#### MAILER'S TALES OF THE JFK ASSASSINATION

I. "Ultimately Nothing in History is True": Norman Mailer

"History is exactly like novel writing. They're both fiction."

Thus spake not Zoroaster from ancient Persia but fourteen centuries later these are the words

of the aging former high priest of American novel-writing turned historian, Norman Mailer.

"Ultimately, nothing in history is true," Mailer added.

In reporting these profundities by the winner of two Pulitzer Prizes for literature on Friday,

March 24, 1995, the Philadelphia Inquirer's headline was "A NEW GENERATION AT PENN MEETS NORMAN MAILER: STUDENTS WHO HADN'T HEARD OF THE PROVOCATIVE WRITER AREN'T LIKELY TO FORGET THEIR ENCOUNTER."

Howard Goodman's account of the momentous literary occasion at the University of

Pennsylvania begins:

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"To the World War II generation, he was one of the young lions who set out to conquer the Great American Novel. To the sixties left he was an antiwar hero and feminist's foil. To college kids today, he's 'Norman Who?""

Goodman did not explain how and why Mailer was that "feminist's foil." Aside from the content of Mailer's 28 books and innumerable magazine articles Goodman could have had in mind Mailer's accumulation of six wives or his having been charged with knifing one of them.

Nor does Goodman report the occasion of Mailer's proclamation of his new religion of the writer's responsibilities in our society. Of it, Goodman does write,

lie any writer chooses to regard as truthful for his own purposes is properly included in correct writing if he does not, personally, "make it up," if it is, in Mailer's words, "received information."

Like the world being flat, the "received information" of Columbus' day?

Like Poland invading Germany, the "received information" from Hitler?

Like Oswald being the assassin and the lone assassin, the "received information" from the Warren Report, Mailer's only basis for his assumption that Oswald was the assassin?

This is Mailer trying to justify his own literary harlotry.

As we shall also see, it is Mailer justifying in advance his personal suppression of "received information" that was not congenial to his version in *Oswald's Tale*. "Oswald in Minsk" is the earlier reported title of Mailer's personally manufactured "American Mystery."

All of this makes appropriate a little of the readily available "received information" about Mailer other than about his accumulating and rejection of all those wives and his alleged abuses of women; the dependability of his "information" when he is the "narrator" of it; and aside from whether one can "digest" through a "lens," what he told the AP, how the murk of his mind, "connected umbilically to the reader," becomes the truth, the fact, the reality of our history.

The history so precious to others that is "fiction" to him - and as he writes it for money that from the kind of life he led Mailer always needed more than most people can live well on - really extravagantly on - for his alimony and for paying the large debts he accumulated by the kind of life he led.

On this we have some "received information" that can be considered "predigested" from opposite sides of the world, from Moscow, from the *London International Express* of January 21-27, 1993, to California, to the 1995 premier issue of *Prevailing Winds* Quarterly.

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Mailer says that as a novelist he is also a historian and is licensed to lie and he has the brazenness to boast in advance that his Oswald's Tale is a lie.

Which by design an intent it without question is.

In this he also reflects that he is a man of principle. Not the usual principle of your normal, everyday writer without those Pulitzer's and other honors and successes.

But principle it is to boast of being a liar who writes lies, abnormal if not unprecedented as that is.

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Mailer, the principle/liar, or Mailer, the liar of principle?

There are other means of understanding what kind of man Mailer is, what kind of writer historian or if you will, novelist working in all that "received information," for all the world as though he is a historian and writes as one, with the obligations that imposes on an honest, principled writer. In assessing this we have an abundance of what he refers to as "received information" that Mailer himself provides.

I have not been a Mailer-watcher or reader. His fame came when I was too busy with other matters to take the time for reading much of anything not related to my work. His adventures that got him into the papers were not of any interest to me. But when he declared an interest in the assassination of President Kennedy friends sent me accounts of them. Two of these items had the same date, February 7, 1973, although one probably appeared a few days later. This one is from the "CURRENTS" page of *Publishers Weekly* dated February 12:

MAILER LAUNCHES HIS "FIFTH ESTATE" Norman Mailer, fresh from his \$50-a-head 50th birthday party Monday night ("only about a quarter of the size of Truman Capote's, but at it in his book, given the attention to that book and the well-established means his publisher has for getting attention will be evaluated further for our non-novelist's history.

It will be interesting if on his tour to promote the book announced by Random House prior to publication he is asked by a holocaust survivor if it is a lie that there was Hitler; if it is a lie that there was a holocaust; if it is a lie that Stalin had his own murders of his own people in the millions and of so many of his supporters; even if the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor is one of histories lies.

He did not say some of history is a lie. He said all of it is.

It is not history that lies.

It is some of those who write history who lie.

Like Mailer.

On this audio, Norman Mailer asks the essential question about the assassination of JFKs not "Who killed Kennedy" but "Who was Oswald?" For only by answering the latest question can we hope to answer the first. In 1056 tests Harvey Oswald defected to the Soviet Union and vasi sent to Minsk, where he lived for two and a-half years, under constant KGB surveillance on suspicion of being a CLA agent. In 1993, Norman Mailer spent six months in Russia, where he interviewed Oswald's former friends and sweethearts and obtained exclusive interviews with the KGB officers assigned to monitor Oswald's every move. He was also given exclusive access to the KGB files on Oswald.

In Oswald's Tale: An American Mystery, Mailer reconstructs the life of this ambitious if doom-laden young man, giving a dramatic account, for the first time, not only of the Minsle years, but also of Oswald's disastrous childhood and the events following his return to the U.S. in 1961, to his death in Dallas in 1963. The portrait of Oswald that emerges will greatly surprise listeners who have thought of Oswald as a hapless loner: socially awkward, inarticulate, and an unremarkable loser. There is also a fascinating portrait of Marina, his Russian wife.

Oswald's Tale: An American Mystery is a nonflection master piece, a work of meticulous research and reportage, but the reporter in this case is our most distinguished novelist who brings to the task not only a sober respect for the facts, but a storyteller's ability to bring those facts to life.

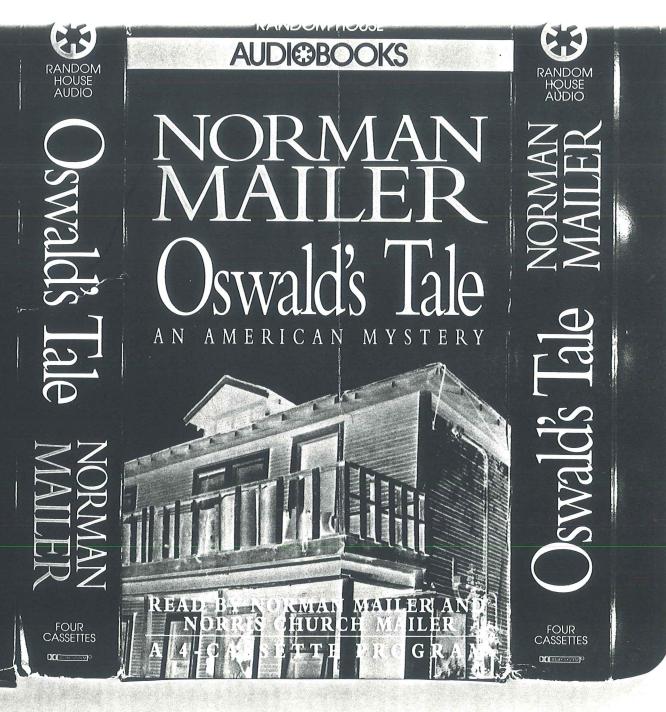
> Oswald's Tale is available in hardcover from Random House, Inc.

Harlot's Ghost, by Norman Maller, is also available from Random House AudioBooks.

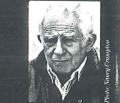
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#### **ABOUT THE AUTHOR**

Norman Mailer was born in 1923 in Long Branch, New Jersey, and grew up in Brooklyn, New York. He published his first book in 1948. Oswald's Tale is his twenty-eighth book. Mailer won the National Book Award and the Pulitzer Prize in 1968 for Armies of the Night, and was awarded the Pulitzer Prize again in 1980 for The Executioner's Song. He has directed four feature-length films, was a co-founder of The Village Voice in 1955, and was the president of the American PEN from 1984-1986.

