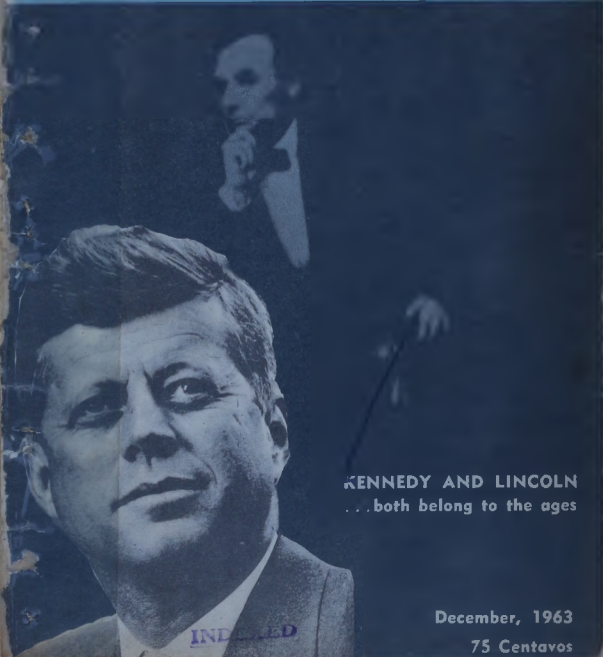


UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES  
L. L. L. L.  
**PANORAMA**

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THE PHILIPPINE MAGAZINE OF GOOD READING



**KENNEDY AND LINCOLN**  
... both belong to the ages

December, 1963

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# PANORAMA

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## IN MEMORIAM

The leaden skies of yesterday were like a pall. A sense of grief seemed to hang in the air. Such a feeling was inevitable, for it was as though the very wind was keening in the woodlands, the trees themselves sensitive to human emotions. Late November is the year's own time of the long sleep, the summary if not the farewell. The hills are bare to the buffeting of winter.

And yet, the hills still stand. The trees are still rooted and rugged. Rivers flow to the sea. And beyond the gray clouds the sun keeps to its course and the stars are in their appointed places. The eternities prevail. We live with those eternities, though ourselves mortal; it is the human dream, the hope and aspiration, that persists. Take away all else and those are the human eternities.

Robert Frost, in his last book, wrote lines that sum it up:

*We vainly wrestle with the blind belief  
That aught we cherish  
Can ever quite pass out of utter grief  
And wholly perish.*

Dark days come, inevitable. And time persists, time that is both dark and light and forever changing. The time of the stars, the time of the hills, the time of man. And nothing cherished ever wholly perishes. Gray November is a passing thing, and year's end is no end at all, but another marker on the great rhythm. A tree falls, and a seedling is already rooted.

Man persists, man with the capacity to dream and hope and dream again. Man, with his capacity for shock and grief, but also with his inheritance of faith, of belief, is participation in the great truth of continuity. — *The New York Times*, November 24, 1963.

■ "His death diminishes us all."

## THE DEATH OF A PRESIDENT

When great men of State die, it is their achievements which come to mind. The tragedy of Kennedy's death is that we have also to mourn the achievements to come. There is a feeling that the future has been betrayed.

When John Kennedy became President, he not only symbolized youth in a world dominated by older men. He brought with him a sense of intellectual adventure. Suddenly, new prospects seemed possible. Life itself seemed more exciting. He seemed to be not so much the heir to an existing political situation as the herald of a new one.

But Kennedy was no visionary driven on by dreams. He was a cool-headed politician with a great regard for facts. Indeed, the intellectual detachment which allowed him to see, more clearly than most men, what needed to be done, also at times prevented him from mobilizing the emotional fervour necessary to overcome oppo-

sition and to carry his policies through.

• • •

This was most true of his domestic policies. He had the courage to challenge deep American prejudices about public spending, socialized medicine and foreign aid. He saw the supreme importance of the Civil Rights issue. And he fought hard to get his views accepted. But his success in these fields was limited. He was thwarted by the cumbersome American system of government, and did not always succeed in overcoming his weakness in the Congress by appealing to the people over their heads, as Roosevelt so frequently did.

Perhaps his greatest successes were in the crucial issues of world affairs. Not that his policies were entirely free of ambiguity. He was, after all, elected after a campaign in which he attacked Eisenhower for failing to deal with Cuba and stressed what subsequently proved to

be a mythical missile gap. But, once in office, he began an intensive study of the facts that never slackened.

The importance of the disastrous invasion of the Bay of Pigs lay in Kennedy's ability to learn from mistakes. He quickly perceived the folly of one of his campaign promises and in subsequent crises — Berlin and Cuba again — he showed a rare combination of caution and daring. The risks he took were based on a cool assessment of the situation. And in this moment of epic success, he resisted all temptation to crow — thus turning victory into constructive achievement.

For Kennedy was quick to see the implications of the Cuban crisis. He realized that it showed not so much the supremacy of American power but the dependence of the United States and Russia on each other. The lesson he drew was that it was necessary for the two Powers to establish a working relationship with each other: that in a situation dominated by nuclear physics, the real enemy was not Communism but instability and chaos.

For the first time, it seemed just possible that America and Russia would pursue a limited common aim, modifying their rivalry to meet the need to prevent nuclear proliferation. In the event, only the Test Ban treaty materialized. But the perception that a new era could be opened, that there were tremendous opportunities ahead for constructive initiative, had been gained.

While Kennedy lived, there was hope that these opportunities would be exploited. With his death at the hands of a crazed assassin, that hope has been lessened, though not entirely destroyed. The new President, Mr. Lyndon Johnson, is an able, perhaps a very able, politician, but a man of a more ordinary mould. And while it is improbable that there will be any dramatic changes in policy — indeed, the new President may be more successful than his predecessor in persuading Congress to accept existing policies — it is difficult to see these policies being further developed to create a new order in our disordered world society.

But as the example of Truman showed, the office of

President can bring out unexpected qualities in those who hold it. The men who helped to shape the Kennedy policies — McNamara, Rusk, Robert Kennedy and others — are still at hand. More important still, the world realities which determined these policies remain the same.

It would therefore be wrong to assume that the new President will change the purpose or intention of American policy. But the effectiveness of Kennedy's Administration lay as much in its *style* as in its actions — the way policies were carried out was as important as their actual content. They were characterized by the President's keen respect for intellect, ideas and knowledge.

It was his style which also gave him his unique personal prestige outside America. His intellectual, somewhat princely, yet keenly professional approach to his tasks had an appeal beyond the shores of America: the sense of excitement which he conveyed quickened the tempo of political life everywhere.

He communicated his own sense of adventure to others. Here was a man who saw himself a world leader, heir not only to America's political legacy, but to Europe's intellectual tradition and, through his Irish ancestry, to the hopes and aspirations of the under privileged everywhere. The final irony is that the most rational of present-day statesmen should have met his death as the result of an apparently irrational act.

In the end, Kennedy's qualities as a man command as much affection as respect. In him, the private man was never lost in the public figure. The friends he made before he became President were the friends he kept while in office. We mourn a man who — with his beautiful wife, his respect for ideas and the arts, his humour, his informality and modesty in the face of the tremendous responsibilities which he fully understood — represented something vital, life-enhancing. His death diminishes us all. — Editorial in *The Observer*, November 24, 1963.

■ He opened the doors through which others may be able to walk.

## KENNEDY: THE MAN AND HIS LEGEND

ROY JENKINS

Kennedy's tenure of the White House was the shortest since the United States became a world Power. The youngest President to come, he was the quickest to go. There can now be no Age of Kennedy, with a gradual fulfillment of policies and a descriptive meaning for a whole epoch of American life. The most that he was able to do was to open doors through which others, if they have the will and the capacity, may be able to walk.

Compared with the greatest Presidents of American history therefore he inevitably leaves more promise and less achievement behind him. Yet, aided perhaps by the manner of his death, it is difficult to believe that his name will not live with theirs. He will be the great "might-have-been," the sym-

bol of fate in its most vicious and retaliatory mood.

Yet his achievement was by no means all still to come. He had revitalized Washington and, still more important, he had led the world with almost faultless skill and precision through the most dangerous crisis in its existence. The hackneyed criticism of John Kennedy is that he was a cold and calculating man, unwilling to take political risks, unable to infuse great-crises with the warmth of human sympathy. This criticism is at once exaggerated and irrelevant.

### *Calculation*

Of course he was capable of political calculation. No one who has read the story first of his fight for the nomination, then for the Presidency, can doubt that he

was a political planner of the most careful and determined kind. I am very glad that he was. Otherwise Richard Nixon would have been in the White House for the past three years.

To suggest, however, that he habitually subordinated vital policy decisions to narrow political considerations is nonsense. In and after the Cuban crisis he did precisely the reverse. So anxious was he not to damage the future world prospect by any humiliation of Khrushchev that he completely failed to bring home to the American people the magnitude of the victory which he had won.

His decisions were, admittedly, not emotional ones. But who would have wished that they were? To cite the Cuban crisis once again, the essence of his strength was his ability to watch the cases for and against the different courses of action being built up or destroyed, without rushing into a prior commitment to one or another; and then, when all of the relevant information and arguments were available, to make a clear decision in favour of the one that seemed

best. He himself attributed the wisdom of the choice to the time that was available for the process; at least equal credit should be given to his own capacity to evaluate the evidence objectively.

No doubt the reverse side of the coin was a certain hardness of presentation. As a speaker he had force and clarity, and at times a touch of eloquence. When I first heard him at the height of his Presidential campaign on Columbus Day, 1960, I listened to him making five New York speeches on that day. All of them were invigorating, one or two of them were moving. His command of widely contrasting audiences was complete.

He was not, perhaps, an orator in the fullest sense. The play and interplay between himself and the audience was not sufficient for that. Despite his Massachusetts-Irish, he could never have made a vast audience in the Boston Bowl chant back slogans at him as Roosevelt did in 1940. Nor could he pick out with inspired timing the one moment for a launching of an idea and the one simple phrase in



which to do it, so that millions of stolid minds might be shifted.

But this is a rare gift indeed, and liable to be perverted even when it exists. For most practical purposes Kennedy's eloquence was a worthy and persuasive vehicle for his clear and cogent thoughts.

His private personality was far removed from that of a man who lived a life of narrow political calculation. That he had gaiety and charm goes without saying. But he also had sustained intellectual interest and zest. As any President must do, he saw an almost unending stream of visitors. But he chose them on the basis of who would interest him just as much as who would be useful to him. And he gave enough time and contributed enough energy to these interviews to make them an exchange of ideas and not merely an empty formality.

I saw him in this way one evening last January. When I came into the room he was standing talking to Sorensen, Salinger and a naval aide. In a moment they left and he settled down in his rock-

ing chair; there were no further interruptions for 40 minutes.

### *Rapid fire*

Three features of the conversation remain imprinted on my mind. The first is that he talked about half the time and encouraged me to do the same. Almost any other Head of Government would have struck a different balance. Either he would merely have answered questions or he would merely have asked them — perhaps resting his mind during the answers. Kennedy chose the much more stimulating and exhausting middle course. He asked a series of rapid fire questions about all sorts of subjects — economic growth, Europe and de Gaulle, the Labour Party. He interrupted the answers, he gave his own views, he followed up a weak or unconvincing reply by forcing one hard against the ropes.

My second memory of this conversation, therefore, is that it was peculiarly intellectually testing. My third memory is that the President, during these interchanges,

contributed two pieces of original, rather unconventional analysis. That, again, was unexpected from any Head of State.

Yet the inexorable intellectual vigour was only one facet of Kennedy's personality. He could turn his mind in much more frivolous directions. He could switch away from the highest affairs of State and back again with the greatest speed. He had the self-confidence to feel that he could always get his eye back on the ball at the right moment.

#### *Self-confidence*

This self-confidence (not for a moment to be confused with a misplaced arrogance) was indeed one of the great changes which the New Frontier brought to Washington. It stemmed directly from the President. He gathered around himself a team of outstanding intellectual quality. They were not strikingly experienced in affairs of government. They were not strongly politically connected in any traditional sense. They came from Harvard and the Ford Motor Company and from

private law practice. But together — McNamara, Robert Kennedy, Bundy, Gilpatric, Sorensen — they amounted to a most formidable group.

Kennedy's great gift was that he could use them effortlessly. He trusted them. They respected him. He could give them the freest of rope without ever endangering his own command. Whether the same system can work equally well under another President remains to be seen.

Under Kennedy, however, it performed the great service of increasing the respect of the American people for their system of government. He was elected by the narrowest of majorities after a bitterly fought campaign. He replaced the most widely popular President in American history. He was young and relatively inexperienced. His politics were disliked by most of America's more prosperous citizens. Yet there was hardly ever a whisper that he was not up to the job.

