

INTERVIEW I

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PLACE: Mr. Davis' office, Washington, D.C.

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G: Let's start with a discussion of one of your earliest assignments in Washington, your coverage of the Khrushchev visit to the United States in 1959.

D: Well, it was quite fascinating because I had been in Washington for only two days. I had been working in Ohio as a television reporter and news director at a television and radio station, and had applied for a job in Washington. I had always wanted to come to Washington; I just had to pay my dues and get experience somewhere before I could go to a bigger company. I was hired by Westinghouse Broadcasting Company to come to Washington on--I think the date was September 14, 1959. They told me before I got to Washington that Khrushchev was coming to visit Eisenhower, who was then president and that they were going to send me out with Khrushchev. They gave me about three weeks' notice--I had been hired about a month before that--and I had to get my affairs in order with my station in Ohio.

I got everything I could get on Khrushchev and started to read about his life, his politics, his biography and all the current affairs I could put together. You have to understand that I was a youngster compared to the titans I was going to join here in Washington. Here I came, from Ohio, the straw still in the cuffs of my trousers and they're

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brushing straw off my shoulders as I get on the press plane. I had never been on a press plane before, with all these journalistic heavy-weights going around the country with the leader of the Soviet Union and covering the President of the United States at the same time. I was green to say the least, and I knew I was. It was fascinating.

Khrushchev did not know anything about how the press works in this country, despite the fact that he was the leader of a major power. We crowded around Khrushchev wherever we could. He got very antsy about it. He was upset because the stories about his visit were not always favorable. As a matter of fact, Eisenhower was not that happy to have him here. It was a political problem for Eisenhower, but he had to invite him as a reciprocal thing. Eisenhower was then to go to the Soviet Union in exchange.

I remember coming in from Andrews Air Force Base after Khrushchev had arrived, that, in this big presidential convertible, Eisenhower sat about as far away as he could from Khrushchev because he didn't want to show that they were palsy-walsy. At the same time, he did want to show that he was cordially and properly inviting him to the United States.

Well, we went around the country. We went from Washington to the Midwest. We went to Coon Rapids, Iowa, where he met the Roswell Garsts, who were a wonderful family of farmers--

G: Farm family?

D: Farm family. There was Roswell Garst and his brother Oliver. They were experts in hybrid corn seed and the feeding of cattle. They developed a system of feeding silage to cattle. The Soviet Union was scarce on food to begin with, so the Garsts were trying to tell Khrushchev that if you

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take corn silage, which is stalks and all that stuff, and ferment it or put it in the ground for a while it becomes very good food for cattle. And they wanted to show Khrushchev, among other things, how to do it. Khrushchev became very upset with us because the reporters crowded around Khrushchev in this silage while he was walking there. So Khrushchev and Garst both bent down, picked up some silage and started throwing it at the reporters. You can imagine what a spectacle that was with the leader of the Soviet Union throwing handfuls of corn at people because he didn't understand why all the reporters were there.

He did complain to Eisenhower. He asked Eisenhower to get the press off his back, and he didn't understand why Eisenhower couldn't tell the reporters to stop doing what they were doing because they were upsetting Mr. Khrushchev. Khrushchev did not believe President Eisenhower; he couldn't understand why the president of the United States couldn't tell these reporters to stop it. Eisenhower had to explain that this is a free country, and reporters can do this.

G: Did he hit any reporters with the--?

D: We all got a little piece of it. As a matter of fact, it's the first time--it may have been the last time, I'm not sure--but it was the first time I ever got my picture in *Life* magazine. There I was--I was one of the reporters in the crowd there laughing as Khrushchev threw this silage. In the picture you can see the silage being thrown at us. My company was very happy, of course. They got some visibility in a major magazine. It was an interesting trip.

This is also the trip where Khrushchev threatened to go rushing back to the Soviet Union because they wouldn't let him go to Disneyland.

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He made a big deal out of the fact that he couldn't go to Disneyland in California.

G: Was security an elaborate concern?

D: Yes, it was; extremely so.

G: Tell me about that.

D: Security was very tight. They were concerned about--of course this is the period when the Cold War was still underway, and they were concerned for Khrushchev's safety. The secret service was responsible for it, so security was very tight. I remember that the secret service, in order to enhance security, had their badges--they wear little lapel badges, and they're a certain color. They switched those colors during the day so that if someone found out what the code was for that day and got a secret service badge to try to infiltrate the security net, the badge would change, say at two-thirty or three o'clock, and the person who had the old color was then suspect, because he'd stand out when the other agents were changing color.

I know one reporter got hold of a badge and got in the middle of a pen at the Garst farm in Coon Rapids, Iowa. This reporter got in the middle, and I remember that the secret service pounced on him because they had changed badges at a certain hour and he didn't have the new badge. Here he was, he had a yellow and black badge when the new badge was purple and blue or something. He was the only one in the pen with the wrong color. Anyway, they nailed him and threw him out of the pen.

The Khrushchev trip was a baptism of fire for someone just coming to Washington. I learned how the press functioned on a national scale, especially on a trip.

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G: How did the general public react to Khrushchev when they saw him visiting these places?

D: I think they felt that he was different; he was someone they had heard about, and he had not yet pounded his shoe at the UN. That came a lot later. But they knew he was a farm person, rather boorish. They knew he was pretty rough and tumble, rough edges and that sort of thing. He was blustery. He bragged a lot. You see, this was a period when the United States was wearing a hair shirt to some extent. They had come out with Sputnik. They had put the first satellite into space, and there were great stories of self-examination in this country. "How could we have allowed the Russians to beat us into space?" There was criticism of Eisenhower because he had called the first Soviet satellite a "grapefruit." He didn't see why we were getting excited because they had put something like a grapefruit up in the sky.

The truth is that Eisenhower still had a lot of faith in this country's resiliency and ability to overcome all of this. I'm not sure at that point whether Yuri Gagarin had already flown or not. He was the first human being to be orbited. But the Russians were on a roll at that point, and we were in the terrible period in this country, saying, "How could we have let them do that?" I remember doing stories in Ohio, asking, "Will we have enough electricity to run our factories ten years or twenty years or fifty years from now if we don't build more? Our infrastructure is weak." That sort of thing.

