spot, for one brief shining moment that was known as Camelot—and it will never be that way again."

As for herself? She was horrified by the stories that she might live abroad. "I'm never going to live in Europe. I'm not going to 'travel extensively abroad.' That's a desecration. I'm going to live in the places I lived with Jack. In Georgetown, and with the Kennedys at the cape. They're my family. I'm going to bring up my children. I want John to grow up to be a good boy."

As for the President's memorial, at first she remembered that in every speech in their last days in Texas, he had spoken of how in December this Nation would loft the largest rocket booster yet into the sky, making us first in space. So she had wanted something of his there when it went up—perhaps only his initials painted on a tiny corner of the great Saturn, where no one need even notice it. But now Americans will seek the moon from "Cape Kennedy." The new name, born of her frail hope, came as a surprise.

The only thing she knew she must have for him was the eternal flame over his grave at Arlington.

"Whenever you drive across the bridge from Washington into Virginia," she said, "you see the Lee mansion on the side of the hill in the distance. When Caroline was very little, the mansion was one of the first things she learned to recognize. Now, at night you can see his flame beneath the mansion for miles away."

She said it is time people paid attention to the new President and the new First Lady. But she does not want them to forget John F. Kennedy or read of him only in dusty or bitter histories:

For one brief shining moment there was Camelot.

I join all other Americans in extending to Mrs. Kennedy and all of the family our deepest sympathy in their great sorrow.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, it is with great sadness and deep personal grief that I join in memorializing our former colleague and the 35th President of the United States, John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Our sorrow is heightened by the tragic circumstances under which he was so suddenly summonsed to his eternal reward.

The horrible and cowardly act of November 22 shocked and stunned the peoples of the entire globe—both those of the free world and of the Communist sphere as well. That such an act of sudden violence and iniquitous villainy could happen in the most civilized country in the world was scarcely believable, and the United States and all humanity have suffered incalculable loss by reason of this heinous crime having been committed in our generation.

The fact that John F. Kennedy had so much to live for makes his loss even harder to bear. He looked forward to long years of rewarding and fruitful service to his country, and the American people confidently expected many more contributions to the cause of peace and freedom from this young, vigorous, and dedicated leader. To have these expectations shattered and wrenched from us so suddenly leaves us with a painful emptiness and grief.

In the past 19 days, literally millions of words of sorrow and condolence have been penned and spoken in memory of our late President, but no words are adequate to depict the depth and breadth of the tremendous void which his death has left. We, together with all civilized people everywhere, shall long mourn the loss of our great leader—a leader who championed the cause of peace, freedom, and justice for all mankind.

For 8 years, John F. Kennedy served the people of the State of Massachusetts and of the entire United States in this Chamber. During those years we all came to know him well as a hard working and driving Senator, whose full time and attention was devoted to his duties and to the welfare of all Americans everywhere. For 3 of those years, he served with me on the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field, a committee on which his brother Robert, now the Attorney General, served with marked distinction and ability as chief counsel.

Day after day that committee met for long arduous hours in meetings which necessitated equally lengthy and difficult preparation. Through it all, John F. Kennedy was dedicated and thorough—facing with courage and conviction the many challenges confronting the committee. His statesmanlike conduct, both on that committee and on the floor of the Senate, won for him the admiration of his colleagues and the good will and support of the people of the United States.

While paying tribute to our late President, we might also pause to thank him for his astuteness in selecting Lyndon B. Johnson as his running mate. He selected a man who vigorously opposed him in his efforts to obtain the nomination of his party, but in doing so, he provided the United States with a strong and capable successor.

As a longtime friend, both of the former President and of his family, I extend to Mrs. Kennedy, his children and his bereaved parents my heartfelt sympathy in this dark hour of national sorrow. Mrs. McClellan joins with me in paying homage to the greatness of our former President and in the expression of deepest sadness at his loss.

At this moment I can think of no more fitting words of tribute than those of the American poet, Edwin Markham, who said:

He held his place—
Held the long purpose like a growing tree—
Held on through blame and faltered not at praise.
And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down
As when a lordly cedar, green with boughs,
Goes down with a great shout upon the hills,
And leaves a lonesome place against the sky.
"LINCOLN, THE MAN OF THE PEOPLE."

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, I join my colleagues in mourning the tragic death of our late President, John F. Kennedy.

No single event in my lifetime has more profoundly shaken and stunned the people of this country and the world than has this senseless and dastardly assassination. People everywhere join with the wife and family in universally sharing the burden of grief and sorrow.

For those of us who have so long known and worked with Jack Kennedy there is a deeper and keener sense of personal loss. It seems that only yesterday he was sitting here with us. No man was ever more generally liked and respected in the Halls of Congress than was he. He was possessed with those sterling traits of character most admired by all—intelligence, courage, energy, compassion, determination, and dedication.

His life has been the realization of the American dream in its noblest and highest sense. A worthy man who openly aspired to achieve the highest office in our Republic, he accomplished the dream through that character of personal drive, initiative, and industry that has been unsurpassed in the modern history of this great Nation.

It is one of the ironies of fate that the author of "Profiles in Courage" should himself end as a shining example of one who gave the ultimate to his own country—his life.

Jack Kennedy was the rare combination of both a scholar and a man of action. The style, pristine clarity, and force of his public utterances will forever form a part of the great literature of this century. President Kennedy was one of the world's leading statesmen. He possessed a keen, analytical mind. He was honest and conscientious. This, coupled with an attractive personality, made him an outstanding man in every sense of the word.

Many of us were sometimes in disagreement with some of his programs and aims. But disagreements did not blind us to the fact that he was motivated by ideals and convictions which left no doubt in his mind that the courses of action that he pursued were for the best interest of the people. Differences of basic public issues are fundamental in the warp and woof of a democratic form of government, and without them the Republic itself cannot long survive.

Death under any circumstances is a saddening human experience. But when a young man is struck down by violence in the prime of life it becomes doubly poignant, and when that young man holds the highest office in the world's most powerful country it constitutes a national and worldwide catastrophe of the greatest magnitude. The events that have transpired since the fatal moment on Friday afternoon, November 22, have again demonstrated the awesome majesty and dignity involved in maintaining the continuity of government in these United States. The beloved wife of the deceased President played a brave and courageous role in this solemn and heart-rending drama.

If good is to come out of such great evil, it is incumbent upon all of us to rededicate ourselves to the immortal principles of liberty, justice, and freedom upon which this Republic was founded.

Again, on behalf of myself and all the people of the State of Mississippi, I extend to Mrs. Kennedy and all of the family the deepest and most sincere sympathy in this time of sorrow.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. President, the date of November 22, 1963, on our calendar has been circled in black forever by the pencil of fate.

We will never forget that on that day our courageous President, John F. Kennedy, gave his life in the service of his country.

My sympathy goes out to his family, to his friends, to his fellow Americans, and to his brothers of the world.

To all, I can say I am convinced that his death was not in vain.

I doubt that any member of the Senate has seen evidence of any single act of providence that has had such a profound effect on Americans as the assassination of President Kennedy.

War in all its terrible ugliness many times has struck us with concern for our lives and property.

Depression has struck us with fear for our economic future.

Disease has struck us with apprehension for those we cherish.

John F. Kennedy's assassination has struck us with interest in an ailing American spirit.

The reflection on what happened in Dallas, Tex., has been healing.

Let us hope the cure will be permanent, for the cost of the treatment was so high that we must never pay it again.

I did not have the opportunity to serve with John F. Kennedy in the House of Representatives or in this body, as many of my colleagues did.

I did have the honor of seconding his nomination for the Presidency, and I value that act.

I marveled at his grace, his dignity, his wit.

I trusted his words.

His deeds projected the devotion of a man endowed with rare understanding—of himself, of his family, of his Nation, of his world, which is a better place because of him.

The silence his passing leaves is more deafening than all the applause his presence brought.

I saw a letter printed in one of our Oklahoma newspapers. A woman told of moving to Oklahoma from another State. Her 5-year-old son came to her and asked, "Is President Kennedy President of Oklahoma, too?"

"Oh, yes," the mother replied.

"Good," sighed the boy. "I would miss President Kennedy."

Indeed, I miss him, too.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, it is a sad occasion for anyone when he rises to eulogize a departed friend, but when it deals with one so young and one with so much unfinished in their life such as our late President John F. Kennedy, then the occasion takes on a sadness of double proportions.

I doubt if any leader in our Nation's history had begun so much and envisioned such greatness for his Nation and was then abruptly departed from the Nation's life. In one fleeting second an irresponsible maniac murdered John F. Kennedy and robbed our Nation of its youngest President in history. However terrible as this tragedy has been for our Nation as a whole, no grief could possibly surpass that of his widow, his mother, and father, and that of his two children; for John F. Kennedy was not only a brilliant young man and an extremely efficient President, but he was also a husband, a son, and a father who exemplified the family unit.

He managed to accomplish all of his official acts and duties and still be husband, father, and son in a tender and homey sort of way. He was a great example setter and many Americans patterned some part of their life after the examples set by our late President and sometimes the members of his family.

His call for physical fitness probably affected in a real, personal way more American lives than anything. His examples of showing interest in music, writing, reading, painting, and other arts kindled little fires of the finer things of life in the hearts and minds of all of his countrymen. He and his lovely wife taught many Americans the art of appreciation and in a sense created the atmosphere for a renaissance of the arts. These things represented one side of the man who the American press had nicknamed in a professional manner as "J.F.K."

Somehow, though, it seems most unfitting to apply an initial or a nickname to the late President any more as we look at him with hindsight. It seems rather clumsy or misfitting to say in a news story now that "J.F.K." visited the Art Gallery to see Leonardo da Vinci's Mona Lisa, or that "Mrs. J.F.K." listened last night to Pablo Casals. Certainly the millions of Americans who have visited the White House and seen the priceless treasures collected by President Kennedy and his widow realize that this

was no ordinary President or an ordinary couple whom they had elected to lead this Nation and indeed the free world. He was "Mr. President" in the greatest tradition.

These fine things which the late President appreciated so much and which he wanted his compatriots to appreciate was but a reflection of one part of this unique man. He was a courageous man; he fought without fear of consequences for what he felt was right. He was wise enough to temper courage with restraint, as was exemplified in his actions and leadership during the Cuban crises. A wrong move could have set off a nuclear holocaust for the world or could have lost our Nation's position in world leadership.

In domestic affairs this courage was shown in his stand for legislative matters in which he believed, such as medical care for the aged and civil rights. Personally, I agreed with him on the medicare issue, as in many issues, and I disagreed with him on civil rights. However, never did a difference of opinion with anyone ever deter John F. Kennedy from seeking his goal or from respecting the opposing view which confronted him. He was a politician in the finest sense of the word and maintained his principles and integrity throughout all of his dealings.

It is terrible to realize that this man is no longer with us simply because some misguided individual took it upon himself to eliminate him from society.

Our official 30-day period of mourning for President Kennedy ends on December 22, but I do not believe the American people and the American Republic will ever cease to mourn his passing or fail to remember his charm, his wit, his tremendous ability to converse intelligently on practically any subject, and the great sense of responsibility which he drove home to all of us.

If we in our own lives and in our own efforts try to carry on these things, not the political or social efforts on which all of us may never completely agree, but the basic principles by which he lived, then we will do much to carry into the future these eternal flames for our Nation.

Mrs. Johnston joins me in extending to Mrs. Kennedy, the children, and others of the immediate family our heartfelt sympathy on their great loss.

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, all of us are trying to find ways to express our devotion and admiration for John Fitzgerald Kennedy. I turn to a wonderful sermon given by my own minister at the First Unitarian Church of Washington almost 20 years ago.

The late A. Powell Davies would have found John F. Kennedy an exemplary President for himself personally and for the ideals he expressed. As my tribute to our late President I would like to quote from that sermon entitled "Christmas Always Begins at Midnight":

CHRISTMAS ALWAYS BEGINS AT MIDNIGHT

(By A. Powell Davies)

LIGHT IN THE DARKEST HOUR

It is interesting to notice that in legend upon legend, and story after story, Christmas always begins, not with daybreak and the coming of the morning—but at midnight. It was at midnight that the primitive observances began—or as near it as their reckoning could bring them. It was in the darkest hour of the night—not in the glow of morning—that the shepherds of the legend heard the angels sing. And of course, the three wise men were guided, not by the sun, but by a star.

It kindles a light, and no matter how little a light it is, the darkness cannot put it out. It says, "Be not afraid, the good and the true are stronger than anything that stands against them, and sooner or later, will prevail." If you doubt it, look backward and trace the path by which we have come; and look around you: in spite of everything, we are still on our way. The darkness is vast, truly, but across it there is a path of light—a path of moving light.

It tells a story—a thousand stories gathered up now into the Christmas story. Of an empire that was disdainful and arrogant. Of the privileged and mighty who had sold their souls for the tinsel of a moment's pomp. Of priests and temples where God was a commodity and truth a joke grown stale. They did not see that the very ground beneath their feet was slipping; so much of it was moving, and so fast. It was like the turning of the earth—unnoticed. They saw only what they looked for; things they could measure in the scales of power, and with the reckoning of gain and loss.

But there was something that humbler people could have told them; both of the old that was dying, and of the new that was newly born. For something had sung it at midnight. Something had shone in the darkest hour. A dream had been told and the hearts of men were kindling. Gentleness and brotherhood were waiting for the morning, and already in the nighttime were up on their way.

HOPE IS ETERNAL

Brotherhood—we betray it, but we cannot forsake it. Love—we disown it, but we cannot renounce it. And the dream?—even in the hour of treason, it reclaims us. For we know that sometime there shall be a world in which man's inhumanity to man is ended. A world of gladness from which all cruelty is gone, in which the joy of each is the joy of everyone, the sorrow of each the sorrow of all. There shall be such a world because there is a song that sings it at midnight, and because in the darkest hour, there comes a light to those who sit in the darkness, and new hope to those who, in the wilderness, must walk beneath the shadow of death.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the world has suddenly lost America's leader: a man of youth and vitality and strength; of a happy mixture of idealism and practicality; of charm, of wit, of intelligence; a friendly man committed to the causes of peace, of freedom, of equal opportunity for all.

In his inaugural address, nearly 3 years ago, President Kennedy said:

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

No madman's bullet can be permitted to stop this memorable march of America as a part of the human race toward peace and freedom, compassion and justice under the law.

The brotherhood of man, and the fatherhood of God, call upon us to reach out loving hands across all barriers of race, religion, color, bigotry, and belligerence to all who feel as he did.

Let us in the Senate of the United States keep our hands outstretched.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, since that fateful hour on November 22 last, certainly the United States, if not the world in general, has witnessed and participated in the greatest and deepest outpouring from human souls in modern history. The tragic and untimely death of John Fitzgerald Kennedy touched the heartstrings of Americans everywhere—men and women, young and old, rich and poor, the mighty and the humble, more than any other event which those of us here today can recollect. It is not my purpose today to attempt to add to the wonderful words, the beautiful passages, and the sincere pronouncements about this great humanitarian. However, the actual realization of what has come to pass is now fully upon this country and the world.

The expressions of grief and a great awareness that President Kennedy stood for, and fought for, the things which make our lives more worthwhile came from my State of Nevada, just as they did from elsewhere throughout this country. Illustrative of this fact is an expression in a Nevada high school newspaper which I believe speaks eloquently for the men, women, and children of my State. I wish to add to this memorial record today the sincere expression of Principal Grant M. Bowler, of the Moapa Valley High School, in Overton, Nev. I believe Mr. Bowler's words, contained in the November 27 special issue of his school's newspaper points up excellently the feeling of those at the grassroots of America, those who make up the strength and the sinew and the great body politic of the United States. I shall not take time to read this memorial, but I ask that it be included in the RECORD following my remarks, together with a eulogy, in the same publication, written by Mr. J. G. Earl, of the Moapa Valley High School. I commend both of these expressions.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, these expressions were sent to me in a most sincere letter by Vice Principal Charles K. Pulsipher, of the Moapa Valley Schools; and I ask that an excerpt from his letter, again showing the depth to which this great sorrow was felt, be included in the RECORD, as a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 2.)

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, this farming community, nestled close to the country's greatest manmade lake behind Hoover Dam, is far in miles from the Territory of Guam, this country's farthermost territory in the Pacific Ocean. However, the anguish was also felt in this island by other Americans. There, Gov. Manuel F. L. Guerrero, immediately after news of the President's assassination reached that island, issued a proclama-

tion, together with a statement mourning the passing of President Kennedy. I ask that this proclamation and Governor Guerrero's statement be included in the RECORD as a part of these remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 3.)

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, at Solemn Pontifical Requiem Mass at the Dulce Nombre de Maria Cathedral, in Agana, Guam, a most moving eulogy was offered by Chaplain Joseph P. Trodd, U.S. Navy. I ask that it be printed in full in the RECORD, as a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 4.)

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I request that several particularly fitting tributes paid to President Kennedy by editorial writers in the State of Nevada also be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 5.)

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, in the tragic death of John Kennedy, the Senate—in fact, each and every one of us—lost one of our own. I believe each Member of the Senate has felt this grief deeply, not only because he was our colleague, but also because he went from this Chamber to the highest calling in the Government of this land. We each felt, irrespective of our political beliefs, a certain prideful warmth in his accomplishments and a certain inward grief in his defeats. Mr. President, it was my good fortune, when I first came to the Senate, to strike up a friendship with the then Senator Kennedy. Our desks were close together in the back row in this Chamber. We saw his suffering, some years ago, that kept him from this Chamber, because of recurrent complications from injuries he sustained while fighting for this country in the South Pacific waters during World War II. We marveled at the energetic campaign he waged across this land for the nomination for the Presidency, and the great vigor he displayed in winning the office of President of the United States.

It was my pleasure to have a close, personal, and warm friendship with John Kennedy, and I believe that I am better for it. The world has lost one of its greatest leaders, humanity a noble champion, and the United States of America a fearless, courageous President whose name will be enshrined forever in immortality.

Mr. President, the world is a better place for men everywhere because of John Fitzgerald Kennedy's great human understanding and his dauntless courage to seek for humanity more of God's great benefits.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the Lakeside Zephyr, Moapa Valley High School, Overton, Nev., Nov. 27, 1963]

(By Mr. Grant M. Bowler, principal)

Monday, America buried the 35th President of these United States, John Fitzgerald Kennedy. His body now lies entombed in the cemetery at Arlington, Va., the final resting place of many of America's sung and unsung military heroes.

Though his earthly remains return to the soil from which it came, his thoughts, his ideals, the things he stood for, will stare all Americans in the face for generations to come.

Paraphrasing the words of the immortal Abraham Lincoln, "Though the world will little remember what is being said here, the world can never forget what he attempted to do here."

Despised by some, loved by many, and respected by all, John F. Kennedy, the youngest President of the 34 who preceded him, went to his untimely death, not knowing to what extent he had engraved his name in the annals of American history.

Never in history has one man been so dedicated to the universal freedom and individual rights of all mankind, regardless of race, economics, or religious preference.

Never in history has one man been so fearless in his belief that all men should live in freedom and enjoy the fruits of freedom.

When the bullets last Friday, stopped the heartbeat of this dynamic and vigorous leader, it quickened the pulse of all Americans and many millions throughout the world. It in a way made us hang our head in shame that something like this could happen here in our democratic society.

This dastardly act of assassination has brought reality into our living rooms. Through the medium of television and radio, the entire world participated with the first family in its mourning the loss of a husband, a father, and a President.

Those of our student body and faculty that saw him, in his recent trip to Las Vegas, will never forget him. On that day he delivered an address. To all that heard, it enshrined him as a truly great and humble American.

Now he is gone, he belongs to the ages, his works are now history. As we look up to observe the flag at half-mast for the next 30 days, let us rededicate our lives to the building of the America we all want and need.

As we bow our heads in respect at his passing let us pray for ourselves and our leaders, that we together, may maintain the magnificence of this great land of America, a land which all Americans feel is a land choice above all other lands.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY URGED YOUTH TO STRIVE FOR EXCELLENCE

(By J. G. Earl)

At this time of national mourning, let us look back briefly at the other U.S. Presidents who were assassinated. First, Abraham Lincoln was shot in 1865 while attending the theater. Sixteen years later, James A. Garfield was shot while entering a train station in Washington. Twenty years after that, in 1901, President William McKinley was shot in Buffalo while greeting citizens at the Pan-American Exposition. Now, 62 years later, and less than a week after his murder, the name of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy still does not seem to fit into this list of martyrs.

During my stay in Europe from 1956 until 1958, I met citizens from almost every country of the world. Starting with the unsuccessful Hungarian revolution in 1956, I saw our friends in foreign countries gradually lose respect and admiration for America. During the 34 months while John F. Kennedy was our President, we must all agree, regardless of political affiliation, that the prestige and respect of the United States in foreign countries again started on an upswing.

President and Mrs. Kennedy brought great intellect, culture, and formal education into the White House. Before attending and graduating from Harvard University, the late President attended the London School of Economics for 1 year. This formal study in economics was supplemented by experience in the U.S. Congress in later years. President Kennedy was elected to the House in 1946, directly following the Second World War. He served in the House and Senate for 14 years before his election to the world's most powerful office. He then made it clear to the American people that our economic system needed some drastic changes to keep it up to date with our modern way of life. We will undoubtedly associate the initials J.F.K. with certain economic changes of the future, as our parents associated the initials F.D.R. with great changes in this field in the past.

During the past 3 years, President Kennedy was not without opponents, but no one disagrees that he was an educated, intelligent, and aggressive leader. What he recommended for America's young people was not opposed either. First, in Las Vegas recently he admonished the youth of our country to continue in school and advance educationally as far as possible, in order to be of greater benefit to our country. This does not mean just to remain in school and go through the motions of being a student, but implies a striving for excellence and scholarship. Secondly, may we long remember President Kennedy's pleas to fight communism, at home and abroad. Students, it is important that you do not become one of the growing group we call school dropouts, but equally as important that you apply all of your abilities in preparing for your future—as your future is America's future as well.

EXHIBIT 2

OVERTON, NEV.,
November 26, 1963.

Hon. ALAN BIBLE,
U.S. Senator of Nevada,
U.S. Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BIBLE: Today our students of the Moapa Valley High School published a paper as a dedication to the memory of President John F. Kennedy. It occurred to me that you might be interested in knowing of the great respect our students have for this outstanding President. We mourn with you at his death and although we did not know him as you did we feel that we share your sorrow because of the closeness that television has brought him into our lives. This closeness is expressed very well by faculty and students as you can read in special paper. Especially appropriate are the remarks by Mr. Grant Bowler, our principal, who read these same remarks to the students Tueday in a devotional program.

Sincerely,

CHARLES K. PULSIPHER,
Vice Principal,
Moapa Valley Schools.

EXHIBIT 3

GOVERNMENT OF GUAM,
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,
Agana, Guam.

PROCLAMATION NO. 63-25—THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY

Whereas the Nation and the entire free world has suffered the loss of a great and unselfish leader in the untimely death of President John F. Kennedy;

Now, therefore, I, Manuel F. L. Guerrero, Governor of Guam, by authority vested in me by the Organic Act of Guam, do hereby proclaim a period of mourning in the territory of Guam, such to last until sundown, December 22, 1963, and I ask that all flags on public and private buildings be flown at half mast during that period and I call upon all residents of the territory to pause in their daily endeavors to pay silent tribute to a great leader who died, as he lived, that our country may live up to its democratic principles of equality, opportunity and freedom; and I urge all residents to reflect upon the tremendous contributions made by President Kennedy during his short and useful life and to gain from that reflection renewed determination to work for and defend the

traditions by which he lived; and I urge all residents of the territory to go to the church of their choosing and thank Almighty God for having blessed the world with such a person and pray to Almighty God for guidance for President Johnson and all other officials of our Nation during the critical days ahead.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the great seal of Guam to be affixed in the city of Agana, this 23d day of November in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-three.

MANUEL F. L. GUERRERO,
Governor of Guam.

Countersigned:

DENVER DICKERSON,
Secretary of Guam.

GOVERNOR'S STATEMENT

A heartbreaking tragedy has befallen our land. We have lost a great leader.

This loss extends beyond the boundaries of our Nation and is shared by every person who loves freedom throughout the world.

The leadership of President Kennedy and his human warmth were unsurpassed.

The people of Guam have lost a true friend who, despite the pressures and burdens of his position, took a personal and active interest in the welfare of this territory at all times.

No human effort can erase this disaster; no hand can undo this wrong.

To all of us there is left only one course and that is to redouble our efforts under the leadership of our new President to further the causes of our Nation and our people in the manner typified by the life of John F. Kennedy.

EXHIBIT 4

EULOGY FOR PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY, NOVEMBER 25, 1963, CATHEDRAL, AGANA, DELIVERED BY JOSEPH P. TRODD, CHAPLAIN, U.S. NAVY

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

"There was a man, one sent from God, whose name was John."

"A bad man killed my daddy."

This plaintive cry of a 3-year-old echoes hollowly through the White House halls. The world listens and grieves. The Nation is shocked and bewildered. A widow numb and unbelieving.

For John Fitzgerald Kennedy, 35th President of the United States was murdered last Friday afternoon in Dallas, Tex. We heard this stark statement uncomprehendingly, asked why this senseless crime and then paused to assay our loss and perhaps shed a tear.

Who was John Fitzgerald Kennedy? A rich young man who might have wasted his substance? A Harvard undergraduate who might have become a playboy of our Western World? No, he became neither. He was instead a naval officer privileged to wear the Silver Star, an astute politician, a more than competent author, an able statesman, and humanitarian. His intellect was keen. His repartee incisive and at times uproarious with his crackling Irish wit.

Yet our Nation has produced many rich young men, many college graduates, many decorated officers. Why did the mantle of greatness descend upon John Fitzgerald Kennedy? Twenty years ago in the same motor torpedo boat squadrons in which he served were Larry Green, Larry Kelly, Paul Lillis, Bernie Crimmins, Al and George Vanderbilt. Surely these were men as competent and as dedicated as he. Why then did the finger of God single out John Kennedy?

We feel this.

That within him there smoldered a burning compassion for his fellow man, a fiery conviction that true peace in the world depends upon the peace of Christ in the heart. This compassion, this conviction became his mission. He toiled incessantly to teach that all men are created equal and that each, irrespective of the color of his skin is an individual with a soul precious in the eyes of God. His fidelity to his faith, his dedication to his country, his service to all marked him plainly as a doer of the word as well as a believer.

To a Winston Churchill is it given to live in greatness. To a martyr to die in greatness. A select few both live and die magnificently. Such was Abraham Lincoln. And such, we believe, was John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

For when the annals of time are weighed, history will agree, that in the manner of his dying, unwittingly he taught his greatest lesson. Here was a man, in the fullness of his strength; perhaps the most powerful single individual on earth—whose whim or nod could make a statesman or break a general who by pressing one button, could bring death and destruction to most of the civilized world.

And yet, last Friday afternoon, as he rode down a sun-drenched Dallas street accepting the plaudits of thousands at the summit of his career, a finger was bent and a shot sounded.

Honor, dignity, and power faded. And in a matter of minutes a soul, naked and alone, stood before its maker.

And what of the lesson?

A poet would say "All that beauty, all that wealth ere gave, await alike the inevitable hour. The paths of glory lead but to the grave." But the Christian mindful of eternity asks "What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his immortal soul."

Our prayer today is this: May you, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, hear from the lips of your Savior, "Well done thou good and faithful servant. Enter into the reward which has been prepared for you for all eternity." And then may you see a tiny figure disengage itself from the choir of angels and saints and feel its baby fingers grasp your hand and lead you to the throne of the Almighty and hear your son, Patrick Bouvier Kennedy say, "This is my beloved father in whom I am well pleased. For here was indeed, a profile in courage."

EXHIBIT 5

[From the Hawthorne (Nev.) Independent-News]

A nation grieves; a world mourns.

Millions of words have been written and spoken since that dark moment on Friday morning when the President of the United States became the victim of an assassin's bullet. Yet, as so many already have said and written, words seem so empty at a time like this. And just as "empty" is used in reference to inadequate words, so does it aptly describe the physical and mental feeling of millions of peace-loving citizens in all parts of the world.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy already has been eulogized throughout the world as an exceptional man who gave his life in the service of his country, and also in the effort to lead all nations to a more peaceful existence.

Just as nations which differ with ours in philosophy gave recognition to the sincerity of the man, so have those citizens within our country who differed with President Kennedy's political philosophy and parts of his governmental program. That he was a great man in life, few will dispute; that his greatness was even more fully revealed in death, none will deny.

As Chief Executive of our great Nation President Kennedy was a symbol of leadership for freedom-loving nations in all parts of the world. That he should be taken so swiftly, so unjustly, in the prime of life, added to the sorrow of his untimely death, but even more, that he was struck down in his homeland by a cowardly sniper brought shame as well as sorrow to the Nation he loved and served.

It is not for us to attempt to recapitulate the good deeds that are to his credit. The world is well aware of that creditable record; has become more so in the past 5 days; and the story will be retold for generations to come by the historians of the world.

That we chose not to agree with many of his political beliefs and actions is a privilege that we in the United States cherish. And John F. Kennedy was a man who proved his willingness to ever protect the right of Americans to so differ.

The sympathy of a sorrowing world has been extended to his grief-stricken widow and children, his parents, and other family members. We can only repeat, in a way he would understand, the words intoned at his bier, "Eternal rest grant unto him, O Lord, and may perpetual light shine upon him."

Just as the truly united spirit of this great Nation was so evident following the tragic death of President Kennedy, it is to be hoped that the same united spirit and confidence will be displayed toward President Lyndon Johnson as he assumes the great burden of carrying on the duties of the Nation's highest office.

To use an old and general appraisal of the situation in which the new President finds himself: "The man is entitled to a chance."

This is not to imply that the traditional two-party system of checks and balances must falter during a period of crisis, but in time of crisis we are Americans first, partisans after. Thus, until the new President has been given ample opportunity to navigate his own course for our ship of state, let use be reasonable, fair, and understanding.

With the passing of time there will be occasions when the policies of President Johnson must be subjected to honest differences of opinion, not only those contentions of the opposition party, but quite likely from the ranks of his own party.

By election time next year the issues will be more clear-cut—or maybe more confused—but next year will be soon enough to debate those issues in the time-honored and successfully tested American custom.

For the present, even though we have our reservations about continuance of some policies established by the martyred President, we must think in terms of what the world is thinking about U.S. leadership, and world reaction to the sudden change in our Government leadership.

This we can best do by remaining calm and confident—going forward with vigor and not in the shadow of fear—and constantly reminding ourselves of the immortal words spoken by President John Kennedy upon the occasion of his inauguration:

"Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country."

[From the Paradise Press (Las Vegas) Nev.]

How futile and feeble are words when one tires to understand the monstrous events of the past several days.

Thoughts come seeping into the mind, and you try to push them away for they seem so insufficient in laboring toward comprehension of the history made in our Nation and the world.

The full force of the acts performed before the eyes of millions will not have a lasting effect perhaps for years.

But, the madness which was displayed, the motives behind a twisted mind, the cracking of guns and the barbarous, animal-like acts of so-called human beings give rise to many emotions. Sadness, disbelief, bewilderment, and anger seem to rise to the top of our experience. Of all these, anger continues to prevail.

Yes, we know that anger is the one emotion which must be drowned by common sense. But, reports coming in from all over

America and the nations of the world have as an underlying current—anger.

But it was anger coupled with insanity which produced the assassination of our President, John F. Kennedy. If this be so, then let us dispel anger from our minds and thoughts. Let anger be replaced by dedication to the idea that this can never happen again. Let us also bury, once and for all the thoughts of hate. For hate and anger are partners in crime.

Let us condemn these two criminals. Let them be judged for eternity as having no place in the American way of life.

To those who sell and spread the contraband of hate, let Americans issue a challenge to be backed with action—this Nation will no longer tolerate hate groups be they right, left, or in the middle. Hate is not choosy. It will dwell and grow like a cancer wherever it finds the right festering food.

Science and reason are conquering disease; let democracy eradicate the most devasting of all maladies—hate and anger.

It may be that the death of John F. Kennedy will be justified if it brings home to every man, woman, and child, that our Nation is in grave danger if we do not grind into nothingness the elements existing in our society which caused the death of John F. Kennedy. Let us hold that his death may not have been in vain.

But, we must not let the tragic events of the last week fade away. Let not time lessen our resolve.

It is certainty that the sniveling creature who pulled the trigger and fired the fatal bullets into our President was insane. But, that should not lull us into inaction. For, there are thousands of people in this Nation who could pass a sanity test and be considered normal. Yet, they are fostering hate between people, groups, races, creeds, and religions.

Herein lies the danger for their insane acts and programs cannot be detected until they will have fired a fatal bullet in democracy and America.

Let each and every person, each and every day * * * each and every hour stamp out hate and prejudice. Let us not even joke about it. Let snide remarks which give birth to the destruction of democracy be driven from our land.

We are at war. Our enemy is hate. Let us take to the battlefield now and never relinquish the day to our enemy.

[From the Elko (Nev.) Independent]

You look at the gray skies and you think, "even nature is in mourning in keeping with our great sorrow."

And the sun sets red and fiery angry in the west at eventide on this day of great tragedy and the thought wanders aimlessly through your numbed mind that "Even the elements are offended at the dastardly thing that earth's lowest human being has done to one of our finest citizens."

You watch a widow suffering and the tears well up in your eyes. A press camera catches a saluting 3-year-old standing erect and only half knowing the tragedy—his own personal tragedy—of the occasion and an ever-living photograph joins hundreds of others that have been taken on this shocking weekend in America.

And again your mind wanders to thoughts that bear no logic and that have no reality in the cold, steely facts of the situation which your eyes are conveying to your mind.

Certainly the skies are gray on this day but they would have been gray and it would have stormed had not a cold, calculating assassin fired a fatal shot through the head of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

And the sunset would have been red and fiery on this Friday evening, November 22, 1963, whether the President had been shot or whether he had gone home to the White House that tragic November day and stepped softly into the nursery late at night to whisper a fond goodnight to little "John John."

The awful shock of a Presidential assassination, or of sudden death close to the heart of any human being, numbs the senses and makes us prey of uncontrolled emotions. Slowly we accept the truth and resign ourselves to the world of logic from which we have been removed by shock.

When the great men have said their eulogies, when the men of God have called on their deity to take the soul from man's mortal remains, when the mourning family has returned home and has been removed from the public gaze and let to the care of loved ones, then the grim facts return, too, and slowly but surely we begin to face up to reality.

And so it is today. A great American President has been assassinated. The world has reeled in shock and sorrow. Violence has erupted in the wake of this historic tragedy to add further shock and disbelief to our numbed senses. We have been deeply emersed in sorrow and have been depressed and saddened beyond anything we have known and shared with all the peoples of earth previously.

But the ceremonies are over and the mourners have gone home. The reeling effects of time have already begun to be felt. Slowly the grinding wheels pick up speed and a busy world begins to go its way.

Few of us who die will ever cause such a long pause in the normal course of humanity's daily routine. Perhaps only one or more deaths in a century will so affect the peoples of the world.

But the passing days and months and years will close the yawning gap in human society and the world will go on, leaving only a deep scar on the history of the nations to mark the occurrence of this tragic series of events.

So it is that today we begin to look with more interest to the future than we do to the past. The work-a-day world confronts us. Our brethren are anxious to be up and doing. The demands of the present press on us and the uncertainties of the future intrigue us.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, historians of the future will have to assess in full the contribution John Fitzgerald Kennedy made to mankind. One may speculate that our late beloved President would have preferred this, for he was also a historian and history was his intimate companion. "Why England Slept," and "Profiles in Courage," will be among his monuments.

He utilized the lessons of the past, kneading them with events of the present, to create for the future. His vigilance and his actions made certain that the United States did not sleep in the face of peril. And his life both in war and in peace turned a profile in courage on the page of history.

History was his friend and we are the beneficiaries of this friendship.

For him the words engraved on the statutes at the entrance to our National Archives—"What Is Past Is Prologue" and "Study the Past"—had full meaning. An idealist, but also a realist, with a look to the future and an eye to the past, he lived in the present. Because he was a man of vision, he looked forward.

Consider his remarks in Anchorage, Alaska, September 3, 1960:

> But I see Alaska, the Alaska of the future. I see an Alaska where there will be more than 1 million people. I see a giant electric grid, stretching all the way from Juneau to Anchorage and beyond. I see the greatest dam in the free world, the Rampart Dam, producing twice the electricity of the TVA, lighting the homes and mills and cities and farms of the great State of Alaska. And I see highways linking all sections of this great State. I see Alaska as the destination of countless Americans who come here not searching merely for land and gold, but coming for a new life in new cities, in new markets. I see an Alaska that is the storehouse of our Nation, a great depository for minerals and lumber and fish, rich in waterpower and rich in the things that make life abundant for those of us who live in this great Republic.
>
> I do not say that this is the Alaska of 1961 or perhaps even of 1971. I do not say that a Democratic administration can magically bring about all of these things by itself overnight. The work must be the work of many, and the burden must be the burden of many. It will take your efforts and your help, but I think it is time we got started.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was articulate, gallant, and courageous. He was witty, gay and high spirited. He was generous, kind and compassionate. And, when our friends across the oceans refer to him as "princely" they, too, are correct.

Moreover, he was stimulating and inspiring. Consider the immortal invocation in his inaugural address:

> And so my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you: Ask what you can do for your country.
>
> My fellow citizens of the world: Ask not what America can do for you but what we can do together for the freedom of man.

This was his salutatory as President. He could have no finer valedictory.

His eloquent words he sought to match with deeds. His indefatigable quest for peace lighted the candle of the test ban treaty.

His fight for civil rights will lift our Nation to a new level of justice and racial equality.

With his lovely wife Jacqueline he made the White House the cultural citadel of America: art, music, poetry, creative expression and intellectual achievement found a new warm welcome there.

His continuing interest in the development of our resources is best noted in his own words, spoken in Anchorage, Alaska, on September 3, 1960, when he said:

> The untapped energies of the American people which are more powerful than the atom itself must once again be committed to great national objectives.

Historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., writing in the December 14, 1963, issue of the Saturday Evening Post observes:

> He had grown all his life, and he grew even more in the Presidency.
>
> His was a life of incalculable and now of unfulfilled possibility.
>
> Still, if he had not done all that he would have hoped to do, finished all that he had so well begun, he had given the Nation a new sense of itself—a new spirit, a new style, a new conception of its role and destiny. He was the most civilized President we have had since Jefferson, and his wife made the White House the most civilized house in America. Statecraft was for him not an end in itself; it was a means of moving forward a spacious and splendid America.

Statecraft is indeed the word. He was a student of and commentator on public affairs early in life, an eager volunteer in his country's war service, emerging as

a battle-scarred warrior, truly a hero; thereafter a distinguished legislator in House and Senate, then President of the United States. John Fitzgerald Kennedy's public career made of politics what it should always be, a noble calling—the profession of public service.

Editorials, newspaper columns, magazine articles by the thousands in all parts of the world, and books have recorded and will continue to record John Fitzgerald Kennedy's great service to his countrymen and to the larger family of mankind. All of us in the Senate have lost a friend. I, for one, shall never forget his kindness in coming to Alaska to campaign for my election to the Senate in 1958.

America is much, much richer and much, much better for his having lived. It is incalculably poorer for his early and untimely departure at the height of his prowess and on the road to greater fulfillment.

Mrs. Gruening joins me in our expression of deepest sympathy for his courageous Jacqueline, for his two dear children, his brothers, sisters, and bereaved parents.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD editorials published in the Anchorage, Alaska Daily Times of November 22, 1963; Anchorage, Alaska Daily News of November 23, 1963; the Fairbanks Daily-News Miner of November 23, 1963, and November 25, 1963; Jessen's Weekly of Fairbanks, Alaska, November 27, 1963; Cook Inlet Courier of Homer, Alaska, November 22, 1963; the Juneau, Alaska Daily Alaska Empire, November 24, 1963, and the Nome Nugget, Nome, Alaska, November 25, 1963, commenting on the service of John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Anchorage (Alaska) Daily Times, Nov. 22, 1963]

J.F.K. LAYS DOWN LIFE FOR HIS COUNTRY

Anchorage, along with the rest of the world, was shocked and grieved at the stunning news that an assassin's bullet had struck down President Kennedy in Texas. The 35th President of the United States died within an hour of the gunman's attack.

First word of the shooting brought a reaction of disbelief to those hearing the news—it was too stunning to be true.

The President was in Texas on a 3-day visit which had taken him to San Antonio, Houston and Fort Worth prior to the trip to Dallas, where the sniper struck.

Kennedy was the youngest man, and the first Catholic, ever elected to the Presidency. His term had been filled with controversy and therein may lie the key to the assassination. To this writing the person responsible for the President's death has not been captured. He is the fourth President to die at the hands of an assassin. The others were Lincoln, Garfield, and McKinley.

He began his political career in 1946 when he first won election to the U.S. House, representing the Boston district. He won reelection in 1948 and 1950. In 1952 he moved to the U.S. Senate when he unseated incumbent Senator Henry Cabot Lodge.

At the 1956 Democratic National Convention, Kennedy narrowly lost the vice presidential nomination to the late Senator Estes Kefauver after presidential nominee Adlai Stevenson threw open the choice to the convention.

Two years later Kennedy won reelection to the Senate by a record margin.

After sweeping the 1960 presidential primaries, Kennedy had little difficulty winning the Democratic nomination on the first ballot. That November he defeated then Vice President Richard Nixon for the Presidency.

Kennedy was not one to shirk his personal or political responsibilities. He was a naval lieutenant who played a hero's role in the south Pacific in World War II. He won the Navy and Marine Corps Medal as well as the Purple Heart.

As Chief Executive he was the first American to face possible nuclear war. He didn't hesitate to protect American interests with a show of force. Later he won an agreement from the Russians which limited nuclear tests.

The President also quickly made known his stand on civil rights. He took action in trouble spots throughout the South and he brought his forces to bear on Congress to enact a major civil rights bill to combat racial discrimination in public accommodations, schools, jobs, and voting.

Anchorage and the rest of the Nation join the Kennedy family in its time of grief for the President who died for his country.

[From the Anchorage (Alaska) Daily News, Nov. 23, 1963]

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S LEGACY

The course of human events is often shaped by violence, and mankind is long inured to the experience of death and disaster. But there is something about the assassination of John F. Kennedy so irrational, so senseless, that words must fail to measure the deed, or the mind of the killer.

Whether he was a lone lunatic or the triggerman in a plot, investigation will tell. Before all the facts are disclosed, it will be unwise to jump at conclusions. Certainly no hostile government worthy of the name could have expected to profit by Mr. Kennedy's death: First, because Mr. Kennedy was a man of peace and, second, because the continuity of the American system is such that the death of a President, however calamitous, leaves the essential marrow of the Nation undisturbed.

That Mr. Kennedy should die by a fanatic's hand is peculiarly ironic, for Mr. Kennedy himself was anything but fanatical. He was a man of driving intelligence, considerable humor, and a remarkable capacity for cool detachment. He was a highly skilled politician, but he could view his role, and himself, in the broad perspectives of history—his favorite subject, and one in which he was widely read.

Like all Presidents, Mr. Kennedy aroused a measure of opposition and controversy, and like all human beings he made mistakes. But on the great questions confronting the Nation he was right. He took his stand firmly on the moral side of the civil rights issue, and he stood equally firm when the Nation was threatened by Soviet missiles in Cuba. By facing down Nikita Khrushchev at that time, he earned the lasting gratitude of America's allies and the lasting respect of its opponents.

He was cut down at the age of 46, before the full fruition of his career. The legacy he leaves to the Nation is his cool, even-tempered, rational approach to national and world affairs. There has of late come a distemper over American politics, an extremism in word and action which has assumed a disproportionate influence on the Nation's life. Mr. Kennedy was not one who subscribed to the conspiratorial view of history, to the implacable attitudes which has given rise to much of this contemporary malaise.

He was, as has often been said, a practitioner of the art of the possible. He could disagree without necessarily condemning, and oppose without questioning the opponents' motive. He was a tough man, steeled by the tests of war and of unremitting public service—public service he sought although he was born into a life where he need never have lifted a finger to exert himself. Through all of this, Mr. Kennedy remained a man without bitterness.

If his death could contribute to the amelioration of some bitterness, some of the divisive violence which has invaded American life under the pressure of momentous problems abroad and at home, it is a contribution Mr. Kennedy himself would have cherished.—R.J.C.

[From the Fairbanks (Alaska) Daily News-Miner, Nov. 23, 1963]

PRESIDENT KENNEDY

Strife in the South.

A great war in progress.

An empty rocking chair.

A Vice President named Johnson suddenly becomes President.

The body of a great man lies in state as the Nation mourns his passing.

How strange it seems that these are the facts in 1963 just as they were in 1865.

Abraham Lincoln, the Republican, freed the Negro from slavery.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy, the Democrat, attempted to free the Negro from bigotry.

Both men met similar fates.

Lincoln fought the Civil War. Kennedy faced the war against communism.

Lincoln was shot in the head while sitting in a rocking chair at Ford's Theater in Washington. Kennedy too left his famous rocking chair empty in Washington when an assassin's bullets struck him in the head and neck.

Mrs. Lincoln was with the President when he was shot. Mrs. Kennedy was also with her husband when tragedy struck.

It is recorded that Mrs. Lincoln wept and fainted and cried "Oh, that dreadful house."

And perhaps now the words of President Kennedy's lovely and beloved Jacqueline will go down in history expressing the grief of all Americans when she cradled the President's head in her arms and cried "Oh, no."

Both men, mortally wounded, lived for a period of time after being shot.

A stunned Nation, caught completely unaware, could hardly believe the news, either in the case of Lincoln, or in Kennedy's death yesterday.

Even today it is difficult to comprehend this murder, for it is a double blow to the national conscience—the killing of John F. Kennedy, the man; the assassination of the President of the United States, our Commander in Chief.

Yet we will know as the days go on that no madman's bullet can stop the progress of this Nation. The rocking chair is empty as it was in 1865, but now as it did then, the country will move forward.

President Lyndon B. Johnson will take charge, and the assassin will have succeeded only in destroying a man—not the American concept of freedom and self-determination.

Our forefathers planned carefully for such tragedies as this.

No one man controls our destiny. Perhaps it is at times like this that we realize how much "In God We Trust."

America is much like a large family. We squabble frequently and fight. We have differences of opinion and we blast each other with verbal vehemence.

But in times of trouble we stand like steel. We stand united now in our anger and our grief.

Black or white, Republican or Democrat, Protestant or Catholic, all Americans are shocked.

When Lincoln died, the course of history was altered. And so is the case with Kennedy. No one can predict what changes this assassin's bullet may bring in our lives.

Kennedy and Lincoln both had small children.

Kennedy's two charming youngsters have lost a father.

America has lost a leader.

Our Nation mourns with clenched fist.

But as it was in 1865, the war will be won, all citizens will enjoy their rights and another man will fill the empty rocking chair.

[From the Fairbanks (Alaska) Daily-News Miner, Nov. 25, 1963]

A DIFFICULT AND SOMBER TIME

On this day we pay tribute to a man who believed in human dignity as the source of national purpose, liberty as the source of national action, the human heart as the source of national compassion, and in the human mind as the source of our invention and our ideas.

That there were and will be political disputes on the methods of fulfilling our national purpose does not take away from the shared feeling of a great destiny for this country. This national day of mourning is also, in the words of President Lyndon Johnson, a day of rededication. John F. Kennedy would have been the first to say that on such a day our ultimate responsibility is to begin looking ahead.

President Kennedy always was looking ahead. He believed we stood on a frontier of unknown opportunities and perils at a turning point in history. Never was such a statement more valid than today. He believed in Americans as all being partners in a great and historic journey. This journey continues.

Our feeling for the loss of a man is made worse by the feeling of outrage that comes with the helpless realization that a worthless character with a sick mind has murdered the President of the United States. There is other strong emotion, too, as many of us realize that perhaps never will the White House be occupied by a family of more intelligence, vitality, and elegance.

Here was a man who fought for his country, who almost died for it during the war; a man who contributed his Presidential salary to charity; who kept in trim doing pushups, playing touch football, golf, and sailing, while deploring the thought of America becoming a nation of spectators; a man of wit.

"I think the worst news for the Republicans this week was that Casey Stengel has been fired," said Kennedy during the presidential campaign. "It must show that perhaps experience does not count."

"On this matter of experience," he added, "I had announced earlier this year that if successful I would not consider campaign contributions as a substitute for experience in appointing ambassadors. Ever since I made that statement I have not received 1 single cent from my father * * *"

Yes, his sense of humor will be remembered. But more memorable will be John Kennedy's strong sense of purpose and identification with the national purpose.

"In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility," he said. "I welcome it."

Thinking today about the man, the office, our future, and our Nation's high purpose, we can consider these words carefully as applying to each of us.

And if John F. Kennedy could speak on this day, perhaps he would repeat the words he once said:

"I hope that all of us in a difficult and somber time in our country's history may bring candles to help illuminate our country's way."

[From Jessen's Weekly, Fairbanks, Alaska, Nov. 27, 1963]

LIFE'S INEXORABLE COURSE

In the span of hardly more than 72 hours, America lived through 3 days of fantastic events that made the weekend appear, in retrospect, the most nightmarish in our history. A dynamic young President was cut down by a sniper's bullet, the alleged assassin was slain in turn, and a state funeral was held to which the leaders of the free world came.

Americans wept unashamedly and their grief was shared in other lands.

Through the ears of radio and the eyes of television, the Nation observed the indescribable courage of the President's young widow, who saw her husband die and stayed beside him virtually to the end. The heart of the Nation went out to her, as she slowly climbed the Capitol steps and knelt and kissed the flag-draped casket and followed on foot the funeral cortege that took John Fitzgerald Kennedy on his last journey from the White House.

The gathering of kings and princes, Presidents and Premiers in Washington on Monday was a tribute not only to the fallen President, but to the unquestioned place of world leadership the United States has attained.

Stunned and shocked though the Nation is, however imponderable the fates, life follows its inexorable course. Fortunate it is that the Presidential burdens were assumed immediately by an able and tested leader. Americans may give a heartfelt response to the promise, the plea, and the prayer of Lyndon Baines Johnson:

"I shall do my best. I ask your help—and God's."

[From the Cook Inlet Courier, Homer, Alaska, Nov. 22, 1963]

THE SHOT HEARD ROUND THE WORLD

The Nation, even the world, mourns the death of a great man, President John F. Kennedy. Whatever our views, our beliefs, the taking of a life is wrong; by whatever fashion, whatever means, for whatever reason. The broad road our Nation has been traveling at a great rate of speed under his leadership may not have been the one we thought right, nevertheless we grieve and offer a prayer for his sorrowing family. That President Kennedy was a great man, none can deny.

Now may President Lyndon B. Johnson have the courage and strength to face the challenge of the Nation and the world with directness.

In the less than 200 years of our Nation's life its history has been marred now four times by the assassination of the Chief Executive; Abraham Lincoln, James A. Garfield, William L. McKinley, and today, John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

[From the Daily Alaska Empire, Juneau, Alaska, Nov. 24, 1963]

RENEWED DEDICATION

Suffering a tragedy like the assassination of President Kennedy, almost all persons want to do something to show their sorrow and respect for the one who is gone. The first thought usually is of a vocal expression of sympathy, followed by a desire to make a public gesture to show unity of feeling with the entire people, by flying the flag at half staff, or by closing the place of work, or by attending a prayer service, or otherwise by doing something different from normal which will show respect.

Beyond all the gestures and ceremonies, however—after all the expressions of respect and regret—there remains a feeling that can only be met by a measure, at least, of long-range dedication to the purposes, standards, or unfinished work of the departed one. Facing the sudden, tragic loss of President Kennedy, we find ourselves seeking the lasting ideals which he was trying to establish in concrete form for the benefit of his people and the world, both present and to come, so that we might carry these ideals on toward the goals he might have won had he not been struck down.

Seeking the meaning and momentum of his life, we find he was the first human leader entrusted with great power to risk with clear and steady judgment a confrontation of nuclear war for the protection of his Nation and the cause of freedom. We find in review that, despite disagreements at home and abroad, he stood firm against the advance of communism, yet hopeful that the good in all people would emerge, and anxious lest blind inflexibility might fail to perceive and grasp real opportunities to advance human unity and dignified peace. He held the line against communism, yet his open mind made possible the first big step—the limited nuclear test ban treaty—in guarding against nuclear contamination and destruction of mankind's home.

Mr. Kennedy saw clearly what many of us, equally sincere in opposing communism, failed to see—that ultimate victory for the dignity of man cannot be won by hasty or extreme antagonism, nor by disregard for the aspirations of confused and misguided peoples seeking in desperation a fair share of the world's goods and reasonable recognition of rights long withheld. He aided throughout the world those governments which gave consideration to the rights and needs of their people—and worked toward reform of those governments which, while opposing communism, continued to oppress their people and withhold the rights and goods to which any human being is entitled.

He stood for reasonable rights and prosperity for all the people, both at home and abroad, regardless of race or creed or condition of birth. He sought these goals, distant though they were in many situations, through the principles that have created American greatness and the greatness of human freedom everywhere, through private initiative when possible but, if not accessible by that route, through initiative of enlightened government. He stood for vigorous living, for moving boldly ahead into the adventurous future of mankind, on earth and in space.

In deep consideration for the tragedy which removed him from leadership while so many of the goals were not reached, we feel, with Alaskans and all Americans, a deep renewal and strengthening of dedication to the work he was forced to leave unfinished.

[From the Nome Nugget (Nome, Alaska), Nov. 25, 1963]

OF JOHN F. KENNEDY

John Fitzgerald Kennedy started his administration as the 35th President of the United States by dedicating himself to two shining goals—survival of liberty at home, and peace in a world shivering in an "uncertain balance of terror."

He invited the Communist world to join in a new beginning of "the quest for peace" before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

"Let us never negotiate out of fear, but let us never fear to negotiate," he said in his inaugural address that was devoted almost entirely to foreign policy and foreign affairs.

John Kennedy was born in Brookline, Mass., May 29, 1917. He received his bachelor of science degree cum laude from Harvard in 1940 and then studied at the London School of Economics. He entered politics at the age of 29, when he was elected to Congress in 1946. After winning reelection twice, he ran for the Senate in 1952 and defeated Senator Lodge. Winning reelection in 1958 by the largest plurality ever piled up for a Senate seat in Massachusetts, almost 900,000, further enhanced his political stock. He was sworn in as President of the United States on January 20, 1961.

John Kennedy and Miss Jacqueline Lee Bouvier were married in St. Mary's Catholic

Church in 1953. A daughter, Caroline Bouvier, was born in 1957. Three years later there was a son, John F., Jr.

John F. Kennedy is gone—murdered by the bullet of an assassin. Our lives and the world with its seemingly never-ending series of crises, out of which arose his death, will go on, but there is now an emptiness where he once stood. All sane peoples are shocked by the manner in which this great man came to his end * * * and all are silently speculating on their own futures.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the nightmarish weekend through which America recently lived will scar the memories of adult citizens for the rest of our days. We simply do not have the country we thought we had. The rest of the world knows this now, even if we may be reluctant to admit it to ourselves.

I shared the assumption of many Americans that Presidential assassination was a thing of the past. The fact that our political and moral climate still makes this heinous crime possible will give rise to much national soul searching. So, too, will the equally incredible sequel—the lynching of the accused assassin. How to eradicate political murder and lynch law from our country will occupy our thoughts for many years to come, even as we go on about the other business of Government.

For me, the greatest inspiration from the life and death of President John F. Kennedy is to be found in his own deep devotion to the principles and ideals of self-government. The tragedy of his passing does not flow from those principles and ideals, but from our failure to realize and achieve them.

I believe that like Abraham Lincoln before him, John Fitzgerald Kennedy would say that it is for the living to be dedicated to the unfinished work which both these great men so nobly advanced; and that from their deaths we should take increased devotion to the cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion.

For as long as this Republic survives, and let us pray it will survive forever, the American people will be the beneficiaries of the statesmanship of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. He has carved in the tablets of American history, inspiring challenges to all Americans who come after him to strengthen and preserve our system of representative self-government.

His insight and foresight in respect to the obligations of citizen-statesmanship which are the responsibilities of all Americans who come after him, will also be a perpetual flame that will burn throughout history in the hearts of our people.

Of all the monuments that will be erected to his memory, none can ever be as symbolic of his statesmanship as his eloquent, literary writings which record for all time his political philosophy which was so in keeping with Jefferson who wrote the Declaration of Independence, and with Lincoln who penned the Emancipation Proclamation and emblazoned in American history the Gettysburg Address.

As we sat in St. Matthew's Cathedral on that sad November 25, 1963, there was placed in our hands a small memorial card containing on one side a cherished picture of the President and on the other, three short paragraphs of quotations of challenges to the American people selected from his historic inaugural address. I would let every American citizen honor the memory of John Fitzgerald Kennedy by way of rededication to the challenges of citizen-statesmanship called for in these three noble paragraphs:

> Now the trumpet summons us again—not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need—not as a call to battle, though embattled we are—but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, "rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation"—a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself * * *.
>
> In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world * * *.
>
> With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.

It is now up to the American people of his generation and future generations to keep faith with our obligations of citizen-statesmanship. We owe it to our country to ascend to the heights of President Kennedy's idealism and statesmanship and thereby prove to ourselves and the world that this great man did not live and die in vain.

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, many Senators who have spoken today in memory of President John F. Kennedy do so as former colleagues in the Congress and as personal friends. I did not have an opportunity for such friendship. Thus my own concept and memory of the man and his work perhaps is more closely associated with that of the general public than as a Member of the Senate.

My first thought is that it is well, in a sense, that some time has passed between the date of death and this solemn occasion. The full meaning of John Kennedy's life and work was difficult to comprehend in the period of shock caused by the tragic manner of death—assassination. While all of us sought some facility to believe the unbelievable, it was difficult to put the life of the President, his impact upon our Government, and his relationship with the people, in sensible perspective.

But now we are slowly beginning to understand that it is not how long but how well one lives that counts. It is not how one dies but how one lives that has meaning.

I have often thought that the height of a man's achievement during his life ought to be measured not only by his final position of accomplishment but also by his point of beginning with due consideration for the obstacles which the uncertainties of the times place in his path. So measured, President Kennedy's life was one of great achievement.

Many others today have spoken of his courage, his intellect, his love of family and life, his appetite for work, his appreciation of good values, his sense of history, and his dedication to the American way of life, and our system of Government. These traits of character and mind he did possess.

But combined with these, I detected a capacity for sustained effort, a consistency of application of all those talents and abilities described so ably by my colleagues. Was this not his finest trait of all?

Many across the Nation have now been seeking in his deeds and words the element in his philosophy, religion, life, work, or ambition which gave him the unity of purpose and the strength required to do what he did. I would suggest that perhaps it was the admonition repeated so often by his fellow townsman, Justice Holmes, who told us all: "Have faith and seek the unknown end."

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, nearly 3 weeks have passed since the death of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, and the Nation has not yet fully recovered from the horror and indignation which grew from the most heinous crime of the century.

In almost every State in the Nation, and, indeed, in the National Capital, Americans are demonstrating their profound sense of loss through the renaming of schools, streets, airports, and other memorials.

Certainly, the fact that a brilliant young President, for altogether too brief a period, led this Nation and gave all Americans a glimpse of the promises of freedom for years ahead should *not* be erased from our memory. We should properly preserve his memory for as long as this Nation endures.

My thoughts today dwell on the invisible, yet powerful, memorials which could be erected to the great leader who has been taken from us. We will be a greater nation, and his legacy will be more towering than any edifice of steel and concrete if John F. Kennedy is enshrined in the national conscience as a martyr who gave his life in the enduring battle against hatred, bigotry, and intolerance.

Surely, these insidious forces guided the quick and brutal hand that struck down the 35th President of the United States.

The greatest memorial that we can give to President Kennedy is to rid ourselves, as a nation, of the fanaticism and insane rage—turned inward—which made this tragedy possible. I cannot escape the conviction that such a living memorial in the hearts of his countrymen would have been most earnestly desired by our late President.

Our Nation is made up of Americans from divergent geographical areas whose regional motives and national origins are more diverse than any other country in the world. Ours is a young nation striving, in a real sense, to find itself. Our national goals and our heritage can never be fully achieved unless we are tolerant of the views and beliefs of our neighbors. We cannot afford to set ourselves upon the Devil's work of national

distrust, accusations, and suspicions of our neighbors.

These, I firmly believe, are the lessons of Dallas. We already have suffered an irreparable loss. Yet, how tragically compounded that loss would be if we lost sight of the true meaning and true cause of this tragedy.

In terms of Americanism, humanity, compassion, and decency, John F. Kennedy has left this Nation a great legacy. We are now at a turning point. Will we accept his legacy and rid ourselves of the poison which infects the national bloodstream? Will we turn from hatred and dedicate ourselves anew to the challenges—not the recrimination—that lie before us now? These are questions for each and every American to ask himself.

If these questions are answered in the affirmative; if this Nation rejects hatred and fanaticism in all forms, the greatest memorial man is capable of constructing will be erected and John Fitzgerald Kennedy will not have died in vain.

On behalf of myself and Mrs. Cannon, and of the people of the State of Nevada whom I represent, I extend our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Kennedy and her children and to the entire Kennedy family.

A FRIEND OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the United States of America has lost a gallant leader; West Virginia has lost a trusted friend. It is no secret that John F. Kennedy held the State of West Virginia closest to his heart, after his own native State of Massachusetts. The path that led him to the highest office in the land can be said to have begun for John F. Kennedy in the coalpits of West Virginia, into which he plunged boldly, as he plunged into all his undertakings, in order to acquaint himself at firsthand with the problems of our people.

John F. Kennedy won our hearts because of his unmistakable sincerity and his determination that the way of life which we in the Mountain State cherish must not be allowed to fall into neglect or suffer needlessly from the growing pains of a swiftly changing economy. His unshakable optimism ignited our own hopes, and his calm confidence in the ability of reasonable men to cope successfully with all human crises strengthened our own resolution embodied in our motto, "Mountaineers are always free."

John R. Kennedy reaffirmed our belief in the American way as the way in which life can be lived bravely, nobly, and in the face of a thousand dangers, heroically. He had no patience with mediocrity, no ear for the prophets of doom, no concern with the raucous outcries of the radical right or left which sought to turn aside this Nation from its destiny as the world leader of freemen, committed to the unavoidable challenge of enlarging the scope of human freedom at home and abroad.

We in West Virginia could feel at home with John F. Kennedy because we were keenly aware of his deep and essential sympathy with all men. We were drawn and held to him by the bonds that unite freemen everywhere, the bonds of the spirit. He asked for our support and help, and we gave it. He promised us that he would give himself to the task at hand with vigor, without reservation, without hesitation. No man can say that he did less.

John F. Kennedy the man, is gone from our midst. Now he has become a legend in our land, a memory in our thoughts, a sadness in our hearts. Historians will etch his portrait with words upon the everlasting stone of time. And the calendar of life will move on.

But for us in West Virginia the shadow of John F. Kennedy will linger awhile, like the afterglow of a sunset on our mountain slopes. In West Virginia we will remember John F. Kennedy as a child might remember a special Christmas joy, as a young man might remember an ambitious dream, as an older man might remember a glorious field of battle. For he enkindled amongst us all these things: Joyful hope, noble ambition, and a sense of honor. We are truly grateful.

Now the period of mourning is drawing to a close, and the happy season of Christmas will be upon us. In the broad ellipse at the foot of the Washington Monument there stands a 75-foot Christmas tree sent from the mountain forests of West Virginia. I like to think that this tree is symbolic of the place that John F. Kennedy will keep in our hearts, a place forever green and bright with the joy of the spirit.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, each of us tends to remember, in a personal fashion, the cataclysmic occasions of a lifetime. Why else is the question so commonly asked, "Where were you on Pearl Harbor Day? or V-day? or the day F.D.R. died?"

In such a fashion, each of us will remember the 22d of November 1963. Each person has indelibly imprinted in his own mind where he was, and what he was engaged in doing, when the dread news flashed that John F. Kennedy had been struck down on the streets of Dallas, by an infamous assassin.

I was at a luncheon in the State Department in honor of Senator Manglapus, of the Philippine Islands. Our host was Assistant Secretary Roger Hilsman. By strange coincidence, I was engaged in a converation with Averell Harriman about the danger of extremism in American politics, when an attendant whispered that I had an emergency call from my office. I excused myself, placed the call back from an adjoining room, encountered difficulty with "busy signals" at the Capitol, wondered why the wires were so crowded, and then, suddenly, I was listening to the choked voice of my press secretary, Porter Ward, saying, "The President has been shot in Texas. He is believed to be either dead or dying."

The rest is a dazed memory of rushing back into the dining room to convey the sickening news. I recall how the table turned to turmoil, how the air was suddenly filled with urgent questions and protests of disbelief, how the faces in the room were pale and shaken.