He was frustrated by the conservative majority (partly Republican and partly De-

mocratic) in the Congress. He provoked disagreement and criticism and satire. But he and his Administration were never sneered at or patronized. They greatly in-

creased the prestige not only of the executive branch of American government but of democratic leadership throughout the world. — *The Observer*, November 24, 1963.

## SOVIET REACTION

Normal Moscow radio programmes were suspended. The news announcements were followed by organ music. This was an unprecedented tribute. Russian television played Tchaikovsky's Pathétique Symphony after a news bulletin. It went off the air later, still playing solemn music. Moscow radio stayed on the air, also playing funeral music.

A person of broad outlook who realistically accepted the situation and tried to find ways for negotiated settlement of the international problems which now divide the world. The Soviet Government and the Soviet people share the deep grief of the American people over this great loss — SOVIET PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV, to *President Johnson*.

- The brightest legend of our time — he captured the imagination of a whole generation.

## THE MAN WE TRUSTED

JOHN FREEMAN

The most grievous assassination in modern history has transformed John Kennedy from an embattled president, deadlocked with a hostile and suspicious Congress, into the brightest legend of our time. It was inevitable. The shock and the grief are universal and so great. Emotions have poured out — and they have gilded the truth. Yet that too may be misleading, for the emotions were part of the truth; and if Kennedy is remembered, as I think he may be, along with Lincoln and FDR as one of the great presidents, it will be more because he captured the imagination of a whole generation in almost every corner of the world than because he succeeded in fulfilling the purposes to which he dedicated his presidency.

His great achievement, for which the world outside America chiefly honours him

this week, was his leadership of the western alliance. When he took over, we walked in the shadow of nuclear war. Two years and 10 months later, the dialogue between the White House and the Kremlin has proceeded so far that no one can doubt the genuineness of Khrushchev's dismay at the young President's death. Yet he wrought this change without any surrender of vital interest, by strength and not by weakness. He persuaded Khrushchev that negotiations were practicable, because he was himself clear about what could be negotiated — and firm about what could not. The test-ban treaty and the hotline are the visible signs of a business relation between the Soviet bloc and the West, in which each side recognizes the power of the other and the suicidal folly of pressing points of difference to the brink of war. The

differences still exist; the Cold War goes on; errors of judgment by less sagacious men on either side can still plunge us all to catastrophe; there is no more than an agreement to disagree — but that, after all, is the essential prelude to an eventual harmony.

Kennedy's achievement in all this was not one-sided. Nuclear war would be as deadly to Russia as to the West, and Khrushchev has played his part. But few would deny that the initiative has lain most of the time with the White House or that Kennedy's own qualities have been decisive. The three personal gifts which lifted him into the realm of international statesmanship were intellect, steadiness of nerve and the capacity to take decisions. Indeed, this week's inevitable anxiety about the future is — or ought to be — based not on half-baked guesses about President Johnson's capacity or intelligence as a politician, but on the fact that the decision-making machine — which Kennedy created to meet his own needs proved so uniquely well-suited to the strategic demands of the Cold War. The doubt

must exist whether President Johnson, operating through more normal political channels, will be able, however sensible his purpose, to match the speed, logic and certainty of his predecessor. For Kennedy's decisions were his own. The professors, the soldiers, the computers, seldom the professional politicians, were detailed to provide the data and rehearse the arguments. The President listened, reflected, balanced the equation and, fortified by all that intellect and calculation could bring to bear, finally took the decision.

Naturally this method of government was unpopular on Capitol Hill, and the unpopularity was reflected in Kennedy's inability to secure from Congress either the money or the legislation he needed to implement his domestic policies. And this inability amounted to something like failure. Whether it stemmed fundamentally from a lack of profound conviction about liberal causes with which he was saddled by his 1960 campaign-managers, or from the intellect's contempt for the log-rolling of the workaday politicians,

or from over caution about the electoral consequences of controversy, or from a constitutional inadequacy of the Congress to live with the speed of modern decision-making will long be argued by American historians. And in the end we may never know. What we can say this week is that, despite his visible achievement in foreign affairs, the quality of Kennedy's presidency as a whole — apart from the noble and historic decision to stake the whole prestige of the presidency on his civil rights legislation — is arguable.

His quality as a man is to me beyond argument. He brought to public life not only the hard assets of leadership which determined ideas by the grace of his personality and the clarity of his speech. One can only guess, for instance, at the legislative outcome of his battle with Congress and his own party over civil rights. But one can be sure that individual American opinion about the cause of justice for the Negroes has been touched, as never since Lincoln, by the words he spoke. Perhaps his greatest achievement in the end was to turn the gaze of

his own people towards some of the more distant goals of political action and to infuse his pragmatic programmes with the radiant light of tolerance, idealism and purpose.

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 will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.' Those words struck the keynote of his inaugural address; they form a message which evokes a response in every radical heart. However limited his social achievement, his approach to politics was fundamentally a challenge to conversatism everywhere. That is why, with all our reservations about where his ultimate convictions lay — they certainly did not lie with the ideological left — and with all our disappointment at his comparative failure to make good the promise of 1960, the left in Britain admired and, when the chips were down, trusted him. He was the golden boy of the post-war world, and we mourn him as a friend — *The New Statesman*.

■ Death has transformed political scene in America.

## THE CRUEL LESSONS OF FORTUNE AND CAPRICE

JAMES RESTON

History seems determined to teach this nation that it must make more provision for fortune and caprice.

All our assumptions, even about human ability and mortality, are subject to error. Franklin Roosevelt, who thought he was marked by fate to make the peace, died before the end of the war.

Harry Truman, who was marked early in his career for oblivion and defeat, survived to organize the greatest coalition of nations in history.

Dwight D. Eisenhower, who was stricken twice in office and counted out, lived on to be the oldest President in the long story of the nation.

John F. Kennedy, the youngest elected President, who came to office proclaiming the emergence of a new

generation of leaders, is dead at 46.

And Lyndon Johnson, who at first opposed Kennedy and later joined and served him, has succeeded to the Presidency only after reaching the reluctant conclusion that he would never get it.

### *The Coming Changes*

Accordingly, this is no time for anything but very modest speculation about the future. Time has been more cruel to President Johnson than it was to Harry Truman. He has come into the White House near the end of the statutory four-year term rather than at the beginning, and like Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the new British Prime Minister (who was also thrown up by a stroke of fate), he has less than a year to go before the election.

Policy under the new President, therefore, will probably remain very much as it was under Kennedy, but the execution of policy will undoubtedly be much different.

The Administration of John F. Kennedy was a very personal affair. It was organized to fit his personality and style. He had his own strong view on policy, foreign and domestic, and his own highly original concepts about his personal staff and his Cabinet.

He was a reader, an analyzer and a catalyst, and was to a very large extent his own Foreign Secretary, with gifts of grace, wit and knowledge that enabled him to fulfill the diplomatic and ceremonial aspects of his job.

President Johnson is a totally different type of man. He has not been a deep student of foreign affairs over a long period of time. Unlike Kennedy, he is not a great reader or analyzer of documents. He is a doer, who spends more time on how to get things done than on meditating on what to do.

The prospect is, therefore, that the White House staff of brilliant intellectuals and

Boston politicians will decline in power and the Cabinet will rise. Johnson drives his staff with all the energy of an impatient Army officer, which is quite different from what Kennedy's aides are accustomed to; but, ironically, Kennedy's Cabinet is likely to have more power under Johnson than it did under Kennedy.

Moreover, there is no urgent need for the new President to take new policy initiatives in the field of foreign affairs. His urgent problems are to get organized, to get something through the Congress, and to get ready for the election.

#### *The Political Outlook*

The death of President Kennedy has transformed the political scene. That is fairly obvious. It has improved the Republican party's chances of victory. It has hurt Senator Goldwater, who is identified in many minds with the extreme Right. It has certainly not increased the popularity of Texas in the North, and therefore, by indirection, it has complicated President Johnson's political problem.

Everybody in the Democ-



atic Party will rally behind the new President now. He will almost certainly be unchallenged for the Presidential nomination, and there is already considerable talk here that Senator Hubert Humphrey will be strongly backed for the Vice Presidential nomination, and may even replace Mike Mans-

fied as majority leader before then.

Beyond these speculations, however, it is probably imprudent to go. Each of the last three Presidents has developed in office in wholly unpredictable ways, and President Johnson is not likely to be an exception to this rule. — Washington, Nov 23.

## NEHRU GRIEVED AND SHOCKED

It is a terrible thing that's happened. The consequences are bad enough and to a far reaching extent will gradually seep down. The very fact that he will not be there should have some effect. What this particular incident means is terribly difficult to say . . . . I should imagine his policy will be continued. Anyhow, I am deeply grieved and shocked both for personal relations and for international relations. — INDIA'S PRIME MINISTER NEHRU.

- He sought to make sanity and realism the core of his political philosophy.

## HISTORY AS TRAGEDY\*

KARL E. MEYER.

John F. Kennedy died a mortal on Friday and was already a legend when he was buried on Monday in a ceremony that strangely mixed tenderness and dignity. The princes and presidents lent pomp to the final rites and the demeanour of his widow was, as one reporter wrote, like that of a queen in classic tragedy. But what made the funeral unberably moving was the uncounted tens of thousands of young people who came from afar as if by invisible command to Washington. At freezing dawn on Monday, they formed most of a line far more than a mile long of those waiting to pass the President's coffin in the dimly lit dome of the Capitol. Until one stood with them, it was impossible fully to grasp what President Kennedy meant to the generation for which he spoke.

\* *The New Statesman*, London, November 29, 1963.

For four days, beginning on Friday, television carried nothing but news about Mr. Kennedy's death and for once without commercial interruptions. As from another world, there were glimpses of Dallas and that city's slack-jawed police, then the funeral itself, endless panel discussions, and throughout the tolling of bells and the muffled beat of drums. Friends sought each other's warmth; floors were littered with newspapers; there was a mingled sense of incredulity, indignation and remorse as most of us became aware in Washington how much we had taken for granted the singular man in the White House.

So soon afterwards, how can one pick up the fragments and make of them a meaningful pattern? Yet surely there is one — the theme of violence, both domestic and international. The

circumstances of his death were ironic enough — a sniper's bullet at high noon, fired by a madman, brought down a President who sought to make sanity and realism the core of his political philosophy. But even more ironic, the murder of this gifted man may make it possible for his far less imposing successor to approach unexpected greatness by carrying out the Kennedy' programme.

#### *Johnson as President*

During his early three years as Vice-President, Lyndon Baines Johnson remained a stranger to much of the world. He is no stranger to Washington. His strengths and weaknesses are far better known here than were those of Harry S. Truman in 1945. At the outset, it ought to be said that Mr. Johnson is a politician to the tip of his boots, a seasoned and shrewd craftsman with the capacity of being a big man. In terms of learning and intellectual insight, the new President falls short of the standards set by Mr. Kennedy — no brilliant dinners can be expected at the White House during the Texan's tenure. But in

terms of temperament, he is as much the prudent realist as the man he supplants.

The three pivotal facts about President Johnson are that he is a product of the South, the Senate and the stream of populism that forms one part of the Democratic Party's tradition. His identity as a southerner is at once an asset and liability — indeed, during his campaign for the Presidential nomination in 1960, Mr. Johnson vainly tried to describe himself as a westerner. It is an asset because his roots in Texas (which was a Confederate state) may tend to neutralize southern attacks. He is the first President from the South since the Civil War (Woodrow Wilson, born in Virginia, is counted as a New Jersey man). Since his renomination next year is considered certain, Mr. Johnson is in a position to nullify once and for all a demeaning 'law' of eligibility in American politics — that no southerner may head a national ticket. He can do for his region what Mr. Kennedy did for his religion.

But as a southerner, the President may be unavoidable.

ably identified with the racial barbarisms of his region. His own record is the best answer to this; as Senate Majority Leader he guided the passage, in 1958, of the first civil rights legislation to be enacted since Reconstruction days. As Vice-President, his speeches on civil rights have been unequivocal, and his efforts on behalf of non-discriminatory employment have won no applause from the bigots. It is conceivable that as a native southerner he can do more to heal the sickness of Dixie than could a Catholic from Boston, whose very manner was anathema in the South.

He is also a child of the Senate and his whole outlook is coloured by his years as a legislator. Few deny his efficacy as Majority Leader, though his manipulative approach irritated liberals. The Johnson technique was to find the common denominator, settle differences in the cloakroom, and obtain consent on the floor with a minimum of debate. He is far more familiar with the legislative process — and is more highly regarded by the ageing potentates on Capitol

Hill — than was the case with Mr. Kennedy. Circumstance has made Lyndon the President at a moment when Congress is floundering and the need for deft leadership obvious. In this area, his background will certainly not be a handicap.