Of course, hindsight is a wonderful way to look at things--looking back at all the terrible handwringing that we went through and then at what's happened recently. You can see how strong this country really is

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by observing the difference between our society today that of the Soviet Union. It's in a shambles. Communism has failed. As a reporter you almost don't like to say that something has failed. You hesitate to say anything that definite, because failed is a long time. But they have failed. They've got to come up with something new. What they replace it with may not be better, short term, but they must try for a market economy. But back in 1959, this country, while we were very strong, had allowed these momentary successes on the part of a country that turned everything it had into one effort, to alarm the U.S. The Soviet concentrated on one thing, and they did it well. They got somebody into space. The follow-on wasn't spectacular, and of course they didn't release a lot of information on their failures. And while they did get a man into orbit first and Khrushchev could boast about Sputnik, there were lines for bread and other shortages he did not talk about.

So, I think, to answer your question, the mood was that we were in awe of this guy. We knew the Soviets had more people in the army than we did, that they were threatening, that they were still expansionists, that they were friends at that time with the People's Republic of China. They were a force to be reckoned with militarily and economically. We did not really know how bad things were in the underpinnings of that society at that time. I think we gave the Russians far too much credit for their successes, not knowing how bad things were elsewhere in the country; something we've since learned.

G: Did you see any anti-communist demonstrations against Khrushchev?

D: I don't remember. It's a long time ago. I believe there might have been. There was some opposition to Khrushchev's visit, no question

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about it. As a matter of fact, he had a tough time here. We went to the set of a movie being made at Twentieth Century Fox. That was one of the stops on the tour, and I think that the president or chairman of Twentieth Century Fox was Spyros Skouras, an immigrant, I believe, who lectured Khrushchev on communism and also explained that a man like himself could rise to be the chairman of this great company here in the United States. That could happen only in America. So there was an effort on the part of people, wherever Khrushchev went, to explain to him the virtues of democracy versus communism. He did not lack for those kinds of lectures on his trip.

I think at the same dinner the Mayor of Los Angeles also lectured Khrushchev. He was Sam Yorty, quite an outgoing, very independent, peppery guy. I remember Sam Yorty also made a speech that offended Khrushchev.

Khrushchev himself displayed some boorishness. They were on the set of this movie, and they brought out some of the stars to perform for him. I believe the movie was *Cancan*. Frank Sinatra was in that movie, I think. And Shirley MacLaine? I'm not sure.

G: Yes.

D: Okay. And they put on this one scene. In *Cancan* the women wore flimsy, short dresses, what dancers usually wear, which show their legs when they dance. And Khrushchev displayed great Victorian outrage at being brought here to witness this kind of scene at the Twentieth Century Fox studios, that they would pick that one thing. Out of all the movies we've done, why not some great melodrama that didn't involve this sort of thing? It was kind of phony on his part, I think. This was as much

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a part of movie making as anything else was, but he made a big deal of it.

And this was where he suddenly said, "I'd like to go to Disneyland." Security said they couldn't guarantee his safety. And he said something about, "Well, then my airplane can go back to the Soviet Union," and he turned to his pilot or someone on the stage with him at this dinner and said, "How long does it take to fly back home? I'll go back home tonight." And of course that became the lead story for all of us: "Khrushchev threatens to go home because he can't go to Disneyland." It was like some little kid saying, "I'm going to hold my breath until you allow me to go to the park." He never did go to Disneyland, as I recall.

G: Any other stops on the trip that were significant?

D: Well, Coon Rapids, Iowa--the Garst farm--and Los Angeles were the two I recall. I don't remember much else--except for Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. I don't know how much you want to get into, but Pittsburgh was kind of home country to him because he went to a foundry, the Mesta Machine Tool Company of Pittsburgh. It's amazing that I remember that.

I worked for Westinghouse Broadcasting Company. We had a station in Pittsburgh, radio and television combination, which were the dominant stations and still are, so far as I know. KDKA-Pittsburgh was the first commercial radio station in the world, and of course this was our flagship station, and that was home base for me to some extent. So we went to Pittsburgh, and we toured the Mesta Machine Company. The workers were lined up behind ropes inside the plant. This was a big

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foundry where they made machine tools, which the Soviet Union desperately needed. That's why it was chosen: to show Khrushchev how an American factory works, but more than that to show him the prosperity of the American worker. All the people there were pretty well off. They were industrial workers, union workers, hourly wage-earners who worked for private enterprise instead of for the state, and they did pretty well. So all these people were lined up.

We were told we were not allowed to talk to Khrushchev. Of course, I was now part of the prim and proper Washington press corps. I was not some hayseed from Ohio anymore. I was transformed in a twenty-four hour period. We're at the Mesta Machine Company--and we're close to Ohio, so I feel a little more at home than do my colleagues on this press plane.

We had a fellow at KDKA-Pittsburgh named Mike Levine [?] who was a police reporter. He came out of the newspaper business. He was a Damon Runyon character. He didn't have to obey any State Department rules about, "Don't talk to Mr. Khrushchev unless spoken to," and, "Stay away from him." The press was penned in behind a rope with metal posts, like those in theaters. We had to stay behind these posts, and we were all being very diplomatic and acting like State Department people, I suppose, because we were told, "This is the leader of the Soviet Union, and you want to show him proper respect. So you don't shout at him," and that sort of thing. But we did a little of that. As we did at the Garst farm.

But this police reporter for KDKA who met me and drove in the motorcade and went to the Mesta Machine plant was having none of this

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business of the State Department rules. And so Khrushchev was coming down the line in this huge, enormous cavernous foundry with big machine tools that were like huge robots. It was dimly lit. The television cameras were on Khrushchev, creating rays of light. He was coming down there; he was wearing a light suit--a tan suit, as I recall--and walking down the line. And of course, there were the workers--he would walk over selectively to shake a hand here or there. He walked by us, and I was standing there with Levine, and Levine says, "Hey, *tovarich*." Khrushchev had passed us by then by ten feet, and he whipped around and came back to see who said "*tovarich*."

He walked over to Mike Levine, this police reporter. Mike Levine interviewed Khrushchev, put his microphone in Khrushchev's face. He got a pretty good interview out of it. Of course it had to be translated; Khrushchev did not speak English. He was amused by this guy who had the brass to yell at him and call him *tovarich*, which means companion or friend. Those are my recollections of it.