#### ALSO AVAILABLE FROM RANDOM HOUSE AUDIO HARLOT'S GHOST Read by the Author

Two excerpts from Norman Mailer's great American novel that explores the peculiarities of will and character that shape our history, our passions and our selves. 2 Cassettes, 3 Hours, \$16.00

#### **ABOUT THE CO-READER**

Norris Church Mailer is a member of the Actor's Studio and has appeared on stage, television, and in film.

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CASSETTE 2

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**CASSETTE 3** 

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Nobody saw him in the ten minutes between his departure from that rooming house and his arrival at the corner of 10th Street and Dalton. A trip of ten or twelve blocks along residential streets and small houses. Near the intersection of 10th and Dalton however, Oswald, or a man who fit his general description and there were witnesses with enough disagreement over identification to offer opportunities to a defense lawyer, was stopped by Officer J.B. Tippett, who had been cruising by slowly in a police car. Presumably Tippett had heard the description of the suspect - it had been broadcast four times on police radios since 12:45 p.m. Now the man he had stopped was obeying Tippett's order to place his hands on the right front window of the police car, or so witnesses later described it. Officer Tippett got out slowly from his side of the car, his pistol still in his holster, and started to go around the front of his car, but he was then shot four times and killed by that man who had had his hands up properly on the right front window, but took them off long enough to pull out a revolver and fire it. The man was heard by one witness to say, "Poor dumb cop," as he ran off. He was emptying his spent cartridges even as he ran.

There is a good deal of evidence that it was Oswald who shot Tippett, but since the approach of this work is not legal, technical, or evidentiary, but is novelistic - that is we are trying to understand Oswald - let us judge that if he killed Kennedy, then it is well within the range of our expectation of him that he would be frantic enough after seeing that pistol in his face, to sending him to Dealy Plaza and fleeing to his rooming house and out again to be yet also frantic enough to kill Tippett as well. If, however, he did not shoot at Kennedy then small, but confusing, details in this second murder take on much more prominence, for if Oswald was innocent of shooting Kennedy why would he have fired at Tippett<sup>2</sup>. In any event, a man who most certainly is Oswald is walking west on Jefferson Street a few blocks away just a few minutes later.....

Correct and fax back

Ud.28, I was so pleased that you neceived that award at OPA. While now that you write because you must I it was pleasing to me that you were actually recognized. you deserve it so, be well . work Kep in low 7 (1800 Windte. 6. S. Dil anyone inform you anong to neasons torman Mailer ga Coursel WAS that your plagues

And warm wishes are in order!

### **Off the Press**

Continued from the previous page

lieves "we're at the end of the age of secrets…we live in the age of the [Freedom of Information Act]." Hall noted the sparse number of documents released voluntarily by the National Security Agency, saying it "leads me to be even more interested." (*Ohio State Alumni Magazine*, 3/95)

#### **Only in America**

The ballistic tests run at Edgewood Arsenal for the Warren Commission, and later for CBS's "investigations" of JFK's murder, seem to be the only ones leading to lone assassin conclusions. Not only did Castro attempt to reconstruct the assassination with different results (3 gunman at least), but Victor Ostrovsky reveals in his book, *By Way of Deception* (St. Martin's Press), that the Mossad intelligence service of Israel also tried to match Oswald's alleged marksmanship and was forced to conclude that more than one gunman was involved. (cr. *C. H. Wecht*)

#### **Random Thoughts**

Former FBI agent and author William Turner points out that his book, The Assassination of Robert F. Kennedy, published by Random House, was "withdrawn from publication" when the company was bought by Si Newhouse. Newhouse had ties to the Union News Company, where his father was an investor in the 1950s. Harry Garfinkle, the principal owner of Union News, had ties to organized crime, particularly the Bonnano family. In 1951, Si Newhouse arranged a job at Union News for his high school friend Roy Cohn. Cohn gave Newhouse "a piece of the Sunrise deal, a Las Vegas hospital built by mobster Moe Dalitz courtesy of a sweetheart loan from Jimmy Hoffa's teamsters." According to Thomas Maier, author of a Newhouse biography, it was also Roy Cohn who "introduced [Norman] Mailer to Newhouse and Random House. (SPY, March-April)

#### LHO v. Wade

Researcher and Coalition member Martin Barkley points out that former Dallas County Assistant District Attorney Bill Alexander reportedly told Gerald (*Case Closed*) Posner that he "and two newspaper writers" were the instigators of the "rumor" that Lee Oswald was an "undercover FBI agent, No. S-179", and that Oswald "received \$200 per month in that capacity." In other words, Alexander "purposely lied" in 1964, and "planted information (or disinformed federal authorities)." In Posner's book, Alexander gives a

**Open Secrets** 

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supposed rationale for creating a story that caused consternation in the official investigation for some time, "I never much liked the federals...I figured it was as good a way as any to keep them out of my way by having them run down that phony story." In 1964, then-D.A. Henry Wade and then State Attorney General Waggoner Carr were "summoned immediately to Washington, D.C. by the Warren Commission to clear up this "dirty rumor." In a letter to the Dallas Morning News, Barkley asks whether or not Alexander should be "charged, even at this late date, with at least a Class A misdemeanor of some sort. Obstruction of justice? Abuse of authority as an officer of the court?" We are still left wondering which version was the false one, and whether current FBI file releases will clarify the matter.

#### **Ink Smears**

Dr. Charles Crenshaw, author of JFK: Conspiracy of Silence, whose credibility was called into question by articles on the JFK autopsy in the Journal of the American Medical Association (JAMA), was refused the right to reply in the publication. They falsely claimed that Crenshaw was not present in Trauma Room 1 at Parkland Hospital when Kennedy was being treated for wounds, and called his published account of an entry wound to JFK's throat "a sad fabrication based upon unsubstantiated allegations." Forced to take the matter to court, Crenshaw and his co-author Gary Shaw prevailed, and an out of court settlement was reached which included an agreement to print an abridged commentary in JAMA, rebutting Crenshaw's critics.

JAMA editor Dr. George Lundberg provided the original author of the autopsy articles, Dennis Breo, the courtesy of an immediate reply to Crenshaw and Shaw in that same issue. Breo continued his attack on Crenshaw, "Thus, the reader may choose whether to believe an alleged 'observation' — a split second in duration — of a man not trained in pathology or the findings of a four-hour autopsy performed by three pathologists, supported by still-available x-rays and photographs..." Readers unfamiliar with the Bethesda pathologists' lack of qualifications and shoddy procedures that marked this "autopsy," which included an instruction from Commander Humes to forego examination of the throat wound, may be taken in by this ploy. But no special forensic training is necessary to distinguish a small, clean, "sucking" wound of entry from the gaping hole that appears in Kennedy's throat in the still to be released Bethesda Hospital photographs, a ragged gash that extends well beyond the small tracheotomy incision reportedly performed to allow introduction of an air tube.

(COPA)

JAMA's Breo and Lundberg say, "We believe in the evidence." Their arrogant dismissal of Dr. Crenshaw and others who described a wound of entry in JFK's throat at Parkland Hospital, their refusal to allow published criticism of their point of view, and their reliance on innuendo and defamation instead of medical analysis suggest otherwise. One wonders if they have examined the evidence they "believe in." Indicative of their attitude is Lundberg's introductory remark to the court-ordered publication of Crenshaw's commentary, "The goal of truth in public controversies is better advanced by public discourse than by litigation," he says, claiming that their agreement to publish Crenshaw's remarks is "an effort to restore that dispute to its appropriate forum and to conclude what JAMA viewed as an unwise use of resources — both the AMA's and the court's." Crenshaw's original 6,800-word rebuttal (which found no such "appropriate forum" earlier), with additional critical commentaries on JAMA's articles, will be published by Open Archives Press this year.

