

The Nation Lives

And now, the duties and burdens of the national life must be taken up again, the onward progress of a people resumed, the toils and troubles of the world confronted. The last sad, solemn rites have been performed, such honor and reverence as is within poor human power has been offered, grief has been assuaged, so far as it can be assuaged. All tributes have been tendered except that final tribute that John Fitzgerald Kennedy would have coveted most—the tribute of a people and a government going forward with the tasks he had so far advanced.

Such is the design of the great Government he served that it is not idle to hope, nor foolish to believe that this can be done. The Government, by the genius of those who called it forth, was devised to withstand the calamities that in this world do overtake all men. It was the especial care of the architects of the Government of the United States that the Nation under that Government might be safeguarded so far as possible against the mortal frailties of its individual leaders and that it might have conferred upon it the immortality and continuity of nationhood.

One secret of that survival is the wide diffusion and dispersal of discretion and authority. This quality may make the day-to-day conduct of government more difficult, more frustrating and more exasperating; but it confers upon the total government an immunity to the cruel misfortunes that may be visited upon its individual leaders. This quality has lent stability to the Nation from the beginning. The very first President lay for a time in the shadow of death, and his colleagues and his countrymen even then were lent comfort and confidence by the knowledge that the Nation could and would go on, come what may. And so it has been in the case of many of his successors.

The pyramid of power in this country is not inverted. It rises from its broad popular base to an apex of authority. The capstone is its glory, its symbol and its ornament but not its foundation and in the dread event of its removal the whole edifice remains, awaiting replacement. That accomplished, the whole apparatus of power is re-made. The singular success the Nation has achieved in the swift, smooth transfer of authority from one President to another and, on occasion, from one party to another is the great triumph of the authors of the Constitution and one every day made more remarkable by the vicissitudes of such transitions under many other systems of government.

So now, the work of the Government must go on, in conformity with the Nation's laws and customs and necessities, under the direction of leaders already ordained by the sanction of the popular will.

The people, having made their proper obeisance at catafalque and pier, at altar and temple, now must turn to the less ceremonial reverence they can pay to a departed leader, day by day, week

this vital case by the Dallas police constitutes a strong argument for the direction of such delicate operations by the FBI from the very beginning.

The events in Dallas have shown all too clearly that Federal officials should have been in charge of the police work from the beginning. High crimes against the Nation cannot be safely left to investigation and prosecution by local officials of the community in which such crimes happen to take place. As soon as Congress resumes its operations, Rep. Richard S. Schweiker of Pennsylvania will introduce a bill to extend the protection of Section 1114, United States Code, to the President and Vice President. We hope that it will be given prompt attention by the Judiciary Committees and that they will also include within the terms of the bill other officials in the line of succession to the Presidency. Perhaps agency heads, their deputies and members of Congress should also be included.

Footnote by Lincoln

At what point shall we expect the approach of danger? By what means shall we fortify against it? Shall we expect some trans-Atlantic military giant to stop the ocean and crush us at a blow? Never! All of the armies of Europe, Asia and Africa combined, with all the treasure of the earth (our own excepted) in their military chest, with a Bonaparte for a commander, could not by force take a drink from the Ohio or make a track on the Blue Ridge in a trial of a thousand years.

At what point, then, is the approach of danger to be expected? I answer, if it ever reach 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 I am 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 executive ministers of justice.

—Abraham Lincoln, Address before the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Ill., Jan. 27, 1837.

A Full Inquiry

President Lyndon Johnson has wisely recognized that energetic steps must be taken to prevent a repetition of the dreadful era of rumor and gossip that followed the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln. A century has hardly sufficed to quiet the doubts that arose in the wake of that tragedy.

Nothing in the known facts of last Friday's dreadful act suggests that it was any more than it appeared to be on the face of things—the mad act of a man since youth tortured by curious mental aberration. This would all have been established in a proper judicial tribunal, surrounded and safeguarded by all the devices of due process, but for the senseless intervention of the man who shot Oswald while he was in

New Chapter



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Fanatic Reaction Is Europe's Fear

By Robert H. Estabrook

LONDON—As the immediate shock of President Kennedy's assassination wears off, the sense of loss grows greater. "There has never been known such intense world-wide grief as is now felt at President Kennedy's death," the London Sunday Times observed, altogether accurately. The compassion of the British people, themselves at first struck almost mute, is something this correspondent will never forget. Tragedy has demonstrated again, beyond all disagreements, how much Europe looks to America.