Though he abhors political labels, his place in the spectrum is to the left of centre on many domestic issues. During the Thirties, he was a New Deal Congressman trusted by FDR, whom he idolised. His ideological background derives from the agrarian populism of the South — in exact counterpoint to the urban, Catholic, melting-pot background of Mr. Kennedy. As Mr. Johnson rose in the Senate hierarchy, he shifted to the middle — and on some issues, notably tax privileges for the oil plutocracy, he was solidly with the fight. But every politician responds to the pressures around him, and as Chief Executive of the United States Mr. Johnson has been vaulted to an eminence that changes the landscape around him. He will probably be more liberal as President than he was as Senator,

especially since he will be under more pressure from the left than Mr. Kennedy was.

Where there are the most reservations is in the broad field of foreign affairs. Mr. Johnson's utterances on foreign policy have been orthodox and uninspired — set pieces laden with Cold War clichés. Yet here his relative inexperience may assure a broad continuity because Mr. Johnson will surely lean heavily on his predecessor's advisers. Moreover, as Mr. Kennedy found, the intractable realities of the East-West stalemate, of ideological competition in poorer nations, and of coalition diplomacy all tend to restrict the choices open to any American President.

In fact, Lyndon Johnson may not only do no worse than Mr. Kennedy; he may do better. Three reasons can be advanced to support this hope. First, every new President has a honeymoon period in which he can expect national assent and, secondly, Mr. Johnson comes to his office at a critical time for his party — a national election is less than a year

away. As a matter of simple self-survival, the Democratic majority in Congress will most probably fall behind a new President in desperate need of a record to run on in 1964. Add to this a third reason — the way in which Mr. Johnson succeeded to office. He carries with him not only the emotional afterglow of a popular President, but he also takes command at a time of national contrition, when the country may be prepared to do for a dead John F. Kennedy what it was unwilling to do for John F. Kennedy alive. The brutal drama of the assassination has given the President a claim to greatness that was still only a promise while he breathed.

#### *The Assassins*

We may never know the full truth of the assassination, now that the suspected sniper himself has been murdered. Was Oswald the instrument for someone else, or did the motive force spring from his own psychopathic mind? The ineptness of the Dallas police led to the killing of the one person best able to clear up the matter — and we are left with

the all-too-pat explanation that a self-styled Marxist carried out in deed what the fanatic right wing has encouraged by word.

What is clear is that Oswald, if his guilt may be assumed, acted in accord with a dreadful American tradition. Four presidents out of 34 have now been murdered, while at least two others were brushed by death (FDR and Truman) and Theodore Roosevelt was almost killed when he campaigned for the Presidency in 1912. This record testifies to the deep stain of violence in the vaunted American way of life; in the end, Mr. Kennedy perished under the savage code of the old frontier.

Strangely, one of Lincoln's first political speeches saw in lawlessness the chief threat to American political institutions. Speaking in Springfield, Illinois, in 1838, a time when mob outrages 'form the everyday news', Lincoln warned that all the armies of the world, with a Bonaparte for a commander, 'could not, by force, take a drink from the Ohio or make a track

on the Blue Ridge.' He then said:

At what point then is the approach of danger to be expected? I 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 free men, we must live through all time, or die by suicide.

I hope that I am not over-wary; but if I am not, there is even now something of ill-omen amongst us. I mean the increasing disregard for law which pervades the country; the growing disposition to substitute the wild and furious passions, in lieu of the sober judgment of courts; and the worse than savage mobs for the executive minister of justice.

It was only a few months ago that President Kennedy ventured into Alabama to exhort American citizens to support the rule of law. Only a few weeks ago, journalists visiting in Mississippi were told by responsible officials that the safety of the President could not be gua-

ranted if he should make a visit. And in Dallas, not long ago, an American who was twice Democratic candidate for the Presidency was assaulted by a mob worthy of Caracas or Baghdad.

In a very sombre sense, the unifying element in Mr. Kennedy's brief years as President was the attempt to apply the restraint of reason to lawlessness, domestic and foreign. The racial explosion was beyond doubt the most menacing event of the Kennedy years, and the menace survives his death. The recipient violence in Alabama or Mississippi finds its analogue in lawless relations of sovereign states, some of them armed with weapons that could (as Mr. Kennedy once said) make a funeral pyre of the world. It is no caprice that the right-wing fanatics of Dallas loathe with equal fervour both the United Nations and civil rights. That a President who ably defended both should die in that city is more than a tragedy of history; it is a warning portent of the power of satanic madness.

*JFK: Nunc Dimittis*

He came in with a snow-storm, and the setting was

flawlessly right on Inauguration Day, 20 January 1961. There was no premonition of tragedy, but rather a sense of rebirth in a capital mantled in beauty as the oldest President yielded power to the youngest man ever elected Chief Executive of the United States. More than a change of administrations, it was a change of generations, a change of outlook and most immediately apparent, a change of style. When John Fitzgerald Kennedy was sworn in, he appeared to fulfill Robert Frost's augury that an age of poetry and power was commencing in Washington. But the poetry is now hushed, and the promise wisely used is now an unfinished chapter in a volume entitled, 'Let Us Begin . . .' None of us suspected that in retrospect the Inaugural snow would seem as a shroud.

It is too early to fix Mr. Kennedy's place in history because so much of what he initiated was left for others to complete. But two of his achievements seem likely to take root. He was not a man given to easy commitments, but before his death he embarked on two major ven-

tures — for the first time in this century, he placed the power and might of his office behind a dispossessed race whose second-class status demeaned all citizens; at the same time, he took the world to the precipice of a war but followed his unexampled personal triumph by deeds intended to eliminate the risk of a holocaust through madness or miscalculation. The special pathos of his death is that he seemed on the verge of broadening his commitment.

Something else, however, is irretrievably lost — the brilliance of his presence, the glow of his style. To Americans like myself who were near to his age, he renewed our pride in our country and gave a dignity to the political calling. If we fretted at his failures and reproached him for his excessive caution, it was because we judged him in terms of his capacity for greater things. His unflinching wit, which he could turn on himself, his literacy, his physical grace and his sense of history were part of a harmonious whole. By vir-

tue of television, and his superb performance at press conferences, he became in life an intensely personal figure to millions; in death he leaves a mournful void.

A prodigious reader, he cherished not only learning, but the learned. His ideal of government seemed to be half academy, half precinct-headquarters. He opened the White House to anybody who could impart a ferment and his good humour as a host was legend. His favourite biography was Lord David Cecil's *Melbourne*, and the choice tells a good deal about the strengths and weaknesses of his self-definition. Like the urbane Whigs of Melbourne's age, he blended a studied detachment, broad if conventional interest in the arts, moderate liberalism, family pride and belief in reason. It is savage irony that this child of the Enlightenment was cut down by the very fanaticism that he sought to contain. The cause for which he stood remains in doubt, and the last page of his biography must be written with what Virgil called the tears of things.



## LINCOLN AND KENNEDY

### *'When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd'*

A bereaved country reached in vain for words until a great poet, Walt Whitman, wrote: "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." So a singer of America wrote of President Lincoln, whose fearful trip was done that terrible day in April of 1865.

### *North and South*

The printers of 1865 took the one-point column rules and turned them downside up into six-point shrouds of black. Historians and journalists groped in the language that he had used with such deceptive simplicity and found that simple words could not fully explain him. The preachers and the politicians, North and South, spoke mightily. And the people who didn't speak and

couldn't find the proper expressions sought some meaning.

In the good columns of The Springfield Journal, the home-town paper that Lincoln called his "friend," they remembered that as President-elect he had told his neighbors, leaving: "To this place, and the kindness of these people, I owe everything. Here I have lived a quarter of a century, and have passed from a young to an old man. Here my children have been born, and one is buried. I now leave, not knowing when, or whether ever, I may return . . . ." Four years after a second American Revolution called the Civil War, he returned to Springfield.

### *Hatred in Texas Newspaper*

Of his life, Lincoln had once told a contemporary that it was but one thing: "the short and simple annals of the poor." But along the edges of the Confederacy

that was, in The Frankfort Commonwealth, they spoke this way about a native son who was born near Hodgenville, Kentucky: "When Abraham Lincoln fell, the South lost its best and truest friend."

Such was the sympathetic reaction in most parts of the South.

But from Texas came a horrible statement in the pages of The Dallas Herald which said, "God Almighty ordered this event or it could never have taken place." And in The Tri-Weekly Telegraph, in Houston, ten days after the assassination, these shocking words appeared: "From now until God's judgment day, the minds of men will not cease to thrill at the killing of Abraham Lincoln. . . . We saw successively in his public documents how super-ruling became his purpose, and how callous to all the usual motives of humanity he grew. . . . Whoever would impose the fate of servitude and slavery on these Confederate States, whatever fatal Providence of God shall lay him low, we say, and say it gladly, God's will be done."

### *'The Gift Outright'*

When President Kennedy took the oath of office on Jan. 20, 1961, another great poet sang of America in words that echoed Walt Whitman's. Robert Frost's vast television audience enabled him to be seen by more people than had ever in the history of mankind heard a poet recite. The dedication of his poem, "The Gift Outright," was: "For John F. Kennedy."

The land was ours before  
we were the  
lands's.

She was our land  
than a hundred  
years.

Before we were her  
people. . .

Something we were  
withholding made  
us weak

Until we found out  
that it was our-  
selves

We were withholding  
from our land of  
living,

And forthwith found  
salvation in surren-  
der. . .

To the land vaguely  
realizing westward,  
But still unstoried,  
artless, unenhanced,  
Such as she was, such  
as she would become.

It was, at the same time,  
a tribute to a still-young  
country personified by the  
new President. — *The New  
York Times.*

## MARTYR TO A CAUSE

President Kennedy lies dead, a martyr in the cause of democratic government. His countrymen weep in sorrow and in anger. The immensity of the crime can hardly be grasped in these hours of confusion. The deed in Dallas was different only in degree of importance from such acts of violence as the bombing of houses of worship, racial murders and only last month, in the same city, the degrading assault on U. N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson. — CHICAGO SUN-TIMES.

■ And the great came to commit themselves to the memory a great President.

## THE DAY JFK WAS BURIED

ALISTAIR COOKE

### NEW YORK

On this most beautiful morning, when the weekend rains have washed all the grey out of the skies, this city was more stilled than it has been since the great Christmas snow of 1947. There was the sun falling like a sword down Fifth Avenue, a slow swish of cars, a few children in the park, and the bells tolling everywhere.

It was the same in hundreds of other cities between Puget Sound and the Florida Keys, not least in stupefied Dallas: and it began to dawn on the people at home, fingering the heavy papers and watching the funeral march in Washington, that a special surprising calm had fallen on more than a hundred lands that sent in here yesterday an Emperor, a King, a Queen, a Prince, their Presidents, Premiers, Generals and Ministers of State.

The schools and stores and banks and offices were shut down not only in New York and Chicago but also in New Delhi and Athens, throughout Israel and Liberia. The flags flew at half mast in Iceland and France, in Japan and Indonesia. The registers of the United States embassies were signed by queuing thousands in London and Madrid and Belgrade.

The anonymous mourners gathered in St. Peter's Square in Rome, in the capitals of Jordan and Kenya and West Germany, in the University Square in Beirut, and in a rude chapel in the Antarctic base at McMurdo Sound. The little bells tinkled also on the spires of the 140 temples of Bangkok.

### *Forlorn pride*

In less than 24 hours, the emissaries of all these allies, wards, neutrals, cold enemies, warm friends, and uncommit-

ted nations passed through the international airport here on their way to commit themselves to the memory of the late President Kennedy.

It now appears that no comparable gathering in one place of the great of so many nations has been since the royal trek to London for the funeral of King Edward VII.

The realization brought with it a forlorn pride in what the late President Kennedy had meant to so many of the new and old nations, and also a barely spoken concern for the peaceful comings and goings of so precious a congregation of national leaders.

The concern was explicit among the New York police, the officials of the New York Port Authority and later the 250 plainclothes men from various Federal agencies in Washington. Although there is no evidence that the assassination of the late President Kennedy could possibly have been balked by even the most elaborate security procedures, the Secret Service had not lost a President since its powers were greatly ex-

panded after the assassination of the late President McKinley in 1961, and the service is accordingly under a cloud.

This anxiety has spread to police forces of all kinds, and yesterday the New York police department doubled its extraordinary shift at Idlewild, and in the early afternoon the observation decks at the International Arrivals building were shut down for the first time in the history of the airport.

All Customs regulations were waived for the distinguished visitors and all baggage was automatically transferred to the Washington relay planes. Most of the dignitaries, President de Gaulle, President de Valera, Crown Princess Beatrix of the Netherlands, Mayor Willy Brandt, Emperor Haile Selassie for example, were taken under protection directly from the ramps to private lounges and never saw the public or the light of day.