CBS devoted a large segment of their Sunday morning show to an interview of author Norman Mailer by a veteran of misleading news coverage on the JFK assassination, Dan Rather. Rather made the astounding claim that he had spent years of his life and a great deal of CBS's money "trying to disprove that Oswald was the lone assassin." Anyone who has seen his "special reports" over the years knows the exact opposite to be true. Mailer's new book, Oswald's Tale, was the subject of their discussion, and it focused on similarly unsupported contentions about Oswald's guilt. Mailer also distorts Marina Oswald's life and experiences in the work. "What about Marina Oswald," Rather asked, "I always thought she was a liar." Even Mailer was forced to defend Marina's credibility in the face of this insult. This from the reporter who told us that he saw President Kennedy's head move "forward with considerable force" from the impact of the fatal shot, based on an exclusive viewing of the Zapruder film. Given Marina's recent public insistence on her husband's innocence, it would seem Rather would be praising her instead, if his agenda was really to find evidence exonerating Lee Oswald.

Media analyst and critic Michael Parenti, in commentary at the Three Decades of Doubt conference last October on "Conspiracy Phobia" pointed to the absurdity of the "coincidence theory" offered in response to our claims by the mainstream press. He quoted a *Washington Post* editorial written in 1979, in response to the House Select Committee on Assassinations finding of an additional assassin in Dealey Plaza, "Could it have been some other malcontent who

#### IN THE LOOP

# At the Heart(s) of Clinton-Gingrich Flap

#### By Al Kamen Washington Post Staff Writer

ast week's Clinton-Gingrich feud about how the president treated the speaker on the Air Force One flight to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's funeral in Israel shows how much each side misunderstands the other.

White House press secretary Michael McCurry responded Wednesday to Newt Gingrich's complaints about being forced to use the plane's back door and how President Clinton didn't invite him up front to talk about the budget during the long flight home.

"The speaker was treated with utmost courtesy," McCurry told reporters. "In fact, so much courtesy that his wife was invited when other wives of this delegation were not invited."

Not so. Marianne Gingrich was not invited. The speaker demanded that she go. Several others on the trip, including senators, top officials and former presidents who knew the Rabins well, inquired as to whether spouses could go. They were told no.

But Gingrich insisted his wife go. Senior Clinton aides say they don't know why. (No, don't start up that stuff about her lobbying the Israeli government.) Some speculated Gingrich wanted to let Marianne experience some ceremonial travel so she wouldn't object to a presidential race. Maybe she didn't like it. Yesterday Gingrich indicated he will not run.

A Gingrich aide, when asked why she went, referred the question to the White House, but opined: "It seems only fitting that if the first lady is there that Mrs. Gingrich also be there."

The White House acceded to Gingrich's demand thinking it wouldn't look good if Gingrich didn't go, that it would hurt the bipartisan image of the trip.

And "we were thinking, 'Why not?' " said one Clintonite. "This might be useful" to get a chit from Gingrich.

But if the Gingrich aide's thinking reflects the views of the Gingrich camp, the Clintonites shouldn't think they did Gingrich any favors by letting his wife go. They were simply doing the proper thing, according Gingrich the appropriate respect.

On the other hand, if Gingrich thinks Clinton was talking budget in his cabin and deliberately snubbed the speaker, he's way off base. The reason Gingrich didn't get invited to the front of Air Force One is simple: He doesn't play hearts well enough.

#### Case of Mistaken Identity at CIA

The talk at the CIA last week was not about the budget shutdown or the laying off of 40 percent of the staff (total numbers classified).

The talk was of the picture on the front of yesterday's Parade magazine, which had the new agency team: Director John M. Deutch, executive director Nora Slatkin and someone identified as David Cohen, the CIA's director for operations.

But wait a minute. The picture is of someone whom most people call George J. Tenet, former Senate aide, National Security Council staff member and now deputy director of the agency.

The gaffe caused much merriment at

headquarters, where Tenet is said to have sat in Cohen's chair in a morning meeting of top officials and where CIA folks passing him in the hall have taken to greeting him "Hi Dave."

Parade, which is published well in advance of the distribution of its 37 million copies, couldn't do anything to correct the error in the magazine in time, so newspapers, including this one, ran corrections on their own pages.

Remember, that's not David Cohen, that's George Tenet. Or maybe it's not?

#### Florida's Sugar Wars as a Family Affair

Seems the media effort in the Florida sugar wars over a proposed 2-cent sugar tax is an all-in-the-family affair. Veteran Democratic media guru Bob Squier's firm has lined up with the sugar producers, developing an ad that shows a black farmer in Florida, sitting on the back of his pickup, saying environmental "extremists want to tax farmers out of business." The proposed tax would throw farmers out of work, the ad says, according to a summary in the Tampa Tribune.

Proponents of the tax say the big sugar farmers in Florida are destroying the Everglades, and the tax is needed to pay for environmental cleanup and to "save the Everglades" from "big sugar and big sugar's campaign contributions to Washington politicians."

That ad is produced by Squier's son, Mark. It's not the first time the two have been on opposite sides. The sugar ad wars are bitter and expensive, so win or lose, the family will do well.

But put your money on the elder Squier and the growers to beat the tax.

The growers, after a surprisingly strong challenge from enviros, fiscal conservatives and the food and drink industry, are looking good to fend off significant changes in the federal sugar program for another five years.

That program costs consumers some \$1.4 billion a year to help out needy sugar multimillionaires. It's what keeps this country free.

#### **Relocations at HHS**

■ Moves at the Department of Health and Human Services. . . . William V. Coor, a former Hill staffer and more recently deputy assistant secretary for health, has been named counselor to Secretary Donna E. Shalala. Elizabeth D'Jamoos, former White House liaison at the Department of Housing and Urban Development, moves over to HHS to take on the same function. Mary E. Donohue, who worked in the legislative shop at HHS, is moving up to be deputy chief of staff and LaVarne Addison Burton, who had been working for the assistant secretary for management and budget, moves up to deputy assistant secretary for budget policy initiatives.

At the Agency for International Development, Alex Palacios, senior deputy assistant administrator for public affairs, is returning to work for the United Nations Children's Fund as a senior program officer in New York.

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### **Preferred Member Value for Winter**

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Mr Weisberg,

Two-time Pulitzer Prize winner Norman Mailer here sets aside conspiracy theories to search for the flesh-and-blood Lee Harvey Oswald a New Orleans-born ex-Marine who considered himself "one of the principalities of the universe." To create this absorbing profile,

#### The legendary author reveals the man behind the Oswald myth

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Mailer interviewed Oswald's friends; spent six months in Russia, retracing the young defec-

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tor's steps; and obtained unprecedented access to 30 years of KGB surveillance reports. The author tells of Oswald's overweening mother; his years as an "emotionally starved" latch-key kid; and his abuse of his Russian wife, Marina. And he offers a gripping, stepby-step narrative of the assassination, arguing that Oswald almost certainly operated by himself. The *Atlantic Monthly* calls *Oswald's Tale* "journalism at its best...constantly fascinating and clearly important." 896 pages.

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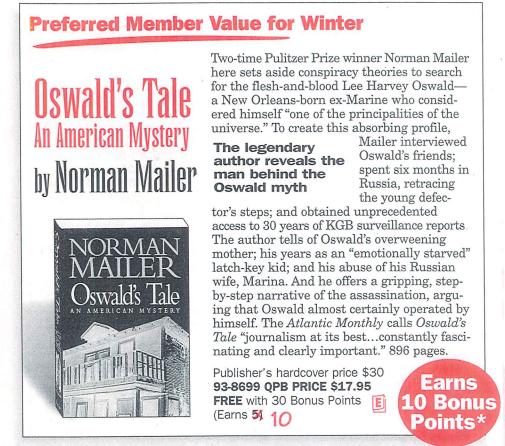
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# **Gingrich's Use of Adviser Raises Conflict Questions**

By John E. Yang and Mike Mills Washington Post Staff Writers

House Democrats accused Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) of a conflict of interest yesterday for using a telecommunications entrepreneur as an unpaid adviser while Congress rewrites laws regulating that industry.

"Influence peddling, special interest access ... these are the hallmarks of the Gingrich revolution," said Rep. Rosa L. DeLauro (D-Conn.).

From December 1994 until late July, Donald G. Jones, a GOP donor whose holdings include cable television systems and a service that sells access to the Internet, was a volunteer in Gingrich's office, advising the speaker on telecommunications issues.

Earlier this year, the House and Senate each passed versions of a major rewrite of the nation's telecommunications laws. The measures would ease regulation of cable rates.