Some of Mr. Kennedy's qualities may have been appreciated differently abroad. Seen from here, his great contributions were to set a standard of excellence that excited all men; to renew hospitality to ideas and stimulate an intellectual renaissance that described the spirit of America better than his tangible accomplishments. He was a modern man, and some of the deepest anguish is over the deprivation to the world of what he might yet have done and become.

Apart from his style, the quality Europeans admired most was his wisdom tempered under fire. He was vigorous of manner but cool of judgment and humane in understanding. He stood for sanity and reason, not impetuosity or fanaticism. He proved his courage in crisis, but he was never vainglorious in triumph. He perceived acutely that there are no simple solutions to big world problems.

IN DOMESTIC policy, notwithstanding his checkmates, Mr. Kennedy will be remembered abroad as the man who sought to grapple constructively with racial wrongs and with emotions that were the product of historical forces which would have confronted any President. He also will be known as the man who demolished an irrational religious barrier to the Presidency.

What now worries people in Europe is whether the assassination will encourage extremism in the United States. Perhaps the only extenuating aspect of the shameful murder of Lee Harvey Oswald is that it may make the recriminations about his Communist ties less drawn out. But the horror in Europe should not be underestimated.

There are lunatics on the left as well as on the right. It is a fact that in the past the Communists have not scrupled at political murder abroad: witness the killing of Leon Trotsky in Mexico. But the nuclear age has wrought many changes. Mr. Khrushchev understood the ultimate reality, and it cannot be doubted that his sorrow and that of the Soviet people were genuine.

To yield to frustration and scapegoating would be to lose for the United States the respect for responsibility won by Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Eisenhower before him. There can be no better text than the speech Mr. Kennedy had intended to give at Dallas and the memorable speech he did make at American University last June.

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Letters to the Editor

In Memoriam

Responsibility for the untimely loss of our gallant young President, unhappily, seems to lie fundamentally with many, many people. The man who fired the shot might well be considered merely the brutish and probably mentally-damaged person misshapen by the miasma of hatreds, suspicions, untruths, and incitements which have been pumped daily into the public consciousness by various bigots and extremists.

At last I saw him, the sturdy figure from Massachusetts, behind the impressive Executive's desk in the White House. I saw him quietly pondering over the business at hand, America's business. I saw him attentively discussing

by the method of consent—by a system of freedom under law. With respect to the world outside, our purpose is not only to defend the integrity of this democratic society but also to help advance the cause of human freedom in world law—the universal cause of a just and lasting peace."

If we fulfill this purpose, John Kennedy shall not have led us in vain. He did not shrink from challenge—he welcomed it. He was a living example of the ancient Talmu-

That accomplished, the whole apparatus of power is re-made. The singular success the Nation has achieved in the swift, smooth transfer of authority from one President to another and, on occasion, from one party to another is the great triumph of the authors of the Constitution and one every day made more remarkable by the vicissitudes of such transitions under many other systems of government.

So now, the work of the Government must go on, in conformity with the Nation's laws and customs and necessities, under the direction of leaders already ordained by the sanction of the popular will.

The people, having made their proper obeisance at catafalque and bier, at altar and temple, now must turn to the less ceremonial reverence they can pay to a departed leader, day by day, week by week and year by year, in the faithful performance of the solemn duties that citizenship imposes, in dedication to the country and its institutions, in commitment to the noble purposes and ideals that were the object of John Fitzgerald Kennedy's lifelong devotion.

Citizen of the World

The essential truth of President Kennedy's Inaugural Address salutation, to "my fellow citizens of the world," has been aptly and amply demonstrated by the world's response to his death. From all but the most intransigent corners of the globe have come profound and touching measures of tribute. Nations great and small, friendly states and states that otherwise are fractious or foe, nations of all races and faiths—all have put aside the feelings and issues which divide in order to unite in respect and grief. A truce has in effect been called in the deadly feuds and petty quarrels which are the more customary matter of international affairs.