Today, the FBI, the State Department, and the Secret Service joined the Washington police in a round-the-clock surveillance of all pub-

lic. buildings, trees, sewer lids, and every other point of vantage along the route from the Capitol to the Cathedral and from there to Arlington National Cemetery.

The funeral service, the processions, the naval parade, done as they were with great dignity and style in a beautiful capital, could not purge the people, the onlookers, or the Government of the quaking sense of outrage over the violence in Dallas.

President Johnson ordered the Justice Department to make its own study of the monstrous case which the Dallas police have declared closed. The Federal Government has no power to intervene in a State crime, not even the assassination of a President, but it can unearth and demand the examination of evidence.

In this sorry instance, it is determined to convince itself that the legal recourse which was denied the wretched Oswald shall be explored to the limit.

### *No proof*

There is as yet no tittle of proof that Oswald was tied to any political group or plot, and there is so far none of the European frenzy to wring the crime dry of political significance. There is a tortured universal regret that Oswald was not a believer in some religious sect that lies far from the fringe of even the lunatic fringes of any political party.

There is no question, either, that Oswald was remote from the so called Far Right, or any of its maniacal wings. But what the new Administration senses as keenly as the next man is that violence lies just below the surface of extremists of all stripes, and never more so than when the first trigger has been pulled.

These fears twitched sporadically today in the conscience of the people as they watched and mourned and felt too little of the healing purge which the intoning of holy scripture and the wisdom of all the best philosophers so clearly recommends. — *The Guardian*, November 25, 1963.

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

## THE FAMED INAUGURAL

We observe today, not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom — symbolizing an end as well as a beginning — signifying renewal as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three-quarters ago.

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.

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. 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.

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

This much we pledge — and more.

*Pledge to Allies*

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the

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The text of President Kennedy's Inaugural Address delivered in Washington on Jan. 20, 1961.

loyalty of faithful friends. United, there is little we cannot do in a host of new cooperative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do — for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom — and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

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, for whatever period is required — not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it

can not save the few who are rich.

To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge — to convert our good words into good deeds — in a new alliance for progress — to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

#### *Last Hope for Peace*

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support — to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective — to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak — and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

Finally, to those nations



who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course — both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war.

#### *A New Beginning*

So let us begin anew — remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Let both sides explore what problems unite us in-

stead of belaboring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms — and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths and encourage the arts and commerce.

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah — to “undo the heavy burdens . . . [and] let the oppressed go free.”

And if a beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungles of suspicion, let both sides join in creating a new endeavor — not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first 100 days. Nor will it be finished in the first 1,000 days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even

perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

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.

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, north and south, east and west, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?

### *Light for the World*

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.

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 will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. 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.

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

## HIS CREED AND BASIC PRINCIPLES

### *On Freedom and Peace*

"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."

"However close we sometimes seem to that dark and final abyss, let no man of peace and freedom despair . . . If we can all persevere, if we can in every land . . . 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."

### *On the Role of the U.S.*

"Our strength as well as our convictions have imposed upon this nation the role of leader in freedom's cause. No role in history could be more difficult or more important . . . This nation was born of revolution and raised in freedom. And we do not intend to leave an open road to despotism."

"I think our people get awfully impatient and maybe fatigued and tired and saying 'We have been carrying this burden [of foreign aid] for 17 years, can't we lay it down!' We can't lay it down, and I don't see how we are going to lay it down in this country."

"I do not believe that any of us would exchange place 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."

### *On the Presidency*

"I want to be a President who responds to a problem not by hoping his subordinates will act, but by directing them to act."

"When things are very quiet and beautifully organized I think it's time to be concerned."

### *On the Western Alliance*

"Those who would separate Europe from America or split one ally from another — would only give aid and comfort to the men who make themselves our adversaries and welcome any Western disarray."

"The United States cannot withdraw from Europe, unless and until Europe should wish us gone. We cannot distinguish its defenses from our own. We cannot diminish our contributions to Western security or abdicate the responsibility of power."

### *On Disarmament*

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

"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."

### *On Negotiating*

"Our patience at the bargaining table is nearly inexhaustible . . . [and] our hopes for peace are unfailing."

"If they [the Soviets] have proposals, not demands, we shall hear them. If they seek genuine understanding, not concessions of our rights, we shall meet with them . . . We shall . . . be ready to search for peace — in quiet exploratory talks, in formal or informal meetings."

### *On Communist China*

"We're not wedded to a policy of hostility to Red China. It seems to me that Red China's policies are what create tension between not only the United States and Red China, but between Red China and India, between Red China and her immediate neighbors to the south and even between Red China and other Communist countries."

### *On the Berlin Issue*

"All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin. And therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words 'Ich bin ein Berliner' (I am a Berliner)."

"The source of world tension and trouble is Moscow, not Berlin."

### *On the Common Market*

"If American industry cannot increase its sales to the

Common Market and increase this nation's surplus of imports over exports, our international payments position and our commitments to the defense of freedom will be endangered."

#### *On Vietnam*

"The systematic aggression now bleeding [South Vietnam] is not a 'war of liberation,' for Vietnam is already free. It is a war of attempted subjugation, and it will be resisted."

"Our object [is] to permit the South Vietnamese to maintain themselves as a free and independent country and permit democratic forces within the country to operate."

#### *On Latin America*

"They [the Latin-American nations] and they alone, can mobilize their resources — enlist the energies of their people — modify their social patterns so that all, and not just a privileged few, share in the fruits of growth."

"We are determined to reinforce the inter-American principle of absolute respect for the sovereignty and independence of every nation. That principle was at the

heart of the Good Neighbor policy — and we remain good neighbors today. That principle is the foundation of our Alliance [for Progress] — and we shall always be allies for progress."

#### *On Civil Rights*

"A rising tide of discontent . . . threatens the public safety . . . The events in Birmingham and elsewhere have so increased the cries for equality that no city or state or legislative body can prudently choose to ignore them."

"[The] result of continued Federal legislative inaction will continue, if not increase, racial strife — causing the leadership of both sides to pass from the hands of reasonable and responsible men to the purveyors of hate and violence."

"We face . . . a **moral** crisis as a country and a people . . . It is time to act in the Congress, in your state and local legislative body, and above all, in all our daily lives."

#### *On Defense*

"Others in earlier times have made the . . . dangerous mistake of assuming that

the West was too selfish and too soft and too divided to resist invasions of freedom in other lands . . . The new preparations that we shall make to defend the peace are based on our needs to meet a worldwide threat . . . Our primary purpose is neither propaganda nor provocation — but preparation."

#### *On Foreign Aid*

"The fundamental task of our foreign aid program . . . is to help make an historical demonstration that . . . economic growth and political democracy can develop hand in hand."

#### *On the Economy*

"We seek . . . an economic climate in which an expanding concept of business and labor responsibility . . . increasing awareness of world commerce and the free forces of domestic competition will

keep the price level stable."

"Anyone who is honestly seeking a job and can't find it deserves the attention of the United States Government and the people . . ."

#### *On Space*

"It is . . . time for this nation to take a clearly leading role in space achievement, which in many ways may hold the key to our future on earth."

#### *On the Role of the Military*

"The basic problems facing the world today are not susceptible of a final military solution. While we will long require the services and admire the dedication and commitment of the fighting men of this country, neither our strategy nor our psychology as a nation . . . must become permanently dependent upon an ever-increasing military establishment."

A flame is extinguished for all the people who hope for freedom, justice and a better life in this world. The world in this dark evening has become much poorer. — WILLY BRANDT, *Mayor of West Berlin.*



**John-John dances as Dad claps . . .**



**John-John salutes his Dad's remains . . .**

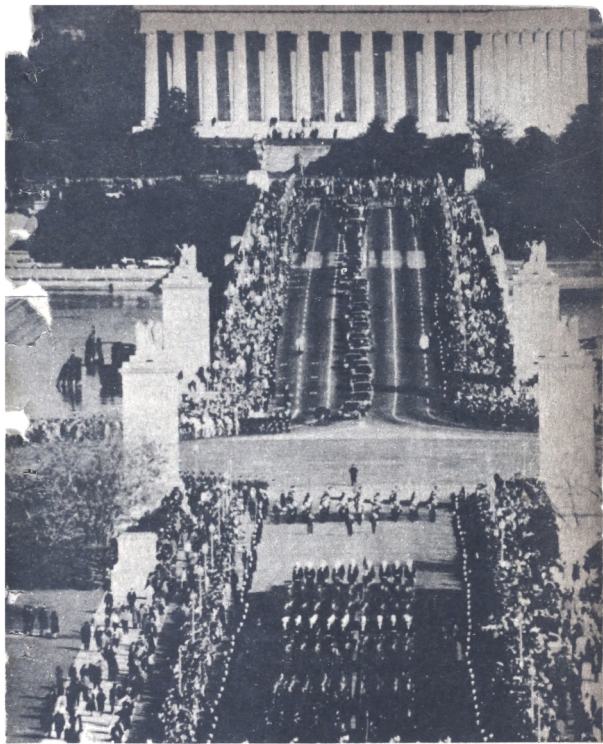




**Bobby, Jackie and Edward walk to cathedral for Requiem Mass**



**Distinguished mourners leave White House . . .**



**Cortege enroute to Arlington . . .**



**Burial services at Arlington . . .**



**Kennedy and his successor Johnson . . .**



**America's New First Family — The LBJ's of Texas.**

## A GREAT PRESIDENT — When Facing New Issues

President Kennedy was, in many respects, an enigma to his contemporaries, and he is likely to remain equally enigmatic to future historians. He was the youngest President ever elected—yet in spite of a certain youthful panache, his political style was on the whole curiously sedate. His personality was reserved and he found it difficult to express his emotions in public—yet he was a professional politician to his fingertips.

Like Roosevelt he was a man of great wealth who joined the liberal wing of his party out of conviction rather than inheritance—yet he never emulated the passion and drive of Roosevelt's liberalism or identified himself, in the way that Roosevelt did, with the aspirations of ordinary Americans. In the last report the cast of his mind was pragmatic, not ideological; and his liberalism, though sincere, was of the head, not of the heart.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was born in Massachusetts in 1917. The history of his family could serve as a case study of the social revolution which has transformed the position of America's ethnic minorities during the past forty years. His maternal grandfather, John Fitzgerald ("Honey Fitz") was one of the leaders of the Boston Irish community, Mayor of Boston, and three times a Congressman. His father, Joseph Kennedy, was educated at Harvard, made a fortune in real estate and on the Stock Market and became Ambassador to Great Britain.

John Kennedy himself was educated at Choate School and Harvard; spent a brief time at the London School of Economics while his father was Ambassador; wrote a best-seller "Why England Slept"; and served with great courage and distinction in the US Navy. In 1946 he was elected to the House of Representa-

tives, for one of the poorest districts in Boston. In 1952 he was elected Democratic Senator for Massachusetts, defeating Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., in order to do so. In 1956 he was the Democratic candidate for the Vice-President; and it is clear that from then on he hoped and planned for the presidential nomination in 1960.

#### *Hard campaign*

He was elected President in November, 1960, after one of the hardest-fought campaigns in American history. His election would have been remarkable in any event, because of his youth. It was made doubly remarkable because he was the first Roman Catholic to reach the White House. A Roman Catholic had been nominated only once before by one of the major parties; and Al Smith's defeat in 1928 had been widely (if not entirely accurately) attributed to his religion. The memory of 1928 was one of the chief obstacles in Kennedy's path to the Democratic nomination.

He surmounted it in the only way possible: by demonstrating, in primary elections all over the country,

that he was the most popular candidate in his party. When the Democratic convention met in Los Angeles in July, Kennedy was only a few votes short of the nomination; and there was no real doubt that he would receive it. He won it on the first ballot.

The campaign that followed was fought on three acknowledged issues — the slack state of the American economy; the need for vigorous leadership in Washington to "get America moving again" and to rally the Western alliance; and the alleged inexperience of the Democratic candidate, in contrast to Vice-President Nixon's supposed political maturity. The unacknowledged issue was, of course, Kennedy's Roman Catholic faith.

How much the final result was affected by these issues is not clear. What is clear is that Kennedy was elected by one of the narrowest margins in American history. Vice-President Nixon actually carried 26 States to Kennedy's 23, and won 49 per cent of the popular vote as against Kennedy's 49.7 per cent.

The geographical pattern of the results was equally disturbing to a President who



would be called upon to represent the whole nation, at a time of great international tension. On the Pacific Coast, in the Rocky Mountain States, and in the Mid-West, Nixon won a majority of the total votes cast. Only in the industrial North-east and in the traditionally Democratic stronghold of the confederacy was Kennedy clearly ahead. This was to have an important bearing on the President's strategy in office.

