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Series IV: Sermons, 1914-1963, undated.

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The Legacy of a President, to have been delivered, 1963.

The Legacy of a President - Sermon 994
Address delivered by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
at the Memorial Service of the Temple, Cleveland, Ohio
Sunday December 1-1963

I HAVE REFLECTED MUCH THESE LAST FEW DAYS ON THE NATURE
OF THE UNIVERSAL SORROW WHICH THE WHOLE WORLD MANIFESTED AT
THE ~~SUDDEN AND~~ TRAGIC DEATH OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY. IT WAS CLEARLY
NEITHER FORMAL NOR PERFUNCTORY. ^{At home and} IN FAR-AWAY LANDS ~~AND HERE~~
~~AT HOME~~ MEN MOURNED AS ^{for him} IF FOR A LOST ~~FRIEND~~, ^{brother, as if he were} AS FOR ONE WHO WAS
PART OF THEIR OWN ~~PERSONAL~~ ^{personal lives}, WHO ~~SHARED~~ ^{shared} THEIR ~~HOPES AND~~ ^{innermost} ~~THEIR~~ ^{felt}
THEIR ~~INNER~~ ^{innermost} NEEDS. PEOPLE OF ALL AGES GRIEVED, BUT ESPECIALLY ^{the}
YOUNG. ~~PEOPLE~~ ^{The personality of} FOR PRESIDENT KENNEDY HAD AN ESPECIAL APPEAL ^{ed}
^{especially} TO THE YOUTH OF THE WORLD.

HE WAS A YOUNG PRESIDENT AND HE SPOKE TO THE HEART OF
YOUNG AMERICA AND TO ALL ~~THOSE~~ WHO HAD THE HOPEFUL HEART OF YOUTH
~~ALL OVER THE WORLD~~ ^{everywhere in the}. HE WAS LIKE A YOUNG EAGLE SOARING HIGH. HE
DID NOT BELONG TO THE TIRED OLD STATESMEN ~~AND POLITICIANS~~ WHO WERE
~~CAUGHT AND~~ ^{caught and} HELD FAST IN ~~THEIR~~ ^{their} WEARY ROUTINES, WHO WERE STILL
~~DREAMING OF WORLDS FOREVER GONE, BECAUSE OF THEIR PERSISTENT~~
~~DELUSIONS~~ ^{who were} THE HELPLESS AGENTS OF RECURRENT ~~INTERNATIONAL~~ ^{world}
DISASTERS. ^{over} THIS WAS THE TORCH OF A ~~NEW LIFE AND~~ A NEW VISION.

IN HIS ACCEPTANCE SPEECH AS THE DEMOCRAT ^{ic} NOMINEE FOR ^{the}
PRESIDENT, ^{by} HE DECLARED: " TOO MANY AMERICANS HAVE LOST THEIR WAY,
THEIR WILL AND THEIR SENSE OF HISTORIC PURPOSES. IT IS TIME FOR A NEW
GENERATION OF LEADERSHIP --NEW MEN TO COPE WITH ^f NEW PROBLEMS AND
NEW OPPORTUNITIES", ~~AND THE NEW GENERATION RESPONDED TO HIS~~
~~SUMMONS AND CHALLENGE. HERE FINALLY WAS THEIR TIME, THEIR~~

← AND IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS, LESS THAN THREE YEARS AGO, HE SOUNDED ^a ~~HIS~~ CLARION CALL: "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". ~~AND~~ THE NEW GENERATION RESPONDED TO HIS SUMMONS AND ~~WAS HIS~~ CHALLENGE. ^{Here, at last,} ~~HE FINALLY~~ WAS THEIR ^{true leader, their eloquent and leader,} ~~TRUE, THEIR ELOQUENT~~ SPOKESMAN, YOUNG IN YEARS AND YOUNG IN HEART, AND HE BROUGHT THEM RARER GIFTS THAN GOLD. ~~HE WAS~~ ^{about to lead a new crusade} READY TO ~~PURGE~~ THE OLD, OUTMODED ORDER ~~BY FIRE~~ AND BY THE FIRE OF A NEW FAITH BUILD ^a ~~THEIR~~ NEW JERUSALEM.

WHERE DID PRESIDENT KENNEDY FIND ^{the} ~~THE~~ TORCH WHICH HE DECLARED WOULD NOW BE PASSED TO A NEW GENERATION OF AMERICANS, "A GENERATION BORN IN THIS CENTURY, TEMPERED BY WAR, DISCIPLINED BY A HARD AND BITTER PEACE, PROUD OF OUR ANCIENT HERITAGE";² WHAT WAS THIS ANCIENT HERITAGE? IT WAS THE HERITAGE OF THE FOUNDING FATHERS ~~OF THIS COUNTRY~~ AND THE TORCH WAS FIRST KINDLED BY THE ~~IN~~, ~~LEADERS OF THE AMERICAN RESOLUTION. PRESIDENT KENNEDY,~~ TO USE THE WORDS OF ANOTHER MARTYRED PRESIDENT, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, ^{President} ~~Kennerly~~ "RETURNED TO THE FOUNTAIN WHOSE WATERS SPRING CLOSE BY THE BLOOD OF THE REVOLUTION". HE INVOKED THE ~~THE~~ SPIRIT WHICH GLOWS IN THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND ⁱⁿ ~~THE~~ BILL OF RIGHTS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, ^{Union and by his} ~~AND~~ HE CALLED UPON HIS GENERATION, AS DID LINCOLN WHOSE LOVING AND FAITHFUL DISCIPLE HE PROVED TO BE, "TO COME BACK TO THE GREAT LANDMARKS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE".

"NOW, MY COUNTRYMEN, IF YOU HAVE BEEN TAUGHT DOCTRINES
CONFLICTING WITH THE GREAT LANDMARKS OF THE DECLARATION OF
INDEPENDENCE; IF YOU HAVE LISTENED TO SUGGESTIONS WHICH WOULD
TAKE AWAY FROM ITS GRANDEUR AND MUTILATE THE FAIR SYMMETRY OF
ITS PROPORTIONS; IF YOU HAVE BEEN INCLINED TO BELIEVE THAT ALL MEN
ARE NOT CREATED EQUAL IN THOSE INALIENABLE RIGHTS ENUMERATED BY
OUR CHART OF LIBERTY, LET ME ENTREAT YOU TO COME BACK. RETURN
TO THE FOUNTAIN WHOSE WATERS SPRING CLOSE BY THE BLOOD OF THE
REVOLUTION."

HE APPLIED THE OLD IDEALS OF ^{our country} DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM AND
~~EQUALITY FOR ALL MEN~~ ^{grave} TO THE ~~MIGHTY~~ PROBLEMS AND THE ~~MENACING~~
CONDITIONS OF ~~THE~~ ^{our} NEW AGE, AND THEY BECAME EVEN MORE LUMINOUS ^{and}
MORE ^{urgently} REVELANT, ~~MORE URGENTLY NEEDED~~ THAN WHEN THEY WERE FIRST
PROMULGATED. AN UNBROKEN CHAIN OF ^{perpetual human aspirations} ~~CONTINUITY~~ BINDS THE
~~REVOLUTIONS OF THE~~ ~~REVOLUTIONARY~~ AGE OF WASHINGTON, THE
~~REVOLUTIONARY~~ AGE OF LINCOLN AND THE ~~REVOLUTIONARY~~ AGE OF KENNEDY --
THE ^{unwavering} STRUGGLES OF MEN FOR LARGER FREEDOM, FOR ^{the basic} HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR THE
DIGNITY OF MAN -- ^{the} THE SELF-EVIDENT TRUTHS -- ^{the} THE UNALIEANABLE RIGHTS ^{of}
THE ~~man~~

IF YOU LIFT UP YOUR EYES FROM THE ^{fresh} ~~NEW~~ GRAVE WHERE PRESIDENT
KENNEDY NOW LIES AT REST, YOU WILL SEE NOT ~~TOO~~ ^{with} FAR AWAY THE ^{statue}
LINCOLN MEMORIAL AND BEYOND ^{that tower} THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT. MORE THAN
^{were} ~~THE~~ OPTICAL VISION, ^{it is} ~~THE SITE ENCOMPASSES THE OLDEST~~
~~OF OUR NATIONAL SHRINES. A CHORD OF SACRED MEMORY, OF FAITH AND~~ ^{embodies} ~~THE NEWEST~~ ^{boundaries}

PROMISE BINDS THEM INDISSOLUBLY TOGETHER ^{They represent our nation's} ~~AN~~ UNBROKEN COVENANT
WHICH TIME AND AGAIN IS RENEWED ^{for us} BY THE BLOOD OF ^{one} MARTYRS.