Jones's attorney, Louis Andrew, said in an interview yesterday that Jones attended at least two meetings between Gingrich and telecommunications executives. But he denied his client ever attempted to influence legislation.

In a statement, Gingrich defended Jones and his service. "To the best of my knowledge, Don Jones is an ethical and upstanding citizen," he said. "He has done nothing inappropriate nor unethical."

Jones's role as a Gingrich adviser was reported in yesterday's Wall Street Journal.

Rep. George Miller (D-Calif.) said he planned to file a complaint with the House ethics committee over Jones's role in the speaker's office.

House rules prohibit the donation of services to a lawmaker except in the case of "educational programs that are primarily of educational benefit to the individual [volunteer], as opposed to primarily benefiting the Member or office, and which do not give undue advantage to special interest groups."

"I don't believe, if you read those rules, that they're intended to cover a person like Mr. Jones," Andrew said.

Democrats portrayed Jones's role as an example of a special interest holding sway in Gingrich's office. "This is a toxic mixture of campaign money, special interests and the thirdhighest office of the land," Miller said.

Since 1988, Jones and his wife gave at least \$63,950 to the Republican Party and GOP candidates, including \$1,000 to Gingrich in 1990, according to Federal Election Commission records. In addition, he gave at least \$10,000 to GOPAC, a political action committee Gingrich headed, according to GOPAC records.

On Dec. 1, 1994, Jones wrote Dan Meyer, Gingrich's chief of staff, to "tender myself as a volunteer . . . in the areas of technology and information systems implementation, culture and change management ideas and education." Jones wrote that his "service will be for two fulls [sic] days a week in Washington and daily by fax/E-mail elsewhere."

Andrew said he could not recall whether Gingrich invited Jones to volunteer, or the other way around.

Sue E. Wadel, the speaker's counsel, wrote Jones on Feb. 2, informing him of the House rules covering his volunteer service. "The provision of in-kind services by an individual such as yourself could be deemed an improper subsidy of official activity," she wrote, adding that Jones' advice "must be given on an informal policy basis."

In a June 30 memorandum, Jones told associates he was "a trusted listener and companion" to Gingrich, often spending "2 to 3 hours daily" with him. Jones said they "rarely" discussed policy but his ideas "resulted in . . . actions on national strategic directives on huge matters" in four instances.

Jones's service to Gingrich took place amid business troubles back home. He is involved in a court dispute over how to dissolve a partnership with co-owners of an Internet access company, US Cyber, in which Jones holds an 80 percent investment.

One former co-owner, Jeff Coleman of Tucson, Ariz., operates an adultoriented Internet forum over US Cyber. Andrew said Jones did not know of the service when he invested in US Cyber. But in an interview, Coleman said he was certain Jones knew of the service when he joined the company.

Gingrich has long opposed efforts to regulate material on the Internet. He opposed an amendment in the Senate telecommunications bill that would make it illegal to knowingly transmit obscene materials on the Internet.

Staff researcher Barbara J. Saffir contributed to this report.

#### FOR MORE INFORMATION

For the list of 1994 contributors to Newt Gingrich's reelection campaign, see Digital Ink, The Post's on-line service. To learn more about Digital Ink, call 1-800-510-5104, Ext. 9000. **Turner Broadcasting System,** which has agreed to a buyout by Time Warner, reported a \$40 million third-quarter profit, compared with a \$5 million loss a year earlier. It credited rising operating profits at its cable networks. The 1994 quarter reflected a \$25 million charge against earnings for the early repayment of debt. 5/18/95 5:46pm

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Norman Mailer Perplexed Over Book Criticism EDS: contents in final graf may be offensive to some //( readers

ALBANY, N.Y. (AP) -- Author Norman Mailer says he's puzzled over some of the criticism he's received over his latest book, `Oswald's Tale.''

`There's been a certain animosity to the majority of the reviews that I don't understand,'' Mailer said in Thursday's Times Union of Albany.

The book chronicles the life of Lee Harvey Oswald, the assassin of President John F. Kennedy, and offers what some have said is a sympathetic view of Oswald. Mailer said he wasn't trying to shed new light into the

assassination. `I wasn't interested in going over every shred of evidence. That's been done to death. I approached Oswald as a novelist and I wanted to get inside him, to understand him as a character with motives, which brings you closer to truth than a list of facts,'' he explained.

Mailer said writing the book changed his views on the much-debated conspiracy theory.

`I started out on this project believing that Oswald acted as part of a conspiracy. I ended up believing Oswald probably acted alone. I still leave the window open a little bit that there was a conspiracy,'' he said.

While giving a public reading earlier this week, Mailer said that writing the book had aged him.

He also told the Times Union that he has calmed down somewhat in his 72 years -- to a certain extent.

``Maybe I've mellowed a bit. But I'm angrier at certain things, especially politics. There's so much (expletive) going on in politics right now.''

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Major Banking Relationship: Dearborn Bank & Trust Co.

Fiscal Year-end: 6/30/94 Business Description: Electronic Computers; Computer Software Development Survare Export S.I.C.: 7371; 3571 No. of Mfg. Facilities: 1 No. of U.S. Offices: 14 No. of Foreign Offices: 6 Personnel: Personnel: William T. Mason (Pres. & Chief Exec. Officer) Patrick Brochu (V.P.-Intl. Mktg.) William L. Fiedler (V.P.-Fin. & Admin.) Gary A. Hoffman (V.P.-Sls.) Ralph J. Mayer (V.P.-Devel.) Michael Segal (V.P.-Customer Sanziae) Service) Richard Livermore (Controller)

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Mira Loma, CA 91752 Tel.: 909-685-7100 Fax: 909-685-9427 Year Founded: 1955 Approx. Sls.: \$36,000,000 Emp.: 300 Fiscal Year-end: 12/31/94 Business Description: Print Business Forms S.I.C.: 2752 No. of Mfg. Facilities: 1 No. of U.S. Offices: 6 Computer Systems/Hardware: HP 3000 Corporate Giving Program: Kosta Scholarship Fund Personnel: Thomas A. Steiner (Chm. Bd.) John Kosta (Pres.) William Paxton (Chief Fin. Officer & William Paxton (Chief Fin. Officer of Sr. V.P.) Dan Abbett (V.P.-MIS) Art Ball (V.P.-Mkg.) Bob Cole (V.P.-Label Div.) Kurt Garing (V.P.-Sls.) Jack Tanner (V.P.-Mfg.) J. Raynow (Dir.-Personnel) Jim Nolan (Mgr.-Commercial Div.) Charles Gruber (Pur. Agent)

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Bon Appetit Magazine 360 Madison Ave. New York, NY 90048 Tel:: 212-880-8800 Fax: 212-880-2536 Approx. Sls:: \$45,000,000 Emp.: 85 Fiscal Yearcand: 1/31/91 Fiscal Year-end: 1/31/91 Food & Entertaining Magazine S.I.C.: 2741 S.I.C.: 2741 Computer Systems/Hardware: Wang: IBM; Novel Lans Lynn Heiler (*Publisher*) William J. Garry (*Editor-in-Chiel*) Lance Ford (*Dir.-Adv.*) Christopher Buczik (*Dir.-Mktg. Services*) Richard Louie (*Dir.-Creative Mktg.*) Carolyn Kremins (*Mgr.-Adv.*)

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Glamour 350 Madison Ave. New York, NY 10017 Women's Magazine S.I.C.: 2721 Jack Kliger (Publisher)