It has been a moving spectacle: Premier Khrushchev in black signing the book of condolences in our Moscow Embassy; President de Gaulle striding tall and erect behind the casket; the people of distant and diverse lands sending their emissaries to a hushed cathedral; children speaking their sympathy in foreign tongues to Americans abroad. Each man and each nation have shown that they share Mr. Kennedy's piercing sense of a single family of men.

Their immediate purpose, of course, has been to honor a President of the United States. Yet one can believe that they have bowed to more than a man and that the tributes to him—variously expressed in word, in gesture, in presence—are tributes to the high place and role of a Nation as well. John F. Kennedy was our President, but other men sensed that he belonged to them, too, and that he represented aspirations held in common by many countries. It was this sense, perhaps, that brought forth the outpouring of sentiment and respect. In President Kennedy, people everywhere recognized their fellow citizen of the world.

Make It a Federal Crime

Certainly the law should be amended to make the assassination of the President a Federal crime. It is ironic indeed that the criminal who murdered President Kennedy violated only the law of Texas. Actually his foul deed was a crime against the Nation—one of the most serious crimes against the Nation in this century.

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Now it will be necessary to do by other means what the courts would have done for us. The case cannot be called closed until every question has been answered and every lingering doubt dismissed. All the evidence that would have been gathered to convince a court must now be assembled to convince the tribunal of American and world opinion. Every measure essential to achieve this end must be taken.

If the processes of justice had not been frustrated, Oswald would have gone on trial; now that they have been violated, it is the conduct of criminal justice in Dallas, in Texas and in the United States that must go on trial. The country will watch and the world will watch to see that, this time, no single whispered intimation, scandalous suggestion or reckless rumor escapes the scrutiny required to lay it at rest. To leave the air filled with suspicion, uncertainty and lunatic invention, as it is otherwise bound to be, would be to cloud the period with foul insinuation and spoil the image of the past and the hope for the future.

No state or local inquiry will meet the situation, in view of the dreadful record of justice miscarried that already has been made.

The Federal Government must prosecute this inquiry by means that assure the most objective, the most thorough and the most speedy analysis and canvass of every scrap of relevant information. The disclosures and conclusions must be so sweeping and extensive that they leave no room for the imagination of the morbid, the propaganda of the left or right, or the sheer fantasy of the irresponsible. In the words of the new President, in announcing the Department of Justice inquiry, the people of the Nation must be "sure that all the facts are made public."

Aldous Huxley

The literary career of Aldous Huxley was a history of oscillation between a skeptical rationalism and a sometimes very murky mysticism. He first made his reputation as a novelist of the 1920s whose brittle, clever books like *Antic Hay*, *Crome Yellow* and *Point Counterpoint* struck the mocking note of the period. But long before his death last Friday at 69, Mr. Huxley sought deeper waters and wanted to be judged as something more than a comic writer. Still, in the end, he may be best remembered as the author of *Brave New World*, a satirical novel which makes us wince as we laugh.

He turned Utopia on its head and visualized a future society in which the self-indulgent foibles of a consumer society were carried to their logical

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Some of the guilt I think, too, should trouble the consciences of certain individuals in high places who did less than they might have done to clear away the smog.

Because of the developing climate of animosity, enmity, and malice I have increasingly feared—for the President's safety each time he has sallied forth, intrepid and chivalrous, to share his hopes and ideals. With magnanimity, wit, high competence, and with ever-growing dedication to the American dream, John Kennedy has lived and served long enough to be assured, I firmly believe, of taking his place in history alongside a Lincoln, a Washington, and a Franklin Roosevelt. But it's going to be very lonely for some of us without him, and his wife and his kids.

Mostly I hope that this terrible blow that has shocked us and the world will be widely accepted as another challenge to try to turn the tide of hatreds, and to try to restore an American climate of human relations characterized by such historic truths as "With Liberty and Justice for All" and "God is Love."

A miracle is needed. A good start would be that the members of the House and the Senate be permitted to vote, prior to the end of this session, on President Kennedy's two highest priority bills, bills for which he has worked so hard and so long.