Then, in the company of my colleague, JOHN SPARKMAN, I remember our hurried departure and return to the Senate, where we prayed for the life of our stricken President, not knowing he was already dead.

If each of us retains a memory of that black day in terms of a personal involvement, it is not because we would blur the day with a trivial recollection, but because no one of us can fully comprehend the magnitude of our common loss.

So it is that we bear our grief, as individuals. It was often said of me that I was a "Kennedy man," a nameplate I proudly acknowledged while he lived, and one that I shall cherish now that he is dead. I took joy in his friendship, and I think I will not know his equal again. Though words are clumsy to express one's feelings, I tried to capsule my reaction to the President's martyrdom in a short tribute which I delivered at memorial services held for him at the River Road Unitarian Church in Bethesda, Md., on Sunday, November 24. I ask unanimous consent that these remarks may appear here in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MCINTYRE in the chair). Is there objection to the request by the Senator from Idaho?

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It is not my purpose or place to deliver the sermon this morning. That is properly a service for your own pastor to perform. It is, rather, my purpose to say a few words in tribute to our fallen President.

I hope you will understand if I speak of him in somewhat personal terms, for this is the way I shall remember him.

He was my friend. I loved and honored him. I was proud for my country that he was our President.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was one of those rare human beings about whom it could be truly said: "The elements so mix'd in him that Nature might stand up and say to all the world 'This was a man.'"

He was as handsome as a storied prince; his wife, Jacqueline, as fair as any princess of song or legend. With his encouragement, she made the White House a place of impeccable beauty, where occasions of state were conducted in the style, and with a graciousness and gaiety that befits a great nation. Whenever I was present on these occasions, I never failed to marvel at the President's composure. His dignity was natural to him, and his friendliness always set his guests at ease. How unprepared they were to discover in him that endearing quality of self-effacement, which he often revealed through some lighthearted witticism, but which invariably disclosed his underlying humility. Once, in a toast to the King of Afghanistan, I recall how he explained why the Constitution limited the President to 8 years in office. The amendment had been adopted, he said, partly out of consideration for the well-being of the President, but mainly, he added with a smile, out of consideration for the well-being of the country.

Many of you will remember the celebrated comment he made to that illustrious company of Nobel Prize winners who came to dine with him at the White House. Never, he remarked, has so much talent been gathered at one time under this roof, since Thomas Jefferson used to dine here alone.

Such was the brilliance of the social life which John and Jacqueline Kennedy brought to the Presidential mansion. But more important was the kind of family life they implanted there. Somehow they managed to make that big house a home. Along with other playmates, their daughter, Caroline, and their little son, whom the President liked to call John-John, used to gather in the play yard, within easy view of their daddy's office. He was seldom too busy to be

interrupted by them; he refused to permit the heavy burdens of his office to usurp his family function as a loving father. The personal attention he gave to his children, and to the needs of his grief-stricken wife, when their infant son, Patrick, died soon after birth a few months ago; the tender pictures of John-John on the south lawn awaiting his father's arrival by helicopter, or crawling through the trapdoor in his father's desk, while the President was sitting there absorbed with his evening's work; the familiar sight of Caroline clutching her father's hand as he led the family into church on a Sunday morning—all combined to present to the country the finest example of a devout and affectionate family, setting a moral standard of the highest order.

The many attributes that made John F. Kennedy such an exceptional person cannot be compressed into the short tribute I pay him this morning. Well known was his bravery in battle; his literary talents which won for him the Pulitzer Prize; the fortitude with which he bore the pain in his injured back; the ceaseless energy with which he pursued his quest for self-fulfillment through 17 years of honorable service in the House of Representatives, the Senate, and finally, the White House itself.

History will judge his greatness as a President, but already it is clear that he will be remembered for the strength of his statesmanship which saw us through the dread missile crisis in Cuba a year ago, when the world trembled on the brink of thermonuclear war. And he will be remembered too for the initiative he brought to the search for peace—for the first step along that road he made possible through the nuclear test ban treaty. Not since Lincoln has any President been so deeply committed to the cause of equal treatment for all Americans.

The tragedy of his death is heightened because it came so cruelly at the prime of his extraordinary life. It came as he was grappling with the gigantic problems of our times with the skill and courage of a young David—only to be struck down by an assassin in his own country, in a foul and cowardly murder which crosses us all with shame.

Once, when he faced a crucial primary test, in that long, arduous trek he made toward the Presidency, I asked him whether he believed in prayer. He said he did, and he seemed genuinely moved when I told him I would pray for him. Now, I think, he would want us all to pray for our new President, in faith that a national revulsion against every kind of fanaticism will wash the land clean, so that the hand of Lyndon B. Johnson may be upheld by the councils of reason and decency against the councils of ignorance, bigotry, and hate.

May God preserve this Republic and keep her sensible, strong and free.

Mr. CHURCH. It is too soon to pass judgment upon the Presidency of John F. Kennedy. But we sense that he will loom large, more so than we fully realized while he still lived. Time alone can give us a more definitive measurement.

Even now, there are those who are trying to judge his stature by examining his accomplishments in office. If this is where we should look, it still remains for future events to place his achievements as President in proper perspective. I am inclined to believe—though tomorrow could easily prove me wrong—that of the work he finished, during his brief tenure, the nuclear weapons test ban treaty will stand out above all other accomplishments. For it may well turn out to be the first benchmark on the path to peace.

During the Senate debate on ratification of the test ban treaty, I attempted to recount the earlier failures to obtain agreement, and to point up the stalwart role of our late President during the Cuban missile crisis, which, in my opinion, brought about the agreement. The words I used then somehow seem appropriate now, so I ask that the pertinent paragraphs from that address be reprinted at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the extracts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

All of us know the sorry story of how the stalemated negotiations for a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty ended in dismal failure; we recall how the Soviet Union, after quiet preparations, suddenly resumed testing on a most extensive scale, forcing the United States to do likewise. We remember too how the testing was accompanied by a new round of bellicose speechmaking in the Soviet Union, coupled with a hardening of Russian attitudes on every cold war front. And we shall never forget how the era culminated in a daring thrust by Khrushchev to install missile bases in Cuba, at our very doorstep. In this reckless gambit, Khrushchev in effect was asking: "If her vital interests are challenged, is the United States really willing to risk all in a nuclear war? President Kennedy's response, coming swift and sure, gave Khrushchev his answer. The world watched breathlessly as Kennedy ordered the Navy to turn back Russian ships on the high seas, even as he laid down his ultimatum that the Cuban bases must be dismantled and the Russian missiles withdrawn. Khrushchev had his answer, and he backed away under circumstances which surely inflicted the most serious reversal on the Communist cause since the end of the Second War.

I suppose Khrushchev's question had to be asked—and answered—somewhere, sometime, if a turning point in the nuclear arms race was ever to be reached. The Russians had to know whether, in a showdown situation, we actually stood ready to suffer a full-scale nuclear exchange—whether, in effect, we would sooner choose to be dead than Red. Had Kennedy allowed the Russian missile bases to remain in Cuba, then Khrushchev would have known that he could win his points, one by one, through the threat of nuclear war—that he could bluff his way to world dominion. Under such circumstances, the Russian nuclear arsenal would have had utility, after all, in advancing the objectives of Soviet foreign policy. The Russians would doubtlessly have then intensified the nuclear arms race, and we would have no test ban treaty before us today.

So the tense and terrifying days of last October may well be recorded by historians of the future as a time of destiny for the whole human race, when the fortitude of an American President won for us another chance to harness the nuclear monster, or, as Kennedy himself has put it, to stuff the genie back in the bottle, while there is still time.

Mr. CHURCH. I am not so sure, however, that we should try to measure John F. Kennedy by the work he finished, or by the degree he did, or did not, succeed in securing the enactment of his stated program. Lincoln is not remembered for the legislation he put through Congress, but for the inspiration of his leadership.

So it will be of Kennedy. What a rich literature he left us. For generations to come, when others cannot find the words that will do justice to our goals, his words will be quoted; when others falter under the burden of their duty, his example will strengthen their resolve. In less than 3 years as President, it was Kennedy, the man, who lifted the hearts of the humble, who exacted the respect of the prominent and powerful, whether friend or foe, and who fired the hopes of all who would be free.

Every land felt the force of him, and when he fell the whole world sorrowed. The mighty came as pilgrims to march in grand procession behind his flag-draped coffin; the people, whose President he was, filed passed him in an endless stream through the Capitol rotunda, where he rested upon Lincoln's catafalque.

John Masefield, poet laureate of England, wrote:

The young chief with the smiling, radiant face, the winning way that turned a wonderous race into sublimer pathways, leading on.

And 10,000 torches were lifted in the night by the silent throng that gathered at the city hall in West Berlin, filling the great square which now bears his name.

From among the many messages of mourning that came to me from Idaho, I have excerpted some representative tributes. I have also selected certain passages from editorials, written in memory of the late President, which appeared in the newspapers of my State.

I ask unanimous consent that they be included at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From letters and poems]

"As the greatest love can produce the greatest joy or sorrow, I realize that your privilege of serving with President Kennedy will intensify and personalize to you this thrust to the heart of every citizen. For this reason, I extend my heartfelt sympathy to you personally and pledge renewed faith in and support to the youthful aspirations for a better United States and a better world which were yours and President Kennedy's. He lived his life in honor, manhood and service. In these, he lived out several lifetimes. He can only die if we refuse the torch which he carried to light a better tomorrow." (E. LeGrande Nelson, Twin Falls, Idaho.)

"They who glimpse the effable sadness of beauty in depth—beyond sound, beyond form—knew, from the fateful words of the last inaugural, 'Let us go forth * * * knowing that here on earth, God's work must be truly our own.' That, amongst us, was another, who in the full magnificence of youth, had chosen the way that leads to Calvary." (Lillian Imler, Fruitvale, Idaho.)

"It cannot be true, were my thoughts when I heard that awful news. Then—such a waste of manhood and ability." (Mrs. John B. Harms, Wendell, Idaho.)

"Words fail to express what emotions have shaken me in the past weekend. What sorrow you have felt who have known our President Kennedy so personally. We can only hope that his death will set a new goal of citizenship for all * * * and a new meaning to the phrase, sometimes too lightly used, 'We are our brother's keeper,' for his interests were a living memorial to that creed." (Judge Frances Sleep, Sandpoint, Idaho.)

"I do not know how to write this little letter. I am so hurt over the death of as true and honest friend as the world ever had, President John F. Kennedy. Every time I watched TV it was just tears and a hurting inside me." (Herman Weisenberger, Kellogg, Idaho.)

MUFFLED DRUMS IN WASHINGTON

(By Colen H. Sweeten, Jr., Malad City, Idaho)

There's muffled drums in Washington,
Strange stillness o'er the street;
Tear stained polished brass and robes
Mid the silent rhythmed feet.

Horse drawn, the fallen leader lies
'Neath the flag he held so dear.
Princes and beggars mourn their loss,
While thousands pass his bier.

Yes, muffled drums in Washington
Half masted flags at dawn,
Yet God is in His heaven
And truth still marches on.

[From the Moscow (Idaho) Idahonian]

President Kennedy will be remembered as a very human President. A very likable President. He was not given to protocol. He seldom wore a hat. When he strode to meet you he didn't wait for the formalities of an introduction, nor stand on protocol that the visitor should be introduced to the President. The writer of this comment knows, for he was privileged, just a little more than a year ago, to be surprised by this informality.

All of us have known that the responsibilities of being President have come to be of mankilling size. What most of us do not realize is that our Presidents also put their lives in the lap of the gods every day and every moment they occupy this high office.

[From the Pocatello (Idaho) Sunday Journal]

John F. Kennedy, the man, was a young, vital, courageous leader, wise beyond his years, a loving husband and father. The human tragedy of the swift and ugly assassination shames the Nation, and, in fact, the human race.

Youth and charm and grace characterized the Kennedy family in the White House. They were a part of American life, not aloof from it.

Youngest of our Presidents, John F. Kennedy fought for peace with justice, for true equality of human and civil rights. What history's verdict may be, we cannot foresee. But as a person, he embodied qualities which attracted admiration of millions, the envy and hate of few.

[From the Idaho Falls (Idaho) Post-Register]

This young, vigorous and impressively intelligent leader was silenced at the very pinnacle of his thrust for an always emerging America. He was a President who could stir his followers, excite them to dreams of New Frontier.

President Kennedy had an unusual warmth, unusual courage and patriotism. People who disagreed strenuously with him as President, admired him as a man as well as a leader.

[From the Lewiston (Idaho) Morning Tribune]

The martyred President must be judged in history, not so much by what he accomplished as by what he attempted. He had so tragically little time and so many massive barriers before him.

Perhaps no other American President prepared himself so consciously and so completely for his office. Mr. Kennedy was a master of politics, which is the necessary prerequisite for statesmanship. After his election, he laid before his country and its reluctant Congress a program for progress which is as bold as it is comprehensive.

He submitted to his countrymen imaginative new concepts in conservation and resource development, civil rights, education, public health, aid for the aging, employment, international trade and domestic economic policy, to name a few areas of his interest and competency. He demonstrated in his press conferences a continuous mastery of the varied facets of his bafflingly complex office. Many of the domestic programs he advocated doubtless will be achieved in years still to come.

In foreign policy particularly the brilliant vision of this young President surely will help guide the Nation and the free world long after his tragic death. Surely the world will listen to him anew, as it listened to Lincoln, now that he is gone:

"Let us examine our attitude toward peace itself. Too many of us think it is impossible. Too many think it unreal. But that is a dangerous, defeatist belief. It leads to the conclusion that war is inevitable, that mankind is doomed, that we are gripped by forces we cannot control.

We need not accept that view. Our problems are manmade; therefore they can be solved by man. And man can be as big as he wants."

Or again:

"I come here today to look across this world of threats to the world of peace. In that search we cannot expect any final triumph, for new problems will always arise. We cannot expect that all nations will adopt like systems, for conformity is the jailer of freedom and the enemy of growth. Nor can we expect to reach our goal by contrivance, by fiat, or even by the wishes of all.

"But however close we sometimes seem to that dark and final abyss, let no man of peace and freedom despair. For he does not stand alone. If we all can persevere—if we can in every land and office look beyond our own shores and ambitions—then surely the age will dawn in which the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

"Never have the nations of the world had so much to lose—or so much to gain. Together we shall save our planet, or together we shall perish in its flames. Save it we can—and save it we must—and then shall we earn the eternal thanks of mankind and, as peacemakers, the eternal blessing of God."

He left another message of special meaning this day for his grieving countrymen. He was speaking of Dag Hammarskjold and the United Nations, but he could as well have been speaking of his own beloved country and the void he now leaves in it:

"The problem is not the death of one man; the problem is the life of this organization. It will either grow to meet the challenge of our age, or it will be gone with the wind, without influence, without force, without respect. Were we to let it die, to enfeeble its vigor, to cripple its powers, we would condemn the future."

The unfinished work of John F. Kennedy awaits America. May this Nation grow to meet the challenge of our age.

[From the Aberdeen (Idaho) Times]

The first grief was at the loss of one so close to each of us. He represented each of us and the principles we stand for. He was a symbol to all of our way of life.

[From the Grangeville (Idaho) Free Press]

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was a leader among men, yet his personal appeal brought him closer to most Americans and peoples of the world than many of his predecessors in the office of Chief Executive.

The President of the United States extended to the world a warm handclasp in the name of peace. To those in need, he befriended. He was a true American, and it was his spirited approach to the problems of humanity which meant so much to the downtrodden, the poverty stricken. His image shall live for many years to come.

Americans took kindly to Mr. Kennedy and his family. The White House and its residents were next door neighbors to everyone in the United States. The affection shown to the Kennedys by the public was as real as any devotion of family life in an American home.

Mr. Kennedy met major problems while in office with a view always toward universal peace. Nothing would sway him to travel a different route. He would hold the peace to the limit.

Complicated domestic political issues did not meet with evasion when they reached Mr. Kennedy's desk. His proposals for the Nation were bold and vigorous. There was no timidity in asking for major legislation and he pressed with personal sincerity.

In this modern, space age era in which often it appears science is outdistancing the real purpose of man and swamping mankind with difficult social problems, often appearing insurmountable, it was refreshing to have in the White House a President in tune with the times.

This is not a time of hopelessness. This is a time for a reassessment of our stewardship in our democracy. And this is the time for a show of faith and thanksgiving that Mr. Kennedy left the Nation strong and dedicated to continue his deeds toward universal peace.

[From the Boise (Idaho) Statesman]

It is a moment in which attention is focused upon John F. Kennedy as an individual of high ideals, of dedication, and of courage.

A product of his times, John F. Kennedy was called to national leadership in a period of widely prevailing uncertainty and perhaps of epochal transition involving the clash of strongly conflicting forces. He has fulfilled his part stoutly, conscientiously, and fairly.

It has been his prime purpose to minimize the conflict and to do all within his power to make this country and the world a better place for all mankind to live.

It is perhaps that as an outstanding humanitarian his memory will be enshrined. He has been quick to respond to the appeal of human wants and needs. In his book it is the proper function of government to provide the remedy, and he has not hesitated to call upon the resources of government to that end.

In reference to the phrase that sounded like a clarion in his inaugural address, John F. Kennedy never asked what the country could give him personally; instead it has been he who has given his country and the world the last full measure of devotion.

[From the Rexburg (Idaho) Standard]

When a leader of great power and presence and capacity for good dies in office, the cause to which he gave leadership suffers grievous loss. President John F. Kennedy was such a man. The cause he served, and so eloquently led, was the threefold cause of human dignity and equality and freedom.

The cause he championed as acknowledged leader of the free world lives on. We who survive him can best honor his memory by doing all in our power to advance that cause, which is the very cause for which this Nation was founded.

Mr. CHURCH. Sometimes, even in moments of solemn bereavement, a child will make some captivating comment. When we took our boys, Forrest and Chase, with us to the Capitol rotunda, to pay our last respects as a family to John F. Kennedy, our little boy, sensing his mother's distress, reached up for her hand and said, "Don't cry, Mommy. The guards will protect him. If these guards fall, others will come to take their place. They can never take President Kennedy away from us."

They never can take President Kennedy away from us. His memory will be guarded by every person who strives for excellence, by every mind in search of truth, by every eye that would see justice done, by every open hand outstretched for peace, and by every heart that holds freedom dear, for as long as men aspire to do God's work on earth.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, we have not been able to bring ourselves as yet to realize fully that the late President John F. Kennedy is no longer with us.

Never before in the history of our country have our people been so shocked and saddened as we were on November 22, 1963.

We gather now to pay tribute to a human being who, in a short lifetime, came to mean so much to so many millions of peoples throughout the world.

In spite of the fact he was still a young man, John F. Kennedy had come to be a living, active, forceful symbol for freedom throughout the world.

It is impossible to express the feelings all of us have had since his tragic and unnecessary death. We are saddened beyond words.

But the greatest tribute we can pay this man today is to carry on the business of the Nation and to go ahead even while we mourn his passing.

Above all else he would want us to make the best of the situation at hand and prove beyond any doubt that our system of democracy is unshakable even at a time such as this. We have lost a great leader, a warm friend, and a courageous man, and we are deep in our sorrow, but we all know that the world is a better place in which to live as a result of his unselfish service to mankind.

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy was one of the bulwarks, the bright spires, the strong places.

Today we honor one of our own—one who served and served well—as a Member of this body. It was while he served here that he was chosen by the American people to take the mantle of national leadership during an awesome period of world history.

He was young, and vigorous, and wise, and dedicated to public service. Virtually all of his adult life was spent in the service of his country.

His achievements are too numerous to attempt listing; as is the case with any man so deserving of a eulogy, he does not require one.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy belonged to each of us—to every American. He was our President; but throughout the world he belonged, in a very special way, to many others—for to them he was more than the leader of a great nation—he was a symbol of peace.

Each of us is acutely aware of the tragedy that has befallen us, and in such times we turn to our memories.

I remember him as a strong, brave young man—one who carried to his grave injuries received during World War II and endured through the years; one who offered his life for his country, first in war and again in peace. It is ironic that the first offer was refused and the second accepted; but we can be thankful for those years between the first and second offering when we had the benefit of his wisdom, his ideas, and his ideals. We grieve that his even greater potential for the years ahead has been lost to us.

I remember him for his gallant personal victory over physical disability, and I remember the standing ovation he received from his colleagues when he returned to the Senate floor on crutches in 1955. I remember his vitality, his wit, and his fine mind; and I valued his friendship.

As a public servant, I remember him as a sophisticated, polished statesman who could nevertheless communicate and identify with people of every station. He was a man of rare eloquence, strong conviction, and great courage—a diligent and dedicated colleague.

As President, I remember him not only as a political leader who met the great issues of the age, but also as one who rekindled interest in the arts, renewed concern for our national heritage, and increased respect for scholarship.

And with the confirmation of his death, I recalled the verse from Shakespeare:

Now cracks a noble heart. Good night, Sweet Prince,
And flights of Angels sing thee to thy rest.

His was indeed a noble heart, and a noble mind and a noble spirit that we shall never forget.

But perhaps our greatest legacy from President Kennedy was his dream. He said:

> I believe in an America that is on the march—an America respected by all nations, friends and foes alike—an America that is moving, choosing, doing, dreaming—a strong America in a world of peace.

And this must be the dream of all of us.

Our sympathy goes out to the courageous Kennedy family; indeed, it goes out to all the Nation, for he belonged to all of us, and he was the President of all of us—and we shall miss him.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted at this point in the RECORD the following articles and editorials from the North Carolina press and other news media as evidence of the esteem and affection the people of my State had for the late President.

There being no objection, the articles, and editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Stanly News & Press, Albemarle, N.C., Nov. 26, 1963]

A NATION IN SHOCK NEEDS PRAYER

Three shots rang out about 12:30 c.s.t., Friday, in Dallas, Tex., and the effect of them reverberated around the world within just a few minutes. A sniper, armed with a high-powered rifle, killed President John F. Kennedy and seriously wounded Governor John Connally, of Texas, who was riding in the car with the President.

The first reaction throughout this Nation was shock. It was a benumbed people who sat with their eyes fixed on television screens as the story of the dastardly crime was unfolded. The second reaction was revulsion—extreme revulsion that such a thing could have happened in this country.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was no ordinary man. Although born to wealth, so that he could have lived in ease and luxury, he chose a path of service. Endowed with great courage, an excellent intellect, and a high sense of duty, Mr. Kennedy served his country in World War II, earning a heroes acclaim. Entering politics after the war, he distinguished himself as Congressman and Senator and served the country so well that in 1960 he was first-ballot choice of the Democrat Party for the Presidency.

History will record that he served as leader of his country and of the free world during nearly 3 years in an era when danger of a nuclear holocaust was uppermost in the minds of men around the globe. Under his leadership the Nation was spared the horror of hydrogen war, and enjoyed a high degree of prosperity and progress. Significant achievements were recorded, both at home and on the diplomatic front.

As must be said of all men in high places, not everyone was in agreement with President Kennedy. But even his severest critic could not accuse him of being insincere. His administration was dedicated to the cause of peace and sought in every way possible to further the cause of freedom.

His life of service and usefulness was cut short at 46, an age when most Presidents have not even thought of running for that high office. The youthful age at which he attained the world's most responsible office attests the ability he demonstrated and the faith which his colleagues had in his leadership.

Reaction from around the world was that of disbelief, of shock and incredulity, and this soon gave way to uncertainty about the future, for a new President was sworn in a few hours after Mr. Kennedy was pronounced dead at Parkland Hospital, Dallas.

Taking over the reins of leadership is Lyndon B. Johnson, a stalwart Texan and a man well experienced in the intricacies of the Federal Government. This Nation, if it has to experience the loss of a President, is fortunate in having as his successor a man of the ability and experience of Lyndon Johnson.

There is no way of foretelling what the future may hold as this Nation continues to try to uphold freedom and the dignity of man around the globe.

But this we can say that Mr. Johnson is a dedicated Christian leader who has already in this dark hour, invoked the guidance of God and the support and cooperation of the people in carrying on the tremendous task of Government.

Even while our tears drop in mourning for our fallen leader, it behooves us as a people to look ahead, gather new confidence, and to rally our forces in support of our new leader. His path may not be the same as that chosen by Mr. Kennedy, but his is the responsibility for leadership. Our responsibility is that of intelligent cooperation and faithful support.

And may we pray, as did Dr. Gerner at Pfeiffer on Friday afternoon, that the enmity and hatred which prompted such a dastardly deed may give way to the spirit of Christian love and brotherhood befitting a free and democratic nation.

[From the Stanly News & Press, Albemarle, N.C., Nov. 29, 1963]

WHY SUCH TRAGIC HATE?

A self-styled Communist, hiding behind a sixth floor window, sighted down the barrel of a powerful rifle with a telescopic lens, and pulled the trigger three times. The President fell into the arms of his lovely young wife, mortally wounded, and the Governor of Texas was grievously hurt.

That was about 1:30 p.m. Friday, November 22, a date which will live in infamy and perhaps be known as "Black Friday."

Though the sound of the three shots was not audible over television or radio, the impact reverberated around the world in just

a few hours. Friend and foe, alike, sent words of regret, of condolence.

The American people, as one individual, reeled with the incredulity of the crime and then settled themselves in front of television screens, their minds forming one big question, "Why?"

The man Dallas police say definitely killed President Kennedy, a Dallas policeman, and wounded the Texas Governor was himself shot fatally in the basement of the Dallas city hall by a nightclub operator. He died only a few feet from the spot where President Kennedy breathed his last about 48 hours earlier, in Parkland Hospital, where Albemarle's Jack Price is administrator.

There are so many loose threads of the situation, so many coincidences and unanswered questions, that one cannot help wondering if the assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald, was killed because of what he might have told police if he had lived. We may never really know.

On the other hand, there is a stark realization in the hearts of people everywhere of what hatred—cold and calculating enmity—can do to human personality.

Mr. Kennedy returned to Washington and to the White House, where the people of this great land paid him high tribute. Perhaps a quarter of a million men and women marched silently by his bier as it lay in state in the Capitol rotunda.

I shall never forget the sight of that spirited, prancing and impatient black horse, without a rider, following along behind the caisson bearing the President's body. In that horse it seemed I could almost see and feel the zest, the will, the spirit of the departed President, chafing at the bit and eager for action, for living.

The skies wept over Washington the day after Mr. Kennedy was killed, but the sun shone brightly as the crowds gathered to pay him tribute.

In every phase of the observance, from the time he was brought back to the White House until the casket was lowered into the hallowed earth of Arlington, in the shadows of majestic Custis-Lee Mansion, there was dignity and the aura of tribute. Symbolic of the President's influence, his widow lighted a perpetual fire at the head of his grave, which will be viewed by hundreds of thousands of Americans in the years to come.

Heads of state, kings, queens, princes, prime ministers, emperors—the most impressive array of world figures I can recall—testified to the esteem in which our President was held.

But, during it all, another figure emerged as heroic, an example for American womanhood of all the years to come. Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy cradled the head of her dying husband en route to the hospital, rode with his body in the plane to Washington, remained near him all through the night, visited him in repose in the East Room of the White House, maintained dignity and stately composure in all her many appearances at the Capitol, the final rites, and the reception afterward at which the heads of state formally paid their respects to her.

Poise and grace were evident in her and her children, and "Jack," had be been alive to see them, would have been proud of their demeanor. "Jackie" has earned the praise of Americans everywhere in these days of mourning and loss.

It is never possible to put into words all the things one feels at a time such as this. Hearts and minds have been saddened beyond expression. Such sorrow has not gripped the Nation in many, many years, and never has a people felt so personal a loss, for John Kennedy had come into our homes and talked with us on many occasions. It was almost as if a very dear member of the family had gone beyond.

Though the loss of one so young, so brave, and so handsome must be met with deep grieving, the Nation and the world must carry on. We are fortunate to have a man of Lyndon Johnson's experience and ability to take over leadership.

But we can hope that the wellsprings of hate, which beget such tragedies may be replaced by the Christian spirit of brotherly love.

[From the Stanly News & Press, Albermarle, N.C., Nov. 26, 1963]

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY

(By George B. Weaver)

By birth a product of what has aptly been described as "the great American dream."

In early manhood, a hero through his courageous actions while in the service of his country.

By inclination, an intellectual, with rare gifts of expression and insight into human personality.

His personality, warm, friendly, almost radiant, magnetic, with a ready smile and an engaging wit.

His ambition, to serve his fellow man, to uphold freedom and justice, and to seek peace among all men everywhere.

As a father, exhibiting the love and tenderness of a fond parent, along with the faith of a devout Christian.

In middle life, elected to the highest office the citizens of the United States can offer, respected by heads of state around the world, and with a growing stature of leadership among statesmen of the world.

In death, a martyr to the causes he espoused, and perhaps as strong a testimony for right as in life. He died in the service of his fellow man and his country.

Significantly, as is so often the case, the full appreciation of what he was did not reach the minds and hearts of people in this land and elsewhere until the impact of his loss was felt.

[From the Benson (N.C.) Review, Nov. 28, 1963]

IN MEMORIAM

(By Dr. Gaylor L. Lehman)

Our hearts are saddened today because of the tragic death of our President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Last Friday afternoon we looked at each other in silent shock and stunned disbelief. Today our eyes have a glassy stare and we find the stark fact of his death still incomprehensible. As a Nation and as individuals we mourn his untimely passing and are inflamed by the insane act that caused it. In war and in peace John Kennedy offered his life to his country. Many years of leadership and greatness lay before him. His consuming desire was the triumph of freedom in our country and in the world, with its inherent right for each person to develop his talent and ability to the maximum. For this cause he lived and died.

The miracle of television made the name of John F. Kennedy a household word. His 2 years and 10 months in the office of President brought him into our homes on newscasts almost every day. It seemed as if we knew him, his wife, and his children personally. In a very real sense it makes his passing seem not only that of a President and statesman but also that of a personal friend. Whether rich or poor, unlearned or lettered, Protestant or Catholic, white or Negro, we mourn his passing. He was our President and as such he commanded our respect and our loyalty.

It is almost inconceivable that the President of the United States could be shot from ambush and murdered. In barbaric Vietnam or in the uncivilized Congo, yes; in America, no. The fact that it has happened points up the venom of hatred that exists among us—class, racial, ethnic, even religious. It speaks of the sickness of our national morality. One crazed fanatic fired the rifle. But we have all called each other too many names; we have harbored too many prejudices; we have nurtured too many suspicions. And in so doing we must bear our guilt, for it was out of this attitude that the shot was fired. We have been unwilling to exemplify the spirit of Jesus Christ who talked about walking the second mile and turning the other cheek, and who asked that we love our neighbor as ourselves.

Today we mourn the loss of a young and great leader, brilliant in politics, yet human in qualities. It is not that we agreed with everything he said or did. It is rather that he was our President and that he belonged to each of us. Today our hearts go out and our prayers go up for Mrs. Kennedy, her children, and the family, that they may find comfort and strength amid their sorrow; for President Johnson, that he may seek and find divine wisdom and guidance to lead us in the future; and for our Nation, that individually and collectively we may find in this tragedy a new respect for those with whom we differ and a new love for God and for one another.

[From the Watauga Democrat]

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY—1917–63

(By Rob Rivers)

The parade route was lined with friendly, cheering people as the President of the United States, the First Lady, Governor and Mrs. Connally rode along a Dallas street. Things appeared to be going well in the turbulent political tides which have ebbed and flowed in the Lone Star State. But there was the crack of a rifle, the Chief Executive slumped and the Nation was plunged into deep mourning.

Even those who liked the President least found a common ground with those who loved the Executive, in their crushed reaction to the monstrously evil thing, which could well affect the destinies of the Nation and even of the world.

Youthful, vigorous, and imaginative, Mr. Kennedy had served his country well during the agonies of the late great war and during the frenzied and dangerous age of the shaky and uneasy peace. He had served less than three-fourths of his term when an assassin's bullet struck with its crashing, searing lethality.

President Kennedy, who was no stranger to trouble and to sorrow and to family tragedy, carried into the Nation's top office a wealth of knowledge and of experience and a rare concern for the rights and welfare of the peoples of the country and of the world. Articulate, personable, and with no apparent quality of fear, he captured the imagination and esteem of his countrymen. He was thickskinned, impervious to criticism, and could make vital decisions without disturbing his sleep.

The President was not doing well with his programs in Congress. Few men of vision and change are successful right from the start when they speak freely for liberalism, and who espouse the rights of the common man, and who've believed that one race has no moral or legal right to set itself up as the master of another race whose skin comes in darker hues.

In his fight for civil rights and for the dignity of the Federal courts, President Kennedy was never swerved from his convictions, even though he was losing strength in some sections of the country. In the South, even in North Carolina, those who've wanted to keep the status quo have railed out against the President, who would have fared badly in some of the States of the old Confederacy.

But, death in its silent, strange finality, often comes as a grim pacifier, as a sort of common denominator and those who had fought the President, tooth and nail, in and out of the Congress are now united in a common grief, the extent of which has perhaps

never been equaled in the Nation's harried history.

The mysterious curtain of death has brought an amazing degree of charity and of sadness, even to his former detractors. Some of the debatable policies which he espoused with youthful vigor and without regard to personal consequences, somehow don't seem to be so tremendously wrong now that heads are bared and bowed in the stillness and hush of his tragic leavetaking. So, in the dispensation of the Father of us all, it could well be that Mr. Kennedy's death could be the means of reuniting our Nation more solidly than before in these days of our tragic sorrows, and of our common dangers.

President Kennedy was a good and a great man. He had matured in his position of power and of prestige and had met issues of monstrous magnitude with firm decisions and with courage casehardened in the caldrons of world conflict.

It is fitting that the President's body, smashed by an enemy of our country, is lying as this is written on the catafalque which first held the body of Abraham Lincoln, who himself met death as an indirect result of some of the beliefs which President Kennedy espoused a hundred years later. While the Kennedy assassination does not tie in, so far as we know, with the racial situation, most of the hatred which the late President acquired was in his efforts to implement and expand the spirit of the Emancipation Proclamation.

The sinews of a great nation are not weakened when watered by its tears, and out of a common grief should come a more purposeful perspective and a renewal of our spiritual and physical might. In our time of sorrowful reflection, we should gain strength from the unchanging purposes and high courage of our fallen President, and tranquillity from Mrs. Kennedy who knelt by the catafalque which once held the body of Abraham Lincoln, kissed the flag which covered the coffin of her husband, and leading her children, Caroline and John-John, one with each hand, walked resolutely from the hushed rotunda of the Capitol into the sunlight.

[From the Watauga Democrat, Nov. 28, 1963]

J.F.K.—He Had Our Esteem

(By Bob Rivers)

When the white horses were drawing the caisson which held the coffin of President Kennedy through the sunshine-laced shadows of the Avenue of Presidents, our tortured mind turned back to another day long ago, when President Harding died in San Francisco's Palace Hotel. The Democrat, short-handed and fairly ill equipped in those skimpy days, managed a special edition and distributed it freely, far and wide, as a public service to a mourning populace. Some years later Franklin D. Roosevelt expired in Warm Springs, but the radio had made a special edition unneeded in a time of change. We recalled the long train trip from the west coast and the great creped engines which headed President Harding's funeral train, and when the steaming, panting moguls of the shiny rails thundered through town and city and hamlet taking F.D.R. back home. There was grief, it seemed, aplenty on both of these occasions when the leaders of our country had fallen. President Harding, elected in a landslide, was popular with the masses of the people; Roosevelt was their idol, but he had little of health and vigor left.

With President Kennedy it was different from the last leavetaking of a Chief Executive. The youngest man to hold the office of crushing responsibility and of grim dangers, he perhaps hadn't yet reached the apex of his colorful career. He was not allowed to die naturally but from the tearing, rending impact of a rifle bullet. This made his going even more tragic. His youthfulness, his courageous striving for what he believed right, his tremendous mental capacity, would have seemed to portend a long tenure in the spotlight's glare.

We, who two-finger this column, liked the President from the days when he went into the political wars against what appeared overwhelming forces in his home State and won for himself a seat in the Senate. We were present when the thatch-haired Boston-trained politician was defeated for the Vice-Presidential nomination by Estes Kefauver in the convention of 1956 (which perhaps saved his political life), and took the missus on a hurried trip to Los Angeles solely to cast a delegate vote for John Kennedy for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency in 1960, thus becoming a sort of moral heretic to the vast majority of the Carolina delegation who'd gone all out for Lyndon Johnson. Fact is we got in about as bad a shape as we did in 1952 when we foresook Senator Russell and went along with Kerr Scott for Stevenson against the wishes of the kingmakers of Carolina politics. Nobody asked us to vote for Kennedy, we just liked the guy, and thought it a waste of political powder to nominate a man whose friends, at the time, couldn't have entertained a serious notion of his inhabiting the White House.

RECEPTION FROSTY

We saw Senator Kennedy at a breakfast given for the delegation. It was a kind of meet-the-candidates event, and we recall Governor Hollings, of South Carolina, being at our table when Stevenson and Symington were proposed to the delegates, and we heard Lyndon B. Johnson make a homey pitch for the support he had in his vest pocket at the time. In due time Senator Kennedy strode into the room, his bright sorrel hair standing out like a light. He walked with what someone described as that "little-lost-boy look." He spoke briefly, said he'd enjoyed being in North Carolina previously, expected to be there again if nominated "and," he said, "if I fail of nomination, I'll still come to see you, if you'll let me." He smiled the toothy good-natured Irish smile and moved away. The reception he received was not downright discourteous, or anything of that sort, but chilly like a November morning. It looked like the hundred or more people should have fetched out to the Golden State more warmth from Carolina's bright midsummer sun. But politicians being like they are, many can't abide a man running counter to their notions and few sought to shake hands with the President-in-the-making, Mrs. Rivers and we being notable exceptions, and we liked making brief talk with the man whose career we had followed with such great personal concern. Winning in a steamroller style on the first ballot, the Kennedy machine left the losers figuratively weeping in their beer.

THE OTHER RIDE—ON THE AVENUE

We'd been present on the bleak January day when the snow had been taken from Pennsylvania Avenue, so that the gay inaugural parade could proceed along the route so lately trod by the teams of pale horses. It was a glad time for all and sundry, in spite of the change in the weather, and there were tears all around in our group when a vigorous young man took the oath of office and faced up to his massive problems in an inaugural address without precedent for its eloquence and logic. "Ask not," he had shouted, and his breath was like smoke in the frigid air, "what your country can do for you, but rather what you can do for your country." Little would we have thought that his martyrdom would have been his supreme gift to the Nation.

HUMAN AND DEMOCRATIC

President Kennedy was very human and democratic. In our personal reflections we thought of having written him some time after his inaugural, offering a suggestion as to the broadening of the base of his press conferences. Back came a reply to a country editor from the Executive, with appreciation and thanks for the suggestion which he said "has a great deal of merit." And across the bottom, in the Kennedy scrawl, he penned, "would like to see you when next you are in Washington." A few weeks ago we had published a letter from President Kennedy congratulating us on the 75th anniversary of the Democrat and commending us and our family on our efforts down through the years. At home with all segments of the population, concerned over the welfare and activities of all the people, his name will be remembered for his greatness and strength.

These personal references are only intended to show the uncommon stature of the man whose tragic death we mourn. We've had a hard time keeping the tears off the typewriter these last days. Somehow they just keep coming.

[From the Charlotte (N.C.) News, Nov. 23, 1963]

John Fitzgerald Kennedy

The death of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy is a boundless tragedy. A man is dead, one of striking gifts of heart and mind and of enormous capacity for service. And with the life is lost a precious distillation of experience, judgment and wisdom that the Nation can possess only through a President acting and moving in full stride.

A disaster so profound cannot be compassed; it can only be mourned. And the loss cannot be made up. At 46, the President had decades of incalculable promise unfolding before him. Who can guess the shining acts of service the world has been deprived of by a psychotic sniper? One evil moment has ended a life of striving.

The American people wait to follow the new President with that spirit of unity and loyalty always characteristic of them in times of crisis. But only to President Johnson, thrust toward new and hard responsibilities, can the assassination seem fully credible. The gleam of John F. Kennedy's bright and buoyant spirit lingers and will not soon fade.

It is difficult even now to comprehend the swiftnes of his rise in American politics and his unyielding determination to become his Nation's chief executive. Because his ambition to succeed was inseparable from his desire for the Nation to succeed, he came to personify for millions the promise and passion of a nation to remain supreme in the world.

In every Kennedy speech there always came the unquestioned accents of a patriot who loved his country.

There was a driving urgency in him, reflecting an unshakeable belief that the Nation and the world could throw off the coils of peril with unremitting faith and work. Almost from the moment of his inauguration those coils closed about the young President; in a moving speech on Berlin he admitted his astonishment at learning how terrible and awesome were the responsiblities he had sought with such unquenchable zest. Yet he was as equal to them as any man could be.

There never was any doubt, and certainly none in the Kremlin, that a threat to the freedom of America would be met with force. The President, in his finest moments, matched wits and nerves with a wily tyrant and he passed the tests with flying colors.

In the good heart and healthy mind of the President every inhabitant of the globe had a personal stake. In some measure all life was linked to his life because he possessed enough power to unhinge the world; yet neither the power nor the nightmarish

problems that created it warped his spirit. On the day he lost his life the President was still carrying his gaiety and courage and, remarkably, his youth. No panic of mind or hardness of heart in the 35th President of the United States ever would have pushed mankind into the abyss. But he had found the strength and the patience to stand on the brink, and the Nation stood with him wholeheartedly. Americans had confidence in the wisdom and judgment of John Kennedy on the great issues of war or peace. He earned that confidence in trial by fire, and he deserved it.

No American can glimpse the relentless pressures and cruel choices that faced President Kennedy from his inauguration on. To reflect on them now can only deepen our grief and respect. History handed him a threatened world, a nation divided politically and a people split along racial lines. Answers of any sort were difficult; answers that would please were impossible. It was not in his power to reconcile world or national tensions; he could only try unceasingly, and he did.

But to dwell on the harshness of President Kennedy's lot would be to miss the greatness of the man. Which was that he welcomed trial, gloried in struggle and kept his faith in the face of shattering disappointments.

Those inner qualities remained untarnished to the end, and they are a large part of the legacy he leaves to a grieving nation. But not alone these. For all her internal frustrations and agony, America is a stronger nation than John Kennedy found her and the world, perhaps, is a little safer.

No President is indispensable; in the depth of its tragedy, the Nation will find new strength. But John F. Kennedy is irreplaceable, and we will tell our children that he was a rare and radiant man who loved his country fiercely and was a martyr to its service, and we will tell them the truth.

[From the Clayton (N.C.) News, Nov. 27, 1963]

(By Tom Womble)

We come in this hour to look at a man of courage—a man of dedication—a man of forthrightness. He was a man of sensitivity, a person as comfortable in the presence of political leaders as with his two children.

President Kennedy offered himself, I believe, to be used by his country and by his God.

He gave to the world a new hope for peace on the international horizon, that few others dreamed possible, along with which he gave a new sense of pride at being an American.

McGregor Barnes, historian, quoted John F. Kennedy as having said, "It will take more bravery in the sixties than ever to continue." The late President lived these words, within his life to the point that they may not be considered trivial. A back ailment proved to be only one "thorn in the flesh," of which there were many, which perplexed him throughout his 46 years. Continuous operations brought him near death's gate in 1954. This operation was for the removal of a steel plate, previously inserted, in his back. His church during these days even administered the last rites.

Years before he, as a junior-grade naval lieutenant commanding a PT-boat, had courageously saved several members of his crew, one of which had been personally towed in his teeth, having clutched in his teeth the straps of the sailor's life belt. This ordeal took approximately 5 hours.

The bravery of which he spoke can easily be identified in many areas as being desperately needed in our own land today.

John F. Kennedy's loyalty and devotion to his country is typified in his statement, "Ask not, what can my country do for me? Ask, what can I do for my country?"

This question is prominent in this tragic hour: "What can we do for our country that this great man need not have died in vain?"

First, our country must become united; pettiness cannot have a place among us in this hour.

Secondly, we must live in faith as never before. Faith that God is in control of this world and from out of these moments of upheaval and transition He shall continue to reign.

May I quote from William G. Ballentine's "God Save America" as our final thought in this eulogy to the late President of our United States.

"GOD SAVE AMERICA

"God save America! New world of glory, Newborn to freedom and knowledge and power, Lifting the towers of her lightning lit cities Where the flood tides of humanity roar.

"God save America! Here may all races Mingle together as children of God, Founding an empire on brotherly kindness, Equal in Liberty, made of one blood!

"God save America! Bearing the olive, Hers be the blessing the peacemakers prove, Calling the nations to glad federation, Leading the world in the triumphs of love!

"God save America! 'Mid all her splendors, Save her from pride and from luxury; Throne in her heart the Un-seen and Eternal, Right to be her might and the truth made her free!"

[From the Sampson Independent, Nov. 28, 1963]

A verse for today: "Be not highminded, nor trust in uncertain riches but in the living God who giveth us richly all things to enjoy." (I Timothy 6: 17.)

PRESIDENT JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY

"May God rest his soul."

Americans of all faiths and all races were shocked into a prayer for the soul of their assassinated President as the news came over the airwaves on the blackest Friday in recent history.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was 46. In the prime of life, with nearly 3 years of service as Chief Executive of the United States behind him, he was on a peacemaking mission to politically embroiled Texas, when a long-range rifle was thrust from a window and shots rang out.

The President slumped into the arms of his wife, Jacqueline Kennedy, who rode proudly beside him. He was rushed to the hospital. Specialists worked over him. Priests gave him the last rites of the Roman Catholic Church. He died within an hour of the attack.

So little did John Kennedy think that he was in any danger, that he sat beside his wife on his last ride.

Lyndon B. Johnson, who as Vice President succeeds to the Presidency, was indirectly the victim of the assassin. For it was in his State of Texas that the assassination took place which vaulted him into the White House. He was to be the host to the Kennedy's at his ranch for the weekend.

It is too early to render judgment on the 35th President. He had brought the country to its greatest peacetime strength, both in nuclear and conventional arms. He had recovered much of the loss in the space race.

On the economic front, he had seen the gross national income rise $100 billion, from $500 billion to an expected $600 billion this year. The greatest blot was the high unemployment level, that did not fall despite the Nation's great prosperity. He had achieved a certain accommodation with the Soviet Union, which somewhat firmed a shaky peace.

The Nation echoes the anguished cry of Mrs. Kennedy as the President fell into her arms, "Oh, no! Oh, no!" To her and their children, to the bereaved parents and brothers and sisters, the Nation's heart goes out. Their loss is the country's loss. May God help them, and help the country that nurtured him to his high office. And may He be with his successor, Lyndon B. Johnson, the 36th President of the United States, as he enters with heavy heart into his exalted office.

[From the Concord (N.C.) Tribune, Nov. 24, 1963]

IN MEMORIAM OF PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY—1917–63

Words can scarcely convey the sense of horror, shock, and indignation felt when President John Fitzgerald Kennedy was assassinated Friday afternoon.

That such a thing could happen in the United States of America in this day and age is inconceivable, and even now more than a day later, remains very difficult to believe.

A bullet, fired by a cowardly murderer, cut short the life of the youngest man ever elected to the Nation's highest office. The tragic end came just at a time when it appeared that Kennedy's peaceful overtures to the Soviet Union might at long last bring relief from the pressures of the cold war.

That the late President was a controversial figure cannot be denied, but Americans, regardless of party affiliation, mourn him as a fallen hero.

Although his program—those in effect and those on the drawing boards—drew wrath on one side and bountiful praise on the other, his acts at relieving East-West tensions should serve to place his memory deep in the hearts of all Americans.

In situations like this, we are prone to forget the things with which we disagreed and are more likely to remember only the fine qualities and deeds of the departed. Such should be the case now.

Filled with youthful energy and plans for reshaping the Nation, Kennedy took office in troubled times. And troubles he had—the Bay of Pigs disaster, Berlin, the Cuban missile crisis, civil rights struggles at home, and others.

The office matured him as only the intense pressures, obligations, and responsibilities of the world's highest office can.

Many criticized the late President for the high-powered tactics which won him the Democratic nomination in 1960, and later, the Presidency. But John Kennedy, the politician and statesman, like Jack Kennedy, the naval officer and hero, knew but one way to wage any fight—to win.

He had his successes as well as his failures and his platform raised howls of protests in many quarters, but few can doubt his personal sincerity, integrity, and courage.

An assassin's bullet killed more than a man in Dallas Friday afternoon; it killed the image of a new day in this century, for Kennedy was the symbol of youth, with its vigorous and unsullied plans for reshaping the order of things in a jumbled world.

How his death will alter the course in history is purely a matter of conjecture. However, John Kennedy was a forceful, popular man and much that only he could have accomplished has been lost to a world, now much poorer by his loss.

He took office in troubled times, but died in a period of East-West thaw, for which he was primarily responsible. As the peace-loving Americans that we are, we can only pray that the late John F. Kennedy set the stage for true world peace in the years to come.

Let us not forget the human, for in death he is not only a former President, but a loving husband and adoring father, taken from his family at the height of his success and in the prime of life.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy is dead—he is not forgotten—but now is the time to unite behind President Lyndon B. Johnson, for trying days await the new Chief Executive.

[From the Concord (N.C.) Tribune, Dec. 1, 1963]

CALLS FOR UNITY

Our new President, Lyndon B. Johnson, made a *splendid* appeal to the citizens of the Nation Thanksgiving night for them to "banish the rancor from our words and the malice from our hearts," so a united nation can face the days ahead.

It was a simple yet great personal appeal from the President for unity and sincerity from the people to get the job done at hand in tribute to the martyred President Kennedy.

And he made a statement that all of us must surely take to heart. He pointed out that "our homes are safe, our defenses are secure," adding "we know our system is strong."

Most of us in days past had not heard such reassuring news. Simply he was telling the people that America is strong and ready for any attack which might be mounted by an enemy.

Moved by the sudden death of his immediate predecessor, the late John F. Kennedy, he announced that Cape Canaveral henceforth will be known as Cape Kennedy, a great tribute to a young man who put America right at the top in the great outer space race.

[From the Concord (N.C.) Tribune, Dec. 3, 1963]

THE TORCH IS PASSED

It will be remembered that President Kennedy in his inaugural address, made a point of the fact that he was accepting the torch of leadership for a new generation, born in this century and veteran of its wars. The torch is still in comparatively young hands.

Lyndon B. Johnson was 55 last August 27. He was born in 1908. He, too, is a product of this century. He saw active duty as a commander in the Naval Reserve in 1941 and 1942. He is in tune with the times.

But the two men who are next in line, now "a heart beat away from the Presidency," are not of this generation. Speaker JOHN W. MCCORMACK, the next in line, will be 72 December 21 next. He was born in 1891. Senator CARL HAYDEN of Arizona, President pro tempore of the Senate and now second in line, was 86 last October 2. He was born in 1877. MCCORMACK has been in Congress 36 years, HAYDEN 51. They reached their positions partly on seniority, partly on ability.

The act of succession overlooked the fact that normally the Speaker and President pro tempore of the Senate are old men who might not be able to stand the rigors of the Presidency. The old order, which made the Cabinet the immediate successors in order of Cabinet seniority beginning with the Secretary of State, had its advantages. These men share the burdens of Government with the President and they are usually young men picked for their executive ability. Now they come after the two legislative leaders.

The Congress is not likely to relinquish the succession it voted its presiding officers during the serious illness of President Eisenhower. But it should reconsider its handiwork in the light of the present outlook, should any other indisposition occur.

[From the Durham (N.C.) Sun, Nov. 23, 1963]

A NATION MOURNS

Dynamic, magnetic John Fitzgerald Kennedy,
Thirty-fifth President of the United States,
Young, clean, gracious, intellectual, articulate,
Is lost to the Nation and the world,
Victim of a despicable assassin's bullet.
It was a madman's act.
To his fellow-Americans ghastly and grievous.
The Republic, scarcely comprehending, weeps.
It is ironical that a courageous man
Who walked fearlessly
Among alien peoples in safety,
Walked fearlessly among his own people
And was slain.
To his family, especially his widow,
Flow sorrow, and love,
From the hearts of all the world.
None put it better than an average citizen:
"He was a great man—and a good man."

[From the Durham (N.C.) Sun, Nov. 23, 1963]

A BITTER, BITTER AGE

"What," many an American is asking himself and his neighbors today, "is our America coming to? How could so cruel and brutal a horror occur in the enlightened United States?"

The answer: We live in an age of passion and violence, raw passion and violence. The infection has spread to our noble democracy.

Americans will variously and instinctively, in their grief and rage and disappointment, seek to attach the stigma to someone else, thrusting away the guilt which presses in upon themselves. Many will accusingly assign the culpability for the frightful crime to this alinement or that attitude.

That will not do. Nor will it do to point the defamatory finger at any individual, even the miserable, moronic assassin.

Every human being in this country who has pondered passion and violence or who has yielded to passion and violence, thus canonizing passion and violence in our otherwise compassionate and lovely land, may feel himself contributory to November's day of infamy.

[From the Durham (N.C.) Sun, Nov. 25, 1963]

TAPS

John Fitzgerald Kennedy, the President,
Has been laid in his warrior's grave;
Sacred American ground in Arlington
Which he, by his life and his death,
Dedicated, consecrated and hallowed.
By his own example he illuminated
His "Profiles of Courage."
He has, in his unflinching sacrifice,
Presented a challenge to American's youth
In which he had such faith;
And to it passed a torch.

[From the Durham (N.C.) Sun, Nov. 25, 1963]

TWICE A HERO

Twice John Fitzgerald Kennedy went to war and twice he won his country's veneration. In the military sphere, he won his honors in the South Seas. In the civilian domain, he laid down his life.

He belongs to history and only history will comprehensively appraise his contribution to humanity. The Nation and the world today know only that a noble soul has been cut off in the very hour of his opportunity.

Worthy and understanding Americans, lamenting, place a flower on his tomb.

[From the Durham (N.C.) Sun, Nov. 25, 1963]

AN EQUALLY BRAVE WOMAN

No heart, American, French, Irish or otherwise oriented, which mourns the lost President, aches for him alone. Equally brave and probably more deeply loved, is the enchanting wife who survives him.

For his children, too, to whom he was so devoted and attentive and who, even at their tender ages, gave him as well as their mother their whole trust and worship, every man's heart contracts; but their lives are unformed. How tragically, cruel savages have dealt with the life of Jacqueline Kennedy.

Gracious, glowingly beautiful, marvelously composed yet joyously alive, she stood proudly yet humbly and captivatingly at his side. How sad that that sparkle should be dimmed.

[From the Durham (N.C.) Sun, Nov. 25, 1963]

THE WORLD BOWS ITS HEAD

Heads of state, ambassadors, ministers, emissaries variously entitled, converged on Washington today. They marched with the bereaved family behind the caisson which bore the 35th President of the United States. In the appalling evil which has befallen our people, they stood uncovered with us.

It is evidence, undoubtedly, that a common humanity and a shared decency lie basically in the background of human aspirations and endeavors. For the moment, materialism is put aside and the hearts of a great part of the world know communion.

Men being men, it will be but an interlude; and, indeed, many in the world, and in our own Nation, continue to harden their hearts, even barely repress fires of bitterness.

Again in history, for history has many parallels of the barbarism of man, man has been shocked at the viciousness of which he is capable.

If only the remorse of this day could forever soften and temper the beings of this universe.

[From the Elizabethtown (N.C.) Bladen Journal, Nov. 28, 1963]

LET US BE THANKFUL FOR A GREAT LIFE GIVEN FOR HIS COUNTRY

America today mourns the tragic passing of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, the 35th President of the United States at the hands of an assassin. Those who loved him and agreed with his policies, and those who opposed, all agree that the Nation has suffered a tremendous blow at a critical period in the world's history.

President Kennedy had a passion for peace and world coexistence and he used every effort at his command to bring these about. He was making great progress. Many of us realize that we probably owe our very lives during the past 3 years to the courage, strength, and intelligence of this dead chieftain.

On this day, set apart for national Thanksgiving, let us lift our hearts and voices in thanksgiving to the most high for the life of this great man and for the torch which he has lighted in a dark era in the history of the world.

Let us give thanks, too, for Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, now the 36th President of the United States. Since he became Vice President he was very close to the late President and was well versed in the President's plans and the affairs of national interest. We can thank God that we have such a man to follow in the footsteps of the great President.

One hundred years ago President Abraham Lincoln speaking at the battlefield at Gettysburg said, "It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

President Kennedy's life was dedicated sincerely as were those honored dead at Gettysburg. His vision was peace and coexistence for the world. Abraham Lincoln's words seem exceedingly fitting to be remembered at this tragic time, and in tribute

to a great man of valor, of Christian faith, vision, and courage, the late President of the United States. On this Thanksgiving Day let us one and all be grateful for his life, given for his country, and pray that his ideals for world peace may come to fruition.

[From the Forest City (N.C.) Courier, Nov. 28, 1963]

FATHER, FORGIVE THEM

The cortege moved slowly up Pennsylvania Avenue, muffled drums echoing against huge buildings and across tree-lined parks. Silent thousands watched as the flag-draped coffin passed. Millions watched over the Nation and world as the national networks carried the complete procession from the White House to the Capitol.

Only then, nearly 48 hours after the bullet crashed into the skull of John F. Kennedy, did most viewers really believe the truth of the terrible nightmare that had gripped the Nation.

The outpouring of national and world sentiment over the loss of this young, energetic, handsome leader, has been unprecedented in the history of man. It must certainly go down as one of the three most terrible losses in history, behind Jesus Christ and Abraham Lincoln.

It mattered little now that he may have been of another political party or of another faith, or of another color. It mattered not that you were for or against his program. This was our President, struck down by a hidden assailant, and this was America, the place where nothing of this nature could possibly happen.

And yet it did happen. It happened in a year when the dignity of man is supposed to have meaning. It happened at a time when America was really beginning to take full leadership in the world community.

Fear not for America is in the hands of Lyndon Johnson. He is an able statesman and experienced leader. But it is necessary that all Americans rally around the new President to assure him of the complete support of the entire country. President Johnson, for all his experience, does not have the magnetic personality or the dynamic electricity of John Kennedy. And the peoples of the rest of the world do not know him.

However, most nations have enough faith in the American way and the constitutional government of the United States to be assured that America will not falter in this time of tragedy, regardless of who is President or which political party happens to be in power.

The death of President John F. Kennedy is a shame that all Americans will have to bear. Seeds of hate have been evident all over the Nation. Few of the perpetrators of these hate seeds would have been willing to pull the fatal trigger themselves. Nevertheless, their leadership provided the spark of hate that touched the heart of a crazed individual.

What lies ahead for America? This may well depend upon how willing Americans are to strive for continued progress at a time when unity is needed above all. For America will progress only so far as the people will let it.

Pray for our fallen leader, and pray, too, for the new President. We might also say a prayer for America in this perilous time. God grant that we have the courage and the strength to carry on, continuing to show the way to peace for the rest of the world.

[From the Forest City (N.C.) Courier, Dec. 5, 1963]

WHERE WERE YOU ON NOVEMBER 22?

What were you doing on the afternoon of November 22 when you heard the news of the assassination of President Kennedy? Chances are, the shocking impact of the news will cause you to always remember where you were, who you were with and what you were doing. There are now three incidents that are imbedded in this reporter's memory, other than personal or family. These would be, in order of occurrence, Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt's death, and President Kennedy's assassination.

For some of our older citizens, they could add the Wall Street crash of 1929, perhaps Lindbergh's flight, the death of Woodrow Wilson, World War I, and perhaps the assassination of President McKinley in 1901.

Naturally, almost everyone has something personal that will be carried to his grave. We're speaking here of events of a national or world stature that was felt by people all over the country.

On the afternoon of November 22, I happened to be riding in my car. The radio had not been on, but for some unexplainable reason, at 1:45 p.m., I reached over and flicked it on. A reporter was excitedly giving the final details of the then unconfirmed shooting. The immediate reaction was—that crazy South America, they're always killing a president.

It took a moment for the announcement to sink in. Dallas—President shot—Governor also believed wounded. This was insane. President Kennedy was to be in Dallas today. He couldn't have been serious. Sure a lot of people are unhappy about some of the President's programs and policies, but shoot the President of the United States? Impossible. Not in 1963.

For the next 30 or 40 minutes, the networks frantically scrambled for information, for reports from Dallas, for opinions of what might result should the President die from the wounds.

Then came the pause and the announcement that spread cold chills down every spine in America: "Ladies and gentlemen, the President of the United States is dead." There was another instant of complete silence, and then the playing of the national anthem.

How do you drive with tears in your eyes? How can you explain to God the prayer in your heart one moment, and the curse that automatically followed the announcement? The answer is, you don't. You pull the car to the side of the road, and you just sit and shake your head, and ask. "why"?

There are those who are not really unhappy over the passing of John Kennedy, and even a few who admit they are glad it happened. I honestly feel sorry for these people, for they make up a part of the hate that is eating at the very heart of America.

I happen to have been a supporter of John Kennedy before his nomination. I am proud to have had the opportunity to vote for him in 1960. I was looking forward to another chance to vote for him in 1964. This black mark on America hit me hard. I make no excuses for the way I feel. There was a little bit of me that died too, on November 22 in Dallas.

[From the Greensboro Times, Nov. 28, 1963]

IN MEMORIAM, JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY—1917–1963

Since the beginning of man, death has been a mystery. It steals upon us like a thief in the night. It seemingly takes away the greatest possessions man has ever claimed. The graduating degrees of unbelief, shock, and distress mount into a crescendic cry of "why should such a tragedy occur?"

Many more words have been written and spoken about the death of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, perhaps, than the death of any other man in history. Modern means of communications have brought this terrible breach of morality direct into the minds and hearts of individuals in all parts of the world, in an unprecedented dispatch of the events that prefaced, embraced, and culminated such a savagery by a human.

Many of these words have spoken of the causes and effects of such a crime, while many have portrayed the degree of man's failure with respect to his fellow men. We completely concur in the stunned citizenry's condemnation of such barbarian incredulity that has blackened and saddened this Nation and world.

John F. Kennedy was the object of criticism many times in these pages, just as any public figure must expect as he leads his constituents in controversial paths. His course of action was in keeping with his personal convictions, and never would we deny the rights of an individual, especially those of such an intellect.

Perhaps we seldom consider the fact, but a President's life is a lonely and thankless task, surrounded by various actions clamoring for a different doctrine and better internal relations. John F. Kennedy was the brunt of many jokes, which he took in his stride.

While his progression from U.S. Representative to the Presidency was sparked with the most calculated details, he was not classified by most real political big-wigs as a "politician." By anyone's standards, he was a wealthy man, who never cared for expansion in this direction. By the standards of the most educated nations, John F. Kennedy was an intellect, with a never-ending desire for more knowledge and wisdom. While his was a thankless task, never did he show signs of weakness or self-confidence in his responsibilities. Here was a man of strong convictions, for following through on issues that were not always the most popular. His was a vibrant nature, adding greatly to his leadership of our Nation, and bridging breaches that separated the United States from many nations. John F. Kennedy was at the prime of his potential when his life was snuffed out, stealing from all the world a leadership that is so desperately needed at this troubled time.

It is not for us to appraise the historical significance of this life. But, if it were, we would have to say that this man will go down as one of the world's great leaders of all history. Time is the curer of historical evaluation. We believe time will prove John F. Kennedy's tenure one of complete success.

Our difference of evaluation would be this: While we have mourned with the Kennedy family and other loved ones over this assassination, we believe that this tragedy was not brought to bear on the Kennedy family so much as it was upon the American people. History has taught us to look for the good in all evil. Perhaps from this evil deed we shall salvage the good. If we do, John F. Kennedy will not have died in vain. There are many possible goods that can evolve from such a cowardly act. Not the least of these is the need for our Nation to look into the mirror at a time like this. Look long and hard. What do we see? We see wickedness and hate, love for self and pleasure, disrespect for others' rights, indifference to the problems of our fellow men, a consuming passion for the evils that surround us.

This is the challenge that faces each of us today. If we sincerely sorrow in the midst of this tragedy, if we are sincere in our plaints, if we're really looking for the renewed destiny that lies before us, it is our conviction that John F. Kennedy would challenge each of us to clean up the wickedness that lies within our midst, dislodge the prejudice and cruelty that inhabits our hearts, and pursue with "vigor" the course which lies ahead.

It is ironic that his last message to his beloved country contained these words from Psalms, "Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it: except the

Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was a man of vision and courage. His dedication remains with us to challenge our actions.

May his soul rest in peace.

[From the Greensboro (N.C.) Times, Nov. 28, 1963]

THE STRENGTH OF CONVICTION

We would think the most resounding impression from the world-shattering event that occurred last week, is that given by the former First Lady and her children.

Throughout the devastating ordeal, Jacqueline Kennedy conducted herself with the same sense of courage and peace of mind that had surrounded her husband for so many years. This was the supreme test for a lady. These were the hours of greatest need by a wife and mother. The steadfast devotion for her husband was not displaced in her mourning, but was magnified, and we are certain, had her husband been present for the occasion, he would have said, "Well done, Jackie."