Susan K. Blank (Dir.-Adv.) Gourmet (2)Divisions: Gournmet 560 Lexington Ave., 18th Fl. New York, NY 10022 Tel.: 212-880-2759 Fax: 212-355-2932 Fmo. 75 Emp.: 75 Fiscal Year-end: 12/31/91 Fiscal Year-end: 12/31/91 Magazine Featuring Travel, Fine Food, Restaurants & Recipes S.I.C.: 2721 Peter King Hunsinger (Publisher) Gail Zweigenthal (Editor-in-Chief) Dave Kupiec (Dir.-Mktg.) Lucille Duran Barker (Mgr.-Adv.) Sandra L. Jackson (Mgr.-Adv. Svcs) (3) Mademoiselle (2) 350 Madison Ave. New York, NY 10017 Magazine for,Young Career Women S.I.C.: 2721 Julie Lewit-Nirenberg (Publisher) Susan Plagemann (Dir.-Fashion & Retail (3) Adv.) Peggy Pollack (Dir.-Adv.) Self 350 Madison Ave. New York, NY 10017 Tel: 212-880-8800 Fax: 212-880-8982 Beauty & Health Magazine S.I.C.: 2721 S.I. Newburge Ir. (Chr. 6 (2)Beauty & Health Magazine S.I.C.: 2721 S.I. Newhouse, Jr. (Chm. Bd.) Steven T. Florio (Pres.) Beth Fuchs Brenner (Publisher) Alexandra Penney (Editor-in-Chief) Eric C. Anderson (Exec. V.P. & Treas.) John B. Brunelle (Exec. V.P.) Joseph L. Fuchs (Exec. V.P.) Pamela M. van Zandt (Exec. V.P.) Jack Kliger (Sr. V.P.-Grp. Sis.) Peter A. Amror (V.P.-Grp. Sis.) Peter A. Kuthe (V.P.-Mfg. & Dist.) Kevin G. Hickey (V.P.-Mfg. & Dist.) Kevin G. Hickey (V.P.-Mfg. & Dist.) Kevin G. Hickey (V.P.-Mfg. & Dist.) Alexander Liberman (Dir.-Editorial) James Truman (Dir.-Editorial) Vicki Wellington (Dir.-Av.) Helene Rubinstein (Mag. Editor) Lynn Hother (Asst. Managing Editor) Andrea Coda (Mgr.-Production) Wendy Nanus (Mgr.-Adv.) (2) (2) Vanity Fair 350 Madison Ave. New York, NY 10017 Tel.: 212-880-8800 (2) Special Interest Magazine S.I.C.: 2721 Kathy Leventhal (Publisher) Elizabeth Henriques (Dir.-Adv.) (2) Vogue Magazine 350 Madison Ave. New York, NY 10017 Tel.: 212-880-8800 (2)Fax: 212-880-6921 Women's Magazine S.I.C.: 2721 S.I.C.: 2721 Ronald Galotti (Publisher) Anna Wintour (Editor-in-Chiel) Norman Waterman (Assoc. Publisher) Maria Genovesi (Dir.-Mktg.) Diane Oshin (Dir.-Adv.) Marcia Weinberg-Mossack (Dir.-Creative) Tom Hartman (Mgr.-Adv.) Newhouse Newspapers Metro-Suburbia, Inc. (1) 485 Lexington Ave., 22nd Fl. New York, NY 10017 Tel.: 212-697-8020 (100%) Fax: 212-972-3146 Newspaper Representative *S.I.C.*: 7313 Edwin F. Russell (*Pres.*) Robert N. Schoenbacher (*V.P.-Sls. & Mktg.*) Dino Zografos (*Mgr.-Sls.*) (2) (2)Random House, Inc. (1) 201 E. 50th St. New York, NY 10022 Tel.: 212-751-2600 Fax: 212-512-8700 Books; Modern Library Series & Vintage Books (2) S.I.C.: 2731 S.I.C.: 2731 Alberto Vitale (Chm. Bd., Pres. & Chief Exec. Officer) Alexander MacGregor (Exec. V.P.-Admin.) Greg Euson (V.P.-Mktg.) Christine Names (V.P.-Human Resources)

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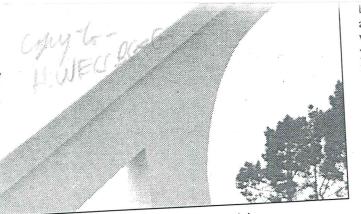
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panel on cool, weird, and generally compelling trivia.



# favorite events at the Book Festival

novels, a date at the morgue siness as usual. As a jobhened forensic pathologist, petta takes the reader along er the nails and beneath the of the victims she's investiig for an insider's view of the ce process that is as fascinatas it is grisly. Come hear nwell and John Douglas talk ut true crime. 11 a.m., Main e. (Stephanie Rosenbaum)

ORNOGRAPHY OR EROTI-Smut or sexual exploration? Canada's stringently antiporn customs



Writing Above and Below the Belt,' a panel discussion featuring local literary and political powerhouses Dorothy Allison and Pat Cali-

fia as well as

These

iks Sat/4.

Will Leber, orman Wong, and Steven Sayor (better known as Aaron ravis, author of such gay male orn classics as Blue Light and laves of the Empire). These uthors join Michael Rowe, the Canadian editor of Writing Below he Belt, a collection of interviews vith writers of erotica, to discuss autoult positioning of erotic

the wetsuit on and truly rides the tsunamis envisioned in the netsurf metaphor, Aether Madness: What You'll Find on the Internet and the Web swims its readers through some of the most entertaining areas of cyberspace. Coauthor Michael Stein discusses the book with Karen Wickre. 11 a.m., Internet Salon. (Susan Gerhard)

SORRY, CHARLIE It's been a banner year for Asian Americans in the media. In high profile roles we've seen Margaret Cho as smart-ass American girl, Connie Chung as newsroom nightmare, and Lance Ito as the world's most famous judge. Incidentally or intentionally, their portrayals speak for a whole group of Americans. In 'Charlie Chan Is Not Dead: Media Representation of Asian Americans,' authors Lorraine Dong, Philip Kan Gotanda, Gail Tsukiyama, and Darrell Y. Hanamoto and TV reporter Wendy Hanamura assemble to discuss how these and other Asians in the media have impressed — and unimpressed them. 12:30 p.m., Don Carpenter Room. (Henry Kumagai)

SEXY TALK Bay Area sexual pioneers Susie Bright (editor of the Best American Erotica series), Carol Queen, Elizabeth Davis, and Jack Morin have an explicit, no-holds-barred, frank discussion of what's hot and what's not in a panel titled 'Women, Sex, and Desire.' 1:45 p.m., Don Carpenter Room. (Jennifer Joseph)

QUEER EQUALITY Former National Lesbian and Gay Task Force director Urvashi Vaid 1 Lashiane through

book is a collection or poems about AIDS (and there are many wondrous pieces on that subject), yet wonder how they're also gorgeous water songs, full of color and music. Next, go listen to Doty read at 4:30. Next, go up to him afterward and have him sign the book you bought. Ask him the exact date his memoirs are being published, and finally, put it on your calendar and count down the days with great big Xs, as if that day were your birthday. 4:30 p.m., Poet and Fiction Writers Showcase. (Brian Bouldrey)

### SUNDAY, OCT. 5

YOUR HISTORY Ink slinger Jennifer Joseph, plus KTVU's Gary Kauf, author J. Kingston Pierce, and the San Francisco mystery maven Dr. Weirde head up a panel on everyone's favorite subject: cool, weird, and generally compelling San Francisco trivia, in a panel called 'Mondo San Francisco.' 11 a.m., Don Carpenter Room. (Miriam Wolf)

DARK FIELDS Adrienne Rich is perhaps the last of the great angry women whose poetry rewrote literary gender dynamics in the 1950s and '60s. Her verse speaks with a haunting eloquence that gives no quarter, and hearing her read is bound to be a visceral, even tactile, experience. Too pragmatic to go the way of Sylvia Plath and Anne Sexton, Rich is a living portrait of the artist as a savvy, politically aware

being. Hear her read from her newest, Dark Fields of the Republic. Noon, Main Stage. (Neva Chonin)

THE DIFFER-ENCE between an old leftie and an old hippie is about a million Studs miles. Terkel, one of our greatest old lefties (if you consider 83 old), be diswill cussing his new book, Coming of Age: The Story of

Our Century by Those Who've Lived It. Terkel is a brilliant oral historian, and in this new book he has gathered 70 witnesses aged 70 to 99, piecing together the quilt of our culture in the 20th century. Terkel is a great interviewer; now enjoy a treat as he sits in the guest chair in conversation with Bill Sokol. 1:30 p.m., Main Stage. (Bouldrey)