The domestic record of the first eighteen months of the Kennedy Administration was a disappointment to most American liberals — though not, if the public opinion polls could be trusted, to the mass of the American people as a whole. In the Senate the President was supported by a liberal majority. In the House of Representatives, however, the liberal Democrats were in a minority. They faced a conservative majority made up of Republicans and Southern Democrats, working together against progressive legislation. In consequence, most of the domestic programme on which the President had campaigned during the elect-

ion — medical care for the aged, increased federal aid to education, and housing — was badly mauled or defeated altogether.

#### *Gave warning*

In part, this was because the President's attention was, for much of the time, otherwise engaged. In his inaugural address, he gave the warning that the news might get worse before it got better. His warning turned out to be an understatement. As Roosevelt's first Administration was dominated by crisis at home, so Kennedy's was dominated by world crisis abroad.

The first, and perhaps the worst, of these crises was largely of American making. On April 17, 1961, the island of Cuba was invaded by a force of Cuban refugees, hostile to the pro-Communist regime of Dr. Castro. The invasion had been planned on American territory with the knowledge, and indeed the enthusiastic consent, of the American Administration. Short of giving the invaders American air cover, or reinforcing them with American troops, President Kennedy could hardly have made

his support of the invasion more obvious than it was. This, of course, was a breach of international law and a serious affront to the susceptibilities of the uncommitted nations.

Worse still, the moral and political losses incurred by supporting the invasion in the first place were not redressed by the gains that might have accrued from military success. If the invasion had succeeded the United States would have looked to the neutral world like a successful bully. In the event, she looked like a weak and unsuccessful one.

#### *Liberal support*

Cuba apart, however, Kennedy's foreign policy deserved — and on the whole received — the support of liberal opinion in his own country and in the rest of the world as well. His international aims can be considered under three heads. In the first place he had to hold the line against renewed Soviet pressure in Europe, and to prevent the NATO alliance from disintegrating under that pressure. Secondly, he showed more anxiety than any of his predecessors had

done to reach agreements with the Soviet Union on disarmament and on banning nuclear tests — and if that proved impossible, he wished at least to minimize the dangers of accidental nuclear war, and of the escalation of a conventional war into a nuclear one, by changes in American defence policy. Finally, he realized the necessity for a more vigorous programme of aid to the undeveloped world, both in order to prevent the spread of communism and on moral grounds.

For a short time immediately after Kennedy's election it seemed that the new Administration might be able to reach agreement with the Soviet Union more easily than its predecessor had done. During the election campaign itself, international relations had been almost in abeyance. The fight of the U-2 and the collapse of the Summit conference in the summer of 1960 had led to a period of tension; but the Russians seemed to realize that there was little they could do, one way or the other, until the presidential elections were over in the United States.

Now that the elections were over they seemed inclined to believe that the new President (who had, after all, announced publicly that he would have been prepared to apologize for the U-2) would follow a substantially different policy from his predecessor; and accordingly they treated him at first with a certain wary cordiality

However, the honeymoon did not last long. In June, 1961, President Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev met at Vienna, for an informal summit conference. The main subject of their discussions was Berlin. It quickly became clear that the positions of the two sides were as far apart as they had ever been. The Russians insisted that West Berlin must become a demilitarised "free city" and that East Germany must be recognized as a sovereign State. They threatened that if this were not done by international agreement they would sign a separate peace with East Germany. They claimed that in that event Western rights in West Berlin would automatically lapse, and that the communications between West Berlin from West Germany would auto-

matically come under East German control.

#### *Sky darker*

The Americans replied that Western rights in Berlin arose out of the Potsdam agreements of 1945 which could not be unilaterally abrogated by the Russians; that the status of West Berlin would therefore remain unchanged no matter what treaties the Russians chose to sign with their East German satellites; and that no agreement on the future of Germany would be acceptable to the West unless it promised to unite the country in peace and freedom.

For the rest of the summer the international sky grew steadily darker. Khrushchev launched a war of nerves of the kind Hitler had employed in the thirties; Kennedy replied with an adroit mixture of firmness and conciliation. The Russians renewed their threat to sign a separate peace with East Germany and boasted of the size of their rocket arsenal. In August the crisis reached a still more acute stage. On August 13 the East Germans sealed off their sector from

the Western sectors of the city and built a wall around West Berlin. In reply the Western garrison in Berlin was strengthened, Vice-President Johnson was dispatched on a visit to West Berlin to stiffen the morale of the Berliners, and for a while American and East German troops glowered at each other across the sector border. At the end of the same month, the Russians announced that they would carry out a series of atmospheric nuclear tests, thus breaking the moratorium on such tests which had been in existence for three years.

To all this President Kennedy replied by making it clear that the West was prepared to fight, if necessary, for the liberties of the West Berliners and Western rights in the city. At the same time he took care to avoid making provocative gestures which might confront the Russians with a choice between losing face and making even more provocative gestures themselves. The line between appeasement and unnecessary firmness was an extremely delicate one; and Kennedy trod it with great skill.

### *In doubt*

By October it was becoming clear that the crisis, though still menacing, no longer threatened to explode into physical fighting at a moment's notice. Meanwhile, both sides made tentative approaches to negotiation. The end of the West German election campaign on September 17 removed an element making for rigidity in the Western camp; and the end of the party Congress in Moscow in October did the same for the East.

In October there was a meeting between the Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk, and Mr. Gromyko; and this was followed by a prolonged "probe" of Soviet intentions by the Americans. In the following eight months it looked as if Kennedy would be prepared to offer a limited degree of *de facto* recognition to East Germany in return for international control of the access routes between West Berlin and West Germany; but the precise details of an agreement remained in doubt. They were still in doubt by June, 1962.

In the first eighteen months of his Administra-

tion, at last, President Kennedy's disarmament policy had produced equally little in the way of tangible results. This was not, of course, his own fault. In 1961, with the Russians threatening to sign a separate peace with East Germany and ending the moratorium on nuclear tests, no progress was possible. In 1962 some progress was made, but it was still painfully slow. Another attempt was made to negotiate a controlled ban on nuclear tests, but although the Americans were now willing to make more concessions than they had offered in the past, agreement seemed as far off as ever.

#### *Cuban crisis*

In the sphere of comprehensive disarmament the outlook was slightly more encouraging, perhaps because of the increasingly important part played by the neutrals.

These prospects were suddenly and brutally interrupted by the Soviet decision to install nuclear missiles in Cuba, only miles from the coast of Florida. For a few days at the end of October, 1962, the world approached nearer to the brink of thermonuclear war. President

Kennedy heard what the Russians were doing on October 17. Rightly or wrongly he and his advisers believed that Soviet missiles in Cuba would tilt the strategic balance decisively against the West. They knew from their intelligence sources that the Russians were racing against time to make the missile pads operational; and they knew that once the launching pads were operational, the heartland of the American continent would be vulnerable as never before. It seemed clear that they had to act at once.

#### *In 'quarantine'*

On the night of October 22 President Kennedy announced that the United States had put Cuba into "quarantine." The "quarantine" would be enforced by the United States Navy; and all ships carrying offensive weapons to Cuba would be turned back. He also announced that he had directed "continued and increased close surveillance of Cuba and its military build-up"; that the United States would regard any nuclear attack launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western

hemisphere as an attack on the United States. Finally, he called on Mr. Khrushchev to "halt and eliminate this clandestine, reckless and provocative threat to world peace."

The following day the Latin American countries decided to support the United States. On October 24 Mr. Khrushchev announced that the Soviet Union was ready for a summit meeting, and the US blockade went into effect. But the first crisis point was still to come. It was known that Soviet ships were on their way to Cuba. If they tried to break the American blockade, they would be fired upon. If they were fired on, war might result.

#### *A new turn*

On October 25 the first Soviet ship reached the American blockade. It was intercepted and allowed to proceed. Next day, the crisis took a new turn. The White House announced that development of Soviet missile sites in Cuba was still continuing at "a rapid pace"; and the State Department added that if offensive preparations in Cuba were to continue "further action"

would be justified. This was the second major crisis point. Mr. Khrushchev had been warned that the Russian missiles must be removed, and so far he had not done so. Soon President Kennedy would have to act: by pinpoint bombing of the sites, by a parachute assault, by a massive invasion of Cuba or by a nuclear strike against the bases. On October 28 Mr. Khrushchev finally saw the folly of persisting, and announced that the Soviet missile bases in Cuba would be dismantled. Anxious moments were still to come, but the crisis was over.

#### *Edge of catastrophe*

Firmness coupled with caution had prevailed: and it is clear in retrospect that both elements were equally important. For President Kennedy had steadily refused to launch a surprise air strike against Cuba, as some of his advisers had suggested; he had made every possible effort to leave the Russians a chance to retreat without losing face. No one will ever know whether he was right about the magnitude of the threat the Soviet missiles seemed to represent. There

can be no doubt, however, that his handling of the threat showed statesmanship of a high order.

Over Cuba, one of President Kennedy's advisers said afterwards, they had felt in Washington as though they could be "within five minutes of destruction." Both Mr. Kennedy and no doubt Mr. Khrushchev as well realized that they had been to the edge of catastrophe; and both tried to withdraw from it as soon as they could. President Kennedy's part in this was notable. Cuba represented a victory for him and his country; but he steadily refused to boast about it, or to humiliate his opponent. Instead, he made every effort to reach a genuine understanding with the Russians.

International relations slowly took a turn for the better. In January 1963 "exploratory talks" were held in New York between Russia and the United States, in an attempt to establish a foundation for a ban on nuclear tests. Towards the end of the month Mr. Khrushchev suddenly announced that he was prepared to accept the

principle of on-site inspection; and for a short time it looked as though a full-scale agreement might soon be reached.

But these hopes proved over-optimistic. Endless haggling took place over the exact number of on-site inspections to be allowed in a year. The West insisted on seven; the Russians stuck at three. By the summer it had become clear that the Russians were not prepared to accept any inspection, and that a full-scale ban was therefore impossible.

Then on June 10 President Kennedy made a last effort to break the deadlock. In a striking speech at the American University, he announced that the United States would not resume atmospheric tests so long as other countries also abstained. He called on his own countrymen "not to fall into the same trap as the Soviets, not to see only a distorted and desperate view of the other side, not to see conflict as inevitable." At the same time it was announced that a high-level conference would be held in Moscow in July to look for a way out of the impasse in which all previous

conferences had been bogged down.

The conference was successful; and by the end of the summer a treaty had been signed banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, under the sea and in outer space.

#### *World opinion*

In itself, the test-ban treaty meant comparatively little. It contained no measures of inspection or control; and the only real sanction behind it was the pressure of world opinion. But in spite of its limitations as a disarmament treaty, it had immense significance for world politics. For the first time since the Cold War, the great nuclear powers had agreed to restrict their own freedom of action in the interests of world peace. At the least it was a step in the right direction. The danger of nuclear war still remained, and would remain. But it was now possible to hope for further steps to a genuine detente between East and West.

Paradoxically, the prospect of a relaxation of tension between East and West led to a renewal of tension within the Western Alliance. President de Gaulle was adamant-

ly opposed to any detente with the Russians in the foreseeable future. It was an open secret that many West Germans were alarmed by the possibility that a detente with Russia might lead to some form of recognition for East Germany.

Apart from these fears, the Alliance grew increasingly divided by the thorny problems raised by its own nuclear arsenal. Britain insisted on retaining her own independent nuclear deterrent; and at Nassau at the end of 1962 President Kennedy was reluctantly persuaded to supply Polaris missiles to Britain, on certain conditions, when the British V-bomber force became obsolete. Meanwhile France was equally determined to become an independent nuclear power; and there seemed to be a real danger that West Germany would soon follow suit.

In January, 1963, President de Gaulle vetoed Britain's application to join the European Common Market — in terms which implied a fundamental hostility to American leadership in the Atlantic alliance. This was followed by a series of pinpricks culminating in a decision to



withdraw the French Atlantic fleet from its NATO assignment. In order to isolate France, and contain West Germany, President Kennedy put forward a proposal for a "mixed-manned" NATO nuclear force. The proposal was received with little enthusiasm. West Germany was eager to join the mixed-manned force; but the other allies were suspicious. Militarily the proposal had little value; its political benefits were at best dubious. At the time of President Kennedy's death, its fate was still in doubt. The only certainty was that the legitimate demands of the European allies for a voice in nuclear strategy would somehow have to be reconciled with NATO solidarity. Here President Kennedy's successor faces a major unsolved problem.

He faces another problem — almost as grave, and also unsolved — at home. In the summer of 1963 the American domestic scene was transformed by a massive revolt of the Negro community — North as well as South — against discrimination and inequality. In the first two years of its life, the Kennedy Administration had had a

disappointing record in the field of civil rights. The promise of his election platform had not been fulfilled; the hopes of the Negro community — and of white liberals as well — had been disappointed.