This is the same type of strength that her husband had displayed so many times. This was evidence of her inner strength, her complete dependence upon God, that all would be right for her husband. This was her strength of character even in her deepest grief. The rigidness with which she contained her emotions must surely have been in tribute to her late husband, and witness for her son and daughter.

We would not fail to recognize, also, the other members of the Kennedy family for their complete composure in these hours of trial. Indeed, they must have had the realization that John F. Kennedy had given his best for his country, and would live on through all eternity in his promised reward.

There are those who would point an accusing finger at this clan, saying they had failed in their outpouring of affection for their loved ones.

Conversely, we believe theirs is the strength of conviction contained in the funeral service: We would not have you ignorant concerning those who are asleep, lest you should grieve even as others who have no hope. * * * I am the resurrection and the life: he who believes in Me, even if he die, shall live.

[From the Greensboro (N.C.) Times, Nov. 28, 1963]

THE CAUSE AND EFFECT

The mystery of the century could be the "why" in the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Lee Harvey Oswald, while not considered a nut or maniac, was, nevertheless, deranged in his appraisal of values, for he snuffed out the life of a person who had done him no personal harm.

The cause of this senseless murder may never be known to man. That he was a loner and resented the mistreatment accorded him while serving in the Marine Corps, were apparently the key motivating forces behind his action.

With rapidly moving contemporary history, we are witnessing during our lifetime the most complex assortment of incidents than anytime in the past. Within the past decade, the transpiration of such events could exceed that of any hundred-year span during our country's entire history.

The effects of Mr. Kennedy's death could have a crushing realization of just where we as a civilized nation stand in the eyes of the world, with a reawakening of our Nation's moral responsibility.

The solidifying effect of John F. Kennedy's murder could exceed that of all expectations, in causing a closer relationship between all members of the free world, and possibly a goodly segment of the Communist strongholds.

Only time will tell the true scope of this deed.

[From the Hamlet (N.C.) News-Messenger, Nov. 26, 1963]

ONLY HISTORY HOLDS ANSWERS TO OUR DISTURBING QUESTIONS

The President is dead.

A grieving wife mourns the death of her husband. Two small children cry in the darkness for a father they will never see again. A nation weeps in silence for its beloved leader. The world bows its head for a man, a friend.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy—the man, the husband, the father, the American, the President, the friend—is dead.

Like Americans and freemen everywhere, Hamlet residents are searching deeply into the darkened pit of reality—and even perhaps into our own disturbed consciences—for a reason on which to base this horrible crime against humanity. Many of us, even a half week after a sniper's bullet etched its infamy into the pages of history, are still hoping the dream will end. We are reluctant, perhaps afraid, to face the cold reality of this insidious deed.

Our sleepless nights are filled with questions. Why did it happen? Who is to blame? What will happen now?

Answers to these questions lie, no doubt, somewhere in the unwritten pages of history, the same history that was jolted so violently off its course by the assassination of President Kennedy. We, as Americans, will hold the pen that writes that important chapter.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy died by an act of lunacy. He did not die in vain.

Although Friday, November 22, 1963, will always be known as one of the blackest days in American history, it will also be known as the day the spirit of democracy rose to face and defeat the challenge of death. It will be remembered as the day Americans proved to the world that even the icy finger of death cannot chill the God-loving soul of this great Nation.

With sympathy and sadness in our hearts, we must now lift the mourning veil and prepare for the future. We must rededicate our lives to the cause of peace and freedom for all men.

The President is dead, but the many perils of our time still exist. The creeping malignancy of communism spreads like wildfire through the poverty-stricken nations of Asia and Latin America. The fight for freedom and the dignity of man has never been more demanding.

In his first statement as the new President, Lyndon B. Johnson asked for our help in this fight, and for God's. God will answer. We must.

[From the Henderson (N.C.) Daily Dispatch, Nov. 23, 1963]

TRAGEDY FOR AMERICA

All America, regardless of partisan attitudes, was shocked and stunned by the assassination of President Kennedy in Dallas, Tex., in early afternoon, Friday. In such a time as this, we are all Americans first before being Democrats and Republicans. The killer's bullet struck down the President of the United States, not merely the leader of the majority party.

Death comes to all men. It is no respecter of persons. It is an enemy alike of the high and the low and the rich and the poor. But when the leader of the greatest nation on earth is cut down, it is a blow to all the people—in this instance to the free world and Iron Curtain countries as well.

In such an emergency, emotions rise to the surface. There is grief and a sense of loss as if a member of one's own family had been taken. First impressions are that the tragedy is hard to accept. This terrific blow emphasizes the fact that uneasy lies the head that wears a crown, whether he be King, Emperor, or President.

However much one may have differed with President Kennedy, there was universal recognition of his vigor of youth, his intellectual capacity in the grasp of problems, and his readiness to assume responsibility. He did his best to be a leader, and showed many of the qualities required of such an individual.

Mr. Kennedy's rise to power and prominence was little short of meteoric. As a politician, first in the House, then the Senate and afterward the Presidency, he stepped from star to star in achieving world stature. Always he seemed to know where he was going and to be on his way. His choice of words in getting his ideas across, his fearless pioneering, especially in the domestic political arena, his charm and personality, and his ability to mix with people, despite the pinnacle of great wealth which he inherited, were assets as he moved along the way. His knowledge of events and procedures was little short of amazing. The combination carried him to the highest office in the land, or, for that matter, in the world.

President Kennedy was the fourth American President to fall victim of an assassin. All were shot to death, Mr. Kennedy with a high powered rifle from a distance and the others with a revolver at close range. Abraham Lincoln was mortally wounded at the hands of John Wilkes Booth in a Washington theater only a few days after the end of the Civil War. James A. Garfield was shot in 1881 and William McKinley at the International Exposition in Buffalo, N.Y., in 1901. Others have died in office, but only these four were the victims of murderers.

What the assassin of a President thinks he is accomplishing is a mystery. All such hitherto have been executed for their crime, and this one almost certainly will be. About the only explanation is that these killers were fanatics. Only a few weeks ago the President of South Vietnam and his brother were assassinated. Other high officials have been in other lands. We in America had come to believe that it couldn't happen here.

What occurred in Dallas to create a day of such tragedy will be long debated. A Secret Service man and a policeman were shot to death on Friday also.

It is a tragedy unspeakable that a crime of this character should occur anywhere in this country. It is doubly so that the President was struck down in a southern city. However unjustly the accusation may be, the South will be hearing from this for months, possibly years, although the other three Presidents who were assassinated were done to death in the North. In no imaginable sense does this crime represent the sentiment of the people of the southland, who believe in justice and are law abiding. No section of the country can regret the tragedy more than this people.

Already there is widespread speculation as to the political effect of the President's death. He was advocating and pressing in Congress for a legislative program much of which was opposed by millions of people in all parts of the country. Will it suffer or will it be advanced as a result of this national tragedy? Will Khrushchev become tougher as a new hand takes the helm in this country? Will American prestige abroad suffer generally while a new Chief Executive is getting his feet on the ground? Will there be renewed defiance and new and more serious threats to American rights and to peace generally? These are questions which can be answered only in the weeks and months ahead.

President Johnson is a veteran of many years experience in the legislative halls. When in the Senate he was a master organizer. He knew how to coax his colleagues to his way of thinking. Albeit with some

changes to his own liking, Johnson may be expected to follow the Kennedy line, for at least the immediate future. The extent to which he does or does not will be a factor in his efforts to appease and attract the support of the South, which was not enthusiastic about Mr. Kennedy's program, especially as to civil rights legislation.

Whether Johnson will lend his influence toward economy in Government, toward a balanced budget, and for or against fantastic spending programs will become evident as he grasps more firmly the reins of Government.

The crushing burdens of his office will bear heavily upon him. It will be remembered that he suffered a severe heart attack a dozen years ago. His 3 years as Vice President have acquainted him with the great responsibilities that now devolve upon him. But he is no novice either as a politician or as a leader. He knows his way around in affairs of Government. He realizes the necessity for assistance and for the prayers of the American people. Without these he cannot go far nor be entirely effective as Chief Executive.

For the present while, however, the country mourns at the bier of its President. The people are bowed in sorrow in the face of horrible tragedy. The crisis is upon us. Fortunately, it is not the first testing of the Nation's stamina. It has faced crises before and has found a way through. As tears are shed and as hearts are sad and crushed, it is possible to look toward the future with courage, with strength and with hope. In that spirit and in that consciousness, we can move ahead. Out of respect for a dead but respected leader, Americans can recognize their responsibilities and will meet them in the type of determination which has brought them along thus far. God being our helper and guide, we shall persevere.

[From the Hendersonville (N.C.) Times-News, Nov. 23, 1963]

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S DEATH

When President John F. Kennedy was shot at 2 p.m. Friday, normally the time when the UPI teletype closes in the Times-News office, page 1 had been made up and only the women's page remained to be closed before sending them to the stereotyping department.

In the interest of time, only one-half of page 1 was made over to accommodate a story of the tragic occurrence. The President was not dead—or at least it was difficult to believe that he had gone on. The wire services had not confirmed the fact. And then came a bulletin that he had succumbed, followed by a new "lead" and a story of finality that everyone in this office hoped would not be transmitted.

The news, certainly the most important of the year and, as world events develop, perhaps the most significant of the century, again demonstrates that we are living in a hectic age in which tragedy may strike at any moment, in your lives and ours, at almost any time or place. At the height of his career, only 46 and in his first term as President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy was struck down in the twinkling of an eye within the sight of thousands. It now appears that a mistake was made in leaving down the "bubble top" of the limousine in which the President and Governor Connally of Texas and their wives were riding. There may have been other oversights, but speculation is futile now.

Although President Kennedy had many political enemies, it is difficult to comprehend how anyone not in a maniacal frame of mind could have assassinated him. We are extremely hopeful, even confident, that the assassin will be found. Meanwhile, the American people, almost to the last man, woman, and child will mourn the President's untimely death. He had led us through many crises; and while his program appeared at times to be faulty and his methods questionable in the light of established principles of American government, we believe he was a great American and that his place will not soon be as adequately filled or his influence duplicated.

It is not given to many men that they reach this exalted office or that they be cut down at the zenith of a career already distinguished. Forceful as a speaker, logical as a thinker, physically and mentally brave, unmatched as a tactician in politics and determined to do the right as he conceived it, John Fitzgerald Kennedy was a giant in world affairs and at home. Add to these and other qualities the fact that he was our President and one realizes why the Nation and the world are in mourning today.

[From the Hendersonville (N.C.) Western Carolina Tribune, Nov. 28, 1963]

IN MEMORY OF JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY WHO DIED IN SERVICE TO HIS COUNTRY

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.

He maketh me to lie down in green pastures: He leadeth me beside the still waters.

He restoreth my soul: He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for His name's sake.

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for Thou art with me; Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me.

Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: Thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over.

Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life: and I will dwell in the house of the Lord forever.—PSALM 23.

"Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country."

He gave his all.

[From the Hendersonville (N.C.) Western Carolina Tribune, Dec. 5, 1963]

ONE MAN LOOKS INTO THE FUTURE

"Unforeseen events do not necessarily change or shape the course of man's affairs."—Think magazine.

To say that no one in this country even from the earliest approaches to adulthood will ever find his outlook exactly the same after 12:30 p.m. November 22 is certainly not denying the above statement, because the author meant to convey that free man, with the right of self-determination, is master of his own destiny provided he is strong.

But it is foregone to say that none of us now in adult pursuits will ever be quite the same. Everything will change, has changed in shades of degree.

Our political outlook will change. Our ability to dream with open eyes will change. Our socioeconomic concepts will change. Our religion will change. Our pursuits of daily livelihood will change.

"But we have had three such tragedies before," you say. True, and what you are today is in some degree caused by those same three murders because they, each in its time, drastically changed the destiny of a nation, even the world at large, and in so doing molded the progeny of which you are a part.

No one can say, even reliably conclude, what those fatal shots will do to us. We can only surmise:

The tax bill: It will pass the Congress even quicker than it would have done before because a nation with a sense of mass guilt and the crushing burden of "getting on with it" will write President Kennedy's favorite project into law.

Civil rights: Contrary to some opinion, the evolution begun by the 1954 Supreme Court decision was and is proceeding at a certain rate and was, in our opinion, neither slowed or facilitated, by the Kennedy administration. It was merely put into sharp focus. The Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower eras contributed far more to the movement because they became the earlier, more cataclysmic phases. The increasing thunder of the Negro's self-assertion will in no wise be dampened by our recent tragedy. Some of the outer, more visible facets will change, certainly, but the wave itself will notice scarcely the tiniest backlashing ripple.

The civil rights bill: (This is the most hazardous to guess.) In our opinion it would not have passed this session had President Kennedy continued in his dynamic way. It will pass, under perhaps other, more acceptable nomenclature, during the next three convenings. Even if we're wrong, much of the essence of the bill will pass into accepted national behavior, regardless.

The lowering cloud of mass guilt which today still hangs over the Nation will be partially dispersed by manifestations, particularly in the South, of further acceptance of the Negro more than anything else as tribute to our dead President who, after all, died championing his cause.

True, it was a self-styled Marxist who pulled the fateful trigger, but the tempo of hate swirling about the head of John F. Kennedy was engendered by the passionate struggle between the races, into which both the amateur and professional Communist is eternally dedicated to step.

Cuba: Ultimate outcome unaffected. Kennedy was determined. Johnson is determined. Neither regard overt action at this stage remotely feasible.

France: President de Gaulle had a strong, personal affection for our late President, but by his actions showed that he was not in agreement with much of administration policies. The very change, coupled with De Gaulle's inscrutable, bullheaded, and intensely nationalistic concepts, will make for improved French-American relations.

Britain: The tragedy itself moved the two English-speaking peoples closer, as always during times of great national crisis on either side of the Atlantic.

The 1964 elections: President Johnson will get the nomination with merely a show of opposition, practically by acclamation. "Somehow the word 'Goldwater' just seems to go flat now," someone said last week, "like saying 'Harold Stassen,' 'John Sparkman' or 'Governor Wallace.' He's a candidate who's lost his cause."

No one on the scene now could give him a run worth the name. Time and changing tides may make it a real contest but if he chooses to run L.B.J. will succeed himself.

Robert F. Kennedy, who's made no statement other than call his new Chief Executive and pledge loyalty, is the real enigma in the wake of his brother's death. Anathema to the South, he has been too dogmatic and strongly committed to become a real political contender, even if he wants it. But it must be remembered he was the real brains and driving force behind his brother's 1960 campaign. His prowess in this respect won't be overlooked.

Hoffa and unionism: Quiet for a while, smart that they are. Knowing full well that the Kennedy brothers were closing in the Hoffa gang they are now in a wait-and-see stage. The more respectable union leaders, Meany and Reuther, are sincerely behind the President, for the time being. Liberal-come-lately that he is, Johnson does not have the confidence of labor that his predecessor had and for this reason labor is one of the two real unknown quantities for 1964—the other being the South, a great gray area of unweighed political portent.

Congress: Literally shaken to its depths, in a wave of reaction will fall in behind the new President in unprecedented demonstration of "getting on with it," passing much legislation they would have stalled.

The new generation: President Kennedy was to the young marrieds, the svelte, smartly modern set and to the maturing teenagers as well the epitome of what they are trying

to say to the world. He said it for them by his appearance, manner, mannerisms, and utterances. He was their idol whether they admitted it or not. Now that he is gone their irrepressible urge for self-assertion must find outlet in another direction, perhaps even the same direction but with more extreme and wayout manifestations. They will, on their outer fringes, get wilder, more bizarre and even weird and in the early months it will have a note of pathos in it. A ringing note they can no more subdue than they can send those fatal shots winging back into the muzzle of the $12 rifle.

Christmas, 1963: The soberest, most dedicated observance of the birth of Christ witnessed in the 20th century. If one will but turn off the kids and the TV set a moment, walk out into the chill December air during the coming weeks, carol and hymn singing may be faintly or clearly discerned from every corner of the land.

[From the Hickory (N.C.) Daily Record, Nov. 23, 1963]

NONE DIED IN VAIN

Four American Presidents have died from assassins' bullets. Every one of these deaths represented a great tragedy.

Those slain prior to President Kennedy were: Abraham Lincoln, James Garfield, and William McKinley.

President Lincoln was shot in Ford's Theater, Washington, D.C., April 14 (Good Friday), 1865, by John Wilkes Booth, an actor. The President died the following day.

Sixteen years later, on July 2, 1881, President Garfield was shot by Charles J. Guiteau—an unbalanced officeseeker—as Garfield was entering old Baltimore and Potomac passenger station in Washington, D.C. President Garfield died in Elberon, N.J., September 19, 1881.

Twenty years later, September 6, 1901, President McKinley was shot by Leon Czolgosz, an anarchist terrorist, while the Chief Executive was welcoming citizens to the Pan-American Exposition, in Buffalo, N.Y. He died September 14, 1901.

The assassination of President Kennedy followed that of President McKinley by 62 years.

Lincoln was the 16th President, Garfield the 20th, McKinley the 25th, and Kennedy the 35th.

It is our studied opinion that none of them died in vain, inasmuch as the great causes for which they fought were eventually triumphant. The assassins who murdered President Kennedy have promoted, rather than impeded, the many objectives of the New Frontier toward which J.F.K. was relentlessly driving and striving.

[From the Hickory (N.C.) Daily Record, Nov. 26, 1963]

LIFE MUST GO ON

Not that we would change our system for the British, but their system of governmental perpetuation has points in its favor. With the passing of a monarch, there is the heartening cry: "The king is dead. Long live the king." This continuity of a regime gives a stability that has been lacking in some instances in this Nation.

The late President Kennedy's entire record emphasizes his realization of the need to face the future not the past. We are confident that it would be his wish that this Nation move toward the New Frontiers which he visualized as its destiny. Now that the obeisance due his passing has been observed, it is fitting that the Nation resume its normal activity—life must go on.

The soul searching that has occupied the Nation during these days; the frankly facing the fact that all share responsibility for the tragic murder in the fanning of hate among various groups, are bound to have a sobering effect on all and to encourage tolerance toward everything except intolerance.

We believe youths, who have probably been more deeply moved by the assassination than their elders due to their empathy with the fallen chief who was possessed of similar vigor, will be thoroughly critical of any developments in this Nation which might indicate that John Kennedy's sacrifice was in vain—that his guidelines are being ignored.

[From the Hickory (N.C.) Daily Record, Nov. 27, 1963]

WE SHOULD BE THANKFUL

On this Thanksgiving Day—Thursday—let us dwell not on what we have lost with the assassination of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Rather, let us be thankful for what we have gained from his life.

Even while we deplore the way he died, we can be grateful for the example he set in living. His outspoken courage was known to all, and his joy of living was a family trademark.

Everyone—those who shared his beliefs and those who scorned them—must be thankful for the strength of his convictions.

John Kennedy did not choose to die. He chose to live for his principles. He fought for these principles—and for his life—in wartime.

We have a great faith in what he termed "the calm determination of the American people," and no greater tribute can be paid to a man than to say he lived up to his faith.

In his final Thanksgiving Day proclamation, the late President said: "We must never forget that the highest appreciation is not to utter words but to live by them."

Urging expressions of gratitude to God, he begged: "Let us earnestly and humbly pray that He will continue to guide and sustain us in the great unfinished tasks of achieving peace, justice, and understanding among all men and nations and of ending misery and suffering wherever they exist."

[From the High Point (N.C.) Enterprise, Nov. 24, 1963]

JOHN F. KENNEDY

Even now there is still a numbness of feeling over the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. The man and his spirit are yet too much with us to accept, so suddenly and so brutally, the realization of his death. The mind records the words and the pictures that tell of what happened in Dallas Friday. The heart cries out in an anguish of disbelief.

The 35th President of the United States is dead, slain at a time when, tempered by his experience in office, he was beginning to realize the full sweep of his powers and the confidence to use those powers well for the good of the country. Certainly, his enduring mark as President was yet to come from John F. Kennedy. From the Bay of Pigs and from Vienna in 1961, he grew to face the Russians with a sure touch in Berlin and in Cuba, achieving, as a result, a new balance of respect and of confidence in our relations with the cold war adversary. In South Vietnam, the United States, under his leadership, was entering a more hopeful phase in the war against Communist subversion.

At home, the issues were economic and human, involving relationships between Government and business, and concerning the status of the Negro in the United States. In his approach to both, John F. Kennedy was hardly the man grasping for power many pictured him to be. His touch was pragmatic and, in the nature of things, political, but his principles were firm: to spur America to new heights of freedom and of achievement.

John F. Kennedy brought to the Presidency a refreshing zest for life and its pleasures. His interests were widespread; his intellect was keen. He was faithful to his church and devoted to his family. He loved to read; he enjoyed and appreciated the fine arts; he displayed a sharp wit and a love for humor. There was nothing that escaped his interest. His vigor was noticeable, with rewarding impact, on our tastes and our ambitions.

Now, John F. Kennedy is dead.

Why? The question cries for an answer. Perhaps it will never be answered. But we do well to ponder it. We should not dismiss the question by attributing the assassination to the frustrated mind of a crackpot. Let us look closely at what is happening to us. Let us examine the hate and the venom, the namecallings and the reckless accusations being hurled from both the right and the left into our body politic. Let us search the fears that may haunt our own hearts. Let us replace those fears in this moment of sadness and shame with the confidence of being Americans again.

[From the High Point (N.C.) Enterprise, Nov. 25, 1963]

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY

John Fitzgerald Kennedy came to the Presidency of the United States as the bearer of great change. He was the symbol of something new, but he died by something as old as time—the hand of the fanatic.

He was the first man born in the 20th century to hold the office—and the second youngest in history. He was the first Catholic in the White House. He came as a naval hero of World War II who narrowly had missed death in Pacific waters, and survived a second brush with death in a grave illness 9 years ago.

To the Nation's high politics he thus brought a fresh stamp. The well-remarked "Kennedy style" was a blend of intellect, vigor, wit, charm, and a clear talent for growth.

On the always shifting, often troubled world scene, he sometimes moved with more caution than expected in young leadership. Soon after entering the White House, he gamely took full blame for the Cuban Bay of Pigs fiasco as an enterprise sadly lacking in boldness.

Yet only his worst enemies withheld from him the label "courageous" when he moved resolutely against Soviet Premier Khrushchev in the great Russian missile crisis in Cuba in late 1962. And he boldly pressed for an East-West test ban treaty this year in the face of heavy charges that this imperiled our security.

In domestic affairs Kennedy won much of his program in beginning 1961, gained far less the following year, and encountered a major stalemate in 1963. The constant note against him was insufficient leadership.

But again, when 1963 brought the greatest racial crisis of this century, Kennedy—at acknowledged heavy political cost—committed himself to sweeping civil rights proposals that opened a vast new battleground.

Amid all his efforts to put the imprint of vigorous, imaginative youth upon the country's affairs in the 1960's, the late President found himself moving against a deepening background of protest, with an ugly underscoring of violence which he sought with only limited success to wipe away.

Much of this protest went to the steady encroachments of the Federal Government and its rising cost. But the bitterest reaction was white and Negro response to the enlarging racial struggle. The far right gave the mood its most perilous texture.

With the calamity in Dallas the lesson of the danger inherent in violent extremism now may be deeply implanted in America's conscience.

In this way, Kennedy in death may achieve what the living President could not do to curb the almost ungovernable rancor that increasingly discolored the politics of his brief time in power.

It was John Kennedy's good fortune to surmount many obstacles to rise to his coun-

try's highest office and bring with him the winds of a new era.

It was his final tragedy that as he labored in difficult times to use these forces for the Nation's and the world's gain, they were swiftly challenged by countering winds of bitter reaction. In Dallas, one swift gust struck him down.

The Nation thus loses a young leader whose great promise lived in the shadow of great controversy. The way he died must inescapably cost all Americans deeply in self-esteem as free men of good will.

That is the greater tragedy.

[From the High Point (N.C.) Enterprise]

A PRAYER

Our Father, we praise Thee for the privilege of prayer; for the assurance that Thou dost hear not only what we express with our lips, but also that Thou art attentive to the unvoiced desires of our hearts, and the longings that are known but to Thee and to us. We thank Thee that Thou hast assured us in Thy Book that if our hearts are sincere, and if we desire that Thy will be done, Thou wilt never fail to answer us according to Thy purposes.

We acknowledge Thee to be the sovereign God, and we pray that in this hour, as well as in the days ahead, that Thou wilt help us to walk by Thy guidance and to do the things that are pleasing in Thy sight. Be Thou the protector of our lives; keep us from wrongdoing; seek us when we go astray; restore our souls, and lead us in right paths for the glory of Thy name.

Let the tragic death of our late President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, serve to remind us that Thou hast not made us to live by hatred and revenge, violence, and contemptuousness. Beget within us now a deeper love for our fellow men of all races, and a more positive concern for freedom and justice. Help us to perceive that rightousness exalteth a nation and that sin is a reproach to any person.

May our hearts be encouraged in this solemn hour that Thou art always present in the midst of the shadows of life to keep a faithful watch over thine own, and to release thine abounding mercy and comfort upon all troubled souls. Especially do we beseech Thee to bestow Thy ministries upon Mrs. Kennedy and the children, the other members of the Kennedy family, and all loved ones of the late President. Mercifully bring them in their deep sorrow into Thy healing and sustaining presence. Enable them to translate their bereavement whereby their faith may be strengthened and their spiritual lives enriched.

We beseech Thee to give President Lyndon B. Johnson the desire to seek Thy will and the readiness and the courage to do it. Bestow Thy guidance upon him and his advisers, and endow him with an understanding heart.

Grant that Thy benedictions may richly abide with the family of the man who was charged with the late President's death, and with the family of the late J. D. Tippit, the law enforcement officer who was killed in Dallas in the performance of his duty. We would also pray that the man who is now accused of killing Lee Oswald may seek to come to a right relationship with Thee.

Move us all to rededicate ourselves to Thee, and to the basic principles of democracy; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Dr. ROY E. WATTS,
Minister, First Presbyterian Church.

[From the Kinston (N.C.) Daily Free Press, Nov. 23, 1963]

PRESIDENT JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY

The brutal assassination of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy in Dallas, Tex., Friday, has shocked and stunned the American people and the whole civilized world. It will have a profound and immeasurable impact on history.

The leader who became the 35th President of the United States at the age of 43 was a man of faith, of courage and was dedicated to keeping the peace in a world teetering dangerously close to nuclear destruction. His military service became a saga of courage as he stood by his men after a PT boat disaster in the Pacific during World War II. Although born to wealth and influence, he had a gift for understanding and loyalty to his friends that marked his entire career.

As President his New Frontier administration suffered a serious setback in the April 1961, Bay of Pigs invasion failure in Cuba. But he did not shift the responsibility to others. He bore it courageously and worked to overcome it. His confrontation with the Soviet Premier over the Cuban missile deal 13 months ago won for him the admiration of the free world, and the respect of the Soviets. Khrushchev backed down in the face of possible war with the United States. President Kennedy later went on to negotiate the test ban treaty with the Soviet Union and to pave the way for a lessening of cold war tensions.

On the domestic front civil rights struggles marked his administration. Those who did not share his views on how to handle this matter never doubted his courage or his determination to push for greater rights for all under the Constitution. His medicare, education and economic proposals for the most part are still in abeyance. But his enunciation of his views will long influence the thinking of proponents and opponents on all these issues as well. He was elected by the slenderest margin of any President in modern times; but his personal popularity remained high until his death.

Perhaps the President's most remembered phrase from his inaugural address of January 20, 1961 is "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country."

He loved his country and gave his life in service to it. He loved his family and he sought ever to give each member a sense of belonging and an appreciated place. He loved his church and as the first Roman Catholic ever to hold the office of President he did as much to emphasize the need for keeping church and state separate as anyone in the Nation's history.

History will assess his proper role among American and world leaders. His legacy to each American today, however, is a ringing challenge for all to do more to uphold and advance the great American ideals for which he lived—and died.

[From the Kinston (N.C.) Daily Free Press, Nov. 25, 1963]

THE NATION MOURNS AND SEARCHES ITS HEART

In its hour of deepest grief and anguish in this century, the Nation Monday joined the family of the late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy and the world in paying tribute to a youthful and dedicated leader who was cut down Friday by an assassin's bullet. And in that tribute there was deep soul-searching and anxiety of heart, as the people of free America pondered the shocking and bizarre events of the past 3 days.

Tragedy compounded tragedy Sunday as the suspect in the brutal slaying of the President was cut down by a nightclub operator in the sick and disturbed city of Dallas, Tex. In the church memorial services in every community in the land, in schools, colleges, and even at military installations where the grim work of keeping the peace never ends, men sought divine guidance for this hour of trial.

As the enormity of the loss crystallized in the worldwide tribute of those who trekked to Washington and Arlington Cemetery for the rites, the people sobbed in unison and asked in wounded and distraught spirit, why?

A young leader with promise, intelligence, and magnanimity of heart and spirit had been sacrificed at the altar of hate and psychopathic cunning. And before the prime suspect, who was also charged with slaying a Dallas policeman, could be tried and the full record unveiled to a bewildered world, this young man, also, was killed. The people of Dallas filled the churches Sunday in their search for guidance and direction. The Nation in essence followed suit, because all knew in their hearts that such evil is not confined to one community or to one nation in this troubled world.

Hence the message of the Scriptures comes with even more striking force to one and all. In another day and another age God's own Son was not spared. But out of that great example came the believer's greatest comfort of all. Perhaps in this period greater repentance, humility, and unity of purpose and direction may come to a divided world, torn by mistrust and violence.

Surely His promise to heal the land can and will come if mankind will put spiritual things first and seek His guidance in these days of sorrow and uncertainty.

[From the Leaksville (N.C.) News, Nov. 28, 1963]

LIFE OF COURAGE

Within the short span of a few tragic days, this country witnessed the assassination of its young President and the murder of the man accused of President Kennedy's slaying.

Both acts were heinous contradictions of this country's philosophy of government by law. And Lee Harvey Oswald's murder, despite the enormity of the crime he was accused of, can be condoned no more readily than John F. Kennedy's untimely death.

Whether we agree or disagree with the policies Kennedy carried out, we must agree that Kennedy was a living example of the courage of which he wrote in his book, "Profiles in Courage."

His words:

"Today the challenge of political courage looms larger than ever before. For our everyday life is becoming so saturated with the tremendous power of mass communications that any unpopular or unorthodox course arouses a storm of protests such as John Quincy Adams—under attack in 1807—could never have envisioned * * * And thus, in the days ahead, only the very courageous will be able to take the hard and unpopular decisions necessary for our survival."

President Kennedy is dead. His political career is history, and only time can tell whether the course he charted was right or wrong. There can be no doubt, however, of the courage with which he pursued that course.

President Kennedy wrote the final chapter of his book with his own blood.

It is for us now to rally behind President Lyndon Johnson and move on, despite the shame of the two deaths which this country cannot forget.

[From the Lenoir (N.C.) News-Topic, Nov. 23, 1963]

WORLD PAYS TRIBUTE TO ONE OF ITS GREAT

Tributes from people in all walks of life and from all parts of the world are paying tribute to the late President John F. Kennedy. His untimely death on Friday afternoon simply stunned the entire Nation and also most parts of the world when it became known that he had died of an assassin's bullet.

The people of Lenoir and elsewhere were so saddened and so stunned by the news of the tragedy that for a long time they were speechless. Many did not believe it at first until it was verified from a number of different sources.

Few people in the history of the world have done so much in the number of years

which John F. Kennedy served his country. Even now it is hard to believe that one so young could reach the world's No. 1 post in government. Those who declared that he was too young and too inexperienced for the Presidency did not have to wait long until their fears were completely dispelled. He soon demonstrated that he had all of the qualities necessary to head the greatest nation on the face of the earth.

While the people of this Nation mourn his passing and extend heartfelt sympathy to his loved ones, our country must continue to move forward and to seek new frontiers of service and remain the world's leader. Since this tragedy did take place, the people of the United States realize now, even if they had not before, that in the new President, Lyndon B. Johnson, they have one of the most capable and experienced men in government. He will carry on in the true American tradition despite the great loss which he feels for his intimate friend of many years.

The Nation's newspapers today expressed the people's grief at the assassination of President Kennedy, and said the murder was "a blemish on American civilization."

Editorial comments included:

Richmond Times-Dispatch: The assassination, "coming as it does as the latest in a series of violent deaths of heads of state, is a disgrace to the United States and a blot on the good name of this country."

Indianapolis Star: "We never believed that any American could stoop to the dirty job of murder of the President. John F. Kennedy always stood for what is fine and good in the American tradition."

St. Louis Globe-Democrat: The President is "a martyr to American democracy. His murder is a blemish on American civilization."

St. Louis Post-Dispatch: The assassination is "a national tragedy of incalculable proportions. What is wrong with the United States that it can provide the environment for such an act? There is a sickness in the Nation when political differences cannot be accepted and settled in the democratic way. Our democracy itself is in hazard."

Baltimore Sun: "Yesterday's first shock of horror gives way this morning to a depth of sorrow beyond expression. There is the tragedy of great tasks unfinished, of the plow stopped part way down the furrow, the house left standing in framework, the story checked mid-sentence. No one can now say what Mr. Kennedy's accomplishments would have been had he lived."

New Orleans Times-Pica: "With the suddenness of the rifle shots, 200 million people were immersed in a great sorrow. There's no real mystery. For among humankind there are always men of imbalance, of twisted mind, warped concepts and strange causes. Some with a deep and ugly malice toward their fellow beings. Often their hate centers upon those in high places."

New York Times: "All of us—from the country's highest leaders to the humblest citizen—all of us are still in a state of shock from this stunning blow, that even now seems unreal in its grotesque horror. John F. Kennedy died in and for the belief of those human rights to which this Nation has always been committed. No madman's bullet can stop this inexorable march of human rights; no murder, however tragic, can make it falter. In death as in life, the words and spirit of this our most newly martyred President will lead the Nation ever closer toward fulfillment of the ideals of domestic brotherhood and international peace by which his administration has been guided from the start."

[From the Lincoln (N.C.) Times, Nov. 25, 1963]

J.F.K., Our 35th President

Numbness of mind and body, utter disbelief, despair, silent mourning, and heartache prevail among Lincolntonians and Lincoln Countians today as they with millions everywhere in the United States and the world mourn the death of President John F. Kennedy by an assassin's bullets in Dallas, Tex., Friday.

The assassination of the President was a sickening, terrible, and despicable thing. As expressed by many, for such a dastardy act to occur in our country seemed almost unbelievable—"in other countries where there are dictators, unstable governments, yes * * * but, no, no, not ours. The United States is known the world over as the leader of Democracy. Now, how will this make us, a free country, look to the rest of the world?"

John F. Kennedy, although he met opposition to his views and programs, even within his own party in the Senate and the Congress, possessed a magnetic, vigorous personality, high intellect, charm and wit, knowledge of government, that made him a popular figure in public life. He drew large and enthusiastic crowds to him wherever he went in the United States or other countries of the world. He compelled admiration from foe and friend, alike. John F. Kennedy gave dignity to the Office of the President of the United States and presented the good image. He was admired for his courage, his belief in his ideals, his dedication to the job of the Presidency.

This newspaper didn't always agree with President Kennedy's views. But, we admired him as a person of keen intelligence, charming personality and courage. He fought for what he felt was right, even when it was the unpopular view, the civil rights issue, as one example.

It could be that the tragic death of our President will bring the people of our Nation closer together, in a spirit of real, sincere unity and true American patriotism. In this hour of our Nation's great sorrow and loss, it is no time for partisan politics. There would be only one label, American. President Kennedy was just that—American, our President, a symbol of our dreams, our hopes, our freedom.

We can be calm in this time of great shock and sorrow to have faith in America, its people, and institutions. We can thank God for our blessings, His goodness bestowed upon our Nation in so many ways that the other nations do not possess, and to pray for his guidance over our new President, Lyndon B. Johnson, as he assumes the awesome responsibilities of our Nation's highest office.

[From the Lumberton (N.C.) Robesonian, Nov. 25, 1963]

Life to Give

"Ask not what your country will do for you—ask what you can do for your country."

These words were spoken to the people of the United States in January 1961, in the inaugural address of President John F. Kennedy. They are the words most often recalled in the hours of sorrow after his tragic death in November 1963.

In the brief, intervening years, the President did what he could for his country, with all the resourcefulness at his command. What he asked of others, he demanded of himself, constantly expending his energy and vitality in the service of the Nation.

An exceptional man, John Kennedy had a capacity for greatness. It was fully realized to the extent possible within his short span of life. He was not only a dynamic political leader and statesman. He was handsome and heroic, clever, and courageous—a young man to capture the imagination of the people and inspire the youth of the land.

Reared in a superior environment, John Kennedy had the advantages of wealth and education. He lived in a way that showed he knew much is expected from those to whom much is given. He and his wife seemed born to fill the glamorous roles they played. They were as near to the hearts of the people as a storybook prince and princess of old. In the great White House of the Presidents, they kept alive the love of the arts, the humanities, and the home.

To the highest elective office on earth, President Kennedy brought youth and strength and hope and purpose, at a time when much of the world's leadership was aging. The land of opportunity had a leader with a future. The image of America was revitalized. A powerful and benevolent Nation was prepared to keep pace with a changing world in which new nations were emerging and new frontiers were opening in space.

Then suddenly, a sniper's bullet ended the career and the life of this man, whom the free world had come to know as a friend and champion, and the other world of bondage had learned to respect. The man whose bravery had brought survival in time of crisis, was cut down by a shameful shot from ambush.

There was not even a semblance of misguided reason for this deed. It was a case of somebody having no better sense than to shoot the President. It was as though the progress of mankind had been halted and the machinery of civilization had been thrown out of gear, by a pebble tossed into the works.

The slender thread of one man's life has been broken, and millions have felt the impact of his fall. The world has aged more than the days on the calendar since his death, for a part of its hope and inspiration go with him as he is laid to rest. Yet the Nation he served and the people who survive can face the challenge of the future with a sustaining recollection of him, and of the courage he showed so often, in the face of obstacles and reverses and crises and ever-growing responsibilities.

Words by the tens of thousands, from people throughout the earth, have expressed the sorrow of this tragic experience, so sudden that from the President there were no last words for remembrance. But his own inaugural address, and the way he lived and died, revive the words of an American patriot at an earlier time of crisis, when this Nation was struggling to be born. His only regret was that he had but one life to give for his country.

[From the Coastland (N.C.) Times, Nov. 29, 1963]

A Mighty Man Among Men Has Fallen

When the burden of the heart is too heavy, and the mind is thick with grief, it is futile to attempt the expression of sentiment worthy of recording. In this hour we turn to the contemporary press, where we find some passages so well said that we wish to pass them on, about the loss of our great leader—our Commander in Chief. At this time it is too difficult for us to say what should be said about so tragic and senseless a loss in leadership, decency, honesty, ability, and promise for the service of mankind. Let us read from Shakespeare in King Henry IV:

"Oh God! that one might read the book of fate,
And see the revolution of the times,
Make mountains level, and the continent,
Weary of solid firmness melt itself
Into the sea! and, other times, to see
The beachy girdle of the ocean

Too wide for old Neptune's hips; how chances mock,
And changes fill the cup of alteration
With divers liquors! Oh, if this were seen,
The happiest youth, viewing his progress through,
What perils past, what crosses to ensue,
Would shut the book and sit him down and die."

Jonathan Daniels, editor of the News and Observer, who has moved much among the great men of the Nation, had this to say:

"DARKEST FRIDAY

"Twenty years ago the courageous young commander of a PT boat in the South Pacific narrowly escaped death in the service of his country. Then yesterday in Texas, as the youngest American President ever to die, John Fitzgerald Kennedy fell in his country's service at the hand of a more evil enemy than young Americans have ever met in war.

"Shocked Americans quickly remembered the death in the Presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt 18 years ago. But no equal and similar tragedy has occurred in the history of America since another dark Friday nearly a century ago when Abraham Lincoln was assassinated. And not even Lincoln's death came at a time when the Nation seemed so besieged by problems and danger. Lincoln lived to see victory and peace. John Kennedy, when he died, was still leading in a far more dangerous time.

"And the death of this great, young President emphasized as nothing else could have done that the dangers around him and around us all are not merely those involving foreign menace but home malice as well.

"The death of the young and brave and beautiful is always sad. The death of the chief of the greatest nation on earth shocks men and shakes history. But John Kennedy's death carried with it not only grief but an element of terror, too. Here in a State which regards itself as especially strong in its Americanism, among thousands of good people who were cheering their pride in the Commander of their country, malice struck its shining mark. It was incredible. It happened.

"John Kennedy will be remembered long. The sacrifice of his death needs to be taken to the shaken heart of the Nation now. There can be no safety in a nation where bitterness at home impels even one assassin to his horrid crime. America's honor, greatness, and glory made the assassin's target in Dallas Friday.

"The young President is dead. The old nation is grievously wounded. Hope lies only in the unity of grief and outrage which rose in the whole continent about John Kennedy's bier. The young man died in the service of his country. His proper mourning requires the solemn understanding of the meaning in his death that the poison of hate cannot only kill a man but the dream too of an America fit to lead the world."

We also quote from the Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch, whose editor is George J. Hebert, in an editorial, entitled.

PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY

"Even today, as the fuller story is being pieced together of yesterday's ghastly events in Dallas, death of President John F. Kennedy is almost too much to take in. And that, surely, has been the common reaction of heartsick Americans across this land of ours.

"The shared reaction has been one of disbelief, disbelief that it could happen, and cold anger at the dark thing that overtook this country on Friday, November 22, 1963.

"History is no stranger to assassinations. We all know, too, of the minute-by-minute vulnerability of any man in the public eye and most particularly of chiefs of state. Our minds at least are familiar with the unpleasant reality that a madman is capable of anything, and that loose among us are the few—the deranged, the misled, the fanatics—upon whom neither society's restraints nor conscience have any effect.

"But these are things we comprehend with the intellect. What happened yesterday, at the hands of an assassin deeply involved in Communist doctrine and philosophy, is new and fresh and raw and goes deeper.

"What strikes to the heart is the contrast between yesterday afternoon's black headlines, the drumfire of grim bulletins by radio and television, with their engulfing grief for a whole nation, and the bright scene of only a few hours earlier as the people of a civilized country went about their free, generally prosperous affairs in the sunshine, reading in the early newspaper editions of their young President and his smiling wife moving easily and unafraid among them.

"President Kennedy was chosen through one of our cherished democratic processes to lead all of us. No one can question that he led with all the energy and considerable talents that were his. No one can doubt that most of his countrymen admired him as a whole; felt a deep personal attachment to him and Mrs. Kennedy. Barring the unforeseen, it had been generally acknowledged that he would have been entrusted with his high office for another 4 years by those same people.

"He combined intellect with the serviceable realism of a political pragmatist. He carried great responsibilities responsibly and displayed a sense of moderation that steered the country away from many of the extremes his election seemed to threaten in 1960. He had a warmth and humor that survived all the stress and strain of his grueling days.

"As the Cuban crisis proved, he could rise to great heights of leadership when the chips were down, with a coolness that permitted intelligent planning and with a sure insight that the kind of strength the American people had put in his hands.

"He was the President of us all. He had our allegiance and our affection.

"America mourns the loss of a President and the senseless death of a good man."

[From the Southern Pines (N.C.) Pilot, Nov. 28, 1963]

THE TRUMPET SUMMONS US AGAIN

Now, after the body of John Fitzgerald Kennedy has been laid to rest, the Nation's dark night of the soul is ending—the night of anguish that fell upon the United States with the firing of an assassin's rifle last Friday.

There is no wakening from the past week's nightmare, for it was no dream. The lifting of the darkness, indeed, makes more hideous the reality of what has happened. But light is returning and Americans must live in the world that it reveals.

"Now," the slain President has asserted in his inaugural address, "the trumpet summons us again * * * to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out * * * a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself." The words ring with added grandeur as the Nation faces a new beginning after his death.

No greater tribute can be paid Mr. Kennedy than a thoughtful, fervent, unremitting commitment to that struggle. Nor is there now, in these United States, a more potent power, to dispel the darkness and rekindle hope, than those words.

A great leader has fallen. He has been replaced, in President Lyndon Baines Johnson, by another leader wholly committed to the noble tasks so eloquently outlined by the young President on that cold January 20, 1961.

We have full confidence in Mr. Johnson's leadership. But the people of the United States should remember that the dead President said, in words that move us even more deeply now: "In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course."

Mr. Kennedy is gone. But as the past week's darkness lightens, there is great comfort in this thought: the people of the United States remain—to heed, if they will, the still-echoing, strong, young voice that placed supreme importance on their own efforts in setting and holding the Nation's future course.

Mindful of this, President Johnson and the people must now, together, "go forth to lead the land we love."

THEY CAME TO HONOR HIM

The coming here of national leaders from all over the world to attend the funeral of President Kennedy is an extraordinary thing.

The young American President, who had fallen so tragically under an assassin's bullet, had been in office less than 3 years. He had accomplished a few things—and a few great things; he was cut down in the promise of so much more.

He was young, his full powers not yet come to fruition, his brillance, his energy, his devotion even not yet fully tried. And still, from lands far and near, allied or unfriendly still, they came, the leaders, to stand beside the young leader's grave.

AN AMERICAN HEROINE

Mrs. Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy has won the undying admiration and affection of the American people and the world.

Gallant and brave beyond belief in the ordeal of her husband's sudden assassination and the ensuing series of events and ceremonies—all occurring in the public eye—she was at once so strong and so frail, so imperturable and so touchingly and ordinarily human, that she is now, without question, the most loved woman in the land.

Not once did she falter—and it was a performance of instinct, not conscious direction. She rode with the President's body on the plane from Texas, and when the body came off the plane, she was with it, touching the casket lightly, as though reaching out for a hand, and she rode with it, in the ambulance, to the Naval Hospital.

Her Sunday night return to the Capitol rotunda, where the body lay in state, was almost anonymous among the hundreds filing by, again to reach out, touch and kiss the casket like a child seeking reassurance: a heartbreaking incident. Yet one marveled, with vast respect, at the honest, strong compulsion that sent her back there, when lesser spirits would have retired under sedation.

A British observer defined her quality throughout as "majesty." Of course, she was worthy of the term, but to us it seemed grandiose. We know only that a new American heroine is on the scene.

This is a tribute to him and to our country made doubly strong by the circumstances under which they came. For so many necessary, important persons to come to the United States at this time is another extraordinary thing. For—it must be faced—in doing so they ran a serious risk.

General De Gaulle, the new Prime Minister of Britain and Prince Philip, the Germans, the Russians, the men of the new Africa, all these and the others are controversial figures and for each one there is an "anti" group in the mixed population of the United States. In any of these groups, these lunatic fringes

of the far right or the far left, there are crackpots. Every crowd, such as the multitude that lined the streets of Washington, may contain a Lee Oswald; under such circumstances, no police force, even one far less negligent than that of Dallas, can assure protection.

That these factors were well understood by the visitors goes without saying. It is a well-known fact that four American Presidents have died at the hands of assassins and others had the narrowest of escapes. This country is a violent, dangerous land, especially right now.

The leaders who came risked their lives to honor this young man. Why? To them, as he did to us, Kennedy may have stood as a symbol of the hope of peace, the hope of goodness that persists in every man's heart. In the young President's flashing energy, his strong faith in the future and the ability of youth to rebuild it in a better image, they may have recognized a touch of greatness.

These leaders from foreign lands came because they honored him and they came because of the Nation that he represented. They know its faults. They know, and judge rightly, while they scorn, its dangers, but they recognize its will for goodness, its generous heart, its steadfast belief—despite much seeming evidence to the contrary—in the worth of the human spirit.

As these great leaders stood by the grave of John F. Kennedy to do him honor, so let us honor them: for their faith in him and in the United States which he served so well and for the generous, brave spirit that brought them here to share our grief, to stand by us in our hour of trial.

When lilacs last in the dooryard bloom'd,
And the great star early droop'd in the western sky in the night,
I mourn'd, and yet shall mourn with ever-returning spring.
O powerful western fallen star!
O great star disappear'd—O the black murk that hides the star!
O harsh surrounding cloud that will not free my soul.

—WALT WHITMAN.

(After the assassination of President Lincoln.)

[From the Montgomery Herald, Troy, N.C., Nov. 28, 1963]

ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT REMINDS CITIZENS THAT SPREADING HATRED COULD DESTROY NATION

Perhaps it has all been said already.

The President is dead and around the world millions of words have been written and spoken about the man who was the 35th President of the United States, about his contributions to mankind, and about the dastardly deed which took his life.

The shots which rang out on a crowded Dallas street last Friday were, indeed, heard around the world. The sounds of these shots, and what they mean, will reverberate for time to come.

During the long hours following President John F. Kennedy's assassination, millions of grieving Americans paused for moments of self-examination.

People thought serious thoughts. Many people wondered aloud what has happened to our civilized society. Many wondered whether they themselves have allowed seeds of hate to become sown so widely and deeply that hatred threatens to destroy this Nation's way of life.

The easiest way to write off this terrible thing, of course, is to say that the act of assassination was by the hand of a warped individual. But, we must remember that the fires of hatred, fanned by "sane" individuals, help to warp and twist other men's minds.

Friday wasn't the first time that there have been signs of hatred in Dallas. Just a few weeks ago United Nations Ambassador Adlai Stevenson was besieged by an angry mob in Dallas and spat upon. The ugly head of hatred has reared itself in other places in the land.

And, need we not kid ourselves, Dallas and other "trouble spots" are not the only spawning places for the seeds of hatred. Who among us has not been guilty, at one time or another, of uttering statements about things and people—yes, even the late President—which would tend to build hatred in our own minds as well as in the minds of others?

Freedom of speech is a precious heritage which gives all Americans the right to disagree, but we must not use this freedom to build corruptive hate which can only destroy the every things we hold so dear.

It may well be that the events of the past weekend, as tragic as they were, will result in the greatest and most lasting memorial to the late President. Not a stone and concrete memorial, but a memorial in men's minds to remind them that there is no place for hatred and malice in a civilized world.

We've a feeling that this great American would like such a memorial.

THERE'S STILL MUCH FOR WHICH TO BE THANKFUL

Still mourning the loss of a President, and still in a state of shock, Americans today pause to give thanks to the Almighty for their many blessings. It's Thanksgiving Day, 1963.

On the heels of the tragic events of the past few days many people may be inclined to feel that there is little to be thankful for this year. They are wrong.

For one thing, they can be thankful for the form of government under which we live. Not a perfect process, to be sure, it is still the best to be devised by mankind.

And, they can be thankful for their forebears who built the framework of our Government. The vivid events of the past few days demonstrate that they took their work seriously and overlooked no detail in assuring this Nation of leadership.

A President can die, but the office must continue. Last week, within minutes after President John F. Kennedy was slain there was a new President and the wheels of government continued uninterrupted.

Americans were brought close to the tragedy through the medium of television, and we believe all Americans felt a feeling of thankfulness for our Democracy.

Americans, too, on this Thanksgiving Day will want to thank God that the Nation has leadership in abundance. While we mourn the loss of President Kennedy, we are thankful that a man with the capabilities and the courage of President Johnson was standing in the wings ready to assume the awesome burden of the office.

Each citizen of course, has many personal things for which he can give thanks. It is, indeed, a dark period in our lives, but out of the clouds of darkness there comes rays of bright hope for the future.

Let us all pause this day to give thanks for the great blessings we are privileged to enjoy.

[From the Washington (N.C.) Daily News, November 1963]

A NATION'S CONSCIENCE AND A BLEEDING HEART

The death of John Fitzgerald Kennedy President of the United States, is at this very moment touching the lives of people over the world in every walk of life.

There are no mitigating circumstances surrounding his death. He was killed in cold blood, and a Nation's conscience is hurting, and it will continue to hurt for a long time. The heart of the entire world is bleeding, and with every drop of blood, there is the realization that a friend of man has given his life in the causes he deemed right and just.

It matters little the name of the assassin, or his age, color, political beliefs, or why he chose to pain the Nation's conscience or bleed the world's heart with this dastardly act.

People in America and people over the world often disagreed with Mr. Kennedy. But in America particularly we live in a land where the right to disagree is as sacred as the right to agree. Surely, John F. Kennedy would have been the last to deny that principle and the first to hold high its banner.

America has lost so very much, but this great loss is not America's alone. John F. Kennedy belonged to the world. Today wherever one lives, and regardless of what one believes, the knowledge is general that mankind has lost a great friend and a true leader.

Mr. Kennedy died fighting for the principles in which he believed. When we begin to think of how much greatness this Nation and the world have lost, the pain of shock becomes so much greater. What a brilliant young man. What a world statesman he could have been when his term of office was finished.

Men die on battlefields, and we never know what measure of greatness they might have given the world. Somewhere on the bloody beaches of Normandy or Anzio, or in the barren coldness of the 38th parallel might lie the remains of some boy, who had he lived, might have given us the cure for cancer or the key that would unlock the secret of world peace or who might have provided the leadership that would have brought political or moral or spiritual greatness to a world torn asunder. To what heights might have Mr. Kennedy gone? We'll never know, but if we could judge the future by the past, we might conclude that the opportunities ahead are limitless.

Yes, Mr. Kennedy, friend to man, champion of this time of history, and fighter to the end, lies still today. But the seeds he has grown and the paths he has explored shall one day bear a bountiful harvest of fruit.

He was our President. He died with his boots on. The mortal man is dead, but the impact lives on. And it shall live in the hearts and minds of men for a long, long time.

America mourns; the world mourns; we all have lost more than we realize.

[From the Warren Record, Warrenton, N.C., Nov. 29, 1963]

JOHN F. KENNEDY

Whether John F. Kennedy will be listed among the great Presidents of the United States history can only tell; that he was a great American there can be no doubt; but that he was beloved has been attested to by the tears of a mourning public, and the sense of depression that gripped the Nation for days following his assassination in Dallas last Friday.

Mixed with the tears and with the sense of loss has been a sense of national shame that such a thing could have happened in America.

The great and the mighty of this Nation and of the nations of the world have paid their tribute to the man, to his courage, his love of his country, his personal warmth, and his compassion for the weak. Now there remains little to say.

We think that in his death a little of us all died. We had watched him on TV, seen his pictures on magazine covers, heard his cultured voice on radio and TV until he had become almost a part of us. Even those who did not care for his views on domestic issues, admired the man as an individual, and most of us were proud that a family such as the Kennedys were in the White House.

It has been said that a man is part of all whom he has known. Certainly the mem-

ories of John F. Kennedy and his too few days in the White House will be with us the days of our life. Memory paints a picture of a young man in 1956 at the Democratic National Convention when he almost won the Democratic nomination for Vice President. We remember 4 years later his successful fight for the nomination of his party for President, how we were early won to his cause and pulled for him as the fight waged for the nomination. We remember his campaign, the TV debates, his winning the election, and his great inaugural address when he pled for the American people to "ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country."

That it all had to end in such a tragic manner is truly heartbreaking.

John F. Kennedy was not only blessed with courage, stamina and an excellent mind; he was blessed with one of the truly great women of this age as his wife. People who did not like the President, learned to love his wife, for her tact, her beauty, her culture, and her courage.

Among the memories of the ceremonies connected with the death of President Kennedy, we think we shall never forget the picture of sheer courage and devotion shown by this woman. We will always remember her at the airport entering the hearse to ride to the White House with the remains of her husband. We will remember her standing before the bier of her husband in the rotunda of the Capitol, hiding her grief, as she held the hands of her little boy, 3, Monday, and girl, 6, Wednesday; and how leaving them for a moment she approached the flag-covered casket, knelt and kissed the coffin that contained the remains of her husband.

The sympathy of the Nation not only goes out to Mrs. Kennedy and her children, but to his old father and to his mother, who had already suffered the loss of one son in World War II, the loss of a daughter in an airplane crash in 1948, who have known the heartaches of a retarded child; and to his brothers and sisters making up one of America's most devoted families.

The sympathy of the Nation also goes to the new President Lyndon Johnson, who not only lost the friendship of a man whom he had learned to love but had the great problems of the world dropped into his lap with the firing of a shot. The prayers of America will be with him in his ordeal and, we believe, the support of the people.

As the last muffled drumbeat died, and the body of a beloved President was returned to the earth, the phrase that comes to us is from Horatio's farewell to Hamlet:

"Goodnight, Sweet Prince."

[From the West Jefferson (N.C.) Skyland Post, Nov. 28, 1963]

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY

The tragic and untimely death of President John F. Kennedy, 46, at the hand of an assassin in Dallas, Tex., Friday brought shock and grief to this Nation and the world.

This 35th President of the United States, put service above self. He was a leader who had accomplished much but who had more plans for the future. For this reason it is too soon to evaluate his real worth to this Nation and the world. History will in time record this and we believe history will prove him to be one of the greatest Presidents of all times.

He was a man known and loved, not only by Americans, but by people throughout the world. The grief over his tragic death at the hands of a sniper, has been profound and been expressed by practically all countries in the world except Communist China. In West Berlin 60,000 torchbearers marched and a street was renamed "John F. Kennedy." In England, fundraising was started to erect a monument for him and a service was held in Westminster Abbey. In other countries there were more expressions of grief and sympathy.

President Kennedy championed the cause of the poor and the less fortunate, but kings, queens, presidents, and other world leaders mourned and came to Washington to his funeral to pay final tribute to this young leader cut down in the prime of life.

President Kennedy had served his country as a naval officer in war, but he was willing and ready to leave nothing undone to keep the peace of the world. But his peace was a peace of dignity and respect.

President Kennedy was a wealthy man, but he knew and understood the problems of the poor and worked for their health and welfare.

He was an educated man and realized the value of education for all Americans.

He was a fearless man of great courage and the last lines of his book "Profiles in Courage" were written with his life's blood.

He was inaugurated as President during a blizzard and brought to this Nation's Capital a real breath of fresh air. In the short period he served, less than 3 years, he has thrown out many challenges. How we accept them from his fallen hand depends upon our sense of individual responsibility.

These are indeed trying times, but they are times to rally behind the new President, Lyndon Baines Johnson, and give him the support he deserves for the heavy tasks that have been thrust upon him.

[From the Whiteville (N.C.) News Reporter, Nov. 25, 1963]

ASK WHAT YOU CAN DO

All the world is aware now of the atrocity committed in this country last Friday. Free people and the oppressed everywhere have lost a friend and this Nation has lost a great President and a dedicated public servant.

The courageous leader of this land's 180 million has been struck down by an assassin's unerring aim was a shot heard—and felt—around the world.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy gave his life in the line of duty and now rests with other heroes in the National Cemetery at Arlington, Va.

Some 20 years ago he was spared, prophetically, in the Pacific fighting for a cause that this Nation and its freedom-loving allies might live in peace and decency. Now he has joined many of his buddies of that frightful war.

We can ill afford the loss but the despicable deed has been done. The great promise and brilliance with which Mr. Kennedy was endowed is lost for all time. He had been honored with the highest office this Nation could give but, relatively youthful, the potential of his gift for leadership and wisdom gave great promise of strength in future years.

There were those who disagreed with some of the principles Mr. Kennedy espoused and there were those in whose hearts some phases of his domestic program created resentment, even open defiance, but true Americans bore him no hate as was exemplified last Friday. He fought for what he thought was best and proper for his fellow countrymen and not to the sacrifice of one group against another but for all people.

This outrageous act at Dallas, Tex., last Friday has brought shame to this land—haven for the depressed, home of the orphaned, friend of all who love liberty, and benefactor of mankind in many lands beyond our shores. No nation, near or remote, has been denied succor when that nation, great or weak, made its plea in good faith.

The memory of Mr. Kennedy will live for generations and many of his prophetic statements will abide forever. So it is now, in these trying hours, a time to rededicate ourselves to that soul-searching appeal he expressed in his inaugural address almost 3 years ago:

"Ask not what your country can do for you but ask what you can do for your country."

[From the Wilmington (N.C.) Morning Star, Nov. 23, 1963]

A NATION MOURNS ITS PRESIDENT

"He's dead."

Those words shocked a great nation and much of the remainder of the world into cold and deep silence yesterday afternoon. And it will be a long time before the numbness of the assassination of President Kennedy leaves the hearts and minds of millions of people.

The horror of the tragedy is difficult to appraise and put into words.

In one moment, a happy President was enjoying his visit to one of the Nation's fine cities. Minutes later he entered death's door. Why? Because of the warped deadly brain of a single person.

President Kennedy, like many other great men stricken down at their heights, now belongs to the ages. His supporters and his critics quietly join hands in their mutual respect as they pay homage to a man who literally gave his life for his country. This sad day transcends party lines and differences, big and small, because all Americans realize their President, dedicated to fulfilling his big and demanding role, is gone. One of the most dastardly acts of all time has taken our leader, in the prime and vigor of his life, away.

Today men of all faiths and political parties share a loss that has brought the Nation to a standstill. As these men measure their sadness, they are aware of the challenge ahead. That challenge is to act for the better welfare of the United States in the same spirit—placement of love of country and devotion to duty above all else—that motivated the life of President Kennedy.

The Nation is offered sound, moderate leadership in the new President—Lyndon Johnson. The tasks ahead for him will not be easy. He will need the people's thoughtful, unwavering support. May Americans resolve to fulfill this need as they offer their deepest sympathy to Mrs. Kennedy and the family in their darkest hour.

[From the Wilmington (N.C.) Morning Star, Nov. 24, 1963]

WELCOME THE NEW LEADER

As shock ebbs from the minds of Americans it is replaced with profound grief in their hearts over the assassination of President Kennedy.

Untold millions feel a personal loss as the details of one of the most dastardly deeds in history are unfolded. Regardless of whether a person liked or disliked Mr. Kennedy, if he is a true patriot his sadness is comparable to that over the loss of a member of the family if for no other reason than his reverence for the Presidency. As the deep meaning of this awesome tragedy sweeps over the Nation, good people ask themselves: What can I do, other than through my prayers, in memory of a man who gave his life for his country and in behalf of his successor, President Lyndon B. Johnson?

As that question is asked, it is likely those famous words from Mr. Kennedy's inaugural address will come to mind:

"And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country."

The first thing to do is to follow the example of true unity, regardless of partisan politics or other factors, set by the Nation's leaders in the hours following the murder of Mr. Kennedy. History has proved, time and time again, that when bitterness and selfishness are thrust aside the beauty of America's

greatness in her dark hours is brilliant to behold.

Next, let there be no doubt in any mind as to the ability, desire and spirit of President Johnson to take up his tremendous responsibilities. Of all men who have stepped from the Vice Presidency to the White House, he is the best qualified from experience, knowledge and courage for the new and larger job. His many years in Government have trained him well as a skilled and respected leader. And remember, he was selected for his role by Mr. Kennedy himself.

As the Nation turns toward its new leadership, it should easily find spiritual inspiration for powerful unity and eagerness to support President Johnson in the demanding days ahead. Seldom before has the need for solidarity been greater, not only among ourselves but in demonstration to a watchful world. May it prevail every hour in behalf of the security and continued welfare of the United States as the leader of the free people of the world.

[From the Wilmington (N.C.) Morning Star, Nov. 26, 1963]

THE MESSAGE HE LEFT

It is over.

The massive picture, drawn for endless hours in countless scenes and words, of the martyrdom of President John F. Kennedy is no longer before the misty eyes of millions. But much of this tragic panorama is burned deep in the memory of Americans. As they look back, they feel weary in their knowledge they have suffered through a nightmare which the most fantastic fiction could not match in its incredibility.

The bizarre series of events which began with a rifle shot in Dallas last Friday is over—thank God. Its final and total evaluation is now a task for the historians.

But one thing will never be over.

It is the message in the untimely death of the 35th President of the United States.

Mr. Kennedy perhaps could deliver it better than anyone else through application of the powerful oratory he mastered so well. But his lips are cold and silent as the world mourns its loss. So others must speak. But that should not be difficult—if the speaker believes in God, the dignity of man, and the prevalence of law and order. Why? Because the message is so simple. It is:

Hate is the most powerful weapon known to man.

Modern man fears the nuclear bomb. He is just as much afraid of its vehicles of delivery. He knows planes and rockets can smash the bomb down on him and millions of his countrymen in the space of a few minutes. So, as the first means of protection, masses of men curb their hate as they strive for even a shread of genuine hope for eternal peace.

It was no massive nuclear bomb but a simple bullet, fired from a $12.78 mail-order rifle, that ended the world of John F. Kennedy. The bullet was sent into its fatal flight by just one thing—the hate of one man for mankind.

Seldom does the Bible itself match the irony of this story in the death of Lee Harvey Oswald from a bullet in his body from another gun, only hours after the Kennedy murder.

Thus, a second merchant of hate, a man named Jack Ruby, was given the spotlight in Dallas, a city whose damnation seldom has been matched in history.

The end of Oswald was as certain as a direct hit by a nuclear bomb.

Once again, hate sent a fatal bullet into its deadly flight. It was a chain reaction.

It is readily admitted Oswald and Ruby are not average individuals. That is true—but they certainly are not the only people with hate-filled heads in this land.