I SAID, A MOMENT AGO, THAT PRESIDENT KENNEDY WAS YOUNG ~~who~~
^{that he} AND APPEALED TO THE HEART OF YOUNG AMERICA, BUT HE WAS ALSO
WISE WITH THE WISDOM WHICH ~~WE~~ ^{a few, those men,} NOT ALTOGETHER ALWAYS WISELY,
ASSOCIATE WITH AGE. ^{He had} ~~HIS WAS~~ THE ARDOR AND ENTHUSIASM OF YOUTH ~~in~~
BUT NOT ITS INEXPERIENCE. ~~HE WAS NOT A CASTLE-BUILDING ROMANTIC.~~
HE HAD VISION, ^{But} HE WAS NOT A VISIONARY. ^(over) ~~WITH A YOUNG HEART WENT AN~~
~~OLD HEAD.~~ ^{faced} HE ~~HAD~~ REALITY. HE UNDERSTOOD HIS WORLD -- ITS DANGERS,
ITS KNOTTED ~~AND TANGLED~~ DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS,
SOME OF THEM ^{almost too} ~~SO~~ DIFFICULT TO UN-SNARL AND CERTAINLY NOT IN HASTE
OR H YSTERIA. ^{understand} HE REALIZED FULL WELL THE LIMITATIONS OF HIS OFFICE ^{high}
AND HIS OWN PERSONAL POWERS TO SET ALL THINGS ARIGHT. HE REALIZED
TOO THAT THE POWERS ^{and resources of our country} OF THE UNITED STATES, GREAT AS THEY WERE,
WERE NOT UNLIMITED, AND THAT ^{we} ~~HE~~ COULD NEITHER DICTATE ^{to the world} NOR GO ~~IT~~
ALONE, ~~IN THE WORLD TODAY.~~ "XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
XXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXX HE KNEW THAT "ABSOLUTE SOVEREIGNTY NO LONGER ASSURES
US OF ABSOLUTE SECURITY. " HE UNDERSTOOD ALSO THE LIMITS OF
MILITARY POWER. "THE BASIC PROBLEMS FACING THE WORLD TODAY",
~~HE KNEW,~~ "ARE NOT SUSCEPTIBLE OF A FINAL MILITARY SOLUTION". BUT
THESE ^{inescapable} ~~INESCAPABLE~~ LIMITATIONS ^{and their attendant} WHICH OFTEN SPELLED FRUSTRATIONS
~~XXX~~ DID NOT CAUSE HIM TO SEEK REFUGE IN INACTION. THE WISDOM OF
OUR SAGES SEEMS TO HAVE GUIDED HIM. ~~THEIR~~ ^{"THINE} IS NOT THE DUTY TO
COMPLETE THE TASK ^{But} NEITHER ART THOU FREE TO DESIST FROM IT. "

IN A DANGEROUSLY POISED WORLD AND WITH ^{an} ~~THE~~ AWESOME RESPONSIBILITY RESTING UPON HIS SHOULDERS, HE MOVED CAUTIOUSLY, BUT HE MOVED. HE ^{acted} ~~MOVED~~ WITH DELIBERATENESS AND CIRCUMSPECTION BUT HE ACTED. HE FAILED -- BUT HE TRIED AGAIN. HE WOULD NOT PERMIT HIMSELF TO BE ANGERED, OR DISHEARTENED, OR GOADED INTO ~~REFUSALS~~ ^{quick reprisals} BUT NEITHER WAS HE EVER ^{affected} FROM HIS ^{main objective purpose.} ~~MANY~~ OBLIGATIONS. ~~HE~~ ^{He} UNDERSTOOD THAT THE ART OF GOVERNMENT WAS THE ART OF COMPROMISE, A BUT NEVER ON PRINCIPLES, HE STOOD IMMOVEABLE AS ~~THE~~ ROCK ~~OF~~ WHEN THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF OUR CONSTITUTION OR THE BASIC RIGHTS OF MAN WERE INVOLVED. HE WAS NOT A DOCTRINARIAN. ^{him} HE KNEW HOW TO BEND AS A TREE BENDS BEFORE STRONG WINDS, BUT ~~THE~~ ^{his} ROOTS ALWAYS REMAINED FIRMLY SET IN THE EARTH. HE PROFITED FROM HIS MISTAKES, ^{and those of his predecessors,} AS HE DID IN THE CASE OF ~~THE "BAY OF PIGS"~~ CUBAN FIASCO ^{early in his administration.}

HE SAW CLEARLY THE FIVE BESETTING DANGERS OF OUR AGE. ~~HE~~ ^{had been} ~~HIMSELF DECLARED THAT HE WAS~~ SUMMONED TO LEAD OUR NATION IN AN HOUR OF MAXIMUM DANGER, BUT WITH OPEN EYES AND A STOUT HEART HE CONFRONTED THEM. ^{TP} HE FACED THE DANGER OF THE NUCLEAR AGE.

"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." ^{any} ^{understandably,} HE, MORE THAN ~~ANY~~ OF US, BECAUSE ALL SOURCES OF INFORMATION WERE AVAILABLE TO HIM, ~~UNDERSTOOD~~ WHAT A NUCLEAR WAR WOULD MEAN TO MANKIND.

(over) It was an unshame, therefore, ^{cultural, well-informed} ~~highly cultivated~~
human being, forceful in action ~~but~~ tactful and
moderate in speech and manner.



HE BUILT UP THE MILITARY STRENGTH OF OUR NATION ^{so that it might} ~~TO~~ ACT AS A
DETERRENT TO AGGRESSION AND WAR. BUT WHILE SO ENGAGED, HE
EXPLORED EVERY ~~POSSIBLE~~ AVENUE TO DISCOVER SOME BASIS OF AGREEMENT
~~WITH AMERICA'S POTENTIAL ENEMY~~, WHEREBY THE DANGER ² OF A NUCLEAR
~~WAR~~ WAR MIGHT BE LESSENER. AFTER ^{many} REPEATED TRIALS AND FAILURES,
HE SUCCEEDED IN ARRIVING AT AN AGREEMENT ^{ent} WITH THE SOVIET UNION
ON A NUCLEAR TEST BAN WHICH BANNED NUCLEAR TESTS EVERYWHERE
EXCEPT ~~underground~~. IT WAS AN IMPORTANT ~~KN~~ ACHIEVEMENT EVEN THOUGH
IT WAS ~~NEVER~~ ^{not} A GUARANTEE AGAINST A NUCLEAR WAR. THE NEXT STEP
AND THE NEXT AND THE FINAL STEP ~~REMAIN YET TO BE TAKEN~~; BUT ~~THE~~ ^{would still have to still remain,}
^{"back from the shadow war"} FIRST STEP ^{IP} HAD TO BE TAKEN AND HE TOOK IT. HE WAS ~~OPPOSED~~ ^{OPPOSED}
TO AN ARMS RACE WITH THE SOVIET UNION, ^{though in the few brief years}
^{in office, he unfortunately made no headway.}

"IT IS... OUR INTENTION TO CHALLENGE THE SOVIET UNION, NOT TO
AN ARMS RACE, BUT TO A PEACE RACE; TO ADVANCE STEP BY STEP, STATE
BY STAGE, UNTIL GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT HAS ACTUALLY
BEEN ACHIEVED." HE ARDENTLY PURSUED PEACE. IN THE SPEECH WHICH HE
WAS TO DELIVER IN DALLAS THE DAY HE WAS ASSASSINATED, HE ~~DECLARED~~:

~~"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 THE OPPORTUNITY TO SALUTE
THE GRADUATE RESEARCH CENTER OF THE SOUTHWEST."~~

IT IS

^{Gen}
" ~~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. "

PRESIDENT KENNEDY TRIED TO MITIGATE THE BITTERNESS ~~AND~~
~~THE MENACE OF~~ THE COLD WAR. ^{He did not hate.} IN THIS HE WAS FAR AHEAD OF MOST OF
^{people over 1} OUR CITIZENS. HE SUMMED UP HIS ATTITUDE IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS:

^U
" ~~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.