But after the race riots in Alabama the Administration at last began to act, and it acted with courage and determination. A sweeping civil rights bill was placed before Congress, more-far-reaching in scope than anything which had ever been attempted in this century. More important still, President Kennedy — threw the weight of his office behind the civil rights movement in a way that neither he, nor his predecessors, had previously done. It is too soon to tell what the immediate future holds in store for the American Negro. What is certain is that President Kennedy in the end earned a distinguished place in the list of those who have tried to make the American dream a reality for the coloured tenth of the population.

#### *Fulfilling promise*

President Kennedy was the youngest President ever elect-

ed; and for the first half of his presidency he seemed to be feeling his way. Apart from the disaster of the Bay of Pigs his policies were thoughtful, judicious and sometimes even wise. But there was a curious lack of passion and urgency in the way he presented them to his countrymen. After the searing experience of Cuba, this changed.

On strictly political issues, the domestic performance of

his Administration remained disappointing — less because of any faults of omission or commission on its part than because of stubborn conservative opposition in Congress and an apathetic public opinion. But on civil rights he had at last begun to fulfill the promise of his election campaign and on the supreme issues of peace and war, he had proved himself a great President.

## THE PONTIFF'S HOPE

"We pray God that the sacrifice of John Kennedy may assist the cause promoted and defended by him for the liberty of peoples and peace in the world. . . . We deplore with all our heart this event. We express the hope that the death of this great statesman does not bring harm to the American people, but reinforces its moral and civil sense and strengthens its sentiments of nobility and concord." — POPE PAUL.

■ The speech that was to have been delivered in Dallas, Texas just before the assassination.

## AMERICA'S STRENGTH IS FOR PEACE

JOHN F. KENNEDY

I am honored to have this invitation to address the annual meeting of the Dallas Citizens Council, joined by the members of the Dallas Assembly — and pleased to have this opportunity to salute the Graduate Research Center of the Southwest.

It is fitting that these two symbols of Dallas progress are united in the sponsorship of this meeting. For they represent the best qualities, I am told, of leadership and learning in this city — and leadership and learning are indispensable to each other. The advancement of learning depends on community leadership for financial and political support — and the products of that learning, in turn, are essential to the leadership's hopes for continued progress and prosperity. It is not a coincidence

that those communities possessing the best in research and graduate facilities — from MIT to Cal Tech — tend to attract the new and growing industries. I congratulate those of you here in Dallas who have recognized these basic facts through the creation of the unique and forward-looking Graduate Research Center.

This link between leadership and learning is not only essential at the community level. It is even more indispensable in world affairs. Ignorance and misinformation can handicap the progress of a city or a company — but they can, if allowed to prevail in foreign policy, handicap this country's security. In a world of complex and continuing problems, in a world full of frustrations and irritations, America's leader-

ship 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 popular 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. Those voices are inevitable.

But today other voices are heard in the land — voices preaching doctrines wholly unrelated to reality, wholly unsuited to the Sixties, doctrines which apparently assume that words will suffice without weapons, that vituperation is as good as victory and that peace is a sign of weakness. At a time when the national debt is steadily being reduced in terms of its burden on our economy, they see that debt as the greatest single threat to our security. At a time when we are steadily reducing the number of Federal employees serving every thousand citizens, they

fear those supposed hordes of civil servants far more than the actual hordes of opposing armies.

We cannot expect that everyone, to use the phrase of a decade ago, will "talk sense to the American people." But we can hope that fewer people will listen to nonsense. And the notion that this Nation is headed for defeat through deficit, or that strength is but a matter of slogans, is nothing but just plain nonsense.

I want to discuss with you today the status of our strength and our security because this question clearly calls for the most responsible qualities of leadership and the most enlightened products of scholarship. For this Nation's strength and security are not easily or cheaply obtained — nor are they quickly and simply explained. There are many kinds of strength and no one kind will suffice. Overwhelming nuclear strength cannot stop a guerilla war. Formal pacts of alliance cannot stop internal subversion. Displays of material wealth cannot stop the disillusion-

ment of diplomats subjected to discrimination.

Above all, words alone are not enough. The United States is a peaceful nation. And where our strength and determination are clear, our words need merely to convey conviction, not blligerence. If we are strong, our strength will speak for itself. If we are weak, words will be of no help.

I realize that this Nation often tends to identify turning-points in world affairs with the major addresses which preceded them. But it was not the Monroe Doctrine that kept all Europe away from this hemisphere — it was the strength of the British fleet and the width of the Atlantic Ocean. It was not General Marshall's speech at Harvard which kept communism out of Western Europe — it was the strength and stability made possible by our military and economic assistance.

In this Administration also it has been necessary at times to issue specific warnings — warnings that we could not stand by and watch the communists conquer Laos by force; or intervene in the Con-

go, or swallow West Berlin or maintain offensive missiles on Cuba. But while our goals were at least temporarily obtained in these and other instances, our successful defense of freedom was due — not to the words we used — but to the strength we stood ready to use on behalf of the principles we stand ready to defend.

This strength is composed of many different elements, ranging from the most massive deterrents to the most subtle influences. And all types of strength are needed — no one kind could do the job alone. Let us take a moment, therefore, to review this Nation's progress in each major area of strength.

First, as Secretary McNamara made clear in his address last Monday, the strategic nuclear power of the United States has been so greatly modernized and expanded in the last 1,000 days, by the rapid production and deployment of the most modern missile systems, that any and all potential aggressors are clearly confronted now with the impossibility of strategic victory — and the certainty of total destruction

— if by reckless attack they should ever force upon us the necessity of a strategic reply.

In less than three years, we have increased by 50 percent the number of Polaris submarines scheduled to be in force by the next fiscal year — increased by more than 70 percent our total Polaris purchase program — increased by more than 75 percent our Minuteman purchase program — increased by 50 percent the portion of our strategic bombers on 15-minute alert — and increased by 100 percent the total number of nuclear weapons available in our strategic alert forces. Our security is further enhanced by the steps we have taken regarding these weapons to improve the speed and certainty of their response, their readiness at all times to respond, their ability to survive an attack and their ability to be carefully controlled and directed through secure command operations.

But the lessons of the last decade have taught us that freedom cannot be defended by strategic nuclear power alone. We have, therefore,

in the last three years accelerated the development and deployment of tactical nuclear weapons — and increased by 60 percent the tactical nuclear forces deployed in Western Europe,

Nor can Europe or any other continent rely on nuclear forces alone, whether they are strategic or tactical. We have radically improved the readiness of our conventional forces — increased by 45 percent the number of combat-ready army divisions — increased by 100 percent the procurement of modern army weapons and equipment — increased by 100 percent our ship construction, conversion and modernization program — increased by 100 percent our procurement of tactical aircraft — increased by 30 percent the number of tactical air squadrons — and increased the strength of the Marines. As last month's "Operation Big Lift" — which originated here in Texas — showed so clearly, this Nation is prepared as never before to move substantial numbers of men in surprisingly little time to advanced positions anywhere in the world. We have in-

creased by 175 percent the procurement of airlift aircraft — and we have already achieved a 75 percent increase in our existing strategic airlift capability. Finally, moving beyond the traditional roles of our military forces, we have achieved an increase of nearly 600 percent in our Special Forces — those forces that are prepared to work with our allies and friends against the guerrillas, saboteurs, insurgents and assassins who threaten freedom in a less direct but equally dangerous manner.

But American military might should not and need not stand alone against the ambitions of international communism. Our security and strength, in the last analysis, directly depend on the security and strength of others — and that is why our military and economic assistance plays such a key role in enabling those who live on the periphery of the communist world to maintain their independence of choice. Our assistance to these nations can be painful, risky and costly — as is true in Southeast Asia today. But we dare not weary of the

task. For our assistance makes possible the stationing of 3.5 million Allied troops along the communist frontier at one-tenth the cost of maintaining a comparable number of American soldiers. A successful communist breakthrough in these areas, necessitating direct United States intervention, would cost us several times as much as our entire foreign aid program — and might cost us heavily in American lives as well.

About 70 percent of our military assistance goes to nine key countries located on or near the borders of the communist bloc — nine countries confronted directly or indirectly with the threat of communist aggression — Vietnam, Free China, Korea, India, Pakistan, Thailand, Greece, Turkey and Iran. No one of these countries possesses on its own the resources to maintain the forces which our own Chiefs of Staff think needed in the common interest. Reducing our efforts to train, equip and assist their armies can only encourage communist penetration and require in time the increased over-

seas deployment of American combat forces. And reducing the economic help needed to bolster these nations that undertake to help defend freedom can have the same disastrous result. In short, the \$50 billion we spend each year on our own defense could well be ineffective without the \$4 billion required for military and economic assistance.

Our foreign aid program is not growing in size — it is, on the contrary, smaller now than in previous years. It has had its weaknesses — but we have undertaken to correct them — and the proper way of treating weaknesses is to replace them with strength, not to increase those weaknesses by emasculating essential programs. Dollar for dollar, in or out of government, there is no better form of investment in our national security than our much-abused foreign aid program. We cannot afford to lose it. We can afford to maintain it. We can surely afford, for example, to do as much for our 19 needy neighbors of Latin America as the communist bloc is sending to the island of Cuba alone.

I have spoken of strength largely in terms of the deterrence and resistance of aggression and attack. But, in today's world, freedom can be lost without a shot being fired, by ballots as well as bullets. The success of our leadership is dependent upon respect for our mission in the world as well as our missiles — on a clearer recognition of the virtues of freedom as well as the evils of tyranny.

That is why our Information Agency has doubled the shortwave broadcast power of the Voice of America and increased the number of broadcasting hours by 30 percent — increased Spanish-language broadcasting to Cuba and Latin America from one to nine — hours a day — increased seven-fold to more than 3.5 million copies the number of American books being translated and published for Latin American readers — and taken a host of other steps to carry our message of truth and freedom to all the far corners of the earth.

And that is also why we have regained the initiative in the exploration of outer space — making an annual



effort greater than the combined total of all space activities undertaken during the Fifties — launching more than 130 vehicles into earth orbit — putting into actual operation valuable weather and communications satellites — and making it clear to all that the United States of America has no intention of finishing second in space.

This effort is expensive — but it pays its own way, for freedom and for America. For there is no longer any fear in the free world that a communist lead in space will become a permanent assertion of supremacy and the basis of military superiority. There is no longer any doubt about the strength and skill of American science, American industry, American education and the American free enterprise system. In short, our national space effort represents a great gain in, and a great resource of, our national strength — and both Texas and Texans are contributing greatly to this strength.

Finally, it should be clear by now that a nation can be no stronger abroad than she is at home. Only an America which practices what it

preaches about equal rights and social justice will be respected by those whose choice affects our future. Only an America which has fully educated its citizens is fully capable of tackling the complex problems and perceiving the hidden dangers of the world in which we live. And only an America which is growing and prospering economically can sustain the worldwide defenses of freedom, while demonstrating to all concerned the opportunities of our system and society.

It is clear, therefore, that we are strengthening our security as well as our economy by our recent record increases in national income and output — by surging ahead of most of Western Europe in the rate of business expansion and the margin of corporate profits — by maintaining a more stable level of prices than almost any of our overseas competitors — and by cutting personal and corporate income taxes by some \$11 billion, as I have proposed, to assure this Nation of the longest and strongest expansion in our peacetime economic history.

This Nation's total output — which three years ago was at the \$500 billion mark — will soon pass \$600 billion, for a record rise of over \$100 billion in three years. For the first time in history we have 70 million men and women at work. For the first time in history average factory earnings have exceeded \$100 a week. For the first time in history corporation profits after taxes — which have risen 43 percent in less than three years — have reached an annual level of \$27.4 billion.

My friends and fellow citizens: I cite these facts and figures to make it clear that America today is stronger than ever before. Our adversaries have not abandoned their ambitions — our dangers have not diminished — our vigilance cannot be relaxed. But now we have the military, the scientific and the economic strength to do whatever must be done for

the preservation and promotion of freedom.

That strength will never be used in pursuit of aggressive ambitions — it will always be used in pursuit of peace. It will never be used to promote provocations — it will always be used to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes.

We in this country, in this generation, are — by destiny rather than choice — the watchmen on the walls of world freedom. We ask, therefore, that we may be worthy of our power and responsibility — that we may exercise our strength with wisdom and restraint — and that we may achieve in our time and for all time the ancient vision of "peace on earth, goodwill toward men." That must always be our goal — and the righteousness of our cause must always underlie our strength. For as was written long ago: "Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman but in vain."

■ "Let us put an end to the teaching and the preaching of hate and evil and violence."

## U.S. WILL MEET ITS COMMITMENTS ABROAD\*

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

All I have I would have given gladly not to be standing here today.