Are the dastardly deeds in Dallas to be accepted as a mounting trend of uncontrolled violence? Are we to believe that the honor—and life—of the Presidency and the rights of the Constitution are worth no more than mere bullets? Is it to be that the problems of this Nation have surpassed the civilized means of solution? Is hate to rule?

Those questions are asked for the thought they may provoke.

Hate can kill nations as readily and as deadly as it kills men. Never before has it been more important for Americans to remember that—and let their highest interpretations of that thought guide them in their relations with each other and the world.

That, we believe, is the message President Kennedy left.

[From the Wilson (N.C.) Daily Times, November 1963]

THE NATION MOURNS FOR THE PRESIDENT

Out of the clear of everyday living came the word that the President of the United States of America, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, is dead. He was killed by an assassin's bullet.

Smiling, waving and happy was the last picture he gave the people of Dallas, Tex., as he rode in the parade in his honor, in that city. This was the picture you associate with the youngest President ever to take the highest office in the land. He was young, young in spirit, often young in actions, but always vibrant, and thoughtful, and brilliant.

His young wife and their two children, bring to mind the picture that is truly international, the picture of a happy family, carrying the responsibility of the biggest job on earth, with a relish and desire to carry forward for another term. For the President was in Texas on both a national and fence-mending mission.

The people of this Nation were stunned. You read over and again the words "incredible", "beyond comprehension", "unbelievable", and "tragic." While this Nation is trying to recover from the shock, the leaders of the world send words of condolence, respect and admiration for the young, but forceful leader.

It is difficult to reconcile the President's assassination, with this modern age in which we live. Who his assassin is, has not been decided. It really does not matter because his deed so outweighs all other circumstances. If he was killed by a fanatic, by one either possessed of misguided national zeal or by one whose twisted mind led him to believe he was serving some cause, is of little consequence.

For we, of this age, have witnessed an event we did not think could happen. For only three Presidents before have been assassinated. The first was Abraham Lincoln, the 16th President of the United States, the President during the Civil War who was shot by John Wilkes Booth. Today he is known as the Great Emancipator. And we predict that President Kennedy, will in our lifetime, be called by many a second Abraham Lincoln, the martyr of this age.

The other Presidents assassinated were James Abram Garfield, the 20th President who was shot in the station in Washington. He was going to Williams College, Williamston, Mass., to attend commencement exercises.

William McKinley, the 25th President was shot while attending a reception in one of the public buildings of the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, N.Y.

President Kennedy was a man of great ability, personality, and talent. He held the admiration of many and the respect of all. Whether you agreed with him or not, you recognized his ability and you respected his intentions. He will go down in history as a great President, and his tragic death will add luster to an already brilliant career, as a patriot, a statesman, and as the President of the United States.

From the tragedy we must come to grips with the fact that our own internal problems are more dire, more serious than those of international scope. This Nation must heal its differences. And the tragic death of the President should teach us that the strength of a Nation is built upon understanding and not bitterness, not arms but the heart. If progress is made in this direction, he will not have died in vain.

[From the Bertie Ledger-Advance, Windsor, N.C., November 1963]

GREAT NATIONS SURVIVE

The President is dead. His body lies buried on a hillside in Arlington Cemetery. Life and government for the people of America go on.

These are not facts that the people of Bertie County do not know. In this day of continuous on-the-spot television and radio coverage there is little that is not known throughout the land. Where these media have stopped, the daily newspapers have provided printed coverage.

What is there left for a weekly newspaper editor to say? Is there need to say anything more? In ordinary circumstances a news item so far away from the coverage area of a country weekly would go unnoticed.

But the past few days have been no ordinary days. The world has been affected in a moment of history when the President of the United States was mortally wounded.

Shocked, saddened, disgusted, sickened, grief stricken * * * these are expressions used to describe feelings yet these words seem inadequate and there are none better to describe what Americans have felt since 2 p.m., Friday.

Washington, New York, Los Angeles, Boston, Dallas have no monopoly on grief. People wept in these places. People wept too in Windsor and Colerain, in Aulander and Lewiston and in every crossroad and hamlet where this great leader was known.

These events have passed. As flags continue to fly at half mast, tears cease. A leader has fallen—a nation still stands. The future of this Nation has been affected but thank God there is a future remaining. Great leaders are mortal, great nations survive.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was a Christian man. Perhaps in his death he accomplished something that would never have been accomplished in life. He caused millions of people to feel a need to return to God. In churches, cathedrals, and synagogues they went to pray—in tribute to his memory and in search of peace in their hearts.

It takes a tragedy to bring us to our knees for we have become a self-sufficient people who often forget The One who makes all things possible.

In sorrow we were united. Perhaps in days to come we will be united in joy. For this is America, a land where people came and still do to escape the events such as those of the past weekend. It couldn't happen here we were sure.

But it did. It happened this time in Dallas. It could happen in Windsor. It could happen anywhere in the world where regard for God's laws as well as man's laws are forgotten.

The late President was so representative of America's basic conception. He sought peace yet he was unafraid to face danger to fight for ideals. He pressed forward toward accomplishment with determination and in so doing lost personal support but gained strength for the Nation.

No more appropriate monument can be built to his memory than the eternal flame lighted at his grave by Mrs. Kennedy. We will miss him but names and personalities are soon erased.

May the eternal light at his grave be the torch to kindle a spark of love for mankind,

peace, and good will that will continue this Nation on its course as:

"America, the beautiful,
The land of the free
And the home of the brave."

—LAURA HARRELL.

[From the Winston-Salem (N.C.) Journal, Nov. 23, 1963]

JOHN F. KENNEDY

The proper epitaph for John Fitzgerald Kennedy might well be an American variant of a royal motto: He served.

He served his country as a naval officer in conditions of brutal trial and danger—a danger which called for a test of loyalty to his fellow man and all but cost him his life.

He served his State as a Senator. And though his political beginnings were unpromising, he achieved by hard work a mastery of national and world affairs that few of his contemporaries could equal.

He served the Nation again as President and Commander in Chief. In the span of less than 3 years he experienced all the grandeur and the misery of the Presidency, and he accepted both with equal serenity.

Now he has been struck down by an act of hate.

John Kennedy, as we all know, had the love of countless Americans. He knew in those exciting days of 1960 and the years that immediately followed the welcoming roar of the crowd in the streets, the frantic handclasp of the well-wishers who slipped past his bodyguards, and the "God bless you, Jack" that came from an unknown voice in the crowd.

He also knew—and let us be honest with ourselves in this moment of grief—the hatred of too many Americans. These unworthy ones held him accountable, as Americans have often held their leaders accountable in the past, for the very problems that any man in the President's office would have had to face.

Now these problems are waiting for the new President. They are familiar enough—the antagonism of the races, the malevolence of the Russians and all those they have infected with the Communist virus; the costs of national security, and all the strains in our society and the world at large brought on by the new nationalism, the Russian and Chinese revolutions, and the concurrent industrial, electronic and atomic revolutions.

There they are waiting, these problems, on the desk of President Lyndon Baines Johnson.

To meet them in a worthy way, he will need the love and the confidence of his fellow Americans.

So let there be a truce to hate.

And, conscious of our incomparable power and all that depends on it, let us unite behind our new President, raising a prayer that he will prove worthy of the trust.

[From the Winston-Salem (N.C.) Journal, Nov. 26, 1963]

A COURAGEOUS LADY

It can be truly said that nothing became Mrs. John F. Kennedy as First Lady so much as the courage and simple dignity with which she shared her grief.

Among the indelible memories of these past few days, none is etched more deeply than the sight of this slender young woman in black—bending to speak to her young children, kneeling at her husband's casket, lighting the eternal torch at his grave.

Other women have met the sudden death of their husbands as courageously. But no other woman in history, including Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, has been called on to suffer this private ordeal so publicly.

It is the price Mrs. Kennedy paid both for having been the wife of the President of the United States, whose death belonged to the people, and for living in the age of technology in which human emotions, like public events, can be viewed by millions.

Longfellow has said that "there is no grief like the grief that does not speak." And the lines of Mrs. Kennedy's silent grief were all to evident behind her mourning veil.

But throughout the long and exhausting ritual, she bore the burden of her position with a composure which we could not have asked but which has made her country proud.

There is little the Nation can say to Mrs. Kennedy as she takes off the mantle of First Lady which she wore so well—except, perhaps, to borrow the words that Abraham Lincoln once wrote to a woman who had lost her sons in battle:

"I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours, to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom."

[From the Twin City Sentinel, Winston-Salem, N.C., Nov. 23, 1963]

A DEATH IN THE FAMILY

A great many words have been said during the past 24 hours—some of them eloquent, but most in the simple, halting speech of people deeply grieved.

Few of us knew John F. Kennedy as a person. Many did not agree with his policies; some openly fought him. If nearly half the voters of this country had had their way 3 years ago, he would not have been President yesterday, riding in ceremonial splendor through the streets of Dallas.

But the point is, Mr. Kennedy was the President yesterday. And suddenly, stunningly, the President was dead.

Never mind now his politics, his personality, his race, or his religion. All over Winston-Salem, as in every town in every corner of the Nation, people are reacting to his death as though he had been a member of their own family.

The President of the United States is that close to the people.

In a book written for children a few years ago, Gerald W. Johnson touched on why this is so. "No country," he said, "and most certainly no democracy can last long without leadership. But in a democracy the people choose the leadership, so when all is said and done, they are responsible for it, whether it is good or bad."

We did not all help put John Kennedy into the Presidency. But all of us believe in, live by, and bear responsibility for the system that put him there. Thus believing, we hold dear both the office and the life of the man who occupies it, whatever his name may be.

So it is that the bullet which killed Mr. Kennedy yesterday has grazed the lives of us all and left its scar.

[From the Caswell Messenger, Yanceyville, N.C., Nov. 28, 1963]

CONFIDENTIALLY

(By Erwin B. Stephens)

As this is being written the muffled drumbeats in the funeral cortege of President John F. Kennedy can be heard over the airwaves, bringing a sorrowful sense of finality to one act of one of the most tragic dramas in American history.

Why did it have to happen? Over and over again the question repeats itself in the minds of millions of citizens. Why? A sense of shame and outrage swelled in the hearts of many that a shameful incident should occur in a great Christian nation. We had read about such things in other less fortunate nations; now it had happened to us.

But something of the strength and great spirit of the American people welled up to the surface as the tragic events unfolded. People of all walks of life, of all creeds and colors, came forth with a great outpouring of sympathy and expressions of tribute to one of the great men of the day.

Out of the whole tragic series of events over the weekend one can gain reassurance as to the basic strength of the people of this Nation. People who disagreed in part or in whole with the political philosophy of the President felt just as deep a sense of outrage at the dastardly crime as those who were in accord with his programs and beliefs. To everyone, this was not just a crime against the President or his party; it was a crime against all the people, for in a very real sense the Presidency is symbolic of the ideals and spirit of the American people. It holds a warm place in their hearts.

The people of America are a people of many divergent opinions, of many creeds and faiths, of divergent political philosophies. This is their strength; this is the strength of the Nation. Even the lowliest person can voice freely his disapproval of the acts of a chief executive without fear of retribution or bodily harm. Such is the freedom we possess and cherish. Such is the right that more than half the people of the world do not possess. Yet, despite such divergent opinions, in a time of national emergency or crisis, our people can unite as one, stand solid as a rock against anyone or anything that threatens our own.

Totalitarian subjects and rulers cannot understand Americans. Standing at a distance and viewing the American scene, hearing of our domestic and political squabbles, they might get the idea that the Republic is about to fall apart, that the plum is ripe for the picking. But how wrong they are. They cannot, and perhaps never will, understand how Americans can unite under stress and throw their whole resources into a common cause with zest and enthusiasm, and with a determination that cannot be deterred.

The President's death at the hands of an assassin brings into sharp focus one phase of American life which should be the concern of every rational citizen: The increase in crime and the growing trend toward violations of the laws of our land. Time and again ministers, leaders, and law enforcement officers have pointed out this trend and have sought to arouse the public to its dangers. J. Edgar Hoover, boss of the FBI, constantly sends out bulletins warning of the inherent dangers of increasing violations of the law. Our country was founded by Christian people on the foundation stone of law and order. Every violation of law, whether it be for speeding, trespassing on another's property, or for more serious offenses, chips a little more from the foundation of our Nation and contributes to the chaos which would exist if law and order breaks down. No chain is stronger than its weakest link, and any person who violates any law weakens the system which provides him, and others, with safety in his own pursuit of his goals.

In recent years we have read the statements of those who proclaimed that they would violate what they called bad laws in order to achieve what they called good ends. Such a philosophy is absurd and irresponsible and has no place in American life. It is a foreign philosophy which should never be permitted to take root in American society. Good cannot be achieved by violating the laws enacted by the representatives of the people in the interest of all the people. If we think a law is wrong or harmful, we have the right and duty to use our influence to have that law repealed by the proper authorities. That is what legislatures are for, and the process of changing, repealing, or amending laws goes on year after year in an

effort to achieve greater good for more people. But when we take the law into our own hands and violate those which are distasteful to us we take the wrong stand and use our influence in the wrong way. Such a stand leads only to chaos and destruction.

[From station WBT, Charlotte, N.C., Nov. 23, 1963]

THE PRESIDENT'S DEATH

For the fourth time in the history of this country, a President of the United States has paid with his life for his fidelity to the principle that the Chief Executive of this free Nation can walk among his people unafraid that even his bitterest enemy will lay a violent hand on him.

This terrible day demonstrates for all of us the failure, and the success, of our democracy. Assassination is detested by Americans of all parties and factions, and it is impossible for any of us to believe that an assassin is a man of sound mind.

Yet the President is dead—and to the extent that even one man in this Nation was so deluded as to imagine that taking the life of another would solve any problem, personal or political, our building of a civilized society has failed.

The murderer may be captured and brought to justice, but the vengeance of the law does not in the least diminish this tragedy which, by its very unexpectedness, has reduced the country to a state of shocked unbelief. His punishment cannot assuage the grief of John Kennedy's family and children or replace the shattered illusions of all of us who imagined that our society's conduct was living up to its capacity for good.

Our success lies in the fact that a blow of this kind does not upset our Government or result in wild disorder, as it would in many countries. Our new President, chastened as he must be by the stopping of that single heartbeat that separated him from the most awesome responsibility in the world, will receive the unstinted support and encouragement of the whole American people during his difficult period of adjustment.

It has been said that he who serves his country well builds his own monument. John F. Kennedy was a brilliant and personable, dedicated and courageous young man. He inspired the intense loyalty of his friends and the respect of his political opponents. He had a certain gentility that won people of all faiths, an earnestness in the service of his country that could not be denied, and a humanness that gave him that most engaging of qualities, the ability to laugh at himself.

There were many who disagreed with him violently on national or international policies, but few who were willing to credit him with any other than the highest patriotic motives. There should be none who would have denied him the right to serve as this Nation's elected leader.

The atmosphere of freedom allows the fanatic the right to life and liberty, too. But the man who turns to cowardly violence has denied our heritage, our pride as a Nation, and the God who has led us to greatness in the past.

[From station WBT, Charlotte, N.C., Dec. 4, 1963]

THE CHALLENGE OF THE FUTURE

Yesterday's headlines are growing a little more dim as we retreat into everyday reality. Let's look at them again for just a moment: "The President of the United States died of a head wound inflicted by an assassin"—"His killer was not brought to justice, but died himself by violent means"—"The new President is a man named Johnson, from a Southern State, and faces the difficult task of reconciling a nation at odds with itself."

Those identical headlines might be a week old or 98 years old. All of them apply with equal accuracy to the assassinations of Abraham Lincoln and John F. Kennedy. There is perhaps little in the string of coincidences, except for one startling reminder: that history has a way of repeating itself and of serving up a grim notice to current generations of the fact that progress has not been so great as we imagine it to be. The progress of mechanical civilization, yes—the progress of human comprehension, no.

We live in a very different world from Mr. Lincoln's so far as our external lives are concerned, but it is no different a world of the mind and heart and spirit.

The main change those 98 years have wrought is in the personal involvement of all humanity, rather than just one nation, in such a tragic event. Mr. Lincoln never left the United States, met no other heads of state or peoples of the world personally. His voice was never heard by them, his decisions as President could touch them only indirectly. Certainly, he was admired, as a character in a book might be admired, and his death was regretted, but it was a personal blow to very few outside his own Nation.

He said he lived in a nation half slave and half free, and that such a situation could not long endure. Now, we live in a world half slave and half free, and there is no reason to suppose that Mr. Lincoln's prediction for the Nation does not now apply to the world.

If the unprecedented gathering of heads of state to pray together leads us all to realize that they might as quickly gather to confer together with compassion in their hearts, rather than personal gain, then perhaps it might be said that our President's death was a sacrifice he would have been willing to make.

Even more certainly, if the people of this Nation can realize the tremendous responsibility and opportunity we have been offered, to be a leader in daring new ways rather than the hackneyed techniques of government sparring in diplomacy, the world can experience—under God—a new birth of freedom.

[From station WSOC, Charlotte, N.C., Nov. 29, 1963]

THE LESSONS WE HAVE LEARNED

From the tragic death of President Kennedy, many lessons can and must be learned by our people.

We should have learned by now that the Office of the Chief Executive is never occupied by a superman, but by a person of the same flesh and bones and feelings as ourselves. The President can be injured or destroyed, not merely by bullets, but by hatred and invective and abuse.

We have seen too how fragile one human life can be, and how it can be snuffed out in a moment of wild madness, and how the taking of that life can be a frightening loss to countless millions of men, women, and children throughout the world.

We have seen how a happy family—a courageous husband, a dauntless wife, and two marvelous young children, can be ripped apart by the blast of a single gun. And it should remind us that we all need to tie our individual families together more closely with sincere love and trust and affectionate concern. This should awaken in the hearts of all partners in marriage a resolution to cherish one another, and as parents to lavish the warmth of real devotion and understanding upon our children, and to let this same love and understanding spread to our neighbors and friends and to all mankind.

Only in this way can we make meaningful the beauty and majesty and the grand design of our democratic, constitutional system of government.

It should be obvious now that we cannot laugh or curse or blaspheme any person or any office, without demeaning ourselves and our Nation.

For this is our country, and it will stand or fall on what each of us says and does each day of his life.

As we assess the weakness and fear that we felt when our President was so abruptly taken from our midst there should be a dawning in our minds the part that we must play if we are to make sure that such violence does not again strike our country or terror stalk our citizens in any home, any community or any State.

We have been taught a costly lesson in citizenship and the responsibilities that every person is born to inherit in our democratic government:

This Nation will be strong and healthy only so long as we individually give it strength through unselfish allegiance.

This land will be peaceful and tranquil, only so long as we insure its tranquillity through law and order.

We must learn to live with one another, resisting hatred and envy, overcoming the ugly passions of arrogance and false judgment. We must not attack but support, we must not tear down but build up, preserve, and protect.

These are lessons we can learn. These are lessons we must learn if we are to keep the soul of our country clean, and make the future of our Nation secure.

[From station WSOC, Charlotte, N.C., November 1963]

UNITED WE STAND

Although we regret that it took the death of a President of the United States to do it, WSOC radio is encouraged to see the leaders of the world's democratic countries set aside disagreements and rally together in a time of crisis.

It was a moving experience to see the austere Charles de Gaulle of France, the new Chancellor Ludwig Erhard of West Germany, Mayor Willy Brandt, the symbol of a free Berlin and many, many more of the most influential leaders of the world, all gathered together in Washington to pay their last respects to this country's late President.

This indicates several things. It shows a basic unity among all of the free people of the world. It proves that for all our petty arguments and disagreements, when the chips are down, our allies can be depended on to stand behind us. And it symbolizes this country's past—and future—role as a global leader.

Our new President can now move forward in his demanding job with the full knowledge that he has the support and best wishes of the leaders of the free world.

[From station WHIT, New Bern, N.C., Nov. 29, 1963]

JOHN F. KENNEDY

Just one short week ago today John F. Kennedy was assassinated in a terrible drama that goes down as the most dastardly act of this century. The aftermath of that infamous day brought many heart-tugging episodes that will long be remembered: There was the secret service man who quickly threw himself upon then Vice President Johnson when the shooting began, at the risk of the former's own life. There was the "Profile in Courage" composure of Jackie Kennedy during the ordeal, her late and second visit to the Capitol rotunda while her husband's body lay in state. Her walk in the night following that visit, when the former First Lady's presence among thousands of Washington mourners was unknown. Also to be remembered with a tug at the heart was the irony of John-John's birthday falling on the day of his father's funeral and the military salute the little boy bravely gave at the sad occasion. The beautiful black horse in the processions to the rotunda, St. Matthews and Arlington, a high-spirited animal giving his handler a bad time every

moment. The contrast in height between the tall and stately President de Gaulle and tiny Emperor Haile Selassie, standing side by side. There was also the seeming coldness of quick removal from the White House of John Kennedy's personal mementos, among them a model of his PT boat that was cut in half by the Japanese and the famous Kennedy rocking chair. And, as a climax, perhaps, there was the bugler blowing taps over President Kennedy's grave. He struck just one sour note and you knew it was because he couldn't completely control the quiver of his lips. These are the episodes long to be remembered by all who wear their heart on their sleeve.

[From Station WRAL-TV, Raleigh-Durham, N.C., Nov. 22, 1963]

VIEWPOINT

Anguish alone will not suffice as the Nation's proper reaction to the news of President Kennedy's assassination. All men of sanity and humanity feel a sense of revulsion at the act of the fanatical coward who hid in the attic of a building and fired down the shots that extinguished the life of a young man who, to us, seemed to possess not merely the quality of unbounded energy, but a sort of indestructibility as well.

At this moment, of course, all Americans are united regardless of party, or philosophy, or ideals. Conservatism, liberalism, right wing, left wing—all these are meaningless semantics, no longer dividers, certainly not important unless and until we respond to the question of what happened to civilization in that dark moment in Dallas.

So, in unity there is a helplessness that may assist us in groping for strength. One insane man with a high-powered rifle has exposed the incredible weakness of a nation. If we now see that weakness, if we now understand it, some consolation may be found. Men may have differed with Mr. Kennedy in his exuberant ideas about politics, government, and the quest for peace in a troubled world. But as he lies tonight in death, he has left more than a shocked and stunned nation. The manner of his death leaves America standing naked as a symbol of civilization mocked.

Every citizen will reflect upon Mr. Kennedy's life, and his death, in a personal way. Mr. Kennedy had become a part of America in a personal way. His harshest critics recognized his magnetism and persuasiveness which had drawn him into the inner circle of American life. He was not loved by everyone; still, no one doubted his courage or his stamina. He fought his political battles with every ounce of his strength. And he did it openly.

And this serves to emphasize the dastardly nature of his assassination. Jack Kennedy was killed by a coward.

As we sat alone minutes after the announcement of the President's death, a hundred images flowed through our mind. One little incident that we personally observed nearly 11 years ago came to mind as clearly as if it were yesterday. It was a cold, crisp January morning in 1953 and the quorum bells had just rung throughout the Capitol and the Senate Office Building in Washington. Members of the Senate, the old ones and the new ones, were scurrying to get to the Senate Chamber. It was oath-of-office day for 10 or 12, including a tousled-haired young man from Massachusetts who had been elected to the Senate the previous November.

Senators were boarding the subway cars which connect the Capitol with the Senate Office Building by an underground route. Visitors and employees of the Senate were being repeatedly told by operators of the subway cars to stand aside for the Senators. They had priority.

Jack Kennedy arrived to take a seat on the subway car, but the operator waved him back. "Stand aside for the Senators, son," he said. Jack Kennedy stood aside with a grin—until an observer whispered to the operator: "He's a Senator, too." The embarrassed operator got only a pat on the back and a reassurance from Senator Kennedy.

An unimportant incident? Maybe. But it is one that we will remember always. No matter how much we might have disagreed with certain of the President's views and actions, the memory of that incident provided a sense of warmth and personal affection.

Millions of words will be written and spoken about this dark hour in America's history. Many days will pass before we can stand with pride and confidence, and say to the world that we are civilized. The cause of communism has been served well by this tragedy. Freedom has suffered a telling blow.

As for our new President, Lyndon Johnson, no man has faced a sterner challenge. He needs—he must have—the prayers of a Nation of people who see the need of renewing their faith, who are willing to proclaim honestly and sincerely that "in God we trust."

[From station WTYN, Tryon, N.C., Nov. 22, 1963]

PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY

Our President, President Kennedy, the President of the United States, is dead. Shockingly and coldbloodedly shot down by an assassin's bullet.

There is not an American who does not know that this is a most terrible and tragic thing that has been done against a good man, against the great office, and against this great country, nay to every American.

The whole world will feel the impact of this foul murder, and, yet, at this time it should be a time of discipline and of careful thought to the future of our United States and to all of us and to those who remain in high offices to do their best to serve her in this hour of sorrow and of tragedy.

Let each of us, citizens of this great Nation of ours, forgetting the prejudices, the differences between us of philosophy, of faith, of petty politics, take stock of this ugly and horrible situation, joining together as free Americans to stand by those who in this time of emergency have the duty and the burden of keeping our Nation on a straight course of freedom and justice which has been handed down to us by our forefathers.

Let us not allow this dastardly and cowardly act of a madman, so to unnerve us as a nation that we become bewildered and easy prey to outside interests.

Let us continue in honor, with courage, and in disciplined order, as citizens of the United States, to stand firm in the heritage of our freedoms, and in the preserving of our Constitution and way of life, with calmness, forthright commonsense, and in the unity of purpose which, as citizens of this great Nation, is our common ambition and our common goal.

Let us pray for those whose burden it is to carry on in the face of our tragic loss. May they be filled with the wisdom and the strength to bring our people and our Nation through these troubled times, and may they have the knowledge of the support and understanding and cooperation of all people everywhere.

Let us pray.

O Lord, our governor whose glory is in all the world, we commend this Nation to Thy merciful care, that being guided by Thy providence, we may dwell secure in Thy peace. Grant to the President of the United States and to all in authority, wisdom and strength to do Thy will. Fill them with the love of truth and righteousness, and make them ever mindful of their calling to serve this people in Thy fear, through Jesus Christ our Lord who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. Amen.

[From the Nashville (N.C.) Graphic, Nov. 28, 1963]

A JOURNEY ENDS SADLY, BUT AMERICA'S ROAD LEADS ON

"And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country."

—JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY

The President is dead, and a sorrowful Nation mourns his passing.

The mourning is genuine and real.

One of the most moving aspects of the tragedy which ended the life of John Fitzgerald Kennedy was that his death came as a personal loss to the lowly and the humble, no less than to the great and the near-great.

Grief and sorrow were writen on faces that watched televised news reports for hours after the first announcement of his brutal assassination stunned the Nation last Friday afternoon.

In homes across the land, tears fell silently and unashamedly Monday as a flag-draped caisson, drawn by six great horses, bore John F. Kennedy to his final resting place on a sloping hillside in Arlington National Cemetery across the Potomac River from the Nation's Capital.

Part of the feeling of personal loss at the President's tragic death could be attributed to the untimeliness of his passing. John F. Kennedy died in the prime of life, at the vigorous peak of a brilliant political career.

Part of it could be attributed to the brutality and the cold viciousness of his assassination.

But there is more than this to account for the sense of personal grief that so many felt in the death of John F. Kennedy.

He held the admiration and respect of the Nation because he embodied the principles, the ideals, the hopes and the promise of America in the youth and vigor of his dynamic leadership.

Not everyone agreed with the political views of John F. Kennedy, to be sure. This newspaper has expressed opposition on several occasions to liberal legislative measures advocated by the late President.

But no one could doubt the sincerity of John F. Kennedy's convictions.

None can say that he lacked devotion to the ideals in which he believed or was unwilling to expend the full measure of his energies in the effort to achieve them.

He never asked what the country he loved so well could do for him. He asked what John Fitzgerald Kennedy could do for America.

"Now the trumpet summons us again," said Kennedy in his inaugural address, "to bear the burden of a long, twilight struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war.

"Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance * * * that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?"

The President is dead. Life's brief journey ended sadly and tragically for John F. Kennedy.

Yet the Nation lives on, needing now, more than ever, the devotion and the dedicated service of free people who know in their sorrow that the road America must travel leads on toward a destiny as bright and shining as the courage and faith of their fallen leader.

[From the Newton (N.C.) Observer-News-Enterprise, Nov. 25, 1963]

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY

"Ask not what the country can do for you—ask what you can do for the country."

These words spoken by John Fitzgerald Kennedy in his inaugural address in January 1961 gave the people of America a clear insight into the type of man that was to lead this Nation. And, until he was cut down from ambush by bullets Friday afternoon in Dallas, Tex., it can be said that President Kennedy asked not what the country could do for him but rather, he gave so much—even the supreme sacrifice—for his country.

This country has been privileged to have had a President of the caliber man such as John F. Kennedy, who in such a short period of time, gained respect of his enemies, solidified his position, both at home, and abroad, brought to America statesmanship built on a foundation of intelligence and moral integrity.

The Washington Star said of him Saturday: "He walked as a prince and talked as a scholar." These few words sum up the type man that was leading this Nation in a time of world and domestic unrest—who was giving to his country and asking not what the country could do for him.

There are so many aspects to the tragic death of the 35th President of the United States. From the beginning of his term of office until his untimely death, he was faced with one major problem after another. In this nuclear age when man attempts with all his might to live with his enemies President Kennedy reaffirmed to the whole world that this Nation was interested in the freedom of nations and the dignity of man. From the beginning he made it clear that the United States would help those freedom-loving nations of the world and that this Nation would not back down from the fist-clinching, table-top pounding of those Nations who sought to destroy freedom.

And at home, in America, decisions in domestic policy were constantly affording the President many hours of deep consternation. Though there are those who did not agree with his policies, they nevertheless would have to hold John F. Kennedy in high respect for his devotion to the causes he felt right.

Sometimes it takes a tragic incident to bring about solidarity. And we feel that through the assassination of John F. Kennedy there will come a closer, more understanding feeling about the tremendous job of the President of the United States regardless of political affiliation.

[From the Raleigh (N.C.) Times, Nov. 23, 1963]

IN REASON, IN COURAGE

It has come to us now to turn away from the body of a friend and begin again in reason and in courage our journey into what must be a better future for all the people of our Nation.

The grief which came to our country at President Kennedy's death will and should remain in our hearts for all the days of our lives. The shock and the terror which came to us at that first numbing news now has no place in us or in our Nation. Neither is there any place in us for the panic and the unreasoning fear which inevitably followed in the first moments after the death of the President.

There must be in our hearts now only the strength of freemen and the courage of freemen. There must be the faith of the long centuries of our reliance on the God who has walked with His people in all their hours of fear and of uncertainty. There can be in our hearts no hate for any man who walks this earth, for we have been told that we shall love our enemies.

There is danger for all of us today, danger just as sure and as deadly as the thing which struck down President Kennedy yesterday. The man who fired those shots must have done so in blind, unreasoning hatred and fear. We, as a nation, must avoid such unreasoning hatred and fear as we now assess the thing which has already happened, and as we look to the things which will come to us during the days ahead. Let there be no mistake about the fact that we will have much to do with what does come. If we act in panic and fear and hatred, we will produce the dark and evil and senseless things which men do in unreasoning moments.

We need only look back to those days almost a century ago when another President fell victim to an assassin's bullet. Abraham Lincoln had wondrous plans for the South and its people. He spoke of "malice toward none, with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right; let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the Nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Lincoln did not live to nurture that charity for all, that malice for none, that firmness in the right, that binding up of a nation's wounds. Instead, the men who finally did the things looking toward reuniting the Nation did those things out of hatred and fear and malice. And because they did, we in the South are still paying terribly the bill which has come down to us every bitter day since Reconstruction.

We cannot now permit ourselves to be panicked into hasty and unreasoned actions. The events of yesterday must not be permitted to strengthen the hands of those who would take from all of us some of our freedoms simply because they are men who live by fear and not by faith in the ability of freemen to live their lives well and honestly and patriotically as completely freemen.

What happened yesterday must not be permitted to dim the shining light President Kennedy held out to all men that they should have the rights and the privileges and the opportunities their Constitution says they shall have. Make no mistake about it, there will be men who will now say piously that some of the things President Kennedy did to help men have their just and due rights under the Constitution helped stir up the unsettled conditions which brought us to yesterday. Of course, President Kennedy's efforts did help stir the anger and the conscience of this country, and for that stirring we can thank God and feel that we are the better for it.

A century ago, vengeful men and frightened men tied the hands of President Andrew Johnson as he tried to bring his South and our South back into the Nation on the terms Lincoln had in mind.

Today, a century after that tragedy of the tieing of a President's hands, we must see to it that the hands of President Lyndon Johnson are held high. We can do no less. If we do less we will regret it bitterly and our children and our grandchildren will regret it even more bitterly during all the days of their lives.

A President is dead. A new President has come in. And in this great and shaking change, there still is so little change. The old President was the servant of all the people. The new President is the servant of all the people.

President Johnson must now have the prayers and the active support of all Americans as he seeks truly to be the President of all Americans and the servant of all Americans.

[From the Graham Star, Robbinsville, N.C., Nov. 29, 1963]

NATIONAL TRAGEDY

Never in time of peace has this generation of Americans been so shocked as in the past week. The sorrow was nationwide and it was genuine. No need to fill this space with still another account of those events. No need to tell the miserable story again. Everyone saw it—some of it over and over again.

The late President, John F. Kennedy is gone. And it is unfair. His life was taken, but he deserved to live. The Nation's chosen leader was taken, but it deserved to be led by him. A wonderful lady's husband was taken, but she deserved to live with him. The little children's father was taken, but they deserved to have him.

Some have thoughtlessly said that the American people are responsible. This too is unfair. Was there opposition? This is the way of freedom. Were there those who disagreed with him? This is the way of free men. Was there strong feeling about the issues? This is only natural. No, if the American people are responsible, it is because we are clasping to our bosom a godless breed of men who hold to an alien philosophy which teaches them to lie, and cheat, and kill—if necessary—to overthrow us. If we are responsible at all, this is the reason.

All of the evidence we have seen points to a man who renounced his American citizenship and moved to Russia. He later returned, an avowed Marxist. If other evidence is brought forward, then it should be acknowledged, and acted upon.

In any event, faithful Americans everywhere feel—not guilty—but terribly sorry and hurt that such a thing happened.

A PART OF THE "WHY"

A 46-year-old man was murdered Friday, November 22, 1963, in Dallas, Tex. The man was John F. Kennedy, President of the United States.

The brutal killing shocked the Nation and the world, having a numbing paralyzing effect on nearly everyone.

The President was a popular man. Much of the grief occurred at the thought of the loss of this capable, young, personable leader, and Americans were filled with sorrow for his beautiful young wife and children, ages 3 and 5.

Possessed of great wealth, this man could have turned his back on mankind's problems of poverty, war, universal brotherhood, and economic growth. He could have remained aloof from all its heartaches, worries, and cares. Instead he thrust himself into the middle of them giving of his immeasurable talent and energy to work for the freedom of all men, regardless of their economic status in life, or race, for peace throughout the world.

He was truly a great man motivated by Christian ideals—a great President.

Much of the grief was felt solely at the thought of the loss of this man.

But that seemingly extra numbing chilling effect was created by the knowledge within that we all had a hand in the tragedy.

We have stood idly by while a climate of hate has been fostered and cultivated by many.

We have listened and cheered while self-seeking, ambitious demagogues ranted emotional speeches filled with phrases designed to arouse hate and set race against race. We have been amused at the sight of brutality. We have jeered and belittled efforts of people to help fellow human beings. We have allowed our news media to be used to promote such actions. We have been quick to criticize and have uttered statements not substantiated by facts against persons in authority for their crowd-pleasing effects.

Truly part of the numbing effect caused by the death of President Kennedy was each individual's conscience telling him that we have been derelict in our duty to constantly strive for the true brotherhood of men, to uphold love and denounce hate, to practice tolerance and forgo prejudice.

Americans helped nurture the seeds of hate in the brain of the maniac who killed John F. Kennedy.

As a result the Christian forces of the world lost a great leader.

It hurts and hurts deeply.

B.S.

[From the Rocky Mount (N.C.) Telegram, Nov. 23, 1963]

VICTIM OF AN ASSASSIN

It should go without saying that the most odious word in our language is assassin. We become acutely aware of that today as we contemplate something which could not have happened, yet it did: the assassination of the President of the United States.

Friday in Dallas, Tex., where President John F. Kennedy had gone on a mission to proclaim his ideas for the operation of the American Government, he was shot down just as a thug might have been felled in a gang dispute.

Naturally the whole Nation immediately went into mourning. Of course, you may not have agreed with many of the President's policies. In fact, there were rumblings throughout the South because of his civil rights stand. But he still was the President, the duly elected leader of us all and he had a right to complete the term in office, or as many terms in office, as the people decided he should serve.

Not since the turn of the century when President William McKinley fell a victim to an assassin's bullet had anything so awesome happened. The deed also brought back memories of Lincoln, Garfield—yet those were horrors of the past. Today, there is mute evidence, however, at the Nation's Capital because there lies the body of the youngest man ever chosen to preside over the desiny of this great Nation, the victim of an assassin's bullet.

While permitted to hold the most important elective office in the world for only such a brief span, John F. Kennedy still accomplished many things which will assure him a prominent place in history. In many long years to come, historians will recount how he faced up to the great menace of the age, Red Russia, and caused that mighty power to pack up its belongings and get out of Cuba. President Kennedy also will be remembered for his stand on civil rights, a subject which is a tender one today throughout the Southland and which will have to be weighed with passing years before its final evaluation is realized.

Today, however, all animosities should be set aside because Jack Kennedy is dead. Let all those who praised him as well as those who opposed him unite in common sorrow over the passing of our President.

At the same time, let there be a universal backing of Lyndon B. Johnson, the Vice President who has assumed the Chief Office of the land. President Johnson has a task which probably surpasses even that of Harry Truman when he became President upon the death in office of Franklin D. Roosevelt. President Johnson also merits and deserves our united support.

This country could become a shambles as frequently happens in other countries when leadership is changed through violence. Yet we hope we live in a country and in an age which will see that proper respect will be paid to our new President as he assumes the duties of the highest office in the land. And let us never forget that assassinations go hand in hand with anarchy.

[From the Roxboro (N.C.) Courier-Times, Nov. 25, 1963]

NEW PRESIDENT NEEDS SUPPORT IN CRISIS

What makes John Fitzgerald Kennedy's death so incomprehensible is that a little and sick mind can snuff out the life of greatness.

It happened just like that.

Little do assassins know, or care to know, that the one assassinated will likely be martyrized and that those things for which the assassinated stood so strongly will be emphasized, not for a decade, but for history.

The dastardly hand of the assassin, however, rarely strikes one who needs martyrdom. Such was the case with John F. Kennedy.

He was the personification of greatness, and he will likely take his place alongside Washington and Lincoln.

The assassin's bullet struck down not only a popular personality; it struck a blow at the integrity of the office. The office continues; the people who fill this powerful role in the free world's intricate complex change.

In a period of change in a free institution, there must be a period of unity. Nothing brings unity like such a dastardly deed.

The United States of America moves on.

The country is indeed fortunate that it moves on in the capable hands of Lyndon Johnson, a Vice President with vast knowledge of grassroots politics and a broad understanding of domestic and international issues.

We pledge to President Johnson our wholehearted support in this grave and tragic period of transition, and we are confident that he carries with him the support of every right-thinking citizen of Person County.

Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of their country.

"And ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country."

[From the Sanford (N.C.) Herald, Nov. 22, 1963]

JOHN F. KENNEDY

An assassin's bullet Friday struck down John F. Kennedy, the 35th President of the United States. Mr. Kennedy, only 46, is mourned by all of the people of the United States and no doubt most of the world. Certainly, no one anywhere feels anything but contempt for the type of man who would strike as did Mr. Kennedy's assassin.

Mr. Kennedy entered office on a surge of towering personal popularity. The new President, his strikingly attractive wife, and their children made one of the most appealing and photogenic families ever to occupy the White House. Not since the early days of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal did a President and those around him become such an object of interest to an entire nation.

Undisputed personal popularity did not protect Mr. Kennedy, however, from the lash of severe criticism that accompanied some of the efforts of his administration. Nor did it rub off on Congress to the extent that the lawmakers fell over themselves to get his program passed.

In fact, his New Frontier legislative defeats in this area sometimes were impressive; his victories frequently narrow.

His great problems at the start were foreign policy and domestic economy. In 1963 both were overshadowed by the Negro question which confronted the Nation with one of its gravest domestic crises since the Civil War. However, the constant Soviet threat remained, and the President had trouble in southeast Asia and Cuba. The ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion tarnished the bright young American President.

Today both friend and foe mourn him. His was a bright future, and he had many years ahead of him during which he could have served his country. Catching the person or persons who shot him to death cannot regain the loss this country and the world suffered Friday in his needless death.

The days ahead will be dark ones for this Nation as it mourns for John F. Kennedy.

[From the Sanford (N.C.) News Leader, Nov. 27, 1963]

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY—35TH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The midday rays of a bright winter sun sparkled on a grand motorcade that rolled majestically through Dallas. A crisp breeze whipped the flags and bunting that welcomed the President of the United States to the vast Southwest. He responded enthusiastically to the warm outpouring of the love and devotion of thousands of citizens who came to cheer him along the route. Again and again he flashed his sincere smile, again and again he waved to the throngs. It was clear there was mutual respect and admiration. It was a bright day.

High above the street the warped and troubled mind of a sick man focused upon its deadly mission, a finger curled around the cold trigger and a rifle cracked sharply, then again and again. The President slumped into the arms of his wife, the Governor of Texas crumpled on the seat of the car.

The Nation was plunged into grief and a season of mourning began.

Word of the tragic event was flashed around the world by radio and television, then the free world joined us in our sorrow.

Then came the reflections. The brave and the faint, the strong and the weak, we were left helpless to express ourselves, but we tried. "He was a friend of all mankind," we said. And we said, you and I, "He was a peacemaker, a great and skillful statesman." "He was a youth of great promise, a President of great vision, a leader, a writer, a humanitarian and a servant of God." Yes, we said these things you and I, but as we watched that sad cortege travel slowly down Pennsylvania Avenue we knew we had said nothing and could say nothing that could match his sacrifice, nor could we atone for the loss.

[From the Shelby (N.C.) Cleveland Times, Nov. 26, 1963]

JOHN F. KENNEDY MET THE TESTS OF COURAGE

Clevelanders were not unlike free people all over the world who were stunned and saddened over the untimely death Friday of this Nation's 35th President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

In a weekend of mourning, the county has been at a virtual standstill out of respect to a great leader. Sanctuaries were filled to overflowing in churches on Sunday and hundreds more returned yesterday as our people instinctively turned to worship in the midst of a crisis and prayed that a change of leadership in the Executive Office in this country will reflect that of a person broadly acquainted with the affairs of this vast Nation and one who is equipped for the greatest responsibility of his life.

As a Senate majority leader and as Vice President, Lyndon Johnson's many roles in public life should find him more able to smoothly take over the reins of our Government, but he will need as never before the backing of American people and renewed strength to use his talents and his skills in the leadership he has already demonstrated as a Senator and in the Kennedy administration.

The tragedy of President Kennedy's assassination and a bereaved Nation focuses on the death of a man of quiet and true courage who charted a course through treacherous seas. Many thought he pushed too hard or drove with ruthless power * * * while as many others thought his views were moderate and reasonable with logic. Whatever one's views, there's no denying that he carried on his shoulders a superhuman burden that was marked with tenacity and determination. He was a fighter for justice and an apostle of peace * * * few can argue otherwise.

As we remain stunned and perplexed over this tragic event we think of the price we pay for the fanaticism of the misguided wretch who completed his distardly deed. It is unbelievable that any person who has enjoyed the fruits and freedoms of America could possibly turn to such an act that for months to come will have reverberations throughout the world. To have cut a man down in his prime and at the time he held the key to so many problems is indeed the act of a madman.

While we express sincerest sympathy to the President's widow and two small children, his parents and other members of his family, we believe they are stronger today for the very reason that John F. Kennedy made them through his Pulitzer Prize-winning "Profiles in Courage", which we believe actually defines Kennedy the man.

In the book about courage and politics, politics furnished the situations and courage provided the theme. He makes clear that a man does what he must in spite of personal consequences, he tells of the satisfactions and burdens of a Senator's job, of the pressures and of the standards by which a man of principle must work and live.

We find his final paragraphs as those which exemplify the late President: "In a democracy, every citizen, regardless of his interest in politics, 'holds office'; every one of us is in a position of responsibility; and, in the final analysis, the kind of government we get depends upon how we fulfill those responsibilities. We, the people, are the boss, and we will get the kind of political leadership, be it good or bad, that we demand and deserve.

"These problems do not even concern politics alone—for the same basic choice of courage or compliance continually faces us all, whether we fear the anger of constituents, friends, a board of directors or our union, whenever we stand against the flow of opinion on strongly contested issues. For without belittling the courage with which men have died, we should not forget those acts of courage with which men have lived. The courage of life is often a less dramatic spectacle than the courage of a final moment; but it is no less a magnificent mixture of triumph and tragedy. A man does what he must—in spite of personal consequences, in spite of obstacles and dangers and pressures—and that is the basis of all human morality.

"To be courageous, these stories make clear, requires no exceptional qualifications, no magic formula, no special combination of time, place and circumstance. It is an opportunity that sooner or later is presented to us all. Politics merely furnishes one arena which imposes special tests of courage. In whatever arena of life one may meet the challenge of courage, whatever may be the sacrifices he faces if he follows his conscience—the loss of his friends, his fortune, his contentment, even the esteem of his fellow men—each man must decide for himself the course he will follow. The stories of past courage can define that ingredient—they can teach, they can offer hope, they can provide inspiration. But they cannot supply courage itself. For this each man must look into his own soul."

[From the Shelby (N.C.) Daily Star, Nov. 23, 1963]

THIS IS A TIME FOR AMERICANS TO RALLY TO AMERICA

Barely 2 hours after an assassin's bullet had snuffed out the life of John F. Kennedy, 35th President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, the Vice President, was sworn in as President.

In this way, the chain of leadership of the United States was continued, almost uninterrupted, in a moment of confusion and crisis. It is one of the beauties of the American system of government.

The country's welfare does not depend on any one individual. It is ruled by many men, primarily the men of Congress. The President carries more influence on national and international affairs than any other person in the United States but it is the office of the Presidency which lends this prestige and influence to the individual.

The assassination of President Kennedy is a despicable thing. One bullet killed a man whom a majority of the voters who cast ballots in the last presidential election said they preferred as President. Not only did that bullet kill the most important man in the free world, it assassinated the will of a majority of the people who cared enough to vote. It is barbaric.

We seldom agreed with President Kennedy's views. But we admired him as a person of intelligence and fortitude and sincerity. He fought for what he felt was right and he fought a hard battle.

Because this is the United States of America, when we disagreed with the President, we said so. And we had no reason to fear reprisals. We live in a free society and that, too, is one of the beauties of the American system. The assassin's bullet was also a disgrace to that freedom of our society. That bullet does not fit into a way of life in which we may disagree and still live side-by-side and fight for the overriding common cause of building a greater nation.

Because an assassin was unable to have faith in the American system, the next few weeks and months will be a delicate time in the history of our country.

Lyndon B. Johnson will be grasping the reins of the Nation and it will take a short time for the transition to be fully accomplished. It is true that this is the moment for which his previous office has prepared him, but no man can be totally prepared for such a transition.

Therefore, it is a time for Americans to rally to America. It is a time when partisan politics should be laid aside in an effort to speed the transition. In the coming weeks, the labels Democrat and Republican should be forgotten and there should be only one label—American.

This is a time when we can all contribute to America. It is a rare opportunity to serve our country and keep her on an even keel.

What can we do in Cleveland County?

We can remain calm and have faith in this great Nation of ours. We can refuse to be panicked into selling stock in our Nation's industries. We can refuse to be carriers of rumors. We can pray to God to guide our leaders. That, too, is one of the blessings of America.

[From the Marshall (N.C.) News-Record, Nov. 28, 1963]

THE WORLD WEPT—WE MUST GO ON

A gala parade started in Dallas, Tex., last Friday. Thousands upon thousands waved and cheered as President John F. Kennedy, Mrs. Kennedy, Governor John Connally, Vice President Lyndon Johnson, and many other dignitaries rode by. And then it happened—an assassin fired three shots from a fifth story of a building—one shot struck and fatally wounded our President, another shot seriously wounded Governor Connally. Hysteria reigned throughout Dallas and the news swept quickly over the world. Our President is dead.

A suspect, Lee Harvey Oswald, was apprehended in a theater. He pleaded innocent but evidence mounted. He was to have been arraigned Sunday afternoon. A Dallas policeman was also slain, said to have been killed by a bullet from Oswald's gun. Oswald said "I didn't kill anyone." Evidence mounted.

Oswald, a loner, was expected to break and confess but his life, too, was ended Sunday from a shot of a pistol held by Jack Ruby, a nightspot owner with a high temper. He slipped through all security measures to fire pointblank from a few feet, struck Oswald in the stomach—he died shortly thereafter in the same hospital where President Kennedy died. Three murders in Dallas within 3 days, another charged with murder, all this in Christian America.

The skies shed tears in Washington Saturday as the world paid tribute to the late John F. Kennedy. It was a stunned world, sad, yes, tears were shed everywhere. Among the bravest were Mrs. Kennedy, and Attorney General Bobby Kennedy who remained at the side of Mrs. Kennedy. Television coverage brought all actions of excitement and sadness into millions of homes in America and abroad. Leaders of foreign countries sent messages of condolences. Over 50 countries sent representatives to the funeral of Kennedy. The world was saddened from Friday afternoon through Monday afternoon. Flags at half-mast, banks and stores closed, athletic events canceled or postponed.

Four days seemed like 4 weeks, church services Sunday consisted of tributes. Democrats and Republicans, alike, paid tributes to a young, popular, dynamic President. A new President, Lyndon B. Johnson, succeeds the late President. Dallas feels terrible about the incident but so does the entire world. It is a sad Thanksgiving, but still much for which to be thankful—thankful we live in a country like America, despite the crackpots, assassins, and outlaws. The challenge grows, that if we are to remain a Christian nation, we must pick up the pieces, renew our allegiance to God and mankind, and march forward together to a more peaceful future.

[From the Mebane (N.C.) Enterprise, Nov. 28, 1963]

COUNTRY MOURNS KENNEDY

That wonderfully brilliant mind of President John F. Kennedy has been stilled for all time. The spirit which undergirded the heroic outlook of his dedicated heart will not be silenced. He challenged the Nation with his forthright statement: "Ask not what your country can do for you. Rather, ask what you can do for your country."

He met his own challenge. He paid the price.

Shame has enveloped our people that such fanatics, who have the freedoms of the Nation, should leave the power of the ballot box for that of a high-powered rifle.

Many of the American citizens disagreed with the President in every element. There are those of us who took stanch views opposed to his political philosophy. Some of us feared the rapid growth of the religious system he represented. In all of us was the recognition that he was the leader of the Nation. He was our President. He was our Commander in Chief. We join in with the millions of mourners at his passing.

President John F. Kennedy's funeral was held yesterday at St. Matthew's Catholic Cathedral in the Nation's Capital, Washington, D.C.

In the midst of the highest honors paid him he was joined with Alfred Lord Tennyson in:

"CROSSING THE BAR

"Sunset and evening star,
And one clear call for me!
And may there be no moaning of the bar,
When I put out to sea.

"But such a tide as moving seems asleep,
Too full for sound and foam,
When that which drew from out the boundless deep
Turns again home.

"Twilight and evening bell,
And after that the dark!
And may there be no sadness of farewell
When I embark.

"For though out our bourn of Time and Place
The flood may bear me far,
I hope to see my pilot face to face
When I have crossed the bar."

[From the Morehead City (N.C.) Carteret County News-Times, Nov. 26, 1963]

LAMENT FOR THE LIVING

NOVEMBER 22, 1963.

This is written three-quarters of an hour after President Kennedy, struck by an assassin's bullets, died in a Texas hospital. This tragedy leaves us little hope for humanity.

The United States is supposed to be a civilized Nation. But the actions of one individual can drag us down to the depths, can make us feel that we have a long way to go before we are worthy of the many blessings this rich land has been heir to.

We know not why the President's murderer pulled the trigger. If it was because of Kennedy's attitude toward the Negro, it is ironic that this is the week of the 100th anniversary of the Gettysburg Address, delivered by President Lincoln, the man known the world around as the Great Emancipator of the Negro slaves in America.

The President's assassination does not solve the problems we face. His death only increases the burdens the living must now assume "that these dead shall not have died in vain."

Government of the people, by the people and for the people stands in danger of perishing from the earth, for we, by our actions are making a mockery of all those principles which we profess to hold dear.

The Nation should mourn not only for President Kennedy but for itself.

[From the Mount Olive (N.C.) Tribune, Nov. 26, 1963]

EDITORIALLY SPEAKING—A BLOW AT THE WHOLE NATION

Everything has been said and resaid that could describe the shock and horror of the American people, and the people of other nations, at the unbelievable act of last Friday which took the life of the President of the United States. Even so, this small voice must be added to the echo, and wring its editorial hands at such a senseless and useless tragedy.

The death of a man is always something sad, sometimes tragic, among his family and friends. But this was a blow struck at a whole nation, the savage destruction of the man a nation had chosen to its highest office to lead it through what has proved to be at once the most trying and most opportune time in its history. There can be no partisan thought of feeling at the assassination of a President of the United States. It is a shameful, massive blow to every American.

Somehow, the action of the man who 2 days later murdered the pitiful, misguided wretch who was charged with the President's death, has a little of the same repulsiveness to the average American.

In all this, one can feel sympathy, also, for the people of Dallas and of all Texas, who will suffer anguish that such a thing could happen in their midst. It will be small comfort, but it not only happened in Texas—it happened in the United States.

There is some comfort for all of us, and perhaps a warning thought, too, that this dark plot did not stem from domestic strife and differences, but was hatched in a weak, frustrated mind, contaminated and confused by alien beliefs.

Out of this dark weekend, above the tragedy, shines a monumental endorsement of the American system of government, for all the world to see. How many other nations could undergo such a crisis without public hysteria, with such calm confidence in its governmental processes, seeing its leadership change with a few minutes' notice into hands already selected by the people, without a question, without a challenge? In this example before the world may lie the most far-reaching and significant effect of these sad days. E.B.

[From the Mount Olive (N.C.) Tribune]

THE MOUTHPIECE

The assassination of President John F. Kennedy last Friday, so shocking in its suddenness, so tragic in its uselessness, and so widespread in its impact, makes every newspaperman yearn for the inspiration necessary to write just exactly the right words. But, for some reason or another, words, which are our stock in trade, suddenly become empty, elusive, and hard to arrange in any order which would bring either logic or purpose in analyzing or explaining such an event.

Who, but another newspaperman, can know the frustration of failing his readers in this respect, at a time when he feels they should use him most to say for them what they would like to say? The dealers in words have filled untold columns of type, and thousands of minutes on radio and television since Friday afternoon, and in a measure, they have failed, too.

So a fresh deflating of the ego with a new realization of no greatness in one's own life, no real rising to an occasion, no worthy contribution to be remembered long after the contributor has left the scene. And there is left, after all, words that have already been written, or spoken, hundreds of times over—and yet, what newspaperman in the Nation has not faced our dilemma since Friday?

In addition to the tragedy of the President's death is the disturbing realization that our society embraces even one individual who would choose deliberate, cold-blooded murder of a complete stranger, simply because he occupied the position of President. Many disagreed with him; many others did not vote for him, and many who voted for him in 1960 would not have done so in 1964. But to kill. * * *

As has so often been stated, the President was indeed intelligent. Brilliantly so. He was born with no shortage of the opportunities or means to develop his capabilities to the utmost. He took full advantage of them all.

Some have claimed for him a peculiar ability for deep understanding of Americans and their problems; yet others, while he lived, claimed he could not possibly know how the "other half" lived or felt. Only eternity will have the full answer.

Who is wise enough to know if fate dealt unkindly with a family to which it had given immense wealth, determined ambition, and talented offspring, only to stalk that same family with tragedies which money and position could not avert—even seemed to attract? Or does personal tragedy become a part of the pricetag one must pay for greatness, as so often seems the case? Again, only eternity can answer.

One thing we cannot deny: with no need for the labor which produces wealth, the family's sons have chosen a field of endeavor which, presumably, offers the heart most complete satisfaction: service to the public. Before the President's death many of their critics claimed the Kennedys served because they sought to fill a need for recognition based upon something other than the family's wealth. Nothing short of eternity knows for sure.

Mrs. Kennedy's composure during the shock of this national tragedy was remarkable. One might say that all her life's training, stemming as it did from wealth, position, and the best education, was to develop just the kind of person who would always do, say, and be the right thing. One could say, not unkindly, that for this she was born, and she was not untrue to her birth.

Of course America's heart also goes out to the Kennedy children. Nothing can replace their daddy. As one Mount Olive woman put it, "I'd rather have my daddy than all the money in the world." And so would they, and it tugs at the heart to realize the experiences ahead of them when this truism will come home to them.

Is there pity for the tragic figure of Lee Harvey Oswald, accused of perpetrating a crime which will never be erased from the human conscience? Will anyone ever consider the sadness of an existence so hemmed in with the incomprehensible that its end would be packaged in assassination of the President of the United States?

(NOTE.—This was written before Oswald's assassination Sunday.)

Ever-widening ripples of the rifle bullet's shockwaves encompass the family and loved ones of the Dallas policeman slain shortly after the President. And the people of Dallas. Yet, no one can truthfully blame Dallas for this historic tragedy, but forever after the city of Dallas will be remembered by the world as the "Ford's Theater" of President John F. Kennedy.

Is there an avenue of escape provided by the Almighty for the Kennedy clan from the burden of hate and revenge? We truly hope so, for their sake.

Yes, President John F. Kennedy had a flare for greatness. He occupied a great position as Chief Executive of a great country, with a great birth, a great heritage, and under God, a great future. We cannot comprehend it all, nor understand it much. We say poorly what probably should not be said at all, but this one thing we do:

We sincerely pray, and know you do, too, that in this period of great national tragedy and mourning the same mantle of greatness worn by John F. Kennedy will transfer with easy grace and excellent tailoring onto the shoulders of Lyndon B. Johnson, now President of the United States of America.

In this Thanksgiving week let us remember to be grateful for a country which does not fall with the fall of its great men, but one which, from its boundless resources of human spirit, can provide itself with other leaders to step into the gap of the fallen. Dear Lord, may it ever be so. Amen.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, as we rise on this melancholy occasion to eulogize our late President, John F. Kennedy, I find the terrible emotions of that dreadful day less than 3 weeks ago are renewed.

The sense of shock is still with us, and perhaps it never will be dulled much by the passage of time.

How often since has some corner of our mind sought to trick us into believing that it did not happen, that it was some bad dream from which we will awake.

But, of course, stark reality is always with us.

We have lost our President. We have lost him under circumstances of which, however ugly they may be, it truly can be said that he gave his life to his country.

We, the people, have lost a President in a most tragic manner that is an outrage against civilization.

Many of us in this Senate Chamber have an additional loss. We have lost a friend.

For many years John Kennedy was our colleague in the Senate.

Here we came to know him intimately as a warm human being, yet possessing

the drive and intelligence that ultimately carried him to our highest office.

We watched this rise to the Presidency. Some of us did what we could to help it take place. Others, carrying out the vital traditions of our political system, sought to prevent it.

But when we gathered on the steps of this Capitol on January 20, 1961, to hear John Kennedy deliver his remarkable inaugural address, I am sure that all of us, all the American people, felt the spark and the promise of that eloquent message.

But that spark and that promise have been cruelly snuffed out, depriving our country, and, indeed, the world, of a leader of tremendous ability and human understanding.

I do not pretend to know how the writers of the future will treat the Kennedy administration as they compress these 3 years into the unemotional context of history.

But I do sincerely believe that our Nation—and the world—are the stronger for these 3 years. The cause of human freedom and dignity has been protected and advanced. No greater legacy can be asked of any leader.

I feel privileged to have been a participant in the Kennedy administration, and to have known and worked with John Kennedy in the Senate.

For several years we were seatmates in the rear row of this Chamber, and we served together on the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. After he became President we cooperated on many matters of legislation and Government.

These associations are simply memories now, but they are good memories and ones that I will prize.

In paying these tributes to our departed friend and President, we also extend our heartfelt sympathies to his courageous widow, his two children, and other members of the Kennedy family.

Their personal loss is great. But if it is possible for them to find any comfort in this tragic situation, it is that their grief is shared by millions upon millions of citizens of our world.

BUT YOU SHALL NOT GO OVER THERE

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, some 32 centuries ago in the Sinai Peninsula there lived and died a great and beloved leader of his people. A natural leader, he was a man who grew up in wealth, amid palace splendor. But he forsook inherited ease for a thankless, rugged life as champion of his fellow men. He became a political organizer, a lawgiver, a man with a vision of a promised land, one who walked close to God and to the common people.

At the close of his life, after many trials and tribulations suffered for the good of those he served, he stood on a mountain and looked upon the better land he had envisioned. But it was not his destiny to lead the nation further. To Moses, Scripture says, the Lord spoke on Mount Nebo, saying:

> I have let you see it with your own eyes, but you shall not go over there.

So it was with our great and beloved leader.

The story continues:

> So Moses the servant of the Lord died there in the land of Moab.

But it also says of him:

> His eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated.

And it tells the deep-felt tribute of the people whom he led:

> And the people of Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab 30 days.

Today this Nation is in the midst of 30 days of mourning, even as were the Israelites of old. Like them, we have wept for the loss of our leader. To Americans everywhere, the shocking news was so deeply felt, the tears of grief so freely flowing, that probably nothing in history can match the surge of national, or even international, sorrow. It was as though each family had lost a member of its own, someone just beyond the intimacy of our own fireside. We are still in mourning, and it will not cease at the end of 30 days. Thousands will still journey daily, as they do today, to the white picketed enclosure on the hill in Arlington, where the eternal flame continues to burn as it keeps his memory alive.

There was tragedy in Dallas. The enormity of the crime enacted there becomes still greater tragedy in the realization that John Fitzgerald Kennedy was one, even more than the aged Moses, whose "eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated." His was the vigor of youthful prime; his was the natural force of a vital personality; his was the bright eye of unflagging interest turning to every area of human problems.

We who were his colleagues in this legislative body, we who acknowledged his leadership as President in a very special relationship, knew well his "natural force." To have lost the qualities of his leadership in these infinitely complex times, so unimaginable to the mourners for the leadership of Moses, is a compounding of our loss. For who knows, looking upon the promise of these 3 years of his Presidency, what might have been the incalculable results of another 30 years of life as a President and public leader?

There is another verse of Scripture which says:

> Their young men shall see visions and their old men shall dream dreams.

Not yet old enough to dream the old man's dreams of the past, John Kennedy was still young enough to have fair visions of the future. Nor were they the apparitions of a deluded visionary. For he had looked upon the future with the eyes of both idealism and realism, focusing them together in a rare phenomenon of prophetic vision. Standing like Moses on the lonely eminence whence leadership had taken him, he looked upon that promised land of a future better America. Yet he was denied the right to enter:

> I have let you see it with your eyes, but you shall not go over there.

But as with Moses, the dream, the vision, will not die. The promised land became to the Israelites a reality, and they forever remembered the leader they had mourned in the land of Moab for 30 days.

The Book of Deuteronomy closes with the death of Moses. It is followed by the Book of Joshua, which opens with these words:

> After the death of Moses, the servant of the Lord, the Lord said to Joshua the son of Nun, Moses' minister: "Moses my servant is dead; now therefore arise, go over this Jordan, you and all this people, into the land which I am giving to them, to the people of Israel."

Moses had long since chosen Joshua to be his successor, and the continuation of his work was assured.

Looking out upon our own promised land, President Kennedy saw in the future a nation with greater justice for all its peoples, white and black alike. He looked upon a land which gave hope and promise of work for all and deprivation for none. He saw economic security where there is still too often poverty and uncertainty. His was a vision, but the vision was of a reality attainable in the future.

We now must go over this Jordan. We must leave our sorrowing on the plains of Moab and turn to Joshua, Moses' minister and the new leader of all the people, for guidance in his stead. The Israelites turned not their backs on the vision their Moses had set before them. They wept, as we weep, but they also rallied to the challenge given them. They fulfilled the vision; they crossed "this Jordan."

Of Moses it was said:

> No man knows the place of his burial to this day.

We, on the other hand, know as does all the world the burial place of John F. Kennedy. We are already spontaneously making of it a national shrine for the homage and the honor demanded by his leadership and a nation's love, mingled in these days of mourning. But to the Israelites, inspired and welded into a nation by their leader's vision, the important thing was to press on for the goals he had seen with his eyes but been denied in the flesh.

We mourn a great, young, vibrant leader:

> His eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated.