Kennedy has died for his cause and his Nation—is this vote too much to ask of our Congress? And especially in that it offers an opportunity for a less than distinguished session of Congress to regain some dignity and respect in the eyes of our Nation and the watching world.

HARRY KINGMAN,
The Citizens' Lobby for Freedom
and Fair Play,
Washington.

Whenever thinking of President Kennedy, I used to think of Massachusetts, his state. I pictured her in fall, donned in a frivolous dress of brilliant red and yellow leaves and playing hazardous games with the cold swirling waves

of our Nation's Capitol in the brightness of January. He solemnly took the oath of his esteemed office. Then he spoke, Massachusetts rejoiced. But he spoke not only to her, for he was no longer solely hers.

At last I saw him, the sturdy figure from Massachusetts, behind the impressive Executive's desk in the White House. I saw him quietly pondering over the business at hand, America's business. I saw him attentively discussing current problems, America's problems, with his choice advisers.

I saw in him America's warmth as he would interrupt a hectic schedule to speak to a group of visiting students. I saw in him America's joy in accomplishment as he congratulated men like John Glenn. I saw in him America's compassion as he publicly mourned the deaths of Dag Hammarskjöld, Sam Rayburn, Eleanor Roosevelt.

I saw in him America's prowess as he forcefully declared the quarantine on Cuba. I saw in him America's pride as his firm hand signed the nuclear test-ban treaty. I saw in him America's hospitality as he graciously entertained figures like Haile Selassie I in his white mansion. I saw in him the long overdue maturity of America's conscience in regard to equal rights for all.

I saw in him America's sincerity as he pleaded before the United Nations for new world cooperation in the quest for peace. Then I remembered those echoing words: "Let us never negotiate out of fear, but let us never fear to negotiate." I took a long, long look at the man from Massachusetts who uttered that phrase. In him I saw America.

But now: a laden bier and the solemn strains of requiem. Is the spirit of America dead? God help us!

KENNETH J. PROKOP,
Washington.

A great nation mourns the passing of an inspiring leader. Genuine grief and sorrow permeates the society. But in the midst of this veil of tears, the seeds of hate begin to bear fruit. Irrationality seems to be leading a country built upon the ultimate rationality down a dangerous path.

Within the last two months, Chief Justice Earl Warren was abused, Ambassador Adlai Stevenson was attacked, and President John Fitzgerald Kennedy was killed. But it need not be this way. Our late President often counseled us to put away our divisions and

by the method of consent—a system of freedom under law. With respect to the world outside, our purpose is not only to defend the integrity of this democratic society but also to help advance the cause of human freedom in world law—the universal cause of a just and lasting peace."

If we fulfill this purpose, John Kennedy shall not have led us in vain. He did not shrink from challenge—he welcomed it. He was a living example of the ancient Talmudic prophecy of Rabbi Tarfon, "The task is not yours to complete, but neither are you free to avoid it." If for no other reason than to remember his death, the task is now ours to complete.

ARTHUR A. GOLDBERG,
Ithaca, N.Y.

Perhaps the shocking, unfortunate and sudden death of President John F. Kennedy will inspire the many reluctant members of Congress to stop bickering among themselves and impel them to act immediately upon the much-needed social and economic legislation of the Administration and even restore the recent reductions in foreign aid.

It seems that Congress has suddenly in the year of 1963 gone on a sudden craze for budget-cutting and has been rejecting further Federal aid spending on such worthwhile programs as slum clearance, education, health, power, space, foreign aid and even the public works. Therefore, it would be most gratifying for the majority of Americans if Congress would enact immediately President Kennedy's tax program and the Civil Rights Act of 1963.

As for our foreign aid program, there is a greater need to restore the recent reductions since we are better able to sustain the burden of foreign aid than ever before. Foreign aid must continue as long as the ever-widening gap of poor and rich countries still exists and since the world economic growth is still at a slow rate.

HARRY A. PALAYNES,
District Heights, Md.

The monumental tragedy of President Kennedy's death may not be fully assessed for decades, if ever. The loss of this tremendously capable, devoted, intelligent and sensitive man who dedicated his life to our country is beyond the capacity of any individual to fully evaluate at this most grievous hour.