Yes, I do think that there was some opposition in the country to the visit by people wondering why we would invite this guy over here, but Eisenhower had the feeling that there had to be some dialogue between the two countries. Of course eight months later we had the U-2 incident, which then scrubbed the summit and the reciprocal visit of Eisenhower to the Soviet Union. As a matter of fact, Eisenhower had sent his gift to the U.S. Embassy in the Soviet Union for that trip. As I recall it was a boat, some kind of outboard boat or inboard motor boat that they sent there to be the gift to Khrushchev. That visit never took place.

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G: Did your coverage at the White House change after Kennedy became president?

D: Yes. My feeling was that during the Kennedy years, a lot of the people who covered the White House, who covered Kennedy at the White House, were people who had known him in the Senate and knew him as a dashing young patrician from Boston and Harvard. There were some people who actually knew him--I think Rowland Evans was a personal friend of Kennedy's. He covered a lot of the Kennedy events, but whether he was a White House correspondent, I don't recall. But there were a lot of very well-known *Newsweek-Time* magazine sort of people who had known Kennedy. Hugh Sidey, for instance, was another one. Hugh had covered the Senate, so he knew Kennedy in the Senate, and he also knew Lyndon Johnson in the Senate.

I would say it wasn't an abrupt change, because President Johnson retained Pierre Salinger for a while; there were a lot of the people who covered Kennedy staying at the White House for a year or so, then the reporters changed. The White House briefings took on more of the coloration of a Lyndon Johnson White House than the Kennedy White House. Both were informal, but the Johnson White House was a lot more informal than the Kennedy one. The accessibility to Johnson was more democratic, in my judgment. During the Kennedy years, the circle of reporters who could get to see Kennedy privately for an interview or a background session was a small circle compared to the circle that could see Johnson.

Now in my case, I did not know Lyndon Johnson. I covered Washington when I came here in late 1959. I covered the 1960 campaign, which

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meant I spent about eight weeks with Richard Nixon and about eight weeks with John Kennedy, and got to know both of them in a reporter/source relationship, and that was it. It was not a social thing. They might have known my name. They knew my face certainly, but that was it, because I was in the media crowd all the time. My first face-to-face exposure with Lyndon Johnson was actually when he was sworn in Dallas, because I was on *Air Force One* when he was sworn in. Up to that point, I had only known him as a man I covered from a distance.

Working in Ohio I had written many stories for my news program about Lyndon Johnson, this whirling dervish of a majority leader who could get anything done, assisting Eisenhower in getting the 41,000 mile interstate highway system through and working compromise here and there to pass a lot of legislation. I remember that part of it. When he was vice president I was at the White House covering Kennedy.

Let me just go back. After the 1960 election, because I was with Kennedy for the last half of the campaign and with Nixon the first part, I became the White House correspondent for Westinghouse Broadcasting Company. So I kind of moved into the White House with John F. Kennedy. But I still did not have that long-term relationship with him that some other reporters had had who covered him in the Senate. A lot of reporters in the Senate who covered Kennedy moved down to the White House. I didn't have that previous relationship; mine started with the campaign.

Similarly with Lyndon Johnson, I had seen him around as the vice president here and there when he came to the White House. Sometimes they would dispatch Lyndon Johnson to the driveway to talk to reporters about something the President didn't want to talk about. That's what

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vice presidents did. And of course we heard the stories without firsthand visible evidence that Lyndon Johnson did not have the access to the Oval Office that he would like to have had, that there was a doorkeeper there that he had to get around to get in. We heard those stories. So we thought of him as a typical vice president who had to do what vice presidents usually do, and that was attend funerals and make speeches when the White House asked you to. And yet, I had the sense--and I think most people did, because they had knowledge of the Hill--that this was a vice president who had established a role for himself long before he became a vice president.

I had covered the 1960 Democratic convention so I knew something about the negotiations that went on between Sam Rayburn and Bobby [Kennedy] for Johnson to go on the ticket.

G: Tell me your insights there.

D: Well, as I said, I didn't know Johnson, but I knew of Rayburn. We were shocked at Johnson. None of us believed it when Johnson's name surfaced early as a possible vice-presidential candidate--those of us who covered Washington and knew Johnson as a very proud man--he was king of the world on the Hill. He was king of the Hill. When somebody mentioned Johnson's name as a possible bottom half of the ticket with Kennedy, the old-timers laughed, and taking my cue from the old-timers, I kind of laughed too. I said, "Oh, he wouldn't do that. He's got a big role for himself. He knows the Hill; he's respected on the Hill. Why would he want to become vice president after trying to be president?"

When it was finally announced, Kennedy went down to Johnson's room at the Biltmore. I went down that back stairway a hundred miles an

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hour. I almost rolled down those steps when we heard Kennedy was going to go visit Johnson. I remember racing down a back stairwell inside--hotel stairwells are terrible things--to try to get down there before Kennedy got there or get him when he came out of the room. When we learned something was going on, I was stunned. It was a major story that Johnson would accept the bottom half on the ticket. So we knew that there was some negotiating. We knew that Rayburn was a key man in the thing, and we also knew that there was disdain in the Johnson camp for Bobby, and that the feeling was mutual between Bobby and the Johnson people.

But my exposure to Johnson was minimal as vice president.

G: Let's finish up this episode. Did President Kennedy talk to you after he came out of the--?

D: I've forgotten. I think he did talk to us. I think he did say that he'd asked him to be on the ticket. Now whether or not he said at that point that Johnson agreed, I don't remember. I think he did. I think it was all over at that point. The deal was made, but Kennedy made the gesture of going to the vice-presidential contender to make the pitch and the deal was done at that point. I think he did announce it then. I'm not clear.

But my exposure to Johnson was minimal, as I said. I'd see him when he came to the White House. He was involved in the space program. He headed the space committee, as I recall, as vice president. He did have some actual work to do as a vice president. And one of the moments I remember about Lyndon Johnson was that when Gordon Cooper, the first American to orbit the earth, had a parade in Washington, he was in a

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limousine with Lyndon Johnson. They came by the White House. Kennedy came out of the White House to say hello to Gordon Cooper and Mrs. Kennedy came out, and they brought little John-John out to meet the astronaut. And I remember Vice President Johnson at the time sitting in the seat with Gordon Cooper, so I know he had that role in space.

And those were the only events of that sort that I would cover where the Vice President was involved. So I didn't know him on a personal level. I was on *Air Force One*--I was in Dallas with Kennedy, of course, and I was selected by accident to be on the pool that went to Love Field in Dallas.