The Lord let him stand on Mount Nebo and see with his eyes, but in His inscrutable way said to John F. Kennedy, "You shall not go over there."

Through Joshua, his minister, the goals of Moses lived on until the people were moved to victorious entry into the promised land. As we follow President Johnson across "this Jordan" we will be treading paths untrod before but clearly seen. When we have arrived, we will look back to the lonely tragic figure on our own Mount Nebo, to the leader who was denied his own entry to the land he sought. Then we will know that we are as fortunate as the Israelites, whose attainment of the goal owed so much to the inspiration of their dead leader as well as to the prowess of his successor.

Only a few months ago President Kennedy looked out from very near the spot

where now he lies beneath the eternal flame, out upon the memorial to Lincoln, the monument to Washington, and the dome of this building where he himself once sat.

We must take new courage for the future, we must gird up our belts and follow after the vision, as his successor leads us on. President Kennedy saw the promised land; he could not enter. We must enter for him, drive out the enemies of hatred and dissidence, and build the alabaster cities of America the beautiful. In his memory, we will do so.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, in the days and nights of national mourning and personal grief since the assassination of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, our minds and hearts have turned from the initial incredulity and shock, to sorrow, and finally to an appraisal of our national character in response to this tragic event.

Senators today have approached this time of memorial by commending the achievements of the late President who once served so well in this forum and who served also in the House of Representatives.

I recall, as do my colleagues and those in the galleries, the period of national and official mourning when the body of President John F. Kennedy lay in state in the great rotunda of the Capitol, approximately halfway between the two legislative Chambers in which he had labored. If there was one significant fact that impressed me during the period when the President was again among us in the Capitol Building, it was that more than one-third of the persons who passed reverently by his bier were boys and girls in their teens. I watched them personally as they moved slowly past, and later watched them also by television.

Citizens from every walk of life were there, expressing their sincere admiration, their genuine love, and their real affection for a fallen leader. But it was the large numbers of young mourners who left me profoundly moved. Generals and admirals, accompanied by their small children, were in the long lines trudging slowly up Capitol Hill. Citizens of high estate and low stood quietly, shoulder to shoulder, awaiting their turn to salute the slain President. And with them were the young people.

The President was a gallant man. Gallantry appeals to the youth of the United States and of the world. Youth sensed in the career of John F. Kennedy something that was good and noble.

I remember the nine young men who drove 400 miles from Huntington, W. Va., to Washington, D.C., that they might express their reverent respect—and it was that—for the President of the United States whom they, in a degree, felt they knew and understood.

These nine youthful Americans were students at Marshall University, located at Huntington, on the western border of our State. Yet, they felt compelled to make the long trip to Washington.

I asked those young men, "Why do you come?"

They replied, "We came because we just had to come."

There were tears in their eyes as they spoke.

I remember five other young men who came from Fairmont State College, at Fairmont, W. Va. They began an automobile pilgrimage to Washington at approximately 2:30 in the afternoon and arrived at approximately 7:45 in the evening. They parked their car downtown and joined the line of grieving thousands. Eight and one-half hours later those five young men from the hills of West Virginia walked by the bier of the late President, expressing in reverent silence their appreciation for his life and their sorrow at his death.

I asked them why they came.

They replied, in essence, "He was our President, and we, as young people, felt that he was concerned with our future."

In reviewing the tragic events of last month, we have, in almost stupefaction asked ourselves, "What manner of people are we that such violence is bred in our midst?" This question, and the self-appraisals which it engenders may help to make us better men and women. But in justice to the American character, for which John F. Kennedy held such high hopes, let us also acknowledge that the same Nation which fostered his assassin, and the assassin's assassin, gave birth to John Kennedy and responded to his call for finer ways and higher deeds for humans everywhere.

Those who will write the judgment of this era will not appraise us on the basis of that insane moment in Dallas—but on the extent to which we as a nation live up to the ideals for which John Kennedy labored.

We today do not judge Athens on the basis of the bigotry and intolerance which sent Socrates to his death. Rather, we marvel at a people and culture which could produce a Socrates and his followers who nurtured his vision of the good life.

So, too, will we be judged by our commitment to the vision which our late and great President held forth for America and the world. His sacrifice will not, unfortunately, dispel all misunderstanding and rancor from our midst. For another Man, Jesus of Nazareth, died almost 2,000 years ago in order to assume the burden of man's evil, but evil is still with us.

For those of us who had the honor of knowing and working with John Kennedy, our lives have already been increased by this cherished experience. And the lives of all Americans will be enhanced if they truly understand the examples of the martyred President, and of the gallant lady who helped support him in his life and helped sustain a Nation in his death.

This example was best phrased by President Kennedy himself, shortly before his tragic earthly ending, when he defined his concept of happiness as being a life in which one utilized all his capacities in the achievement of personal excellence and public service. President Kennedy thus becomes identified with another American President, the author of the Declaration of Independence, who declared the "pursuit of happiness" to be among the unalienable rights of all.

Therefore, perhaps the most meaningful tribute to President Kennedy, and one which would create a living memorial in the hearts of all Americans, would be for all citizens to turn aside from the more shallow pursuits of pleasure, and to seek these standards of spiritual, moral, and intellectual strength which he articulated so clearly and eloquently.

And, we are moved today by an element of personal as well as official loss which millions of families sense in the passing of President Kennedy. My wife, Mary, and our two sons join me in expressing our remembrance to the relatives of the late President.

Our hearts go out to the mother and father of John F. Kennedy; to his fine sisters; to his brothers, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, and Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts. And finally, we remember his courageous wife, Jacqueline Kennedy, and her two lovely children, who have suffered a loss far beyond anything we ourselves can know. We shall be often in prayer for them.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, there arose amongst us a man with grace and wit, with a style and a charm given to but few mortals. The admiration he attracted and the loyalty he won were worldwide.

Only 2 hours ago, at a luncheon at which I was the host, for visiting dignitaries from Guinea, word was given to me and to other Members of this body of the sorrow and the grief felt by the people of that faraway land. Indeed, Mr. President, from around the world we know of the heavy hearts of people who believed in President Kennedy, who trusted him, and who held him to be their champion for what is right, true, good, and brave.

Other generations of Americans have suffered the experience of the assassination of their leader. It is our burden to have seen a champion and a leader amongst all men stricken down in the splendor of his manhood, and now immortalized in the minds and in the hearts of all mankind.

Mr. President, one must wonder why—with all the agitation and the disturbances of our times, the stress and the distress, and the known dangers to leaders in such times—young men aspire to the high Office of President of the United States. I believe it is because of patriotism, pride, and the basic desire of man to win the approval of fellow men, that one is driven on. Beyond that, there are those who are intensely motivated to achieve and to do good in their time, to accomplish, and to give. Except for these motivations—such patriotism, pride, and desire—there would not have been a George Washington, a Lincoln, a Roosevelt, a Kennedy, or a President Johnson. Men thus highly and intensely motivated would, I believe, prefer to live fruitfully and dangerously, rather than obscurely in longevity.

The death of President Kennedy was a keen personal sorrow for me. We

served together in the House of Representatives. We were seatmates on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

We served together on a special Senate committee where we joined in writing minority views. In many other ways we had official and personal associations which I treasure.

There were other moments which I shall always treasure. On one unforgettable evening, when he was then Representative Kennedy, and when the present senior Senator, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER], was then U.S. delegate to the United Nations, along with one other couple, the Ambassador and Mrs. Cooper, my wife and I were present at a little party at which the young Representative John F. Kennedy met a beautiful young lady, Jacqueline Bouvier, who later became his bride.

Upon that occasion, Representative Kennedy, Ambassador Cooper, and I had each recently announced our candidacies for the U.S. Senate. We compared the manner of our announcements, engaged in searching discussion of political techniques and tactics and, of course, we jested with each other as to our own foibles.

It so happened that all three of us were elected, and there was a reunion of the group on another unforgettable evening to celebrate our victories.

Ere long, the beautiful girl became Mrs. Kennedy. Then Caroline, the Presidency, and John-John. A live, vibrant, glamorous, beloved family.

Jacqueline Kennedy became an American heroine during the tragic hours following the horrible assassination. She bore up magnificently. She deported herself with the courage worthy of her gallant but fallen husband.

The works and words of John F. Kennedy have been burned into the hearts and minds of men and will last so long as America lasts.

He is a hero, now immortalized. We cherish his eloquence, his lofty ideals, the sentiments he expressed—and expressed in a manner to inspire all mankind—these are now a precious part of the heritage of our land.

To his widow, and to the little children, who may someday read the proceedings of today, I pour out all the sympathy of which my being is capable.

To his father and mother, his brothers and sisters—all of them I call my friends—I extend the deepest of sympathy. Theirs has been a great loss, but theirs has been a great privilege to have had the companionship, the love, and the inspiration of a truly good and great man.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, today Senators will fill page after page of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD with words, even though we are all acutely aware that words are hopelessly inadequate.

In the past few weeks, millions of the world's people have worn a look of stunned despair. Certainly, nothing I could say would be a more eloquent tribute to John F. Kennedy than the grief on those faces. It is folly for me to try. And I know that many feel as helplessly inadequate for this chore as I do.

Why do we try?

Surely, the name of John F. Kennedy—like the dead at Gettysburg—has already been consecrated far beyond our poor power to add or detract.

Yet, we feel impelled to rise, one by one, and offer a few words in praise of his vision, courage, and human understanding. Why do we do this? One reason, I think, is that a eulogy day gives us a chance to pour our grief into a common pool where it can be shared more readily and therefore borne more easily.

And what else? Yes, it gives us a forum to praise those attributes we most admire: vision, courage, human understanding. This may be useful. Praise provides the warmth that may nurture vision, courage, and human understanding among others in our Nation, perhaps even among ourselves.

Without a doubt, these attributes deserve and need all the encouragement they can get.

But vision, courage, and human understanding are easy to praise. They are abstractions. There is no lobby against them. No pickets will appear in opposition.

So perhaps for a moment we should turn our attention not to John F. Kennedy's attributes but rather to the products of those attributes. Civil rights. Tax reduction and reform. Aid to education—yes, the search for peace, the concern for our older citizens, and for an expanding economy.

President Johnson has put it simply and straightforwardly. He said that the enactment of President Kennedy's major programs would be the finest tribute we could offer to John F. Kennedy. Unlike most of the stunned faces across the world, we can deliver on that one. Sometimes we feel almost sacrilegious in wishing that someone who has departed this life could tell us what he would most like to have us do in acknowledgment of his passing. I believe, without being insensitive or callous, that we can ask ourselves, "What would he like to see us doing at this moment?" I have a suspicion at this moment he would prefer to have the Senate debating the civil rights bill.

After all, can we honestly admire President Kennedy's vision without also admiring his plan for the Nation's children? Can we admire his courage without admiring his departure from the "conventional wisdom" of economics? Can we admire his human understanding without admiring his civil rights bill?

I do not say that we can admire only those men with whom we are in full agreement. But President Kennedy was not a man who ever demanded absolute conformity.

On the contrary, John F. Kennedy was a strong man—so strong that he understood fully that there are very few questions that can be given absolute answers.

His courage and vision were matched by thoughtfulness and deep insights. There was one thread of continuity in all his programs and I think it can be briefly stated like this: He sought to allow each man to fulfill completely the potential granted by his Creator.

This really was his essential goal, and the strength he showed in pursuing it was the strength of flexibility. This is what I believe history will record about him. This is what I like to believe history will record about him.

And how incredible will historians find the fact that this man's record in Congress and this man's goals in the White House were thought by some to be "soft on the Constitution."

Many have said that John Kennedy had an understanding of history. Indeed he did. He sensed, I believe, those forces which affect the destiny of nations, not merely of men.

There is one lesson of history he would hope we would understand and, understanding, react to.

There have been other great nations on the center of the world stage in the centuries which precede this, and historians indicate that not all of them had to fail. Not all of them needed to become footnotes in history, except that they dilly-dallied over making necessary reform until it was too late.

This is the kind of responsibility which happens to be ours in the Congress. It is for that reason, I suggest, that our best tribute would be to move on in the pursuit of those goals which he so dramatically portrayed for us.

Like it or not, be it fair or unfair, this Congress has acquired a reputation for inaction. Whether it is fair I do not propose to debate.

But the unhappy fact remains that we have the image of a do-nothing Congress. This is not so much because we have done nothing. It is more because we have done nothing with those pieces of legislation on which the Nation's attention has been riveted—the pieces of legislation that events and the late President dramatized before the country.

This is the situation and we cannot escape it. So, essentially, my eulogy of President Kennedy consists largely of a pledge of support to President Johnson.

I join the new President in an appeal for legislation that will be a true memorial to President Kennedy—legislation of that whole litany of recommendations he gave us; legislation in civil rights, in aid to secondary and elementary schools, in youth opportunities, in tax reform—legislation that will be as bright and lasting as the flame that so many earlier mentioned, which burns now on that hillside in Arlington.

If I can be confident of anything, it is that for at least this once I can confidently speak the universal voice of the people of Michigan. Without exception, they would have me express to the Kennedy family their understanding and sympathy. For my own family, I assure each of them of a continual remembrance in our prayers.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, the predominant impression which I and many others formed of President Kennedy during the 15 years in Washington with him was his extraordinary composure under strain. During the strenuous and critical days of the 1960 campaign, when I was frequently with him, I never noticed the slightest sign of irritability. Similarly, in the hot legislative

struggles which we have had in Congress when the President was sorely tried, he seemed to be completely free from excitement or resentment, nor did he ever blame those who differed with him or who bitterly opposed him.

Some people thought this was a proof that he did not have deep emotions and that he was not deeply concerned either with people or with issues. To my mind this was not so. It did not indicate an absence of emotions, but rather a mastery over them. The Scottish playwright, J. M. Barrie, once defined courage as "grace under pressure." If this is so—and this is certainly one attribute of courage—then John Kennedy possessed courage to a supreme degree.

This quality paid off to the greatest extent in the Cuban crisis of last year. Under that tremendous strain the President might well have been pardoned had he lost his head. He was determined to prevent any danger to the United States and to take the responsibility for an attack on the Cuban missile bases, had that been necessary, but he was also anxious to prevent a nuclear war, if this was possible. He therefore gave Khrushchev an opportunity to back down without too great a loss of face. By following this course he skirted the precipice of total war by a hair's breadth. He was able both to obtain the removal of the missiles and a reduction in Russian forces—and at the same time keep the peace. A lesser man could never have done this.

The second impression I had of the President was his extraordinary intelligence and mental ability. This was demonstrated in the way in which he handled the debate on the puzzling issue of secondary boycotts in 1959. This is the most difficult issue in the whole field of labor relations and the President came to the correct conclusions down to 100th of an inch. It was like seeing a skilled surgeon operate.

Without any reflection upon other Presidents, I believe that he ranks along with Wilson, Lincoln, and Jefferson as among the four great intellectuals in the history of our Presidency. He was widely read and a deep student of history. He was broadly versed in the poetry and literature of the Western World. He was also interested in the arts of painting, sculpture, architecture, and music. He was not ashamed to be interested in these things. He was, instead, proud to have these broad interests and to be a practitioner of some of them. He was the one public figure of our time to win a Pulitzer Prize in history. He honored those who had surpassing achievements in their fields and sought to make the American public respect them more. He raised, indeed, the whole level of our intellectual and cultural life.

His political programs were designed for the good of America and the world. It is well to create tangible monuments which will bear his name into the far future. But I think we can best create a memorial for him by our devotion to the great tasks of civil rights, the abolition of unemployment, and a more abundant life for the great mass of American citizens.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy had the sixth shortest term of any of the 34 Presidents who preceded him. He was the youngest man ever to hold that high office. Yet, history may well show that he did more than any other of our Presidents to raise the sights and elevate the spirit of our National Government and the aspirations of our people, not just in our own United States but throughout our world as well. He set a marvelous and harmonious course of domestic growth and fairness and of external peace. And, now, as we think and talk of him with grief in our hearts, we find ourselves overwhelmed with sadness because his inspiring mind and presence, his vigor and sparkling life, have been taken from us so abruptly.

Our own State of Rhode Island particularly grieves because Rhode Islanders knew President Kennedy and his First Lady as friends and neighbors of long standing. He had vacationed in Newport before the war. He had received his PT boat training at Melville on our Narragansett Bay. He had visited our State in the years following the war— to speak at our Democratic dinner in 1954 and to court his future bride, whose family affiliations with Newport are deeply rooted. I remember attending his marriage in Newport in the company of my predecessor, Theodore Francis Green. And, ever since that time, President Kennedy's affection for Newport and Rhode Island grew, as did Rhode Islanders' esteem, admiration, and regard for him. He found in Newport privacy and relaxation, the two rarest luxuries that ever can be enjoyed by a President of the United States. And only a few weeks ago, he asked that arrangements be made to rent a house in Newport so that he could have a summer White House there this coming year.

John Kennedy's secure place in history has been won because he raised the sights of all Americans. The goals he set for his administration in his inaugural address just over 1,000 days before his death and only a few yards from this very Chamber were the most soaring goals that had ever been set by an American President. These were soaring goals of growth for our country, not only in physical terms, but in education and culture. These were goals, not just for our country, not just our hemisphere, but the world. Yes, even for space beyond.

It took a while for our people to fully grasp the soaring nature of these goals. Because he changed the tempo and raised the level of our aspirations, our people through our Congress hesitated at first about rising to the heights his vision made clear.

Most important, President Kennedy recognized the fact that whether we like it or not, all human beings share the same planet and the same atmosphere. As he said at the United Nations, there must eventually come some sort of international control of the nuclear weapons of death and destruction. And he eloquently laid out a path beyond this achievement to the even higher goal of the eventual and complete disarmament of the nations of our world.

For these reasons, and in this manner, he kept first things first in his mind. He always recognized that important as they are, economic growth and integration would be in vain if the human race were to suffer immolation. As a student of history, he took the long view whenever he could. What was the use of thinking only in terms of next year or the year after when we should be planning for the world of 2000?

To my mind, the greatest service President Kennedy rendered was that he raised our sights.

The tragedy of his assassination is that while his course was set, his path, his trajectory, was cut off long before all his goals could be achieved.

The best memorial we can offer President Kennedy is to keep our sights high, our heads high, to follow the course he set, but speed our tempo and to keep our eyes fixed on the vision he gave us. President Johnson has eloquently and magnificently reaffirmed these principles. As President Johnson stated, "Let us continue"—continue to bring fairness, education, and a decent way of life, not just to all Americans, but to all men everywhere; continue toward a world of complete and total disarmament, a world from which the scourge of nuclear weapons is removed. Then, the year 2000 will not be our second Dark Age, but rather a golden age, a true millennium.

Finally, and speaking personally and as an old friend of President and Mrs. Kennedy, I extend all my homage to him as a grand gentleman and to her as a valiant and gallant lady. May the tone and sparkle they set so bravely continue to excite our national life for many years. And may she, their two lovely children, his parents, and his brothers and sisters all accept the utter sympathy of my wife and me and of our children.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, in the amount of time fairly allocable to each of us, it would be impossible adequately to express even our present impressions of the late President. And in any event, it is unquestionably too early for a definitive appraisal. As has been said before, history will make that appraisal.

One thing we can be sure of is that those who loved the President—and all of us who knew him did—need have no fear that the final judgment of history will not be high indeed.

It is appropriate at this time, I think, to express merely a brief personal word. Like every other American family, our family, my wife, my children, and I, were deeply moved, were incredulous at first when we heard the news, and were shaken, as we have not often been shaken, by the news of the disaster. It was not merely because—though it was partly because—it was the death of a President of the United States. It was not just because of horror at the way in which the death occurred, or of the sadness that always exists when youth is cut off in its prime. Beyond all those considerations—and this, I know, was the experience of millions and millions of Americans—there was a very direct sense of personal involvement in the life, and then in the loss, of this man.

He had the capacity, though he was not an extrovert as many politicians are, of giving you the realization that he

understood you; that he saw through what might be barriers to understanding; that he understood what you had in your mind. Very quickly there arose a feeling of mutual understanding of the sort that usually exists only between those who are most intimate and constantly in contact with one another. This was partly a matter of his keen intellect, and partly a matter of his sensitive reaction to the feelings of other human beings.

Comparable to the almost instinctive understanding that John F. Kennedy had of those with whom he came in contact was his appreciation of the problems we face in this country and that the world faces.

It is not necessary to assert—and surely he would not have been one to assert—that he had advanced us far along the road toward a final solution of these problems. Yet his understanding of them, with this fine mind of his, and his sensibilities, was, in itself, an essential step toward their resolution.

He had the understanding and the courage to state publicly the moral wrong of segregation. He did not limit his affirmation in this area merely to his duty to uphold the laws and the Constitution of this country. He recognized and stated that he was making this effort to cleanse American life of a shame and a stain and an evil thing. This required real courage, because he knew that, in the short term, he would not gain politically by that course; that in the short term he would lose. I believe he could not help make the affirmation because he saw its truth with his mind and felt it with his heart.

He had an appreciation of the great problems of the times in the field of the economy and in the field of employment, problems that no man yet knows all the answers to, arising from automation and our new technology.

While I am sure he would be the first to say he had no final answers, his awareness of these problems put him on the path of vigorous and unrelenting search for ways along which answers may lie.

In the field of foreign policy, perhaps, his awareness was most keen. He understood, surely as well as any man, and better than most, the frustrations, the dilemmas, and the paradoxes which we face, and the great dangers and difficulties faced by a world in which man can destroy himself.

While, again, he would be the last to claim he had any final answers, the very fact that we knew that he understood the problems, and saw them clearly and did not flinch from them, but had the courage to carry on and face them with gallantry and a high heart, gave this Nation, and all of us, courage to carry on.

Mr. President, Mrs. Case and I and our children and all of our family join with all those who have spoken, and for whom statements have been made, in extending to Mrs. Kennedy and the children and all the family, including our colleague in the Senate from Massachusetts, our most affectionate sympathy.

In this, Mr. President, I am joined by our former colleague, H. Alexander Smith, of New Jersey, who this morning phoned me to ask me, on his behalf and on behalf of Mrs. Smith, to express the high regard and respect which they had for John F. Kennedy, and the warm personal relations which they enjoyed, and their deep sympathy also.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, hundreds of thousands of words have been published and hundreds of thousands more have ben spoken into the microphones of the world since John F. Kennedy was struck down in Dallas, but none of them were really adequate. Words never are in the face of senseless tragedy.

Words cannot describe how the American people felt when they lost their President. Not until the vacuum of disbelief was filled with the horror of comprehension did any of us realize how much we identified ourselves, even apart from personal friendship, with the President—this intellectual, vigorous young man—and he would have been that if he were 80—expressing the very essence of the youthfulness of our Nation. It seems of little consequence now, that there were political differences or objections to this or that legislative proposal, though as far as I am concerned there was a very large measure of agreement. What matters is that feeling of loss—that personal sense of emptiness—that all Americans feel because their President was cut off in the prime of life. As a Nation, we have lost a President who understood the institution of the Presidency, gloried in its overwhelming responsibilities, and discharged his duties with dash and joy, which were an inspiration to the youth of our Nation.

But John F. Kennedy was more than that. He was a man filled with the joy of living, he was a husband, a father—and my friend.

For myself, I remember coming to Congress the same day he did. We were sworn in together on the same January day in 1947. A photograph on my office wall shows that we two, returning veterans, looked a little uncomfortable at the moment in our civilian clothes. It shows us looking at the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill, and it reflects the first job we did together when we called on the National Veterans Housing Conference of 1947, which we had organized, to support this bill. It was the beginning of an association which extended throughout our careers in the House and Senate. We collaborated in many bipartisan matters, as is not unusual in the Congress. Indeed, in our service together in the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, we worked closely—as did Senator MORSE and others—on the minimum wage bill, the Labor-Management Disclosure Act and other similar measures which were major aspects of Senator Kennedy's legislative career.

I am a personal witness to the fact that he was resourceful, optimistic, and creative. He became and was my friend, and this is a deep source of gratification to me and to Mrs. Javits and our family.

Mrs. Javits, also, knew President Kennedy well and admired him greatly. She will, I know, always think of the President's graciousness and the warmth of personal friendship which he exuded.

Only a week before his tragic passing, I saw him in the Oval Room at the White House when he accepted the report of the Advisory Committee on Medical Care for the Aged, in which Senator ANDERSON and I joined, and issued a statement offering encouragement and help.

He was vigorous and healthy, smiling and friendly—a complete human being, concerned about other human beings who were no longer as vigorous and not quite as healthy as they used to be.

This concern for the unfortunate by a man with all the social graces and all the social status and as much power as America allows one man, was what made him so much the symbol of the youth of our country. His wife, Jacqueline, who has given Americans so much reason to be very proud of her and of all American womanhood as she reflected it, in these last mournful weeks, has expressed the most beautiful tribute—that John F. Kennedy had the "hero idea of history." She did not want people to forget John F. Kennedy—the man—and replace him with a shadowy figure in the history books.

She need not fear that. There are already thousands upon thousands of people in the world working to keep his memory alive. I have been privileged to join with many others in this body in cosponsoring a bill to rename the National Cultural Center and make it a living, vibrant memorial to this vibrant man who loved the arts. And with Senator HUMPHREY, I have joined in a bill establishing a commission to insure that only the most appropriate memorials be created in his honor.

These are well-meaning, deeply sincere tokens of an affection. In reality it will be John F. Kennedy's youthful freshness in his aspirations for our country that will keep his memory fresh.

In a real sense we, his former colleagues in the Congress are the only ones with the power to write words which can transform these aspirations into memorials with meaning. We can write legislative acts, like a meaningful civil rights law, which would consecrate and perpetuate John F. Kennedy's love for personal and national dignity. We can exorcise from our country—and the American people are doing that even now—those extremes of hatred and disbelief in public affairs which create a climate in which terrible acts become much more likely.

Acts such as these will be his final memorials. It is within our power to establish them. Perhaps his noblest memorial is that he would have wanted such memorials almost as no others.

So, in common with my colleagues in this solemn service—and that is what this is today—I bespeak for Mrs. Javits and my children, Joy, Joshua, and Carla. I place their names in the RECORD so that as they read this RECORD when they grow up, I hope they will read their names in it and see that their father spoke to Mrs. Kennedy and the children and to the President's father and mother and brothers and sisters and their families

on this terrible bereavement for them, for our Nation, and for all mankind, with deepest sympathy and with the deep expectation that flowers will grow from his grave for the benefit of man.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, it seems so futile to try to describe with words the profound loss the people of our country and of the world suffered in the death of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

Each one of us wants to pay tribute to him, but how helpless are our words compared to the great tribute that came to our departed President through the spontaneous manifestation of grief and sorrow by the people—strong and weak, rich and poor.

When the word of his death struck at home and in other nations, a pall fell over the people. They prayed, wept, meditated in silence, gathered in groups stunned and grieved. No deed in all of history brought so much grief and bewilderment to people everywhere as did the untimely passing of the man whom we mourn today.

His dynamism, affable attitude, and appealing and sincere smile became an integral part of the home of families everywhere, especially in our country. People felt as though they knew him intimately; that he was their personal friend.

He fought for his country in time of war and peace; did not shirk his responsibility, and was ready to stand in the front line of the fight.

In his service as a Member of Congress, he furthered the causes in which he believed, never harboring any rancor about the opposition that others might interpose against what he advocated.

In his occupancy of the office of President of the United States, he advocated action which he sincerely believed would be to the best interest of the people and the security of our Nation; the full enjoyment of constitutional rights for the citizens of our Nation was his devoted objective.

In his advocacy of favored causes, he encouraged discussion and debates, believing that out of the exchange of views there would come the adoption of programs that would richly and constructively serve the Nation.

It was not to be his lot to see the fight to the end. The grim hand of an assassin took his life on November 22. Our people are still stunned and bewildered.

He now lies in his lonely and narrow cell in Arlington Cemetery with an eternal light burning over his resting place. Mourners are wending their way to his grave, there to weep and pray. Loving, tender hands are placing tear-moistened flowers upon the ground where he sleeps.

With the dauntless courage of a leader he carried the baton on high. It has fallen from his hand, but it will be picked up by the people of our country and carried with honor and distinction to the lofty goal which he set for our country and the world.

Mrs. Lausche joins me, and I am sure the people of Ohio do likewise, in expressing condolences to Mrs. John F. Kennedy and the Kennedy family.

Beautifully appropriate to the life and death of our departed President are the words of Letitia Elizabeth Landon, English poet and novelist:

> Can that man be dead
> Whose spiritual influence is upon his kind?
> He lives in glory; and his speaking dust
> Has more of life than half its breathing moulds.

PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY FIRST IN THE HEARTS AND THE HOPES OF THE WORLD

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, our martyred leader, the beloved President John F. Kennedy, will live in our hearts forever as a gallant knight who held aloft a torch of hope for the freedom-loving peoples of the world to follow. From these legislative Halls of division and debate, he went to bold executive leadership of the Nation, then to leadership of the free world in the quest for peace, his Holy Grail. Now, after his martyrdom, he belongs to all mankind and all the ages.

President Kennedy becomes the only President in the history of the United States to achieve immortality in the quest for peace and freedom, without fighting a war. When we think of immortal leaders in this connection, the names of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt leap to our lips. But each fought a war to achieve greatness as a defender of peace and freedom. How much more difficult was President Kennedy's achievement—to advance the cause of peace and freedom without fighting a war.

At the end of his tragically brief lifetime, he was first in the hearts and the hopes of the world. What greater achievement can be attained by any mortal?

As Christmas time approaches, when our thoughts are always turned to family and faith, our hearts and the hearts of the world go out to the family of our fallen champion, who was so close to his faith and his family. And yet he has left to his children, to his widow, to all his family, to his countrymen, a shining heritage of vision, courage, brilliance, dedication, compassion, strength—a magnificent glow to illuminate the hopes of his family, the Nation, and all the world, for generations to come.

No country in the history of the world ever had more cause to reflect upon its course, to rededicate itself to humanitarian goals, to lay aside smallness, to try to see beyond the self-inflicted, constricting boundaries of time and distance, and to work for a tomorrow as bright as the eternal torch in Arlington Cemetery. President Kennedy's untimely death "tore a hole in the fabric of our society." It is the duty of all Americans of this and succeeding generations to help to repair it. Our task will be long and exacting.

In our grief we ask what course our Nation shall follow. President Kennedy, though the most intellectually brilliant man I have ever known, often turned to the Bible for higher guidance. It was a source of strength for this gallant man, as it was and is to the brave and courageous woman who was at his side in every crisis and who gave the Nation a new pride in woman's courage in the hour of the cruel taking away.

In his acceptance of the nomination to carry the banner for the Democratic Party, he quoted Isaiah:

> But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary.

In his classic Inaugural Address, he looked again to Isaiah when he said:

> Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah—to "undo the heavy burdens and to let the oppressed go free."

Never have the American people been more deeply moved than by witnessing the little son of President John F. Kennedy touch his hand to his forehead in a final salute to his father. Never has the American flag had a prouder moment than when held aloft by the President's little son.

Again we may turn to Isaiah who said:

> And a little child shall lead them.

Through the Bible and through the innocence of the President's little son, we find the Nation's path to true glory—we shall salute our fallen leader, we shall raise up the flag of freedom and justice, and by our actions hereafter we shall honor that for which it stands, as President Kennedy honored it both in life and in death.

In the last sentence of his last prepared speech, which was to have been delivered at Austin, Tex., on the evening of that fateful day of November 22, our fallen leader gave us our marching orders of the future in these words:

> Let us stand together with renewed confidence in our course—united in our heritage of the past and our hopes for the future—and determined that this land we love shall lead all mankind into new frontiers of peace and abundance.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, John F. Kennedy left this Nation a remarkable legacy. His achievements in civil rights legislation were the greatest of any American President since Lincoln. Also, he took us the initial tough and vital step toward peace in these first, infinitely dangerous years of the missile and nuclear age, in which we confront the formidable forces of international communism, including a nuclear armed Soviet Union, for the nuclear test ban treaty was a Kennedy accomplishment, both in conception and execution. As President Kennedy said early this year, the genie of the spread of nuclear weapons is almost out of the bottle, and if we do not get it back this year, 1963, we shall never get it back. The nuclear test ban treaty begins to put the cork on the bottle. Limited as it is, the nuclear test ban treaty does give us a chance to build a peaceful world of control of the immense power of destruction with which mankind has suddenly found itself. If 100 or 1,000 years from now there remains, in the nuclear age, a civilized world that can have a history, that history will recognize John F. Kennedy as being high among those who made it possible.

President Kennedy left two less noticed legacies: 23 days before he

died, President Kennedy was asked to define happiness. He called it "full use of your powers along lines of excellence." And he added, "I find therefore the Presidency provides some happiness."

In a nation in which the pursuit of pleasure, fun, and easy living has become so often the accepted happiness goal of life, this reminder by the President of the solid joys of hard work, of discipline, and of determination to use every bit of talent each of us has to make us better instruments of God and country is a solid legacy that could make this a stronger and a better country.

Finally, with all the hundreds of thousands of words spoken off the cuff by President Kennedy in press conferences and in television interviews before millions of people, it is astonishing that not once did he utter a single word, so far as I can recall, which would embarrass or insult any person or in the slightest degree would demean the dignity of the office he held. This is not just a tribute to his intelligence; it is also a tribute, even more, to his sensitivity to other human beings, to his understanding, and to his sympathetic heart. This is all the more remarkable in view of the often hard-hitting and forceful encounters of the President, as in the clash with "Big Steel" and the showdown with Khrushchev and Castro over missiles in Cuba.

What a great asset this sense of the right word at the right time was in a man with the immense power of the Presidency of the United States.

Basically, the Kennedy legacy is a challenge to us to strive to live up to the ideals of equal rights for all Americans, of peace and freedom, and of dedication to personal excellence, to which he so fully dedicated his life.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, November 22, 1963, in the city of Washington was a day out of season. It was a day both of spring and of fall, both of beginnings and of endings, and of endings and of beginnings. Into the quiet of that day came the word of the death of the President.

In the days that followed immediately, grief increased in depth and in breadth, both here and throughout the Nation and the world.

President Kennedy was not merely a Washington President or a political President. He was a President in every home, every town, and every city—a President to everyone, both the very young and the very old, in the United States and in other countries of the world.

It is not for us to attempt to measure or assign the guilt for his assassination and death, for the burden of that act is too great to be borne by any one man or State or nation. Instead, that act and its consequences must be related to all our actions, and the burden of guilt must be shared by all who through the years have excited and stirred the simple and the anxious, who have raised questions and turned them about until they became suspicious, who have nurtured doubt until it bore the fruit of accusation and false charges, who have spread themselves to make a shade for fear and to save it from the light of truth until it grew to be a despairing fear of fear; by all who stood in silent acquiescence or who protested softly, too little, and too late; by all who envied him or any man or wished them ill.

We cannot rest in disillusionment or in grief. Instead, we must move on from these harsh realities, and must seek to accomplish the things for which the President stood—things made clearer by his death. First, to accept with good heart the burden and responsibility of citizenship, and to bring to the performance of these duties, whether in the highest office of the land or in the simplest and most elementary act of citizenship, the spirit described by John Adams as one of "public happiness," which, said Adams, possessed the American colonists and won the Revolution even before it was fought, a spirit which is reflected in a delight in participation in public discussion and in public action, a joy in citizenship, in self-government, in self-control, in self-discipline, and in dedication. Second, to seek to understand, and then to realize in some measure, his vision of the unity of Western civilization and, beyond that, a unity among all the peoples of the world. Third, to seek to realize the potential for use in service and in perfection of all created things, an achievement to be measured, not by arithmetic or by geometry, but by the infinity of human aspirations, of human efforts, in developing and using the material resources of the earth, to the limits of science. Fourth, to seek the fullest possible development of every person—from the simple, and even from the retarded, to those with the greatest talents—making it possible for every one to achieve the goal which President Kennedy set for himself, and described in the words "the full use of one's powers according to the idea of excellence."

John Fitzgerald Kennedy demonstrated in action his realization that there must be a judgment of nations, as well as of persons. He demonstrated his awareness of the two great facts of contemporary history—first, that the mass or the volume of current history, of the things which demand some judgment and some commitment from our Nation and from us, is greater than ever before; second, that the movement of history itself is now at a rate more rapid than ever before known. In the face of these two ultimate facts, we are called upon to exercise, as best we can, and to the fullest possible measure to which it may be applied, the power of human reason, in attempting to give some control and some direction to life.

John F. Kennedy's entire efforts demonstrated a confidence in the future, a hope that the world of men could and would be improved, a belief in the universality of mankind and, in these far-reaching searches, a belief that there was no satisfaction except in the intensification and perfection of the life of every person.

Empty words of politicians of the past are echoed again: "The country will survive," and "the Government will stand." These are true statements, but for some days Americans will not walk as certainly or as straight as they did in the past. The quick step is gone. A strong heart has stopped. A mind that sought the truth, a will ready for commitment, and a voice to challenge and to move are ended for this age and time of ours.

This is, therefore, a time of truth for all, a time for resolution and for strong hope that what we say today may be supplemented and perfected in the future by honest historians who will trace and define the public service of John F. Kennedy.

In addition, we hope that good poets, who speak—as poets must—for each man alone, will do justice to the memory of John F. Kennedy.

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McGOVERN in the chair). The Senator from New Hampshire is recognized.

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, one of New Hampshire's most respected educators, who is a historian of some note, has written me "that President Kennedy will go down in our history as one of the finest and ablest of all Chief Executives, and we who lived in his lifetime may count ourselves fortunate."

If history fastens itself upon one of the many facets that went into the greatness of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, I have no doubt that it will be his courage. As with many of the great, a thread of tragedy and suffering was woven through his life.

John Kennedy experienced much pain and loss in his brief span. And, yet, I believe he shall be remembered as a smiling, happy, self-assured man—always seeming to be in motion, a man to stir a nation from its lethargy. This was not an elder statesman drawing from the experience of a previous generation, but a young and energetic leader who had himself grown and matured with the mighty problems of the day.

The Nation and the world watched as the young leader transformed the New Frontier from idea to action. John Kennedy was called upon to handle problems as new as space and as old as equal rights. His concerns ranged from nuclear test bans to the Peace Corps; from better education for the young to better life for the old; from more help for the mentally retarded to brighter opportunities for the gifted; from firm insistence on strong defense to an uncompromising search for lasting peace.

The tributes which have been paid him in death are but a small indication of the affection and respect in which John Kennedy was held in life. The lasting tragedy is that the flame of greatness that burned in him has been extinguished from this mortal world, leaving us to wonder forever what he might have wrought.

But a flame burns still—beside the simple grave that has already become a shrine. A hundred years ago at Gettysburg Abraham Lincoln said that "it is beyond our power to consecrate the ground in which our honored dead rest, but it is for us to take up the great unfinished tasks before us." There could be no more fitting memorial to John Kennedy.

And so, Mr. President, on behalf of the people of New Hampshire, and personally on behalf of Mrs. McIntyre and our daughter, Martha, I extend to Mrs.

Kennedy, the children, and the immediate family our heartfelt sympathy.

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, I cannot add anything to what has already been said this afternoon about President John F. Kennedy. I join other Senators in their tributes to him.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the death of President John F. Kennedy is a national tragedy. The Nation and the world mourn his loss.

As I reflect upon the privilege of my friendship and association with him, I find myself pondering the contradictions of life. It creates and it destroys. It affirms and it denies. It exalts and it strikes down.

It is not, of course, for us to understand the ways of Providence, and the sequence of events often is beyond human comprehension, particularly when the soul of one so prominent among us is taken.

President Kennedy was a man whose life was dedicated to the service of his country. Practically all of his adult years were spent in this endeavor—in war and in peace, in military service, in Congress, and as President.

He was engaged in the affairs of the highest office his country could bestow upon him in the prime of his life. How deeply we regret the untimely departure from among us of one so vigorous and so dedicated.

He was a man with a remarkable variety of knowledge and a well-governed mind. He was persuasive with his ideas and pursued them with tremendous native force and determination.

It has been my privilege to know his father, and to have served in the Senate with John F. Kennedy when he was a Senator. I have enjoyed his company in my home. He possessed one of the most attractive personalities I have ever known.

He was a man of devotion to his family, his religion, and his chosen work. He was a man of courage and independence. He was a man of bold talent, great enterprise, and infinite skill. He was a man gifted in the art of government.

He demonstrated deep concern for what he believed to be in the interest of the strength and welfare of his country, and proved his willingness to fight for it. His acts of office were felt around the world.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, I believe the eulogies which have been given today and those which have been given continuously since the tragic events of 2 weeks ago are ample evidence of the great affection and regard which America and the world hold for President John F. Kennedy.

I do not know whether adequate words can be found to express the sense of universal shock and grief, not only in our own country, but throughout the world, that resulted from the tragedy.

I believe that most of us still feel that it is unreal. We still refuse to accept the realities of the situation. Somehow it has seemed to be a great myth.

Of course, it is not.

Those of us who knew President Kennedy, not only as President, but as a Member of Congress in this body and in the other body feel a special sense of sadness and loss. Part of that deep feeling, no doubt, comes from the fact that he was a most remarkable and almost unique young man—and I say "young man" in the sense of comparison to my own age. He possessed clarity of thought. He also had a pristine clarity of expression which enabled him to deliver those thoughts in a manner and in language that left no doubt as to his views and his purposes.

He had a driving vigor possessed by few individuals. He had a determination in political combat in advancing the goals which he thought best for his country that probably has seldom, if ever, been equaled. These things make the tragedy so much greater. The personal acquaintance, the attractiveness of his own attitude, his cordiality, and his utter fairness in his associations with those in public life will be remembered and treasured as long as the memories of those alive will last.

I never saw him lose his temper. I never heard him make an extravagant or unwarranted expression. I have heard him many times vigorously advance his views, but always with that degree of courtesy and consideration which mark the man who has no need to be extravagant in his statements.

The tragedy is further pointed up by the circumstances under which it occurred.

While he had an outstanding record as a Member of the other body and as a Member of this body, he was going full stride into the fulfillment of the greatest political objective any man can have—that of President of the United States. He undertook the responsibilities of that office with a dedication and a seriousness which mark him as one of the great men of our time.

I believe it is only objective to say that 3 years were not sufficient for the full development of his programs or his ability. No one can say what the future will bring, but he knew the pattern which he wished to follow, and he was implementing it with a vigor and a consistency which were commendable.

In political offices there are people of divergent views. I did not belong to his party. With some of his views I could not agree. I say that in all humility and in all honesty. But I had unbounded respect for him.

The memories I have are based upon respect and admiration for a man who, in the very prime of his life and vigor, both physically and politically, had to be struck down. I still say that it is unreal, and the shock of that tragedy has not left the American people, nor will it leave the American people for an indefinite and unpredictable period in the future.

Unfortunately, I have poignant memories of the assassinations of two Presidents. I recall the shock when I was a youngster 5 years of age, when the word came to our small schoolroom that President McKinley had been shot. I remember the sadness that universally gripped the American people at that time, a sadness not only for the individual, but also for the occurrence in our free and great American system.

I believe the frustrations which concern us now—that such a thing could happen or would happen in this country of ours—are frustrations we cannot explain, nor do we try to explain them.

President Kennedy wrote an enviable record which is indelibly inscribed in the annals of our country and of our time.

I would not pretend to say more in eulogy than the fine and articulate statements made with heartfelt motives by Senators who have previously spoken. I have a grief and a sadness that I cannot fully express. To Mrs. Kennedy, to her children, and to John F. Kennedy's family, I extend my heartfelt sympathy and condolences, and make the request that all of us be permitted to share to the utmost of our capacity in the grief which they suffer. We hope that grief can in some way be alleviated in the course of time and in the course of the great plan which we are all attempting to develop.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PELL in the chair). The Senator from Mississippi is recognized.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, among the many virtues of our late President John Kennedy, I believe the most outstanding, which will be long remembered and from which fruits will grow, was the remarkable quality he had of constant and unyielding courage.

I looked up some remarks I previously made with reference to him several years ago, in which I referred to his fine and forceful mind, which had a comprehensive grasp of all the problems of our Nation. Placing him in the White House brought that quality to finer fruit, because the opportunity was greater than I realized and greater than most people realized before he went there.

I said then, "I have great confidence in his ability, his character, and his constant and unyielding courage." That shows the trend of thought which ran through my mind at the time, as it does now, and as it runs through the minds of many others who knew him well.

He wrote a book, quite well known. I hold a copy of that book in my hand. It is titled "Profiles in Courage."

With his very clear mind, in rare style, he brought forcefully to the attention of the reading public the lives of seven men, all of whom had served in the Congress and most of whom had served in this body. To him they personified not only personal courage, but also public political courage.

The names of those he mentioned were John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, Thomas Hart Benton, Edmund G. Ross, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar, George Norris, and Robert A. Taft.

I found one sentence from his own pen in this book that was of particular interest. Referring to all these men, near the close of this remarkable volume, he said:

> Some demonstrated courage through their unyielding devotion to absolute principle. Others demonstrated courage through their acceptance of compromise, through their advocacy of conciliation, through their willingness to replace conflict with cooperation.

Surely their courage was of equal quality, though of different caliber.

Most of them, despite their differences, held much in common—the breathtaking talents of the orator, the brilliance of the scholar, the breadth of the man above party and section, and, above all, a deep-seated belief in themselves, their integrity and the rightness of their cause.

I have been proud of the fact that one of the men he chose from the seven around which he built the book was L. Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi, onetime Member of the House of Representatives, a longtime Member of the U.S. Senate, a member of Grover Cleveland's Cabinet, and a longtime Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Our late President developed in his book his qualities and character; and the part I have quoted was with reference to Lamar along with the others.

As he paid tribute to that statesman and that truly great Mississippian, commending him for his courage, Mississippi in turn returns the compliment to our late President, who is capable of standing alongside those he chose, or alongside those anyone else would choose, for the truly great and fine quality of courage which he demonstrated on the floor, in the White House, in the field of battle, or wherever he was.

I am glad to be one of the mediums through whom my State could pay him that compliment. At the same time, I wish to express personal grief and great regret on behalf of myself and Mrs. Stennis, as we have already done to Mrs. Kennedy and other members of the family. All members of the Mississippi congressional delegation have expressed themselves to that effect, as have others in official life in Mississippi.

I hold in my hand a copy of a telegram sent by a fine, outstanding, business executive, a fine citizen of Mississippi, which came to my attention through the Clarion-Ledger, a Jackson newspaper. I take the liberty of reading that telegram, which expresses the sentiments of many of us. It is addressed to Mrs. Kennedy and was sent following the tragic death:

MRS. JACQUELINE KENNEDY,
White House,
Washington, D.C.:

You have the profound and sincere sympathy of all Mississippians in this time of your great personal loss shared by every loyal citizen of the United States.

We pray that God will guide you and your loved ones in His own way and by His wisdom use even this tragedy to show all of us the way to build and preserve a greater nation and a better world dedicated to His glory.

JACK R. REED,
President, Mississippi Economic Council—Mississippi's State Chamber of Commerce.

I join in those sentiments, along with all other Mississippians. The crown of glory based on courage—belongs also to the wonderful lady, his surviving wife. I think her name should be mentioned in the RECORD every time. She meant so much to him in life, and means so much to his family now, as well as to the Nation.

May God give eternal rest to his soul, and may that same God sustain his wife and children and enable them to see the wisdom of His ways.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, when Gov. John Connally was asked by NBC Commentator Martin Agronsky for his reflections on the tragic assassination of President Kennedy he replied from his hospital bed in Dallas:

Only that maybe, Martin, the President of the United States, as a result of this great tragedy, has been asked to do something in death that he couldn't do in life—and that is to so shock and so stun the Nation, the people, and the world of what's happening to us—of the cancerous growth that's been permitted to expand and enlarge itself upon the community and the society in which we live that breeds the hatred, the bigotry, the intolerance and indifference, the lawlessness that is, I think, an outward manifestation of what occurred here in Dallas.

If President Kennedy's death is not to be in vain, every American should think soberly on the meaning of the Texas Governor's words.

But while we need to remember the sad circumstances and the lessons of President Kennedy's death, we also want to remember his stirring words of hope and courage.

On a cold morning, January 20, 1961, I sat on the steps of the Capitol, 12 or 15 feet from our new President, and heard these words:

Let the words go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans.

To those peoples in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves.

I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans: Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.

Second only to this great inaugural, I would rate President Kennedy's magnificent speech at American University on June 10, 1963, which opened the way for the nuclear test ban treaty—that "first step toward peace."

He said in that great address:

The United States, as the world knows, will never start a war. We do not want a war. We do not now expect a war. This generation of Americans has already had enough, more than enough of war and hate and oppression. We shall be prepared for war if others wish it. We shall be alert to try to stop it. But we shall also do our part to build a world of peace where the weak are safe and the strong are just. We are not helpless before that task or hopeless of its success. Confident and unafraid, we labor on, not toward a strategy of annihilation, but toward a strategy of peace.

I will remember him for those eloquent words, his grace of manner, his quiet courage, and his consideration of others.

One personal experience particularly will stay in my mind as long as I live. On the Saturday night following my defeat in the Senate race of 1960, my wife and I were having dinner with some friends in Mitchell, S. Dak., when I was called to the phone to take a long distance call from Palm Beach. "Hello, George, this is Jack Kennedy. I am sorry about what happened to you on Tuesday," he said. "Before you make any plans, I would like to talk with you."

It humbles one to know that a great man was not so absorbed in his own moment of triumph that he forgot his friends who had stumbled.

Following that call he gave me the opportunity to serve in his administration as Director of the food-for-peace program.

In announcing the creation of the Food for Peace Office, the President said:

American agricultural abundance offers a great opportunity for the United States to promote the interests of peace in a significant way and to play an important role in helping to provide a more adequate diet for peoples all around the world. We must make the most vigorous and constructive use possible of this opportunity. We must narrow the gap between abundance here at home and near starvation abroad. Humanity and prudence, alike, counsel a major effort on our part.

In a modest, self-effacing manner, President Kennedy had said in 1957:

I will be frank with you—I'm a city boy who has never plowed a furrow. I do not pretend to be an expert on all the problems of agriculture, and I suppose some of my constituents are opposed to letting their tax dollars aid western ranchers and farmers. But I will say this: When a serious decline in farm income takes millions of dollars out of the pockets of your farmers and your towns, that is a national problem.

Actually, Mr. Kennedy had a broad concept of the role of agriculture in today's world. Speaking in Mitchell, S. Dak.—my hometown—on September 22, 1960, he said:

Fellow Americans facing a difficult future, I think the farmers can bring more credit, more lasting good will, more chance for freedom, more chance for peace, than almost any other group of Americans in the next 10 years, if we recognize that food is strength, and food is peace, and food is freedom, and food is a helping hand to people around the world whose good will and friendship we want. So you are a great source of strength to us in these great years ahead, and I come as a presidential candidate with the greatest possible hope for the future and ask you to join in a great effort on behalf of our country and the State of South Dakota. The motto of the State of South Dakota is "Under God the People Rule." The motto of the United States could be the same. I hope in the next 10 or 20 years when historians write of our times that they will write that the cause of the people ruling under God spread in these years and became stronger, increased in strength, increased in substance.

President Kennedy's last visit to South Dakota was on August 17, 1962, when he came to our State Capital, Pierre, to inaugurate the power transmission system at the Oahe project in the great Missouri River Basin complex.

In Pierre, the President said:

I want to tell you, first of all, how much I am enjoying this opportunity to get away from Washington—to talk with local farmers and ranchers and merchants and find out what they are thinking. Those of us who serve in Washington spend too much time talking to each other, repeating the same views or listening to the same pleaders for special interests. That is why it is good to get away from Washington from time to time and to get a better and fresher perspec-

tive of what most of our citizens are thinking and doing.

In this same vein, I would hope that those who visit our country from abroad, if they want to learn the truth about America, would not confine their visits to Washington and to the great metropolitan areas of the east, but would visit this State and others like it. With all of the current crop failures behind the Iron Curtain, I think visitors from abroad should see the abundance of our fields. I think they should see our smaller towns, which show the democratic system at its best—for we started as a nation of small towns.

I think they should see this dam—the largest rolled-earth dam in the world. For this dam alone will produce enough electrical energy every year to meet all of the power needs of a city the size of Edinburgh, Scotland. This dam alone will supply enough irrigation to serve an area larger than the entire nation of Luxembourg. This dam alone will provide a magnificent reservoir lake—enriching the beauty and the recreational opportunities of this area—as long as Africa's famous Lake Victoria.

Above all, this dam provides a striking illustration of how a free society can make the most of its God-given resources. Water is our most precious asset—and its potential uses are so many and so vital that they are sometimes in conflict: Power versus irrigation, irrigation versus navigation, navigation versus industrial, industrial versus recreational. Here in the Missouri Basin, the supply of water cannot meet all of these needs all of the time. Accommodations are essential—and in 1944, under the administration of Franklin Roosevelt, a comprehensive Missouri Basin plan was authorized to fulfill all of these objectives.

This is the fifth of six great dams to control the mainstream of the Missouri River—and I can assure those of you at the upper end of the Missouri and our good friends at the lower end that it will continue to be our policy to regulate the storage and flow of water in these reservoirs in the most advantageous manner for all concerned that the most creative engineers in the world can possibly devise.

Speaking in Sioux Falls, S. Dak., at the National Plowing Contest on September 22, 1960, as a candidate for the Presidency, Mr. Kennedy drew a parallel to the election of 100 years earlier which he used on several occasions during the 1960 campaign.

He said it this way:

During the presidential election 100 years ago, Abraham Lincoln wrote a friend, "I know there is a God, and that He hates injustice. I see the storm coming, but if He has a place and a part for me, I believe that I am ready." Now 100 years later, when the great issue is the maintenance of freedom all over the globe, we know there is a God and we know He hates injustice, and we see the storm coming. But if He has a place and a part for us, I believe that we are ready.

Mr. President, these and many other words of our beloved President will live in my memory for years to come.

The life and death of President Kennedy have given new meaning to the inspired New Testament words: "Whosoever shall lose his life for My sake, shall find it."

May God rest his gallant soul in peace and bring comfort to the remarkable family who loved him most of all.

And may we hear again his sadly prophetic words:

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course.

My wife, Eleanor, joins me in expressing our sympathy and our admiration to Mrs. Kennedy, the children and other members of his family.

Since the President's death, I have received numerous expressions from the people of South Dakota, on the life and death of our fallen leader. I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from the letters and messages be printed at this point in the RECORD. I also ask unanimous consent that several editorials selected from the South Dakota press be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM LETTERS TO SENATOR GEORGE MCGOVERN

From Mr. D. C. Walsh, of Miller, S. Dak.: "Certainly, President Kennedy has emblazoned for all time the answer to his own query—not what can my country do for me but what can I do for my country. What have we come to in this Nation that bigotry and personal bitterness can give rise to a disaster of this caliber? Tragic as was the event itself, it seems equally calamitous that anyone in this country would even seriously consider the perpetration of such an act. At the risk of appearing blasphemous, I wonder if at times even our Creator may view us with some feeling of disbelief."

From Mr. C. A. Sundstrom, of Alcester, S. Dak.: "I, having had no contact with this, the greatest man of our time, feel a great loss, so I can imagine how people close to him must feel."

From Mr. John Sauer, of Huron, S. Dak.: "I do not mean to prolong this letter, but I read an excerpt from a small town journalist in Minnesota that expressed my own sentiments so well that I cannot refrain from passing on to you his quotation:

"'John Fitzgerald Kennedy was a man of grace—physical grace, mental grace, spiritual and moral grace, the grace of breeding, the grace of quality, the grace of courage, and always the grace of reason.'

"To my mind, a very fitting and true vignette of our late President's character."

From Mr. W. Neil Evans, of Watertown, S. Dak.: "I only had the privilege of meeting him once and shaking his hand, but I will always remember his firm handshake and the smile on his face as he told us we were doing a good job on the ASCS committees."

From Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Magedanz, of Revillo, S. Dak.: "We feel that the whole world is so very much better off even with this great man gone, than before, not only for what he has done, but for what he was trying to do."

From Mr. Paul H. Redfield, Madison, S. Dak.: "Beyond all doubt, John F. Kennedy was one of America's great—to America as well as to the freedom loving people of the world. Already this has been demonstrated. The ideals and principles for which he stood and fought must not be forgotten. The eternal flame must never flicker."

From Mr. Kenneth Knudsen of Irene, S. Dak.: "The leadership of President Kennedy will long be remembered by every citizen of the United States and the entire world. We trust this great injustice will be a lesson to us all, not to let hate govern our thoughts and deeds, and hereafter be constructive in our criticisms of others. If this can be accomplished, President Kennedy's fine leadership will still live with us in spirit."

From Mr. Harley Piekkola, of Newell, S. Dak.: "Somehow if you could convey the message, from this small and humble organization, that their loss is our loss, too. It is our fervent hope that the light of truth and friendship that the Kennedys lit will forever continue to grow."

From Mr. Almer Steensland, of Beresford, S. Dak.: "We certainly stand humbled before the world, not only in the assassination of the President, but in the killing of the suspect by a hoodlum before he could be brought to trial. It is simply awful."

From Mr. Sandy O. Graham, Hot Springs, S. Dak.: "The President was a good man and a good husband. May he now rest in peace."

From Mr. Maynard Engelstad, Astoria, S. Dak.: "One lesson I hope Kennedy's memory will leave us is that we must have less hate in this country and that we must grow up and live up to the principles we talk so much about."

From Eleanor McManus, Chamberlain, S. Dak.: "My sympathy goes out to his dear wife and children and I hope and pray God will take care of them. Life must go on as he always said."

From Jerry Gerdes, Rapid City, S. Dak.: "The world has suffered a grievous loss, for seldom does greatness touch a man; it brushed John Fitzgerald Kennedy, paused, and laid its awesome heavy hand upon his shoulder, then, moved on, to be replaced by the hand of God, his life work not yet done—or was it? Was his courage, his leadership, his greatness, taken from us to bring to the Nation, to the world, an awareness of those things of which he spoke. We must rededicate ourselves to the principles for which he died—freedom for all men, peace for a troubled world, fulfillment of the concepts expressed in the Constitution of our Nation."

From Miss Lore Pendo, Sioux Falls, S. Dak.: "Although I am only 20 years old and not of voting age yet, I am nevertheless an American who greatly respected President Kennedy and the principles he stood for. My personal tribute to him will be my own evergrowing realization of his greatness, but more than that, I hope to someday see the fulfillment of the honor herein proposed, which John F. Kennedy so richly deserves (that the Peace Corps be renamed the Kennedy Corps for peace)."

From Prof. Allen Barnes, of Brookings, S. Dak.: "It seems that at a time of crisis such as the one which we are experiencing that most of us pledge to rededicate ourselves primarily to the service of our fellow man. * * * Many of my Spanish speaking friends have told me both verbally and in letters that the United States, through Mr. Kennedy, has a President who fully understands Latin America."

From Mr. Arvid Carlson, of Stockholm, S. Dak.: "Today I have done a lot of thinking, as no doubt we all have. However, the more I think back over the last 4 days, and yesterday particularly, the more I realize that John F. Kennedy was without question the greatest President, the greatest leader, the greatest man this country has known. His loss to our country is a promise unfulfilled, a victory not quite reached."

From Mr. John Troth, of Mitchell, S. Dak.: "If any good can arise from such an unspeakable crime, perhaps it will be the awakening of Americans to a new appreciation of their citizenship in this great Nation, and a new resolve to accept the responsibilities that accompany that citizenship. Perhaps they will now realize and truly know what John F. Kennedy meant when he said: 'We would not exchange this time or place with anyone in the world.'"

From Mr. Leo Rozum, of Sturgis, S. Dak.: "Not since our son Jim's untimely death in 1960 has anything touched me so deeply. Like millions of others we sat literally glued to the TV and radio from Friday afternoon until the close of ceremonies at Arlington National Cemetery. We shared with these millions a deep sincere grief although cognizant that God in his wisdom has assigned to each mortal an appointed hour."

(Telegrams were received from Mayor Charles E. McClean of Hot Springs, S. Dak., and Mayor John T. Barstow of Vermillion, S. Dak., asking that the sympathy and grief of these two communities be conveyed to Mrs. Kennedy and the members of the family.)

[Letter from Mrs. Olive Briles, sister of Senator McGovern]

NOVEMBER 27, 1963.

DEAR GEORGE: To you the loss of President Kennedy must seem even more overwhelming than it does to the rest of us because he was your personal friend as well as your President, but even to me it seems as if one of our family has died.

I keep asking myself over and over how could it happen? For the first time in our life we have had a young energetic, highly respected President and now he is snatched away.

Why? Why? Why?

The only answer that I can find is that the sins of the masses have again been borne by one. Have we become a Nation so calloused and so dominated by hate and self-interest that we are on the verge of destroying ourselves?

George Orwell in "1984" shows how a totalitarian ruler dominated a people by teaching them to hate one another. The keynote of his book is that the destruction of the humanity within a man is easy once he ceases to love. Is that what we are allowing to happen to us?

We have had repeated warnings that had we heeded might have prevented the tragedy that shocked the world and shamed America with overwhelming remorse and grief.

When little children can be murdered in Sunday School without causing a national outcry, when a brilliant Negro leader can be ruthlessly shot and little or nothing done to bring his assassin to justice, can we be shocked that that same society has produced a warped and twisted Oswald that could destroy the man who was laboring tirelessly to give him and all others a better world in which to live?

President Kennedy's death is a loss that seems greater than we can bear, but his supreme sacrifice will not have been in vain if we will now rise up and join hands—all Americans, regardless of color and creed—to resolve that "This Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom"—not only freedom of worship, freedom of speech, freedom from fear, and freedom from want, but also freedom from hate.

In life President Kennedy was so dominated by love—love for God, love for family, and love for his fellowman—that he failed to comprehend the power of hate. I do not believe that the world will soon forget the man who saw the best in everyone and who envisioned the potential of brotherly love to transform the world.

Neither will the world forget the stately young widow whose trust in God and in man enabled her to transcend the natural human emotion to abhor the public that had robbed her of what she held most dear and to share with them her grief and theirs in a final tribute to her husband.

May the eternal flame that she lighted on his grave be an eternal flame in the heart of every American that will forever burn out selfishness and hatred and burn deep within every conscience the commandment of that visionary, young, and vigorous man, who decreed "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy mind, and with all thy strength: this is the first commandment. And the second is like, namely this, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. There is none other commandment greater than these."

We still have much to be thankful for in that we live in a land where there are others to take up the torch and carry on. I am sure President Johnson will do as he said—The best that I can.

With much love,

OLIVE.

EXCERPTS FROM SERMON DELIVERED AT THE GETTYSBURG, S. DAK., EPISCOPAL CHURCH BY REV. CHARLES GREENE, PASTOR, ON SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1963

Socrates, John the Baptist, Jesus Christ, Abraham Lincoln, Mahatma Gandhi, and John Kennedy were all men of love.

Their devotion to truth, to reality, to God, and to men carried them knowingly to the final sacrifice.

The Nation reels under the swiftness of the tragedy. The world is shocked and appalled. All mankind mourns the death of the man.

A man of courage, dedication, youth and vigor is dead, not because of hate, but because he loved his Lord and his people.

Occasionally a great man emerges to assume the reins of government, and we who so readily criticized should more properly give thanks to God for raising him up.

Today John F. Kennedy lies in state because he loved and desired to serve us. Love, not hate, has laid our President low * * * love shown in deep religious devotion, exemplary family life, sacrifice of personal fortune, and anxious concern for all men.

It is love which struck him down just as surely as it is love which brings pain to all who dare to care. And it is that very love which must continue long after his mortal remains have gone, if his life is not to have been but a vain illusion.

EXCERPTS FROM SERMON DELIVERED AT THE MEMORIAL SERVICE IN SISSETON, S. DAK., BY REV. EDWARD A. GILBERTSON, PASTOR OF THE GRACE LUTHERAN CHURCH, SISSETON, S. DAK.

This is not only a day of sorrow but also of repentence that we have allowed conditions to exist that would breed assassins. Everyone has the privilege of hoping that the town in which he lives may be the birthplace of a future President of the United States. We need also to remember that assassins are born and raised someplace also. This is a day for self-evaluation, not only on the national level, but also on the local level and especially the personal level.

We need well ask is Sisseton the type of town likely to be the birthplace of a future President, or rather the birthplace and the training ground of an assassin of a future President of the United States? As a nation we are nothing more than a collection of individual communities. The character of the community will be the character of the Nation.

In his inaugural address President Kennedy made this historic statement: "Ask not what can my country do for me, but rather what can I do for my country." Let us look at Sisseton in the light of President Kennedy's thought-provoking statement. What have we done for our community, particularly our children and youth, in order that we may produce good citizens, instead of a potential assassin?

STATEMENT BY A SECRETARY IN THE OFFICE OF SENATOR MCGOVERN

The triumph of a noble spirit—this is President Kennedy's gift to America and a grieving world constituency. He was a spiritual man. He lived life well and he loved it.