GENII Octavia Butler, the visionary author of Kindred and 1005 winner of a

writers who infuse their work with a feminist sensibility and a decisive stance against racism. Five of the contributors-Cherrie Moraga, Rosemary Catacalos, Lorna Dee Cervantes, Cecile Pineda, and Gloria Vando—read from their work and discuss their lives and inspirations in a panel titled 'Daughters of the Fifth Sun: Latina Poetry and Fiction.' 1:45 p.m., Poets and Fiction Writers Showcase. (Levin)

WORDS FROM TOM A former producer of Tennessee Williams's plays (including the S.F. premiere of The Two-Character Play in 1976), Lyle Leverich was authorized by the playwright to pen Williams's biography—but publication was dramatically blocked by a hostile executor of Williams's will for 15 years, until the executor's death last year. William Abrahams and Leverich will discuss Tom: The Young Tennessee Williams, the first of two volumes, which is already garnering raves from early reviewers. (Publisher's Weekly calls it "hefty but only slightly bloated"-no small accomplishment.) 2:30 p.m., Wallace Stegner Room. (Bouldrey)

PROLIFIC doesn't even begin to describe what Norman Mailer has been. Has been? Remains. Just this year, Mailer has delivered his own investigation of the naked (Lee Harvey Oswald) and the dead (tricky Dick Nixon). Mailer may say he's staying so busy to pay the bills, but one



Norman Mailer appears Sun/5.

can't help but wonder if he wasn't inspired by Borges's idea of rewriting history — filling a library with one's own version of history and, over time, having it effectively replace history in the imaginations of successive genof erations readers. Listen and decide for yourself if you

trust Mailer with history. 4 p.m., Main Stage. (Brad Wieners)

BAY AREA FAVORITES Bill Griffith (creator of Zippy the Pinhead), Diane Noomin (editor of Twisted Sisters), Spain Rodriguez (author of She: The Big Bitch Anthology), Bob Callahan (editor of the Neon Lit graphic novel series), and Larry Gonick (author of The Cartoon History of the Universe) discuss the significant contribution comics have made to



George Sokolsky (center) was a founder of the American-Jewish Anti-Communist League in 1947. According to Hank Messick, in 1951, J. Edgar Hoover sent a report of subversives to Army Intelligence which then leaked it to the League. The League then offered the report to Joe McCarthy (right). Cohn (left) was the League's protege and their candidate to be McCarthy's counsel when Republicans gained control of the Senate in 1952.



Cohn induced McCarthy to add G. David Schine to his committee staff. Schine was son of hotel owner Meyer Schine who was connected to Frank Costello's gambling empire. When Schine was drafted, Cohn pressured the Army into giving Schine generous pass privileges so that he could work on Committee business. Schine conducted his business at the Stork Club where he is pictured above with Cohn.



Complaints about Schine's preferential treatment resulted in the Army-McCarthy hearings and led to the destruction of Joe McCarthy. Cohn (above left) clashed bitterly with Democratic minority counsel Robert Kennedy (right center) during the hearings. When Democrats captured control of the Senate in 1954, Kennedy would emerge as Chief Counsel to the new committee chair, Senator John McClellan (lower right).



Dorothy Kilgallen was a star crime reporter for the Hearst newspaper chain as well as a nationally known TV personality and Broadway columnist. Although she participated in Cohn-Hoover-Hearst efforts to tie JFK to the Profumo scandal in June 1963, after the assassination she became an avid supporter of Robert Kennedy. She covered Jack Ruby trial for Hearst and had an exclusive interview with Jack Ruby. She is pictured above with Ruby lawyers Marvin Belli and Joe Tonahil. Her mysterious death in 1965 has been linked to her stated determination to solve the JFK assassination.



Clay Shaw was a director of Permindex, a Swiss corporation linked to foreign assassination plots and ... Roy Cohn.



An embarrassing story in the Cleveland Plain Dealer threatened to block Jackie Presser's assent to the Teamster Union presidency in 1984. Cleveland mobster Moishe Rockman (above left) met with Cohn (above right) and Genovese crime family boss. Tony Salerno (center). At their behest, Cohn client S.I. Newhouse, Jr. forced the newspaper to print a retraction. The Newhouse family is not only the owner of the Plain-Dealer, but also the New Orleans Times Picayune and Random House, publisher of *Case Closed*. Vovember 6, 1995

The Nation.

# BOOKS & THE ARTS.

## Cubism Was a Guy Thing

#### **EUNICE LIPTON**

<sup>o</sup>ORTRAIT OF PICASSO AS A (OUNG MAN. By Norman Mailer. Atantic Monthly. 400 pp. \$35.

hat a disappointing book Norman Mailer has made out of Picasso. Boring, lazy and ignorant by turns, doesn't even radiate the heat one might ave expected. I expected, I admit it. One old satyr writing about another? This ould have been Mailer on Marilyn Monoe and Mailer on Last Tango rolled into ne; maybe not art history, but somehing. Instead it's just a tired old book hat reads as if it were produced by the 'Atelier of Mailer'' for an advance.

Mailer has strung together many engthy quotes-one runs twelve pages Imost without interruption-from books t hand, between which he has slipped ome of his own paragraphs. I hardly exggerate. Academic literary critics do freuently work with lengthy source quotes, ut in a fundamentally different way. acqueline Rose used such a technique in he Haunting of Sylvia Plath (1992). Her roject was to analyze the writing on 'lath in order to reveal its political and sychological biases. She meant to unover the strategies that produced Plath's terary and biographical persona. Mailer, ip enough, or informed enough, to know bout such academic pursuits, perhaps lought he could do the same. But lackig any critical apparatus, he couldn't. le simply selected texts, willy-nilly, and sed them as sources of the Truth and, appears, to fill his pages. He ends up ith a book lacking artistic will, a book 1 which no one comes to life.

The only blips in this lethargic enterrise come when some sexual or competive event—or as likely, projection—calls le author to attention. So he writes best bout Picasso's youthful visits to a Barelona brothel; or Gertrude Stein, whom Iailer detests; or competitive tensions etween Picasso and Matisse. Even Mail-

*unice Lipton's books include* Picasso riticism, 1900–1939: The Making of an rtist-Hero (*Garland*) and Alias Olympia: Woman's Search for Manet's Notorious Iodel and Her Own Desire (*Penguin/ leridien*). er's writing about the artist's erotic drawings and sex life is dreary when it is not downright embarrassing. About the drawing *Celestial Vision (Crucifixion)*—among the many works reproduced here—he imagines that "the head of Christ can also serve for the button of the clitoris!" What he sees in a sexually explicit drawing by Picasso is "the heated timelessness of foreplay and fingerfucking." Really, can't he leave anything to the imagination, not to mention the eyes?

Does Mailer really think his own writing passions are the result of something so paltry as competitive feelings?

I felt queasy when Mailer, in his Preface, tells us how enthralled he was studying each and every page of Christian Zervos's thirty-three volumes of *Pablo Picasso* (1932-73), a large-format series that reproduces almost everything Picasso ever made. Mailer writes, "The experience may be equal to reading all of Shakespeare in two months." Hardly. Zervos's reproductions of Picasso's work are without exception in black and white, and most are stamp- or postcard-size. A juicy 3-by-5foot painting dwindled down to 4-by-6 black-and-white inches ain't Shakespeare. And it ain't Picasso either.

Mailer's assistants didn't do right by him. None of them seem to have had the faintest knowledge of art-historical or art-critical writing beyond browsing the art section of a good bookstore. There has been brilliant work on Picasso's early years, but Mailer shuns the best of it. You find neither Leo Steinberg nor John Berger; there's almost no William Rubin. This is a shame for Mailer and a travesty of art history. Had he done his homework, he would have encountered some courageous and imaginative people.

As it is, *Portrait of Picasso* is foolish and clichéd. Mailer gives us first the Artist-Genius: "At the heart of the universe . . . was a disruptive power never too far away from this mysterious act of drawing." "Form is the language that God has decided to share with a few painters, the very best painters." Then we get the mercurial temperament of the Artist-Genius: "His depression poured out of him." "If he was a monster, we have no alternative but to accept him. We ought to know that violence and creativity all too often connect themselves inextricably."

Making paintings is like making books. It's hard work done by fairly ordinary, if self-absorbed, people. Mailer should know this.