G: Tell me about the earlier part of the trip first. Were you in San Antonio and Houston?

D: Yes.

G: Tell me about those.

D: Well, I remember the crowds were--San Antonio was a lovely trip. I remember Kennedy meeting with the Spanish--LULAC [League of United Latin American Citizens], I think it's called. They met with LULAC, and Kennedy was of course mending fences in Texas before the 1964 election. The crowds were exuberant and warm and friendly, and it was just a lovely, lovely trip at that point. Mrs. Kennedy was along. And Lyndon Johnson was there because it was his home state and he was opening the doors and helping Kennedy mend these fences.

There was an invitation for the Kennedys to visit the LBJ Ranch on Saturday. We were there--I think we went down on a Wednesday or Thursday. San Antonio was--Houston--

G: A dinner for Albert--

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D: Houston Congressman Albert Thomas, that's right. That's where Kennedy made the mistake of saying, "We're going to send the biggest payroll into space." Then he said, "I'm sorry, payload," talking about the Saturn rocket which was going to be put together in that vicinity. But it was a payroll for Texas, as you know, which Lyndon Johnson and Albert Thomas helped get: the manned space center down there. But the trip was fantastic. It was a good political trip. For a reporter who liked politics, it was excellent.

I was a pool reporter on the plane going into Fort Worth the night before, and so the next morning after Kennedy met with a group of businessmen, and we were to fly to Dallas, it was somebody else's turn. After Kennedy was shot and they needed to have a press pool to go back to Washington with the new President and the fallen President, Bob Pierpoint of CBS News was next in rotation. It was his turn to be pool, and he declined it because CBS needed him on the ground. They had grabbed me upstairs in the hospital while I was filing a story at the Parkland Memorial Hospital. I was doing a story and a White House transportation office manager, Jiggs Fauver, grabbed me and said, "We need a pool member; come with us."

I was filing stories to Washington and I told my office I had to hang up, and I'd talk to them later. They put me in an unmarked police car and we went to Love Field. There were myself and Chuck Roberts of *Newsweek* magazine and Merriman Smith of UPI, selected by Fauver at the hospital to go to cover the swearing in of Lyndon Johnson, but they did not tell us what we were going to do, or that Johnson was at the

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airport. They put us in an unmarked police car--well, I'll step back for a second.

I was on the third or fourth floor of the hospital filing on a telephone I had commandeered. The telephone was priceless. You could get your weight in gold for a phone during that chaotic period. I had a phone; I commandeered a phone and a young secretary to help me. I was running back and forth down hallways, getting information. She guarded my phone. I was the only one for Westinghouse Broadcasting there, so I had a lot of work to do to try to file a story. They had just announced that Kennedy had died, and Fauver came and said, "We need you!" He didn't say, "Could you?" He said, "You will come with us." I became a member of the pool.

They took us down through the emergency room area--myself, Chuck Roberts and Merriman Smith--and we went through the area where they had been treating President Kennedy. The cot was still there in this emergency room area. There was blood on the sheets that I could see as we went through. I went outside to the police car, and the presidential limousine was still parked there, and you could see the blood inside the car. Then they put us in the police car. They did not want to tell us what was going on. They just said, "We're going to the airport." They said that they couldn't make any phone calls for us. We asked if the police officer driving the car could radio his office to ask his office to tell our companies we were in his car and had to go somewhere and wouldn't file for a while. And the policeman said, "No, we have to maintain radio silence. We're not putting anything on the air right now because they don't want any broadcasts. They don't know whether this is

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a conspiracy or not. They don't want to let anybody know who's going where, where the traffic is going."

We got to the airport, and we came aboard *Air Force One*. The three of us were the only reporters aboard. The blinds were drawn. It was very hot. We were taken to the rear of the airplane, and Lyndon Johnson, Mrs. Johnson, Jack Valenti, Albert Thomas--a number of people I recognized--were in the rear compartment, the presidential compartment. Then we knew what was going on and it was going to be the swearing in of Lyndon Johnson, because they were gathering there and I saw a woman there I had never seen before. Her name was Sarah Hughes. She was a federal judge from Texas. And I remember President Johnson--at that time, Vice President Johnson--saying words to the effect, "Do you want to ask Mrs. Kennedy if she would like to stand with us?" I believe those are the precise words. Someone went and talked to Mrs. Kennedy, who was in the rear of the airplane with the casket, which had been brought aboard. The word came back that she would like a few moments to compose herself, but she would like to come.

We waited a few minutes, and then Mrs. Kennedy came out. She was of course in shock. She had on that wool strawberry two-piece dress, a pillbox hat that matched. I realized as a pool reporter--I'd have to write the record. As a pool reporter on a lot of stories you could leave some little thing out and still do okay, but something said, "You can't mess this one up. You've really got to know what's going on here." I had a little red notebook that I purchased in San Antonio the day before. I had left my notebooks at home, and I ran to the admin building and picked up this little red five-cent notebook. I started

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writing things down in my notebook that I thought I would have to remember.

And I remember when Sarah Hughes began the oath, I started--I had a stopwatch on my watch; it's a chronograph--I started the stopwatch to see how long it took to give the oath of office because I figured someone might ask me. I timed it and it was twenty-eight seconds. That's all it takes. Twenty-eight seconds and, boom, you're president.

Lyndon took the oath. Mac [Malcolm] Kilduff, who was associate press secretary, was crouched down on the floor and had a microphone in his hand. It was a dictating-machine microphone. It was not a broadcast microphone, but he had the foresight or someone had the foresight to tell Mac to hold this little microphone up and get the oath recorded. I had no recorder with me at that time; I had left my recorder somewhere. I think I left it at the hospital.

There were about twenty-eight people in the room, as I recall, twenty-eight people crowded in this room in a semicircle, Mrs. Kennedy standing in there, Mrs. Johnson--and I remember the President getting the oath and then kissing Mrs. Kennedy and Mrs. Johnson. Then Johnson said, "Let's get airborne." I chose to get off the airplane. Kilduff came over and said, "There are only two seats for the press to go back to Washington and since Merriman Smith is a wire service reporter, and reports for everybody, we're going to keep him on because we need him for the record." Chuck Roberts of *Newsweek* was a magazine reporter whose deadline was not until the next night, because *Newsweek* is only published once a week, and they go to bed, as you say in the trade, at midnight on Saturday. And there's I with a broadcasting company with a

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deadline every minute. I could be on the air all day with that major story, and when Mac Kilduff said, "There are only two seats; you and Chuck Roberts are going to have to flip for it," I said, "I won't flip; I want to get off. My office is waiting for me to call." So I said, "Chuck, why don't you fly back to Washington with Smitty, and I'll get off and give the pool report?"