"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. "

in whose midst hate now ~~disseals~~ ^{stands} like a dark,
besetting apparition, like "a pestilence that walketh
in darkness, or ~~the~~ destruction that wasteth at noonday".



BUT HE WOULD NOT BE IMPOSED UPON. WHEN HE SAW A CLEAR ^{and}
^{present} DANGER TO THE SECURITY OF AMERICA HE ACTED WITH A FIRMNESS AND
DESPATCH WHICH ASTOUNDED THE WORLD -- AS WHEN HE ^{forced the Soviet Union} ~~FACED KHRUSHCHEV~~
TO DISMANTLE THE LONG-RANGE MISSILE BASES IN CUBA. ~~HE HAD COURAGE~~
~~THIS MAN, WHO WHEN HE FELT THAT AN UNFAIR ADVANTAGE~~ ^{was being} ~~HAD BEEN~~
~~TAKEN OF HIM AND OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE~~ ^{he again} ACTED WITH STARTLING
THE
FORCEFULNESS, AS WHEN HE ~~COMPELLED~~ COMPELLED ~~THE~~ POWERFUL STEEL
COMPANIES IN THE UNITED STATES TO RESCIND THEIR PRICE INCREASES
AFTER ^{he had persuaded American} LABOR HAD ACCEPTED ^{in order} LOWER WAGE TERMS ON THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN
TO AVERT ^{instead of} INFLATION.

HE WAS NOT AFRAID TO INCUR THE MOMENTARY DISPLEASURE OF HIS
OWN PEOPLE. HE HAD COURAGE AND HE ADMIRERD COURAGE. IN HIS BOOK,
"PROFILES IN COURAGE", HE SHOWED HOW THE COURAGE OF CERTAIN MEN IN
~~AMERICAN~~ ^{public} LIFE SERVED AMERICA, EVEN THOUGH AT TIMES IT
WRECKED THEIR OWN POLITICAL CAREERS.

"IN WHATEVER ARENA OF LIFE ONE MAY MEET THE CHALLENGE OF
COURAGE, WHATEVER MAY BE THE SACRIFICES HE FACES IF HE FOLLOWS
HIS CONSCIENCE -- THE LOSS OF HIS FRIENDS, HIS FORTUNE, HIS CONTENT-
MENT, EVEN THE ESTEEM OF HIS FELLOW MEN -- EACH MAN MUST DECIDE
FOR HIMSELF THE COURSE HE WILL FOLLOW. THE STORIES OF PAST COURAGE
CAN DEFINE THAT INGREDIENT -- THEY CAN TEACH, THEY CAN OFFER HOPE,
THEY CAN PROVIDE INSPIRATION. BUT THEY CANNOT SUPPLY COURAGE ITSELF.
FOR THIS EACH MAN MUST LOOK INTO HIS OWN SOUL."

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY LOOKED DEEPLY INTO HIS OWN SOUL.

^{He} HE SAW THE DANGER TO THE FREE WORLD IN THE CONDITION OF MISERY,
IMPOVERISHMENT AND BACKWARDNESS OF THE UNDER-DEVELOPED
COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD. FREEDOM ^{he knew,} CANNOT THRIVE IN A ^{an explosive} RESTLESS,
^{resentful} WORLD WHICH CAN FIND RELIEF FROM INTOLERABLE ECONOMIC
CONDITIONS ONLY IN REVOLUTION. AND SO HE DEVELOPED AN EXTENSIVE
PROGRAM OF AID TO THE DEPRESSED AREAS OF THE EARTH, ^{He} CALLED
INTO BEING THE "ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS" TO HELP THE PEOPLES OF
CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA ^{to} AND ASSIST THEM IN MOBILIZING ^e THEIR
OWN RESOURCES AND ENERGIES TO RAISE THE STANDARDS ^{of living} OF THEIR PEOPLE.
HE CREATED THE "PEACE CORPS", THE MOST NOBLE AND BEAUTIFUL ACT
OF HIS CAREER, ^{He wished} WHICH SENDS OUR YOUTH TO THE FAR CORNERS OF THE
EARTH TO SERVE WITHOUT ANY EXPECTATION OF REWARD ^{monetary} AND TO BRING
HELP, GUIDANCE AND HEALING TO ^{defendants} THE NEEDY OF THE WORLD. ^{He} HE SAW
THE DANGER TO OUR DOMESTIC PEACE AND OUR FREE ^{institutions} ESTABLISHMENT ⁱⁿ
BY THE ^{indicates} CENTURY-OLD DISCRIMINATION VISITED UPON THE NEGRO ^{citizens} MINORITY
IN OUR COUNTRY AND HE ACTED WITH ^{energy} FIRMNESS AND COURAGE IN THE FACE
OF VIOLENT RESISTANCE, CALUMNY AND ABUSE. HE WAS ^{compelled} FORCED TO
RESORT TO ~~FORCEFUL~~ ACTION WHICH WAS VERY DISTASTEFUL TO HIM
WHEN BIGOTRY-BLINDED STATE GOVERNORS IN MISSISSIPPI AND ALABAMA
DEFIED THE AUTHORITY OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES, ~~THE MATTER OF THE DESPERATE~~ DE-SEGREGATION OF THEIR UNIVERSITIES.

and by then
~~where~~ ~~his~~ SHAMELESS DEFIANCE SPARKED

RIO TS. *and* ACTS OF *bombing*

and MURDER AND ~~BOMBING~~ WHICH SHAMED AMERICA IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD.

But he was determined
~~THEY ONLY~~ THEY ONLY RE-ENFORCED HIS DETERMINATION TO SEE THAT

shall be
FULL JUSTICE ~~WAS~~ DONE TO THE NEGRO ~~CITIZEN~~, AND THAT THE DARK

AGES OF SEGREGATION, ~~DISIN~~ FRANCHISEMENT AND DISCRIMINATION IN

shall
EMPLOYMENT ~~WILL~~ END FOR THEM. HE INTRODUCED A COMPREHENSIVE

to the Congress, the United States
BILL ON CIVIL RIGHTS WHICH IS STILL PENDING IN THE CONGRESS OF THE

there
UNITED STATES. HE DECLARED:

"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."

over
THERE HAS BEEN NO PRESIDENT SINCE ABRAHAM LINCOLN WHO HAS
BEEN AS BELOVED BY THE *about* PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES AS PRESIDENT
KENNEDY. THEY HAVE LOST THEIR GREATEST FRIEND IN HIM. HE WILL GO
DOWN IN HISTORY FOR HIS CHAMPIONING OF THE RIGHTS OF THE NEGRO
PEOPLE. HE WAS LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR NEGRO REVOLUTION IN THE
SIXTIES OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY WHICH LINCOLN SET IN MOTION
AFTER THE CIVIL WAR.

(over) The succinct tribute which the Congress, the United States can pay to the martyred President is to pass ~~that Bill~~ the Civil Rights ^{now pending} Bill. It will be an everlasting memorial to him even as the Emancipation Proclamation has been to Abraham Lincoln.



HE SAW THE DANGER OF ~~THE~~ INADEQUATE ~~TRAINING~~ AND ^{at training for} EDUCATION ~~OF~~ THE YOUTH OF OUR NATION FOR THE NEW WORLD INTO WHICH THEY ARE MOVING. ^{for} ~~THE~~ NATION NEEDED HIGHER EDUCATION AND BETTER EDUCATION -- MORE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES AND TEACHERS.

HE RECOMMENDED BILLS TO IMPROVE EDUCATIONAL QUALITY, AND AT THE COLLEGE LEVEL, TO PROVIDE FEDERAL LOANS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF ACADEMIC FACILITIES AND FEDERALLY FINANCED SCHOLARSHIPS.

"NEARLY HALF OF OUR HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES, HE DECLARED, LACK EITHER THE FUNDS OR THE FACILITIES TO ATTEND COLLEGE. THE NATION CANNOT AFFORD TO MAINTAIN ITS MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT AND NEGLECT ITS BRAIN-POWER."

ONE CAN READILY POINT TO MANY OTHER ~~WORTHY~~ AND NOTABLE ^{propounds} ACTIVITIES OF HIS PRESIDENCY. IN ALL OF THEM, HE WAS ^{whole, entire} OF ONE PIECE ^{dedicated servant} A ~~LOVE~~ OF JUSTICE, FAIRNESS, FREEDOM AND PEACE. HE WAS NOT ALWAYS SUCCESSFUL. ^{Success is not always the measure, sometimes} HE WAS NOT ALWAYS IN THE RIGHT. WHAT LEADER OF MEN IS? ^{even}

MOST OF HIS WORK REMAINS UNCOMPLETED, AS HIS LIFE WAS ^{even} ~~IN~~ UN COMPLETE. ^{d. at the close, every worthy career should unfold his possibilities} HE DEALT IN NATIONAL AND WORLD ISSUES OF SUCH ~~LONG-~~ ^{wide dimensions} RANGE THAT THEY ^{could} ~~CANNOT~~ BE SETTLED ~~BY~~ EVEN IN A LIFE-TIME MUCH LONGER THAN WAS GRANTED HIM. BUT THE VALUE OF A ~~WORK~~ MASTER-PIECE IS NOT THE SIZE OF THE CANVAS AND THE GLORY OF A SONG IS NOT THE LENGTH OF ITS STANZAS. A SMALL POOL OF CLEAR WATER ^{reflect} MAY OFTEN ~~REPLENISH~~ ALL THE GLORIES OF THE HEAVENS,

HERE WAS A LIFE REplete WITH THE BEAUTY OF NOBLE
PURPOSES AND ASPIRATIONS, WHICH SET IN MOTION GREAT ENTERPRISES
RICH IN PROMISE, FOR OUR NATION AND FOR THE WORLD. HERE WAS
THE AMERICAN TRADITION ~~OF TOLERANCE AND GOOD-WILL~~, "OF MALICE
TOWARDS NONE AND CHARITY FOR ALL" ^{embodied an integral} EMBRACED IN OUR INTELLIGENT
YOUNG LEADER, ^{who was} TRAGICALLY BROUGHT / DOWN IN THE SOARING MID-FLIGHT
^{LE} OF HIS RESPLENDENT CAREER.

HERE IS HIGH SORROW FOR ALL OF US -- BUT ALSO HIGH HOPE, ^{the hope}
THAT HIS LIFE WILL INSPIRE OTHER LIVES -- THAT OUR ^{people} GENERATION WILL
LOOK TO HIS EXAMPLE, HIS MESSAGE AND HIS MISSION, AND, IN A CHASTENED
SPIRIT, WILL ^{lay} THE HATE WHICH TURNS BROTHER AGAINST BROTHER,
AND PEOPLE AGAINST PEOPLE, ^{hope that they} AND WILL RESOLUTELY ^{preserve} PRESERVE THE
WAYS OF PROGRESS AND PEACE.

"Jonathan upon thy high place is slain."

^{type this line} "I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan."

"How are the mighty fallen!"

— address
This was not delivered - Dr. Silver
died on November 25, 1963 - three days before.
It was, however, printed in 'The Press'.

November 27, 1963

My dear Lou:

I am enclosing herewith the address, "THE LEGACY OF A PRESIDENT", which I will deliver Sunday morning as a tribute service which the Temple will hold. I hope that you will be able to publish it in full. I have given it to no other paper.

With warmest regards and all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:bfm

Mr. Louis Seltzer
The Cleveland Press
901 Lakeside Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio - 44114

THE LEGACY OF A PRESIDENT

Address delivered by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
at the
Memorial Service of The Temple - Cleveland, Ohio
Sunday, December 1, 1963

I HAVE REFLECTED MUCH THESE LAST FEW DAYS ON THE NATURE OF THE UNIVERSAL SORROW WHICH THE WHOLE WORLD MANIFESTED AT THE TRAGIC DEATH OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY. IT WAS CLEARLY NEITHER FORMAL NOR PERFUNCTORY. AT HOME AND IN FAR-AWAY LANDS MEN MOURNED FOR HIM AS FOR A LOST BROTHER, AS IF HE WERE PART OF THEIR OWN PERSONAL LIVES, WHO SHARED THEIR INNOCENT HOPES AND FELT THEIR DEEPEST NEEDS. PEOPLE OF ALL AGES GRIEVED FOR HIM, BUT ESPECIALLY THE YOUNG. THE PERSONALITY OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY APPEALED ESPECIALLY TO THE YOUTH OF THE WORLD.

HE WAS A YOUNG PRESIDENT AND HE SPOKE TO THE HEART OF YOUNG AMERICA AND TO ALL WHO HAD THE HOPEFUL HEART OF YOUTH EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD. HE WAS LIKE A YOUNG EAGLE SOARING HIGH. HE DID NOT BELONG TO THE CATEGORY OF THE TIRED OLD STATESMEN WHO WERE CAUGHT AND HELD FAST IN THEIR WEARY ROUTINES, DREAMING OF WORLDS FOREVER GONE, THE HELPLESS AGENTS OF RECURRENT WORLD DISASTERS.

HE WAS DIFFERENT. THERE WAS DAWN IN HIS OUTLOOK AND SPRING IN HIS CALL. HIS WAS THE TORCH OF A NEW VISION.

IN HIS ACCEPTANCE SPEECH AS THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE FOR THE PRESIDENCY, HE DECLARED: "TOO MANY AMERICANS HAVE LOST THEIR WAY, THEIR WILL AND THEIR SENSE OF HISTORIC PURPOSES. IT IS TIME FOR A NEW GENERATION OF LEADERSHIP -- NEW MEN TO COPE WITH NEW PROBLEMS AND NEW OPPORTUNITIES." AND IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS, LESS THAN THREE YEARS AGO, HE SOUNDED A CLARION CALL: "LET THE WORD GO FORTH FROM THIS TIME AND PLACE TO FRIEND AND FOE ALIKE, THAT THE TORCH HAS BEEN PASSED TO A NEW GENERATION OF AMERICANS." THE NEW GENERATION RESPONDED TO HIS SUMMONS AND CHALLENGE. HERE, AT LAST, WAS THEIR TRUE LEADER, THEIR ELOQUENT SPOKESMAN YOUNG IN YEARS AND YOUNG IN HEART, READY TO LEAD THEM IN A NEW CRUSADE AND BY THE FIRE OF A NEW FAITH BUILD A NEW JERUSALEM.

WHERE DID PRESIDENT KENNEDY FIND THE TORCH WHICH HE DECLARED WOULD NOW BE PASSED TO A NEW GENERATION OF AMERICANS, "A GENERATION BORN IN THIS CENTURY, TEMPERED BY WAR, DISCIPLINED BY A HARD AND BITTER PEACE, PROUD OF OUR ANCIENT HERITAGE"? WHAT WAS THIS ANCIENT HERITAGE? IT WAS THE HERITAGE OF THE FOUNDING FATHERS AND THE TORCH WAS FIRST KINDLED BY THEM. TO USE THE WORDS OF ANOTHER MARTYRED PRESIDENT, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, PRESIDENT KENNEDY "RETURNED TO THE FOUNTAIN WHOSE WATERS SPRING CLOSE BY THE BLOOD OF THE REVOLUTION". HE INVOKED THE SPIRIT WHICH GLOWS IN THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND IN THE BILL OF RIGHTS

OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. HE CALLED UPON HIS GENERATION TIME AND AGAIN AS DID LINCOLN WHOSE LOVING AND FAITHFUL DISCIPLE HE PROVED TO BE, "TO COME BACK TO THE GREAT LANDMARKS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE".

HE APPLIED THE OLD IDEALS OF OUR COUNTRY TO THE GRAVE PROBLEMS AND THE MENACING CONDITIONS OF OUR NEW AGE, AND THEY BECAME EVEN MORE LUMINOUS AND MORE URGENTLY RELEVANT THAN WHEN THEY WERE FIRST PROMULGATED. AN UNBROKEN CHAIN OF FERVENT HUMAN ASPIRATIONS BINDS THE AGE OF WASHINGTON, THE AGE OF LINCOLN AND THE AGE OF KENNEDY -- THE UNREMITTING STRUGGLES OF MEN FOR LARGER FREEDOM, FOR THEIR BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR THE DIGNITY OF MAN -- "THE SELF-EVIDENT TRUTHS" -- "THE UNALIENABLE RIGHTS."

IF YOU LIFT UP YOUR EYES FROM THE FRESH GRAVE WHERE PRESIDENT KENNEDY NOW LIES AT REST, YOU WILL SEE NOT FAR AWAY THE STATELY LINCOLN MEMORIAL AND BEYOND THAT THE TOWERING WASHINGTON MONUMENT. MORE THAN MERE OPTICAL VISION EMBRACES THESE OLDEST AND NEWEST OF OUR NATIONAL SHRINES. A CHORD OF SACRED MEMORY, OF BOUNDEN FAITH AND PROMISE BINDS THEM INDIS-SOLUBLY TOGETHER. THEY REPRESENT OUR NATION'S UNBROKEN COVENANT WHICH TIME AND AGAIN IS RENEWED FOR US BY THE BLOOD OF OUR MARTYRS.

I SAID A MOMENT AGO, THAT PRESIDENT KENNEDY WAS YOUNG AND THAT HE APPEALED TO THE HEART OF YOUNG AMERICA, BUT HE WAS ALSO WISE WITH THE WISDOM WHICH MEN, NOT ALTOGETHER WISELY, ASSOCIATE WITH AGE. HE HAD THE ARDOR AND ENTHUSIASM OF YOUTH

BUT NOT ITS INEXPERIENCE. HE HAD VISION BUT HE WAS NOT A VISIONARY. HE WAS AN URBANE, THOUGHTFUL, CULTURED, WELL-INFORMED HUMAN BEING, FORCEFUL IN ACTION BUT TACTFUL AND MODERATE IN SPEECH AND MANNER. HE FACED REALITY. HE UNDERSTOOD HIS WORLD -- ITS DANGERS, ITS KNOTTED DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS, SOME ^{often} ALMOST TOO DIFFICULT TO UNRAVEL. HE UNDERSTOOD FULL WELL THE LIMITATIONS OF HIS HIGH OFFICE AND HIS OWN PERSONAL POWERS TO SET ALL THINGS ARIGHT. HE REALIZED TOO THAT THE POWERS AND RESOURCES OF OUR COUNTRY, GREAT AS THEY WERE, WERE NOT UNLIMITED, AND THAT WE COULD NEITHER DICTATE TO THE WORLD NOR GO IT ALONE. "ABSOLUTE SOVEREIGNTY NO LONGER ASSURES US OF ABSOLUTE SECURITY." HE UNDERSTOOD ALSO THE LIMITS OF MILITARY POWER. "THE BASIC PROBLEMS FACING THE WORLD TODAY ARE NOT SUSCEPTIBLE OF A FINAL MILITARY SOLUTION." BUT THESE INEVITABLE LIMITATIONS AND THEIR ATTENDANT FRUSTRATIONS DID NOT CAUSE HIM TO SEEK REFUGE IN INACTION. THE WISDOM OF OUR SAGES SEEMS TO HAVE GUIDED HIM. "THINE IS NOT THE DUTY TO COMPLETE THE TASK BUT NEITHER ART THOU FREE TO DESIST FROM IT."

IN A DANGEROUSLY POISED WORLD AND WITH AN AWESOME RESPONSIBILITY RESTING UPON HIS SHOULDERS, HE MOVED CAUTIOUSLY, BUT HE MOVED. HE ACTED WITH DELIBERATENESS AND CIRCUMSPECTION BUT HE ACTED. HE FAILED -- BUT HE TRIED AGAIN. HE WOULD NOT PERMIT HIMSELF TO BE ANGERED, OR DISHEARTENED, OR GOADED INTO QUICK REPRISALS BUT NEITHER WAS HE EVER DEFLECTED FROM HIS MAIN

PURPOSE. HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE ART OF GOVERNMENT WAS THE ART OF COMPROMISE, BUT NEVER ON PRINCIPLES. HE STOOD IMMOVABLE AS A ROCK WHEN THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF OUR CONSTITUTION OR THE BASIC RIGHTS OF MAN WERE INVOLVED. HE WAS NOT A DOCTRINAIR, HE KNEW HOW TO BEND AS A TREE BENDS BEFORE STRONG WINDS, BUT HIS ROOTS ALWAYS REMAINED FIRMLY SET IN THE EARTH. HE PROFITED FROM HIS MISTAKES AND THOSE OF HIS PREDECESSORS, AS HE DID IN THE CASE OF THE CUBAN FIASCO EARLY IN HIS ADMINISTRATION.

HE SAW CLEARLY THE FIVE BESETTING DANGERS OF OUR AGE. HE HAD BEEN SUMMONED TO LEAD OUR NATION IN AN HOUR OF MAXIMUM DANGER, BUT WITH OPEN EYES AND A STOUT HEART HE CONFRONTED THEM.

"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 .AND... 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."

HE FACED THE DANGER OF THE NUCLEAR AGE. HE, MORE THAN ANY OF US UNDERSTOOD, BECAUSE ALL SOURCES OF INFORMATION WERE AVAILABLE TO HIM, WHAT A NUCLEAR WAR WOULD MEAN TO MANKIND. HE BUILT UP THE MILITARY STRENGTH OF OUR NATION SO THAT IT MIGHT ACT AS A DETERRENT TO AGGRESSION AND WAR. BUT WHILE SO ENGAGED, HE EXPLORED EVERY AVENUE TO DISCOVER SOME BASIS OF AGREEMENT WHEREBY THE DANGERS OF A NUCLEAR WAR MIGHT BE LESSENED. AFTER MANY

REPEATED TRIALS AND FAILURES. HE SUCCEEDED IN ARRIVING AT AN AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON A NUCLEAR TEST BAN WHICH BANNED NUCLEAR TESTS EVERYWHERE EXCEPT UNDERGROUND. IT WAS AN IMPORTANT ACHIEVEMENT EVEN THOUGH IT WAS NOT A GUARANTEE AGAINST NUCLEAR WAR. THE NEXT STEP AND THE NEXT AND THE FINAL STEP STILL REMAINED; BUT THE FIRST STEP "BACK FROM THE SHADOW OF WAR" HAD TO BE TAKEN AND HE TOOK IT.

HE WAS OPPOSED TO AN ARMS RACE WITH THE SOVIET UNION THOUGH IN THE FEW BRIEF YEARS IN OFFICE, HE UNFORTUNATELY COULD MAKE NO HEADWAY.

"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." HE ARDENTLY PURSUED PEACE. IN THE SPEECH WHICH HE WAS TO DELIVER IN DALLAS^{AS} THE DAY HE WAS ASSASSINATED, HE DECLARED:

"OUR 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."

PRESIDENT KENNEDY TRIED TO MITIGATE THE BITTERNESS OF THE COLD WAR. HE DID NOT HATE. IN THIS HE WAS FAR AHEAD OF MOST OF PEOPLE IN WHOSE MIDST HATE NOW STALKS LIKE A DARK APPARITION, LIKE "A PESTILENCE~~THAT~~ WALKETH IN DARKNESS, OR A DESTRUCTION THAT WASTETH AT NOONDAY"... HE SUMMED UP HIS ATTITUDE IN HIS INAUGURAL

ADDRESS:

"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...

"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."

BUT HE WOULD NOT BE IMPOSED UPON. WHEN HE SAW A CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER TO THE SECURITY OF AMERICA HE ACTED WITH A FIRMNESS AND DESPATCH WHICH ASTOUNDED THE WORLD -- AS WHEN HE FORCED THE SOVIET UNION TO DISMANTLE THE LONG-RANGE MISSILE BASES IN CUBA. WHEN HE FELT THAT AN UNFAIR ADVANTAGE WAS BEING TAKEN OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, HE AGAIN ACTED WITH STARTLING FORCEFULNESS, AS WHEN HE COMPELLED THE POWERFUL STEEL COMPANIES OF THE UNITED STATES TO RESCIND THEIR PRICE INCREASES AFTER HE HAD PERSUADED AMERICAN LABOR TO ACCEPT LOWER WAGE TERMS IN ORDER TO AVERT NATIONAL INFLATION.

HE WAS NOT AFRAID TO INCUR THE MOMENTARY DISPLEASURE OF HIS OWN PEOPLE. HE HAD COURAGE AND HE ADMIRERED COURAGE. IN HIS BOOK, "PROFILES IN COURAGE", HE SHOWED HOW THE COURAGE OF CERTAIN MEN IN PUBLIC LIFE SERVED AMERICA, EVEN THOUGH AT TIME IT WRECKED THEIR OWN POLITICAL CAREERS.

"IN WHATEVER ARENA OF LIFE ONE MAY MEET THE CHALLENGE OF COURAGE, WHATEVER MAY BE THE SACRIFICES HE FACES IF HE FOLLOWS HIS CONSCIENCE -- THE LOSS OF HIS FRIENDS, HIS FORTUNE, HIS CONTENTMENT, EVEN THE ESTEEM OF HIS FELLOW MEN -- EACH MAN MUST DECIDE FOR HIMSELF THE COURSE HE WILL FOLLOW. THE STORIES OF THAT COURAGE CAN DEFINE THAT INGREDIENT -- THEY CAN TEACH, THEY CAN OFFER HOPE, THEY CAN PROVIDE INSPIRATION. BUT THEY CANNOT SUPPLY COURAGE ITSELF. FOR THIS EACH MAN MUST LOOK INTO HIS OWN SOUL."

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY LOOKED DEEPLY INTO HIS OWN SOUL.

HE SAW THE DANGER TO THE FREE WORLD IN THE CONDITION OF MISERY, IMPOVERISHMENT AND BACKWARDNESS OF THE UNDER-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD. FREEDOM, HE KNEW, CANNOT THRIVE IN AN EXPLOSIVE RESENTFUL WORLD WHICH CAN FIND ITS RELIEF FROM INTOLERABLE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS ONLY IN REVOLUTION. AND SO HE DEVELOPED AN EXTENSIVE PROGRAM OF AID TO THE DEPRESSED AREAS OF THE EARTH. HE CALLED INTO BEING THE "ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS" TO HELP THE PEOPLES OF CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA, TO MOBILIZE THEIR OWN RESOURCES AND ENERGIES TO RAISE THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THEIR PEOPLE. HE CREATED THE "PEACE CORPS", THE MOST NOBLE AND BEAUTIFUL ACT OF HIS CAREER. HE INSPIRED OUR YOUTH TO GO TO THE FAR CORNERS OF THE EARTH TO SERVE WITHOUT ANY EXPECTATION OF MONETARY REWARD IN ORDER TO BRING HELP, GUIDANCE AND HEALING TO THE DESPERATELY NEEDY OF THE WORLD.

HE SAW THE DANGER TO OUR DOMESTIC PEACE AND OUR FREE INSTITUTIONS IN THE INDURATE, CENTURY-OLD DISCRIMINATION TO WHICH

THE NEGRO CITIZENS OF OUR COUNTRY WERE BEING SUBJECTED AND HE ACTED WITH ENERGY AND COURAGE IN THE FACE OF VIOLENT RESISTANCE, CALUMNY AND PERSONAL ABUSE. HE WAS COMPELLED TO RESORT TO ACTION WHICH WAS VERY DISTASTEFUL TO HIM WHEN BIGOTRY-BLINDED STATE GOVERNORS IN MISSISSIPPI AND ALABAMA DEFIED THE AUTHORITY OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES, AND BY THEIR SHAMELESS DEFIANCE SPARKED RIOTS AND ACTS OF BOMBING AND MURDER WHICH SHAMED AMERICA IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD. BUT HE WAS DETERMINED THAT FULL JUSTICE SHALL BE DONE TO THE NEGRO AND THAT THE DARK AGES OF SEGREGATION, FRANCHISEMENT AND DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT SHALL END FOR THEM. HE RECOMMENDED A COMPREHENSIVE BILL ON CIVIL RIGHTS TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES. HE DECLARED:

"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 PURDENTLY 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. "

THE SINCEREST TRIBUTE WHICH THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES CAN PAY TO THE MARTYRED PRESIDENT IS TO PASS THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL NOW PENDING. IT WILL BE AN EVERLASTING MEMORIAL TO HIM, EVEN AS THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION HAS BEEN TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

HE SAW THE DANGER OF INADEQUATE EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR THE YOUTH OF OUR NATION FOR THE NEW WORLD INTO WHICH THEY ARE MOVING. OUR NATION NEEDED MORE SCHOOLS, COLLEGES AND TEACHERS. "NEARLY HALF OF OUR HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES," HE DECLARED, LACK EITHER THE FUNDS OR THE FACILITIES TO ATTEND COLLEGE. THE NATION CANNOT AFFORD TO MAINTAIN ITS MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT AND NEGLECT ITS BRAIN-POWER." HE RECOMMENDED BILLS TO IMPROVE EDUCATIONAL QUALITY, AND AT THE COLLEGE LEVEL, TO PROVIDE FEDERAL LOANS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF ACADEMIC FACILITIES TO AND FEDERAL FINANCED SCHOLARSHIPS.

ONE CAN READILY POINT TO MANY OTHER NOTABLE PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES OF HIS PRESIDENCY. IN ALL OF THEM, HE WAS ^{whole} ~~whole~~ ENTIRE, OF ONE PIECE, A DEDICATED SERVANT OF JUSTICE, FAIRNESS, FREEDOM AND PEACE. HE WAS NOT ALWAYS SUCCESSFUL. SUCCESS IS NOT ALWAYS THE MEASURE OF GREATNESS. HE WAS NOT ALWAYS IN THE RIGHT. WHAT LEADER OF MEN EVER IS?

MOST OF HIS WORK REMAINS UNCOMPLETED, EVEN AS HIS LIFE WAS UNCOMPLETED. AT THE CLOSE OF EVERY WORTHY CAREER, MUCH UNFINISHED BUSINESS REMAINS. HE DEALT IN NATIONAL AND WORLD ISSUES OF SUCH WIDE DIMENSIONS THAT THEY COULD NOT BE SETTLED EVEN IN A LIFE-TIME MUCH LONGER THAN WAS GRANTED HIM. BUT THE VALUE OF A MASTERPIECE IS NOT THE SIZE OF THE CANVAS AND THE GLORY OF A SONG IS NOT THE LENGTH OF ITS STANZAS. A SMALL POOL OF CLEAR WATER MAY OFTEN REFLECT ALL THE GLORIES OF THE HEAVENS.

HERE WAS A LIFE REplete WITH THE BEAUTY OF NOBLE PURPOSES AND ASPIRATIONS, WHICH SET IN MOTION GREAT ENTERPRISES RICH IN PROMISE FOR OUR NATION AND FOR THE WORLD. HERE WAS THE AMERICAN TRADITION "OF MALICE TOWARDS NONE AND CHARITY FOR ALL" EMBODIED IN AN INTREPID YOUNG LEADER WHO WAS TRAGICALLY BROUGHT DOWN IN THE SOARING MID-FLIGHT OF HIS RESPLENDENT CAREER.

HERE IS HIGH SORROW FOR ALL OF US -- BUT ALSO HIGH HOPE, HOPE THAT HIS LIFE WILL INSPIRE OTHER LIVES -- THAT OUR PEOPLE WILL LOOK TO HIS EXAMPLE, HIS MESSAGE AND HIS MISSION, AND, IN A CHASTENED SPIRIT, WILL FOREGO THE HATE WHICH TURNS BROTHER AGAINST BROTHER, AND PEOPLE AGAINST PEOPLE, HOPE THAT THEY WILL RESOLUTELY PERSIST IN THE WAYS OF PROGRESS AND PEACE.

"JONATHAN UPON THY HIGH PLACES IS SLAIN.

"I AM DISTRESSED FOR THEE, MY BROTHER JONATHAN.

"HOW ARE THE MIGHTY FALLEN!"

Opposition within his own party.

the old order

regarded as imperative

appeals to the Am. intellect -

Though not of their Confession, I



I have mourned ^{within the} this year for two men, one an old man who died in Rome, the other a much younger man who died in Texas. They belonged to the same church, where the older was the Supreme Pontiff. Both possessed vast power, one in the empire of the spirit, the other in the realm of political action. Both brought to the tasks and responsibilities of their high offices a fresh outlook and appraisal. They ~~bravely~~ ^{bravely} confronted the modern world with its new problems and its revolutionary demands, and to ~~its~~ ^{its} disheartening and ~~confused~~ ^{uneasy} and divided world they brought ~~the~~ ^{all} healing messages, reconciliation.

Each in his domain was a benefactor, working and both by their selfless dedication to what is true and good enriched their age. Such men are never forgotten.

For the younger man ~~the heart, the world, the~~ ^{the heart, the world, the} ~~lamented~~ ^{lamented} today as David long ago lamented over ~~the~~ ^{his} friend Jonathan:

- an intellectual, extremely well-informed

— address
This, was not delivered - Dr. Silver
died on November 25, 1963 - three days before.
It was, however, printed in 'The Press',

November 27, 1963

My dear Lou:

I am enclosing herewith the address, "THE LEGACY OF A PRESIDENT", which I will deliver Sunday morning as a tribute service which the Temple will hold. I hope that you will be able to publish it in full. I have given it to no other paper.

With warmest regards and all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:bfm

Mr. Louis Seltzer
The Cleveland Press
901 Lakeside Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio - 44114

KENNEDY'S PRESIDENCY—TWELVE LANDMARKS OF HIS ADMINISTRATION



JANUARY, 1961

STATE OF THE UNION: Presenting his program to Congress, Kennedy said, "I speak today in an hour of national peril." (In background is Vice President Johnson.)



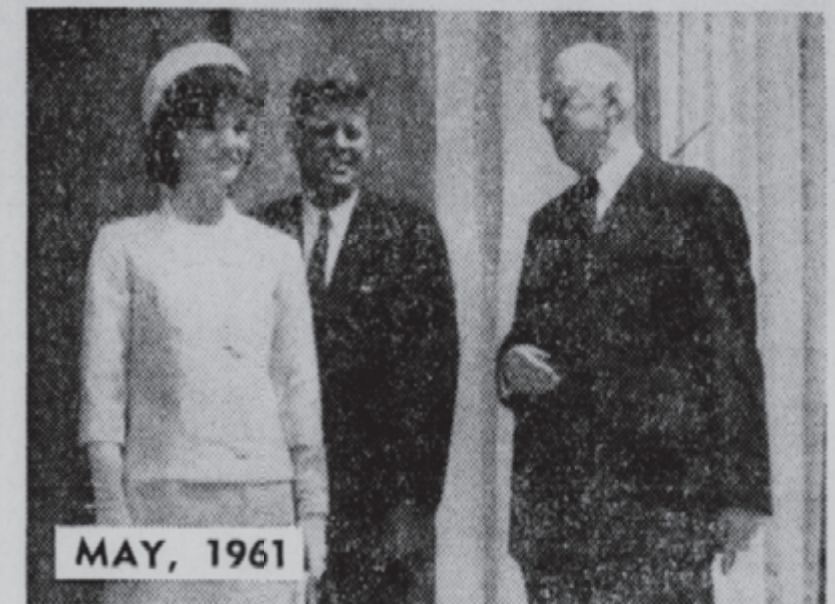
MARCH, 1961

LAOS: A major Communist effort to win control of this country brought the President his first major crisis. Here at news conference he warns Communists to halt attack.



APRIL, 1961

BAY OF PIGS: After the failure of the landing, Eisenhower met with Kennedy at Camp David and urged the nation to support the President fully on foreign policy.



MAY, 1961

WESTERN ALLIANCE: To meet De Gaulle and understand his point of view was one of the reasons Kennedy visited Paris (with Mrs. Kennedy) on his way to Vienna.



JUNE, 1961

VIENNA: Premier Khrushchev began to apply pressure on Berlin to test the new President's reaction. Kennedy met him in Vienna to tell him U.S. would stand firm.



DECEMBER, 1961

ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS: This effort to strengthen the Latin nations was one of the President's major programs. Here he dedicates a housing project in Colombia.



APRIL, 1962

STEEL: The President forced steel to rescind a price increase. Shown here with Kennedy at a meeting following the dispute is Roger Blough of United States Steel.



JUNE, 1962

CIVIL RIGHTS: This issue preoccupied Kennedy during much of the summer of 1962. Here he is holding a strategy discussion with his brother Robert, the Attorney General.



OCTOBER, 1962

CUBA: Gromyko told President when this picture was taken Russia did not have offensive arms in Cuba. A week later U.S. blockaded Cuba when missiles were found.



DECEMBER, 1962

BERMUDA: Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan discussed methods of strengthening Britain's military power. In center is the then Foreign Secretary Home.



SEPTEMBER, 1963

VIETNAM: Dissatisfaction with Diem's conduct of the war led the President to send Gen. Maxwell Taylor and Defense Secretary McNamara to investigate the report.



OCTOBER, 1963

TEST BAN TREATY: President is shown signing treaty to ban nuclear tests everywhere except underground. This was first major disarmament accord since end of war.

The New York Times, Associated Press, United Press International

IN HIS OWN WORDS—KENNEDY'S CREED AND HIS BASIC POLICIES

HIS CREED

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 century."

"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."

HIS FOREIGN POLICY

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—and 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."

HIS NATIONAL PROGRAM

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."

THE INAUGURAL—'ASK WHAT YOU CAN DO FOR YOUR COUNTRY'

What follows is the text of President Kennedy's Inaugural Address delivered in Washington on Jan. 20, 1961.

Vice President Johnson, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, President Truman, Reverend Clergy, fellow citizens:

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 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 re-

quired—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 instead 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.

The Legacy of a President

This is the text of a sermon Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver drafted for delivery this coming Sunday from the pulpit of the Temple. It was placed in the hands of Louis B. Seltzer, editor of The Press, following a telephone call Wednesday afternoon from Rabbi Silver. He asked the editor to read it, and to call him for his reactions. The editor's reaction is experienced in the publication here of the entire sermon.

I have reflected much these last few days on the nature of the universal sorrow which the whole world manifested at the tragic death of President Kennedy.

It was clearly neither formal nor perfunctory. At home and in faraway lands men mourned for him as for a lost brother, as if he were part of their own personal lives, who shared their innermost hopes and felt their deepest needs.

People of all ages grieved for him, but especially the young. The personality of President Kennedy appealed especially to the youth of the world.

He was a young president and he spoke to the heart of young America and to all who had the hopeful heart of youth everywhere in the world. He was like a young eagle soaring high.

HE DID NOT belong to the category of the tired old statesmen who were caught and held fast in their weary routines, dreaming of worlds forever gone, the helpless agents of recurrent world disasters.

He was different. There was dawn in his outlook and spring in his call. His was the torch of a new vision.

"Too Many of Us Have Lost Our Way"

In his acceptance speech as the Democratic nominee for the presidency, he declared: "Too many Americans have lost their way, their will and their sense of historic purposes. It is time for a new generation of leadership—new men to cope with new problems and new opportunities."

And in his inaugural address, less than three years ago, he sounded a clarion call:

"LET THE WORD go forth from this time and place to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans."

The new generation responded to his summons and challenge. Here, at last, was their true leader, their eloquent spokesman young in years and young in heart, ready to lead them in a new crusade and by the fire of a new faith build a new Jerusalem.

Where did President Kennedy find the torch which he declared would now be passed to a new generation of Americans, "a generation born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage?"

What was this ancient heritage? It was the heritage of the founding fathers and the torch was first kindled by them. To use the words of another martyred president, Abraham Lincoln, President Kennedy "returned to the fountain whose waters spring close by the blood of the revolution."

He invoked the spirit which grows in the Declaration of Independence and in the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States. He called upon his generation time and again as did Lincoln, whose loving and faithful disciple he proved to be, "to come back to the great landmarks of the Declaration of Independence."

Applied Old Ideals to Our New Age

He applied the old ideals of our country to the grave problems and the menacing conditions of our new age, and they became even more luminous and more urgently relevant than when they were first promulgated.

AN UNBROKEN chain of fervent human aspirations binds the age of Washington, the age of Lincoln and the age of Kennedy—the unrelenting struggles of men for larger freedom, for their basic human rights, for the dignity of man—"the self-evident truths"—"the unalienable rights."

As you lift up your eyes



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from the fresh grave where President Kennedy now lies at rest, you will see not far away the stately Lincoln Memorial and beyond that the towering Washington Monument. More than mere optical vision embraces these oldest and newest of our national shrines.

A chord of sacred memory, of bounden faith and promise binds them indissolubly together. They represent our nation's unbroken covenant which time and again is renewed for us by the blood of our martyrs.

I SAID a moment ago, that President Kennedy was young and that he appealed to the heart of young America, but he was also wise with the wisdom which men, not altogether wisely, associate with age. He had the ardor and enthusiasm of youth but not its inexperience.

He Had Vision and Faced Reality

He had vision but he was not a visionary. He was an urbane, thoughtful, cultured, well-informed human being, forceful in action but tactful and moderate in speech and manner.

HE FACED reality. He understood his world—its dangers, its knotted domestic and international problems, some often almost too difficult to unravel. He understood full well the limitations of his high office and his own personal powers to set all things aright.

He realized too that the powers and resources of our country, great as they were, were not unlimited, and that we could neither dictate to the world nor go it alone.

"Absolute sovereignty no longer assures us of absolute security." He understood also the limits of military power. "The basic problems facing the world today are not susceptible of a final military solution."

But these inevitable limitations and their attendant frustrations did not cause him to seek refuge in inaction. The wisdom of our sages seems to have guided him. "Thine is not the duty to complete the task but neither art thou free to desist from it."

IN A DANGEROUSLY poised world and with an awesome responsibility resting upon his shoulders, he moved cautiously, but he moved, he acted with deliberateness and circumspection but he acted. He failed—but he tried again. He would not permit himself to be angered, or disheartened, or goaded into quick reprisals but neither was he ever deflected from his main purpose.

He Understood Art of Compromise

He understood that the art of government was the art of compromise, but never on principles. He stood immovable as a rock when the basic principles of our Constitution or the basic rights of man were involved.

He was not a doctrinaire. He knew how to bend as a tree bends before strong winds, but his roots always remained firmly set in the earth. He profited from his mistakes and those of his predecessors, as he did in the case of the Cuban fiasco early in his administration.

HE SAW CLEARLY the five besetting dangers of our age. He had been summoned to lead our nation in an hour of maximum danger, but with open eyes and a stout heart he confronted them.

"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."

He faced the danger of the nuclear age. He, more than any of us understood, because all sources of information were available to him, what a nuclear war would mean to mankind.

He built up the military strength of our nation so that it might act as a deterrent to aggression and war. But while so engaged, he explored every avenue to discover some basis of agreement whereby the dangers of a nuclear war might be lessened.

Nuclear Test Ban Great Achievement

After many repeated trials and failures, he succeeded in arriving at an agreement with the Soviet Union on a nuclear test ban which banned nuclear tests everywhere except underground. It was an important achievement even though it was not a guarantee against nuclear war.

The next step and the next and the final step still remained; but the first step "back from the shadow of war" had to be taken and he took it.

HE WAS OPPOSED to an arms race with the Soviet Union though in the few brief years in office, he unfortunately could make no headway.

"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." He ardently pursued peace. In the speech which he was to deliver in Dallas the day he was assassinated, he declared:

"Our 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."

President Kennedy tried to mitigate the bitterness of the cold war. He did not hate. In this he was far ahead of most of our people in whose midst hate now stalks like a dark apparition, like "a pestilence that walketh in darkness, or a destruction that wasteth at noon-day."

Urged Both Sides to Seek Peace

He summed up his attitude in his inaugural ad-



President Kennedy

dress: "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. . . .

"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."

But he would not be imposed upon. When he saw a clear and present danger to the security of America he acted with a firmness and despatch which astounded the world—as when he forced the Soviet Union to dismantle the long-range missile bases in Cuba.

When he felt that an unfair advantage was being taken of the American people, he again acted with startling forcefulness, as when he compelled the powerful steel companies of the United States to rescind their price increases after he had persuaded American labor to accept lower wage terms in order to avert national inflation.

He was not afraid to incur the momentary displeasure of his own people. He had courage and he admired courage. In his book, "Profiles in Courage", he showed how the courage of certain men in public life served America, even though at times it wrecked their own political careers.

Looked Deeply Into His Soul

"In whatever arena of life one may meet the challenge of courage, whatever may be the sacrifices he faces if he follows his conscience—the

nt — Rabbi Silver's Sermon

loss of his friends, his fortune, his contentment, even the esteem of his fellow men — each man must decide for himself the course he will follow.

The stories of past courage can define that ingredient — they can teach, they can offer hope, they can provide inspiration. But they cannot supply courage itself. For each man must look into his own soul.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy looked deeply into his own soul.

HE SAW the danger to the free world in the condition of misery, impoverishment and backwardness of the underdeveloped countries of the world. Freedom, he knew, cannot thrive in an explosive resentful world which can find its relief from intolerable economic conditions only in revolution.

And so he developed an extensive program of aid to the depressed areas of the earth. He called into being the "Alliance for Progress" to help the peoples of Central and South America, to mobilize their own resources and energies to raise the standard of living of their people.

He created the Peace Corps, the most noble and beautiful act of his career. He inspired our youth to go to the far corners of the earth to serve without any expectation of monetary reward in order to bring help, guidance and healing to the desperately needy of the world.

He Saw Danger in Bigotry Here

He saw the danger to our domestic peace and our free institutions in the indurate, century-old discrimination to which the Negro citizens of our country were being subjected and he acted with energy and courage in the face of violent resistance, calumny and personal abuse.

HE WAS COMPELLED to resort to action which was very distasteful to him when bigotry-blinded state governors in Mississippi and Alabama defied the authority of the Supreme Court of the United States and by their shameless defiance sparked riots and acts of bombing and murder which shamed America in the eyes of the world.

But he was determined that full justice shall be done to the Negro and that the dark ages of segregation, franchisement and discrim-

ination in employment shall end for them. He recommended a comprehensive bill on civil rights to the Congress of the United States. He declared:

Civil Rights Bill Seen as Tribute

"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."

THE SINCEREST tribute which the Congress of the United States can pay to the martyred president is to pass the civil rights bill now pending. It will be an everlasting memorial to him, even as the Emancipation Proclamation has been to Abraham Lincoln.

He saw the danger of inadequate education and training for the youth of our nation for the new world into which they are moving. Our nation needed more schools, colleges and teachers. "Nearly half of our high school graduates," he declared, "lack either the funds or the facilities to attend college. The nation cannot afford to maintain its military establishment and neglect its brain-power."

He recommended bills to improve educational quality, and at the college level, to provide federal loans for the construction of academic facilities and federally financed scholarships.

One can readily point to many other notable programs and activities of his presidency. In all of them, he was whole, entire, of one piece, a dedicated servant of justice, fairness, freedom and peace. He was not always successful. Success is not always the measure of greatness. He was not always in the right. What leader of men ever is?

Life Was Full of Noble Purpose

Most of his work remains uncompleted, even as his life was uncompleted. At the close of every worthy career, much unfinished business remains. He dealt

in national and world issues of such wide dimensions that they could not be settled even in a lifetime much longer than was granted him.

But the value of a masterpiece is not the size of the canvas and the glory of a song is not the length of its stanzas. A small pool of clear water may often reflect all the glories of the heavens.

HERE WAS a life replete with the beauty of noble purposes and aspirations, which set in motion great enterprises rich in promise for our nation and for the world. Here was the American tradition "of malice towards none and charity for all" embodied in an intrepid

young leader who was tragically brought down in the soaring midflight of his resplendent career.

Here is high sorrow for all of us—but also high hope, hope that his life will inspire other lives — that our people will look to his example, his message and his mission, and, in a chastened spirit, will forego the hate which turns brother against brother, and people against people, hope that they will resolutely persevere in the ways of progress and peace.

"Jonathan upon thy high places is slain."

"I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan."

"How are the mighty fallen!"