He really does seem to suffer from terminal Oedipus complex. He reduces the development of Cubism to a contest: "How much of cubism is a reaction against Matisse!" "Picasso [was] obsessed with form as the categorical answer to Matisse's mastery of color." Mailer relishes the anecdote that Picasso, during the period when he and Braque were evolving Cubism, called Braque "Mme. Picasso" behind his back. Does Mailer really think that his own writing passions are merely the result of something so paltry as competitive feelings?

In his hurry, Mailer didn't even learn from Picasso's work. He takes the artist to task for making ugly art. He calls Les Demoiselles d'Avignon (in the Museum of Modern Art, New York) "an exorcism, a literal scarecrow"; "that crazy abortion he [did] of women in a brothel. . . . a gnomic, repellent work." Mailer doesn't take seriously how ugliness functions momentously in this painting. Consider Picasso's contemporaries, still enraptured by Renoir's rosy, voluptuous nudes and Gauguin's beguiling native girls. To crush these round and gaily colored forms, these soothing female icons into the angles, glares and chill of the Demoiselles was to raise profound questions about love, beauty, pleasure. An author writing about this painting ought to stretch the boundaries of his own mind as Picasso did while painting it. Here's Leo Steinberg on the Demoiselles:

Of the five figures depicted, one holds back a curtain to make you see; one intrudes from the rear; the remaining three stare you down. The unity of the picture . . . resides above all in the startled consciousness of a viewer who sees himself seen. . . . The *Demoiselles* is all actuality, a clash of the sexes and a reciprocal shock—the women, themselves the quarry, stare at their game. The Nation.

Certainly the demoiselles figured in this painting do not fit Mailer's notion of the feminine. Decrying today's "world of prevailing feminism," Mailer notes, "If, even in the face of contemporary ridicule, men still strive for machismo, that is because it speaks to a primitive certainty in male gender—even as a similar claim might be presented for elegance in women." I guess we can understand why Mailer hates this painting.

Ignorance and complacency are everywhere in this book. Mailer tsk-tsks Picasso for using "masks in preference to faces," missing Picasso's visual strategy of replacing literal faces with forms that interpret psychological and physical data. Mailer makes the absurd comment that the literature on Cubism is "without great insight," but he doesn't know the literature. There is not a single reference in his book to John Golding, Robert Rosenblum or Clement Greenberg. Now, perhaps he doesn't like criticism. Maybe if asked, he would pooh-pooh the insights of Virginia Woolf, Edmund Wilson and Irving Howe. Well, tant pis for Mailer.

Every once in a while a provocative insight escapes the sludge. Given Mailer's temperament, it is no surprise that dislike motivates some of his best writing. The person he hates most is Gertrude Stein she's ugly, she's overly wordy, she's shallow, her brother Leo is smarter. Nonetheless, Mailer hypothesizes with great panache and cunning about Picasso and Stein.

The artist made one memorable portrait of Stein (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art). The relationship between the two of them must have been something to behold. "It was not like [Picasso] to use a model over and over in the same pose," Mailer notes. Critics have read the artist's procrastinating on this painting as a search for a new visual means, but Mailer proposes something else entirely. He thinks Picasso was confounded by Stein's lesbianism. Here's Mailer: "It is safe to assume that Gertrude Stein was the most monumental crossover in gender that [Picasso] had ever encountered." And a few pages further on, "[Picasso] wrestles with the enigma of Miss Stein. He must work on the premise that if he can solve the riddle she represents, much else will open. She is so exceptionally authoritative. God has come down to visit us in the form of a woman who acts like a man." Despite Mailer's retro sexist vocabulary, it is illuminating to think about macho Picasso being

thrown off balance by the gay American demiurge Gertrude Stein.

There are many sad things about Portrait of Picasso as a Young Man: how luridly nasty it is concerning Stein's death; how voyeuristic regarding Picasso's lover Fernande Olivier; how vulgar and silly in its sexual references. But saddest of all is its apathetic disingenuousness, its lack of heart and honor. The late twentieth century offers great examples of critical and discursive writing, from Primo Levi to James Baldwin to Susan Sontag. There was a time when Mailer himself would have been considered such a writer.

# What Feminism Looks Like

#### VIVIAN GORNICK

THE EDUCATION OF A WOMAN: The Life of Gloria Steinem. By Carolyn G. Heilbrun. Dial. 451 pp. \$24.95.

he first woman astronaut went up into space and, standing on the ground, her mother cried, "God bless Gloria Steinem!" The women's movement, in a moment of disarray, needed an enemy within, and it cried, "Gloria Steinem!"

Asked in a small city why she had never married, Steinem said for the television cameras, "I wanted women to see that you could not marry, and still have an interesting life." In the studio people applauded wildly.

A few years ago, watching her drift through a roomful of intellectual women—it was not her crowd, she could find no easy place to touch down—I heard a scientist ask, "What exactly is it that she *does*?" and a critic replied, "It's not what she does, it's what she arouses in others."

Gloria Steinem belongs to a generation of feminists that includes Kate Millett, Ellen Willis, Betty Friedan and Susan Brownmiller, yet she alone became its enduring emblematic figure. She is to feminism what Yasir Arafat is to the Palestinians: an incarnation, a figure of powerful suggestiveness, a projection in the popular imagination of all in our cause that glimmers, and all that grieves. After twenty-five years of the most sophisticated politicking in feminist history, the glamorous woman among us is the one who, more than any other, continues to hold the inner attention of depressed housewives, expectant schoolgirls, angry waitresses and restless academics.

If you should turn in the crowd and ask, Why? the answer you're likely to get is, "Because she's beautiful, and she's not threatening," or "She's beautiful,

Vivian Gornick's next book, a collection of essays entitled Approaching Eye Level, will be published by Beacon in 1996.

and she's made herself vulnerable," or "She's beautiful, and . . ." fill in the blank, it doesn't actually matter what comes next. The answer always astonishes. I am moved when I hear it. Moved and appalled and sobered. "She's beautiful. She could have been anything. And she became a feminist." Indeed, an incarnation. To contemplate Steinem's image in the world is to gaze steadily into the meanness of our everlasting anxiety, the gravity of our uprising. Steinem herself understands this better than anyone: from the inside out. And perhaps Carolyn Heilbrun does too, as her new biography, The Education of a Woman, is remarkably absorbed by the question of Gloria's looks.

Steinem was born sixty-one years ago in the Midwest into a family whose drift toward the margin was steady. She was smart, and she was pretty. Like millions before and after, she thought pretty would be the passport to another life, but as it turned out it only meant "coming in second in beauty contests in Toledo, Ohio." An older sister rescued her, took her to Washington, D.C., to finish high school. Then came a scholarship to Smith College. After Smith she knew how to do the world.

A couple of years out of college she came to New York to find an exciting job. Fit for nothing in particular and connected to no one at all, luck failed to rescue her. But a curious job in Cambridge came her way. Through the good offices of a man she'd met in India (she had spent a year there on a student fellowship), she went to work for the Independent Research Service, a foundation that "encouraged" young Americans to attend the International Communist Youth Festivals being held in Europe. The year was 1959. The money was coming from the C.I.A. This Steinem did not know, but even if she had known, she would have taken the job. Not that she was a baby cold warrior, not at all; it was rather that she had no real politics, she only knew that she loved doing politics. That,

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### INTELLIGENCER



Spalding Gray, exposed



Russell Simmons, cat lover

after Landon Jones was confide the names of underinstalled as the magazine's performing colleagues. Many editor-in-chief. At that time, at *People* contend that,

### MAILER SAYS YES, THE NEW YORKER

Norman Mailer's book on Lee Harvey Oswald will be excerpted next winter not in Vanity Fair—where he recently completed a three-year stint as writer-at-large—but in *The New Yorker*. "The book was only submitted to *The New Yorker*," says a source at Random House. "That's what Mailer wanted." This is a happy, if curious, ending to the saga of Oswald's Tale. In the December issue, Vanity Fair—in what would seem an act of sibling rivalry (both publications are owned by S. I. Newhouse)—published a 10,000-word-plus investigation by JFK assassination expert