Merriman Smith was the dean of White House correspondents, the dean of all reporters. He was probably the greatest reporter that ever lived, in my judgment. He was fabulous. Once, as a young college student when Eisenhower came to town, I carried Merriman Smith's walkie-talkie. In those days a walkie-talkie weighed eighty pounds. He didn't remember that, but I did. So now I was working side by side with Merriman Smith. I was in awe of this guy. I remember reading his books. One of his books was *Thank You, Mr. President*, which was about Roosevelt.

Anyway, when I got off the plane--Smitty always felt that because he was the dean, what he said was gospel and he set the standard--I remember him saying to me, "The President took the oath at 2:37 p.m. central standard time. Would you tell that to UPI when you see a UPI reporter, to get the time straight?" I looked at my watch, my chronograph, and I know since I'm a broadcaster that my time's probably more accurate than Smitty's, so I said--mine was a minute later; it was 2:38 CST. He said 2:37. There was a disparity of one minute on when the oath was given. I was confident that my watch was correct, so I gave my time, 2:38 CST, in the pool report, and that's what everybody used. Smitty was furious.

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I have to say this, that during that swearing-in Lyndon Johnson--I have said this before many times to people, because there's been controversy over what took place on that airplane. I said it right after the event and I say it now, nearly thirty years later: that period was Lyndon Johnson's finest moment. His handling of Mrs. Kennedy, the Kennedy family, could not have been done with more compassion, understanding. The country was in a state of shock; all of us were. I would say that the one person on that airplane who had all his wits about him was Lyndon Johnson. I know Chuck Roberts and Merriman Smith agreed. I know Chuck even mentioned it the other day at the symposium that we did.

Anyway, I got off the plane, and standing next to me was the woman who had administered the oath, Sarah Hughes, because she was from Houston. I didn't know who she was.

G: She got off as well.

D: She got off with me. I got off and she got off. I stood there with Sarah Hughes. I started interviewing her. When did she become a federal judge? She said she was recommended by Lyndon Johnson and nominated by John F. Kennedy, the man who was on that airplane flying back to Washington. She was wearing a brown dress with large flowers, a print dress with huge flowers. I asked her where she got the oath to administer, and she said someone typed it up on a card. So I copied the oath from her card.

Then I tried to get back downtown to Dallas to give my pool report to all the other press. I was the only reporter at the airport now.

Air Force One had now roared down the runway, and I could see its smoke trails as it flew back to Washington, heading east. And I tried to find

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a way for a cop to get me back to town. They said, "The whole town is under security. You can't move off this field. This is a secure area. You're stuck." I said, "Well, I've got the only report of the swearing-in of the new president of the United States. I can't use it first myself." There were three phones staring me in the face. They had been brought there earlier in the day for the press, and I could have called my office on any of those three phones to file this story. I had the only story of Lyndon Johnson being sworn in, but I felt duty-bound to give my pool report.

G: That is the system that you don't--?

D: That's the rule. That's an established rule--if you accept the role as a pool reporter, you do not use that pool report for yourself. You must share it with everybody else before you use it yourself. That's the rule a pool member accepts, assassination or no assassination.

G: Now, how did Sarah Hughes get back? Did she have a driver?

D: Well, she said she got a phone call, and she said that they rushed her to the airport.

G: But how did she get away from the airport?

D: I have no idea what happened to Sarah Hughes. I was fending for myself to give that pool report because I wanted to file the story. I got every bit of information I could from her. Age--I believe she was sixty-seven.

G: That had been a controversy when she was nominated.

D: I didn't know that. But she was delightful with me. She died several years ago. But before I could get off the field, I argued with sergeants. I went from privates to corporals to sergeants trying to find

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somebody in command who would let me get back down to the Parkland Hospital. Suddenly two press buses appeared. The press was now being brought--they had been told downtown the swearing-in was taking place. They were rushing the reporters out to the field. They all got off these buses and I flagged them all down. Somebody picked me up and put me on the trunk of a brand new car. It was a white sedan. And I stood on the trunk and preached to these people about what had happened. I was giving them my pool report, which was probably the best I have ever done, because somehow the adrenaline--it probably was not as good as it could have been, but it was good enough, I think. I did my best.

But here I was standing on this car, giving the pool report. These three phones are now--Bob Pierpoint from CBS had come out with the others. He headed for the phone. As soon as I gave the merest details, he wanted to get on the air to say the President had been sworn in and they were on their way back to Washington, because the press didn't know that until they had talked to me. They had wondered where Lyndon Johnson and Mrs. Kennedy were. So I stood there and answered patiently all the questions, and they all headed off to Western Union or whatever to file. And there was one man still in that audience badgering me for more information--I still couldn't file until I'd pleased everybody in the press corps--and that was Tom Wicker of the *New York Times*. Naturally the *New York Times*, the newspaper of record, had to know every smidgen of this thing, so I stood there and responded to all Tom Wicker's questions. "Read the oath to me." So I read my notes from Sarah Hughes' card. I read him the oath. "How long did it take?" I said, "Twenty-eight seconds." I had the answer for him. I talked about

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Mrs. Kennedy's dress being saturated with blood. Her stocking was saturated with the President's blood, because she cradled John F. Kennedy's head in her lap.

Then finally Wicker finished. He exhausted all of his questions, and I went over to file my story, and there were three reporters in the phone booths that were set up; one of them being Bob Pierpoint. I pounded on Bob Pierpoint's window, saying, "Let me in, for goodness' sakes. You've already filed your story." I was probably the last guy to file the story to my office, but I had a hell of a story, a first-person story.