A light has been extinguished in this world which

uses less drawn out, but the horror in Europe should not be underestimated. There are lunatics on the left as well as on the right. It is a fact that in the past the Communists have not scrupled at political murder abroad; witness the killing of Leon Trotsky in Mexico. But the nuclear age has wrought many changes. Mr. Khrushchev understood the ultimate reality, and it cannot be doubted that his sorrow and that of the Soviet people were genuine.

To yield to frustration and scapegoating would be to lose for the United States the respect for responsibility won by Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Eisenhower before him. There can be no better text than the speech Mr. Kennedy had intended to give at Dallas and the memorable speech he did make at American University last June.

At Dallas Mr. Kennedy had planned to refute the zealots whose simple slogans, he said, "confuse rhetoric with reality and the plausible with the possible." Their doctrines assume, that "words will suffice without weapons, that vituperation is as good as victory, and that peace is a sign of weakness."

On the last point Mr. Kennedy's careful eloquence at American University is still ringing through the world. That speech, with its appreciation of the areas of common concern with the Soviet Union as well as the obvious differences, of the changes in the cold war and the evolution within the Communist bloc, was the harbinger of what improved atmosphere has subsequently come about.

"No problem of human destiny is beyond the reach of human beings," he said with rare incisiveness. "Man's reason and spirit have often solved the seemingly unsolvable—and we believe they can do it again."

That is a fitting guideline as President Johnson assumes the burdens of the world. Europeans no less than Americans will be watching with forebearance in what must seem a super-human task. Mr. Johnson will not be a duplicate of President Kennedy; he is a different sort of man. But Europeans take comfort in the fact that he is far better tutored for his enormous responsibility than was President Truman, who nonetheless had the courage of great decisions.

If there is any consolation in the events of the past four days, it is that the American people have always risen to meet crises. If their response is now to practice the true humility and charity that many feel, to overcome violence with justice, to subordinate divisions to fundamental unity, to underline firmness of purpose with gentleness of spirit, the reaction of the remainder of the world need not be in doubt.

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As the law now stands, severe penalties are prescribed for felons who murder or attack Federal judges, United States Attorneys, FBI agents, postal inspectors, Secret Service officers, customs agents and various employees of the Departments of the Interior and Agriculture. But this law for the "protection of officers and employees of the United States" does not, strangely enough, cover the President or members of his Cabinet.

Presumably the need for Federal law in this field has not previously been emphasized. When Lincoln was assassinated, the country was still under martial law. The assassin of President Garfield was prosecuted in the District of Columbia and the assassin of President McKinley in New York. There is a strong presumption that Texas would have convicted Lee Harvey Oswald of the slaying of President Kennedy if Oswald himself had not been killed as he was being transferred to the county jail. But the serious bungling of

what the courts would have done for us. The case cannot be called closed until every question has been answered and every lingering doubt dismissed. All the evidence that would have been gathered to convince a court must now be assembled to convince the tribunal of American and world opinion. Every measure essential to achieve this end must be taken.

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He turned Utopia on its head and visualized a future society in which the self-indulgent foibles of a consumer society were carried to their logical extreme. His *Brave New World*, however, was much less ferocious than George Orwell's 1984, a book with which it is often compared. Writing in later years, Mr. Huxley himself confessed that his 1932 novel failed to anticipate the barbarisms of the Nazis and Communists and that if he were to rewrite it, he would deepen its pessimism.

His erudition was astonishing, and showed to best advantage in his essays on everything from Italian madrigals to the art of Goya. This range of interest and learning owed much to his early blindness, which recurred in his later years. Because of this disability, he explained, he had to fall back on his intellectual resources and he strove to master particular disciplines in order to avoid becoming the slave of his sickness. In this sense, Mr. Huxley's imposing body of work will remain a testament to his toughness of spirit as well as brilliance of mind.

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HARRY KINGMAN,
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Whenever thinking of President Kennedy, I used to think of Massachusetts, his state. I pictured her in fall, donned in a frivolous dress of brilliant red and yellow leaves and playing hazardous games with the cold swirling waves against Cape Cod. I pictured her in winter, dormant under a heavy blanket of snow. I pictured her inhabitants: the grumpy faces of her industrial workers, the calloused hands of her farmers, the trim appearance of her white-collar folk.