The greatest leader of our time has been struck down by the foulest deed of our time. Today John Fitzgerald Kennedy lives on in the immortal words and works that he left behind. He lives on in the mind and memories of mankind. He lives on in the hearts of his countrymen.

No words are sad enough to express our sense of loss. No words are strong enough to express our determination to continue the forward thrust of America that he began.

The dream of conquering the vastness of space — the dream of partnership across the Atlantic — and across the

Pacific as well — the dream of a Peace Corps in less developed nations — the dream of education for all of our children — the dream of jobs for all who seek them and need them — the dream of care for our elderly — the dream of an all-out attack on mental illness — and above all, the dream of equal rights for all Americans, whatever their race or color — these and other American dreams have been vitalized by his drive and by his dedication.

And now the ideas and ideals which he so nobly represented must and will be translated into effective action.

Under John Kennedy's leadership, this Nation has demonstrated that it has the courage to seek peace, and it has the fortitude to risk war. We have proved that we are

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\* Speech before the U.S. Congress on November 27, 1963.

a good and reliable friend to those who seek peace and freedom. We have shown that we can also be a formidable foe to those who reject the path of peace and those who seek to impose upon us or our allies the yoke of tyranny.

This Nation will keep its commitments from South Viet-Nam to West Berlin. We will be unceasing in the search for peace; resourceful in our pursuit of areas of agreement even with those with whom we differ; and generous and loyal to those who join with us in common cause.

In this age when there can be no losers in peace and no victors in war, we must recognize the obligation to match national strength with national restraint. We must be prepared at one and the same time for both the confrontation of power and the limitation of power. We must be ready to defend the national interest and to negotiate the common interest. This is the path that we shall continue to pursue. Those who test our courage will find it strong, and those who seek our friendship will find

it honorable. We will demonstrate anew that the strong can be just in the use of strength; and the just can be strong in the defense of justice.

And let all know we will extend no special privilege and impose no persecution. We will carry on the fight against poverty and misery, disease and ignorance, in other lands and in our own.

We will serve all of the Nation, not one section or one sector, or one group, but all Americans. These are the United States — a united people with a united purpose.

Our American unity does not depend upon unanimity. We have differences; but now, as in the past, we can derive from those differences strength, not weakness, wisdom, not despair. Both as a people and as a government, we can unite upon a program, a program which is wise, just, enlightened, and constructive.

For 32 years, Capitol Hill has been my home. I have shared many moments of pride with you, pride in the ability of the Congress of the United States to act, to meet any crisis, to distill from our

differences strong programs of national action.

An assassin's bullet has thrust upon me the awesome burden of the Presidency. I am here today to say that I need your help; I cannot bear this burden alone. I need the help of all Americans, and all America. This Nation has experienced a profound shock, and in this critical moment, it is our duty, yours and mine, as the Government of the United States, to do away with uncertainty and doubt and delay, and to show that we are capable of decisive action; that from the brutal loss of our leaders we will derive not weakness, but strength; that we can and will act and act now.

From this chamber of representative government, let all the world know and none misunderstand that I rededicate this Government to the unswerving support of the United Nations, to the honorable and determined execution of our commitments to our allies, to the maintenance of military strength second to none, to the defense of the strength and the stability of the dollar, to the expansion

of our foreign trade, to the reinforcement of our programs of mutual assistance and cooperation in Asia and Africa, and to our Alliance for Progress in this hemisphere.

On the 20th day of January, in 1961, John F. Kennedy told his countrymen that our national work would not be finished "in the first 1,000 days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But," he said, "let us begin."

Today, in this moment of new resolve, I would say to all my fellow Americans, let us continue.

This is our challenge — not to hesitate, not to pause, not to turn about and linger over this evil moment, but to continue on our course so that we may fulfill the destiny that history has set for us. Our most immediate tasks are here on this Hill.

First, no memorial oration or eulogy could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory than the earliest possible passage of the Civil Rights Bill for which he fought so long. We have talked long enough

in this country about equal rights. We have talked for 100 years or more. It is time now to write the next chapter, and to write it in the books of law.

I urge you again, as I did in 1957 and again in 1960, to enact a civil rights law so that we can move forward to eliminate from this Nation every trace of discrimination and oppression that is based upon race or color. There could be no greater source of strength to this Nation both at home and abroad.

And second, no act of ours could more fittingly continue the work of President Kennedy than the early passage of the tax bill for which he fought all this long year. This is a bill designed to increase our national income and Federal revenues, and to provide insurance against recession. That bill, if passed without delay, means more security for those now working, more jobs for those now without them, and more incentive for our economy.

In short, this is no time for delay. It is a time for action — strong, forward-looking action on the pend-

ing education bills to help bring the light of learning to every home and hamlet in America — strong, forward-looking action on youth employment opportunities; strong, forward-looking action on the pending foreign aid bill, making clear that we are not forfeiting our responsibilities to this hemisphere or to the world, nor erasing executive flexibility in the conduct of our foreign affairs — and strong, prompt and forward-looking action on the remaining appropriations bills.

In this new spirit of action, the Congress can expect the full cooperation and support of the Executive Branch. And in particular, I pledge that the expenditures of your Government will be administered with the utmost thrift and frugality. I will insist that the Government get a dollar's value for a dollar spent. The Government will set an example of prudence and economy. This does not mean that we will not meet our unfilled needs or that we will not honor our commitments. We will do both.

As one who has long served in both Houses of the Con-

gress, I firmly believe in the independence and the integrity of the Legislative Branch. And I promise you that I shall always respect this. It is deep in the marrow of my bones. With equal firmness, I believe in the capacity and I believe in the ability of the Congress, despite the divisions of opinions which characterize our Nation, to act — to act wisely, to act vigorously, to act speedily when the need arises. The need is here. The need is now. I ask your help.

We meet in grief, but let us also meet in renewed dedication and renewed vigor. Let us meet in action, in tolerance, and in mutual understanding. John Kennedy's death commands what his life conveyed — that America must move forward. The time has come for Americans of all races and creeds and political beliefs to understand and to respect one another. So let

us put an end to the teaching and the preaching of hate and evil and violence. Let us turn away from the fanatics of the far left and the far right, from the apostles of bitterness and bigotry, from those defiant of law, and those who pour venom into our Nation's bloodstream.

I profoundly hope that the tragedy and the torment of these terrible days will bind us together in new fellowship, making us one people in our hour of sorrow. So let us here highly resolve that John Fitzgerald Kennedy did not live — or die — in vain. And on this Thanksgiving Eve, we gather together to ask the Lord's blessing, and give Him our thanks, let us unite in those familiar and cherished words:

*America, America  
God shed His Grace on  
thee, and crown thy good  
with brotherhood from  
sea to shining sea.*

President Kennedy died as a soldier, under fire, doing his duty, in the service of his country. In the name of the French people, a friend always to the American people, I salute this great memory. —  
GENERAL DE GAULLE.

■ A prince of horse traders and of that special breed  
— 'wheeler-dealers.'

## THE TEXAN WHO TAKES OVER

LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON succeeded on Friday in circumstances of tragic horror and irony to the office he has sought so long.

He took the oath to "perform the duties of the President of the United States" standing in the cabin of the aircraft that was to leave his native Texas a few minutes later with the body of the man who was his rival before he was his predecessor.

Less than three and a half hours later, the brutal glare of arc lights hit the plane as it taxied to a stop at three minutes past six Eastern Standard Time at Andrews air force base near Washington. First a stunned group of President Kennedy's aides and friends lowered the coffin in a bright yellow caterer's lift into a waiting grey naval ambulance. Then Mrs. Kennedy was helped down the steps, her pink suit still smeared with blood from her husband's wound. Only after this tragic party had gone

did the waiting group of officials, Senators, diplomats and reporters, many of them openly weeping or close to tears, notice a tall man standing at a microphone.

Johnson gave a sort of shiver. He looked gauntly down at his wife for encouragement. Then he began to speak. His first words were drowned by a roar of a rmy helicopters, whose lights were flashing red. Then somebody gave an order, and the new President could be heard. "I will do my best," he was saying, "that is all I can do. I ask for your help and God's."

Then he went straight by helicopter to the White House. There, the first officials President Johnson met were Mr. McNamara, Secretary of Defence, and Mr. McGeorge Bundy, President Kennedy's Special Assistant for National Security. The meeting seemed to dramatise the crushing new responsibilities that have fallen on a man



whose career, up till now has been that of a consummately skilful domestic politician with little knowledge or experience of the great questions of foreign policy and defence that are now his to decide.

#### *Fully prepared for the job*

Lyndon Johnson comes to the Presidency after as full a preparation as any man could reasonably have. He was born to politics. His father's father — who fought for the Confederacy against the Union — and his father were both members of the Texas Legislature, and another of his ancestors on the same side carried a rifle for Texas against the Mexicans.

On his mother's side his forebears were Baptist preachers and teachers, typical of the pioneering stock of modest means from which the conservative South likes to choose its leaders. "When I was born," Johnson told a visitor not long ago, "my daddy galloped over to his father's place and told him that Lyndon Baines Johnson had just discovered America. Grandpa replied that a United States Senator had just been born." But— ac-

ording to Johnson, who is as fond of tales as any Texan — his mother used to urge him never to seek the Presidency: "It would break your heart if you missed," she used to say.

The Johnsons came from a highly individual part of Texas near Austin, the capital of the State; it is an island of hills starting out of the plains. It has a liberal tradition, owing much to German settlers who came out to Texas after 1848, in the middle of a State settled mainly by migrants from the conservative slave-owning South.

Johnson was born in Stonewall, Texas, on August 27, 1908, and left high school at 15, first to hitchhike to California, and then to work for two years as a common labourer in road-building gangs. It was his father who persuaded him to go to college, and he worked his way through South West Texas State Teachers College, graduating with a B.Sc. in 1930. He taught in a Houston school for nearly two years before going to Washington for the first time as secretary to a Congressman.

Less than five years later he was a Congressman himself. In what Britain would call a by-election he beat nine other candidates and won on a strongly pro-New Deal campaign which attracted the immediate notice and patronage of President Roosevelt, who happened to be on a fishing holiday in Texas. Johnson was still only 27 when he rode in triumph to Washington on F.D.R.'s special train.

But if his political rise had been quick so far, after he reached Washington it was phenomenal. From the start, though far more of a New Dealer than the majority of Southern Congressmen, he attracted the attention and friendship of older men by his gifts as a practising political realist.

After only four years in the House, in 1941, he stood for the Senate in a colourful campaign against an old pro known as "Pass-the-Biscuits-Pappy," and used for the first time the barn storming techniques which became something of a trade-mark. He lost by a mere thirteen hundred votes. Then came Pearl Harbour.

Next day, Johnson joined the Navy, and was decorated personally by General MacArthur for bravery on Navy bombing missions in the Far East. Then President Roosevelt forbade Members of Congress to fight. Johnson came back to Washington, and was Chairman of an important House Committee investigating the conduct of the war. In 1948, he ran for the Senate again. Again it was a desperately close election, but this time Johnson won by 87 votes.

But Johnson went on as though his margin had been a million. Within two years he was a member of the official Senate leadership, and in 1953, after only five years in the Senate, he became Democratic leader, the youngest man ever to lead either party there. Two years later again, in 1955, the Democrats won a majority in the Senate, and Johnson moved into the job he was to master as no one, by common consent, has ever mastered it before, as **Majority Leader**.

In July, 1955, when he had been in his job for less than six months, he had a heart

attack as he was sitting by the pool at his Texas ranch. His recovery was complete: long afterwards he used to carry an electro-cardiograph in his pocket which he liked to show to visitors to prove how absolute his recovery had been. But he proved it perhaps even more with the tireless energy with which he marshalled the Senate. This is a uniquely proud college of independent potentates who shy away from the Whip.

*Prince of the horse traders*

He was no orator, and, indeed, the Senate has no time for oratory. Johnson's gift was for lightning and complex calculations of where each man's interest lay, a minute knowledge of each man's habits and views and even his whereabouts — on several occasions he sent his messengers south and west to summon his array by police car and jet plane for some crucial vote. He was the prince of horse traders and of that special Texan breed called "wheeler-dealers."

But behind the lazy, sometimes cynical charm, behind the good fellowship and the

drawled Texan jokes, there was not only a keen and subtle political brain: there was plenty of late-night staff-work and studying of bills and amendments and ballot lists. Johnson is a secret worker.

At this time a colleague said of him: "He doesn't have the best mind on the Democratic side in the Senate; he isn't the best orator, he isn't the best Parliamentarian. But he's the best combination of all these qualities." And under President Eisenhower, he was probably the most powerful man in the U.S.