He loved God and his family, the sea and books, children and animals, the theater and sports, music and good humor. Most of all, he loved us, his people, and the people of the world. He cared.

An active participant in all fields of human endeavor, he was a quiet reflector who sought solace and guidance in the written word and in contemplative ventures into history and the future that often provided the substance of decision.

His deep feeling for mankind, his intimate knowledge of human nature, his search for common ground in a world arena where only a partial prize can ever be won—he, above most of us, knew that we are merely mortal, that we are prone to error, that our spiritual incompetence can be laid to the limitations of our humanity. But he tested those limits.

And he longed for peace. His search for peace and his measure of success in this ancient quest is our legacy. Man has sought peace for some 2,000 years. We thank God that he continued our pursuit. So hard did he try that his very murder is testimonial enough.

From his oval office window, his spirit looked out on a city, a nation, and a world crying for peace, longing for redemption. From another window, one looked out who deprived that world of a heart pulsing for mankind, of leadership that may never be equaled, of vision rarely known, and of a future we may never know.

But let us look to that future, leaning as did he on the past, a past which now, we can confidently know, embraces his life and his spirit.

[From the Daily Republic, Mitchell, S. Dak., Nov. 26, 1963]

PROFILE IN COURAGE

As John Fitzgerald Kennedy, 35th President of the United States, was laid to rest in Arlington National Cemetery yesterday, a shocked and grieving nation rededicated itself to the tasks that lie before it. That these tasks will be accomplished without further violence—generated by hate and greed and malevolence in the minds of mortal men—is the hope of all rational persons.

The martyrdom of President Kennedy, pray God, will strengthen the forces of righteousness in the everlasting battle against those of fanatic hatred. His death, we pray, will not have been in vain, but will move us to labor long and hard for those ideals which he so clearly enunciated in his brief 34 months as our Chief Executive.

For those who loved and admired the late President, the characteristics of greatness were apparent early in his administration. His greatest achievements seemed yet to come; in his brief span of national leadership he had laid the groundwork for conquering the new frontiers of democracy about which he spoke.

For the American people, Mr. Kennedy had lighted many candles to guide the way. It was not the way all were willing to follow, but it was a charted course designed to elevate this civilization to new heights. It was a grand design to attain in our time a free, disarmed world moving out of the shadows of a threatened nuclear holocaust; to attain in our time a nation in which bigotry had no place, in which there was truly a society where opportunities were equal for all without respect to race, creed or color; to attain in our time great advances in education, in economic strength, in scientific exploration, and to attain in our time a guarantee that those who labored to help us realize our aims would, in their sunset years, be spared excessive financial burdens.

History will note that President Kennedy was far more than a national leader; he was the outstanding world leader of his time. The book "Profiles in Courage," had it been written at a later time by a writer other than himself, would certainly have included him. He was true to the statement he made in his inaugural address that "we must never negotiate out of fear, but we must never fear to negotiate." He faced the crises of Cuba, the Berlin wall, South Vietnam, the autobahn blockade with courage. He stood firm

in the face of threat, without panic that might have moved lesser men to calamitous action.

Surmounting each crisis, the President waited for the smoke to disperse, then moved into the clear air of negotiation, in an effort to establish, as he said also in his inaugural address, "a beachhead of cooperation in the jungles of suspicion."

An assassin's bullet has cut short this beachhead assault. It remains for President Lyndon B. Johnson and those who follow him to issue further command. It is up to them to determine whether we advance or retreat. May they be granted the wisdom and courage of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, and the great Presidents who preceded him.

[From the Black Hills Press, Sturgis, S. Dak., Nov. 23, 1963]

TIME FOR MOURNING

The President is dead.

A single shot has sent the world into mourning. Breathes there a man with a soul so dead anywhere in the world who does not lament the tragedy of this horrendous crime? We hope not.

The first reaction is one of shock. That such a horrible thing could happen in America seems almost beyond belief. It had happened before, but so long ago that another assassination of an American President seemed to be an impossibility. That it has happened again adds another terrible chapter to the disgraceful story of man's inhumanity to man.

Then comes the stunning realization of the dreadful loss of service to God and country which will result from the assassin's bullet. President Kennedy was in his prime and his public career had not yet reached its zenith. He typified the youth, vigor, and imagination of his beloved country and he gave great promise of leading it to new heights of world prominence. The heart of the country was stilled with his heart. But the Nation will live and survive to realize the lofty objectives that President Kennedy espoused during his short but useful life.

The profound sympathies of the entire world go to the late President's family. Their tears, their heartbreak, their sorrow are shared by all people everywhere. President Kennedy was a family man in the truest sense, and all of America was part of his family. He was father, son, husband, brother, and our President. The loss resulting from his untimely and tragic death is virtually unfathomable.

What of the future?

Time enough for that later.

This is a time of mourning for America, and the free world.

Hurt, angered, shocked, we can only do what another assassinated President once said he did when he had nowhere else to go in times of trial—we can go to our knees and pray for the immortal soul of our lost President, for his family and for the Nation he served with dedication and devotion.

[From the Exponent, student publication, Northern State Teachers College, Aberdeen, S. Dak., Dec. 5, 1963]

THE NATION WEPT

As have all other Americans, the staff of the Exponent has been numbed by the shattering impact of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. No tribute the Exponent could print in this column could match the spirit of the following poem. It was written by the Honorable Robert D. Orr, State representative of Brown County, who received his bachelor's degree from Northern and took his master's degree at the University of South Dakota. State Representative Orr wrote the poem when watching telecasts of the tragic event and agreed to the Exponent's request to publish it.

LOVE—LAUGHTER—HAPPINESS
HOPE—HATRED—BIGOTRY
TRAGIC VIOLENCE—REDEDICATION

"The Man is dead.
His immortal spirit,
Ideals,
Humanity, live on.

"In the minds, hearts,
Aspirations of fellow Americans,
Deeper meanings of a tragedy emerge.
"Disbelieving, we cried.
We prayed;
We bled.
The Nation bleeds;
It suffers, hangs its head—
Unashamed.

"It is proud, yet grieved;
Pained that law and order failed,
Monstrous violence to the restraints of freedom mitigated,
Grieved of hate, prejudice, and brutality,
Grieved for the Grievancer.

"Hurt that Man's inhumanity to man prevails;
Proud to be free, grieved to have felt guilt,
Tragically united in this hour of sorrow.

"He is martyred for a cause, for many causes,
Magnanimous:
Love for Almighty God,
His fellow Americans,
His Country,
His ideals of equality, freedom, peace;
His passion for the goodness and humanity of all men.

"Paralysis of enterprise,
The Nation wept,
Self-examined,
Reappraised.

"Friends about the world eulogized the man,
Prayed for the Nation,
Symphathized our hurt,
Were themselves hurt.

"And so we laid to rest the mortal,
While the Spirit and memory became immortal.
And the Republic rededicated itself to its task."

[From the Argus Leader, Sioux Falls (S. Dak.), Dec. 5, 1963]

HERB BECHTOLD'S ROUND ROBIN

How did the average 9- or 10-year-old feel about the death of President Kennedy? We can find the answer in some of the compositions which students in Mrs. Judith Evans' fourth-grade English class at Harrisburg School wrote.

Here are some excerpts (with the original spelling):

"DEAR JOHN, JUNIOR, I heard your dad was shot last Friday when he was at a parade. But when I heard he was shot I felt like a shok hit me. My dad never even new about it until my brother told him. He was very sad. I was crying when he was buried. I hope you'll grow up to be like your daddy. But do not get shot and die like your dad. A frenid, Dennis Geraets".

"DEAR CAROLINE, when the light was shining I wondered what they were doing that for. Until they said that it was going to shine forever. Say 'Hi' to John and your mother. NADENE OPPOLD."

"DEAR JACQUELINE KENNEDY, I think I saw you going in the parade to Arlington National Cemetery and I thought it was amazing the way the soldiers folded the flag that they gave to you. I hope that you find a nice headstone for your husband's grave. PAMELA HANSON."

"DEAR CAROLINE, "When you leave the White House do what mother tells you to do. I hope you grow up to be married to a nice man and some day he may be our president. You still have a long way to go so be a good citizen. DEONNE AXTELL."

"DEAR CAROLINE: You were very brave to go up and kiss his casket and so was your mother. CINDY BERNHARD."

"TO OUR FIRST LADY: I hope you get another smart husband, like your first one. PAULA ALLEN."

Patricia Dirks wrote: "When I heard that our President died. I was shockt. I prayed a couple of times that he would live. Then when I heard that Lee Oswald was found I felt good. But when I heard Kennedy died I felt shockt again. I had tears on my face."

[From the Pep-A-Graph, Lennox High School Paper, Lennox, S. Dak., Nov. 28, 1963]

DON'T LET OUR PRESIDENT DIE

(By Donnis Hoogestraar)

The halls are hushed. Lockers close quietly. The former disbelief is gone from the mind and only shock and trembling permeate the atmosphere. The students of Lennox High have had the rumor reaffirmed: The President has been shot.

There is no distinction between the failing and the honor student, between the popular and the disliked, or the "rink" and refined. No, in Lennox High School each student has a tear in his eye and solemnity in his voice. All are praying, "Dear God, don't let our President die."

As classes discontinue their regular routine and radios beam forth the minute-by-minute report, everyone thinks and remembers. They can see the smile and warmth of manner, hear the familiar voice, and sense the zeal of their young President. The new and extensive means of communication had made John Kennedy seem a warm and personal friend. And as the students remembered, their prayer became more fervent. "Don't let our President die."

Then came the announcement so terrible in magnitude: "President John Kennedy is dead." Tears were shed but they did not begin to express the sorrow of the school. An atmosphere prevailed that cannot be explained as students just stared, thought, and remembered.

Now Mr. Kennedy lies cold in his grave. The smile is gone; the voice silent. But he need not die. For man's body is just a flimsily built structure that houses the soul and spirit which live on after death. We prayed with great emotion, "Don't let our President die." And we can keep him alive by carrying forth the traits which made him great.

No one would daresay that he was greater than any normal man for this would mean he was supernatural. No, we thought of him as one like us: young, industrious, and most of all, common, without arrogance. So let us pick out the characteristics that made him great and make those traits live in the youth of America.

First is equality in justice. We cannot hope to solve the civil rights problem simply by making everyone treat his fellow man as an equal. This question was started centuries ago by people who lost their vision of true freedom and it will not be solved by simply enforcing a law. President Kennedy made a small dent by alining himself with the Negro. So, let us "let our President live" by defending equality.

Probably the most noticeable of his traits was his courage to stick by his convictions. Congress seldom passed his proposals to their fullest degree, but his attitude toward these beliefs did not change. He believed strongly in medicare, Federal aid to education, and civil rights—no matter what the political pressure. If we would only study the issues, decide our stand and then live by our decisions, the spirit of our President will live on.

Most of all, he was American: enthusiastic, friendly, courteous, physically, mentally, and spiritually fit. He was not infallible, but no human is. In fact, there was nothing in his spirit that we cannot have. Each one of us can take his admirable traits and let them live in America. Don't let our President die.

AMERICA'S LOSS

(By Christine Olson)

The day dawned ominous and rainy
And half of it passed away.
Crowds lined the streets;
The air was charged with excitement;
People waited to see their President.
Flags snapped in the breeze,
And down the street a band
Struck up a spirited march.
As if in respect to the guest of honor,
The clouds rolled back
And sunshine illuminated the street.
Then, there he was before us:
Our President,
Young, laughing, waving to the people.
Suddenly from nowhere a shot split the air.
Another and another,
And the scene was changed to chaos.

It is another city, another day.
Crowds line Pennsylvania Avenue
Waiting for their President.
Down the street muffled drums
Mark off a hundred paces each minute.
Then, there he is before us;
The man who was our President,
Silent forever in the embrace of death.
Seven white horses draw the caisson
On which the flag-draped casket lays.
Now it is past and gone—
And so is a great man.

Turn, my friend, turn, for this is not the end.
The country marches on; the office is not void.
Pray now, my friend, for this great land,
And for the man who leads it forward.

[From the Salem (S. Dak.) Special, Nov. 28, 1963]

JOHN F. KENNEDY—35TH PRESIDENT

This community, this Nation, and this world literally stopped on Monday, November 25, 1963, to pay homage and honor to a great American, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, 35th President of the United States, who lost his life in the service of his country.

Perhaps never in all of history have so many words been spoken, so many lines written, so many prayers been said for one human being. It almost seems futile, and yet so compelling, to add any more to what we have already seen and read and heard and said.

John F. Kennedy lost his life on Friday, November 22, 1963, at the hands of an assassin's bullet. While he has now departed from the scene of this earth, his memory and his ideals and principles will live with us through our lives and with the lives of our future generations. For truly, this outstanding young man, who gave all he had for his country, will be recorded as a great American and great world leader for generations to come.

Your publisher and his family feel, as perhaps every American and world citizen does at this time, a very personal loss and very deep grief, both for the family of this outstanding man, but also for themselves and for all the people of the world.

For us, he was part of our generation. He was young, vital, religious, compassionate, understanding, firm, determined, anxious, patient, sincere, and possessed a deep feeling for the needs of all the people, not only of this country, but he sensed the need for his leadership and guidance in the world.

He was a husband and father of two lovely children. He knew the trials and tribulations of both of these responsibilities—as husband and father. He was real, earnest, honest, and dedicated. And yet, along with all these attributes were his youth and vigor.

He set an example which many of us, of his generation, admired and followed. And yet, the old and the wise, the rich and the poor, the black and the white, all revered him and gave him a special place in their walks of life and in their hearts.

We are grieved at his passing. But, as so many people have said, we are so fortunate to have lived with him and to have worked for him and to have believed in him. And as General MacArthur said, with his passing we have all lost a little of ourselves.

However, the events since that black Friday have proven to all Americans and all world citizens that ours is truly a great heritage. For even with the dreadful passing of our leader, our affairs of state remain stable, secure, and in good hands. For this is our democracy. Now President Lyndon B. Johnson is at the helm of the ship of state. As he said in his first remarks when returning to Washington, "I'll do the best I can, that's all I can do, with your help and with God's." With this sincerity and affirmation, we'll continue in our great American tradition, as a nation, strong and free.

President John F. Kennedy, in his passing, left every American a legacy which we are obligated to remember, repeat, and follow. He gave us this legacy in his inaugural address, in January 1961, when he said, "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country."

John F. Kennedy paid the supreme sacrifice for his country. From his example and actions, our work is put before us, to do the affairs of our lives as he did his. We certainly must always strive for that goal, just as he died for it.

[From the Lemmon (S. Dak.) Tribune, Nov. 28, 1963]

UNITED WE STAND—IN SORROW AND IN SHAME

(By F. M. Satter)

With reverberations of the assassination of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy echoing around the world, Americans—still reeling in disbelief—are attempting to regroup themselves to meet the challenges of a country which has lost its Commander in Chief.

It is indeed fitting that we should ponder this ugly act of coldblooded murder in all its perspectives. It is also proper that we should attempt to mentally probe the philosophical elements which bred, impregnated, and gave birth to the type of hatred which possessed this American-born citizen to commit such a brutal act of violence.

John F. Kennedy, as dynamic a personality to ever assume the awesome responsibilities of the Presidency, was a man who truly loved America. Even his most ardent political opponents respected the young President's dedication to the causes of freedom and his efforts to build a stronger United States. Time and time again throughout J. F. K.'s career as a naval commander and later as a statesman he openly demonstrated his willingness to give everything—even his life, if necessary—to protect America from the poisons of hatred, violence, and dictatorial factions which constantly threaten our shores.

As it came to pass it was, in fact, his life that the mysterious facets of fate decreed he lay down in the service of his country. Not in the heat of battle however, where blood is spilled and the demands of courage are momentous, but on a seemingly placid freeway in Dallas, Tex., where he was concluding a triumphant motorcade sweep through the city proper.

The bullet that winged its way to its mark and left President Kennedy bleeding and mortally wounded in the arms of his wife profoundly spelled out the uncivilized results of mankind's perpetration of extremism and racial indifference.

When will we learn that to wantonly abuse our precious freedom of speech is just as grave a crime against humanity as to deny a man the right to speak?

Let it be known, and may the hatred and bloodshed of those fateful November days in Dallas ever remind us, that the inadequacies of man's tempers are not only confined to unfounded dislike, disrespect, or harmless words. On the contrary, idle and groundless accusations against top level Government leaders, linking them to all sorts of traitorous deeds, can only lend to sway sick minds into action.

Not long ago an eastern publication reported the whole Kennedy family should be hung. The following day the media apologized and said it meant it only in jest. But who knows what terrible repercussions those words in jest might have had on some disturbed mind.

This great country of ours, with all its freedoms and opportunities, does in fact have one poignant weakness.

That being the trait of loose-lipped politicians, editors, and citizens in general to literally talk an innocent, dedicated statesman into the crosshairs of some fanatic sniper's rifle scope.

There was nothing partisan about the deadly bullet which felled J. F. K. and silenced forever the lips of a great American. Under similar foreign and domestic tensions it could have happened to any of his predecessors. The venom of hate which conquers and consumes men's minds is indeed one of the great pities of life. Ofttimes these poor misguided souls, perhaps tormented by experiences known only to themselves, are prompted to commit shocking, heinous crimes because of some careless utterance made by someone in anger.

It is therefore particularly important that we as Americans make a self-examination of our own hearts and ultimately cast out these prejudices and petty emotions.

And finally, let us pray to God that this tragic murder of our President will teach us the true meaning of human dignity. We might use the theme of President Kennedy's Dallas speech if he had lived to deliver it, when he said in part: words alone are not enough to win victories over injustice; we must say those words and then act with dispatch.

We must, as a nation, accept the moral responsibilities which our late President has placed upon our shoulders. Then, and only then, will his tragic death lose some of its sting and the indignation and shame it has brought with it.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy is dead from an assassin's bullet. Let us now then unite behind his successor, President Lyndon B. Johnson, and work unselfishly as a massive team to rebuild the decayed pillars of morality, justice, and decency which have somehow slipped away from our proud heritage.

[From the Arlington (S. Dak.) Sun]

TRAGEDY STRIKES THE WORLD

(By Bonnie Bennett, student at Arlington High School)

The flag is flying at half mast. Why? Because our President, John F. Kennedy, has been assassinated. Usually sitting here in my study hall desk, I can't see the flag. Now as I look at it and know the reason it is not flying at the top of the pole, I realize the tragedy of this event.

Looking first at our country, it has lost a powerful leader. He held the respect of persons all over the world. The New Frontier, "Ich bin ein Berliner," and "Ask not what your country can do for you but what you can do for your country," are but a few of the principles which have been left to our country by the former President.

As I write of Mr. Kennedy, I think of this:

"And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which

die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their laborours; and their works do follow them" (Revelations 14:13).

[From the Tyndall (S. Dak.) Tribune & Register]

A chapter should now be added to J.F.K.'s famous book, "Profiles in Courage," recording the story of himself—one of the most courageous of them all.

And speaking of the President's public utterances, one that he never had the opportunity to actually voice, was the one he had written for delivery in Dallas the afternoon that he was shot. In that speech, the President had written, in part:

"In a world of complex and continuing problems, in a world full of frustrations and irritations, America's leadership must be guided by the lights of learning and reason—or else those who confuse rhetoric with reality and the plausible with the possible will gain the ascendancy with their seemingly swift and simple solutions to every world problem.

There will always be dissident voices heard in the land, expressing opposition without alternatives, finding fault but never favor, perceiving gloom on every side and seeking influence without responsibility. Their voices are inevitable."

Thus did the President bring the facts of life to a section of our Nation which had reportedly turned against him because of his determination that all Americans, no matter what color or what creed, no matter whether rich or poor, would be treated as equals under the Constitution.

[From the Freeman (S. Dak.) Courier]
(By Glenn Gering)

The events of the past week jolted us out of our common tendency to think that things will be tomorrow as they are today. It is natural to expect to have another chance at life another day. We assume that our family, our friends, our associates will be there the same as they are today. This is a comfortable assumption. It gives us an excuse to put off doing the things we ought to do. We depend on having another chance tomorrow, so we leave a word of encouragement, unspoken; our appreciation, unexpressed; a deed of kindness, undone; an opportunity to teach, unused; a task, unfinished. We ought to be most grateful for every day we get another chance. For some the opportunity has been lost forever. Some day the opportunity will also be lost to you and me.

[From the Clark County (S. Dak.) Courier]

But his death has even a greater meaning to the people of the United States and the world. Perhaps never before has there been such a uniting of people as in the past few days. Protestants, Catholics, and Jews have held special services, and churches have been packed and overflowing. Republicans and Democrats have forgotten their differences during this time of crisis. People have become more aware of the loyalty they owe the Government. At a special service in Clark, people stood just a bit straighter and were giving more thought to their democracy as the national anthem was played.

Yes, John F. Kennedy leaves unfinished business, but he also leaves a heritage. He followed a path that he hoped would bring peace among nations, and his hope was for a strong democracy. These are among the unfinished duties, and it becomes the job of all of us to work for this accomplishment.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, it is a sad moment indeed for us today to gather our thoughts to pay homage to a man who was once one of us and then became a leader of the Nation and, indeed, of free men throughout the world.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was a man of true greatness, whose passing has left us numb with disbelief and horror. In a sense we are now struggling to live with the day-to-day reality of his absence. The Nation goes on, diminished, yet unchanged. Where he was the pilot, he is now the inspiration and example; and those now entrusted with the national destiny have clear and lasting guideposts set by this great man.

We may draw strength from the fact that John Kennedy has driven these guideposts firmly and wisely, so that we have provided for us and the free world, through his foresight, new purpose and direction to our lives for years to come.

I will always count it among my real honors and privileges that I was a colleague and friend of John Kennedy. It is difficult to add to the deeply felt eulogies offered by the many friends of this remarkable man. He was a man of many talents, many interests, a man of deep feelings and strongly held convictions. He was the acme of all the values that our civilization holds dear.

Rather than try to add further words on his greatness, I suggest that his sacrifice is a call to all of us to find new courage, new hope, and new conviction to carry on the job—perpetually unfinished—of maintaining liberty throughout the world.

We may take hope from two conspicuous facts which emerge in the wake of our loss. One is in mankind around the world; the other is closer at home. The first has to do with the high esteem in which the world held him, and in which the peoples of the globe hold our Nation, the Nation he led.

Many times it has been stated that somehow the American image was a negative image, that our national faith was darkened by disparagement and criticism.

Whatever else our great President's passing in recent days has brought to light, foremost is the high esteem in which his countrymen, through his leadership, are held throughout the world.

This fact should halt those allegations made by some that our mission to try to serve mankind and freedom in the world was failing.

Quite in contrast, it not only was succeeding in the wake of a glory such as no modern nation in the world had ever enjoyed before, but that success was galvanized in the inspiration and example of the leader who has now gone from us.

In addition to that outward look, the passing of our President has required that we take a new, hard look at ourselves.

While the picture has not always been pleasant, I believe it leaves us with a positive note.

It has been easy to say that this tragedy is the work of a fanatic, a madman. Yet we must take another look at our public attitudes, at the outpourings of hate and hostility that have in themselves created a climate of intolerance and have produced aberrations which in themselves cannot absolve quickly the rest of us.

Regardless of what compelled this horrible act, we must move toward a better restraint of our emotions, and again pledge our allegiance to truth and tolerance and good government.

John Kennedy was a man whose life was symbolized by a dedication to truth and adjustment to reality. He did not expect the impossible, but neither were his goals diminished or his principles compromised for the sake of expediency.

We can learn from these attitudes, so that sanity may prevail in a world now capable of self-destruction.

President Kennedy's "pursuit of excellance," as he often called it, has enabled us to mobilize the forces of good in our land. Above all, it is time to call a halt to the reckless downgrading of the Government of the United States and of its leaders. Without any question, the activities of some groups in our land have fostered a massive climate of disrespect for democratic government and processes. Reckless assaults on public officials, whatever the intentions may have been, bring to the surface the kind of derelicts who perpetrate the crime that has been visited upon us.

To speak of our Federal Government as though it were an enemy power; to smear the American image by casting around it a shroud of suspicion; to poison the public mind with hate and rumors; to foster panic through planting false fears only serve to create an atmosphere which breeds lunatics and inspires fanatics. The anarchy of irresponsibility can destroy a free society.

Our friend and leader, John Kennedy, new sleeps the deep sleep of history. I have no doubt that that same history will accord to him the respect and honor and eternal greatness that are his due. Even though this tragedy has brought us to the black midnight of sorrow and despair, it also augurs the approach of sunrise, of a dawn that permits us to lift our heads and renew our resolution that this great and noble man may now guide us to the new tomorrow in which he so firmly believed, and which inspired his every act. We must find, in his example, new courage to continue his work, to support his successor, to live his ideals, and to cherish his memory.

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that remarks about our late beloved President by the distinguished junior Senator from California [Mr. ENGLE] be printed at this point in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, I want to join my colleagues today on this sad occasion in memory of John F. Kennedy.

Words are inadequate tools to express the outrage and despair we all felt when President Kennedy was struck down on November 22.

We have lost one of the greatest leaders of our time. John F. Kennedy had many gifts. His presence in a room filled it with more life and gave it more wit, intellect, and charm. His presence in the political world made many things possible. It made possible a greater

chance for international peace. It made possible a greater chance of irradicating poverty. It made possible a greater chance of conquering the catastrophic diseases.

When we think of the contribution to humanity that John Kennedy was destined to make in the years ahead, the tragedy of his untimely death is incalculably compounded.

My deepest sympathies go to Jack Kennedy's Jacqueline and their two children, and to his parents, sisters, and brothers.

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, although they were separated by a century in point of time, yet there were parallels, and striking ones, between John Kennedy and Abraham Lincoln. President Kennedy brought to the White House many of the qualities of leadership held by Lincoln. He had a full sense of the dignity of his office, he had the balance and perspective of history, he had a natural taste that guided his every action; and the vision that gave purpose and direction to his stewardship was tempered with shrewd realism and honest evaluation. He worked for the possible in the direction always of the ideal. "Westward look, the land lies bright."

John Kennedy was unflinching and honest, "with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right," said Lincoln. Kennedy was a man of courage, with courage the greater because he understood the implications of his acts and because he understood that the President must act sometimes when the full implications, the end results of his acts, cannot be foreseen. The President, after all, is human, the information supplied to him is fallible, and yet the Constitution requires that he act, that he decide, that he direct and lead the country. As he goes, so the well-being of the country follows.

This great responsibility he sought; he understood the Presidency and he sought it. John Kennedy was the first of his generation and his century to hold the office. With his inauguration the course of the United States was given over to new and vigorous hands. The wheel was seized gladly with new enthusiasm, confidence, and courage.

And, again, this great and terrible office has taken its toll.

Kennedy's Presidency was shaped by his life. Born into a family of great wealth with greater dedication to public service, he was raised to seek responsibility happily, to give to it the best that he was able. His origins and his faith gave him the character and the strength he needed.

His career was shaped by four great lessons which served him every day he was in the White House. He was in England, as a young man, to see the fateful awakening of that country from its long slumber of appeasement. The Prime Ministries of Baldwin and Chamberlain taught many people many things, but none could have learned more than did John Kennedy. The story of those years of the locust is found in that remarkable book, "While England Slept," a book as useful and instructive now as ever it was, made more significant by the fact that it was written by a college boy who was to become our President. That Munich was avoided in Cuba may have been because the President knew firsthand the awful price which Munichs command.

The courage, the daring, the loyalty, the hard perseverance in the face of adversity were fired in the South Pacific during World War II. Had John Kennedy never become President the story of his command of PT-109 would still and always be a part of the record of American heroism. He did become President, and he was served in that lonely office during the long agony of the missile crisis by his wartime experience.

After the war, as a young Senator from Massachusetts, married to a beautiful and charming girl, with the promise of everything before him, he entered a third testing. His wartime back injury flared; he was forced to spend many months on his back in a body cast. His spine was fused, a most difficult and painful operation, and he was close to death several times during his illness. This experience and the pain which was almost always with him thereafter gave him the clarity and perspective that can come from a close acquaintance with final things.

The final lessons came with the campaign for the Presidency itself. No man comes through that unchanged. In 1958 Kennedy was not well known nationally; at his death in 1963 he was grieved around the world as perhaps no man in this century has been mourned. In 1958 the people did not know him; in 1963 he was theirs. These ties with the people were made during the campaign for the Presidency. He gave to the campaign the best his intellect and body were capable of. The people responded as they always do to honesty, intelligence, and leadership. He responded to them. They gave him the personal support which sustains a man in the remoteness of decisionmaking in this nuclear age.

The character of John Kennedy, shaped by these four trials, was ready for the Presidency. In the 2 years, 10 months he held office, in this short time, he framed the principles and the policies which will give direction to our Nation for many years to come. During the thousand days of the Kennedy administration, it was easy enough to criticize, to complain that the problems although faced were not solved, that the legislative program although proposed was not enacted, that the grand design although laid out was not yet constructed. All true. The people and the Congress were not easily convinced of the rightness of his course; the President was forced to convince and cajole, to call and to plead.

It is perhaps central to the tragedy of his early death that he was a leader not yet truly followed, a prophet not yet fully honored. The Nation and the world regret they had not listened more and followed.

And yet, it is impressive how much John Kennedy managed to achieve in this thousand days: directions were changed, corners were turned and there is now going back: the Alianza Para el Progreso, the Declaration of Interdependence, the Kennedy round of tariff negotiations and the new trade act, efforts for tax revision and reform, a space effort second to none, and the all-out, flat-out determination to achieve, at last, full civil rights for all our citizens. His two greatest personal triumphs have literally changed the course of history, and for this the world will long have cause to remember John Kennedy: the Cuban missile crisis and the test ban treaty.

Ultimately what John Kennedy gave to his country is greater than diplomatic or legislative victories. The English political scientist, Walter Bagehot, once said that a nation must choose its head of state with great care for the personality and character of the leader will become the example of the country. The country in time will take on the attributes of its leader. This is Kennedy's legacy to us. By his example in these short years the strength and character of our Nation have been improved.

We are the better for having been exposed to the man. He refused to be sentimental. He maintained always the dignity of great power. He would not duck, he would not flinch. He sought responsibility joyfully. His idealism was tempered with a cool view of the possible and the perspective of history. His taste, enthusiasm, optimism, balance, courage, and vigor cannot soon be forgotten by a nation that drew so freely upon them.

Kennedy was indeed our Arthur and he made us, for a short moment, Camelot.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, few events in the history of our Nation have so shaken, and then so united, our people as the tragic death of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. In the black moment when he was felled by an assassin's bullet, each of us lost a little of ourselves.

I know that I also lost a great and good friend whom I intensely admired, not only for his gift of leadership, but also because he was a fine, warm, human being.

I cherish now each contact I had with him, first as a colleague here in the Senate, and then as a Chief Executive who welcomed me again and again to the White House. I watched him gain in maturity and assurance, and saw in him the stuff of which the world's greatest leaders are made.

The people saw this in him too, and he became the embodiment of their ideals. Even those who did not always agree with him recognized in him an apostle for the equality and dignity of men and a leader of good will, dedicated to the cause of peace.

He seemed never to have any private, selfish motives in what he did, but to be interested only in what would advance the purposes of the Nation. There were no vindictive or mean motives behind any move he made. He was motivated by the question: "What is in the best interest of America?"

It has been said that he was the most "civilized" of our Presidents since Thomas Jefferson, and I think this is the way he will go down in history.

Now that he is gone, I find comfort in the assurance that John Kennedy enjoyed being President of these United States. I am confident that though he found the burdens of the Presidency more onerous than he had anticipated, he also found the past 3 years during which he carried these burdens the most exhilarating and challenging of his life. He was able to use his sharp and absorptive mind, his grace, his vigor, his forceful eloquence, and his wit and charm to best advantage—and he used them lavishly. On the day when he was shot, he stood at the pinnacle of life, in full realization of his great powers, and it is one of the tragedies of our times that he was not allowed to complete fully his destiny.

I find particular comfort in the warm reception which my State of Utah gave President Kennedy about 2 months before he died, and his evident relish of it. I have never seen anyone else so completely conquer a State and so thoroughly take over the minds and hearts of thousands of people in it. One could almost feel the opposition melt under the force of his personality and the brilliance of his mind. He was surrounded by eager, enthusiastic crowds, from the moment he stepped off the plane that September afternoon, until he left, the next morning. His good humor, his dignity, and his warm friendliness never left him, even though he was jostled and pushed, as he stretched his arm again and again to shake the last hand. He drew the largest crowd ever gathered at one time in Utah, and there was not a single hostile sign or outburst.

He spoke that night, in the Mormon Tabernacle, to a crowd which filled that historic structure, and flowed out into the temple grounds and the streets around, and grouped themselves before every television screen in our State. He never spoke with more persuasiveness or wisdom. I felt that he made one of his finest speeches on foreign policy, and the crowd he held spellbound appreciated the tribute he paid to them by discussing with them our Nation's most serious problems.

The rapport between President Kennedy and the people of Utah was nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in the experience of the Tabernacle choir. When the choir rose in back of the podium, to sing for their distinguished guest, no one was quite prepared for the brilliance of their performance. In their finale—"The Battle Hymn of the Republic,"—the choir seemed to sing as it had never sung before. Everyone was caught up in the glory of that singing. The President was obviously deeply touched, and rose to acclaim them. He was not satisfied with clapping his appreciation in the usual manner, but turned again and again to continue to applaud and to bow his thanks to the choir. A common response—love of great music well performed—seemed to bind the President at that moment to those who had sung so magnificently to him.

The following morning, President Kennedy was the breakfast guest of Latter-day Saints Church President and Mrs. David O. McKay, in their apartment. It was my privilege to be present. Again, I saw in full play, the force and magnetism of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. He charmed his hosts, and they charmed him. There was a meeting of minds on some questions, and an appreciation of why there were differences of opinion on others. There were sharp exchanges of wit, and a discussion filled with philosophy and fact. When President Kennedy departed, he left behind an indelible impression of brilliance, wit, sincerity, ability, independence, and strength.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy got only 45 percent of the votes in my State when he ran for the Presidency in 1960. There were many who were chilly to the intense young man from New England who dressed and talked with such understated elegance and who seemed so far removed from our open Western ways. But after his 3 years as our President, and especially after his visit to Utah 2 months ago, it was a different story. I am convinced that Utah would have voted overwhelmingly for him in 1964.

In Utah, as throughout the Nation, there was an outpouring of grief when his death was announced. After the first shock passed, stunned people in all walks of life began to try to put their grief in words. Some used the most eloquent of language, and others the most simple; but all of it came from the heart.

I wish to place at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD some examples of the editorials which were printed, the resolutions passed, the telegrams sent, and the letters written in the State of Utah on the death of President Kennedy.

John F. Kennedy lived a tough life of controversy. He stood with fortitude for the things in which he believed. He told us many times that the fight would last beyond his lifetime. How prophetic were those words. The best way we can honor him now is to get down to work and consider the cornerstone of his legislative policy—the equal rights bill and the tax bill. I think he would want us to do this beyond anything else.

But we must do more than that; we must make this country stronger and freer than it was when John Kennedy last knew it. We must expunge from our national life the bitterness and distortions which seemed to have engulfed us, and must rededicate ourselves to the values of decency and rationality for which President Kennedy stood and for which he gave his life. Only then will he not have died in vain.

There being no objection, the editorials, resolutions, telegrams, and letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Salt Lake City (Utah) Deseret News, Nov. 23, 1963]

OUR NATION'S TRAGIC LOSS

The assassination of President John F. Kennedy—a senseless, stupid, revolting act—has left the Nation deeply shocked and saddened beyond the power of words to express.

It is still hard to believe that it actually happened, still harder to believe we won't wake up tomorrow and hear his familiar voice, feel his customary influence in so many ways we have come to take for granted.

It is also difficult to believe that in this era and, more particularly, in this great country there still exist a few people so deranged, who take their prejudices so seriously that they would stain their souls with the blood of murder in an insane attempt to achieve their own ends.

The death of our Chief Executive can be serious for our Nation. But now it is appropriate to remember that above and beyond all temporal leaders, we are a God-fearing people and our Nation is ruled over by one Supreme Being. As long as we adhere religiously to His commandments, all will be well with us.

Universally, our sympathy goes out to the late President's charming wife and attractive children, to his bereaved parents and friends for their great loss.

Our sympathy is also extended to the Nation and, in fact, to the entire world—for the death of the man who, by virtue of his position as leader of this country, was a prime champion of freedom. His death is everyone's loss.

In our sadness and sense of loss, however, we must take care to put aside our former differences, which now seem so petty, and unite as never before behind the men who lead this country in these troubled times.

Lyndon B. Johnson, who succeeds from the Vice Presidency to the Presidency, is particularly deserving of our support and our prayers. The Vice Presidency characteristically has not provided a completely satisfactory schooling for the Presidency. However, under President Kennedy, Vice President Johnson was given unusual opportunities to keep abreast of problems and developments both internationally and throughout the Nation. The Vice President traveled widely throughout the world and through special committee assignments was constantly kept in close touch with domestic problems and developments. This background plus his long and varied experience in government eminently qualifies him for arduous and complex responsibilities which he now faces. Moreover, with his new, enormous responsibilities, Lyndon Johnson will grow in the office.

Other men in similar circumstances have stepped into the Presidency on a moment's notice, as he now does. And history bears testimony to the fact they have grown amazingly in mind and spirit in response to that challenge. Lyndon B. Johnson gives every evidence of being such a man. His capacity for leadership is well attested to by the vigor of his activities as majority leader in the U.S. Senate.

As to the assassin, he deserves only our pity and our scorn. Our pity for the irreparable damage he has done himself in his shedding of innocent blood. Our scorn because, no matter how rational he may appear to be outwardly, his is a deranged mind, and he cannot even begin to realize what he has done.

No man can know, really, the full consequences of an act such as this one. The course of history seems bound to change because of it, to be sure. But who can say how or in what direction?

The man who committed this crime against the conscience of the world put his individual will above the will of the majority that elected John F. Kennedy as President of the United States. In the process he put himself above both law and morality, which no man can do with impunity.

The deed he committed, moreover, violates some of the most sacred principles which have made America great. It violates the fundamental truth that in a democracy violence is not only repugnant but also unnecessary because our form of government provides morally acceptable, effective ways for expressing dissent—namely, through the courts, through petitioning legislatures, or at the ballot boxes.

In choosing "bullets rather than ballots," the assassin went against the very tenets of society that are designed to protect the rights

not only of ordinary, law-abiding citizens but also the rights of those who, like himself, put themselves outside of civilized society and the law. It is a stirring testimony to the strength of this country that even though the assassin callously violated others' rights, he will be scrupulously protected.

John F. Kennedy will long be remembered for many things. He will be remembered for the fact that he became the first Catholic to be elected President of the United States, thus shattering—one hopes for all time—an ugly bias that had long dishonored our country.

He will be remembered as the youngest man to be elected to the Presidency.

He will be remembered for certain governmental achievements—such as winning adoption of a Trade Expansion Act that is a landmark in the long struggle to lower trade barriers between nations and bring men closer together as the brothers that they are. Also, for working out a nuclear test ban treaty which, if observed scrupulously by all, could release mankind from the fear of the nuclear shadow that has been hanging over it.

He will be remembered fighting for freedom whenever and wherever it needed a champion—whether at home on behalf of minorities being deprived of rights lawfully theirs, or abroad on behalf of peoples who have been deprived of liberty for so long they have forgotten its joys.

He was kind. He was decent. The Nation and the world owe him a lasting debt.

His life was one of unremitting service to his country—from his days as the young commander of a PT boat in the Pacific during World War II through his days as a freshman Congressman to the climax of a remarkable career that took him to the highest position and highest honor this Nation has in its power to bestow upon a man.

Part of the tragedy is that he had more to offer his country by way of future service. Even after his duties in the White House, because of his youth he would still have had years of service ahead of him as a possible adviser on national affairs and as an international ambassador of good will.

Beyond that, John F. Kennedy will be remembered with fondness not because of what he was as an elected official but because of what he was as a person. He made friends readily. Even those who disagreed with his views almost invariably liked him as a man.

Now he is gone. And now it can be said of John F. Kennedy, as it was of Abraham Lincoln when he, too, was felled by an assassin's bullet: "Now he belongs to the ages."

[From the Salt Lake City (Utah) Tribune, Nov. 23, 1963]

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY—1917–63

America is swept today by a grief that cuts across all lines of race or faith or politics—a grief that struggles without success to express itself in words. Shock, dismay, bewilderment, anger—these and other emotions stand in the way.

John F. Kennedy was a vital, courageous young man. He was the first President of the United States to be born in the 20th century. He brought to the White House the spirit of youth. He set his sights on a better future.

And then in a matter of minutes he is dead, struck down without warning by the bullets of a dastardly assassin.

What was the reason? Who knows? Perhaps there was no reason at all. Hatred knows no rules; fanaticism creates its own warped logic.

This murder was carefully plotted. The man who pulled the trigger did not act on impulse. We hope the assassin will be dealt with as he deserves. We hope that those who abetted or inspired him do not escape. If there was a nest where the crime was hatched, then trace it down. These are people bereft of honor and principle.

Vengeance? No. Stern justice? Yes. This is a land of law.

President Kennedy was murdered in Dallas. Gov. John Connally of Texas, riding in the same car, was shot down. Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, two cars to the rear, escaped. Now he is President Johnson, heir to the many problems of John F. Kennedy.

Dallas, in recent months, has had unhappy experience with fanaticism and violence. National figures were harassed and bodily attacked by those who did not agree with them. But these incidents were no more than ripples. The worst was still to come—the death of the Nation's President.

Yet only by chance did this horrible crime blacken the name of Dallas. It could have happened almost anywhere. President Kennedy, like every head of state, walked with death as a constant companion. And like Lincoln, Garfield and McKinley before him, he was struck down without warning.

How will history assess the career of John F. Kennedy? History will take its time in answering. It is not for us, so close to the events, to attempt a verdict.

We can testify, however, to his courage, his ideals, his aspirations, his deep love of humanity. He fought valiantly in a great war. As President he devoted himself to the cause of peace. He sought with equal devotion to give civil rights true meaning and full scope.

It was a magnificent vision, though he was not spared to turn vision into reality.

Mr. Kennedy had been in office a few months less than 3 years. He had had one historic failure—the Bay of Pigs invasion—and one historic success—the Cuban missile confrontation with Khrushchev. But his legislative program was bogged down in a lethargic Congress. "Wait till next year" was the word on civil rights and the tax cut. And next year, the Presidency is at stake in a national election.

The political pundits were already reading the trends. Now everything is changed. There is a new President in the White House and Lyndon B. Johnson is his own man.

But matters political cannot distract us at a time of national tragedy. Loss overwhelms us. We bow our heads in grief.

John F. Kennedy was the youngest man ever elected President. His beautiful gracious wife was with him when an assassin's bullets cut him down. He leaves two young children. The White House will miss their laughter.

We should pray for the President, for his widow, for his family.

We should pray for the state of the Nation.

We should pray for President Johnson, on whose shoulders rest burdens indescribable and unimaginable.

God rest the soul of John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

[From the Ogden (Utah) Standard-Examiner, Nov. 23, 1963]

WORLD MOURNS JOHN F. KENNEDY

All the world joined today in mourning the brutal assassination of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, 35th President of the United States.

Millions were stunned by what Adlai Stevenson appropriately termed the "tragedy of a deed that is beyond instant comprehension."

All felt what Dwight D. Eisenhower called "a sense of shock and dismay over this despicable act."

President David O. McKay, of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, spoke not only for his 2 million followers but for men and women all over the the U.S.A. when he said:

"The entire Nation feels a sense of humiliation that such a tragedy could come to a President of the United States."

As the news of President Kennedy's death in a Dallas hospital flashed around the globe, the question "Why?" was repeated from thousands of lips.

The only man who could answer the question was the cowardly assassin who hid in a Dallas building until the young President, smiling and waving, came by in a parade—then pulled the trigger of his rifle.

A communism-embracing chairman of the Dallas Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Lee H. Oswald, 24, is being held as the prime suspect in the murder. But if he did kill the President, he has not yet admitted it.

To Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy, her two children, and the late President's parents, brothers and sisters, we join in extending sympathies that their beloved "J.F.K." should be cut down in the prime of life and at the zenith of his career.

To Lyndon B. Johnson, catapulted into the White House as the 36th President of the United States, our best wishes for success in keeping the Nation—and the world—on an even keel during these perilous, bewildering times.

As he returned to Washington as President, Mr. Johnson promised "I will do my best * * * I ask for your help, and God's."

The country, in this hour of deepest grief, must provide the new Chief Executive with its help.

[From the Provo (Utah) Daily Herald, Dec. 2, 1963]

MARTYR TO CAUSE OF BETTER SPIRIT

Many Americans already are saying John Fitzgerald Kennedy is our martyred President. But they differ widely on the nature of his martyrdom.

Even historians may one day define our late President as a martyr and perhaps find many reasons for doing so.

If it is to be thus, we may fairly hope they conclude that, among other things, he was martyred to the cause of a better American spirit. That spirit today is sadly flawed.

The day Kennedy was assassinated, a school teacher made the announcement to her class of 10-year-olds. The children did not exclaim in shocking disbelief. They applauded his death.

It matters not what city and region that school is in. It could have happened in a number of areas.

That it occurred at all is a measure of the strain on the American spirit in 1963.

Many people in this Nation are saying that, as a result of John Kennedy's death, we must have done with hating, with spewing out poison, with turning every controversy into mental civil war.

Whole cities are being nearly engulfed by these poisons. On some subjects and in some places, the legitimate discussion which marks a viable democracy is virtually impossible. Argument is warped out of all resemblance to reality.

All of this is utterly foreign to the true spirit of America. This democracy lives by the free choices its people make. How can they make them without discussion of alternatives? How can democracy breathe soundly if the man who raises an alternative is branded Communist or Fascist?

A nation that has no room for choices cannot have a democracy. Its essence is discussion, negotiation, compromise.

But in the lexicon of the ill in spirit, negotiation and compromise are evil words. They are seen as devices for the yielding of principle, if not the yielding to a foreign power.

In the internal conflicts which flow from this rigid outlook, political adversaries are labeled "foreign agents" or, at the very least, dupes who unwittingly serve an enemy cause.

These terrible distortions corrode American democracy at its vital core. It is a free-ranging system. It is not meant to be constricted by argument founded on the

"you're either for us or against us" philosophic theme.

Patience is beginning to run thin in this country with the haters, the distorters, the cheap dispensers of "enemy" labels. None has anything to do with the real America.

If John Fitzgerald Kennedy's death can etch that truth deeply in the now greatly troubled American conscience, then perhaps we shall never have to hear again of schoolchildren applauding the death of a President.

[From the Salt Lake (Utah) Tribune, Nov. 24, 1963]

GRIEF'S HEAVY HAND

Grief has laid its heavy hand upon Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy. First, the death of a newborn son; now, only a few weeks later, the assassination of her husband, the President of the United States.

She is so young and beautiful, so fragile.

Mrs. Kennedy accepted tragedy with the resoluteness of a Spartan woman. Her husband, mortally wounded, slumped beside her in the car in Dallas. She rode with him to the hospital. She made the sad journey back to Washington. She bore the burden of sorrow in silence and dignity.

Our hearts go out to her, though words will not heal her woe. She is solaced by her faith in a life beyond the grave and she is not alone. There are the children. There are the memories. And time is the great healer.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.,
December 4, 1963.

Senator FRANK E. MOSS,
Washington, D.C.:

We, the Model Congress of Highland High School, in expressing our deepest sympathy at the passing of President Kennedy, do hereby pledge our loyalty and support to those ideals for which he stood.

JACK DOBSON,
President.

TRINITY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
Ogden, Utah, December 2, 1963.

In behalf of the Presbytery of Utah, which represents all of the United Presbyterian Churches in the State of Utah, we extend our heartfelt condolence and sympathy to the bereaved family of the late President Kennedy.

The bullet that struck down President Kennedy has inspired already a deluge of unprecedented tributes across both the Nation and the world, seldom, if ever, equaled at any other time since the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

The tragic manner of President Kennedy's death helps to account for the unprecedented tributes in synagogue and church, but does not wholly explain it. As citizens of our beloved Nation we all share in the guilt of the President's death. We have yet to learn to disagree without being disagreeable. We have yet to learn to disagree but resolve to love. We have yet to learn that the innumerable apostles of discord ascend higher and higher on the flaming wings of so-called forums upholding either the radical far right or the radical far left. This is the price we pay, however, for our precious freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and other priceless freedoms.

So long as love and forgiveness exist among us, we may exclaim with Paul: "I am sure that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor anything else in all creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord."

C. SUMPTER LOGAN,
Moderator,
Presbytery of Utah.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH,
November 25, 1963.

Hon. FRANK E. MOSS,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MOSS: On this day of national mourning I feel the desire to take a few minutes to write to you. There are two thoughts which I wish to express. First, my deep personal grief over the death of President John F. Kennedy. Not only do I concur in the sentiments expressed in innumerable articles and eulogies across the country, but I also feel a great personal loss. Although I came to this country early in 1952 during the Truman administration, and received my naturalization papers in 1957, it was not until 1960 that I had the great privilege of voting in a presidential election. It was then, that after much searching, studying and earnest prayer, John F. Kennedy became my choice and he, in most instances, not only lived up to my expectations, but often exceeded them. The deed of that dark Friday has jolted my family and I to the depth of our souls and only the sure knowledge of a resurrection and of the working of a just God and loving Father has eased our sorrow.

Our hearts have gone out to the President's young widow, her children, and family. Today I have taken two of my six young sons, born as free Americans, to the memorial services at the tabernacle, the same building in which, as you well recall, a great man, only 8 weeks ago found friendly and kind words for a group of Americans once bitterly persecuted by their own fellow citizens because of their religion.

My second reason for writing today is to make to you a pledge. The past few days have led me to believe that America may perhaps never be quite the same. But lest I myself forget this tragic hour, let me hasten to put in writing to you, my Senator, my intentions for the future:

I, an American citizen, shall henceforth more fully endeavor to love and to pay allegiance to this my country, to honor its divinely inspired Constitution, to support its elected officials on all levels of government, to exercise my franchise in this free land, to respect the rights of all people and to extend a hand of friendship to all men, colored or white, Christian or non-Christian, to ban from my heart all impulses of hatred, to make an earnest effort to understand instead of to judge, to love instead of condemn, to live uprightly before God and men and to raise my children in this same spirit.

I realize that I could have made this pledge to myself, quietly and unobtrusively. Resolutions, if shouted from the housetops are generally shallow and vain. I felt, however, that in this instance I should share this rededication with you, my duly elected Senator, whose duty it is to help bear the burden of government and whose mandate includes me as a part. Having expressed myself thusly, that burden may not feel quite as heavy to you and to me, and the hour of sacrifice of a great American takes on a new meaning.

Sincerely yours,

HORST A. RESCHKE.

A TRIBUTE TO JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY FROM A SCHOOLGIRL

Today we buried the man who will probably go down in history as the most famous, the most wonderful, and the most spirited President of the United States of America.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy, 35th President of the United States, fought for what he knew was right. To the Negroes, he was a symbol of equal rights. To the Nation he was a defender of the Constitution. To the world he was a symbol of peace.

The following words are taken from President Kennedy's inaugural address. He will be most famous for them because they are so spirit-lifting and so freedom-fighting: "Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country." These words made the whole Nation feel that the man they had voted into office would be a good, strong, willing worker.

I was privileged to meet President John F. Kennedy, one clear September night. I had listened to his speech in the tabernacle in Salt Lake City, and afterward I went across the street to the Hotel Utah, in the Skyroom, where the Presidential reception was to be held. It was so crowded that when the President entered he was mobbed from all sides. The atmosphere of the crowd was a friendly one. President Kennedy didn't like orderly receiving lines. He enjoyed people flocking around him. People that night told me I was lucky to have met the President because many people didn't. He was smiling that night. When I shook his hand he grasped mine and held it tightly for that wonderful moment. As I dropped a curtsy and said "How do you do, Mr. President," I can remember the twinkle in his eyes. I will treasure this moment forever.

President John Fitzgerald Kennedy was a close family man. He was a wonderful father to his two children, Caroline and John, Jr. He and his little son spent many happy moments together. One of the first press conferences President Kennedy had, ended up in laughter because Caroline came out in her pajamas and her mommy's high heels.

President John Fitzgerald Kennedy will always be remembered for his courage and willing spirit in the difficult job of being the President of the United States of America.

ARDIS BEYERS.

NOVEMBER 25, 1963.

TED CANNON'S SCENE TODAY

The tragic events of last weekend had not yet transpired when Mrs. Beatrice Bennett, 750 Bryan Avenue, mailed us the following. Her note explains that she became a citizen only a year ago, and that she was moved to these lines as she sat in the Tabernacle on the occasion of President Kennedy's recent visit:

"Tonight I saw the President,
The Chief of all our land.
I didn't get to speak to him,
Or even touch his hand.
But from the crowd I saw him smile,
I saw him standing near,
My heart was filled with pride and joy,
And in my eye, a tear.

"Tonight I saw the President,
This man of strength and powers
I watched him as the Choir sang
Of this fair land of ours
America! America!
Oh, how my heart did ring!
On all this land so wonderful
What joy this man did bring!

"Tonight I saw the President
And all my whole life through
It's something I can dream about
And tell my kinsmen, too.
I love this land so beautiful,
It stands for all that's true.
I'm glad that for our President
We chose a man like you."

THE DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, 1963

The great plane came from Washington,
Then returned the President like a hymn
Of light to the quietness of Arlington,
Where dark repose must come and cherish him.
Out of the drift of air the great plane came,
Glinting the chief power in the whitening stream,
Bearing the letters of his country's name
To the city where in death he kept his dream.

The sunlight gleamed among the thronging streets
Where he turned and passed to find a sudden way,
The pitching storm of sorrow, the floating sheets
That silenced him and wrapt him from his day.

For once he heard the silver voice that came
Above the solemn air of his felicity
When, before the Capitol and certain fame,
He kept the burden of humility.

We start, and hear in the hum of coursing time
What time will not disclose, except bristling
And secret in a rifle's clipping mine
Of death, the spurt and shot, the bullet whistling.

Darkness, and all is gone, against the seat,
Cradled there. The wild shock, waving
Away, stills us as if yesterday were neat
And prim a thousand years ago, craving

To be born again and live again a better way.
We cannot hold it in 1 waning hour,
And it is gone, slipping from us where he lay
Dying, in the envy of time, the silent tower.

Then death. And now to Arlington he comes,
From plane and city and from the sorrow dim
And still that brought him home to muffled drums
And to the Nation that will cherish him.
—CLINTON F. LARSON, Provo, Utah.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I rise to add my humble tribute to our late President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

Seldom have words seemed so inadequate. A reverent silence—the kind of hush which enveloped this Hill that tragic weekend—might best express our feelings.

The life of our late President and of his family will always symbolize the great traditions of a nation proud of its heritage—unwilling to permit the slow undoing of human rights at home and abroad, but willing, in the President's own words, to "pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and success of liberty." Our late President kept his pledge.

He bore the burdens of the Presidency with infinite good grace. He had verve, vigor, good humor, and the uncommon capacity to laugh at himself. He possessed an almost fantastic knowledge of history—and, more important, he fully understood the lessons that lie therein for all those who will but search for them. He was confident of himself, and rightly so. He was confident and morally certain that the things he believed in and the programs he espoused were right for our country and for our people.

He knew that there were no swift and simple solutions to today's complex problems, and he rightly warned us against confusing rhetoric with reality or the plausible with the possible. He was, in a very real sense, the ultimate personification of the practical idealist.

He never shrank from responsibility. He welcomed it. The energy, the faith, the devotion which he brought to this endeavor did light our country. The tributes from around the world indicate this light was seen from afar.

With dedication, courage, and sacrifice, with a good conscience his only sure reward, with history his final judge, he did go forth to lead the land we love.

The now famous admonition of the inaugural address: "Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country," was a challenge new to many Americans, but a way of life to John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

Near the close of this address, President Kennedy spoke these prophetic words:

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than in mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course.

In that same address, he said:

Now the trumpet summons us again.

He called on us to continue the struggle against the common enemies of mankind — tyranny, poverty, disease, and war. More than any of us, he answered that summons. With characteristic vigor, he threw himself into the fight until finally he gave his all—his life.

The sound of another trumpet echoing taps over his final resting place told us our leader had fallen. Yet the struggle to which he gave his life continues unabated. The tasks in which he asked us to join him were not finished in the first 1,000 days. They were not finished in his lifetime. They remain a challenge to every American to give more of himself to finish what we began with him.

Since the afternoon of November 25, all of us must walk in the shadow of the small, but incredibly brave 3-year-old boy who stood on the steps of St. Matthew's Cathedral and delivered that heart-wrenching last salute to one of the truly great men of our time—the 35th President of the United States—his father.

For generations, this small boy's family has served this Republic, enriched its history and all humanity. Its members have made lasting contributions to our national life.

Few families in American history have better symbolized the heritage, the traditions, the opportunities, the struggles, the courage, the achievements, and the meaning of our great country.

Our tribute, then, must be to the living as well as to the dead—particularly to Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy, whose rare courage helped sustain us all in that terrible time.

Few of us fully realized how this extraordinary man was strengthened by the presence at his side of a truly extraordinary young woman. Many have paid tribute to her, but my good friend and former colleague in the House of Representative OTIS PIKE, of New York, said what I should have wanted to say when he recently wrote:

At a time when America should have been comforting her, she comforted America. At a time when she should have leaned on America for strength, America received strength from her. By her courage, her faith, and her fortitude she set a standard for the bereaved of all lands for all times.

By every aspect of her conduct and her bearing, a single, widowed mother poured strength into all Americans, and from the vast majority of Americans, respect and love were returned.

I humbly ask Mrs. Kennedy, our colleague, Senator Ted Kennedy, the Attorney General of the United States, Bob Kennedy, our former Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, and the other members of his family, to allow us to join in their prayer:

Dear God, please take care of your servant, John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

Let us be grateful for his life. Let us recognize that the lives of all of us, of his children and of mine, have been enriched. Let us weep with his widow, salute with his son, and continue, as his family does, to serve our country through responsible leadership.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, until November 22 we thought that we would share many more days with John F. Kennedy. We thought we could continue to draw strength from his strength, wisdom from his wisdom, and inspiration from his genius. We could not know that the thousand or so days he gave to us as President were to be painfully precious because they were to be so few. He had not yet given all he had to give us, and yet he was taken from us.

Perhaps it was this that made the news so unbelievable when it came. John F. Kennedy had met many crises in his life, and always he had emerged with greater strength. He had escaped death during wartime combat. He had survived painful personal afflictions and had overcome them. He had calmed our Nation when enemies put weapons of destruction close to our shores.

Time and time again, he had helped us keep our own frailties in check, and we thought him stronger than any of us. His life, his leadership seemed to be secure to us, and yet both were taken by two bullets from an assassin's rifle.

We in this body are trying today to tell what that loss means to us. We are also trying to describe, I believe, the gifts that John Kennedy gave his fellow citizens in his lifetime.

These gifts are all that make our sadness tolerable. We must think of them.

Few of us will forget the cold Inauguration Day that began his administration. As the winds whipped about him and his audience, the new President spoke of our national mission. Man, he said, now has the power to abolish all forms of life, but this clear danger has toughened the will of those who believe that only democracy can create a world of law. The President invited every freeman to find his own way of making freedom stronger, and he spoke of sacrifice and danger. But sacrifice and danger, said our President, would make our ultimate triumph more inspiring to us and to those in nations not yet free.

John F. Kennedy accepted his own responsibility more completely than any of us. He was optimistic enough to call for a Peace Corps and an Alliance for Progress. He was determined enough to build new military strength for our Nation, and it is that strength that has led us to the beginnings of disarmament. He could not stand waste of human energies, and so he asked new programs to combat unemployment and waste of talent. He could not tolerate injustice, and so he asked for the broadest action yet taken against manmade inequalities.

Many men for many years will study the messages he sent to Congress, and we will measure our accomplishments against his requests.

Our 35th President will be remembered for what he was, as well as for what he did. We here in this Chamber have many memories of the days we spent here with him. We remember the book he wrote about six men who preceded us here.

John F. Kennedy was an authority on courage because he had his own great share of it. Each of the men he wrote about had to make decisions under great pressure, and each of them could have found reasons to take the less dangerous path. But not one of them did, and the Nation was stronger because they did not. In the White House, on many lonely occasions, John F. Kennedy made other decisions, and the world could be grateful that he was there to make them. Disciplined and compassionate, he performed the possible while he yearned for even greater accomplishment.

Mr. President, each one of us will remember John F. Kennedy in many different ways. We will remember him addressing Congress and the Nation; we will remember him at press conferences and at speaker's podiums in Washington and in city squares, in meeting rooms with chiefs of state, and on the White House property, his hand closed fast on his daughter's hand, or playing with his delighted young son.

We were interested in everything he did because we liked him as much as we respected him. And this, perhaps, is the best tribute to him.

Our loss is all the more cruel because we lived in his time. Future generations will know of our grief and they may understand it, but only we can say that we knew John Kennedy as a President and a friend. This gives us comfort as we bid him goodbye, and we need comfort now.

Mr. President, many fine editorials and articles about the late President appeared in New Jersey newspapers soon after his death. I will limit my remarks and ask unanimous consent that they be made part of the RECORD. I would like to draw attention to the comments about the courage of Mrs. Kennedy during her ordeal. To all that her husband gave her Nation, she has added one more magnificent memory.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Trenton (N.J.) Times]

A GREAT LEADER IS MOURNED MANY WAYS, BY MANY PEOPLE

(By William J. O'Donnell)

President John F. Kennedy meant many things to many people.

To the little man, he was the champion of the downtrodden.

To the oppressed, he was the knight who would unshackle their bonds.

To the youth of the Nation, he was the symbol of hope and courage.

To the statesman, he was the man of peace.

To the politician, he was the tireless fighter.

To the Communist enemy, he was the roadblock to their ambitions for conquest.

To the average American, he was a loyal husband and kindly father.

Now this man of achievement belongs to the ages. This man of peace has been destroyed by violence. This man of kindness has been taken from us by hate. This man of thoughtfulness has been slain by the unthinking. This man of loyalty has been snatched away by a traitor.

To this reporter, John F. Kennedy signified all that was alive and vibrant in this challenging world. He was a man to instill confidence. He was a man to instill courage. He was a man to instill virtue and character. He was a man.

We asked others what John F. Kennedy meant to them. This is what they said:

A U.S. Congressman, FRANK THOMPSON, JR.: "He was first a personal friend, but most important he was the symbol of the whole structure of our Government. To me he was all the American people."

A Jewish rabbi, S. Joshua Kohn: "The leader of this youthful dynamic country. One who looked forward to a better world and had the confidence to make this world a reality in the true religious spirit of all mankind."

A mayor of a city, Arthur J. Holland: "A personification of the confident and able leadership needed by our Nation and the world. A man who will always symbolize for youth a call to the pursuit of excellence. A great man who always thought of the little man."

A Federal Judge, Arthur S. Lane: "John F. Kennedy was a splendid young American, possessed of great courage, intelligence and devotion to his fellow men."

A Catholic priest, Msgr. John E. Grimes: "President Kennedy was an inspiration to me and a moving example of what is expected of a true American and a genuine Christian gentleman. He loved this country. He loved his fellow human beings. He dearly loved his family."

A housewife and mother, Mrs. John M. Smith of 54 Smithfield Avenue: "A good man is gone. He would have been a great President. His death is a great tragedy to me."

A president of a university, Robert F. Goheen: "John Kennedy was to me, above all, a man who combined clearsighted intelligence and steady commitment to the ideals of human dignity, freedom and justice. In the face of tangled and often highly recalcitrant circumstances, at home and abroad, he did much to uphold those ideals and to advance their realization in concrete terms."

A Negro leader, the Reverend S. Howard Woodson, Jr.: "To me President Kennedy was the herald of a new breed of political leadership. His forthright acts which strengthened the cause of human dignity, freedom and equality the world over translated beautiful political platitudes into realities. His death is a tragic testimony of the continuing existence of man's inhumanity to man."

A Republican lawyer, Irving H. Lewis: "Even though I am of different political faith, it is my unalterable conclusion that John F. Kennedy was a great man—unselfish in his ideal for the betterment of all mankind. His years of public service will make an indelible imprint on human affairs as long as man's accomplishments are recorded."

A Trenton barber, Peter J. Pulone, 809 Stuyvesant Avenue: "I looked upon him as my Commander in Chief. Whatever he said, I believed and followed it as an order."

A Protestant minister, the Reverend Allan R. Winn: "He bore the Nation's standard for truth and sincerity, for purposeful progress in all human relationships. As Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces, he stood ready to commit our Nation to the defense of freedom and to my personal freedom. I greatly admired his courage and bear tribute to his integrity."