And then, among all these, I pictured him, her favorite son. I saw him as a student and a determined athlete in her most renowned university. I saw him as a heroic young lieutenant fighting—with her inhabitants particularly in mind—in the bloody mess of World War II.

I saw him as a young statesman striving for her in the chaotic debates of Congress. Then I saw him, her pride and

warmth as he would interrupt a hectic schedule to speak to a group of visiting students. I saw in him America's joy in accomplishment as he congratulated men like John Glenn. I saw in him America's compassion as he publicly mourned the deaths of Dag Hammarskjöld, Sam Rayburn, Eleanor Roosevelt.

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Perhaps it takes the dramatic impact of death for us to put into practice the ideas for which a man lives. John Kennedy lived and died for the freedom of mankind. This then can be our everlasting memorial to him: to practice the American ideal for which he fought so gallantly.

The American purpose, said the late President, is "to demonstrate that the organization of men and societies on the basis of human freedom is not an absurdity, but an enriching, ennobling, practical achievement. Our purpose is to demonstrate at home that this great continental democracy can solve its problems

to avoid it." If for no other reason than to remember his death, the task is now ours to complete.

ARTHUR A. GOLDBERG,
Ithaca, N.Y.

Perhaps the shocking, unfortunate and sudden death of President John F. Kennedy will inspire the many reluctant members of Congress to stop bickering among themselves and impel them to act immediately upon the much-needed social and economic legislation of the Administration and even restore the recent reductions in foreign aid.

It seems that Congress has suddenly in the year of 1963 gone on a sudden craze for budget-cutting and has been rejecting further Federal aid spending on such worthwhile programs as slum clearance, education, health, power, space, foreign aid and even public works. Therefore, it would be most gratifying for the majority of Americans if Congress would enact immediately President Kennedy's tax program and the Civil Rights Act of 1963.

As for our foreign aid program, there is a greater need to restore the recent reductions since we are better able to sustain the burden of foreign aid than ever before. Foreign aid must continue as long as the ever-widening gap of poor and rich countries still exists and since the world economic growth is still at a slow rate.

HARRY A. PALAYNES,
District Heights, Md.

The monumental tragedy of President Kennedy's death may not be fully assessed for decades, if ever. The loss of this tremendously capable, devoted, intelligent and sensitive man who dedicated his life to our country is beyond the capacity of any individual to fully evaluate at this most grievous hour.

A light has been extinguished in this world which will be most difficult to replace. Our hearts go out to Mrs. Kennedy who must not only endure this great loss to our country but must also suffer the irreplaceable loss of her husband and the father of her children.

The greatest tribute that any American can now give to our late President is to rally behind President Johnson in his difficult task of continuing the work of this truly great man. May God give us all the insight to forget political partisanship at this most mournful hour and join the world in assessing the true values for which John F. Kennedy gave his life.

THOMAS CARCATERRA,
Silver Spring.

studies. Their doctrines assume that "words will suffice without weapons, that vituperation is as good as victory, and that peace is a sign of weakness."

On the last point Mr. Kennedy's careful eloquence at American University is still ringing through the world. That speech, with its appreciation of the areas of common concern with the Soviet Union as well as the obvious differences, of the changes in the cold war and the evolution within the Communist bloc, was the harbinger of what improved atmosphere has subsequently come about.

"No problem of human destiny is beyond the reach of human beings," he said with rare incisiveness. "Man's reason and spirit have often solved the seemingly unsolvable—and we believe they can do it again."

That is a fitting guideline as President Johnson assumes the burdens of the world. Europeans no less than Americans will be watching with forebearance in what must seem a superhuman task. Mr. Johnson will not be a duplicate of President Kennedy; he is a different sort of man. But Europeans take comfort in the fact that he is far better tutored for his enormous responsibility than was President Truman, who nonetheless had the courage of great decisions.

If there is any consolation in the events of the past four days, it is that the American people have always risen to meet crises. If their response is now to practice the true humility and charity that many feel, to overcome violence with justice, to subordinate divisions to fundamental unity, to underline firmness of purpose with gentleness of spirit, the reaction of the remainder of the world need not be in doubt.

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