Well, I stress the point about the oath to you because the oath that I copied from that card, unless I did it wrong, and I don't think I did, was not accurate, because Tom Wicker was nailed for it a few days later. He used my oath and it was wrong. A couple of words were left out of it, and naturally Tom Wicker came to me and said, "How could you leave those words out?" I said, "I copied it from the card Sarah Hughes had." Because I had seen that dictaphone thing I knew there was a tape somewhere of the President's swearing-in, and no other broadcaster knew there was a tape. When I got back to the White House, I went to the press office and said, "You've got a tape of the President's swearing-in, don't you?" Helen Ganss was one of the secretaries, and she said, "How did you know?" I said, "I know you do." She said, "There's a tape here of it and you're entitled to have it, but no one's asked for it so I haven't given it out." I said, "Don't give it out until after I've used it."

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I said, "If anybody asks for it, of course, you can, but can I have that tape?" I rushed out--this was a day or so later--and called my office and said, "I've got the sound of Lyndon Johnson taking the oath. It's still fresh, and no one's played it yet." So we played the tape on the air. We broke in and said, "This is the way it sounded on *Air Force One*." The significance of it was that the oath as she gave it to Lyndon Johnson was not as I had reported it. I still can't figure this to this day, why there was a discrepancy between the oath on the card and--

Tape 1 of 1, Side 2

D: Let me tell you a little story. This is kind of out of place, [but] I remember going in the police car to the airport for the swearing-in--we assumed it was something to do with the new president, or else they wouldn't have had security, and they wouldn't have done what they did. It had something to do with Lyndon Johnson. I remember going out in that car, and I said to Smitty, "It's going to be hard to learn how to say President Lyndon B. Johnson." You have to understand that I had not known this man except as majority leader, and as someone who was considered to be an excellent parliamentarian on the Hill, and thought of by some in the eastern press and establishment as Colonel Cornpone. I had smatterings of all of this, not having any personal knowledge of this man. So I said it in such a way when I said, "President Lyndon B. Johnson?" Merriman Smith said to me--I'll never forget this--he said, "I remember when President Roosevelt died, in Warm Springs, Georgia, I said, 'President Harry S Truman?' And those words have stuck with me. You don't know, and you never should prejudge. It was a great lesson

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for me, what Merriman Smith said. Johnson soon--immediately--demonstrated his leadership qualities.

Well, as events turned out we started to see the measure of the guy and his leadership qualities.

G: Tell me, was it difficult under those circumstances to set aside your own emotions and the trauma of the moment and be a reporter?

D: Well, I think that in my little note pad you could tell. You could look at it and see the stress I was under because my words turned into straight lines. I was not writing letters, E's, R's and T's. I was writing so fast trying to catch everything that I started writing straight lines. I was going so fast I wasn't even writing. It's a good thing I remembered a lot without the note pad. But I was able to function pretty well. I don't want to make myself a part of the story, but I was a factor in trying to report the news. I remember not wanting to go on the air with rumor that Kennedy was dead. A priest at the hospital, Father Oscar Huber, came out and said, "I've given him his last rites. He's dead, all right." That was before it was announced by Malcolm Kilduff, or the doctors had announced it officially, that Kennedy was dead. And I remember telling my office we ought not to go with that, and they agreed. We did not go on the air with that until it was officially announced, because we were dealing with the President, and there was an awful lot riding on this story. We did not put it out prematurely.

So I was functional. I think where I started to have problems was that night. I flew back to Washington from Dallas late that night on the press plane. Captain Ralph Hunt of Pan Am, our pilot, turned off

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the main cabin lights. It was a very somber, sad trip because I had gotten to know Kennedy and there's a feeling you have about a fallen president. The flight back to Washington was virtually silent, except for our typewriters. I wrote a letter to my children about that day. I have not looked at that letter since I wrote it. I'm almost afraid to--I'm going to leave it for them to open someday and read about the meaning of that day in this country's history. I don't think it was a very articulate letter. I think my emotions had started to play out on me.

I did a stupid thing when we got back to Washington. The body was taken to Bethesda Hospital, the naval hospital, for an autopsy. Westinghouse Broadcasting Company decided to stay on the air all night with reports from the White House, my reports. We kept waiting for the body to come back so we could go live. It was a very cold, damp November night, typical around Thanksgiving time. You know what those nights are like; they're cold and damp and dreary. The body did not come back to the White House until 4:00 a.m. They expected it back somewhere around midnight or one o'clock in the morning, but the autopsy took longer than expected.

The Military District of Washington, which was planning the funeral, placed construction lanterns along the driveway. So there was this eerie scene of little pots of flame sitting there outlining the driveway as the hearse slowly drove up with the body. I remember Ann Corrick was a reporter for Westinghouse Broadcasting Company at the time, and the two of us went on the air live at about 4:00 a.m., somewhere in that area--to broadcast the arrival back at the White House

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of Kennedy. It was a very emotional thing, and it was very tough to try to do, because I had left two days before with a very active, vibrant young president. Now I was back and he was in a hearse. We described the day and whatever funeral plans there were, and then I did the stupid thing. I remembered Kennedy reciting the Robert Frost poem, *Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening*, in the 1960 campaign, and I decided, because it seemed appropriate--I tried to do the Robert Frost poem in the emotional state I was in, and I just barely got through it. The last stanza goes like this:

The woods are lovely, dark and deep.
But I have promises to keep,
And miles to go before I sleep,
And miles to go before I sleep.

It's on tape somewhere. I've got it somewhere on tape but I haven't listened to it for years. I broke up and cried on the air. I was okay until I did that. It got to that point, and then it hit me.

It was amazing to me how many people in this country stayed up all night or were awake at that moment. I heard from people all over the United States who heard me on the air. We were the only ones who carried it live, as I recall. I don't know of any others who did. It was radio only. But we were the only ones, I think, who did it, and it just produced a lot of mail. But what probably provoked the mail even more was the fact that people heard me cracking up on the air. I heard from people I went to college with who had not heard from me in ten years, who wrote me letters and told me they heard the broadcast. And I

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still bump into people today who say, "I heard you at four o'clock in the morning the day they brought Kennedy's body back to the White House." People associate where they were with the incident.

But that was it. After that, I didn't go to bed. We just continued to work on the second day of the story, which was a Saturday morning. Meanwhile, there was Merriman Smith in the press room. He hadn't gone to bed either. He kept writing for--I think he wrote straight for three days. He won a Pulitzer Prize for his reporting of the assassination. Lyndon Johnson then of course went to Spring Valley to his home, and we had to cover both Mrs. Kennedy at the White House and the Johnsons in Spring Valley. We worked around the clock for four days.

That whole period was a remarkable period to cover because of the foresight LBJ had, trying to pull this country together in the aftermath of this tragedy. Anybody looking back realizes there was no way you could plan for something like that. This really was where judgment and skill, really all your energies were put into whether you were going to make it or not. I don't think any transfer of power was as orderly as that one, staff-wise and every other way--the Johnson retention of many of the Kennedy people for that whole year, even though some of those people were not Johnson fans, as you know.

G: One other question about the Texas part of the trip. In the earlier stops, San Antonio, Houston, Fort Worth, did you sense any of the friction between the [Ralph] Yarborough wing of the party and the Connally/Johnson--?

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D: I didn't see it. We knew it existed. And I remember Connally--I have a tape somewhere, I think, of Connally being asked whether Yarborough was going to refuse to ride in the motorcade--what was it? There was a dispute over whether Yarborough was going to ride in the motorcade.

G: In the car with him, yes.

D: In the car with Connally. Was that it?

G: Yes.

D: I remember I had never met John Connally; never seen him, never been up close to John Connally. But I remember I was in a group of reporters talking to Connally. Here was this big, very--well, he looked like a guy out of a John Wayne movie, you know, the jutting chin and the jaw. I remember him saying, "Well, I don't care if he rides with me. He's welcome to ride with me or not ride with me," or something like that. But I remember that was the dispute, largely the press asking about the Connally-Yarborough feud and the liberals and the conservatives in Texas; that was the thing. By the time of the motorcade I think things were pretty much reasoned out, as I recall.

I remember there were a lot of stories about the friction, the Yarborough/Connally factions, but the fear that we had before we went to Texas was that Dallas was going to be hostile because [Vice] President and Mrs. Johnson had encountered a hostile crowd there some months before that. They were spat on in a hotel lobby, as I recall.

G: That was in 1960, during the 1960 campaign.

D: The 1960 campaign. A lot of the stories mentioned the fact that in the conservative parts of Texas Kennedy would not be welcome, and there was talk of--I think Adlai Stevenson had had an unfriendly welcome there

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some days or weeks or months earlier, and it was written up in some of the advance stories. But I have to tell you that the crowds in Texas were as warm as they had been any place, and the greeting was pleasant, enthusiastic, and in Dallas--all this talk about Dallas being unfriendly never surfaced at all. The crowds at the airport were animated. They were just like any place else Kennedy had ever been. And all the way into town the motorcade went through crowds that were very cheerful and warm. Kennedy worked the fence at the airport with Mrs. Kennedy. There was no indication of any problem.

There were a few signs here and there that were hostile or opposed to Kennedy's views. I remember in Houston there was an airplane pulling a banner that said, "Co-existence is surrender." I do have that in my notebook somewhere. Other than that, though, in the general populace, the crowds, the reception was what you would call a very warm, southern reception.

G: Back in Washington, any recollections of the visiting heads of state as part of the funeral?

D: I remember Johnson was meeting with them. Those of us who did not cover Johnson as majority leader started to see the first signs of his method of operation, meeting with people one on one, nose to nose. When he wanted to make a point, he'd lean right into your face. We started to see some of this now. He had de Gaulle here. He had all these people in town, and he was meeting with all of them and putting the arm on all of them about where he wanted to go and what he wanted to do, pulling together and that sort of thing. We started to see the first signs of

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what I suppose we came to call the activist president. What is it about Johnson? We used to say he was an activist president.

You know those first days no one slept at all. There were briefings at the White House twenty-four hours a day, virtually. We never got a lid. We started to wonder--the Kennedy thing became an orderly thing, you see. Kennedy now had been in office, what, more than two years? He had it down to a science. With Johnson there was no rest. You didn't know where you were going or when you were coming back, and they wouldn't tell you when you were going to Texas or when you were going on other travel. They used to say he liked to keep his options open. The White House--it was not an entirely chaotic thing; it was organized chaos to some extent in the sense that this man did not want to be guided by any previous rules. He worked hard, did not want to be tied to other people's schedules.

The word was, in effect, "I don't care if reporters go home at five o'clock with a lid"--what they call a lid at the White House means, "Nothing else will happen today. You can go home and be assured we won't break any stories until tomorrow morning." Those rules were out the window with Lyndon Johnson. If you weren't there when something happened, that was your tough luck. He was not going to tell you that nothing more was going to happen. He would meet with people seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, one o'clock in the morning. If you wanted to know what was going on, you'd better be around there. Reporters had become accustomed over the years at the White House through many, many presidents, of saying, "Do we have a lid?" meaning the president's going to go take a nap or go play golf or go to dinner.

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So at five or six o'clock they'd say, "Nothing will happen until tomorrow morning at nine o'clock, so you're all safe to go home. If something happens, we'll have to call you back."

Under the Johnson rule, there were no rules. We started to learn that Pierre Salinger had to work all night like anybody else, and the President would do these things. And he held these Saturday news conferences. Well, these were unheard of in previous administrations, but Lyndon Johnson had a love affair with the Sunday newspapers. As majority leader, I guess he'd always meet with reporters on Saturday mornings in the well of the Senate, looking for Sunday morning copy.

G: Larger circulation, I guess.

D: He thought there was a larger circulation on Sundays, and they do have a large circulation. But he brought that rule to the White House, and he held these Saturday news conferences. So Saturdays were no longer a day off. You didn't have a day off any day with him. He just worked all the time.

G: Was increased security also a factor?

D: Yes, security was very, very heavy in that period following the assassination. We had to--I think that was the first time we had to wear our White House press passes around our necks to let everyone know that we were cleared. It became a lot tighter around the White House, and of course the President's security became tighter when he traveled. There's a security story I can tell you, I suppose, that affects mostly me and the President.

In the 1964 campaign we went to Providence, Rhode Island. This was shortly after the Warren Commission report was issued, which said to

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some extent that presidents should not unnecessarily expose themselves in crowds because they could get assassinated that way, and there was too much at risk. Lyndon Johnson did not have a vice president.

So we went to Providence and the President at one point in Providence got out of the car in the middle of a block and started to work the crowds as he liked to do, and shake hands. Of course, everybody was appalled, and there were all kinds of newspaper editorials, and we on the air said, "The President, less than a year after the assassination of John F. Kennedy--the new President, without a vice president in office, took unnecessary risks by marching headlong into the crowds to shake hands." There was widespread criticism of this, especially in light of the fact that the Warren Commission had something to say about it.

Well, the very next Saturday after this happened, there was a news conference in the President's Oval Office and naturally I always wanted to try to be right in front of the President so I could get a question in. So this particular day I lucked out, and I was standing right in front of him, right at the edge of his desk. I should have known better. If you're a reporter you learn to read upside down, and I saw this letter on the President's desk, and the top of it said "United States Secret Service." Trying to be discreet, I didn't read any more of it. I should have. I didn't read any more of it, but there was a letter on top of his desk that said "United States Secret Service." I should have realized there might have been something to that letter.

Anyway, when the President got to me, shortly into the news conference, I said, "Mr. President, the Warren Commission report is just

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out. It stresses the fact that we just lost a president, and we ought not to have our presidents take risks. Last week in Providence, Rhode Island near Brown University, you got out of the car and went into the crowds, and it gave the country a fright. You don't have a vice president, and we can't afford to lose another president." Words to that effect. I guess I was lecturing him.

Well, the President looked at me with those lasers, you know, those two laser eyes, and they just burned right through me. And he said, "I've been hearing about that." And he pulled out a copy of the Warren Commission report--a book about the size of a bible--and thrust it into my stomach. Now there were about forty-five reporters in that Oval Office. The President of the United States stood 6 foot 3 and I'm 5 foot 8. He's looking down at me with those lasers. He had the flags of all the fifty states in that Oval Office, the symbol of power and all that. The Great Seal of the U.S. is on the ceiling, on the beautiful carpet. I have just lectured the most powerful man in the world.

The Commander in Chief had thrust a book in my stomach and he said, "Find the page where the Warren Commission report says I can't do what I did." Well, my hands--I had ten thumbs. I had this book in my hand now and I was perspiring. My suit was getting wet. It seemed like hours and I knew that my blood was all in my toes. I was about to collapse, and I started thumbing through the book for this page. I knew I had seen it in there. I could not find that page. I couldn't even flip the pages, I was so--he got me off balance. So he said, "I had some kid lawyer go through there to find this thing and he can't find

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anything that says this. I don't know how you can find it. I was just doing my duty as president of the United States to meet the people."

It seemed like an eternity when he lectured me and looked at me. I looked around the room at all my buddies, and they're all looking at me as if to say, "Yes, you idiot, find it." No one wanted to show any friendship toward me in that room. I couldn't get any support from any of the press in the Oval Office. Yet, thirty minutes before that news conference started, every single reporter in the press room was going to ask that question. I just happened to be the one who got it out first and, boy, were they glad they didn't ask it, because I got it.

Then he said, "I don't think you'll ever find it." He took the book away from me, and he said, "Let me read you something." And he picked up the letter he had on his desk from the United States Secret Service. It was from James Rowley, the chief of the secret service, which said, "Mr. President, what you did in Providence, Rhode Island, was perfectly within the realm of safety. The President of the United States cannot go into hiding. He must be seen by all the people. It is perfectly logical for him to meet and shake hands with people. What you did was spontaneous; it was not prearranged, so it was no danger to you, and the secret service feels that what you did was perfectly normal behavior for a president of the United States." Well, I'm sure they had gotten to Jim Rowley and said, "Send us a letter, because those questions are going to come up," and Rowley, dutifully of course, sent the letter.

Well, I couldn't wait to get the hell out of the Oval Office. I couldn't wait to get out of that room. I didn't even want to see Lyndon

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Johnson again. So I went back to the press room, which was then a big cavernous room with desks for everybody. It wasn't fancy with cubicles it is now. I went back there and all those guys were filing, and I said, "Where were you guys?" And Chuck Roberts of *Newsweek* came over to me. He said, "Sid, I really felt for you. I was going to ask that question but, boy, I'm sure glad you did. Here, I found it." Chuck had a copy of the Warren Commission Report. He said, "This is what you were looking for and it does say in here that the President should not take unnecessary risks in crowds."

Well, I still was not off the hook, I felt. The President was furious, but Lyndon Johnson knew when he wanted a headline. And in politics, you know, you do certain things one day and the next day everything is forgotten and something else goes on. And I felt this was a personal thing that he had reacted to strongly because I asked the question in the form of finger-pointing.

The very next trip out it was my turn to be pool on *Air Force One*, and I really didn't want to do it. I asked several people if they would like to take the pool, but it was too big a trip; they would rather file stories than be in the pool. So I ended up on the pool on *Air Force One*, sitting in *Air Force One* where the reporters sit, over a little table. President Johnson used to come out more often than most presidents to talk with the press. It was a natural thing for him to do. I did not want him to come out that day. I didn't want to be seen by the President of the United States. I didn't want any more of this to happen to me.

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We were flying out of Washington going somewhere--I don't remember where it was. I kept my eye on the President's quarters back there to see if that door was going to open. And sure enough, the door opened and here came Lyndon down the aisle. I was sitting toward the window on purpose; I didn't want to be near the aisle. I don't know who was sitting next to me, whether it was Merriman Smith--it was one of the wire service guys. And I leaned toward the window, and I kept looking out the window. I put my hand over the side of my face so he wouldn't see who it was--of course he had a manifest, and he knew everybody on that airplane. I kept looking out the window; I kept my hand over my face. I could see out of the corner of my eye that he had walked up the aisle and passed our spot, and I felt relieved that he had gone by us. "He's not going to talk to us today." Then suddenly there was a hand on my shoulder yanking at my suit from behind. I looked backward and up and there was the President. And I just looked at him, and he said, "Sid, we sure made a lot of news the other day," which was a way of saying it was all part of the game. "I wanted to get this story out about the fact that I didn't do anything stupid and you were the way I got it out." Anybody who had asked that question would have gotten it. President Johnson got what he wanted, a front-page rebuttal.

I have to tell you something. There is no humiliation you can suffer that is worse than being dressed down by the president of the United States. I think he knew that. President Johnson once told a group of us reporters that Truman once told him to always remember that there's no insult, no humiliation, that is worse than one coming from the president of the United States. Isn't it interesting that he would

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have said that? I remember him telling us that President Truman had told him that early in the Johnson presidency. I've often wondered whether LBJ recalled President Truman's advice in this instance.

G: That's a great story.

End of Tape 1 of 1 and Interview I

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