A State chairman of the Democratic Party, Thorn Lord: "To me President John F. Kennedy was the symbol of kindness and tolerance. I knew him as a man who understood the essence of the Presidency. I think of him as the light of our times. I remember him as the most generous person I have ever known. I admire him as the most tremendous driving force of the 1960's."

[From the Asbury Park (N.J.) Evening Press]

PRESIDENT KENNEDY

A sorrowful Nation mourns the passing of its President and senses profound shame over his assassination. We had hoped that the entire Nation had grown so civilized that political opposition and even hatred would express itself only in the ballotbox. That, indeed, is the philosophy to which the great masses of people in this aggrieved Nation subscribe. Only maniacs fail to comply.

John F. Kennedy served as President for less than 3 years, and during that brief term he fulfilled his responsibilities with devotion. Even those who quarreled with his policies recognized a sincerity and fortitude that evoked admiration. His experience in the Senate had given him valuable training for the Presidency and for the aggressive leadership that he offered in his campaign for election.

Seldom has a Chief Executive been encumbered with more burdensome responsibilities. International tensions were coupled with domestic problems to challenge his wisdom and test his courage. Only history will determine the degree of success that his administration achieved. But his contemporaries can attest to the vigor and enuthsiasm and conscientious effort that delineated his record.

The death of a President is always a national tragedy. In view of his comparative youth and the promise of future achievement, the passing of President Kennedy becomes an especially grievous loss. And the fact that an assassin's bullet should have claimed him carries the Nation's sorrow to the ultimate depth.

[From the Newark (N.J.) Star Ledger]

OF MOURNING AND REDEDICATION

Today has been proclaimed a day of mourning. Americans everywhere will join in a heartfelt, sorrowful tribute to the Chief Executive so ruthlessly and viciously shot down by an assassin.

Now that the initial shock has been somewhat worn away by the inexorable process of time, the terrible enormity of the crime—with all its farflung ramifications—is only beginning to dawn on the American people.

And they are realizing, too, that the deeper the tragedy the more difficult it is to truly do it justice.

The impact of the tragedy was further brought home to millions of Americans via the television sets in their living room. They saw the flag-draped casket bearing the remains of John Fitzgerald Kennedy move slowly on a horse-drawn caisson through the streets of Washington from the White House to the Capitol rotunda.

They heard the regular beat of the hushed drums—100 steps to the minute. And the mournful rhythm beat a tattoo the American people will not quickly forget. There have been few, if any, instances in history where so many people participated in a service marking so great a tragedy.

In many a living room yesterday it would have been hard to find a dry eye. The sight of Mrs. Kennedy, little Caroline at her side, bravely kneeling to kiss the casket of her husband will be etched for a long time on the minds of millions of Americans.

The loss Mrs. Kennedy suffered is, of course, a great one. But all of us also have suffered a great loss.

Mr. Kennedy served but a brief period in the White House. But it was an eventful period. Historians may be reluctant to pass final judgment at this early date. It was clear, however, since shortly after his inauguration that the Kennedy administration

was to be earmarked by youth, vigor, intelligence, and determination to make a fresh attack on accumulated problems at home and abroad.

Seeing their young President in action, the American people had a growing confidence in his ability. Not everyone agreed with him. But no one—least of all John F. Kennedy—would have expected or wanted unanimity. The American Government provides room for disagreement and diversity. This is one measure of its strength.

But there is no room for hatred of the type displayed by the assassin who ended the President's life. When it comes to hatred, there is only room for hatred of injustice and violence.

In his few years in the White House, President Kennedy sought to end injustice and inequality in the Nation and violence from abroad. And millions of American people are undoubtedly better off today because of his efforts.

By proclamation, today is a day of mourning. It is also, by proclamation, a day of rededication. In their mourning, the American people should not overlook the obligation to rededicate their efforts to help make their country a better place for all its citizens—in a world secure in justice and freedom, removed from the threat of violence.

Perhaps such a utopia—of which man has dreamed for centuries—cannot be achieved on this earth. But this was the aim of the Founding Fathers of this Nation. And it was the aim of John F. Kennedy.

Mr. Kennedy's tragic death may have helped sharpen the full realization of fundamentals to which Americans are accustomed to give lipservice. Now is the time for all to rededicate themselves to giving much more than lip service to the high ideals on which this Nation was founded.

[From the Jewish News]

TIME FOR REDEDICATION

The lively sense of history and national purpose which motivated our beloved President John F. Kennedy is illustrated by an anecdote of which he was fond. As he related the story, on May 19, 1780, the noontime skies over Hartford, Conn., turned from blue to gray and by midafternoon had blackened so densely that men fell on their knees and begged a final blessing before the end came. The Connecticut House of Representatives was in session. And as some men fell down in the darkened chamber and others clamored for an immediate adjournment, the speaker of the house, one Colonel Davenport, came to his feet, and he silenced the din with these words:

"The day of judgment is either approaching or it is not. If it is not, there is no cause for adjournment. If it is, I choose to be found doing my duty. I wish, therefore, that candles may be brought."

In this spirit, and with the unerring instinct of a people profoundly dedicated to democracy, let us do as President Kennedy would have wished and stand in united support of the new administration. President Lyndon Johnson bears a heavy burden, one which was assumed under horrifyingly tragic circumstances. This above all is a time for each American to respond in the courageous Kennedy tradition, to bring candles to light the darkness, to refuse to adjourn despite the staggering loss of a great leader in the parliament of mankind.

Yet, even as we recognize how we must behave at this critical juncture, in our pain and mourning we grope almost blindly for an answer to the agonizing question: Why was he taken from us? We search as well for understanding of our own tears and we find a powerful suggestion of an answer in the perceptive words of James Reston in the New York Times:

"America wept tonight, not alone for its dead young President, but for itself. The grief was general, for somehow the worst in the Nation had prevailed over the best. The indictment extended beyond the assassin, for something in the Nation itself, some strain of madness and violence, had destroyed the highest symbol of law and order."

It is not enough merely to blame the lunatic fringe elements on the far left and far right as the bearers of this "strain of madness and violence." Out of expediency of one kind or another, too many of us have come to disregard clear-cut moral issues. The frenetic climate in which the extremist of any sort thrives has tainted an inordinately large area of our national life.

This extremism and indifference we must purge if we are to be true to those magnificent things for which President Kennedy stood. In his memory, and in the name of the sacred principles which he personified, let us rededicate ourselves to American democracy.

[From the Jersey Journal]

JOHN F. KENNEDY

You think all the things an editorial writer is supposed to think, the awful evil of political assassination, the terrible wantonness of it, the incomprehensible fate that lets a demented marksman obliterate a President, but you keep going back to a picture of a young, vital American, President, yes, but a family man like the fellow down the block having fun with the children, weighed down with great affairs, yes, but not so much as to miss the point of a joke and have a good laugh, holder of the most august temporal title, yes, but a man you talk with as easily as you talk to the fellow beside you in the coffee bar.

You keep thinking of when first you met him, before his nomination, it was in Washington and he had just finished a landmark speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors in which he closed forever the question of a Catholic in the White House; you intercept him as he gets out the door and tell him: "Senator, I'm from the place that is going to give you New Jersey, Hudson County." His eyes light and he says: "Fine, Neil Gallagher has been telling me about it. I'm certainly glad to meet you." His handshake is strong, friendly but he looks so boyish you wonder will the people choose him over Dick Nixon. Then he moves on through the crush. You have had the seconds he can spare.

You see him that fall in Journal Square. A crowd has waited patiently in the November cold, the largest ever packed into the square, they say. Finally he arrives, hatless as usual. You have a good view because Arthur Knaster lets you and the photographers use the windows of his law office on the second floor of the Jersey Journal building. You are just above and behind the grandstand and you see him come up, through the crowd, onto the stand and before the microphone. You remember how that wild hair stands up on the back of his head, and think bitterly now: "This is how he must have looked to the murderer through that telescope sight" but that night who could think of him slain? The roar of that crowd as he told them how they would help him win, then a farewell smile and he is away. This was the final rally of the long outdoor campaign, the votes will be all in in little more than 48 hours, when he comes this way again he will be President of the United States.

You remember the telegram just about a year later inviting you to luncheon at the White House with the President. He is host to editors from New Jersey. The guard checking you through, the walk up the drive to the front door, noticing some peeled white paint along the driveway wall, then into the Blue Room to wait. A few minutes later the President arrives and joins his guests with their cocktails. His is tomato juice. Through luncheon he explains how "this job" keeps him too far from the people. In effect he asked, "What do you hear?" The luncheon is lively with questions and answers. Once he discusses the movie "Advise and Consent," his tone implies he would not have cast Franchot Tone as the President. You lean across to him and ask: "Mr. President, you could not get that role?" He laughs and snaps back: "I was too busy." He talks about fallout shelters and world economics and Dick Hughes' chances against Jim Mitchell. He autographs his menu because Marty Gately's hero-worshiping teenager has asked you to bring back a souvenir for her. Leaving and shaking his hand, you say: "A year ago you were fighting hard to get this job. Now that you have it, what do you think?" Suddenly he looks much older, then half whispers: "The weapons. The weapons." And you know why he seems to have an invisible weight always upon him.

And only a few months ago, at another editors' meeting in Washington, a spring evening and cocktails and a reception at the White House. He has a light word for everyone in the long line. A handshake and a word of greeting passes about Hudson and John Kenny and Bill Flanagan. The line moves on. Without suspecting, you have seen him for the last time. Six months later all that vitality and youth will be exchanged for a madman's bullet * * * and he will be a Commander in Chief slain for his country as truly as any man who ever died earning the Medal of Honor.

[From the Camden (N.J.) Catholic Star-Herald]

A PRESIDENT NAMED JOHN

Our age has been blessed by the presence of two Johns: Pope John XXIII and President John F. Kennedy. Both were loved and, of late, mourned bitterly in this most unhappy year of 1963. Yet the deeper sorrow was evoked by the death of our late President, not necessarily because he was greater, but because his demise was so untimely, so cruelly inflicted, so incredibly sudden.

What can we say of one whose memory has already been enshrined so fittingly by so many loving fellow Americans and foreign leaders? How can we further exalt the life of a President whose youth belied his wisdom, whose charity tempered his courage, whose patience often camouflaged his pioneering spirit? Without doubt the highest tribute of all was given the late President by the Nation itself when, spontaneously and unanimously, it mourned his tragic passing.

To say that every American wept that day would be a gross understatement. Rather say that everywhere people of good will wept over and over again at the shocking passage of events as it was announced and explained to them. Before the sun had set on that horror-filled day of November 22, the whole world was weeping.

We have been called the ugly Americans, crass materialists bent on making money; a people allegedly oversexed, overstuffed, overstimulated. But on the day John F. Kennedy died our people displayed their innate nobility: their generosity, their tenderness, their love, their profound goodness. All commerce ceased. The TV wasteland became transformed into a panorama of a nation stricken with sorrow. Sports and social events were canceled precipitously; in the very hour of the announcement of the President's death, dazed citizens left late lunches unfinished, stopped shopping, withdrew from their labors, prayed, and wept. Unabashedly, America showed its sorrowing heart to all the world in a manner no people could ever excel. It was Good Friday again on a colossal scale.

The tribute of the people fit the man. Let us make no mistake about it; Kennedy

was a great President whose greatness grew with each year. Not that we always agreed with him (in retrospect, the loss was ours), but it is the privilege of ordinary men to criticize the deeds of the greatest men. Yet who can doubt the brilliant range of his thoughts, the magnificent blueprint he presented to America to explore a new frontier? It was a masterpiece of social justice and peace for America and the world. In so many ways it heralded Pope John's two great encyclicals.

Even before the first session of Vatican II had opened, Kennedy had begun a dialog for the Catholic Church in America with all other religious groups that few of us appreciated, even today. In our brief history as a nation, no member of the Catholic hierarchy did so much to make catholicism respected in America as he did in his few short years as President. It is a special debt American Catholics must never forget.

Many of the words John F. Kennedy spoke are already immortalized. Often they were lightened by his flashing Irish wit, his frank, winsome smile. He was politician as well as stateman, knowing the practical demands of political patronage could never be divorced completely from the noblest statesmanship. He was a dreamer but not starry-eyed and impractical. He was an independent Catholic layman, who differed decisively with the Catholic bishops on the question of Federal aid to parochial education, and proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that outside the realm of faith and morals he was the keeper of his own conscience. Thereby he did more for the ultimate cause of the Catholic church than any favorable legislation on education could ever have reaped for it.

Both Johns were too good for our times. We were unworthy of them as we were of Christ and Lincoln. For Congress repeatedly frustrated John F. Kennedy while extremists of the left and the right hated him. A similar setting could be said to have surrounded Pope John XXIII. Concerning Kennedy, clever writers lampooned him, and joked about the Kennedy clan as though it were unfitting for an entire family to be imbued with nobility. Both were sometimes despised by their own, by those who should have known better. The measure, however, of the full stature of the man was the love his family bore toward him and the love he tendered them. We recall his wife, Jacqueline, embracing him, Caroline walking hand in hand with him, and John-John crouched under his desk. We recall these scenes with pride and affection because they portrayed the great heart that accompanied the great intellect. Nor, as a parallel, can we forget Pope John's last testament wherein he spoke so tenderly of children and the love he too had for his family of brothers and sisters.

John F. Kennedy was the first Catholic President but one for whom Catholics can feel justly proud because he served all Americans with all his heart and mind as few Presidents have done. Nor can we devise any better way to conclude this tribute to him than to say it is our conviction that he fulfilled the goal he set forth in his inaugural address: "With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love and seek His blessing and His help and knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own."

[From the Atlantic City (N.J.) Free Press]

NATION TAKES LEAVE OF SLAIN PRESIDENT

A sorrowful Nation took leave of John Fitzgerald Kennedy as the body of the slain President was laid to rest in Arlington Cemetery and world dignitaries paid final tributes.

As citizens turn from the solemn rites to face the tasks ahead, they should rededicate themselves to the American ideals which President Kennedy symbolized. It is a time for the country to unite behind the leadership of newly sworn President Lyndon B. Johnson.

He will need the active support of all in this trying period of transition.

By striving to put an end to divisive influences, to bigotry and hatred, each of us can help assure that Mr. Kennedy shall not have died in vain.

Bruce Biossat, Newspaper Enterprise Association writer, who traveled and visited with the late President and his family on many occasions, has written for us the following editorial:

"John Fitzgerald Kennedy came to the Presidency of the United States as the bearer of great change. He was the symbol of something new, but he died by something as old as time—the hand of the fanatic.

"He was the first man born in the 20th century to hold the office—and the second youngest in history. He was the first Catholic in the White House. He came as a naval hero of World War II who narrowly had missed death in Pacific waters, and survived a second brush with death in a grave illness 9 years ago.

"To the Nation's high politics he thus brought a fresh stamp. The well-remarked 'Kennedy style' was a blend of intellect, vigor, wit, charm, and a clear talent for growth.

"On the always shifting, often troubled world scene, he sometimes moved with more caution than expected in young leadership. Soon after entering the White House, he gamely took full blame for the Cuban Bay of Pigs fiasco as an enterprise sadly lacking in boldness.

"Yet only his worst enemies withheld from him the label 'courageous' when he moved resolutely against Soviet Premier Khrushchev in the great Russian missile crisis in Cuba in late 1962. And he boldly pressed for an East-West test ban treaty this year in the face of heavy charges that this imperiled our security.

"In domestic affairs Kennedy won much of his program in beginning 1961, gained far less the following year, and encountered a major stalemate in 1963. The constant note against him was insufficient leadership.

"But again, when 1963 brought the greatest racial crisis of this century, Kennedy—at acknowledged heavy political cost—committed himself to sweeping civil rights proposals that opened a vast new battleground.

"Amid all his efforts to put the imprint of vigorous, imaginative youth upon the country's affairs in the 1960's, the late President found himself moving against a deepening background of protest, with an ugly underscoring of violence which he sought with only limited success to wipe away.

"Much of this protest went to the steady encroachments of the Federal Government and its rising cost. But the bitterest reaction was white and Negro response to the enlarging racial struggle. The far right gave the mood its most perilous texture.

"With the calamity in Dallas the lesson of the danger inherent in violent extremism now may be deeply implanted in America's conscience.

"In this way, Kennedy in death may achieve what the living President could not do to curb the almost ungovernable rancor that increasingly discolored the politics of his brief time in power.

"It was John Kennedy's good fortune to surmount many obstacles to rise to his country's highest office and bring with him the winds of a new era.

"It was his final tragedy that as he labored in difficult times to use these forces for the Nation's and the world's gain, they were swiftly challenged by countering winds of bitter reaction. In Dallas, one swift gust struck him down.

"The Nation thus loses a young leader whose great promise lived in the shadow of great controversy. The way he died must inescapably cost all Americans deeply in self-esteem as free men of good will.

"That is the greater tragedy."

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, on July 15, 1960, in Los Angeles, Calif., it was a rare privilege for me to make the following observation:

> I have watched the American people, slowly at first and then with ever increasing crescendo, take to their minds and hearts the leading Democrat, the leading American of this day, John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts.
>
> People say, "How did he do it?" Well, I will tell you how he did it.
>
> He did it because he has just a little more courage, just a little more stamina, just a little more wisdom, and just a little more character than any of the rest of us.

Less than 3 weeks ago—just before Thanksgiving—a woman lit an eternal flame to a well-known warrior—her husband, our President—a man born early in this century, but destined, as perhaps no other, to outlive it.

Some may have envied the way he lived. Patriots will envy the way he died.

The gratitude for what he gave us, in both life and death, is what we all most intimately feel. He gave us much, and his gifts will unfold for generations to come—and be opened and cherished by our children's children.

One such gift is the reaffirmation in our time of a truth which our forefathers learned from Abraham Lincoln. It is the truth that the greatest danger to our land may not lie abroad; but here in our loss of confidence in one another, and here in our loss of respect for laws which rest on that confidence and that understanding.

The young Lincoln put it this way in an 1838 address, in Springfield, Ill.:

> At what point shall we expect the approach of danger? By what means shall we fortify against it? Shall we expect some transatlantic military giant, to step the ocean, and crush us at a blow? Never.
>
> All the armies of Europe, Asia, and Africa combined, with all the treasure of the earth (our own excepted) in their military chest, with a Bonaparte for a commander, could not by force, take a drink from the Ohio, or make a track on the Blue Ridge, in a trial of a thousand years.
>
> At what point then is the approach of danger to be expected? The answer, if it ever reaches us, it must spring up amongst us. It cannot come from abroad.
>
> If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen, we must live through all time, or die by suicide.

What John Kennedy by word and by example, in life and in death, has done for us, is to remind us that Mr. Lincoln was speaking in 1838 to a very large audience; because it consisted of every generation of Americans born then and to be born thereafter.

Those of us who knew him well, knew that he was a man of special grace, in action, in writing, and in thought. He had a rare humor, which often covered the depth of his fine mind. Is it coincidence, or perhaps a sense of predestination, and that the last stanza of his favorite poem read:

> The woods are lovely, dark and deep,
> But I have promises to keep,
> And miles to go before I sleep,
> And miles to go before I sleep.

Now, he has traveled those miles, and he is asleep. As Cardinal Cushing said, "God rest his noble soul."

I ask unanimous consent that a poem published last Thanksgiving Day in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE YOUNG CHAMPION

(The following tribute to the late President John F. Kennedy was written by James W. Symington. He is a son of Senator STUART SYMINGTON and a former Deputy Director of the food-for-peace program. Now he is practicing law in Washington.)

He came out of his corner
Like the young champion
He was.
With practiced eye and Irish smile
For a challenger
He knew,
And had beaten before.
In the Pacific
He wrestled him under a wave,
And came up spitting
Jokes. His face shimmering
With destiny.
(He wouldn't wear a hat
To shield us from his sunlight,
His blazing thought,
And the radiant challenge
Of his spirit)
They'd been locked
Like this, too,
Etherized, but straining,
Till the challenger
Was shoved away,
Goodnaturedly,
Like a dull-witted
Sparring partner
When the young champ
Suddenly remembered
An appointment.
Still, this rematch
Came too soon, granted,
The Promoter thought
It time. The Promoter
Who was Trainer besides,
And Referee,
And Timekeeper
And finally, Announcer,
That this was a dream,
And the records would show
That the title really passed
A generation ago
On a beach near Rendova
Where the old challenger
Forever lost.
And failing to pin him then,
And snuff out that spark
So far from our notice,
Cannot now, or ever
Expect the mantel of years
Or any other shroud
To contain the radiance
Much less the flame.
So we file from the arena,
Comforted,
For this was truly a dream,
And his heart, his voice, his hatless glory
Are the reality,
And our white plume
Of victory.

—JAMES W. SYMINGTON.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, John F. Kennedy lies in Arlington Cemetery. A stunned Nation tries to move again into the routine of living. Why? That tragic word, whispered in bewilderment and sorrow by every thinking American, is slowly fading into silence. It is a "why"? that can never be answered because the event is beyond credence, to explain it beyond the scope of a human mind.

And yet it happened. The flags at half-mast tell us that John F. Kennedy is dead.

The great of the world came to his funeral and bowed their heads in prayer. Heads of state were there—an emperor—a king—but they were not more present than his fellow countrymen who came in spirit, 190 million strong.

From the day of his election, John F. Kennedy had been an example to them—a symbol almost of their beloved country. He was young and vigorous and good to look upon, just as their country was. He was vital and smiling and assured. His love for his family, his pride in his family was like a glowing banner swirling around him through all his years in office. Americans, whatever their political differences with him, loved him for this. They admired, beyond words, that warm and close-knit family group who made the White House a home indeed.

There was laughter in the White House while the Kennedys were there. There was kindliness, there was understanding, there was love.

And there was a man.

Americans will not soon forget the dedicated service that John Fitzgerald Kennedy gave them. His eloquence, his wit, his charm will not be forgotten in this generation. They will say of him—"He loved his country, he lived for his country, he died for his country. He was our friend."

What greater tribute can a country pay, than to mourn him as a friend that is lost? And that is how John F. Kennedy is mourned today. To all of us, his death was deeply moving because his smile reached out and touched our hearts.

To those who had the opportunity to serve with him in both the House and Senate, the loss was a personal one, as well as a national one. I served with him for many years, and saw him many times, in many different circumstances. His smile and his friendship were not limited to the members of his own party, which he led with such vision and imagination, but were shared, sometimes with a wry grin, with many members of the loyal opposition.

He was born for leadership, and he achieved it. But in his leadership he never forgot that he was a father too, a husband, a soldier, a patriot—that he was, in short, an American.

President Kennedy was truly of this era. He was the first President of the United States to be born in this century. He was the youngest citizen to be elected to that exalted office. We are all proud of his tremendous achievement.

"Youth" and "Peace"—those two magnificent words were stamped indelibly on his administration. His thousand days were made splendid by his efforts for both. In the Peace Corps—which time may show to be his finest inspiration—he joined them hand in hand.

He sent them out into the world together. Was there ever before such a crusade—young America working peacefully for peace? Was there ever before such a shining example for the world to wonder at?

It must never be forgotten that when the young men and women of these United States flocked to the banner of public service and went out into the world to show by their actions "the mettle of their pastures," it was John F. Kennedy who inspired them. It was John F. Kennedy who showed them the way.

Let us therefore build for him a spiritual memorial of kindliness and understanding and peace, a testament of human rights and equality.

It is the one memorial he would have wished, who was our good neighbor in the White House.

Mr. President, I have received a number of requests, from clergymen and others, to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD expressions of their tribute and grief over the death of the President. I ask unanimous consent to include, following my remarks in the RECORD, the text of these eloquent statements.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HE LEFT THE WORLD RICHER

(NOTE.—From the program and meditations by the Reverend Paul R. Hoover, pastor of Grace Evangelical Luthern Church, Rochester, N.Y., in memoriam, John F. Kennedy, Nov. 24, 1963.)

We have read from the Old Testament in our worship memorial. I would now read words from the Letter of James (Phillips translation) which distill in essence the example of President John F. Kennedy:

"Are there some wise and understanding men among you? Then your lives will be an example of the humility that is born of true wisdom. But if your heart is full of rivalry and bitter jealousy, then do not boast of your wisdom—don't deny the truth that you must recognize in your inmost heart. You may acquire a certain superficial wisdom, but it does not come from God—it comes from this world, from your lower nature, even from the devil. For wherever you find jealousy and rivalry you also find disharmony and all other kinds of evil. The wisdom that comes from God is first utterly pure, then peace-loving, gentle, approachable, full of tolerant thoughts and kindly actions, with no breath of favoritism or hint of hypocrisy. And wise are peacemakers who go on quietly sowing for a harvest of righteousness—in other people and in themselves," (James 3, beginning at verse 13.)

Of no man, rich or poor, high or low, ruled or ruler, does God expect more to be said: He left the world richer.

"Let come what will, I mean to bear it out,
And either live with glorious victory
Or die with fame, renowned in chivalry:
He is not worthy of the honeycomb
That shuns the hive because the bees have stings."

Like Biblical characters, his strength was in his purpose:

Like Abraham, he went where he was called and was faithful in all things.

Like Moses, he led the people from doubts and fears to confidence in the face of imponderable difficulties.

Like Joshua, he loved his country and fought and suffered for its success.

He knew the import of Malachi's words: "Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord: And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers."

Like Jonathan, he met many a discouraged brother and cheered him by giving him strength.

Like David, he had the poet's way with words and the magic of music in them. He sang a people to triumph of spirit and shouted on the battle of blessed triumph.

Like Isaiah, he had the mind of a prophet who constantly pointed the world to brighter days and better things in the future.

Like Daniel, he was true through life to the teachings of his boyhood days.

Like John the Baptist, his desert was the loneliness of the White House and from that desert he could cry like John: "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight."

Like Paul, he could be pricked by physical affliction. Like Paul, from affliction he drew from the deep wells of life to let the world know through pen and song and service that God meets men in the voice of freedom.

Like Jesus, his Master, holding the key to power hitherto unknown to men, he could preach the powerful doctrine that God does not withhold from the simplest man the importance men give only to the great.

Like Enoch, "He walked with God and he was not, for God took him."

History will in time through the crucible of future experience refine his image of his walk on earth. He loved his country, his heritage, his family, his church, his fellow men. And to the last he sought to inspire others to share his enthusiasms and worked to the very last moment of his busy life for the interests of the unsaved, confused, and brutish world.

The world is richer because he lived. The world is richer in the way he died. For even our short distance from his fatal scene, this much is clear: he lived true to the words of Henry Van Dyke:

"Renew the courage that prevails,
The steady faith that never fails,
And makes us stand in every fight
Firm as a fortress to defend the right."

May God add His blessing where our words fail. Amen.

OF BLESSED MEMORY

(Expression of sentiments of the Rochester, N.Y., Jewish community on the death of John F. Kennedy.)

With hearts burdened with grief, and souls seared by tragedy, we have come to this sanctuary for prayer and meditation.

The sun shines brightly without but our world has grown darker and colder.

The assassin's bullet which took the life of this great and good man sent a shudder of shock, sorrow, and outrage through our very being.

We mourn the loss of a man who rose to true greatness through the heights of his vision, the depth of his compassion, the strength of his commitments and the nobility of his passions.

We are all diminished in having sustained this grievous loss.

We now ask God's light in our darkness, direction in our gropings, guidance in our striving.

A martyred President: heroic in war, gave his life for peace; gifted with youthful vigor and courage, dedicated his energies and abilities for the growth of understanding and amity between nations; to the manor born, his concern was for the least among us, the disenfranchised, the dispossessed, the despised.

Selflessly, he gave the fullest measure of devotion to all that is best in our national heritage.

He gave to us the gift of enlightened statesmanship, courageous leadership, and heroic example.

It is now given to us to grant him the gift of the immortality of inspiration by bringing into our lives, into our communities, into this beloved land, those noble qualities, concerns, convictions, and passions which marked this lovely life so brief in years but so great in influence.

SERMON ON PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S DEATH

(Preached November 24, 1963, by Rev. William A. Sadler, Jr., Ph. D., Dover Plains, N.Y.)

The darkest hour of this generation struck Friday with cruel swiftness, casting a pall of stunned grief over the American people, and indeed over the whole world. The President of the United States was dead. The passing of any man is sad. The passing of any President is an even sadder event. Had the President been an elderly man who died of natural causes, we would mourn deeply. Had he been in late middle age killed in an accident like Dag Hammarskjold, our grief would reach great proportions. He was not an old man, nor one of late middle age. He was a young man, a remarkable man of amazing accomplishments and with magnificent potentialities yet to be expressed, not for his own satisfaction and gain, but for the benefit of his fellow citizens and people around the world. He was cut down in midstride. It was not an accident, but foul, calculated murder that took his life, and took from us an outstanding fellow American, a great President, a strong and courageous leader, and a magnificent representative of the highest ideals of our country and mankind. For us Christians it is an additional loss; for, his assassin struck down a brother in Christ. It is not just grief we suffer. We are struck dumb by this monstrous atrocity and our colossal loss.

The murder of the late President, John F. Kennedy, hit us like a death in the family. It was in fact just that—a death in the American family. John F. Kennedy was not merely a man—not merely a young man, a talented man, a person of wealth, a Democrat. He was the President of our country, and as such he was our representative, chosen by the people to stand for them to the world, to represent their ideals and way of life, and to stand by them as their chief leader. Because he was our President, when he was attacked, we, too, were attacked. When he died, a part of us died with him. We Americans believe that each man is created with certain inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The Presidential office embodies those rights and seeks to guarantee them. On Friday those rights for which our President had fought were taken from him. His earthly life was concluded, those earthly liberties canceled, that earthly pursuit ended. He did not freely give up those rights; he was savagely robbed of them. Because of the office he bore, our rights also were threatened; our ideals, our very reason for existence as Americans, were attacked. And so we suffered a double blow.

President Kennedy was not a weak man. He was not a weak President. He was a person of extraordinary moral strength, courage, wisdom, and foresight. He filled the office of the Presidency with those qualities, and by so doing he helped to make our country morally stronger, more courageous, wiser, and more farsighted than before. His strength and its effects upon the American people were recognized by his adversaries; and numerous people who are marked by weakness, lack of foresight, with little concern for the extension of real justice, have vigorously opposed his principles and policies, revealing to those who observed with patience and conscience not only their lack of character but the greatness of his. President Kennedy was—is a dedicated believer, a believer in God as revealed and present in Jesus Christ. He was also a dedicated believer in the ideals of the American heritage and way of life. His Christian conscience inevitably led him to interpret American ideals in a Christian manner; and we Christians are convinced that the ideals of our Founding Fathers were meant to be interpreted that way. President Kennedy lived and gave his life for those ideals and for us, who are to continue to be led by them. What are they? Certainly they are numerous; but I want at this time to emphasize three of them.

It was reported that the Russian people, and in particular Nikita Khrushchev, were saddened and alarmed by the President's death; for, he had demonstrated forcefully that he was sincerely dedicated to peaceful existence. The Russian people desire a peaceful world, as they have emphasized to the dismay of warmongering Chinese Communists. The Russian people recognize, and we know, that President Kennedy was a man of peace. His consistent efforts as President were directed toward the securing of peace around the world, real peace and not merely a lull in aggression and contention. His understanding of peace was informed by his Christian faith and conscience. At least each Sunday he worshipped our God who is the giver of life and who sends to His children His peace which passes understanding. This peace is no passive thing; it is, like God himself, an active mode of being. To be at peace is not to sleep; it is to exist unhindered from repressive forces that stifle and distort the soul, the life of man, and society. To be at peace is to be free to act toward the fulfillment of the destiny that God makes and gives to each of His children. Peace and freedom are inseparable. Freedom is but the expression of real peace; while peace is the condition which enables true freedom. President Kennedy believed in, proclaimed, and fostered our cherished ideal of peace and freedom.

It was not by any means easy to defend his belief, not even to some of us Americans who supposedly adhered to it. During the Bay of Pigs catastrophe he refrained from providing outright and decisive American support to the invasion forces, because such an action, he estimated, would grossly jeopardize not only the peace of Cubans, but of Americans and the world as well. In his firm stand against the Communist attempt to seize Berlin and to divide Germany permanently, as well as his resistance to the Communist endeavor to establish missile bases in Cuba, President Kennedy demonstrated his aggressive, unswerving aim to preserve the peace and freedom of the people of the Western World, when they were seriously threatened. In spite of the outcry of some nationalistic isolationists, he succeeded in his efforts to establish a peace treaty to prohibit nuclear testing in all but a few countries. He suffered the charge of hypocrisy from those who accused him of supporting warfare in other countries; yet he gave American support to actual war, such as in Vietnam, because a truce there would not effect a meaningful peace, one which respects and guarantees the freedom of individuals to pursue their separate as well as corporate destinies. President Kennedy was a crusader for peace; and, to our great loss, he became a martyr for it.

As Americans it is our role, our duty as citizens, to emulate this great leader who so nobly embodied and promoted the high ideal of peace. The forces obstructing peace and freedom in our world, and what is worse, in our land are gaining momentum to a frightening degree. These are forces which are fed by self-oriented fear and by self-regard which is disdainful of the rights of others, particularly others of a different skin color, class, or origin. They are forces which are armed with the weapons of prejudice, hatred, and the demonic desire to be superior. The war against peace is enkindled by hate; and the fires of hatred burn hot. They scorched the sense and conscience of the President's assassin, so that he committed a crime which outrages our reason and sensitivity. One month before in that same fateful city of Dallas the hateful prejudice of

extremists led to the disgraceful and contemptuous treatment of another peaceful man, Adlai Stevenson, who was representing the organization designed to prosecute and to maintain world peace. This year has seen the assassinations of other peaceful men and little children and the bombing of churches. There are ugly, warring, murderous forces in our midst: prejudice, bigotry, smug self-content and disdainful superiority, hatred, and the harboring of anger that leads to the shattering of relationships and human lives. As Americans we must resist them. They do exist and can unleash havoc. It can happen here. As Christians it is our responsibility to wage war against these forces that inhabit the heart of man and do evil business in our lives. It is our responsibility, our privilege, our vocation to bless and not to curse, to settle and not to entrench our divisive differences, to be humble and not to humiliate, to be compassionate and not to condemn, to love and not to hate, to seek peace, to make it, and to keep it. The Lord who taught us to love also taught us: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God."

A second classic ideal for which President Kennedy lived and died was justice. This, too, was an ideal interpreted and enforced by his Christian conscience. In the numerous policies which he fathered and fostered, particularly those which were vigorously discussed by politicians and often vehemently resisted, one could discern the President's deep-rooted concern for real justice. For him justice was not merely an abstract ideal; it was an obtainable goal, and he endeavored that our land and our world might attain it. It was the desire to extend effective justice to all citizens regardless of color that lay behind his strong civil rights policy. It was a dedication to justice which gave impetus and strength to his programs of medicare, education, tax reduction and reform, foreign aid, and the Alliance for Progress, as well as his vigorous support of the United Nations. In no small measure these programs aimed to enable individuals and nations to find decent and humane treatment to which they are entitled as human beings—a right which is often denied them because of lack of opportunity and funds. To assure proper medical care for the poor and aged, to provide adequate education to talented, ordinary, as well as deprived young people, to reduce inequalities in our economic system, to give aid to people and nations who are destitute of privileges we Americans take for granted, to encourage and to contribute generously to that supernational organization which was established to protect the rights of individual nations and insure fair treatment of all—these are expressions of his sense of justice which was informed by his Christian awareness of the essential command to love our neighbors as ourselves. "What does the Lord require of you," said the prophet Micah, "but to do justice, to show steadfast love, and to walk humbly with your God?" It was his responsibility and privilege, and it continues to be ours as Christians in this world, to do justice which is interpreted by love. There have been countless martyrs for justice; on Friday John F. Kennedy joined their ranks. We shall fail them and ourselves, and certainly be false to our religion and traitorous to Christ, if we do not persevere in the pursuit of genuine justice. And do we not also believe and hope that blessed are those who hunger for justice, for they shall be satisfied?

A final characteristic of the life of President Kennedy and an ideal embedded in the true American character is courage. He demonstrated courage equal to our forefathers and pioneers in his wartime service. He manifested his deep appreciation of this virtue in his famous book "Profiles of Courage." To me, however, he exhibited the highest form of this virtue while President as he found and maintained the courage of his convictions, the courage to seek peace and to promote justice in the face of stiff resistance and stinging ridicule. Several of his programs for peace and justice suffered the most severe attacks, and he personally was abused and slandered by some of his fellow Americans. What did he personally have to gain from strong support of social security programs, from his occasional resistance to big business and other members of his own class, from his continued commitment to underprivileged nations and groups? Little personal gain, and considerable loss of political support, national affection, and mental tranquillity. He stood forth with firm conviction that he was serving for the sake of right. Today we pray that he finds the blessing promised to those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

The death of our President has caused a darkness to fall upon us; yet it is a darkness that will pass. The important question to ask now is: What kind of light will we discover and follow when the darkness lifts? We know that men are confused and led astray by lights of security, material prosperity, temporal happiness, and the sense of self-importance. These are but partial guides to behavior; regarded as most important they are lights beckoning from dead-end lanes. There are better beacons to lead us, such as the virtues of courage and the search for justice and peace. We Christians know that there is one true light, which can enlighten every man and which is the light of the world; without that light we are disastrously lost. May we Christians now more fervently than before seek that light; and grant that no clouds of this mortal life may hide from us the light of that love which is immortal and which God has manifested unto us in Jesus Christ, His Son, our Lord. Being thus illumined with the light of Christ, may our lights so shine before men that they may see our good works, our just works, our peaceful works, our courageous works and glorify our Father who is in Heaven.

Finally, this death has brought forth fears that have long lurked in our hearts. What is to become of us? What does the future hold for us? For our children? Those of us who have found the truth of God's reality and His love need not depend upon optimistic political philosophers for our ultimate reassurance. More than 500 years before the birth of Christ the Jewish people lived in exile in Babylon; it was a time for them of darkness, of uncertainty and fear. They were tremendously encouraged by God's message to them, delivered by a great prophet. It was a message that stilled their fears by deepening their faith in the reality of God's redeeming power. We who have been touched by Christ's redeeming love and reborn in His risen life will find that message more comforting and appropriate today than those to whom it was first addressed. Here is that message: "Fear not, for I have redeemed you; I have called you by name, you are mine. When you pass through the waters I will be with you; and through the rivers, they shall not overwhelm you; when you walk through fire you shall not be burned, and the flame shall not consume you. For I am the Lord your God, the Holy One of Israel, your Saviour" (Isaiah 43: 1-3).

IN MEMORIAM: JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY

(By David A. MacLennan, at the Rochester Rotary Club, Nov. 26, 1963)

"The woods are lovely, dark and deep,
But I have promises to keep,
And miles to go before I sleep.
And miles to go before I sleep."

—ROBERT FROST IN "STOPPING BY WOODS ON A SNOWY EVENING."

But John Fitzgerald Kennedy, 35th President of the United States, could not go the miles on this life's road he longed to travel before his sleep. Not an act of God, but an act of the demonic in a human being struck him down on what became the darkest hour of any recent year. And the lines by Robert Frost Mr. Kennedy loved became the refrain of an unfinished symphony.

Yesterday, the closing act of the drama of his death was witnessed and experienced by millions. The world saw an image of America never seen before in history, and of our celebration. If tragedy's chief purpose is to purge the soul, we ought to be cleansed of bitterness, of much that defiles and degrades men made in the image of God:

"Solemn the drums thrill: Death august and royal
Sings sorrow up into immortal spheres.
There is music in the midst of desolation.
And a glory that shines upon our tears."

Is there truly "a glory that shines upon our tears" at the death of one so gifted, so dedicated, so youthful? Nothing can diminish the enormity of the senseless, cruel crime which, as far as this dimension of life is concerned, denied him "the glory of going on, and still to be."

Yet, although he shall grow not old, as we that are left grow old, and although age shall not weary him, there is a glory, a high summons, in our late Chief's life and death.

President Kennedy, like his brave, regal wife, was marked by youthfulness not only because he was still relatively young but because he had an intellectual vigor and receptivenes to new ideas. His sense of the past was keen, he was proud of our ancient heritage and sought to conserve it; but he knew, as did a former teacher of his in college that:

"New occasions teach new duties
Time makes ancient good uncouth."

With patience not always found in eager youth he sought to persuade us that we must move onward "who would keep abreast of truth." President and Mrs. Kennedy came into our national life as a kind of springtime in the winter of our discontent.

"Your old men shall dream dreams,
Your young men shall have visions."

He not only quoted but helped fulfill.

Although he knew by cruel personal experience in the Second World War that law, whether civil or international, must have force behind it, he was a man of peace. He knew that in a nuclear-fission world, if anything goes in the way of atomic war, everything goes. One of the tragic ironies of our time is that this man who knew that successful government requires the art of compromise, this leader who won the admiration and affection of political opponents, should be the victim of hatred and violence.

Closely related to his deep concern for peace among the nations was his outstanding ability to get on with people. He was a master of the art of working with people, and many were his bipartisan conferences and programs. His infectious humor and ready wit, his charm, and unfailing courtesy toward all sorts and conditions of men endeared him to a majority of Americans, and to citizens of every nation he visited.

Our late President was an intellectual who was never pedantic, stuffy or remote from the common people. In a short time, he and Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy did more for the arts and for artists in every field of creative culture than most Presidents could. In a world in which brains, knowledge, skill are essential to civilized living and a future worth working for, he made it not only respectacle but praiseworthy to be educated and creative.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was a fighter for justice, for freedom, for the chance of the least and lowest in our Republic to walk in dignity, enjoy equal rights and to make the most of their best. As you watched the saddened faces of Negroes both in Dallas and in Washington during the funeral march, did you think of another martyred President who also died at an assassin's hand because he believed that we were created to be free? When Abraham Lincoln's body was carried through the streets of the Capital, a Negro mother held up her child and said, "Take a long look at him, honey, he died for you."

President Kennedy was a deeply religious man. He knew that the deep sources of social justice, and personal integrity reside in God, He reverenced the reverences of others, because he reverenced the great and gracious God in whose will is our peace, and in whose service is perfect freedom.

Much more could be said. Much more has been said, and will be said. As King David said long ago of a leader who died in battle, "Know ye not that a prince and a great man was fallen this day in Israel?"

We do know. But commemoration without emulation stultifies and condemns. To praise President Kennedy's character—his faith, and high purposes, his devotion to human well-being, as he upheld our Constitution and the higher laws of God, and not to renew our own dedication, is hollow.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy sacrificed his life for his country, and for that other country which is the Kingdom of God. Must a good and great man die because most of us lack insight, moral fiber, willingness to discipline ourselves and our children in self-control? Are we so self-centered that we use persons as means to our own ends? Are we only asking but not giving a worthy answer to the question, "What can I do for my country?" Jack Kennedy already has answered the question with his life. We must respond with the service of our lives. President Johnson cannot do it all, nor can he do what we must do.

Are we men and women committed to peace, not only among nations, but among ourselves? Have we repudiated violence, so that we ourselves obey and uphold law? Will we join in redirecting the energies of our young people, whether in our privileged suburbs or in city streets into constructive channels?

When we praise President Kennedy as a champion of responsible freedom and equal justice, are we willing to follow in his train? Are we on the way with the living God who desires that we do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly before Him, or are we in the way, by our refusal to advance the best hopes of men?

Do we believe in the living God of whose grace and wisdom we have had rich experience as a nation? In one of his last addresses in Texas, our late President quoted the Bible. "Except the Lord guard the city, the watchmen guard in vain."

Do we confide ourselves to the keeping and guidance of the Lord of life and history, the righteous Father of all mankind? Do we seek to give Him our highest loyalty and obedience? Do we love America enough to practice our religion not fitfully but faithfully? With many other Protestants, Jews, Orthodox, I salute the memory of President Kennedy as a Christian man, who was scrupulously fair to all religious groups and unashamed and faithful in his own religious duty.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy could have written the lines of a poem written in the Washington he knew so well, by a noble patriot who served the Allied cause in the First World War. Relying upon Almighty God, who alone can build the house of our habitation and guard the Nation we love, let us make it our pledge in the light of the sacrifice of our late President:

"I Vow To Thee, My Country

"I vow to thee, my country, all earthly things above
Entire and whole and perfect, the service of my love.
The love that asks no questions: the love that stands the test,
That lays upon the altar the dearest and the best:
The love that never falters, the love that pays the price,
The love that makes undaunted the final sacrifice.
And there's another country, I've heard of long ago,
Most dear to them that love her, most great to them that know,
We may not count her armies; we may not see her King;
Her fortress is a faithful heart, her pride is suffering.
And soul by soul and silently her shining bounds increase,
And her ways are ways of gentleness and all her paths are peace.
Amen."

—Sir Cecil Spring-Rice.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, one could say the prayer, "Dear God, please take care of your servant, John Fitzgerald Kennedy," and the most important thoughts would have been expressed.

However, the 23d Psalm is, to me, the most consoling expression on an occasion of bereavement; and I shall read it:

Twenty-third Psalm

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.

He maketh me to lie down in green pastures: he leadeth me beside the still waters.

He restoreth my soul: he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake.

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for Thou art with me; Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me. Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: Thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over.

Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life: and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.

Our late President fired the hopes and imagination of not only his fellow Americans but of the freedom-loving people throughout the world. I was in Rome at the time news of his tragic death was received, and the spontaneous and genuine outpouring of grief on the part of our Italian friends was something to behold. I understand that similar reactions occurred in many of the other world capitals. It seemed as though the lights all over the earth had been dimmed.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy lived in the spirit of the poem, "A Psalm of Life" by Longfellow:

A Psalm of Life

(by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow)

Tell me not, in mournful numbers,
Life is but an empty dream—
For the soul is dead that slumbers,
And things are not what they seem.

Life is real! Life is earnest!
And the grave is not its goal;
Dust thou art, to dust returnest,
Was not spoken of the soul.

Not enjoyment, and not sorrow,
Is our destined end or way;
But to act, that each tomorrow
Finds us farther than today.

Art is long, and Time is fleeting,
And our hearts, though stout and brave,
Still, like muffled drums, are beating
Funeral marches to the grave.

In the world's broad field of battle,
In the bivouac of Life,
Be not like dumb, driven cattle!
Be a hero in the strife!

Trust no Future, howe'er pleasant.
Let the dead Past bury its dead.
Act,—act in the living Present.
Heart within, and God o'erhead.

Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time;

Footprints, that perhaps another,
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
Seeing, shall take heart again.

Let us, then, be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate;
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labor and to wait.

Thomas Wolfe, in his immortal "You Can't Go Home Again," gives us the philosophy with which we can accept the loss of our President, and it is with these thoughts I shall close:

To lose the earth you know, for greater knowing;
To lose a life you have, for greater life;
To leave the friends you love, for greater loving;
To find a land more kind than home, more large than earth—whereon the pillars of this earth are founded, toward which the conscience of the world is tending—a wind is rising, and the rivers flow.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, 19 days ago, a man of reason was destroyed by an act of violence.

Today, we cannot judge John Fitzgerald Kennedy. The fact of this assassination still stuns our minds; the loss of this man still sorrows our hearts. If we seek to judge his life and work now, we must fail. Our thoughts will be like rough pebbles, unpolished by the tides of time and wisdom. Our words will be like hollow, gaudy ornaments, attached to a man's soul.

Let us leave judgment to history, and to God.

Today, we can hope only to speak of him honestly, and to remember him with respect.

If we remember his own words which expressed his own highest cause, we perhaps do best. This does not risk trying to gild what is already gold. For to me, at least, John Kennedy wrote his own epitaph: a man dedicated to "the strategy for peace."

He sounded this keynote in his first words after taking the oath of office as President of the United States. He reminded his countrymen and the world that one talon of the American eagle held the arrows of war, but the other clutched the olive branches of peace. "We shall not negotiate from fear, but we shall not fear to negotiate." These words were a fresh and memorable assertion to the world that the power of

the United States was not to be feared. Peace was its purpose.

In this same inaugural address, he called us to the responsibilities of leadership for peace and justice:

> Now the trumpet summons us again—not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need—not as a call to battle, though embattled we are—but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle year in and year out, "rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation"—a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself.

Deeds followed these words. The Peace Corps was established. The food-for-peace program was expanded. The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency was proposed and organized. Negotiations with our adversaries were renewed. The motive, spirit, and accent of peace were carried to the far places of the earth.

John Kennedy met supreme crisis at the very brink of disaster when nuclear aggression threatened this hemisphere. The courage of peace was tested and not found wanting. Could courage and peace be combined? Could peace save its life by risking to lose it? Men must hope so, but can they believe it?

They can; and they did when they witnessed John Kennedy's devotion to peace matched by determined action.

That breathless moment a little over a year ago could have brought the exhaustion of hope, or the fears of hostility. It did neither. John Kennedy continued his initiative for peace, with the pledge that the United States would suspend atomic testing in the atmosphere.

Last June, at the American University in Washington, D.C., he reminded all peoples once more "World peace is the most important topic on earth." He continued a theme of his inaugural address:

> We shall do our part to build a world of peace where the weak are safe and the strong are just.

And he clarified our goal with eloquence:

> What kind of peace do we seek? I am talking about genuine peace—the kind of peace that makes life on earth worth living—and the kind that enables men and nations to grow and to hope and to build a better life for their children—not merely peace for Americans, but peace for all men and women—not merely peace in our time, but peace for all time.

He pressed his "strategy for peace" to the conclusion of a test ban treaty, stopping the testing of atomic weapons on the earth or above it. More than 100 nations have joined with us in this treaty.

The treaty is a frail hope as yet—frail as the dove Noah sent forth over the waters in search of land. Every day that treaty stands; however, the hope grows that the waters of war's preparation are receding. The genie of atomic power is not yet back in the bottle, to use one of John Kennedy's metaphors. But despair has lost its grip upon us. A new will and resolution for peace has been born.

He again continued his "strategy for peace" last September, in addressing the United Nations. His opening words were: "We meet again in the quest for peace." He concluded:

> My fellow inhabitants of this planet, let us take our stand here in this assembly of nations. And let us see if we, in our time, can move the world toward a just and lasting peace.

In October, speaking to an audience of young people in Maine, he again recalled the American eagle and the two kinds of strength it clutches. The head of the eagle, he emphasized, faces toward the olive branches of peace. He concluded:

> In the months and years ahead, we intend to build both kinds of strength—during time of detente as well as tension, during periods of conflict as well as cooperation—until the world we pass on to our children is truly safe for diversity and the rule of law covers all.

The theme of peace had become his hallmark. We came to expect it. His eloquence of phrase served to keep the passionate sincerity of purpose and goal from being redundant. If any scripture is ever sifted out of the torrents of the words of these years, surely his words in this high cause will survive.

He understood well the meaning of the mordant words of the Prince of Peace: "Be ye wise as serpents in order to be as harmless as doves." When John Kennedy spoke in such a vein, however, it was of a peace strong, not strident. He communicated a sense of power in the service of gentility.

In his address to the Nation on the nuclear test ban treaty, he said:

> Let us, if we can, step back from the shadows of war and seek out the way of peace. And if that journey is 1,000 miles or even more, let history record that we, in this land, at this time, took the first step.

Each of us lost a bit of ourselves at the death of the man who spoke these words, but our steps did not falter.

In remembering John Kennedy, each of us must recall his words; we must also rely on our personal individual memories of him.

I remember most clearly now my last meeting with him—on the Wednesday before the Friday of his death.

The formal meeting of congressional leaders at the White House had just ended. In that clean, precise, earnest voice, President Kennedy called out:

> HUBERT, come walk with me. I want to talk with you.

He walked confidently and smoothly past the White House rose garden and toward his private office. He talked with intelligence and curiosity and concern about a problem facing the Nation and the people. His stride and his voice reflected the basic nature of the man: strength, grace, eagerness.

I was proud to walk a few steps with John Kennedy.

Today, I am aware that he never walked alone. Neither his distinctions as an individual nor his power as President set him far apart from the people of the United States. He was, perhaps, a step or two ahead of the people at times. But as an American who understood America, who brought form to its amorphous yearnings, who gave direction to its efforts, John Kennedy walked with the people.

Nineteen days ago, the worst of America struck down the best of America. For a few moments of time, violence shattered peace—fear cracked confidence—hate stood above reason.

But the worst of America did not prevail after those ugly moments. The tragedy of that day in November will not endure.

Because of the life of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, we are today a nation more fully committed to peace. Because of the death of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, we are a people more deeply determined to turn from hate and to embrace understanding and reason.

One simple line, from the book of Isaiah in the Bible, best expresses the message and mission of John Fitzgerald Kennedy:

> Come now, and let us reason together.

Our fulfillment of that plea will be John Fitzgerald Kennedy's triumph.

One simple paragraph, from his book "Profiles in Courage," best describes the goodness and nobility of John Fitzgerald Kennedy:

> The courage of life is often a less dramatic spectacle than the courage of a final moment; but it is no less than a magnificent mixture of triumph and tragedy. A man does what he must—in spite of personal consequences, in spite of obstacles and dangers and pressures—and that is the basis of all human morality.

Yes, Mr. President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy is gone.

He gave us strength, and the strength remains with us.

But we are a stronger nation, and a better people today because of him.

Never before has this Nation been so moved. Never before have the people so revealed themselves and their hearts.

We mourn the loss of this President. But even more, we mourn the loss of this man. The Nation's outpouring of sorrow and love for him expresses our ultimate value—the importance of the individual human being.

Our love turns toward the late President's family, to his brothers and sisters, his mother and his father, and, of course, to his dear, wonderful wife, Mrs. Kennedy. Her beautiful dignity, her constant courage, and her enduring grace strengthened each of us.

At the death of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, every American felt as if he had lost a loved one.

Never before has there been such a sense of total involvement by all the people. Never before have we been so united. Never before have we been so aware of our national identity.

We are, truly, "one Nation, under God, indivisible."

With a renewed sense of unity, fortified by our common sorrow, we shall rededicate this Nation to the fulfillment of the hopes and the commitments of our beloved, martyred President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, our illustrious colleague, our 35th President, was not a product of the log cabin. He

was born rich, and in spite of that he became, among other things, a very prominent world figure, an eminent statesman, a brilliant scholar, and a forceful leader.

Generally, wealth and position are the enemies of genius, and the destroyers of talent. It is difficult for the wealthy to resist the thousand allurements of pleasure. So I repeat that John F. Kennedy, in spite of having been born to wealth and high social position, became truly great—a man of the people.

Even in his youth he was a student of history. While other boys of his age were indulging in play, his fertile brain was absorbing the works of philosophers, historians, and great thinkers, both ancient and modern.

He made a fine record as a college student.

He was intensely patriotic, and when the time came to serve his country in war, in order to protect and preserve our freedom, he was not found wanting. He showed courage and bravery, unexcelled by any of those who fought by his side.

As a world leader he devoted much of his time to the pursuit of world peace. He was well on his way toward that goal when he was assassinated.

Much has been said today, as well as in the past, about his talents and accomplishments. Much will be said of him in the future. Some will be critical, but the good will so far outweigh the bad that he will go down in history as one of our great Presidents. It is tragic that an assassin's bullet deprived us of his leadership in the prime of his life. Our country and the whole world will doubtless be poorer because of his untimely death.

If to love your country more than self is goodness, John F. Kennedy was good.

If to be in advance of your time—to be an advocate in the direction of right—is greatness, John F. Kennedy was great.

If to avow your principles and discharge your duty in the midst of hostile groups is heroic, John F. Kennedy was a hero.

At the age of 46 he was felled by an assassin's bullet. He died in the land he loved and defended.

His critics cannot touch him now—hatred, bias and prejudice can reach him no more. He sleeps in Arlington, beneath the quiet of the stars.

I extend to his bereaved wife and lovely children, Caroline and John-John, my deep sympathy. They can be proud of the rich heritage of love and affection bestowed upon them when he lived, and of the mark his life will leave on the history of the world.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President—

> Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans.

The echo of this unparalleled challenge still rings vividly in our ears, yet he is gone. Tragic as was his passing, more tragic indeed would be the hour if we who remain were content to let this sad day mark the end; if we were content to sit alone in our sorrow and sadness with personal memories which, on each reflection, renews the ache in our hearts and tears in our eyes.

I will always remember him as a world leader with profound wisdom in quest of a world at peace; as a national leader, determined that each of us and our Nation as a whole should not forget the principles of our native land, nor the price paid by others to make secure these principles.

I remember him as an example of devotion to his family and to his God.

I remember him as a great man who would always recognize a face in a distant corner of the room; as a friend who never failed to recall an easily forgotten event of some consequence in the life of a comrade.

I remember the pleasant individual conversation in a caravan and the enthusiastic outpouring of admiration from a crowd.

Some will say that John Fitzgerald Kennedy was more severely criticized by his opponents and more dearly loved by his allies than any of his predecessors.

Some will say that John Fitzgerald Kennedy was a man who lived before his time.

But I remember a man who saw America as it is today. I remember a man who saw and loved a great country unparalleled in the history of mankind. I remember a man who refused to let national pride, political expediency or vitriolic critcism blind him to the shortcomings of the land he loved.

Few of us have the inclination or courage to examine ourselves or our country; to see ourselves as we really are; to point out our shortcomings as well as our strengths; to urge that tomorrow's labors surpass today's deeds.

But I remember a man who refused to be content and complacent; a man who lived, and died, insisting that America should and could be a better place in which to live; a man who resolutely refused to follow the course of least resistance but insisted that the building of the United States of America required sacrifice from each of us—a sacrifice which he so willingly made himself.

I remember a man, a President, and a friend who asked us for our help; help to wage the struggle against mediocrity; help to guarantee equality; help to see our land as it really is today; help to see that we build on our strengths and remove our weaknesses.

I remember a man whose challenge will continue to echo throughout this Chamber and in the ears of each of us—his colleagues—until we have carried the burden and completed the tasks which he began.

Let us remember the challenge as he said:

> In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility; I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it, and the glow from that fire can truly light the world. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.

My colleagues, in the name of God, in the name of America, in the name of John F. Kennedy, let us hold high the torch.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, there is nothing that any of us on this floor can say that would add to the eulogy paid the late President by the universal lament over his passing. So I will not attempt to explain my personal sorrow, which cannot be done.

Instead I would like to comment very briefly on one word and that word is hate. I have a feeling that I know the American people as well as any living American, and I have never detected hatred as one of their facets. Rather, I know them to be a loving people. Remembering something I wrote connected with the late President and the kind qualities of Americans, I quote it here:

> President Kennedy and I are poles apart on many issues but if you assume we must also be personal enemies as well, you're entirely wrong. The fact is that while the President and I are fully aware of the gulf between us, neither has permitted these differences to develop into personal antagonisms.

Might I suggest on this day of remembrance that we remember that great quality of his which was based on love and understanding, and all of us promise in our professional, personal, and daily lives to practice more love and more understanding, not less. We must recognize, as he did, that there are two sides, sometimes more, to every question and under our concept of life everyone is allowed the possession of these opinions, so must everyone be allowed the free discussion of them.

To me the dedication of all of us to those qualities of his would be the best eulogy we could pay him.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, the assassination of President Kennedy was the greatest national tragedy I have experienced in more than 40 years of public service. I shared with millions of Americans a sense of shocked sadness at the untimely death of a great President.

President Kennedy had strong convictions and expressed them well. He was a brilliant son of Massachusetts and I am reminded of what another son of that great Commonwealth, John Adams, said many years ago in recommending that a young Virginian, Thomas Jefferson, draft the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson had a "felicity of expression," said his friend John Adams. The same can be said of John F. Kennedy.

I enjoyed a warm and friendly relationship with President Kennedy and wish to join with other Members of the Senate in paying tribute to a truly remarkable man whose services to his country and to the world were brought to an untimely end by the bullet of an assassin.

To his parents, who lost an outstanding son; to his wife, who lost a cherished husband, and to his children, who lost

an adoring father, I extend my deepest sympathy.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, along with all Americans I deplore the dastardly act of assassination that struck down President John F. Kennedy. Along with all Americans I mourn the memory of the first President of our country born in this exciting and challenging 20th century.

John F. Kennedy brought to the Presidency the vigor of youth, a broad intellectual horizon, and a dynamic talent for leadership. He had the capacity for putting to maximum use the strength and the energy, the mind and the wit, the charm and the good taste, the reverence and the dignity with which he was so generously endowed.

Let us, the living, dedicate ourselves to the proposition which he so eloquently posed on the steps of this hallowed Capitol less than 3 years ago.

Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.

Mr. WALTERS. Mr. President, it is with humility and a sense of inadequacy that these words are offered, seeking not so much to give some sense to the heinous crime which has cost us the life of our Chief Executive, as to pay him earnest tribute. For we have been taught: "Be thy brother's keeper," and "Love one another as I have loved thee." And yet Cain slew Able, and one, whose love is everlasting and all encompassing, was cruelly murdered on the cross at Calvary. From these paradoxical tenets of scripture we see that man's inhumanity to man is a perpetual mystery that will remain beyond our comprehension until God wills differently.

But, as we draw from our faith, so must we gain from our great loss in the wanton slaying of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. His was a sacrifice on the altar of humanity, for he sincerely cared for all people of all descriptions.

One who loved life as dearly as he, would not have offered his so willingly without the deepest conviction that his example would, in some way, benefit his country. In retrospect, it is clear that he was not unaware of the dangers he faced. He knew the personal risks involved as he fought fervently, ardently and so eloquently for the things in which he believed. He recognized all of this as he cast his light into dark corners where bigotry, malice and hatred needed to be ferreted out. Yet he went forward boldly and unafraid, willing to meet the challenge—his life as the pawn.

In this brief, yet interminable period, we have already learned one bitter and most important lesson: that when poisonous thoughts and hatred mate, they give birth to a despicable action. It is to our everlasting discredit that we could have spawned in our environment the twisted mentality that saw fit to cancel out the pledge of John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

One who loved his fellow man completely, his words and his ideals were a fountainhead of the rivers of truth, justice and liberty that flowed through our land. Yet, he was struck down, and as we must bear the loss, and the shame for his assassination, so must we shoulder the yoke and till the now more arid soil of our democracy, nourishing it with the little and yet so much we have left of him—this he would have wanted.

John Kennedy was his brother's keeper in the most absolute sense. He constantly sought ways to care for the aged, the infirm, the mentally ill, the uneducated, the jobless, and the hungry. His concern for human welfare knew no geographic or racial confines and he utilized all of his youthful vigor to restore to our way of life a goodness and wholesomeness that in some way had gradually diminished through the years.

John Kennedy, leader of a great nation, executor of a priceless legacy, and skilled architect in the drafting of blueprints for a better life for all mankind, was recognized for his greatness. Yet none of this recognition will ever equal the immeasurable stature he had attained in the eyes of his wife, his daughter, and his son as their loving and devoted husband and father.

Their sacrifice is monumental, and their grief incalculable in human terms. For them, a glowing eternal memorial will replace the vital living warmth they knew. For them, the tears and homage of millions will supplant the ready wit and the easy smile For them, consolation will be sought in prayer rather than in his arms.

The inbred strength with which they were endowed has been sorely tested during these terrible days of tragedy. America will do well to proudly follow and justly cherish their example.

We have all heard reference to John Kennedy leaving his mark as a profile in courage. Is it not appropriate and equally important for us to seek to emulate him and thereby leave for posterity our own profile in courage, giving some meaning to his sacrifice? And so we must go forward as he would have demanded of us.

We will sincerely miss him.

It is fitting at this time, I think, to include this prayer, written by Mrs. Cora Taliaferro, 200 Forsythe Street, Chattanooga, Tenn., and read to the assembled church women of St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Chattanooga, Tenn., on Monday, November 25, after President Kennedy's funeral:

Almighty God, we beseech Thee to look with mercy upon our land and its grieving people. Guide, we pray Thee, our President and all those to whom has been committed the Government of this Nation, and grant to them special gifts of understanding, of counsel and strength; that upholding what is right and following what is true, they may obey Thy holy will and fulfill Thy divine purpose. Grant, O Lord, that the sound of the shot which took the life of the President of the United States may echo in the hearts of the people of this Nation and tear away the pall of apathy and indifference to the welfare of our country; and may awaken anew a pledge of allegiance to a Republic built on law and order, of physical safety, of mental sanity, and spiritual sanctity; that we may be one people, under God, bound together with that cord of love which is a lifeline to save those weaker than ourselves; with liberty to live a life of abstinence from evil, a life of service to our fellow men, and with justice to all men, who are our brothers. Amen.

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, 46 short years ago, on May 29, 1917, John Fitzgerald Kennedy was born in Brookline, Mass.

Since that day he has belonged to the Kennedy family.

On January 3, 1947, he took his oath of office as Congressman from the 11th District of Massachusetts.

Since that day he has belonged to the people of that district.

On January 3, 1953, he took his seat in the U.S. Senate as a Senator from Massachusetts.

Since that day he has belonged to all citizens of that great Commonwealth.

On January 20, 1961, he became the 35th President of the United States, the youngest man ever to be elected to that Office.

Since that day he has belonged to all the people of our great Nation.

On November 22, 1963, in the prime of his life and in a moment of personal and political happiness, he met his Maker.