It was his sheer political skill and his ability to manipulate his colleagues that won him his position. He sensed the approach of trouble. He was superb at soothing the ruffled. He passed a splendid compliment. He was a master of the few murmured words, heads together, arm in arm, in the lobby or cloakroom, that could edge a bill through better than a long speech on the floor. He preferred to get things settled before they were debated. Such gifts are also essential in the White House.

In 1960, when Johnson made his fiercely professional bid for the Presidential nomination, he was not widely known outside his native Texas and Washington. He seemed provincial. And he had even severer handicaps to overcome than that: he was a Southerner, and no man from the 11 States that seceded from the Union in the Civil War has ever been elected to the Presidency, once almost a monopoly of Virginians.

How much of a Southerner is Johnson? Or, which is the same thing in American political terms, how much of a Conservative is he?

As a Texan, and West Texan at that, there is a certain ambiguity about the tradition from which he springs, an ambiguity which Johnson has deliberately exploited. To Northern and Western audiences, he has stressed that he thinks of himself as a Westerner: in the South, he has not denied that he is the son of the South. And in 1960 at least, it seemed that he was caught in the toils of his own ambiguity.

To Southerners and conservatives, the man was sus-

pect because of his early support for the New Deal and his votes for measures favouring Negroes and Mexican Americans. (Johnson has been a good friend to this large and under-privileged group in Texas all his political life, and the Mexicans repay him with political loyalty.) One conservative businessman in 1960 called him a "damned radical New Dealing son of a bitch."

Yet at the same time Johnson was getting one of his secretaries to draw up a minute analysis of his voting record in the vain attempt to convince Northern labour and liberals and Negroes that he had never been the "reactionary" they took him for. Had he not used all his Parliamentary skill to put through the two Civil Rights Bills of 1957 and 1960? Yet he got no credit from the liberals for it. The assumption was that Johnson was just a kind of enlightened conservative who was acting as a front for Southern resistance to Civil Rights.

Johnson's intimates have always insisted that such suspicions were unjustified, while conceding that his tem-

peramental affinity for the cunning old craftsmen of the Southern power structure in the Senate made them understandable. But, say those who have seen most of Johnson in the last three years, in any case his views on Civil Rights have moved, and moved perceptibly, to the Left.

Whatever the reason, whether because there never was a chance of persuading the party that he could win enough Northern votes to be elected, or simply because the Kennedy organization had moved too fast too soon, Johnson was beaten at the convention at Los Angeles, after a struggle marked by personal bitterness.

The story of how Johnson became President is the story of how he became Vice-President.

At the national convention in July, 1960, the huge excitement which had died after Kennedy's nomination was abruptly revived when the word went round that Johnson might be his running-mate and potential Vice-President. It was reckoned and at once brought two of the three major elements of the party-labour and the Demo-

cratic leaders from the big cities — into direct collision.

The most detailed account of what probably happened behind closed doors in the Biltmore Hotel has been essayed by Theodore H. White in his book "The Making of the President." Most people had thought the running-mate would have been either Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington or Senator Stuart Symington of Missouri. The battle for the candidacy was known to have stirred up a mutual bitterness between Kennedy and Johnson. Yet, according to White, it was in Kennedy's mind that the choice of Johnson was first tentatively born and it was Kennedy himself who telephoned the Johnson suite at the Biltmore at 8 o'clock in the morning to discuss the idea.

When the news spread, the big city leaders thought the choice a fine one for the country and for the ticket. But the labour leaders — among them Walter Reuther and Arthur Goldberg — "violently and vehemently" objected to Johnson. They believed he would alienate the critical Negro vote in the North.

Even the Southern element of the party was divided when Johnson himself consulted its leaders. One party sage put his position with Texan vividness. "I'll tell you, Lyndon," he said, "the Vice-Presidency isn't worth a pitcher of warm spit."

It is said that what finally persuaded Johnson to accept a nomination he was believed to have rejected earlier with a single rude word was his discovery that Kennedy really *wanted* him. And most people now suppose that Kennedy's choice was based on simple political arithmetic: he was convinced that a ticket with Johnson on it would swing most votes.

During this brief crisis at the national convention, most of the American reporters were sure that Johnson himself had demanded the nomination in the teeth of Kennedy's desire to have someone else. At his first press conference after his nomination, Kennedy dismissed this version as "wholly untrue." He said that when word had reached him that Johnson's nomination might be opposed on the floor of the convention he had indeed

asked Johnson if he would consider another job. But when Johnson said he was prepared to go ahead in spite of the opposition, Kennedy said he "gladly agreed."

No personal closeness developed between the late President and his deputy. Johnson's style and his friends were utterly different from the style and people that predominated in the Kennedy Administration — less educated, more provincial, socially less smart. Away from his own field of mastery in the Senate, Johnson discovered that he had lost the instrument of his power. And the death of his friend and mentor, Sam Rayburn, the fellow Texan who had run the House with an even cooler precision than Johnson had achieved in the Senate, robbed him not only of a powerful ally but also of a wise counsellor.

Then there was the series of scandals, in none of which Johnson was implicated, but each of which touched political friends and allies of his. One high official from Texas, Jerry Holleman, had to resign after the Billie Sol Estes

scandal, Fred Korth, a protégé of Johnson's who was Secretary of the Navy, had to resign after writing letters that were, to say the least, indiscreet in their promotion of Korth's private business on Pentagon stationery. And most recently, Bobby Baker, Johnson's prize pupil, resigned too, and now faces investigation of his high living and ramified private dealings.

*He could have been dropped*

To cap it all, the growth of conservative sentiment in Texas and all over the South meant that there was serious doubt whether Johnson could command the support of his own State in 1964 — let alone fulfill the role for which he was originally put on the ticket in 1960, namely to deliver the South. It was hardly surprising that in the last few weeks rumours have been sweeping Washington that Kennedy had decided to drop Johnson from the ticket next year — rumours which Kennedy repeatedly and publicly denied.

But if Johnson seemed farther than ever from the Pes-

idency that was only a heart-beat away, those who know him best believe that he was consciously and systematically preparing himself to run again and win in 1968. He was concentrating on three tasks. As head of the President's Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity for Negroes, he was earning himself respect from Negroes, and indeed sometimes moving farther out on their behalf than President Kennedy, as when he flatly said in an Independence Day speech in Philadelphia this year: "It is not our respective races that are at stake, it is our nation."

Second, as overlord of the space programme he was not only tying his name to the most ambitious and modern-minded of the Administration's programmes — one, incidentally, that he had advocated long before 1960 — he was also concerned with the distribution of massive political patronage in hundreds of millions of dollars of space contracts.

*A despair to diplomats*

Third, in his capacity as the President's ceremonial

representative, Mr. Johnson travelled all over the world, seeking to make up his deficiencies in experience of foreign affairs.

His deficiencies should not be exaggerated. As senior member of the Senate, he has followed all the great debates on foreign affairs since the days of the Marshall Plan. But he has followed them at some distance. He has studied defence more closely, as one of the members of the Armed Services Committee.

But in foreign affairs Mr. Johnson has been the despair of some staid American diplomats, with his habit of swinging through Europe or Asia with all the hand-grasping folksiness of a Texas politician on the stump. Still, if some of these journeys were not really necessary, at least as a result of one of them one more Pakistani camel driver visited Texas than would have done otherwise. His record on world affairs is that of a moderate. He is anti-Communist, yet no cold warrior, and without either isolationist or any other bees in his bonnet.

As Vice-President, Johnson has kept up his habit of rest-

lessly seeking the information he needs for political decisions. But he learns by word of mouth. He has never been a great reader. He is a compulsive telephoner. Those who have worked for him tell awed stories of his marathon phone calls, sometimes lasting for hours at any time of the day or night, briefing himself in the minutest detail on the political situation when he had been out of town.

Moreover, he has had every opportunity to get to know all sides of the Presidency in the past three years. For if he seems never to have played a leading part in the great decisions — on Cuba last autumn, for example — he was always there. Several times a day he has been in the President's office. He has seen all the papers, secret or not. And he knows well enough the men who served his predecessor — and whom he must now decide whether he will keep on to serve him.

With most of these men he is temperamentally out of touch. It is not that he is known to have quarrelled with any of them, though with the Attorney-General,



Robert Kennedy, there were ancient wounds of political strife to heal, and some rather unflattering opinions have been heard from most levels in the State Department after the Vice-Presidential peregrinations. It is simply that it is hard to imagine Johnson in the chair at a policy meeting, directing the flow of thinking of the articulate, self-confident group of intellectuals that President Kennedy had forged into a machine to complement his very different personality.

Yet Johnson does not begin to have a parallel machine of advisers and experts of his own on economics, strategy, or foreign policy which he could slip into the places of the Harvard and Yale men. He has proteges and speechwriters and political henchmen of several kinds, and some of them are as able in the practice of their own kind of closed politics as the Kennedy brains trust in theirs. But there is hardly a name that is known outside the Senate dining-room where the pros gather over bean soup and elephantine jokes.

Mr. Johnson's private life, like his entourage and his whole personality, is cut in a different pattern from that of the cosmopolitan Kennedys. Mrs. Johnson, who was christened Claudia Alta Taylor, but has been called Lady Bird all her life, is shrewd as well as vivacious and handsome, a smallish, dark woman who has helped Johnson in more specific ways than the wives of most successful men.

It is she who has taken charge of his personal finances and made him a rich man, by any standards but those of his predecessor. Starting with the modest fortune of her father, an Alabama landowner who moved to Texas, and investing long-sightedly in television and radio and land, she is reported to have accumulated well over \$1 million for the family. The Johnsons have two grown-up daughters — Lynda Bird and Lucy Baines Johnson. A touch of Texas-style whimsy running through the Johnson family requires that the same initials shall be shared by all. Even the family pet is called Little Beagle Johnson.

The Johnsons live in some splendour but with no pre-

tense to the cultural polish and intellectual sophistication of the Kennedy circle. They have a large house in a fashionable suburb of Washington and a luxurious ranch near Johnson City, Texas.

The new President is a complex man, hard to understand except in terms of the idiosyncratic traditions of his beloved and native Texas. He is at once homespun and folksy, and notoriously vain — the family initials, the expensively cut suits with cowboy trappings and (until recently loud shirts), the personal flag that flies over the ranch when L. B. J. is in residence, the oil paintings of himself in his office, these disclose an oddly naive vanity. He is serious, religious even, yet ribald in a hail-fellow-well-met way that is hard to picture unless you have seen a mid-American businessman praying before a lunch meeting.

Johnson is large — 6 ft. 3 in. — and lean, in the Texas tradition. He has dieted down from 16 to 14 stone. His face is seamed but strong, like a Western sheriff's. But it is also extremely mobile

and has been judged the most expressive in American politics with the possible exception of Eisenhower's. When he is making a speech it works all over, like (as one observer has noted) "a piece of animated India rubber." But a Texan audience is needed to get him really going; it is only to his own people that he has felt free to bellow the national anger or bewail the anguish of the nation's problems. Before a sophisticated gathering, a Johnson speech that would be a triumph in San Antonio is apt to fall flat.

Johnson rightly dislikes reading his speeches from a prepared text. When he has to, he does it in a singularly sleep-inducing Texan drawl. On the other hand, if he improvises he risks getting carried away by the exuberance of his sentiments. Once he flew to New York to receive an honorary degree from the Jewish Albert Einstein Medical School.

*Put in his own purple prose*

Johnson got bored with the text and inserted one of his own purple passages. Looking down upon row af-

ter row of solemn young Semites, he told them he knew he could trust them not only to take advantage of this excellent training for themselves, but to go out into the world as he had done and carry everywhere "the message of Christianity."

Johnson is the second Chief Executive to belong to the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). The other was President James A. Garfield, who was shot by an assassin on July 2, 1881, and died on September 19 of that year. The Christian Church, as it is most commonly known, was founded in America early in the nineteenth century by certain dissident Presbyterian ministers. Numbering about 1,800,000 members in the United States, the Church is congregational in structure.

His manner in personal encounters of all kinds is overwhelmingly friendly. He is, as someone has said, "a

backslapper, a shoulder-hugger, a knee-squeezer" and he himself confesses that he likes to be in the closest possible physical contact with a man when he talks to him. When this proximity is established, Johnson is apt to straighten his visitor's tie for him if this seems necessary — as it often has done in the Kennedy circle.

Strangers have always found him exceptionally easy to talk to. "He sticks his feet up on his desk," as one distinguished British visitor has put it, "and tacitly invites you to do the same on your side." Many people have found him straightforward and easy to like.

He is a man who invites a certain cynicism. His virtues are hidden behind his slightly raffish facade. He has a subtle intelligence and yet an utter lack of intellectuality. He will make a very American President of the United States. — *The Observer*, November 24, 1963.

What he did achieve was to bring a new sense of purpose to the American people. He woke America and got them moving in the economic sense . . . in the social field and the field of education. — HAROLD WILSON, leader of Britain's Labor Party.

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