

# COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

Winter, 1963

*Columbia Journalism Review* is published quarterly under auspices of the faculty, alumni, and friends of the Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University.

Dean and editorial chairman: Edward W. Barrett. Managing editor: James Boylan.

Editorial staff: Barbara Land, Daniel J. Leab. Art director: Burton Wenk. Production assistant: Lois Ireland. Circulation assistant: Sylvia Orr.

Chairman, publishing committee: Louis G. Cowan. Business manager: Robert O. Shipman. Production supervisor: Monroe Lesser.

Advisory editors: Richard T. Baker, John Foster, Jr., John Hohenberg, Penn T. Kimball, J. Ben Lieberman, Samuel Lubell, John Luter, Melvin Mencher, Lawrence D. Pinkham, Louis M. Starr, William A. Wood, Frederick T. C. Yu.

Volume II, Number 4, Winter, 1964. Published four times a year by the Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. Editorial and business offices: 504 Journalism Building, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10027. © 1963 Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University.

Subscription rates: \$6.00 a year. Single copy: \$1.75. Add 50¢ a year for subscriptions going outside the United States and United States possessions.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

## THE ASSASSINATION

- 6 The reporters' story: Merriman Smith, Malcolm Kilduff, Jack Bell, Robert E. Baskin, Bob Jackson, Ronnie Dugger, Jerry ter Horst, Tom Wicker, Robert Donovan, Sid Davis, Tom Kirkland

### WHAT WAS SEEN AND READ

- 18 Television: a transformation. John Horn  
20 Newspapers: hunger for print  
24 Magazines: good luck and bad

### UNRESOLVED ISSUES

- 26 Questions of fact. Donald H. Webster  
28 Questions of rights. Victor F. Robertson  
30 Questions of performance  
32 Washington letter: JFK to LBJ; paradoxes of change. Ben H. Bagdikian

## ARTICLES

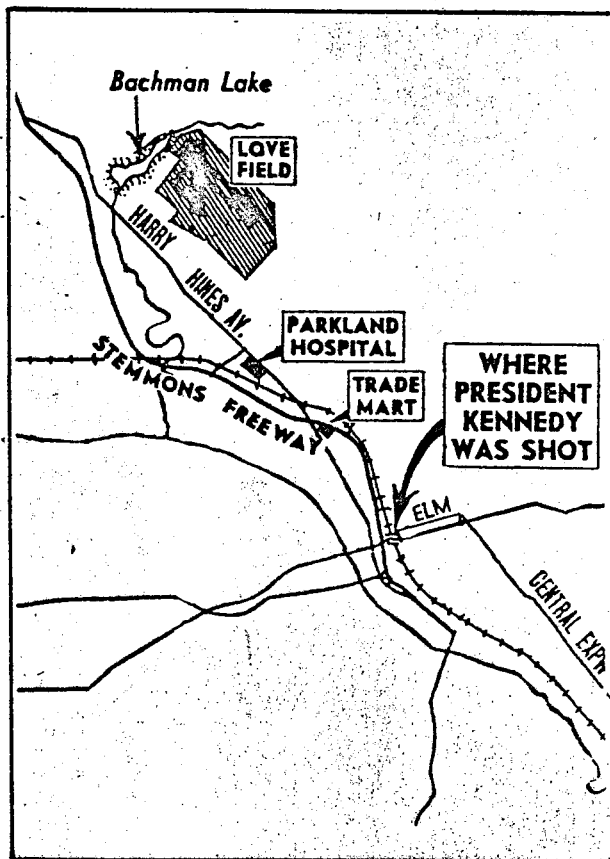
- 37 Newspapers and "metro." Samuel Lubell  
43 Etiquette for interviewers. From *Static*  
45 At issue: Can the public advise the press? Barry Bingham, *Editor & Publisher*

## DEPARTMENTS

- 2 Passing comment: views of the editors  
42 Editorial notebook  
49 Books. Edited by Louis M. Starr  
52 Reports on journalism. Daniel J. Leab  
53 Second reading: The legacy of Liebling  
55 Letters  
57 Unfinished business  
60 the lower case

# The reporters' story

On these pages the Review reproduces the words of men who were in the Presidential party in Dallas on November 22. The words are offered in a connected narrative as a case study in the reflexes and conscious actions of professional journalists under the heaviest kind of pressure and emotional stress. Several of these narratives have been widely distributed, but they have not been previously collated. They emphasize again how little there was for reporters to see and how much, after the first phases, they depended on each other to complete their information. In the columns alongside the narrative are reproduced items from the material that was being transmitted to the public at about the same time. The reproduction of wire-service copy is selective, rather than comprehensive, as are the broadcast excerpts.



Map of Dallas shows routes of reporters on November 22

MERRIMAN SMITH, United Press International: I was riding in the so-called White House press "pool" car, a telephone company vehicle equipped with a mobile radio telephone. I was in the front seat between a driver from the telephone company and Malcolm Kilduff, acting White House press secretary for the President's Texas tour. Three other pool reporters were wedged in the back seat.

KILDUFF: I had just finished saying to the representative of UPI, "Would you mind telling me what in the name of heaven the Texas School Book Repository is? I never heard of a school book 'repository.'" With that we heard the first report.

JACK BELL, The Associated Press: There was a loud bang as though a giant firecracker had exploded in the cavern between the tall buildings we were just leaving behind us.

ROBERT E. BASKIN, *Dallas Morning News*: "What the hell was that?" someone in our car asked. Then there were two more shots, measured carefully.

BOB JACKSON, photographer, *Dallas Times-Herald*: First, somebody joked about it being a firecracker. Then, since I was facing the building where the shots were coming from, I just glanced up and saw two colored men in a window straining to look at a window up above them. As I looked up to the window above, I saw a rifle being pulled back in the window. It might have been resting on the window sill. I didn't see a man.

BELL: The man in front of me screamed, "My God, they're shooting at the President!"

RONNIE DUGGER, *The Texas Observer*: "What happened?" a reporter called out inside the bus ahead of me. Through the windows we saw people breaking

and running down Elm Street in the direction of the underpass, and running to the railing of the arch at the foot of the downtown section and leaping out of our sight onto the grass beyond and below. We speculated someone might have dropped something onto the motorcade from the overpass. I saw an airplane above the area and wondered if it might have been dropping something.

JERRY TER HORST, *Detroit News*: There was a great clamor in the bus, "Open the doors. Let us out," but the bus speeded up, and it was impossible. The doors were not opening, and obviously the driver was staying with the police escort.

SMITH: Everybody in our car began shouting at the driver to pull up closer to the President's car. But at this moment, we saw the big bubble-top and a motorcycle escort roar away at high speed. We screamed at our driver, "Get going, get going." We careened around the Johnson car and its escort and set out down the highway, barely able to keep in sight of the President's car and the accompanying Secret Service follow-up car.

TOM WICKER, *The New York Times*: Jim Mathis of The Advance [Newhouse] Syndicate went to the front of our bus and looked ahead to where the President's car was supposed to be, perhaps ten cars ahead of us. He hurried back to his seat. "The President's car just sped off," he said. "Really gunned away." . . . The press bus in its stately pace rolled on to the Trade Mart, where the President was to speak.

SMITH: I . . . radioed the Dallas bureau of UPI that three shots had been fired at the Kennedy motorcade. [LEONARD LYONS in the *New York Post*:] The other reporter kept demanding the phone, and tried reaching over Smith's shoulder to grab it. Smith held on, telling his desk, "Read the bulletin back to me." The other pool reporter started clawing and pummeling Smith — who ducked under the dashboard to avoid the blows. Smith held on to the phone, dictating and rechecking the bulletins. Just before the car pulled up at the hospital, Smith surrendered the phone.

BELL: I grabbed the radiophone, got the operator, gave the Dallas bureau number, heard someone answer. I shouted that three shots had been fired at the President's motorcade. The phone went dead and I couldn't tell whether anyone had heard me. Frantically, I tried to get the operator back. The phone was still out.

BASKIN: We began to suspect the worst when we roared up to the emergency entrance of Parkland Hospital. The scene there was one of sheer horror. The President lay face down on the back seat . . .

BELL: We were turning into the emergency entrance to the hospital when I hopped out to sprint for the

A9KX

INSERT

DALLAS—FIRST LEAD KENNEDY TOUR (A159-A160H) INSERT AFTER 15TH GRAF "HE SAID THAT I X X ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD."

KENNEDY AND MRS. KENNEDY GOT AN ENTHUSIASTIC WELCOME FROM A LARGE CROWD WHEN THEY LANDED AT DALLAS' LOVE FIELD.

THE FIRST LADY, AS BEFORE, WALKED WITH THE PRESIDENT TO SHAKE HANDS WITH THE CROWD BEHIND A BARRIER. SHE CARRIED A BOUQUET OF RED ROSES, WHICH CLASHED FURIOUSLY WITH THE FUSCINA COLOR OF HER TWO-PIECE SUIT. SHE MANAGED, HOWEVER, TO KEEP THE ROSES IN HAND WHILE MAKING HANDS WITH MEMBERS OF THE CROWD. AT ONE POINT, MRS. KENNEDY ALMOST LOST ONE OF HER WHITE GLOVES BUT RETRIEVED IT QUICKLY.

THERE WERE NO "COLDWATER" SIGNS IN THE AIRPORT CROWD. ONE SEGMENT OF THE CROWD REPRESENTED YOUNG DEMOCRATS OF SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY.

THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE FEMALE SNEALING OVER THE PRESIDENT AND LUSTY KALE SHOUTS OF "HEY, JACKIE!"

AS THE PRESIDENT'S CARAVAN ROLLED ALONG THE HIGHWAY INTO DALLAS THERE WERE SPECTATORS GATHERED ON EACH SIDE. AT ONE POINT, ONE OF THEM HELD UP A SIGN WHICH SAID: "COLDWATER IN 1864 (C2)."

KENNEDY AT FORT WORTH, ETC., 16TH GRAF PWS.

81230PCS 3C

THE CASE WAS OPENED AND AN ENVELOPE FOUND CONTAINING 44 \$100 BILLS, THE WITNESS SAID. THE STATE HAS SAID IT WOULD PRODUCE THAT PIECE OF EVIDENCE BUT IT HAD NOT LISTED IT AS ONE "OF THE SEVEN LINKS." THE DEFENSE HAD IMPLIED IT WOULD TAKE THE LINE THAT CAROL'S DEATH AFTER A SAVAGE BLUDGEONING AND STABBING IN HER HOME WAS THE RESULT OF AN ATTEMPTED

HOEDAI234008

UPI ATN DA

PRECEDE KENNEDY

DALLAS, NOV. 22 (UPI)—THREE SHOTS WERE FIRED AT PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S MOTORCADE TODAY IN DOWNTOWN DALLAS.

JT1234PCS..

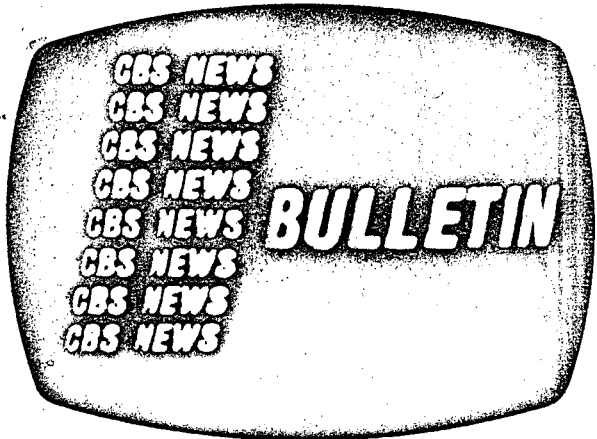
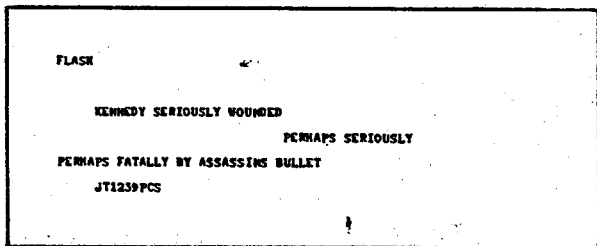
UPI A9N DA

URGENT

1ST ADD SHOTS, DALLAS (ATN) XXX DOWNTOWN DALLAS.

NO CASUALTIES WERE REPORTED.

THE INCIDENT OCCURRED NEAR THE COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE ON MAIN STREET, JUST EAST OF AN UNDERPASS LEADING TOWARD THE TRADE MART WHERE THE PRESIDENT WAS TO MA



"Bulletin... In Dallas, Texas, three shots were fired at President Kennedy's motorcade. The first reports say that the President was seriously wounded..." (Walter Cronkite)

President's car. The first hard fact I had that the President was hit was when I saw him lying on the seat. Because he was face down, I asked a Secret Service man, to make doubly certain, if this was the President, and he said it was. He said he didn't think the President was dead.

SMITH: I knew I had to get to a telephone immediately. Clint Hill, the Secret Service agent in charge of the detail assigned to Mrs. Kennedy, was leaning over into the rear of the car. "How badly was he hit, Clint?" I asked. "He's dead," Hill replied curtly. . . . I raced down a short stretch of sidewalk into a hospital corridor. The first thing I spotted was a small clerical office, more of a booth than an office. Inside, a bespectacled man stood shuffling what appeared to be hospital forms. At a wicket much like a bank teller's cage, I spotted a telephone on the shelf. "How do you get outside?" I gasped. "The President has been hurt and this is an emergency call." "Dial nine," he said, shoving the phone toward me. It took two tries before I successfully dialed the Dallas UPI number. Quickly I dictated a bulletin.

Litters bearing the President and the Governor rolled by me as I dictated, but my back was to the entrance of the emergency room about 75 or 100 feet away. I knew they had passed, however, from the horrified expression that suddenly spread over the face of the man behind the wicket.

[SAUL PETT in *AP Log*]: In the [AP Dallas] bureau, [Bob] Johnson was just returning to his desk. Executive Editor Felix McKnight called from the *Times-Herald* newsroom: "Bob, we hear the President has been shot, but we haven't confirmed it." Johnson raced for his typewriter. Staffer Ronnie Thompson told him: "Bell tried to call a minute ago but he was cut off." Johnson wrote the dateline of a bulletin. He had just reached the dash that follows the AP logotype when the phone rang again. It was staffer James W. Altgens, a Wirephoto operator-photographer known to everyone as "Ike," on duty as a photographer several blocks from the office. . . .

"Bob, the President has been shot."

"Ike, how do you know?"

"I saw it. There was blood on his face. Mrs. Kennedy jumped up and grabbed him and cried, 'Oh, no!' The motorcade raced onto the freeway."

"Ike, you saw that?"

"Yes. I was shooting pictures then and I saw it."

With the phone cradled to his ear, Johnson's fingers raced.

ROBERT DONOVAN, *Los Angeles Times*: We went to the Trade Mart, and the first thing we wanted to do was look for the President's car, and we didn't find it. But even then it didn't raise any positive proof in

my mind, because there were a number of entrances to this Trade Mart... Then it became obvious something had happened. We ran into this merchandise mart, which is an utter maze. We filed into the corridor of this hall, and the waiters were bringing out fillet mignon to an utterly unsuspecting audience, and they told us, to make matters utterly worse in our haste, that the press room was on the fourth floor. So, of course, what were there but escalators? So up we go, and we ran into the press room and it was sort of like air currents. We were all going around in a pattern of least resistance.

DUGGER: In the alarm and confusion, the reporters were full of doubt, and some were a little panicky. No one wanted to say what he was not sure of. Reporters had their editors on the phone and nothing definite to tell them.

SID DAVIS, Westinghouse Broadcasting Company: I phoned to Washington saying, "Something has happened."

DUGGER: I went from reporters at telephones who did not know and asked me frantically what I knew — I went on a run to a group of four or five who were gathered around M. W. Stevenson, chief of the criminal investigation division of the Dallas police. "The President was hit, that's our information at present." He had been taken to Parkland. How badly hurt? "No, sir, I do not know."

WICKER: At the Trade Mart, rumor was sweeping the hundreds of Texans eating their lunch. It was the only rumor I have ever *seen*; it was moving across that crowd like a wind over a wheatfield. A man eating a grapefruit seized my arm as I passed. "Has the President been shot?" he asked. "I don't think so," I said. "But something happened."

TOM KIRKLAND, managing editor, *Denton Record-Chronicle*: The rumor started spreading here (at the Trade Mart) about 12:45 p.m., but nobody believed it. Everyone just stood around in disbelief. At about 1 p.m. [it was] announced that there had been a mishap during the parade. Everybody had finished eating. He told them that the mishap was not serious, but there would be a delay in the President's address.

WICKER: With the other reporters — I suppose 35 of them — I went on through to the upstairs press room. We were hardly there when Marianne Means of Hearst Headline Service hung up a telephone, ran to a group of us and said, "The President's been shot. He's at Parkland Hospital." One thing I learned that day; I suppose I already knew it, but that day made it plain. A reporter must trust his instinct. When Miss Means said those eight words — I never learned who told her — I knew absolutely they were true. Everyone did. We ran for the press buses.

BULLETIN MATTER  
DALLAS—FIRST ADD KENNEDY SHOT X X X SPED ON.  
AP PHOTOGRAPHER JAMES W. ALTHEUS SAID HE SAW BLOOD ON THE  
PRESIDENT'S HEAD.  
ALTHEUS SAID HE HEARD TWO SHOTS BUT THOUGHT SOMEONE WAS SHOOTING  
FIREWORKS UNTIL HE SAW THE BLOOD ON THE PRESIDENT.  
ALTHEUS SAID HE SAW NO ONE WITH A GUN.  
MM1241PCS A MH

UPI AION DA  
1ST ADD 1ST LEAD SHOOTING DALLAS (9N DALLAS XX TODAY.  
THE PRESIDENT, HIS LIMP BODY CRADLED IN THE ARMS OF HIS WIFE, WAS  
RUSHED TO PARKLAND HOSPITAL. THE GOVERNOR WAS ALSO TAKEN TO PARKLAND.  
CLINT HILL, A SECRET SERVICE AGENT ASSIGNED TO MRS. KENNEDY, SAID  
"HE'S DEAD," AS THE PRESIDENT WAS LIFTED FROM THE REAR OF A WHITE HOUSE  
TOURING CAR, THE FAMOUS "BUBBLETOP" FROM WASHINGTON. HE WAS RUSHED  
TO AN EMERGENCY ROOM IN THE HOSPITAL.  
OTHER WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS WERE IN DOUBT AS THE CORRIDORS OF THE  
HOSPITAL ERUPTED IN PANDEMONIUM.  
THE INCIDENT OCCURRED JUST EAST OF THE TRIPLE UNDERPASS FACING A  
PARK IN DOWNTOWN DALLAS.  
REPORTERS ABOUT FIVE CAR LENGTHS BEHIND THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE  
NEAR  
MORE 144PES

PANDEMONIUM BROKE LOOSE AROUND THE SCENE.  
 THE SECRET SERVICE NAVED THE MOTORCADE ON AT TOP SPEED  
 TO THE HOSPITAL.  
 EVEN AT HIGH SPEED IT TOOK NEARLY FIVE MINUTES TO GET THE CAR  
 TO THE AMBULANCE ENTRANCE OF THE HOSPITAL.  
 REPORTERS SAW KENNEDY LYING FLAT ON HIS FACE ON SATF  
 HIS CAR.

A209DM\*  
 BELL SAID A MAN AND A WOMAN WERE SCRAMBLING ON THE UPPER LEVEL  
 OF A WALKWAY OVERLOOKING THE UNDERPASS. (AP)  
 LAWRENCE O'BRIEN, PRESIDENTIAL AID, SAID HE HAD NO INFORMATION  
 ON WHETHER THE PRESIDENT STILL WAS ALIVE.  
 MRS. KENNEDY WAS WEEPING AND TRYING TO HOLD UP HER HUSBAND'S  
 HEAD WHEN REPORTERS REACHED THE CAR.  
 RW1249PCS


A2100M\*  
 BULLETIN  
 FIRST LEAD KENNEDY SHOT  
 DALLAS, NOV. 22 (AP)—PRESIDENT KENNEDY AND GOV. JOHN CONNALLY  
 OF TEXAS WERE SHOT FROM A BUS TODAY.  
 IT WAS NOT KNOWN WHETHER EITHER WAS KILLED.  
 RW1250PCS

New York World-Telegram **SPORTS WALL ST.**

**KENNEDY IS SHOT  
 PERHAPS FATALY WOUNDED**

**EXTRA**

Market Is Jittery Over Suspension  
 Declines Follow Early Rise  
 Martinis Battled Photog, Cop Says  
 Epstein Due To Give Up On Tuesday  
 Market in Rally After Wavering  
 GOP Savings' Cost \$173 Million, Levitt Says  
 Meet the New Quaker



DONOVAN: A man I took to be a Dallas radio station man said to me that the President had been shot and may be dead. Well, it was stupefying, utterly stupefying. We had just seen him in the bright sunshine with his wife . . . Then there was a great clamor of "Where is he? Where is anybody? Where is the President?" This Dallas radio man went to a policeman and came back and said he was in Parkland Hospital. I said, "How can we get there?" and he said, "I have a station wagon. Come on. I will take you." By this time we were all running back through the dining hall before the startled diners, and Tom Wicker, of *The New York Times*, was grabbed by the head waiter, who said, "Here, you can't run in here." Wicker just ran over him.

WICKER: I pulled free and ran on. Doug Kiker of the *Herald Tribune* barreled head-on into a waiter carrying a plate of potatoes. Waiter and potatoes flew about the room. Kiker ran on. He was in his first week with the *Trib*, and his first presidential trip.

KIRKLAND: At 1:07, Eric Johnsson announced in a very, very trembling voice: "I'm not sure that I can say what I have to say. I feel almost as I did on Pearl Harbor day." At that point his voice broke. Then he announced that the President and the Governor had been shot . . . It was quiet.

DONOVAN: Peter Lisagor, of the *Chicago Daily News*, and I and some other reporters got into a station wagon with his radio man and we went out of the Trade Mart at a breakneck clip with his horn blaring, through traffic, through lights. It was a horrifying ride.

WICKER: I barely got aboard a moving press bus. Bob Pierpoint of CBS was aboard and he said that he now recalled having heard something that could have been shots—or firecrackers, or motorcycle backfire. We talked anxiously, unbelieving, afraid.

DAVIS: I went to a policeman and said, "You've got to get me to Parkland Hospital," and he said: "Buddy, all the cars are gone. We have nothing available here to get you anywhere." I said, "You have got to get me there. I am a member of the White House Press," or something of that sort. I insisted. He stammered that he had no vehicles for me, but he stood out in the middle of the freeway and stopped a car. It was about a 1948 Cadillac driven by a Negro gentleman, and the policeman said, "Get this man to Parkland Hospital right away." This fellow said, "Yes, sir." . . . he hit the accelerator on that car, and I nearly went through the back end, and I shouted up front to him and said, "Sir, we both want to get there. Take it easy."

DONOVAN: As we approached the hospital on a double-lane highway, [the radio-station man] saw traffic

piling up ahead of him, so he turned in and went against the approaching traffic, some of it approaching at high speed, horn blowing. Well, the police had seen this station wagon coming up the wrong end of the street with its horn blowing, assumed it was full of officials, and stopped all traffic and waved us into the hospital grounds.

WICKER: At its emergency entrance stood the President's car, the top up, a bucket of bloody water beside it. Automatically, I took down its license number — GG300 District of Columbia.

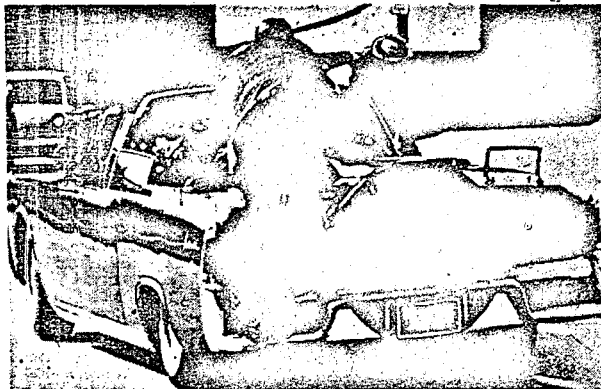
DUGGER: In the hospital I heard people who work there saying, "Connally, too." "It's a shame, I don't care who it is." No one knew who was alive or who was dead. At the emergency entrance, Senator Ralph Yarborough, terribly shaken, gave the first eyewitness account that I had heard. He had been in the third car, with the Vice President and Mrs. Johnson; removed from the President's car by the one filled with Secret Service men.

WICKER: The details he gave us were good and mostly — as it later proved — accurate. But he would not describe to us the appearance of the President as he was wheeled into the hospital, except to say that he was "gravely wounded." We could not doubt, then, that it was serious. I had chosen that day to be without a notebook. I took notes on the back of my mimeographed schedule of the two-day tour of Texas we had been so near to concluding. Today, I cannot read many of the notes; on November 22, they were as clear as 60-point type.

DUGGER: Because I had reached Yarborough first before many of the reporters came up, I then told a group of them what he had said from the first. This was a common scene the rest of the day, reporters sharing what they had learned with their colleagues.

WICKER: Mac Kilduff... came out of the hospital. We gathered round and he told us the President was alive. It wasn't true, we later learned; but Mac thought it was true at that time, and he didn't mislead us about a possible recovery... Kilduff promised more details in five minutes and went back into the hospital. We were barred. Word came to us second-hand — I don't remember exactly how — from Bob Clark of ABC, one of the men in the press "pool" car near the President's, that he had been lying face down in Mrs. Kennedy's lap when the car arrived at Parkland. No signs of life... I knew Clark and respected him. I took his report at face value, even at second-hand. It turned out to be true.

KILDUFF: At 1:04 they were still trying to work on him, as... Dr. Perry's statements have subsequently indicated. It was only a few minutes later, however,



James Altgens' photo (AP) was transmitted 25 minutes after shooting

A213DN\*

BULLETIN MATTER

DALLAS SECOND ADD KENNEDY SHOT X X X SPEECH.  
THE SHOTS WERE FIRED JUST AS THE PRESIDENTIAL MOTORCADE ENTERED  
THE TRIPLE UNDERPASS WHICH LEADS TO THE FREEWAY ROUTE TO THE TRADE  
MART.

THREE

BUST

BUST

A213DN\*

BULLETIN MATTER

DALLAS, TEX., NOV. 22 (AP)—REP. ALBERT THOMAS, D-TEX., SAID TODAY  
HE WAS INFORMED PRESIDENT KENNEDY AND GOV. JOHN CONNALLY OF TEXAS  
WERE BOTH STILL ALIVE AFTER HAVING BEEN SHOT IN AN ASSASSINATION  
ATTEMPT.

THOMAS, STANDING OUTSIDE THE CORRIDOR OF THE EMERGENCY ROOM  
IN WHICH BOTH KENNEDY AND CONNALLY WERE UNDER TREATMENT, SAID HE  
HAD BEEN TOLD THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS STILL ALIVE BUT WAS "IN VERY  
CRITICAL" CONDITION.

M:1257PCS

UPI A24N DA

MRS. KENNEDY APPARENTLY WAS SAFE. MRS. CONNALLY ALSO WAS SAFE, IT APPEARED. BOTH WOMEN WERE STUNNED.

KENNEDY, ACCORDING TO A MEMBER OF HIS STAFF, WAS STILL ALIVE AT 12:55 P.M. CST.

JT105PCS

UPI A24N DA

BOTH WOMEN DISAPPEARED INTO THE EMERGENCY SECTION OF PARKLAND HOSPITAL, TO WAIT NEWS OF THEIR HUSBANDS.

OUTSIDE THE EMERGENCY ROOM, IN A BUFF-CALLED HALLWAY, ANXIOUS MEMBERS OF THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF GATHERED, INCLUDING MAJ. GEN. CHESTER V. CLIFTON, MILITARY AIDE TO THE PRESIDENT AND BRIG. GEN. GODFREY WENICH, AIR FORCE AIDE.

JT106PCS

UPI A30N DA

MRS. EVELYN LINCOLN, KENNEDY'S SECRETARY, PAMELA TAYLOR, PRESS SECRETARY TO MRS. KENNEDY, AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE STAFF WERE SHOWN TO A SPECIAL WAITING ROOM NOT FAR FROM THE EMERGENCY ROOM. A SPECIAL WAITING ROOM NOT FAR FROM THE EMERGENCY ROOM AREA.

JT109PCS

UPI A31K DA

MRS. LINCOLN BROKE INTO TEARS AT ONE POINT, BUT MANAGED TO PULL HERSELF TOGETHER AND RESUME WHAT APPEARED TO BE OFFICIAL CHORES.

MRS. JOHNSON, FLANKED BY TWO SECRET SERVICE AGENTS, ARRIVED AT THE HOSPITAL SHORTLY AFTER.

JT111PCS

UPI A32P DA

ONE MAN IN AT 1:10 P.M. AND WENT IMMEDIATELY TO THE EMERGENCY WARD.

JT112PCS

that in talking to Kenney O'Donnell [White House Appointments Secretary] that we knew the President was, in fact, dead. . . . About 10 or 15 minutes after 1:00 I got hold of Kenney and I said, "This is a terrible time to have to approach you on this, but the world has got to know that President Kennedy is dead." He said, "Well, don't they know it already?" and I said, "No, I haven't told them." He said, "Well, you are going to have to make the announcement. Go ahead. But you better check it with Mr. Johnson." . . . His [President Johnson's] reaction was immediate on that. And he said, "No, I think we better wait a minute. Are they prepared to get me out of here?" . . . By this time it was about 1:20. I went back and talked to President Johnson, and I said, "Well, I am going to make the announcement as soon as you leave." . . . Then the two of us, President Johnson and myself, walked out of the emergency entrance together, and everyone was screaming at me, "What can you tell us?" It was a scene of absolute confusion. DUGGER: Reporters trying to make phone calls found that all the hospital phones had gone dead. I chased across the street to find a phone in a filling station to call [the] paper I was working with. While I was standing in the storeroom where the phone was, waiting to get through, I heard it announced on the radio, "The President is dead." I told the editor and rushed back to the hospital. I first believed and comprehended that he was dead when I heard Doug Kiker of the *Herald Tribune* swearing bitterly and passionately, "Goddam the sonsabitches." Yes, he was dead. But who had announced it? In the press room that had been improvised out of a classroom, no one seemed to know.

WICKER: When Wayne Hawks of the White House staff appeared to say that a press room had been set up in a hospital classroom at the left rear of the building, the group of reporters began struggling across the lawn in that direction. I lingered to ask a motorcycle policeman if he had heard on his radio anything about the pursuit or capture of the assassin. He hadn't, and I followed the other reporters. As I was passing the open convertible in which Vice President and Mrs. Johnson and Senator Yarborough had been riding in the motorcade, a voice boomed from its radio: "The President of the United States is dead. I repeat—it has just been announced that the President of the United States is dead." There was no authority, no word of who had announced it. But—instinct again—I believed it instantly. It sounded true. I knew it was true. I stood still a moment, then began running. . . . I jumped a chain fence looping around the drive, not even breaking stride. Hugh Sidey of *Time*, a close friend of the President, was



walking slowly ahead of me. "Hugh," I said, "the President's dead. Just announced on the radio. I don't know who announced it but it sounded official to me." Sidey stopped, looked at me, looked at the ground. I couldn't talk about it. I couldn't think about it. I couldn't do anything but run on to the press room. Then I told the others what I had heard. Sidey, I learned a few minutes later, stood where he was a minute. Then he saw two Catholic priests. He spoke to them. Yes, they told him, the President was dead. They had administered the last rites.

DUGGER: Then it was that Hugh Sidey of *Time* came in and, his voice failing with emotion, told the assembled press that two Catholic priests had told him and another reporter or so that the priests had given the President the last rites.

TER HORST: I had just paid somebody in the hospital, a nurse's aid or somebody, \$15 to keep a line open to Detroit. . . I ran down through the corridor and Hugh Sidey . . . was saying, "I have just talked to Father Huber and he said, 'He is dead, all right.'" I ran back down the corridor to the telephone, to relay this to my office in Detroit, and I couldn't talk. The girl who had kept the line open for me went and got a little paper cup of water. When I said over the telephone what Father Huber had said, my rewrite man on the other end dissolved. He couldn't go on. They had to put another rewrite man on.

[AP Log]: Bob Ford . . . held an open line to the office. Then Val Imm, society editor of the *Times-Herald*, came bursting through a mob of newsmen, grabbed an adjoining phone, shouted into it. Ford relayed her words . . .

SMITH: Telephones were at a premium in the hospital and I clung to mine for dear life. I was afraid to stray from the wicket lest I lose contact with the outside world. My decision was made for me, however, when Kilduff and Wayne Hawks . . . ran by me, shouting that Kilduff would make a statement shortly in the so-called nurses room a floor above and at the far end of the hospital. I threw down the phone and sped after them. We reached the door of the conference room and there were loud cries of "Quiet!"

KILDUFF: I got up there and I thought, "Well, this is really the first press conference on a road trip I have ever had to hold." I started to say it, and all I could say was "Excuse me, let me catch my breath," and I thought in my mind, "All right, what am I going to say, and how am I going to say it?" I remember opening my mouth one time and I couldn't say it, and I think it must have been two or three minutes.

DUGGER: Kilduff . . . came into the classroom and stood on the dais before the bright green blackboard,

UPI 647H DA

A FATHER HUBER, OF HOLY TRINITY CHURCH IN DALLAS ADMINISTERED THE LAST SACRAMENT OF THE CHURCH TO THE PRESIDENT.  
JT183PCS

UPIA48H DA

SHERIFF'S OFFICERS TOOK A YOUNG MAN INTO CUSTODY AT THE SCENE AND QUESTIONED HIM BEHIND CLOSED DOORS.  
JT184PCS

UPI 647H DA

THE SACRAMENT WAS ADMINISTERED SHORTLY BEFORE 1 P.M.  
ANOTHER PRIEST, WHO DECLINED TO GIVE HIS NAME, SAID THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE STILL WAS ALIVE AT THE TIME.  
JT184PCS

UPI A50H DA

THE VICE PRESIDENT'S WIFE, AFTER A QUICK CHECK ON CONDITIONS IN THE EMERGENCY SECTION, SAID HER HUSBAND WAS UNHARMED.  
JT185PCS

UPI 651H DA

THE VICE PRESIDENT WAS SOMEWHERE IN THE HOSPITAL, BUT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO DETERMINE HIS PRECISE WHEREABOUTS AT ONCE.  
HE WAS REPORTED EARLY SHOCKED BY THE SHOOTING. DOCTORS WERE TRYING TO KEEP HIM AS QUIET AS POSSIBLE.  
JT186PCS

FLASH  
DALLAS


DALLAS—TWO PRIESTS WHO WERE WITH KENNEDY SAY HE IS DEAD OF BULLET WOUNDS.  
PH132PCS

PLAIN  
 PRESIDENT KENNEDY DEAD  
 JT155PCS

**EXTRA**  
 Los Angeles Times

NO. 10000 W. 362 PAGES—FIFTY ONE FIFTY SEVEN, NOVEMBER 23, 1963 100 PAGES DAILY 17c

# ASSASSINATE KENNEDY



**Hail of Bullets Cut Down President in Dallas, Tex.**

WASHINGTON, (UPI)—Government sources said that President Kennedy is dead.

DALLAS (UPI)—President Kennedy was shot and gravely wounded by a would-be assassin Friday as he drove through downtown Dallas in an open car with Texas Gov. John B. Connally.

The President was wounded, his car was damaged and Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy, who was in the back seat, suffered her hair's head to be hit.

Witnesses reported that a Secret Service man was heard to say "They shot."

Harvey, Captain James Wright of the Texas State Police and the President and Connally were also thought to have been wounded.

Wounded by Mrs. Kennedy, the President was taken to the Texas School Depository in Dallas, where he was pronounced dead at the site within minutes.

The President's death was confirmed by a Secret Service agent who knew us helped us through suspicious Dallas police lines—and the driver said his instructions were to take the body to the airport. That confirmed our hunch, but gave me at least, another wrong one. Mr. Johnson, I declared, would fly to Washington with the body and be sworn in there. We posted ourselves inconspicuously near the emergency entrance. Within minutes they brought the

**BULLETIN**

President Kennedy was shot and gravely wounded by a would-be assassin Friday as he drove through downtown Dallas in an open car with Texas Gov. John B. Connally.

The President was wounded, his car was damaged and Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy, who was in the back seat, suffered her hair's head to be hit.

Witnesses reported that a Secret Service man was heard to say "They shot."

Harvey, Captain James Wright of the Texas State Police and the President and Connally were also thought to have been wounded.

Wounded by Mrs. Kennedy, the President was taken to the Texas School Depository in Dallas, where he was pronounced dead at the site within minutes.

The President's death was confirmed by a Secret Service agent who knew us helped us through suspicious Dallas police lines—and the driver said his instructions were to take the body to the airport. That confirmed our hunch, but gave me at least, another wrong one. Mr. Johnson, I declared, would fly to Washington with the body and be sworn in there. We posted ourselves inconspicuously near the emergency entrance. Within minutes they brought the

his voice, too, vibrating from his feelings. "President John F. Kennedy—" he began. "Hold it," called out a cameraman. "President John F. Kennedy died at approximately one o'clock Central Standard Time today here in Dallas. He died of a gunshot wound in the brain. I have no other details regarding the assassination of the President. Mrs. Kennedy was not hit. Governor Connally was hit. The Vice President was not hit." Had President Johnson taken the oath of office? "No. He has left." On that, Kilduff would say no more. As Kilduff lit a cigarette, the flame of his lighter quivered violently.

DONOVAN: ... there was a brief flurry of questioning among the reporters themselves in the press room as to whether Johnson would take the oath there or take it in Washington, and the consensus immediately prevailed, of course, he would take it in Dallas, because in the kind of world we are living in, you can't have the United States without a President, even in the time it takes to get from Dallas to Washington.

SMITH: I raced into a nearby office. The telephone switchboard at the hospital was hopelessly jammed. I spotted Virginia Payette, wife of UPI's Southwestern division manager and a veteran reporter in her own right. I told her to try getting through on pay telephones on the floor above. Frustrated by the inability to get through the hospital switchboard, I appealed to a nurse. She led me through a maze of corridors and back stairways to another floor and a lone pay booth. I got the Dallas office. Virginia had gotten through before me.

WICKER: The search for phones began. Jack Gertz, traveling with us for A.T.&T., was frantically moving them by the dozen into the hospital but few were ready yet. I wandered down the hall, found a doctor's office, walked in, and told him I had to use the phone. He got up without a word and left. I battled the hospital switchboard for five minutes and finally got a line to New York... The whole conversation [with New York] probably took three minutes. Then I hung up, thinking of all there was to know, all there was I didn't know. I wandered down a corridor and ran into Sidey and Chuck Roberts of *Newsweek*. They'd seen a hearse pulling up at the emergency entrance and we figured they were about to move the body. We made our way to the hearse—a Secret Service agent who knew us helped us through suspicious Dallas police lines—and the driver said his instructions were to take the body to the airport. That confirmed our hunch, but gave me at least, another wrong one. Mr. Johnson, I declared, would fly to Washington with the body and be sworn in there. We posted ourselves inconspicuously near the emergency entrance. Within minutes they brought the

body out in a bronze coffin. . . Mrs. Kennedy walked by the coffin, her hand on it, her head down, her hat gone, her dress and stockings spattered. She got into the hearse with the coffin. The staff men crowded into cars and followed. That was just about the only eyewitness matter that I got with my own eyes that entire afternoon. Roberts commandeered a seat in a police car and followed, promising to "fill" Sidey and me as necessary. We made the same promise to him and went back to the press room.

**DAVIS:** Jiggs Fauver, of the White House transportation office, grabbed my arm and said, "Come with me. We need a pool. Don't ask any questions." I grabbed my typewriter and left. . .

**SMITH:** I ran back through the hospital to the conference room. There Jiggs Fauver . . . grabbed me and said Kilduff wanted a pool of three men immediately to fly back to Washington on Air Force One, the Presidential aircraft. "He wants you downstairs, and he wants you right now," Fauver said. Down the stairs I ran and into the driveway, only to discover Kilduff had just pulled out in our telephone car. Charles Roberts . . . Sid Davis . . . and I implored a police officer to take us to the airport in his squad car. On the way to the airport, the young police officer driving said, "I hope they don't blame this on Dallas." I don't know who it was in the car that said, "They will." The Secret Service had requested that no sirens be used in the vicinity, but the Dallas officer did a masterful job of getting us through some of the worst traffic I have ever seen. As we piled out of the car on the edge of the runway about 200 yards from the Presidential aircraft, Kilduff spotted us and motioned for us to hurry. We trotted to him and he said the plane could take two pool men to Washington; that Johnson was about to take the oath of office aboard the plane and would take off immediately thereafter. I saw a bank of telephone booths beside the runway and asked if I had time to advise my news service. He said, "But for God's sake, hurry."

Then began another telephone nightmare. The Dallas office rang-busy. I tried calling Washington. All circuits were busy. Then I called the New York bureau of UPI and told them about the impending installation of a new President aboard the airplane.

**WICKER:** [In the press room] we received an account from Julian Reed, a staff assistant, of Mrs. John Connally's recollection of the shooting. . . . The doctors had hardly left before Hawks came in and told us Mr. Johnson would be sworn in immediately at the airport. We dashed for the press buses, still parked outside. Many a campaign had taught me something about press buses and I ran a little harder, got there first, and went to the wide rear seat. That is the best

# EXTRA! EXTRA!

## THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

Published Daily Except on Sundays and Public Holidays  
 Telephone: 441-1111  
 Second Class Post Office No. 100  
 Post Office of Origin  
 Friday, November 20, 1963  
 Price: 10¢

---

# Kennedy Is Slain

## Shot to Death in Dallas Motorcade

**Legislature Quits; Due Back in April**

State Senate adjourns today after a session that was marked by a vote on a bill to create a new state agency to handle the state's public health and safety.

**GOP Refuses to Act on Post for Zaborcki**

The GOP in the Wisconsin Legislature today refused to act on a bill to create a new post office for Zaborcki.

**Milwaukee Council to Convene in April on State**

The Milwaukee City Council will convene in April to discuss the state's public health and safety.



President John F. Kennedy

**Football Fans, Hunters to Get Right Weather**

Football fans and hunters will get the right weather today as the sun is expected to break through the clouds.

**Johnson OK; Bullets Also Hit Connally**

President Johnson today said he was in good health and would take the oath of office aboard the Presidential aircraft.

**Late Bulletins**

Latest news from the scene of the shooting in Dallas.

**Legislature Quits; Due Back in April**

State Senate adjourns today after a session that was marked by a vote on a bill to create a new state agency to handle the state's public health and safety.

**GOP Refuses to Act on Post for Zaborcki**

The GOP in the Wisconsin Legislature today refused to act on a bill to create a new post office for Zaborcki.

**Milwaukee Council to Convene in April on State**

The Milwaukee City Council will convene in April to discuss the state's public health and safety.



**Late Bulletins**

Latest news from the scene of the shooting in Dallas.

**Johnson OK; Bullets Also Hit Connally**

President Johnson today said he was in good health and would take the oath of office aboard the Presidential aircraft.

**Late Bulletins**

Latest news from the scene of the shooting in Dallas.

ALLVUPI ABNM  
 URGENT  
 INSERT GENERAL LEAD KENNEDY DALLAS (475M) AFTER 15TH PGM  
 X X X BEHIND CLOSED DOORS.  
 THE SUSPECTED ASSASSIN WAS CHASED INTO THE TEXAS THEATER IN THE  
 OAK CLIFF SECTION AND SEIZED AFTER HE HAD SHOT AND KILLED A POLICE  
 OFFICER.  
 THE MAN, WHO WORE A BROWN SHIRT, WAS CAPTURED BY THE  
 POLICEMAN'S PARTNER AFTER A STRUGGLE. THE SUSPECT WAS QUOTED AS  
 SAYING: "IT'S ALL OVER NOW."  
 (PICKUP 14TH PGM: A DALLAS)  
 BC351PEK

QVVV

FLASH  
 DALLAS  
 DALLAS--JOHNSON PRESIDENT.

place on a bus to open up a typewriter and get some work done. On the short trip to the airport, I got about 500 words on paper—leaving a blank space for the hour of Mr. Johnson's swearing-in, and putting down the mistaken assumption that the scene would be somewhere in the terminal.

SMITH: Kilduff came out of the plane and motioned wildly toward my booth. I slammed down the phone and jogged across the runway. A detective stopped me and said, "You dropped your pocket comb."... Kilduff propelled us to the President's suite two-thirds of the way back in the plane. ... I wedged inside the door and began counting. There were 27 people in this compartment.

DAVIS: ... the Judge, Mrs. Sarah Hughes, of Dallas, told the President to raise his right hand and repeat after her. Then he repeated the oath. At that moment, I started the second hand on my watch and I clocked it at 28 seconds.

SMITH: The two-minute ceremony concluded at 3:38 P.M. EST and seconds later, the President said firmly, "Now, let's get airborne." Col. James Swindal, pilot of the plane, a big gleaming silver and blue fan-jet, cut on the starboard engines immediately. Several persons, including Sid Davis of Westinghouse, left the plane at that time. The White House had room for only two pool reporters on the return flight and these posts were filled by Roberts and me, although at the moment we could find no empty seats. At 3:47 PM EST the wheels of Air Force One cleared the runway.

WICKER: As we arrived at a back gate along the airstrip, we could see Air Force One, the Presidential jet, screaming down the runway and into the air.

DUGGER: The details were given to us by a pool reporter, Sid Davis. ... I shall not soon forget the picture in my mind, that man standing on the trunk of a white car, his figure etched against the blue, blue Texas sky, all of us massed around him at his knees as he told us what had happened in that crowded compartment in Air Force One...

WICKER: He and Roberts—true to his promise—had put together a magnificent "pool" report on the swearing-in. Davis read it off, answered questions, and gave a picture that so far as I know was complete, accurate and has not yet been added to.

The Reporter: [In Washington], reporters at a loss to "cover" the event, hung around the White House pressroom and concentrated partly by habit and partly by duty on trivial details. Lyndon Johnson, they were informed by a briefer in Pierre Salinger's office, had left Dallas at 2:47 Central Standard Time. Was that 2:47? Yes, 2:47. He had been sworn in to office aboard the plane by U.S. District Judge Sarah

The image shows the front page of the 'Evening World-Herald' newspaper from Dallas, Texas, dated November 22, 1963. The main headline is 'Sniper Slays Kennedy; Johnson Is President'. Below the headline, there are several articles and photos. One article is titled 'Gunman Fires at Car, Texas Governor Also Is Cut Down by Bullets'. Another article is titled 'Takes Office Oath Aboard Plane Ready to Fly to Capital'. There are also photos of John Fitzgerald Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. The page is filled with text and small headlines, including 'Senate Goes Into Recess' and 'Police Seize Suspect'.

T. Hughes. Could the briefer spell that? Yes, Sarah had an "h." In midafternoon Senator Hubert Humphrey stopped in at the White House and consented to an informal chat with newsmen. There was almost nothing to ask him. Did he see any significance in the fact that it had happened in Dallas? came one idiotic try. Humphrey was taken aback. He shook his head abruptly and he left. Those White House aides familiar to reporters were too stricken to be questioned, even if there had been questions to ask. "I'm sorry," was the most anyone could say. Everywhere there was silent unease at the inability to locate the source of government, to know even where government was. It was reflected in the compulsive scuttling of reporters from one place to another where they could only observe arrivals and departures.

**WICKER:** Kiker and I ran a half-mile to the terminal, cutting through a baggage-handling room to get there. I went immediately to a phone booth and dictated my 500-word lead, correcting it as I read, embellishing it too. Before I hung up I got [Harrison] Salisbury and asked him to cut into my story whatever the wires were filing on the assassin. There was no time left to chase down the Dallas police and find out those details on my own. Dallas Love Field has a mezzanine running around its main waiting room; it is equipped with writing desks for travelers. I took one and went to work. My recollection is that it was then about 5 P.M. New York time.

**SMITH:** It was dark when Air Force One began to skim over the lights of the Washington area, lining up for a landing at Andrews Air Force Base. The plane touched down at 5:59 P.M. EST. I thanked the stewards for rigging up the typewriter for me, pulled on my raincoat and started down the forward ramp. Roberts and I stood under a wing and watched the casket being lowered... [we] were given seats on another 'copter bound for the White House lawn.

*The Reporter:* It was not quite relief but at last a sense of location, of reality, that came on the South Lawn of the White House later in that strangely balmy evening. With terrific noise and lots of wind, resembling a monstrous wasp, the brown army helicopter bearing President Johnson bore down on the White House, hovered a moment, and then came to rest on the floodlit lawn... almost at once the exchange of gossipy desperate questions among reporters was altered. The known, manageable Washington seemed to return with Johnson. Where was he going? reporters now demanded. Who was he seeing? What was the President going to do?



Mauldin finished his cartoon at 4:15 (EST)

#### The sources

The accounts in the preceding narrative were drawn from the following sources:

**MERRIMAN SMITH:** "The Murder of the Young President," eyewitness story published November 23 and distributed as a pamphlet by United Press International.

**MALCOLM KILDUFF:** round-table broadcast by station WINS, New York, and the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company, published as "The Murder of a President," in the New York Post, December 30-January 3.

**JACK BELL:** story distributed by The Associated Press on November 22; AP Log, November 20-26.

**ROBERT E. BASKIN:** Dallas Morning News, November 23.

**BOB JACKSON:** story distributed by The Associated Press, November 22.

**RONNIE DUGGER:** "The Last Voyage of Mr. Kennedy," The Texas Observer, November 29.

**JERRY TER HORST:** WINS broadcast.

**TOM WICKER:** Times Talk (New York Times house publication), December..

**ROBERT DONOVAN:** WINS broadcast.

**SID DAVIS:** WINS broadcast.

**TOM KIRKLAND:** Denton (Texas) Record-Chronicle, quoted in Editor & Publisher, November 30.

# What was seen and read

## Television: a transformation

*The following article, under the title "From Clown to Hero," appeared in the New York magazine of the New York Herald Tribune on December 15, 1963. John Horn is the Tribune's television reviewer.*

By JOHN HORN

The three shots on Main and Elm Streets, Dallas, that altered the course of American history also revolutionized the shape and content of American television for four tragic and tumultuous days.

From a frivolous and often inane jester and an urgent, wheedling hawk, TV was transformed instantly to a swift recorder of stunning deeds and sorrowful rites, to electronic transportation that took all of America to scenes of infamy and miscarriage of justice in Dallas and of melancholy pomp and circumstance in Washington.

The sad journey of the slain President to his resting place, the grace and gallantry of his bereaved widow, the ceremonies of final farewell, the on-camera slaying of the suspected assassin—these staggering events were etched into minds and hearts of an America that was a television eyewitness.

The critical assaults on television's banality, frivolity, and hucksterism are often well deserved, but how can one dismiss as inconsequential or worthless a medium that is capable of spanning utter triviality to solemn magnificence?

The fact is that almost everyone underestimates television. Even television itself—specifically the three networks that dominate the medium with their owned stations, alliances with hundreds of affiliates, and national news-gathering organizations—tends to minimize its importance and public-service achievements.

Embarrassment is part of it. Television's finest hours come when normal standards and operations—the overwhelming predominance of entertainment

programs and full sponsorship—are scuttled. Of necessity there must be mixed feelings when one's great moments are made possible only by repudiation of one's everyday values.

There is also the matter of responsibility. Recognition and acknowledgment of one's duties make clear one's responsibilities. Networks, which are not licensed as are stations to serve "the public interest, convenience and necessity," have kept the area of responsibilities understandably nebulous. For at a time like the solemn days following President's Kennedy's assassination, the networks remain alone, without advertisers or stations, to bear the enormous costs of news coverage. Not spelling out duties gives the networks latitude in deciding the method and length of such coverage.

The ambiguity often leads to confusion, with private prudence reining public-service eagerness. Such must have been the case on the first night of assassination coverage. With the biggest story of their lives on their hands, the New York stations of CBS and NBC reacted strangely. WCBS-TV, normally on the air all night with movies, signed off before midnight. WNBC-TV was off the air by 1 a.m., about two hours before its normal signoff. WABC-TV, like other ABC-owned stations, elected to stay on the air all night.

After that one lapse, WCBS-TV returned to continuous telecasting the next day and through the long weekend with special news programs. And WABC-TV went to earlier than normal signoff.

Hesitation and uncertainty are bound to be the consequences of unclear policy in the face of enormous expenditures. Public-interest news coverage is expensive. It is estimated that the four-day coverage of Presidential tragedy ran the three networks more than \$3 million in direct spending and ten times that in advertising-revenue loss.

For the public, there was no question about what was appropriate action. Television offers it the unique opportunity of being on the scene of action.

The night before the funeral NBC-TV, remaining on the air through the night, recorded for America a memorable self-portrait in mourning—equal to

Mr. Lincoln's train home to Springfield — by keeping cameras on the silent hundreds of thousands, both humble and great, as they shuffled silently past the bier in the Capitol rotunda. Through television, a hundred million more Americans were able to pay their respects there too. . . .

Television has played a great national role. In one man's opinion, television has been a cohesive factor, perhaps the most important one, in unifying the postwar United States. By dissolving distance, it helped eliminate mid-country pockets of isolationism that once seemed so far from both oceans and from Europe and Asia. It broke down the social isolationism of the South, where Negroes and whites now appear and perform together in all living rooms as a matter of tv routine. Southern whites once protested such "Northern" behavior.

Television bound the country with common laughter at the programs of Milton Berle, Lucille Ball and other comedians. It also bound Americans through more serious concerns — the Presidential conventions and elections, the Presidential debates of 1960, the orbital flights of U. S. astronauts, and this November's funeral.

Those who have laughed and wept together in common cause are a nation. . . .

The nation has become a family through the public eye of television.

Television did not set out to accomplish this. At the beginning, all that the three big broadcasting organizations — ABC, CBS and NBC — wanted to do was to mold television more or less in the image of radio. They succeeded. Investing heavily, they rapidly established transcontinental network television. . . .

The problem remains: How can television reconcile its schizophrenic extremes?

It's not enough that the medium finally comes through in a pinch. The great expense is always a deterrent. Can't advertisers and stations, which use the air no less, somehow share extraordinary network news-coverage costs?

The schedule is so stabilized by film, tape, and sold time that it becomes increasingly difficult to pre-empt existing programs for live news coverage. Can the schedule somehow be loosened so as to encourage live public-service coverage?

In prime time, the networks' domain, news and information programs get a one-twenty-fifth share. The rest is entertainment. Can't networks do something about filling this reality gap?

Since the quiz scandals, television has been much concerned with image. It now has two: a generally amusing idler and a sometime national hero. Which will it cultivate?

### A few sour notes

. . . we sent a group of buyers into the office Saturday morning to spot check and see if all stations and newspapers curtailed commercials. To our amazement, about 10% of the radio stations began commercial broadcasting early Saturday morning! . . . most of the stations that did run commercials were in small markets with small wattage; but one got the immediate feeling that they were small in many, many more ways . . . the networks, which are *not* licensed by the government, knew instantly what to do, but certain radio stations, granted the right to broadcast by the government, didn't have the courtesy to respect the government. —Herbert D. Maneloveg in *Advertising Age*, December 9, 1963.

At the moment that the broadcasters were basking in the warmth of deserved praise, they received the disappointing word. Theirs was to be a bigger sacrifice than they had anticipated. A number of the most important national purchasers of spot announcements elected to make a saving on advertising that was canceled during the three and a half days of emergency coverage. Instead of allowing the spots to be rescheduled at a later date, as had been the custom in previous public service contingencies, they decided to ask for credit . . . As of this writing, Pan American Airways is the sole concern to express maximum appreciation of broadcasting's public service; it told TV stations to consider its advertising as having been run . . . —Jack Gould in *The New York Times*, December 8, 1963.

One other sour note . . . was the inept use of the interview. For years city editors have been sending out reporters and photographers to interview people who have lost members of their families, and there may have been some slight justification for it when newspapers were fighting each other for circulation. But that was yesterday, and television has now enabled millions to see, in all its useless insensitivity, what only working newspaper people have seen for years. Thus it was shocking and incomprehensible to many viewers that a television reporter should put a microphone before the widow of the slain Dallas policeman and ask her, "Well how do you feel now, Mrs. Tippett?" . . . Similarly, the man-in-the-street interviews, certainly an outworn and unnecessary form of journalism, were only embarrassing and served no reasonable purpose. The man in the street obviously felt just the way the man sitting before his television screen was feeling. —John Tebbel, in "The Story," *The Quill*, January, 1964.

# Newspapers: hunger for print

More sharply than any previous series of events, the occurrences of November 22 to 25 revealed the consciousness of newspapers of their changing role, from sole purveyors of news to one of many. During the two periods when news broke without warning, instinct and tradition dictated the response: On Friday, November 22, newspapers issued as many as eight "extras." On Sunday, when Lee H. Oswald was shot, energetic papers reactivated themselves early to issue Sunday afternoon and evening extras.

When there was time for reflection, more conscious choices were made. The central question was: Should newspapers accept the idea that they were (as *Saturday Review* put it) "hopelessly outflanked" by tele-

vision? Many papers agreed to the extent of dropping any pretense that they were announcing anything new. Instead, they sought novelty of display, sometimes with an eye to souvenir values. But a significant number kept to their traditional function of providing a straight record.

To the public, such distinctions appeared to make little difference. Figures for street sales across the country show that the public's addiction to television over the week end was matched by its hunger for printed matter. Many papers set all-time sales records. To cite only one example: *The New York Times* on November 26 sold 1,089,000 papers—nearly 400,000 over its normal sales.

On the pages following are reproduced front pages of newspapers from the several phases of the week-end's events, chosen as representative of different schools of thought, and as an index of the newspapers' changing functions.

Johnson Takes Nation's Oath, Pages 4 and 5

**The Dallas Morning News** John F. Kennedy Life History, Pages 16 and 17

DALLAS TEXAS SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1963—57 PAGES IN 4 SECTIONS PRICE 4 CENTS

# KENNEDY SLAIN ON DALLAS STREET

## JOHNSON BECOMES PRESIDENT

Receives Oath on Aircraft



**Gov. Connally Resting Well**

Pro-Communist Charged With Act

Four Hours in Surgery



**Day Began as Auspiciously As Any in Kennedy's Career**

Impact Shattering To World Capitals

Funeral For President Will Be Held On Monday


**The Boston Globe** MORNING EDITION


SHOCK...DISBELIEF...GRIEF

John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Born in Brookline, Massachusetts—Shot and Killed in Dallas, Texas, at Age 42

# Sniper's Bullet Cuts Down President

## Jacqueline Cradles Dying Husband Johnson Sworn In; McCormack is No. 2





**Jacqueline 'Oh No!'**

**A Wife's Anguish**

**Castroite Arrested**


Details of the President's Assassination

See Editorials

... In Body Lies in State

**'God's Help and Yours...'**

Johnson Is 36th President



Highlights of News Inside

Saturday morning: Texas and Massachusetts





Saturday afternoon: Miami front page



Madison would not defer feature on quints



Sunday morning: formally balanced page . . .



. . . a similar thought in Minneapolis

THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL Packers Win, Bears Tie  
 Extra! Oswald Slain  
 Shot on Way to New Jail; Killer Held  
 Shilo Tress Club Grazier Known to Be Loner by Association of Kennedy; Crowd of Policemen, Newsmen Witness Shooting



Late President Lies in State in Capitol  
 Solemn Procession Takes Him There



TV Schedules Being Changed

Sunday afternoon: an extra in Milwaukee

NEW YORK  
 Herald Tribune THE LATE CITY  
 A Nation Appalled

IN THE NEWS THIS MORNING




Nightclub Owner Silences Assassin

MOURNING IN CAPITAL



Monday morning: Tribune emphasized reaction

The Cleveland Press  
 KENNEDY IS LAID TO REST WITH AMERICA'S HEROES



LBJ Vows Peace in Note to Mr. K



City's Pulse Stilled to Honor President



Walk Is Wife's Final Ordeal

Monday afternoon: Some used the salute . . .

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS  
 Now He, Too, Belongs To the Ages

After the death of Abraham Lincoln, assassinated 16th President of the United States, it was said of him, "Now he belongs to the Ages."

Today, with the burial of John F. Kennedy, assassinated 35th President, it can be said of him, "Now he, too, belongs to the Ages."

The Oswald Killing A Poignant Moment A President Is At Rest

Oswald Is Buried in Texas

Joseph Kennedy Rumor False

. . . the News relegated it to the second page

THE SUN  
 407 2-1963  
 Full Page, 64 Pictures  
 Of The Front Page 13

Foreign Leaders Join With America's  
 In Funeral Ceremonies For Kennedy

JOHNSON TO RELEASE  
 FBI'S DETAILED DATA  
 ON KENNEDY'S DEATH  
 President is Due To Get Report On 'Where  
 And Through Investigation Of Assassination  
 Was In Hand For Days

OSWALD GOES  
 TO HIS GRAVE

21-GUN SALUTE, TAPS  
 FINISH DAY'S SERVICES  
 FOR SLAIN PRESIDENT  
 Widow Lights Flame At Grave As King,  
 Queen, Prince And Prime Ministers  
 Watch At Arlington Cemetery

Mrs. Kennedy Tearful  
 As She Leaves Grave

VISIT SLATED  
 BY DE GAULLE

Johnson Is Gracious Host  
 To Nobles Of 70 Nations

Dallas Hears Echoing Drums  
 As Officer Tippin Is Buried

On Other  
 Pages




Tuesday morning: Baltimore Sun lingered . . .

THE NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN  
 1963 SEP 25

NIKITA ASSURED ON U.S. AIM

JFK at Rest Stirs Brave Tears  
 East-West  
 Accords  
 Goal: LBJ

World Chiefs  
 Join Multitude  
 Paying Tribute

These Things...  
 Mrs. Kennedy  
 Bears Grief  
 In Dignity

We Remember  
 Kennedy Politics To Stay, Says  
 Johnson On Grave Due Back  
 For 'Dallas Government' Aid

Nashvillians  
 Weep, Pray

Oswald Burial  
 Almost Secret

Holla Motions  
 Seen Soon

Dissenter: This Not Democracy

De Gaulle, President Talk

Politics  
 Continuity  
 Of Government  
 Must For U.S.






. . . the Nashville Tennessean hurried on

New York World-Telegram  
 The Sun  
 ALL Sports FINAL

Confident Market Stages  
 Biggest Rally in History

OK Rail  
 Fireman  
 Layoffs

9.3 Million Shares  
 Traded; Industrial  
 Average Soars

Johnson and Mikoyan  
 Hold Hour's Meeting

Jury Indicts  
 Ruby for Murder

Invitation  
 To Wagner

Races at Aqueduct




Tuesday afternoon: resumption of business


BUFFALO EVENING NEWS  
 Buffalo, N.Y.

John F. Kennedy, 35th U.S. President

AUTHOR, POLITICIAN,  
 DEVOTED AMERICAN,  
 A MAN OF COURAGE

NAVAL WAR HERO,  
 ONCE NEAR DEATH  
 AFTER OPERATIONS

Wrote 'Profiles in Courage' During  
 Confinement From Surgery  
 in His Seaside Town



Memorial: one of many commemorative editiogs

# Magazines: good luck and bad

When the news broke on Friday afternoon, all three of the major news magazines had issues almost ready to close. These magazines made over whole sections—in some cases interrupting press runs to add late developments—and still reached most of their readers on time.

In spite of the technical problems characteristic of magazines—writing copy to exact measurements, printing far away from the editorial offices, the pressure of interrelated deadlines—the magazines demonstrated by this performance that they were in many ways more flexible than most Sunday newspapers.

*U.S. News and World Report*, with a Friday deadline for its December 2 issue, had to start over. *Time* and *Newsweek*, planning press runs for 6 a.m. Sunday, had less than 40 hours to remake. The staffs produced 20 pages of entirely new copy for *Newsweek* and 17 for *Time*.

Sunday afternoon both *Time* and *Newsweek* stopped their presses twice to replate—once to insert the story of the shooting of Lee Oswald; again to add the *Dallas Morning News* picture of Jack Ruby firing the shot.

The reporting in the three weeklies was respectful and thorough, with few lapses in fact or taste. One exception was *Times* "publisher's page," which remembered the President as its "No. 1 subscriber," quoting many of his remarks about the magazine. By contrast, *Newsweek* quoted thirteen lines from Walt Whitman's "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd"—written after Lincoln's assassination in 1865.

*Life* rushed through a new 20-page section, including Theodore H. White's tribute to the President and the remarkable picture series that showed, second by second, what happened in the President's automobile.

*The Saturday Evening Post*, with a December 14 issue partly printed, stopped its presses and planned a new issue. Authors, including former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Stewart Alsop, and Ralph McGill, wrote and delivered major articles in two days or less.

The special problems of the bi-weekly *Look* were complicated by the approaching Thanksgiving holiday. A pre-dated December 3 issue, with a happy cover photograph of the President and his son, was already on the newsstands. The issue dated December 17, printed much earlier than usual because of the

holiday, was being distributed, with an article entitled "Kennedy Could Lose" announced on the cover. *Look* sent paste-over labels to distributors to blot out the cover reference, then set to work remaking its December 31 issue. The new issue included memorial material with traces remaining of a White House Christmas story scheduled earlier.

*Parade*, the Sunday magazine distributed with seventy-three newspapers, was similarly embarrassed by an article entitled, "Is Jackie Kennedy Tired of the White House?" (the answer was no) in its December 1 issue, printed three weeks in advance. All of the 13,000,000 copies had been distributed. *Parade's* staff worked through the week end to remake the issue, then ran off 6,000,000 new copies for distribution to newspapers near the printing plants in Philadelphia, Louisville, and St. Louis. Other newspapers were asked to withdraw the issue.

In general, magazines of current affairs came through a period of potential embarrassment with only minimum distress. It may be worth noting that the two articles that could have been considered out of line were speculative—a warning once again of the hazards of early deadlines and betting on imponderables.

**TIME**  
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

A letter from the PUBLISHER

*Benjamin M. Ober*

**EDITOR**  
Ray Abraham

**MANAGING EDITOR**  
Theo Parrington

**ASSISTANT MANAGING EDITORS**  
Thomas Griffin, Lewis Rosen


**SENIOR EDITORS**  
A. B. Beardsley, Richard L. Nease, Charles G. Whittaker

**ASSOCIATE EDITORS**  
Dorothy Ferebee, Paul H. Baker, William S. Hoar, Jr., Robert A. Taft, Jr., William F. Buckley, Jr., James H. Burnham, Jr., Robert A. Caro, Jr., Robert D. Clark, Jr., Robert E. G. Ladd, Jr., Robert M. La Follette, Jr., Robert L. Taylor, Jr., Robert W. Wood, Jr., Robert Z. Self

**CONTRIBUTING EDITORS**  
Margaret Bourke-White, J. P. Morgan, Jr., Clark M. Boardman, Jr., Robert A. Caro, Jr., Robert D. Clark, Jr., Robert E. G. Ladd, Jr., Robert M. La Follette, Jr., Robert L. Taylor, Jr., Robert W. Wood, Jr., Robert Z. Self

**OPTIONAL READINGS**  
Robert A. Caro, Jr., Robert D. Clark, Jr., Robert E. G. Ladd, Jr., Robert M. La Follette, Jr., Robert L. Taylor, Jr., Robert W. Wood, Jr., Robert Z. Self

**1967 PRINTING BY HENRY ROEMER**



On the occasion of Time's 40th anniversary last spring, he delegated Vice President Johnson to represent him, and sent a telegram to be read at the dinner, saluting Time as a "great magazine," and adding a few characteristically phrased remarks: "Like most Americans, I do not always agree with Time, but I never read it. And, though I am not sure, I think that Time is the best magazine in the world."

MORE than most men in public life, President Kennedy had an affinity for the press that was widely recognized. As a Congressman and as a Senator (which he was when he first appeared on Time's cover back in 1957), he liked the company of journalists, and found many of his friends among them. When he entered the White House, the relationship became more formal, discreet and professional, as it had to. But it continued. As a superb politician, John Kennedy understood the value of sympathetic press coverage, as a President he wanted to influence opinion, but most of all he seemed to find stimulation in the affectionate give-and-take of candid, informed, sharp-shooted events and people. Correspondents and editors, a little awed as all men are by the White House setting, were encouraged by the President to talk freely, and so did he.

The President had a special feeling about Time. In the study of his house with the Hotel C...

**Newsweek**

The Washington Post Company  
1125 15th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004  
Phone 333-1100, 1125-1140  
Published 5 times a week, except on Sundays and public holidays


**Editorial Board**  
Emmet Doherty, Editor in Chief; James H. Burnham, Jr., Editor; Robert D. Clark, Jr., Managing Editor; Robert E. G. Ladd, Jr., Deputy Managing Editor; Robert M. La Follette, Jr., Deputy Managing Editor; Robert L. Taylor, Jr., Deputy Managing Editor; Robert W. Wood, Jr., Deputy Managing Editor; Robert Z. Self, Deputy Managing Editor

**Senior Editors**  
A. B. Beardsley, Richard L. Nease, Charles G. Whittaker

**Associate Editors**  
Dorothy Ferebee, Paul H. Baker, William S. Hoar, Jr., Robert A. Taft, Jr., William F. Buckley, Jr., James H. Burnham, Jr., Robert D. Clark, Jr., Robert E. G. Ladd, Jr., Robert M. La Follette, Jr., Robert L. Taylor, Jr., Robert W. Wood, Jr., Robert Z. Self

**Contributing Editors**  
Margaret Bourke-White, J. P. Morgan, Jr., Clark M. Boardman, Jr., Robert A. Caro, Jr., Robert D. Clark, Jr., Robert E. G. Ladd, Jr., Robert M. La Follette, Jr., Robert L. Taylor, Jr., Robert W. Wood, Jr., Robert Z. Self

**Optional Readings**  
Robert A. Caro, Jr., Robert D. Clark, Jr., Robert E. G. Ladd, Jr., Robert M. La Follette, Jr., Robert L. Taylor, Jr., Robert W. Wood, Jr., Robert Z. Self



**JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY**  
1917-1963

Coffin that passes through lanes and streets,  
Through day and night with the great cloud  
darkening the land,  
With the pomp of the inloop'd flags with the cities  
draped in black,  
With the show of the States themselves as of  
crape-veil'd women standing,  
With procession of a winding and the  
flame

Publisher's pages: Time and Newsweek

Life's exclusive:  
film sequence in  
issue of November 29

### SPLIT-SECOND SEQUENCE AS THE BULLETS STRUCK

*Life's exclusive film sequence shows the assassination of President John F. Kennedy from the perspective of the assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald. The sequence is presented in a split-second format, showing the exact moments of the shooting.*

*An extraordinarily complex man—proud, tough, stern—he will be master in his house.*

## THE NEW PRESIDENT

By STEWART ALSOP

**OF THE**

Post's industry:  
part of 29 pages of coverage  
in December 14 issue

"Nicer wrong" Iowa tonenahp forecasts the 1964 race:

## JFK COULD LOSE

**BY GEORGE HILLS**

*There are two "nicer wrong" forecasts of what will happen in the 1964 election. One is that Lyndon B. Johnson will be elected. The other is that John F. Kennedy will be elected. Both forecasts are based on a "nicer wrong" forecast of what will happen in the 1964 election. The "nicer wrong" forecast is that Lyndon B. Johnson will be elected. The "nicer wrong" forecast is that John F. Kennedy will be elected. Both forecasts are based on a "nicer wrong" forecast of what will happen in the 1964 election.*

Look's  
misfortune:  
December 17

U.S. News's  
prophecies:  
instant vision

FROM THE NATION'S CAPITAL

### Tomorrow

A LOOK AHEAD

Dwight D. Eisenhower, R-R  
Washington, D.C.

### Newsgram

Change will come, importantly but only gradually, under the new President. **Dallas** will change. **Washington** will change. **Dallas** will change. It will not be until the new President is in the White House.

President Johnson, however, is a practical man, and he will not be. **Dallas** will change. **Washington** will change. **Dallas** will change. It will not be until the new President is in the White House.

The new President is a "liberal," one who might be elected as a "conservative liberal" or a "liberal" one. **Dallas** will change. **Washington** will change. **Dallas** will change. It will not be until the new President is in the White House.

**Dallas** will change. **Washington** will change. **Dallas** will change. It will not be until the new President is in the White House.

# Journalism's role: unresolved issues

## Questions of fact

Francis T. Leary writes a "Memo from the M.E." that is distributed with the weekly *U.P.I. Reporter*. In the issue dated December 5, he wrote as follows:

One of the harassments of covering the tragedy in Dallas was a flood of erroneous reports and rumors, some of which were printed and/or broadcast.

Our Dallas and New York staffs were subjected to this spurious barrage but stood firm, investigated each rumor and circulated nothing erroneous.

I suppose the rumor phase of the coverage will be fair game for the critics of the press and, regretfully, backwash to some extent on newspapers and broadcasters alike.

The most widely distributed false reports were credited to AP—that Lyndon Johnson "was apparently shot but able to walk to a hospital," and that a Secret Service agent as well as a policeman had been shot and killed in Dallas. Another rumor circulated was that Johnson had suffered a heart attack.

The day after Jack Ruby killed Lee Harvey Oswald we received but did not carry rumors in Bonn, Springfield, Ill., Dallas, Honolulu, San Francisco and other cities that Ruby had (1) hanged himself (2) been shot (3) poisoned (4) stabbed. All easily scotched.

Another rumor, which persisted for two days, was that Joe Kennedy, Sr., had died. This rumor spread throughout the world although his activities at the time, including auto rides and swimming, were well publicized by U.P.I....

This complaint, sharply at variance with the tone of forbearance that muted most competitive recriminations, makes charges with serious implications. Two questions in particular come to the fore: Was The Associated Press indeed responsible for passing on rumors and inaccuracies? Was UPI, conversely, blameless?

The charges may fall into perspective in the light of the following analysis, prepared for the *Review* by a non-partisan, Donald H. Webster of CBS News:

A study of the "A" wire copy of both services yields the following conclusions:

Despite the massive work required, inconveniences in the location of the story, and the understandable pressures, both wire services did an extremely creditable job.

Initial word that something was wrong in Dallas came from UPI between five and six minutes ahead of AP—partly because the AP man in the Presidential pool car could not get the radio telephone. By the end of the first hour, however, AP had transmitted a greater variety of copy and was slightly ahead on later important breaks in the story.

UPI fed clearer, cleaner copy, ready to be rushed from the machines and across the copy desk virtually without editing. AP's initial coverage seemed a bewildering series of new leads, inserts, sidebars, and corrections.

AP showed greater willingness or ability to switch quickly to points other than Dallas. The service did so without losing any important facts from Dallas; at the end of three hours it had transmitted considerably more information than its competitor.

UPI was better organized in the use of the terms "flash," "bulletin" and "urgent." UPI used them more selectively at a time when every

client in the country was aware of the story and was watching its wire machines almost continuously anyway.

Both services, understandably, made errors. Perhaps the greatest single mistake was made by AP at 2:18 when it said "THERE WAS AN UNCONFIRMED REPORT THAT VICE PRESIDENT LYNDON JOHNSON HAD BEEN WOUNDED SLIGHTLY. A SPECTATOR SAID HE SAW JOHNSON WALK INTO THE HOSPITAL HOLDING HIS ARM." (This wording should be compared with the quotation in the fourth paragraph of Mr. Leary's remarks above. —ED.)

Then at 2:24 an AP bulletin said "MRS. LYNDON B. JOHNSON SAID AFTER A VISIT TO THE EMERGENCY OPERATING ROOM TODAY THAT THE VICE PRESIDENT 'IS FINE.' SHE WAS TAKEN INTO ANOTHER FIRST FLOOR ROOM WHERE JOHNSON ORIGINALLY HAD GONE. ASKED IF HER HUSBAND ALSO HAD BEEN WOUNDED, SHE SHOOK HER HEAD NEGATIVELY." If the third sentence lessened the confusion, the lead sentence certainly increased it.

A clear-cut correction of the information did not come until 2:58, but into the evening many people continued to repeat AP's rumor that Johnson was injured.

The biggest rumor of the period was the one that the President's father was dead. There is nothing in the copy of either service to indicate that they contributed to the rumor. But a Hyannis Port story sent (from New York) at 3:08 was filled with misinformation about the elder Kennedys — notably, that the father had been notified (which was wrong) and that the "President's mother was to leave immediately for Dallas to be at the bedside of the President."

UPI was not without its errors, but there were none on the scale of the rumor of an injury to President Johnson. At 2:28, UPI quoted Senator Yarborough as saying that he saw the President's lips moving "at a normal rate of speed" on the way to the hospital.

There was confusion over the murder weapon and its caliber. At first AP identified it as a .30-.30 rifle, then later quoted a secret service man as saying it was a "high powered Army or Japanese rifle of about .25 caliber." UPI meanwhile called it a "German-made" rifle, "a 7.65 Mauser." It turned out to be of Italian manufacture.

In a story of this magnitude, errors such as this seem small indeed. This is only indicative of the generally accurate reporting job both services gave to the tragic events.

The rumors about Johnson were, as it happened, the only transmitted ones that had bearing on the transfer of power. The tales of the deaths of others seem to be the inevitable accompaniment of the death of the famous. After Franklin D. Roosevelt died there was a widespread report that Jack Dempsey was dead (based, it later turned out, on the mis-

reading of a sign closing his restaurant for the day).

Neither of the wire services transmitted the concurrent rumor that President Johnson had had a heart attack.

Should the AP have transmitted the report on the wounding? A negative answer seems clear in retrospect; the label "unconfirmed report" hardly removes the possible impact of such an item on a country already shaken. Obviously, though, the situation at 2:18 p.m. on November 22 was different: There had been no clear-cut word on Johnson since his arrival at the hospital. Even the word of an anonymous spectator who had seen Johnson enter the hospital must have seemed preferable to no word at all.

There must also be recognized the peculiar circumstances of an emergency of this type, when the function of a wire service changes: No longer is it merely sending publishable news stories; it tends to become, under stress, a conveyor belt of whatever can be seized on. (Note, for comparison, the familiar phenomenon of rumors and "unconfirmed reports" during World War II.) The greater the stress, the more raw material replaces form. It was a reaffirmation of the skill of Merriman Smith of UPI that he dictated a story from the Presidential pool car and the hospital that fell into publishable form.

It is worth remembering, in comparing this reporting with that of other events, that the news on November 22 was almost unmanaged. In contrast to the death of Roosevelt, which was announced by a simultaneous phone call to three wire services from the White House, in this instance government information was almost paralyzed. It did not begin to feed anything to the news processes until more than half an hour after the shooting, and offered no formal announcements for more than an hour. Possibly the only conscious government decision was that of the new President to withhold the news of the death until he had left the hospital for the airport.

The net effect was that the reporters — both the upper-echelon members of the White House corps and the locals — had to cover the story like a natural catastrophe.

Considering the huge opportunities for error, the repercussions from the coverage of that day have been minor. Writers in liberal magazines have combed the early reports for contradictions that would tend to suggest assassins other than Lee H. Oswald. These so far have turned up nothing that could not just as easily be explained by the transmission-belt nature of reporting on November 22. The accuracy and pertinence of many such points will have to remain unresolved until such time as the information held by investigating agencies is released to the public.

# Questions of rights

Probably the most serious problem focused by the events of November 22 to 25 is one that has been with journalism before, but never before in circumstances so acute. It is the question of what can be done about the mob that reporters and technicians become when they settle on the locus of a story. Such flocks were known in pre-television days, but television, adding not only more bodies but paraphernalia, has aggravated the situation. The journalistic mob of the 1950's and 1960's is an awesome force—as demonstrated in Little Rock, on Nikita Khrushchev's tour, at the University of Mississippi, on many Presidential travels, and, most recently, in Dallas.

There are two obvious adverse effects:

1. The news being covered changes in the presence of the mob; the principals become conscious of being on stage; action is accentuated; news is fragmented.
2. The mob can interfere with other processes taking place in the public interest.

A great deal has been written on the effects of the presence of journalists in the Dallas police station. Bar Associations, the American Civil Liberties Union, and a few journalists all hold the demands of journalism responsible to a degree not only for foreclosures of Lee H. Oswald's civil rights, but for forcing the police to provide the setting for the murder. On the other side, such commentators as Newton N. Minow have emphasized the need of the public for any information in an emergency. A few in the television industry have credited the detailed coverage of Oswald with preventing possible disorder.

Journalists are no doubt familiar with the main outlines of these arguments, and with the suggestions that have been made of remedies on the part of the press such as Herbert Brucker's suggestion in *Saturday Review* for more formal "pool" arrangements.

Such discussions have difficulty discovering the precise line of responsibility between public officials and the press. Journalism in the past has found it difficult to imagine itself, in relation to government, as other than a wiry little fellow taking on the brute of government. In such circumstances, the little fellow must be the aggressor. But it may be an uncalculated consequence of the efforts for "freedom of information" in the last few years that the situation has been reversed. Is a brute press now able to run over the requirements of government, notably when great national organizations are taking on local officials?

This is a note that turns up by indirection in a memorandum received by the *Review* from Victor F.

Robertson, of the news staff of WFAA, Dallas. He writes, in part:

The Dallas Police Department was cooperative with reporters—not just because it was eager for publicity, or was an admirer of the news media; it was the direct result of the public policy of the city of Dallas.

Let me cite an example: Some months ago, two teen-aged girls ran a car over the curb of a downtown street, smashed into a light standard, and seriously injured a pedestrian. A newspaper photographer was taking pictures, including pictures of the girls, when he was reprimanded by a patrolman who felt that taking pictures of juveniles is not good journalism. The repercussions were immediate. The entire department received a memorandum pointing out clearly that it was not the judge of press prerogatives or responsibilities. The public policy of the city is one of cooperation with the news media.

It has been suggested that, faced with special circumstances, the city might have been forgiven had it temporarily suspended its policy. The police department wanted to do just that. But the final decision was based on a belief that a public policy is not an on-again-off-again proposition.

Oswald had been in custody but a short time when the city began to receive telephone calls from all over the world (half a dozen from Australia alone) demanding assurance that Oswald was really the assassin, not just a fall guy. As time wore on, the deluge of questions grew heavier, especially on whether Oswald was not being beaten into some sort of confession.

As a result, the police department released information designed to assure the world that Oswald was indeed the assassin. The police were ordered to give the world an opportunity to see, through live television, that Oswald had not been beaten. In fact, the entire course of the investigation was hampered severely by the pressures. The important fact here is that freedom of information was considered vital.

Obviously, something went wrong. Jack Ruby managed to find a place among the press corps. Clearly, some police officer failed to keep Ruby out. But it is also clear that the members of the press did no better. And I can't help but wonder if we haven't been grossly unfair in hurling criticism at the Dallas Police Department when we did little or nothing to help them successfully execute the policy that was so advantageous to us.

The implication is, of course, that just as the particular methods of the press in this situation were pre-determined, so was the policy of acceding to journalists' demands. Jack Gould, in defending the journalists in *The New York Times*, observed correctly that a heterogeneous collection of reporters "cannot be expected to draft a code of behavior amid



hectic working problems." The most that can be expected is a certain degree of civility and cooperation among them—of the type that was most emphatically in evidence on the afternoon of November 22.

One network executive has confessed to an impulse, when he heard the statements of Dallas officials condemning Oswald, to cut them off the air. He resisted the impulse, he says, because he knew the competition would continue to carry the statements.

There are striking parallels, in this difficulty of defining responsibility, between the Oswald case and that of Bruno Hauptmann. That case antedated television, but the same conflict between the processes of justice and the hunger for information was present. In his 1957 book, *Responsibility in Mass Communication*, Wilbur Schramm quotes an address by Walter Lippmann on the Hauptmann case to the American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1936 that has a bearing on the Oswald case:

We are concerned with a situation spectacularly illustrated in this case, but typical of most celebrated criminal cases in the United States, which may be described by saying that there are two processes of justice, the one official, the other popular. They are carried on side by side, the one in courts of law, the other in the press, over the radio, on the screen, at public meetings—and at every turn this irregular popular process interferes with, distorts and undermines the effectiveness of the law and the people's confidence in it.

Because there are two pursuits of the criminal, two trials and two verdicts—the one supposed to be based on the law and a thousand years of accumulated experience, the other totally irresponsible—the self-appointed judges and jurymen and advocates for the prosecution and defense get in the way of the officers of the law, and the official verdict becomes confused with the popular verdict, often in the court itself, almost always in the public mind.

We can examine the problems best, I think, by examining a few concrete instances. Hauptmann was arrested on September 20, 1934, and within a week there was a headline in a New York paper saying that "clues build iron-clad case against Bruno, police claim," and a few days later it announced that "twelve men and women selected at random" by a reporter had decided, according to the headline: "Bruno guilty but had aids, verdict of man in street."

Here we find that the police, unless the newspaper was lying, which I doubt, made an appeal to the public to believe their evidence before that evidence had been submitted to a court of law. That was an interference by the police with the lawful process of justice. It is for the jury to determine whether a case is "iron-clad," and since juries have to be selected from the newspaper-reading public, such a positive statement on the authority of the police is deeply prejudicial. I do not for a

## The "assassin": schools of thought



Journal American

### ASSASSIN NAMED

The New York Times

PRESIDENT'S ASSASSIN SHOT TO DEATH  
IN JAIL CORRIDOR BY A DALLAS CITIZEN;  
GRIEVING THROWS VIEW KENNEDY BIER

EXTRA Los Angeles Times

ASSASSIN NAMED  
Pro-Castro Marxist Accused

Chicago Tribune

ACCUSED ASSASSIN SLAIN

EXTRA FORT WORTH STAR-TELEGRAM EXTRA

SUSPECT OSWALD  
SLAIN IN DALLAS

FORT WORTH STAR-TELEGRAM

City Hall Shooting Scene  
JFK ASSASSIN SLAIN

moment think that Hauptmann was innocent. But that does not alter the fact that he had a right to be tried before a jury and to be tried nowhere else. Because he was tried in two places at once, thousands of persons came to believe that he was not tried fairly. But in the administration of justice it is of the highest importance not only that the right verdict should be reached but that the people should believe that it has been reached dispassionately.

In the two headlines I have cited, and you will recognize them as being by no means exceptional, we see the police rendering a verdict on their own evidence and a newspaper establishing a verdict among the potential jurors. . . .

It will be said at once that in arguing that we must look to the police and the bench and the bar to see that criminal cases are tried only before the regular tribunal, I have failed to take account of the fact that these public officials are dependent on public favor, and that they would have to be heroes to refuse to let these cases be exploited by the press.

This is where we as professional newspaper men have our primary responsibility. Hitherto we have generally taken the attitude that if we refrained from participating in the worst of it, we had done our full duty. I believe that we must now recognize that this is not our full duty. It is our duty, I believe, to make it plain to the regular officers of the law that we expect them to administer justice in an orderly way, that we shall attack them if they do not, and that we shall defend them if they do.

This, of course, is only part of the solution, because the problems of mob coverage involve more than pressure on legal problems. There is the more troublesome problem of the effect of the crush of observers on the thing observed.

Here, certainly, the trend of opinion seems to be toward some form of self-regulation. Yet the press mob has been—whatever its faults—a democracy in which a huge news agency has no more privileges than the smallest weekly. Must democracy give way to order? If so, who within journalism shall impose order?

No one in journalism has yet answered this question completely satisfactorily. The search for the answer must be a preoccupation of the profession in the months ahead.

UPI A49N WA  
CORRECTION:  
IN NIGHT LEAD MRS. OSWALD WASHINGTON (A36N) 1ST PGN READ IT: PRESIDENT KENNEDY, WHOM HE IS ALLEGED TO HAVE KILLED (INSTEAD OF KILLED).  
IN 5TH PGN READ IT: HIS NATIVE COUNTRY AND HIS ALLEGED VICTIM. (INSERTING ALLEGED).  
UPI WASHINGTON.  
V040PES 2/3

Still a problem: UPI correction in February

## Questions of performance

The bursts of violence on November 22 and 24, 1963, momentarily cast American society in an unaccustomed light. Journalism, a part and a voice of that society, could be seen in ways impossible under ordinary circumstances.

It is fruitless to try—as have some commentators—to trace a direct line from, say, violent television programs or abusive newspaper editorials to the bullets in Dallas. It would seem more useful to use the unique illumination to discover what was revealed about journalism in society—most of all, the things journalism does not yet know well enough about its role. What follows is, in effect, an informal agenda:

1. What is the role of journalism—particularly television journalism—in preserving order and insuring peaceful change? The fact that there were no civil disturbances after the assassination was offered by some television spokesmen as their justification and, indeed, their triumph. It is true that television seemed to place conscious emphasis on peaceable succession. Yet how great was this achievement? Americans have not been known to fight over a change in government—not, at least, since 1861.

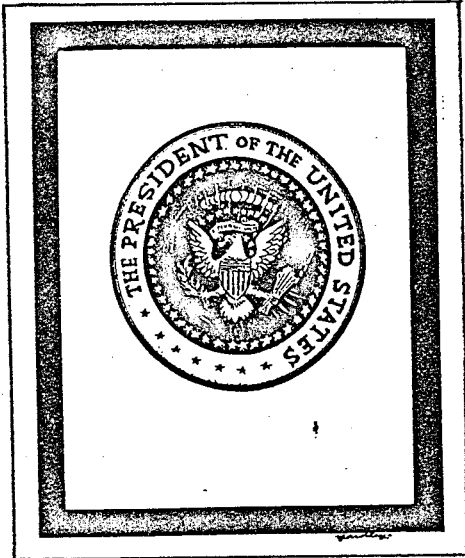
Is it possible that the reverse was true, as a few critics have charged—that television, bearing the visual symbols of death into the home, caused this change of government to strike deeper than any before? Would there be a chance, in another national emergency, that complete devotion to the one subject could lead to a type of public paralysis? The question of the effects of such unrelieved concentration needs study.

2. Can journalism do anything more on its own to avoid possible infringements on individual rights? One answer is, of course, Walter Lippmann's—that journalism should work harder to guarantee performance by public officials. But does not the question also require a reappraisal of journalism's attitude toward its best-organized crusade of the postwar years—freedom of information? Is it time to move beyond annual reports deploring abuses by government and exerting pressure for the *journalist's* right to know?

Should not the drive for freedom of information now develop in two directions—the one enforcing the right of the public to know the public business, the other designed to guarantee individual members of the public their rights?

3. Cannot journalism develop firmer standards guaranteeing informal rights of privacy? Television was rightly taken to task for intrusions that added nothing to the viewer's store of information—for ex-

ample, the interminable interview with the Tippitt family, the descent of the police-station mob on Jack Ruby's sobbing, crippled sister, and the innumerable man-on-the-street interviews. The Toledo *Blade* put it well: "The right to be alone, the late Justice Brandeis once stated, is the most comprehensive of rights, and the right most valued by civilized man. And even when momentous events inevitably drag individuals into the public eye, there are moments of terrible personal grief that should not be paraded for



the satisfaction of the morbidly curious." And this, it could be added, might apply, in the death of a President, to the passerby as well as to those who suffered personal loss.

4. Can anything be done to relieve tension and accommodate points of view between national and local journalism? Felix McKnight, editor of the *Dallas Times-Herald*, wrote the following in the *Bulletin* of the American Society of Newspaper Editors:

In the name of God why would some come into a torn town, unsheathe the hatchets, dredge up patently false filth and garnish it with Texas legends and clichés off second-rate nightclub circuits? ... The indictment of an American city by a few, drags American journalism to gutter stature. ... The offenders — some newspapers, magazines, and the networks who snatched poisonous darts from the context and rekindled fires of hatred from the death of a man who loathed it — need agonizing self-examination.

The charge is not to be taken lightly, even when it comes from an interested source. There were indeed many inquiries into the soul of Dallas, many of them (notably, Drew Pearson's) executed hastily and responding to the demand for placing blame. Perhaps one help would be a re-examination of a practice

that has grown by leaps in the age of the jet — the loading of reporters, prepared or not, on an airplane bound to the place where news is breaking. One result can be hasty national reporting, a disservice to the locality and the nation alike.

Yet it is clear from past experience that the nation cannot depend entirely on local organs as a source of news. A fruitful precedent was the cooperation of national network reporters and reporters from their local affiliates in the Dallas area. Could more such systematic attempts to ensure cooperation result in better reporting to the nation — as well as letting fresh air into insular communities?

5. Should not the assassination spur a re-examination of the level of political discourse inspired or transmitted by journalism? This question brings two answers, exemplified by the two Dallas newspapers. The *News* (as reported by Jack Langguth in *The New York Times* of January 10) has continued its policy on letters to the editor as before. Whatever readers write, the *News* suggests, the paper is not too proud to print (barring religious or racial calumny). The *Times-Herald*, on the other hand, has imposed a new policy of restricting the scope of attacks on political figures. "We had been guilty before of running letters that try to smear everything and everybody," said A. C. Greene, chief of the editorial page. The *Houston Chronicle*, under William P. Steven, is also following a selective policy. (On November 26, the policy was discarded for one day to give a true cross-section; one was a letter from a Texas University student written before the assassination telling Steven "why don't you go home you [profanity deleted] Yankee!").

To follow such a selective policy without narrowing the range of comment and dissent is not easily accomplished. It could be used as an excuse, by some newspapers, to dilute editorials and letters columns already bland. Yet there is a reasonable line to draw — one that has not always been drawn in American journalism. It is perhaps best summed up in the word "civility" — the type of discourse that keeps in mind that its subject is human, even when he is in error.

7. Finally, journalism might well remember the reasons it received such widespread praise for assassination coverage — and what was lacking in those few instances when it was criticized. The same words seem to turn up time and again in the encomiums — dignity, maturity, thoroughness, unselfishness. In the complaints, on the contrary, there is condemnation of indignities. Perhaps a good share of journalism's virtues in this case was imposed by the solemnity of the events; but there is also evidence that American journalism is developing a firmness of style, a sureness in taste that will enhance its reputation and value.