Since that day he has belonged to the ages. History is the record of the ages.

Let the ages, as recorded in the pages of history, reflect the judgment of the greatness of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. I feel that he who loved history so much would have wanted it thus.

I add only this thought: Even though I disagreed with some of his policies and programs, I found his idealism inspiring, his objectives admirable. Peace and prosperity should ever be our goals.

Mrs. Jordan and the people of Idaho join with me in extending our sympathy to his father and mother, his sisters and brothers, and most of all to his courageous young widow and his little children.

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I appreciate having the opportunity to add my voice to the voices of my distinguished colleagues paying tribute to our late President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy. The many tributes here to the late President will be sincerely spoken by saddened men who were closely associated with him.

I am one of these. It is perhaps pardonable, at this moment, to be personal. I served in the House of Representatives with John Kennedy during his entire tenure in that body. Our service in the House covered the same period. We were elected to the Senate on the same day, and were first sworn in as U.S. Senators at the same time. Six years later we both were reelected.

I knew John Fitzgerald Kennedy well. I always admired his keen intellect, his genial personality, his practical ability as a legislator, and his understanding of and unstinted fairness to those who on occasion opposed him.

President Kennedy was faithful to those things in which he believed, and he respected those who likewise were faithful to their own beliefs, even though they might disagree with him. This trait

endeared him to both his supporters and his opposition.

An assassin's bullet struck down John Kennedy. The United States has lost its President and a great leader. The Nation honors him. The Nation mourns.

We extend our deep sympathy and sincere condolences, first, to the bereaved family of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, and, second, to our bereaved fellow citizens throughout the land. We all have sustained a great loss.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, the poet Carl Sandburg said in his poem, "Washington Monument by Night":

The republic is a dream. Nothing happens unless first a dream.

The man we honor with eulogies today was by a dream possessed. John Fitzgerald Kennedy dreamed of a brighter and better world for all mankind. His life was devoted to bringing his dream to reality and to making his dream meaningful to more and more of his fellow men. Another poet, Sheamus O'Sheel, captured in musical phrases the tremendous influence of such a dream. Being, like the late President, an American of Irish descent, Mr. O'Sheel expressed it this way:

He whom a dream hath possessed knoweth no more of doubting,
For mist and the blowing of winds and the mouthing of words he scorns.
No sinuous speech and smooth he hears, but a knightly shouting,
And never comes darkness down, yet he greeteth a million morns.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy frequently described his dream. His was a dream cherished also by many millions of people throughout the world.

To different individuals his dream held different meanings. Here in our own land, and in many far away places, President Kennedy's dream was the hope for freedom. To uncounted multitudes both in the free world and behind the Iron Curtain the dream of our late President was the dream of peace and justice. But to all who shared it, his was a dream of a brighter and better world.

The dream of an American President is always important. As Editor Norman Cousins put it recently:

An American President is something special in the world precisely because American history has been something special.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy moved into the Presidency of the United States from this Senate Chamber. During his service in the Senate, he sat here in the chair next to me. Having him as a seat mate enriched my life.

His agile and perceptive mind enabled him to deal decisively with issues before the Senate. As a freshman in the Congress he did his homework, and his rate of learning was phenomenal. His quick smile, his innate modesty and friendliness enabled him to gain stature among the Members of the Senate very rapidly.

The enthusiasm which John Fitzgerald Kennedy brought to the causes closest to his heart proved contagious. In advocating and promoting legislation he seldom launched a play for short yardage. He went for the touchdown every time. With dignity and style, he transferred the spirited gamesmanship and sportsmanship of the playing field to the field of political science. Millions and millions of Americans, particularly our younger people, liked the way he played the game and liked the goals he sought. They rallied to his side and made him President of the United States.

Born to a position of wealth and blessed with uncommon talents and personal attributes, John Fitzgerald Kennedy strove as President to give his country more than he received. In view of the senseless tragedy that cut his term short, one of the most profound contributions he made was in raising the Vice Presidency to a position of unprecedented close rapport to the Presidency. This was a typical demonstration of his courage, of his willingness to face the fact that, being mortal, he should prepare for any eventuality.

In so doing, he left as a legacy to his country and the free world the essential continuity of strong leadership.

His dream is, however, the inheritance we will cherish most. It was the dream of a world free of ill will, ignorance, poverty, and disease. Such a dream can rekindle our spirits in these days of mourning and regret.

Each of us must see that the dream survives.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, all America has been saddened by the tragic death of our young President. Our hearts have ached for his lovely young wife and the two precious children. Although death—the grim reaper—will claim each of us in time, it is the seeming untimeliness and awful brutality of the act which makes the President's passing so tragic and sad.

It is hard for us to realize that the vibrancy and vitality of this young man are stilled forever—but let us remember those beautiful and consoling lines from Laurence Binyon's "For the Fallen":

They shall grow not old, as
we that are left grow old:
Age shall not weary them, nor the
years condemn.
At the going down of the sun and
in the morning
We will remember them.

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, millions of words have been written and spoken in bringing to the people of America and the world the heartbreaking story of the assassination of our late President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

For the first time in history citizens of the entire Nation were eyewitnesses to an unfolding national tragedy through television coverage for which even the word, "magnificent," is inadequate. Newspapers kept up with this running story in spite of tight deadlines, supplied background material, and printed some of the most touching and eloquent material we have read in our lifetime.

Yet, for this Nation which hung onto every word and picture of this tragedy, just eight words torn from the hearts of four people tell the story so graphically that none of us here will ever forget them.

They were the "Oh, no!" which was wrung from the soul of Mrs. Kennedy when she saw her husband had been shot; the "My God!" uttered by the first Secret Service man to realize what had happened; the words, "He's dead," which shattered hopes that the President might survive; and, finally, the utterance, "Dear Jack * * *", lifted from the heart of Cardinal Cushing at the funeral service at St. Matthew's.

If President Kennedy had not been a man of wide-ranging and intense but varied interests, we might well now be at the point where we would have to say, "What more can be said."

But as Chairman of the Senate's Subcommittee on National Penitentiaries, I had the opportunity to learn that this man's great compassion, which was well known, extended even to those who receive little compassion, the men and women who have been convicted of violating the Nation's laws. This facet of our late President went virtually unpublicized and little noted.

Mr. Kennedy, more than any other President, used his powers of clemency to correct inequities and to relieve hardships. During the 3 years of his administration, he reduced the sentences of more than 100 prisoners and gave full and unconditional pardons to 550 individuals who had been released from prison years ago and thereafter demonstrated good citizenship. Without exception, he approved every clemency action recommended to him by the U.S. Pardon Attorney Reed Cozart, Prison Director Jim Bennett, and the Department of Justice.

He was particularly concerned about injustices resulting from long mandatory no-parole penalties of the Narcotics Control Act. Nearly half the sentences he reduced involved drug addicts and incidental offenders who had become involved in relatively minor drug or marijuana violations and received what in some instances amounted to life sentences for their transgressions. He cut to 20 years the life sentence given a teenage epileptic addict and the 80-year sentence given to another young first offender.

He did not like to see anyone die in prison. Whenever Mr. Cozart sent him an informal note concerning a prisoner who was in terminal illness but who was not eligible for parole, President Kennedy would immediately and without redtape cut the sentence to time served so that the prisoner could return to his home and family right away.

In other instances, where the prisoner was serving a long term and had apparently rehabilitated himself although he had not yet reached the time when he would be eligible for parole, President Kennedy cut the sentence enough to advance the parole eligibility date and make possible an immediate hearing by the U.S. Board of Parole. One such individual with nine children had been in prison several years when the mother of the children abandoned them suddenly.

President Kennedy promptly cut the father's sentence so that the Parole Board could take up his case and arrange his return to his children.

Because of the many cases which came to his attention, President Kennedy was vitally aware of the problems of widespread and extreme disparities in the sentences imposed for given types of offenses from one judge and one district court to another. He encouraged the judges themselves to administer justice in a more fair and equitable manner. When more than 100 Federal judges met at Highland Park, Ill., in the fall of 1961, to examine principles and procedures which would minimize sentence disparities, President Kennedy sent them a message assuring them of his complete support. He said also:

> Our citizens, high and low, rich and poor, the law abiding as well as the lawbreaker, rightfully expect the judge to exercise wisely his position and his power to preserve an orderly and just government and to use this authority as a merciful buffer for the unfortunates and the underprivileged. * * * Without the judge, our Government and our civilization would be without the vigor it must have to survive the present critical competition between systems of government, political philosophy, and social justice. Perhaps more than most elected or appointed officials he symbolizes a government that is ruled by law, a government that today seeks to associate with all nations in the creation of a world of law.

President Kennedy, in his actions and in his words, joined with another great political figure of the Twentieth Century, Winston Churchill, in the belief that one measure of a nation's virtue and strength is its treatment of the criminal. Like Churchill, he believed that "there is treasure, if you can only find it, in the heart of every man."

At this point, Mr. President, I had intended to ask permission to insert a few editorials from Missouri newspapers commenting on President Kennedy's death and what he had meant to this Nation. However, the task of selection was too great. Nearly every paper in Missouri responded in a way I have never seen equaled. Editors of large papers and small papers composed such eloquent, touching and excellent editorials that to have chosen any one, or a few, would have been an injustice to the others.

I did find a commentary, though, that for breadth and depth as well as feeling seemed to sum up the expressions of Missouri newspapermen. The writer is a nationally known Republican, Mr. Roy A. Roberts of the Kansas City Star, one of the great editors and political writers of our time.

In the Sunday, November 24, edition of the Star, he wrote a moving commentary on the death of President Kennedy, and the legend he has willed to this Nation and the world that will see his programs and philosophy live as a shrine to his memory.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Robert's article, entitled "Legend Will Live On," be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Kansas City (Mo.) Star, Nov. 24 1963]

LEGEND WILL LIVE ON—MEMORIES OF JOHN F. KENNEDY WILL BE SPUR TOWARD HIS TWO MAJOR GOALS: WORLD PEACE AND RIGHTS OF MANKIND—LED THE WAY—FORMER PRESIDENT HAD AWESOME RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE SPACE AGE—TIME TO CLOSE RANKS—SOBERING TRAGEDY MAY EASE DIFFERENCE IN AMERICAN POLITICS

(By Roy A. Roberts)

I am confident that the legend of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, living after the man, will drive forcefully toward his two major goals: The peace of the world and the rights of mankind.

Even in the sorrow of the moment, it is possible to see that in the long course of history the legend may prove more effective than was the vibrant national and world leadership of John Kennedy.

But what a shocking price it is to pay. What a pointless sacrifice of a human life at the hands of an assassin.

HONOR HIS MEMORY

If I know the American people—and I believe I do—they are sentimental and they are fine. They cherish the memory of a man and oftentimes in their midst, the honored legend of one of their fallen fellows carries farther than did his voice, however eloquent and powerful.

We can know, certainly, that the legend of John Kennedy will not quickly pass. In these few terrible hours it has been inscribed on the Nation's consciousness. Both the man and the legend have their place in history and both will grow with the decades. Violent death, pointless death, so often guarantees that it will be so.

And, in the case of the late President, it could be no other way. He was first in so many things.

He was the first President elected to the space age.

He was the first Roman Catholic President.

He was, almost unique in our history, a truly urban President.

He was the first President to carry for long—although Dwight Eisenhower knew the burden in his later years—the awesome responsibility of the finger on the button. He knew that the moment of decision could come and that civilization, in the push of the button, could be reduced to chaos.

Throughout the story of the Republic, there has always been the lonely man in the White House, ordained by his people to make the decisions. The Presidency has always been an assignment of terrible burden. But from the other day henceforth, until man learns to control these nuclear forces, the burden has grown and will continue to grow. It is a time of no second-guessing and beyond peace lies death.

Thus does the happenstance of time ennoble and enshrine the legend of the young President struck down because of some twisted mind's decision. In sorrow, animosities are buried. From grief grows the memory that works on for the cause.

A TIME TO RALLY

Certainly the immediate impact of the tragedy has sobered the Nation. I hope, indeed, that it will erase permanently some of the fierce antagonisms of the forthcoming campaign. I do know that the American people, as they have always done in moments of emergency past, will close ranks in this dark time. Because it has always been thus, this Nation has reached its heights of freedom and democracy.

But to foresee the future we must know the present. And this, I believe, must be acknowledged as a factor in the Nation's story yet to be told. The present Congress had made a shambles of President Kennedy's domestic program. I have observed these matters for half a century and I can recall no Congress that has placed its stamp of approval on so little that a President wanted.

Frankly, you could describe the legislative situation on Capitol Hill only as an awful mess. There are many reasons and on a recent 10-day swing through the East, I sought them out. I was doing so, in fact, when this awful thing happened. I had intended to write—and in proper time, the story can still be written—of the whys and wherefores of the impasse between the White House and Congress.

Yet in no way did this situation discourage John F. Kennedy or lessen his ardor for his goals. Undaunted, but possibly a bit frustrated, he rode off to the political wars, confident that next year his program—built around civil rights and a tax reduction—would win congressional approval.

A LOOK AHEAD

It is my guess now—and it is only a guess—that this confidence will be justified, and perhaps sooner than expected. But not, of course, in 1963, for the days left on the calendar simply will not permit it.

I suggest this for two reasons: The shocking end of John Kennedy's life did not resolve the issue of civil rights, for example. But it most certainly will remove much of the extreme bitterness from the picture. In a sense, the Kennedy name had become a symbol in this fight. As symbol becomes legend, we may see a greater sense of reason, a lessening of bitterness. And if there is a lesson in the tragedy of Dallas, it is this: The Nation needs more reason, less emotion in dealing with this major problem of the rights of all citizens.

Then, another and very practical reason. Although John Kennedy served on Capitol Hill, had many friends there and understood the legislative process, it must be said that he was never a member of the lodge, so to speak. He was detached, in a sense, and certainly outside the inner circle.

On the other hand, Lyndon B. Johnson, who now sits in the White House, was in a similar sense the grand master of the lodge during his later years on the Hill. Not for decades has there been a more adept or subtle leader of the Senate than was the Senator from Texas. Perhaps his knowledge and understanding of the world and of its global economy do not equal the knowledge of his predecessor. But Lyndon Johnson knows Congress inside and out. You see the distinct possibility of a breaking of the impasse which had become so serious that thoughtful observers wondered whether the legislative machinery could function in these complex times.

EXPERIENCE HIS BULWARK

L.B.J. and Mr. Sam—the late Speaker Sam Rayburn—ran a taut congressional ship for so many years. When Mr. Johnson moved from the Senate to the Vice Presidency, one fact was obvious: Those who followed him in the leadership of the lodge would not permit him to run Capitol Hill by proxy. No one realized this more than did Lyndon Johnson and he carefully refrained from interferring in congressional activities. Had he interferred, it would have been a terrific tactical error.

As President, Lyndon Johnson assumes the duty of leadership, and Congress must recognize this fact. His experience, his old associations may ease his task. In the area of domestic legislation at least, this is a significant fact of the Johnson administration.

It is hardly the time to discuss politics and it would not be in good taste. But there are a few thoughts, I believe, that may be properly expressed, toward the end of better understanding John Kennedy and his successor, and in preparation for the difficult months to come.

Certainly all preconceived notions of both parties must now go by the boards. The dope-sheets will be torn up and a new picture will develop but slowly.

KEYMAN ON TEAM

By coincidence, there was one question in my mind when I left for Washington that, once answered, sheds light on the capabilities of our new President. Did the President and his advisers, preparing for the 1964 campaign, really want L.B.J. on the ticket, or was there an intention to dump him, as some have intimated? I talked to several persons close to the top, and this, they said, was certain: John F. Kennedy did want Lyndon Johnson as his running mate. One associate of President Kennedy told me:

"Of course we want Johnson. He has been a team player. He has given the administration his completely loyalty and support. He has been self-effacing, perhaps too self-effacing, feeling that the President should always keep in the spotlight."

It was a judgment of the man Johnson and a judgment we can take at face value.

Moreover, I think it can be safely noted that the Kennedys did not anticipate defeat next year. The President and those around him recognized that a tough battle was ahead. There was the belief that John F. Kennedy had probably reached his personal low point on the political scale. It was better, the reasoning went, to reach the low point a year before the election, than either just before or just after the convention.

AT HIS BEST IN CAMPAIGN

Another point might be cleared up. Do not carry any illusions that President Kennedy had entered the political wars reluctantly or with faint heart. He may have been frustrated by the ebb and flow of world events or by the slow progress of his domestic program and the immobility of Congress. But not on politics. John F. Kennedy was a born campaigner with a deep fervor of cause and dedication.

I might recall that Franklin D. Roosevelt referred to Al Smith as the "Happy Warrior." The title stuck to the end. But Al Smith was not a happy warrior. He was a hard, snarling fighter who did not relish the political battle. John F. Kennedy, I say in the deepest of respect, was a happy warrior. And as the bullet flashed, the cheers of the crowd were ringing in his ears.

I mention these bits and pieces of politics now not because they may point to the shape of things to come, but chiefly because of the light they shed on the spirit and character of the President who gave his life and of the President who has succeeded him. There will be time enough, later, for all the politics and it will be time tinged with a deep sorrow that will linger.

I confess freely to a real liking for John Kennedy. I do not pretend to have been close to the man and I never was. But he fascinated me as few Presidents have. I did not buy everything he had to sell and certainly did not buy the philosophy of the Democratic Party on which he ran 3 years ago.

DURING TIME OF CHANGE

Looking back over those 3 years, however, I think I may say that one achievement of his too-short career was to lead his party from the outmoded ways of the New Deal into the global economy of the space age. I doubt, frankly, that most businessmen ever understood this President. I am sure I did not, for he was not an easy man to fathom.

On the surface, he was a great liberal. Yet his tax bill and his general fiscal program contained more of the moderate GOP philosophy than of the New Deal. Perhaps here we have one chief difficulty that he encountered in getting his program through Congress.

You could never size up the man on the basis of those he gathered about him. He had his circle from Harvard, liberals all. Their names made rightwingers foam at the mouth. He wanted the assistance of the liberals but he did not necessarily base policy on their advice.

Then, as Secretary of Defense, he chose Robert McNamara. It is the biggest single job in any administration (for after all, a President is, in a real sense, his own Secretary of State). McNamara is a modern industrialist, a nominal Republican and one of the strongest figures to go to Washington in decades. Excepting Robert Kennedy, McNamara probably carried more weight in the Kennedy administration than any other man.

At the economically sensitive Federal Reserve, John Kennedy strongly supported William McChesney Martin, and no one could regard Martin as anything but a sound money and fiscal man. Douglas Dillon, another nominal Republican who became Treasury Secretary, is a man who also knows money and is by no means a liberal in his economic opinions.

In matters of the deepest concern to labor John Kennedy was sympathetic. Yet he held out a restraining demand against the drive for shorter hours and too-sharp wage increases that might harm the Nation in world marketplaces.

NOT ONE-SIDED

I hesitate to label any man yet if this is a picture of the liberal, it is also the picture of a leader firmly oriented in a philosophy of real conservatism. Where John Kennedy stood in the ideological spectrum, I never could say. But this much was certain: He knew the score and he had a profound instinct for the principles and processes of government.

Then, too, the words of a man become a mark of his leadership. John Kennedy was one of our most articulate Presidents, one of the best read in history and literature. There was an element of majesty in some of his pronouncements on the world and its search for peace. I suspect that many of his speeches will live on. They were moving and if some of his words on domestic problems seemed to be aimed at the pocketbook, his words on peace spoke to the hearts of men with a real warmth. Of course, his critics said he was better at words than actions. But, I wonder, what action?

Excerpt some of the paragraphs from the speeches he made and was to have made on his final trip to Texas, and you would have a moving creed for the Nation.

History may rate the confrontation of Nikita Khrushchev in the showdown of nuclear decision as the biggest episode in the Kennedy career. But I wonder if more importance should not be given to President Kennedy's whole approach to world affairs than to one single episode, spectacular turning point that it was.

FAMILIAR WITH SITUATION

And because the new President, Lyndon Johnson, was so familiar with this whole approach, there is an element of reassurance. He sat in with John Kennedy when most of the major decisions were made. He does not face the impossible task that Harry S. Truman faced when Franklin Roosevelt died. Mr. Truman, to put it bluntly, was thrust onto the world stage unprepared, through no fault of his own, for the moments ahead.

In contrast, Lyndon Johnson knows thoroughly the Kennedy program and the men who are charged with carrying it out. To that extent, this transition in brief is easier. But it must be acknowledged that President Johnson has one liability in his new role. Our allies and our foes respect power. John F. Kennedy was elected Commander in Chief by his people. However strong his leadership may be, the new President will carry the mark of a man who succeeded to power only by the accident of another man's death. It will be thus until he is elected in his own right or until there is a new man in the White House. Especially is this a factor of importance against the background of forthcoming elections in other nations. For times of balloting are times of uncertainty and uncertainty does not create easy diplomacy.

And there is always, in national emergency or national change, an element of uncertainty for the economy. New York and Washington, I found, were thoroughly optimistic over the future. They agreed that these good times would be prolonged into the new year. So universal was the optimism that it made me feel somewhat uneasy, for trouble comes, so often, when everyone is thinking the same way. Now, we must wonder how the economy will withstand this great shock.

MORALE HAD BEEN LOW

Yet with all the optimism, there has been, in the people, a sense of frustration. National leaders I talked to in this last week said they detected a letdown feeling on the part of the public. People are weary of crisis, perhaps tired of spending money on nations that hardly can find their own place on the maps of the world. It is a case of the Nation's morale at something of a low ebb and it has been reflected, I suggest, in the savage attacks on foreign aid and spending.

In times of frustration there is a search for simple answers which so seldom are solutions. It has beeen reflected, I fear, in the growth of extremist groups of left and right, in the manner that the campaign, full of vituperation and name calling, had begun. It has been disturbing. We need, in a democracy, our differences of opinion but if there is a lesson of Dallas, it is this: We do not need the venom spewed by the hate groups; we need reasoned argument without vicious hatred.

And perhaps the death of John F. Kennedy may center our national thinking once more on these principles of reason and moderation in a democracy. If so, his terrible death will not have beeen in vain. But again, I express the common grief: What a terrible price to pay.

President Johnson deserves and will get—because it is the American way—his chance. Technically, he enters the period that politicians call the honeymoon. For him, it cannot be an extended honeymoon for the hour of national decision at the polls is not too far off.

GOOD BASIC UNDERSTANDING

I have known Lyndon Johnson much longer than I knew John Kennedy. I respect him and his ability. He, too, knows and grasps the principles of government and of democracy. He has the understanding of people that is so essential. I doubt that any new President has had so much experience in Washington and it should be of tremendous help to him in this hour of sorrow and shock.

Yet it is the stuff of a man that counts, that spells the difference between success and failure on the world stage. Certainly President Johnson starts with the good wishes and the good will of his countrymen. We can hope and pray that he will measure up to his awesome task. Yet we cannot expect this

administration to be a carbon copy of the Kennedy administration. Lyndon Johnson's roots go back to the soil, not to the city. He has lived as a part of the space age; yet, he is, in contrast to John Kennedy, more in the tradition of Presidents past.

And now he must carry on where the young President left off in the moment of violence. On this middle-aged Texan falls the responsibility of world, national, and party leadership. It is a terrifying responsibility but I know that his Nation will stand united behind him in the trying months of history's ordeal.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I wish to join the other Members of this body in paying tribute to our former colleague, the late President John F. Kennedy, whose life was so tragically ended by a coward's bullet last month.

We in the Senate who had known and worked with him for many years were especially stunned and shocked by that almost unbelievable act, not only because we knew the man well, but because we immediately recognized this vicious act as an attack on both our form of government and the highest office to which we can elect one of our citizens.

The fact that we may have differed with some of the policies of our late colleague does not in the least diminish our respect for his determination to pursue the goals which he sought and in which he so strongly believed.

November 22, 1963, will remain a tragic day in the history of our country—a day when the United States lost its young and vigorous leader and a day when we in the Senate lost a friend and colleague whom we had grown to know and respect so well.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, President John F. Kennedy, only 46 years of age, happily married, father of two children, brilliant, eager, foremost leader of the free world, died a martyr. He will no longer direct the destiny of our Nation and of freedom-loving people the world over.

John F. Kennedy was a great President of the United States. Perhaps it is too early to fix his place in history because so much of what he initiated was left for others to complete. However, two of his achievements seem likely to take root.

For the first time in this century, he placed the power and prestige of the Presidency behind a downtrodden race whose second-class status demeaned the dignity of all Americans. To protect not only our freedom but the freedom of all mankind, he took the world to the precipice of a war during the Cuban crisis in 1962. Khrushchev's withdrawal of his offensive missiles from Cuba was America's greatest cold war triumph. It was also a great personal triumph for President Kennedy. A measure of his greatness lies in the fact that he followed up this triumph by deeds intended to eliminate the risk of a holocaust through madness or miscalculation—his speech at American University last June, the nuclear test ban treaty, and his other efforts toward peaceful solutions to the world's problems.

Mr. President, something else was irretrievably lost in the death of John F. Kennedy—the brilliance of his presence, the glow of his style. He brought renewed dignity to political life. His literacy, his wit, his physical grace, and his sense of history added new dimensions to the Presidency. He cherished not only learning but the learned. He brought to the Presidency a new brilliance and luster. He sparked the imagination of all Americans, reawakening in them an awareness of the great potential of our Nation.

In World War II the life of this gallant young man was saved in enemy action. In this cold war he lost his life. Why, we ask? Perhaps the answer is that hate for fellow Americans has been building up, stimulated by lunatic fringe propagandists of the radical right and radical left. There has been too much hate built up by unscrupulous demagogs—hate for President Kennedy; hate for his administration; hate for the Chief Justice of the United States; hate unbridled.

Some citizens have been tolerant of extremist elements among us, evidently, in the belief they were crackbrains, loudmouths, and habitual letter-to-editor writers who would disappear of their own accord in due time. Since the witch hunts of the early 1950's a climate was created which encouraged these lunatic extremist organizations to flourish unchallenged. Perhaps this atmosphere, which our young President sought so hard to combat, contributed to his death. If these lunatic fringe extremists of the left and right are to be restrained, they must be subject to constant exposure and relentless publicity. Unfortunately, there are too many of these patriots for profits. America is really last with them. The people of America and the entire world have poured out their grief, shock, and anger over the assassination of our President. Chief Justice of the United States, Earl Warren, expressed the feelings of many Americans in his statement on that tragic occasion. He said:

> A great and good President has suffered martyrdom as a result of hatred and bitterness that has been injected into the life of our Nation by bigots, but his memory will always be an inspiration to Americans of good will everywhere.

Mr. President, it was my privilege to serve with John F. Kennedy both in the House of Representatives and in the U.S. Senate. His death meant to me not only the loss of a great President and a great leader, but the passing of a close personal friend. Let us hope that his otherwise senseless death may become meaningful in the light of history by furnishing the inspiration needed for completing his unfinished tasks. Let us complete that which he began.

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, on this occasion when the Senate is honoring the memory of our late beloved President, John F. Kennedy, I, too, wish to pay tribute to my former friend and colleague. His tragic and untimely death stunned and saddened all Americans, particularly those of us who knew him both as a Member of Congress and as our Nation's Chief Executive. His sudden passing also shocked millions of persons around the globe who mourn with us. Even now it is difficult to comprehend and grasp the brutal truth that he is gone.

As others have thoroughly chronicled his remarkable life and his remarkable career, I shall not dwell upon biographical detail except to note a fact which might be overlooked, yet which endures to his eternal credit: Born to material wealth, John F. Kennedy could have existed in indolent ease; but instead he chose to dedicate his life to serving his country, in war as an officer in the U.S. Navy and in peace as a U.S. Congressman, as a U.S. Senator, and finally as elected President of the United States, giving at each station the fullest measure of devotion to the people he loved and the Nation he revered. It was a mark of his ability and intellectual capacity that he grew in stature with each higher responsibility and each new post.

Then suddenly, when he was at the full height of his powers, an evil hand, from behind without warning, fired two mortal shots, depriving a wife of her husband, depriving two young children of their father, depriving our Nation of its Chief, and depriving the world of one of its great humanitarians and one of its most steadfast friends.

A man of peace was struck down by a villain of unspeakable violence.

A man of great and good will was struck down by a disciple of hatred and malevolence.

A brave and worthy personage was struck down by a craven coward.

And so the horrible news flashed forth: John F. Kennedy, age 46, mortally wounded on active duty in service of his country, felled by an assassin's bullets.

In the long span of recorded history, 46 years on life's stage are but as the twinkling of an eye. But John F. Kennedy's 46 years were crammed with action and good works which will leave their mark in the years to come.

While only time and coming events can render the final verdict on all that John F. Kennedy did, we his contemporaries know now, as we knew instantly at the time of his passing, that someone vibrant and courageous and dynamic and vigorous and imaginative and adventurous and enthusiastic and gregarious and gay and warm and witty and personable and cultured and likeable and gallant and humane and decent and idealistic and purposeful and resolute and intellectual and devout—a complete man—had passed from our midst.

Though as President he occupied our Nation's highest office and stood in the forefront of the world's leaders, John F. Kennedy remained a human being with a capacity to attend to little courtesies and endearing acts of kindness. I recall with pleasure that last October, preoccupied with the unbelievably heavy burdens of office, he took time out to send birthday felicitations to me in Hawaii. I am only one of legions of people who were touched by his thoughtfulness.

These many personal attributes he crowned with a profound sense of national destiny, giving eloquent expression to our overriding mission as a people and as a Nation; to work unceasingly for a world of peace and justice for all mankind.

Although mid-20th century America had become an affluent society, attaining the greatest good for the greatest number in history, John F. Kennedy would not let us, his countrymen, rest on our laurels, but kept prodding us and leading us toward higher goals and new frontiers of endeavor—not merely the obvious frontiers of our land, sea, and space environment, but also the frontiers of the mind and spirit.

So it was that John F. Kennedy, personifying the grandeur and beneficence of America, pressed impatiently on toward a better world where all its people would be nourished, clothed, sheltered, schooled, accepted, and accorded the liberty, equality, and dignity due them as children of the Creator.

He did not spare himself in pursuit of that goal. Last June, he journeyed nearly 10,000 miles from Washington to Hawaii and back in order to deliver a major civil rights plea in our multiracial island State. Had he given his address anywhere, it would have commanded attention. By delivering it in Hawaii, a living showcase of racial tolerance and harmony, before a conference of U.S. mayors, John F. Kennedy created a stunning impact. It was a strong message delivered personally to leaders of local communities where rests so much of the responsibility for attaining equality of opportunity for all races.

We of Hawaii were, of course, highly pleased and very proud that he had selected Honolulu as the forum for his civil rights plea.

Our only regret was that he could not have lingered in Hawaii for a visit to our neighbor islands and a rest in our mid-Pacific paradise. Despite his very tight schedule during his short stay, he found time to visit the Arizona Memorial to pay tribute to his comrades entombed in their battleship since that infamous enemy attack on December 7, 1941.

It is little wonder that, from the moment he landed until the moment he departed, the people of Hawaii received him warmly and enthusiastically without a single sour note during his visit, a tribute not only to his high office, but also to the man himself and to his outgoing and magnetic personality.

Yes, John F. Kennedy personified the spirit of America, giving it new voice, new meaning, new dimension, and new focus for Americans and for the 3 billion souls who inhabit this earth.

Although his person was struck down, his spirit—the spirit of America—endures, as it did before him and as it will long after him if we, as he, are willing to protect and preserve that spirit and pass it on to our children and to their children and to children throughout all generations, emulating in the process his courage, his fidelity, his willingness to sacrifice all, even life itself, that this spirit illuminating the world shall never be extinguished.

Now it is for us, the living, to dedicate ourselves to the unfinished business before us, as he so often exhorted.

No eulogy on John F. Kennedy would be complete without tribute to Mrs. Kennedy, whose grace, gallantry, and fortitude wrote an unforgettable and altogether fitting epilogue to his Profiles in Courage. In those dark days of supreme anguish after her husband's life was so treacherously and horribly snuffed out before her eyes, Mrs. Kennedy's serene composure, indomitable courage, and superb dignity attained awesome and heroic proportions.

She who most needed solace gave solace to others.

In this time of mourning, therefore, we honor not only a distinguished President but also his magnificent lady and from them take inspiration.

To Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy, to Caroline, to John, Jr., to Mr. and Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy, to our colleague Edward Kennedy, to the Attorney General Robert Kennedy, and to all the Kennedy family, Mrs. Fong and I extend our heartfelt condolences.

May you find comfort in this expression of affection, respect, and esteem for the memory of your beloved Jack.

And so, one last farewell, one final Aloha, to our fallen leader who so nobly personified the greatness and goodness of America.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, it was a bitter cold day, less than 3 years ago when Senator John F. Kennedy, the President-elect rode up Pennsylvania Avenue in the inaugural parade and took the oath of office as President of the United States. It was not an auspicious start for a new administration but the ringing words of his inaugural address warmed the hearts and lifted up the spirit of the whole world:

> Let the word go forth from this time and place—to friend and foe alike—that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage. Let every nation know that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and success of liberty. This much we pledge—and more.

Less than 3 years after John F. Kennedy made that pledge to our Nation at his inaugural as our 35th President, he gave more. In the words of another President, Abraham Lincoln, President Kennedy gave "the last full measure of devotion."

I was in Washington when the President left for his last trip—to Texas. I was here when his body was returned. I joined hundreds of thousands of Americans in paying tribute to him when he lay in the rotunda of the Capitol—and when he was buried at Arlington National Cemetery. Montanans, who spent hours before their television and radio sets and read thousands of words about the untimely death of our beloved President, are as well informed as I am about the loss we have suffered. Suffice it to say that President Kennedy was a special friend of Montana.

Senator MANSFIELD and I were with President Kennedy on his recent trip to Montana. He was interested in the conservation, orderly development, wise management, and highest possible use of the natural resources with which we are especially blessed. He never forgot the conservation program which, as a presidential nominee, he laid down in Billings in the fall of 1960.

President Kennedy was interested in Yellowtail Dam, Yellowstone Park, Custer Battlefield National Monument. He asked about them on the airplane as we neared Billings. He talked about them, and about other key parts of Montana development, as we drove through Billings.

Because of the interest of President Kennedy, we have more parks, more recreation facilities, more forest access roads than ever before. He recommended to Congress many other proposals to develop our resources—including the greatest resource of all, our youngsters.

But when he spoke to the people of Montana he threw away his prepared speeches and spoke about what was in his heart. He talked about the test ban treaty, about peace in the world. He spoke of complicated problems which concern all citizens.

"So when you ask," he said, "why are we in Laos or Vietnam or the Congo, or why do we support the Alliance for Progress in Latin America, we do so because we believe that our freedom is tied up with theirs, and if we can develop a world in which all the countries are free, then the threat to the security of the United States is lessened.

"So we have to stay at it. We must not be fatigued."

President Kennedy was a special friend of Montanans, many of whom knew him personally. As a Senator, he had spoken in Butte and in Helena. As a presidential candidate, he had made a major speech in Billings. As President, he had visited with and spoken to many groups, including Indian leaders. His trip to Montana this fall, with speeches in Billings and Great Falls, was a return to friends. John F. Kennedy was a friend of man, a leader of men, which enriched the lives and inspired the spirit of all of us.

The epitaph of President Kennedy will be written in the accomplishments of his administration, in the courage of his leadership, in the initiative of his domestic innovations, in his boldness as an international statesman. John F. Kennedy belongs to history and the ages.

A MEMBER OF THE FAMILY LOST

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, I shared with my fellow Americans a very high regard for President John F. Kennedy when he was alive and along with my fellow Americans I share a deep sense of personal loss now that he has been taken from us. His death affected me, as it did millions of others, as though I had lost a member of my own family.

My association with the late President, although not a close one, dated back to the swearing in of Members of the 80th Congress in January 1947. We were both freshmen Members of the House, and I came to know him as a colleague in that great body noted for its fellowship and esprit de corps. He was always friendly. My contacts with him were always pleasant.

I was privileged to become a Member of the Senate in January 1961, when President Kennedy's administration took

office. Although I am a member of the opposite party, I never failed to recognize President Kennedy's ability and dedication to the course he considered right for the country. He had my highest respect. Although he was in office only a relatively short time, his youth and vigor and personality have left a lasting imprint on our country.

His memory will always remain bright.

To Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy and her children, and to all of the other members of the Kennedy family, I extend my profound sympathy.

Mr. MECHEM. Mr. President, the people of New Mexico join with other Americans in paying sincere tribute to our late President, John F. Kennedy.

We were stunned beyond description by the manner in which he was taken from us. Such a deed is an attack on all of us and on our institutions and way of life.

President Kennedy was a man of conviction and principle, who fought hard for what he believed. We can take comfort in the way our fellow Americans have withstood this devastating blow. We can take confidence in the steadiness of our great Nation during this trying and dangerous period.

Even in our sorrow, shared by all Americans at the tragic death of our President, let us take renewed faith in the goodness of the overwhelming majority of humanity.

I extend my deepest sympathy to the members of the Kennedy family.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I would like to say of the late John Fitzgerald Kennedy that I knew him well, and I admired him.

He was our President, and for that reason the Nation is in deep mourning. But I knew him also as a man, and that was why I cried, as all America cried, when he was shot.

John Kennedy was young, not just in age, but in outlook. I suspect if he had lived to the fullness of man's normal span, he would still have the vigor that characterized his approach to public affairs.

This youth, optimism, and vigor permeated everything he did and, as many in this Senate remember, these qualities seemed to accompany him through the door of every room he entered.

This young man saw new frontiers and was convinced that they were just beyond the horizon. He strode forward in pursuit of them, with determination and style that carried him to the hearts of many Americans. These Americans elected him first to the House, then the Senate, finally the Presidency.

But his impact spread well beyond our own borders. We all know of the high regard heads of state all over the world had for the late President. However, I received a letter from Australia just this morning which says, in simple terms, what many persons in all stations of life thought of our late President.

My correspondent wrote:

> No matter whose side you are on he was a good guy and had the guts to say and do what he thought was right.

No one knows what was in the mind of the assassin, because he also is now dead. But all evidence indicates that he was deranged.

And, as former President Eisenhower wrote in a memorial article about the late President Kennedy:

> Knowing that such psychopaths are with us, we as a people do have a responsibility for avoiding fanaticism and overemotional political extremes that may tend to incite unstable individuals.

That should give us some suggestion for a fitting memorial for President Kennedy, not the only one, but one which is certainly in order in this Christmas season. Would it not be appropriate to call for a moratorium on hatred?

We are all aware of the fact that stable men are able to handle emotion, including the emotion of hatred, degrading as it is, but which can be handled and kept under control by the majority of people. But when men and women pass on expressions of hatred—of the kind that has swirled around our land, polluting our politics and our very lives—sooner or later the waves go on and reach an unstable person.

That person may be on the right or on the left. It does not matter. But those unstable men and women are capable of horrible violence because they cannot control hatred.

Each of us in our private lives can do something about it. The next time any American hears an expression of hatred or vitriol or a gangrenous kind of remark, he should not laugh nor snicker nor should he lightly dismiss evil in action. It is our duty, all of us, to condemn these things.

We as individuals and we as a nation have an obligation to condemn extremism, the kind that permits of no free discussion, that admits no diversity, that labels persons who refuse to conform to established patterns as "traitors."

This I offer as a part of my personal memorial to the fallen President. We will always cherish his memory.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, perhaps now that it is all over, we should remember the happy times of the past and face the sober challenges of the future.

We lived through the assassination period, numb with shock and inadequate in our grief, and then we had our spirit as a nation restored by the stately funeral and the towering courage of a great First Lady.

Perhaps now the man whose loss we feel so much would want most of all for us to look backward with a fond smile, and look forward with a brave heart.

The past is rich in memories. One memory which comes back vividly to me now is that dramatic scene at the 1956 Democratic National Convention when a wonderfully boyish John Kennedy, looking like a college freshman, climaxed an amazing drive for the vice presidential nomination by urging the cheering delegates to unite behind Estes Kefauver, who had just defeated him in a close race.

The electric personality, the tremendous ability to radiate charm to the throngs, was clearly visible on that occasion. Many of us said then that he was a man of the future.

Eventually, we in Wisconsin came to know him almost as a native son. All through the late winter and the cold, wet spring of 1960 he stumped our State in quest of the presidential nomination. The wool-shirted woodsmen in the towns of our far north got to know him over a cup of coffee, and the farmers in our rich southern counties met him over the fence.

Everywhere he went this remarkable young man and his extraordinary family won the hearts of the people of Wisconsin. That is why his death leaves such a void within us. That is why, when his young son salutes his departing funeral wagon, we salute too.

Since coming to Washington in January, I was able to visit with him at his home, and to talk with him in his office. I was struck by the same characteristics which the whole world came to appreciate: The open and friendly manner, the good humor, the spirit of confidence in the face of grave problems, and most of all, the keen mind, with its amazing breadth of interest and its storehouse of detailed knowledge.

My happiest memory of all will always be of his trip to northern Wisconsin on September 24, at the start of his nationwide conservation tour. We flew together in a helicopter over Lake Superior and the Apostle Islands, and he peered out of the window in excitement. We talked about the disappearing bald eagle and the clear blue water and the beautiful beaches, which reminded him of Cape Cod, and I was struck anew at this warm feeling for the world of nature in a sophisticated young man from Boston.

John Kennedy shared the sense of urgency many Americans have come to feel about preserving the beauty of the land in which we live. His leadership in this field will be sorely missed.

As the Nation binds up its wounds and tries to return to the tasks before it, we are all struck by the extent to which everything we do must now be recast in the light of his tragic death.

We cannot face up to any of the great issues without realizing that the vigorous young man who articulated these issues and gave them substance is gone.

He had entered all of our lives, to an astonishing degree. He had completely filled the image we have in our minds of the President of the United States, the greatest democratic office on earth. Many things will never be the same without him.

But the tasks remain.

The murder of the man who articulated the great issues of our day does not remove the issues. It simply makes them more difficult to resolve.

Some of the great burden which he carried passes on to each of us who remain behind.

The only way we can begin to replace this great loss of courage and wisdom and dedication to American democracy is to summon some of the same spirit from within ourselves.

I am confident that that spirit is there. It must be, or we would not have responded as we did to these very qualities in President Kennedy.

We loved his wit and his articulateness, we admired his courage, we marveled at his knowledge, we were moved

by his deep commitment to America and to preserving the rights of men. Well then, let us live on in his tradition. Let us look within ourselves and find all we can of those same gifts we came to recognize in John Kennedy. Let each of us contribute to our country what we can of these gifts. That is the way for us to remember him. That is the way for us to face the future. That is the way he would have wished it.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, the fact of John F. Kennedy's assassination remains shrouded in an aura of unbelievability despite the complete news coverage, despite the funeral, despite the finality of his burial. We know it occurred and that life is going on in a new pattern, but we are still staggered by the awful realization that this thing happened in our midst.

Perhaps the reason for this lingering of memory stems from the nature of the man and his approach to national problems. John Kennedy concerned himself with every facet of American life. With youthful vitality he projected himself into every controversy, every decision of national import, every issue at hand. Thus, he became more widely known than most of his predecessors and his sudden removal from the scene touches all of our lives.

It is inevitable that a man of this nature would himself become a storm center of controversy, and that many would rise up to disagree with and oppose him. Such opposition has often been voiced in this Chamber by Members of the Senate including members of his party.

As a former Senator, President Kennedy understood this—indeed, he participated in the process of criticism and opposition himself when he was among us. He recognized that the right to hold honest differences of opinion was one of the privileges of freemen, and he sought to preserve that right in American life. Like any true Irishman, he is reported to have been looking toward the coming political battle in 1964 with zest and was a proven master in political strategy.

This Chamber has been the scene of the unfolding of some of his strategy, and served as an effective forum for him.

It is fitting now that this Chamber should witness a pause in the processes of controversy and strategy to see Senators unite in their determination to do honor to John Kennedy's memory. All Senators, whatever section of the country they represent or point of view they advocate, can and emphatically do subscribe to the proposition that John Kennedy was an extraordinary person whose service to his country requires extraordinary tribute.

Dwight Eisenhower once said:

> To live for your country is a duty as demanding as is the readiness to die for it.

John Kennedy did live for his country, with a style and verve that enabled him to overcome serious hurdles which fate placed in his path.

He was afflicted with physical discomforts severe enough to take him to the brink of death and prevent him from performing his duties here for almost a year. Yet he fought back from that experience to wage one of the most exhausting campaigns in American history. His war record is well known, and underscores his personal sense of courage and dedication.

He suffered personal tragedy in a measure greater than most of us have known. A brother killed in war, a sister dead, a father stricken, two children lost in infancy—how many others do we know whose lives have crumbled in the face of such tragedies in the immediate family. John Kennedy remained resolute and carried on in his constitutional duty.

And so, indeed, must we. An extraordinary, impressive, exciting man has passed our way, and we are all richer for the experience of having known him. He has been brutally removed from us, and we are all poorer for the loss. Our highest tribute to him will be to carry on as he would have done were he in our place—resolutely, firmly fighting for highest principles, motivated by a dedication to the American dream of liberty for all men.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, millions upon millions of words have been printed and spoken concerning the tragic events of Friday, November 22, 1963. More millions of words have been printed and spoken expressing the Nation's—and the world's—sense of loss, and extending heartfelt sympathy to the family of our late President, John F. Kennedy. There is little that I can add here.

Speaking in part for my State of Nebraska, I want to say that the shock, grief and profound sorrow which engulfed our country reached the same depths in Nebraska.

It is most difficult with mere words to reflect properly the esteem and affection in which Americans hold the President of the United States. He is the supreme symbol of a governmental system, a system dear to all of us, for its institutions and principles have brought to us the most bountiful blessings ever enjoyed by any society in all of mankind's long history. Strike down that symbol, let tragedy be visited upon the man who typifies the achievements of America, and we all are stricken.

We mourn for our late President. We mourn the loss suffered by his family and we extend to them our sympathy. We mourn the loss to our Nation and the free world of a man whose own accomplishments bespeak the greatness of our country.

We must not falter in our efforts to guard vigilantly the governmental system of which the President is the supreme symbol. Our late President would have been proud of the swift and unerring transition of leadership following his tragic death. Within a matter of minutes, the mantle of leadership passed to President Lyndon Johnson who raised anew the torch of freedom for the world to see. There was no anarchy, no political junta such as we have seen elsewhere under somewhat similar circumstances. There was no scramble for position and power.

Our forefathers had guaranteed such an orderly transition when they drafted our Constitution; and we today, in our time of sorrow, can thank our Creator for their wisdom.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, while the Nation mourns a President, we in the Congress mourn an associate and a friend. The Nation thinks of him on the high eminence of his great office. Many of us who served with him both in the House of Representatives and the Senate cherish more the memory of those earlier years. Some of us recall his fight for health. Most of us recall his rise in this great body. I can think of no one who did not respect and admire him. A voracious reader, a master of language, a tireless worker, a fierce fighter for his convictions, he had a warmth of personality and a zest for living that endeared him to his close friends and attracted us all.

His death was untimely but therein lies one small kernel of comfort. He will never grow old. I have always remembered the words of another Massachusetts President, Calvin Coolidge, uttered just after he had lost his young son to a friend who had suffered a similar bereavement:

> By the grace of God, your son and my son will have the blessed privilege of being boys through all eternity.

The portrait of John F. Kennedy in the gallery of history will never show an old man. Unlike the rest of us, his steps will never falter, nor his eyes grow dim, nor his mind lose its keenness. He will live forever in the memory of his countrymen in the full bloom and vigor of his young manhood at the very height of his powers.

We and all who come after us will be better servants of the Republic because he lived.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I would like to add my voice to the many that have been raised, and will be raised, in tribute to our fallen leader, John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

Our Nation has much to learn from his brief time as our honored President. As this Senate knows, and as the people of our great and beloved land knows, I was much in opposition to some of the policies of our late President. But I did not doubt the sincerity and the honesty with which he pursued what he thought was best for our country.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was an honorable advocate and a worthy leader. He admired and respected those who did not flinch from battle, whether it be political or military. These are qualities that this Nation would do well to remember and emulate.

We shall all miss John Fitzgerald Kennedy. We shall miss his ready smile and his human warmth. We shall miss his youth and enthusiasm. We shall miss his devotion to duty.

We shall, above all, miss that leadership which said to the country that principles are worth fighting for. If we remember this, and seek to practice it, we will do honor to the memory of John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, the judgment of history, more than any feeble words we may speak here, will provide the proper eulogy for the brave young man we honor today. For, in 3

short years, John F. Kennedy left his mark on time, not only by the tragic circumstances of his untimely death, but by the dedication with which he faced the task which fate had decreed should be his.

Many of us who speak here today, by right of the system that is uniquely ours, found many issues on which we felt compelled to disagree with this brilliant young leader. Yet, it is a tribute to this man, that of those of us who disagreed most with his philosophy, not one questioned his dedication or sincerity of purpose.

Mr. President, as we honor this fallen leader, struck down in the midst of his unfinished endeavors, I cannot help but be reminded of the words of Alfred Lord Tennyson, in his immortal eulogy, "In Memoriam," when he said:

God's fingers touched him and he slept.

For, truly, God's fingers touched John Fitzgerald Kennedy and he sleeps—far short of his expected lifespan. To those of us who carry on, this tragic event should create in us a rededication to the principles which have sustained man through the ages and which made this great country possible.

May God rest him and keep him, and give solace and comfort to his family.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, it has been said that history will be the true judge of a man's record, a man's worth, and that history will appropriately find the perspective in which a man's deeds are to be chronicled. That well may be, Mr. President, but can history even attempt to capture in the cold print of tomorrow the warmth of yesterday's fellowship and association that a man has built over the years?

Perhaps not. Perhaps that is an assignment that history cannot undertake any more than it could recall for us the vivid and excruciating pain that must have been felt by those footsore Revolutionary heroes of Valley Forge or the despair and relief that rode as dual companions in the thoughts of Abraham Lincoln in a day when brother fought brother but men were made free.

But whether history can chronicle this aspect of man's life for future generations does not lessen the impact that such a man as John Fitzgerald Kennedy has had upon us, his contemporaries, who served with him and worked with him in the common cause of good government in this Chamber and in the other body.

Each of us has his own personal recollection of John Kennedy. What we recall about this man is perhaps more important today than reciting what he accomplished and what he planned to accomplish, for these are matters of the public record—what we feel and what we think about the man are not necessarily a part of that record and I think it is most appropriate that such become chronicled for perhaps these then can make history's task not quite so impossible in relating something of the man himself.

Like many Members of the House and the Senate, I first met John Kennedy in January of 1947 when he came to the House. I served one term in the House with him and then came to the Senate.

In 1953 he came to the Senate and for 7 years was a colleague of all of us serving in this Chamber, until his election to the Presidency in 1960.

For some years he and I were on the same committee, the Select Committee to Investigate Improper Activities in Labor-Management Relations.

What is the one characteristic of this man that stands most firm in my mind?

I would term it his phenomenal capacity for growth.

Even though Jack Kennedy was a member of the other political party, and even though many of us disagreed with a number of his policies and positions, there can be no escaping the fact that he had the admiration of his colleagues, for his career represents a stirring example of the success of our American system of government.

We admired him—I admired him—for the fact that this was a man who dedicated himself to serving our country and in each of the assignments of official capacity he undertook, he grew in stature, taking unto himself the fine attributes of increasing official responsibility but yielding in return something of himself that enhanced the office he held.

I was not one of John Kennedy's closest personal friends. Some in this Chamber were, and it is they who can best speak about the very personal characteristics which gave a unique style and warmth to our 35th President.

But I was a friend in the sense that all who serve together in the Senate are friends—for that is the way—the wonderful way—of our political life. We may be opponents, but we are friends. There are no enemies here, for our political system is too sound, too strong, and so good that enmity has no room here.

The enmity that is found in our political system is that harboring in the hearts of those who do not understand the fundamental nature of our Government and therefore really are not participants. They cannot accept nor recognize that it is a broad foundation upon which our two-party system has been established and upon which it thrives.

And in this friendship of association that evolves out of service together as Members of the Senate, I have many happy recollections of Jack Kennedy and the work he carried on here.

He demonstrated early that he was a worthy proponent of the many causes he espoused and those who engaged John Kennedy in debate on matters before the Senate knew full well that they were not embarking upon some light skirmish. He was formidable and as he proceeded to the top office in our Government he grew in stature and in capacity, but even in the most trying of circumstances, he met his challenges and propounded his points without rancor.

Perhaps that is one of the heritages John Kennedy would leave to us, and to all Americans. To try to understand a little more about the world in which we live and the people about us and to lend a little more understanding to others. He helped impress upon us all the art and the necessity of disagreeing without becoming disagreeable.

I think John Kennedy would want this as much as he would want us to continue to promote America's interests through the forums of discussion and argument, but to do it without compromise of principle or resorting to the weak reeds of vituperation which are not helpful to either cause or country.

It is indeed a tragedy that one who learned and so well practiced this capacity of being persistent without ever becoming unpleasant should be struck down by an assassin who learned only to hate our system of government and its talented and accomplished leader.

Mr. President, on this day of tribute to our late President, Mrs. Mundt joins me in extending our sympathies to the family of John Kennedy, a family which has greatly enriched the spirit of America through its contributions and sacrifices.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I should like to add my voice to those of my distinguished colleagues in paying tribute to our late President, John F. Kennedy.

He was a man of great personal ability and energy whose approach to the overwhelming tasks of the vast executive branch of Government created in the minds of his administrators a spirit of enthusiasm, dedication, and teamwork in administering the programs and causes in which he believed and into which he put much of himself.

Both in his life as President of the United States and as the head of the Nation's first family, he added much to the average American's concept of our Chief Executive.

History will record his contribution to the great events of our time.

I join with my fellow Americans in mourning the dark deed which took the life of our Chief Executive and in expressing to his widow and family our sincerest and heartfelt sympathy.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, all of America found it hard—almost impossible—to believe that their energetic, youthful President, so full of zest for life and of zeal for his official duties, had been so suddenly and cruelly struck down.

Those of us who had known him in the years before he moved into the White House were even more stunned by this horrible truth.

Many honors and privileges have come to me in my lifetime. One of the most highly treasured and longest remembered will be the association I had with John F. Kennedy during his service in the U.S. Senate and during his term of office—so tragically cut short—as the 35th President of the United States.

For 6 years we served together in the Senate. Although we were not assigned to the same committees, where there is the greatest opportunity for frequent meetings and personal consultations, we nonetheless enjoyed a cordial relationship which I shall always value.

The last time we visited was in the White House in the spring of this year. The occasion was the ceremony of his signing the congressional resolution conferring honorary U.S. citizenship on Sir Winston Churchill. The President greeted our small delegation genuinely and chatted warmly with us during the proceeding. At its conclusion, he thoughtfully offered me one of the pens which he had used. I later presented it to the Nebraska Legislature for its historical collection, together with a copy of the resolution. After the ceremonies, we stepped outside to the White House garden where the President briefly addressed the assembled group of diplomats, Members of the Congress, and other dignitaries.

During our years in the Senate, Mr. Kennedy was always friendly and cordial. We differed from time to time in issues which arose, but this did not prevent a mutual respect for each other's responsibility and duty to judge and vote on bills according to the best of our knowledge and ability. Both of us served in the Congress long enough to know that dedication to the cause of our Republic did not require that we always reach the same conclusions on national issues and legislative proposals. Unity does not require uniformity. Loyalty means more than conformity.

In fact, in such sincere differences there resides "strength, not weaknesses; wisdom, not despair."

This idea is generally recognized and accepted by Americans. That they applied it in the case of John F. Kennedy is clear, because despite the slender margin by which he prevailed in his last election, and despite the differences expressed as to various of his views and proposals, he was nevertheless accorded generous and wide acclaim at all times.

This was so wherever he journeyed, even unto his last, fateful and tragic tour.

The warm and sincere greetings expressed by the millions of people in all parts of America were, of course, due in some part to the respect of the high office he held. But, more than that, they were demonstrations of enthusiasm, admiration, and love as well as expressions of best wishes to him in his efforts. They were an outpouring from the hearts of the citizenry of their awareness of his bravery in war; his courage in peace; his constant and dedicated efforts to discharge his official duties to the best of his abilities; and his obvious concern that the interests of America be advanced.

Such a memory of our fallen leader will be precious to all of us in the years ahead. Surely in his life and works he carried on nobly and to even more superior heights the splendid traditions of the Presidency and its greatness.

So it is that the Nation mourns so deeply and grieves so sorely. Its every sympathy has been extended to the family which so bravely bore loss and so bravely carries on.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, the depth of shock and sorrow which the assassination of John Fitzgerald Kennedy has brought to the Nation, and to us who served with him in this body, cannot be measured in words.

To the sadness which we feel that a life so full of brilliance, courage, strength, and promise has been ended at the height of its youth and vigor must be added the deep and lasting regret of our Nation over the tragic manner in which its end came.

I extend for myself, and for the people of Florida, my deepest sympathy to the sorrowing family of our late President.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. To one who at the age of 16 suffered through an assassination 28 years ago, the weight of the calamity that took place November 22 fell not totally unfamiliarly, but just as heavily.

The news of the events that happened in Dallas that fateful Friday last month swept back all the crushing memories of another day—in 1935—when Baton Rouge was the scene of murder of a top Government official. The Kennedy family would mourn the death of John F. Kennedy in 1963. How well I know that special grief. I experienced it in 1935 as a member of the Long family which mourned the passing of my father, Huey P. Long.

While it was a State—Louisiana—that suffered the loss most of all in 1935, it was a nation, perhaps a world, that bore the brunt of the loss in 1963. John F. Kennedy, who began his tenure in Congress at about the same time I started mine, had risen to become the leader of the free world, the respected pilot of the most powerful Nation in that world. In less than 3 short years as President, John F. Kennedy had become the symbol of this Nation's greatness, its firm grasp of the present, and its continued leadership in the future. John F. Kennedy's youth, his determination, his intellect and, yes, his "vigor" had become a beacon of direction to an often haphazard world. And suddenly, John F. Kennedy was taken from us.

Most of us in our disbelief and shock could only ask why—why was he so suddenly, so prematurely, so tragically taken. My only explanation is that which I set down in a letter to Mrs. Kennedy, which I now read:

NOVEMBER 23, 1963.

Mrs. JOHN F. KENNEDY,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. KENNEDY: Twenty-eight years ago I said my last goodbye to my father who was dying from an assassin's bullet. The intervening years have accorded me the opportunity to meditate about the sort of tragedy which took your husband on Friday.

There is no way to explain such a thing unless one has faith in God and believes in the teachings of Jesus. If it is true that there is everlasting life beyond this place of toil and tears, then we can take solace in the fact that God called a good man to a higher reward. It is hard to believe that God knows about all of these things and that He planned it to be that way; yet in time we may come to see that all of this is part of a master plan. In that case we should find comfort in the fact that He chose you and John Kennedy to play a significant role.

Mrs. Long joins me in extending our complete sympathy to you and your family.

With warmest regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

RUSSELL B. LONG.

Mr. President, I join my colleagues in paying honor to a great leader, a good man, an outstanding American. John F. Kennedy symbolized the best there is in man, the best the human race has to offer. The legacy he leaves behind is to do what is right, to reject what is wrong, because, "here on earth God's work must truly be our own."

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, it is indeed difficult for me adequately to express my great appreciation, and that of my family, for the heartfelt words which have been uttered this afternoon in the U.S. Senate and for the tributes which were paid so adequately and so beautifully by Members of the House of Representatives last week.

It is also difficult to express our great appreciation to the hundreds of thousands of people who have appeared at Arlington Cemetery during the past few days and weeks, and to the millions of people throughout the world who, during the past 3 weeks, have offered their consolation and their sympathy, as well as their prayers.

Many of you who spoke today were my brother's colleagues during the 8 years he was here in the Senate. You were his teachers, as well; and his career bears your imprint.

My brother loved the Senate. He respected its traditions. He read deeply of its history and the great men who made it. It was in this Chamber that he championed the causes which you have heard explained and testified to today, and about which he felt so deeply. I know that many of you stood by his side on this floor in championing these causes, and that many of you, as well, stood by his side during the hard and long campaigns, and counseled and guided him in discharging the burdens of the Presidency.

The Senate, for him, as it is for me, is the symbol of how Americans can resolve their differences through reason, instead of violence. That is why it is so important for all of us to support President Johnson in the burdens he has assumed. And if the sacrifice of life can bind the Nation together, this sacrifice will not have been made in vain.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, before the Senate takes a recess, there are a few announcements which I must make.

ADDITIONS TO TODAY'S RECORD

Mr. MANSFIELD. First, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the RECORD of today's proceedings be held open for any additional statements by

Senators on the death of the late and lamented President John F. Kennedy.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

STATE, JUSTICE, AND COMMERCE DEPARTMENTS APPROPRIATIONS, 1964

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside, and that the Senate now proceed to the consideration of Calendar 727, House bill 7063, and that it be made the pending business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill (H.R. 7063) making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1964, and for other purposes, which had been reported from the Committee on Appropriations, with amendments.

ORDER FOR RECESS UNTIL 10 A.M., TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate concludes its session this evening, it take a recess until 10 a.m., tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AUTHORIZATION FOR ALL SENATE COMMITTEES TO MEET DURING SENATE SESSION UNTIL NOON TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all Senate committees be authorized to meet, tomorrow, until 12 o'clock noon, during the session of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RESCINDING OF UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT RELATIVE TO FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the unanimous-consent agreement relative to the Foreign Assistance Act conference report be, at this time, rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I do this in the hope that on Friday it will be possible to arrive at a somewhat similar agreement relative to the disposal of this measure.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, will the distinguished majority leader yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield to the Senator from California, the acting minority leader.

Mr. KUCHEL. For the information of the Senate, I wish to ask whether the distinguished majority leader contemplates having the Senate return to the consideration of the Foreign Assistance Act conference report at the conclusion of its action on the State, Justice, and Commerce Departments appropriation bill.

Mr. MANSFIELD. That will depend on developments. The Senate will either return to the consideration of that measure or will proceed to the consideration of the conference report on the public works appropriation bill or to the consideration of some other measure which may be available.

Mr. KUCHEL. In any event, is it the hope of the majority leader that by Friday we may be able to conclude our deliberations?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes.

Mr. KUCHEL. I thank the Senator from Montana.

RECESS TO 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late President John F. Kennedy, the Senate—and I believe that this afternoon all 100 Members of the Senate have made their views known—stand in recess until 10 a.m., tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate (at 6 o'clock and 7 minutes p.m.) took a recess, under the order previously entered, until tomorrow, Thursday, December 12, 1963, at 10 o'clock a.m.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1963

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Reverend David P. Small, Jr., pastor, Fair-Park Baptist Church, Alexandria, Va., offered the following prayer:

From the Apostle Paul to the Church at Rome: *The authorities are in God's service and to these duties they devote their energies.*—Romans 13: 1–6.

Eternal God, Thou hast taught us to call Thee our Father. We believe with all of our mind and heart that Thou didst lead our fathers to establish in our land a new nation conceived in liberty. Grant that we, their children, may ever be mindful of Thee, without whom no people can prosper or dwell secure.

We pause now to offer from grateful hearts our gratitude for Thy constant goodness to us, our families, and our Nation. Pardon, we beseech Thee, our sins. We have disobeyed Thy holy laws, seeking to enrich and exalt ourselves at the cost of privation and suffering to others. O God, turn us to Thee in hearty repentance and true humility that we may learn Thy will, in which is to be found our peace.

Bless, we beseech Thee, our President, and all who are associated with him in their awesome duties. May their performance be such as to bring honor and blessing to our Nation as well as the nations of our world. Give to these Thy servants of this deliberative body the repose of mind, born of our unfaltering faith in Thee. Enable them to see beyond the disconcerting forces and problems of the present moment. In this moment renew their vision and quest of their noblest self and highest ideals.

As these Thy servants give themselves to their respective duties of the day may they so discharge them that "this government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish" from our beloved America and that from their deliberations and actions of this session such a government may one day become the reality of all mankind around the world. Through Jesus Christ our Lord we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. McGown, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 4479. An act to provide for the conveyance to the State of California of certain mineral rights reserved to the United States in certain real property in California; and

H.R. 5691. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to allow the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to delegate to the Chief Medical Director in the Department of Medicine and Surgery, authority to act upon the recommendations of the disciplinary boards provided by section 4110 of title 38, United States Code.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 221. An act to amend chapter 35 of title 38, United States Code, to provide educational assistance to the children of veterans who are permanently and totally disabled from an injury or disease arising out of active military, naval, or air service during a period of war or the induction period.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 2064. An act to relieve the Veterans' Administration from paying interest on the amount of capital funds transferred in fiscal year 1962 from the direct loan revolving fund to the loan guaranty revolving fund.

SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 3 OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Subcommittee No. 3 of the Committee on the Judiciary be permitted to sit during general debate, Thursday, December 12.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

THE FOREIGN AID APPROPRIATIONS BILL

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcom-