

Spiral of Hate

The shame all America must bear for the spirit of madness and hate that struck down President John F. Kennedy is multiplied by the monstrous murder of his accused assassin while being transferred from one jail in Dallas to another.

The primary guilt for this ugly new stain on the integrity of our system of order and respect for individual rights is that of the Dallas police force and the rest of its law-enforcement machinery. But none of us can escape a share of the fault for the spiral of unreason and violence that has now found expression in the death by gunfire of our martyred President and the man being held for trial as his killer.

The Dallas authorities, abetted and encouraged by the newspaper, TV and radio press, trampled on every principle of justice in their handling of Lee H. Oswald. It is their sworn duty to protect every prisoner, as well as the community, and to afford each accused person full opportunity for his defense before a properly constituted court. The heinousness of the crime Oswald was alleged to have committed made it doubly important that there be no cloud over the establishment of his guilt.

Yet—before any indictment had been returned or any evidence presented and in the face of continued denials by the prisoner—the chief of police and the district attorney pronounced Oswald guilty. "Basically, the case is closed," the chief declared. The prosecutor informed reporters that he would demand the death penalty and was confident "I'll get it."

After two days of such prefindings of guilt, in the electrically emotional atmosphere of a city angered by the President's assassination and not too many decades removed from the vigilante tradition of the old frontier, the jail transfer was made at high noon and with the widest possible advance announcement. Television and newsreel cameras were set in place and many onlookers assembled to witness every step of the transfer—and its tragic miscarriage.

It was an outrageous breach of police responsibility—no matter what the demands of reporters and cameramen may have been—to move Oswald in public under circumstances in which he could so easily have been the victim of attack. The police had even warned hospital officials to stand by against the possibility of an attempt on Oswald's life.

Now there can never be a trial that will determine Oswald's guilt or innocence by the standards of impartial justice that are one of the proudest adornments of our democracy. Whatever judgment is made will fall short of the tests John F. Kennedy himself would have demanded. "Our nation," he declared at the time he dispatched Federal troops to the University of Mississippi to guard the legal rights of one Negro student a year ago, "is founded on the principle that observance of the law is the eternal safeguard of liberty and defiance of the law is the surest road to tyranny."

The best monument all Americans can build to his memory is the enshrinement of that principle in our day-to-day conduct. Hate and violence are the enemies of law, and never more so than when any of us decides to become his own dispenser of retribution in defiance of law.

Dallas in Europe's Eye

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Paris Is Disquieted by Thought of U.S. as Lawless

By DREW MIDDLETON
Special to The New York Times.

PARIS, Nov. 25—A deep disquiet over violence and lawlessness in the United States appears to be overtaking the initial shock and sorrow felt in Europe after President Kennedy's assassination.

The murder of Lee H. Oswald, accused as the killer of the President, in the presence of police officers had caused many friends of the United States to question the internal stability of Europe's protector. Another effect is that a normally prudent people are at least listening to a Communist tale, spread by party newspapers, that Oswald was eliminated as part of a plot.

"What's happening, what's going on?" a diplomat asked tonight as he left Notre Dame Cathedral after a requiem mass for the President. "This isn't the America we look to for leadership. How do we answer out anti-American radicals now?"

Plots Are Familiar

Americans will remember that most mature Europeans have lived through the plots and counterplots of Nazi Germany and the assassinations and purges of the Stalin period in the Soviet Union. They may be too willing to see an involved conspiracy behind the events in Dallas.

But few seem completely satisfied with the story that Oswald was a Communist sympathizer.

The Paris newspaper *Le Monde* devoted an entire page tonight to "serious doubts" about the Dallas police and to what the two killings appeared to divulge about American characteristics.

Before President Kennedy arrived in Dallas, the newspaper said, pamphlets were distributed there accusing him of treason. The paper said this indicated the "enormous publicity" Americans gave to "the fantastic accusations."

Question Not Answered

The question that has not been answered to the satisfaction of the French is how Jack Ruby was able to get near enough to kill Oswald. Disbelief of the version given by the Dallas police is evident in the comment of the man in the street.

The State of Texas is emerging as the villain. *Le Monde* described it as "rich and conservative," and as a state that largely financed the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

The reaction here and elsewhere in Europe is not simply an instinctive revulsion to violence; the French have lived through four known attempts on President de Gaulle's life.

But in recent years most Europeans have come to consider the United States as a conformist country. There are jokes in France and Germany to the effect that Americans all do the same things at the same time in the same way.

The sentimental image of the United States as a land of cowboys and Indians has been supplanted by an image of a great, rich country whose society is in many ways drab by European standards.

That image has been damaged by the Dallas killings more than it ever was by disturbances over racial issues in the South.

London Awaits Proof That No Plot Was Behind Deaths

By SYDNEY GRUSON
Special to The New York Times.

LONDON, Nov. 25—The murder of Lee H. Oswald, who had been charged with the murder of President Kennedy, has blemished the image of the United States in Britain.

The reaction has been muted, because Britain is still filled with the shock of Mr. Kennedy's death. But there is disbelief that the sequel to the President's murder could have happened, and anger and disgust that it did. The reaction was evident in questions put to Americans in London today, questions put with embarrassment in many cases.

The questions added up to the same thing: Was there a plot in which the Dallas police were involved and was lawlessness taking over in the United States?

Because the sympathy with the United States at the President's death is so strong, Britons did not argue with American friends' assurances that Oswald's death was an aberration.

Americans Bewildered

But the assurances were not accepted easily, and, in fact, were not offered easily, a reflection of the bewilderment of Americans here.

At this distance from America, everything that happens there is put on the scales that forever weigh the United States' right to lead the Western world. It is not a right automatically accorded by Europeans.

It was won in two world wars. But the minutest action in the United States can jeopardize it. This may not be realized at home, but it is a fact that Americans abroad are made to realize almost every day.

Sometimes the United States is judged unfairly; there is a tendency in Europe to equate the United States with the action of a single unruly soldier abroad or with the vulgarity of a single tourist. This is a price paid for leadership.

Seen As Single Tragedy

The two deaths have been put on the scales as a single tragedy that reflects a way of life that detracts from the role most Europeans believe it is America's fate to play.

"It may be," The Yorkshire Post said editorially, "that both the shootings were manifestations of what might be called the Texan way of life—and death; that they were merely part of the violence which is too common in the United States."

Or as The Evening Standard's diarist put it: "It has been a shock to most English people to discover that the trigger-happy philosophy of the Western movie is still tragically part of American life today."

The words of Chief Justice Earl Warren at the bier have been widely quoted here: "If we really love justice and mercy, if we fervently want to make this nation better for those who are to follow us, we can at least abjure the hatred that consumes people, the false accusations that divide us and the bitterness that begets violence."

Yet after the murder of Oswald, The Evening Standard said, "It may be too much to hope ever for that."

One way to heal some of the scars inflicted on the United States, many people here believe, is for the evidence against Oswald to be brought out fully.