Anthony "ummers and his wife Robbyn on Oswald's and his wife Robbyn on Oswald's and his wife Robbyn on Oswald's and his wife Robbyn on Mailer, who also actually traveled to Moscow to investigate Oswald's time there. "Obviously, Tony Summers is one of the two or three most important writers on this subject," Mailer notified us, not at all bitterly. Condé Nasties, meanwhile, are relishing an

apparent rift developing between **Harry Evans's** Random House (also Newhouse-owned) and **Graydon Carter's** Vanity Fair. This year, the magazine has published two pieces insiders consider counter to in-house synchronicity: a profile of Mary Matalin and James Carville that ran earlier than promised and did not properly promote their Random House book, and an excerpt from **Peter Manso's** highly unauthorized Brando biography that appeared just before the release of Evans's \$6million Brando *auto*biography. "It didn't matter," says a Random House source. "Our book was the best-seller, theirs wasn't." /-



### SPALDING GRAY'S NOT-SO-HOT ANATOMY

Spalding Grav wants to expose his Anatomy further, but American television seems unwilling to take a peek. The author and star of the critically-if not financiallyacclaimed filmed monologues Swimming to Cambodia and Monster in a Box is seeking funding for a third, Gray's Anatomy. Gray has persuaded Britain's Channel 4 to finance half of the film. But he says the rest of the funding must come from the U.S. "I'm very bitter that [the U.S. cable networks] are dragging their feet [just] because there weren't big profits with Swimming to Cambodia and Monster," says the monologuist, who will perform Anatomy for the last time in New York this Wednesday during twentiethanniversary festivities for the Wooster Group. No one can argue that Gray doesn't have a following. Recently, he was besieged by phone calls in response to an article in the American Airlines inflight magazine in which he mentioned that he's listed in the

phone calls in response to an article in the American Airlines inflight magazine in which he mentioned that he's listed in the New York City telephone directory. "There was a woman whose dog had just jumped out the window of her apartment, asking about an afterlife for pets. She felt I would know the answer to this... And there was the stripper from Rhode Island. I met with her in a park. Don't ask me why."

Temlock had many so-called confidential talks with writers and editors—in which the interviewees were expected to confide the names of underperforming colleagues. Many at *People* contend that,

ty, the substance of those talks was shared quite freely with management. Temlock's consultation resulted in the expansion of the role of assistant managing editors-making them into aimost a new layer of management that was resented by many since it made access to lones more difficult. Now Temlock is roving the corridors of People with a brief to interview 25 Jones-designated editors and staff members. Management sources claim that his presence is to ease the fears of stressed-out employees who have been stretched thin by understaffing. But many sources contend the opposite. "Each time he comes in, we are told he is here to make us happier," one insider says. "But each time he leaves, morale is ten times worse than it was before."

despite promises of anonymi-

### RUSSELL SIMMONS'S HOT NEW BEDFELLOW

If PETA is looking for another celebrity animal lover, it should work on rap impresario **Russell Simmons,** who has become a ward of **Keith Richards's** black cat, **Miso.** Miso, who lives in the

Silk Building Street-as do Richards-was the charge of Marlon. But, st Marlon becan absentee fath would roam for food. Sim Simone took renamed him Simone: "I was since Russell apartment, and white and be the cat started thing, there wo Initally Russell down with M now, says Sin sleeping with h

### JONATHAN Somethin

Jonathan Dem from the big so vas. To promo bre of the vears-the figh for artistic free dom in Haittthe Philadelphi and Silence the Lambs dire tor recent mounted an ex bition of Haiti art at Rama College in N Jersey. Some d so recent that arrival of Amer Jean-Bertrand M "They all went easels immed Demme, who from Haiti and again next mon

again flext flid Demme was his fifth doc Haiti—The A about the lifed ality Jean Do was forced in the Cedras re the people I whether the A tary's presence try was co invasion or a Demme says." was a deliverar.

Photographs: top left, Gwendolen Cates/Sygma, right Wyatt Counts/ Outline middlek louse that ther eight pany. Mr. g its pub-

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iries Unit

epresents the s industry and aid of the syshe Tokyo mar-Everything is

arry prices on \$118 billion in traded daily: racts have not rmation is exy a number of ies, including C., Knight-Ridperg Financial

ovpx was proe General Ac-1990 report to 0. called for 1 of price inforrecommended changes in the 1986 to ure if the indussown. The act is

mic chorus of flutes, electronic music and the sound of dribbling basketballs.

This is Nike Town, opened here late

By ROBERT PEAR

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 16 - After a

yearlong audit, the United States Cus-

toms Service has concluded that

Honda took improper advantage of

the United States-Canada free-trade

agreement to avoid paying millions of

dollars in duties on cars imported

into the United States from its Allis-

Under the agreement, which was

intended to encourage the use of auto parts and labor from the United States and Canada, cars assembled in

ton, Ontario, plant.

store could justify or afford all ot what Nike has done here. But as retailers search for a distinctive and more exciting niche in an over-

one of the two countries and shipped across the border are exempt from tariffs if at least half their content

Although the American Honda

Motor Company said it met that test,

Customs Service auditors said the ac-

tual "North American content" of

Honda Civics imported from the On-

tario plant was 25 percent to 30 per-

cent less than the amounts claimed

by the company, a subsidiary of the Tokyo-based Honda Motor Company.

The auditors made their conclusions

from Bush Administration officials

Details of the report were obtained

U.S. Says Honda Skirted Customs Fees

comes from either country.

in a confidential report.

t \_\_\_\_\_\_ Portland store is exceeding all expectations and is intended to be profit-

vigorously enforced.

Continued on Page D3

and Congressional aides eager to see

the free-trade pact with Canada

as the United States and Canada are

negotiating a similar pact with Mexi-

Honda, which had not seen the re-

port, disputed its conclusions when

told of them. The company said it be-

lieved that its cars produced in

Canada for sale in the United States

In a confidential memorandum to

the Treasury Department reporting

Continued on Page D6.

were entitled to duty-free treatment.

The preliminary conclusions come

Airbus officials said.

The Airbus planes, whis scheduled to be delivered years beginning in 1993, will for the most part Federal E Boeing 727's and McDonnell DC-10's.

An Airbus official said many routes to and from Fec press's hub in Memphis, A-300 could replace two Boe now serving the route. The A ficial said: "This makes e sense for Federal Express." use one aircraft with two p two engines instead of two 7 a total of six pilots and six en

Airbus officials said fina for the deal were not yet sij they said Federal Express were coming to Paris this w news conference about the or

The Federal Express orc far the largest announced year's Paris Air Show, the

Continued on Page I

Ruffled Feathers in Random Eaves

#### By-ROGER-COHEN-

Harold Evans was brought to Random House eight months ago with a mandate from its owner, S. I. Newhouse, to revamp a publisher that was scarcely profitable. Since then, drastic changes in staff and style have left no doubt that Mr. Evans takes this mission seriously. He seems to have provoked resentment and admiration in equal measure.

Moving with a dispatch to which a conservative industry is unaccustomed, the former British newspaperman has appointed a new director of marketing, a new associate publisher, a new executive editor, a new creative director and a new executive art director. Several people have been quietly eased out. Mr. Evans, a man never much interested in the status quo, has also committed Random House to broadening its publishing in business, science, art and current events.

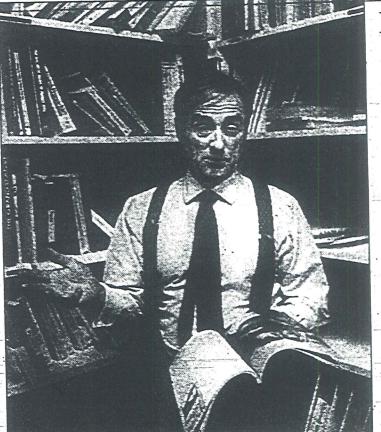
"It needed to be re-energized," the publisher said of the division he took over from Joni Evans. "The list was too narrow. I want to make this house genuinely 'rändom' and eclectic. And in a place that has not been a brilliant financial success in recent years, I would like to be more profitable."

#### A Literary Symbol

Much is at stake. Founded in 1927 by Bennett Cerf, Random House has embodied excellence since it published Joyce's "Ulysses" in 1934. Because it is a literary symbol as muchas a publishing division, trying to change it is potentially treacherous.

Moreover, with sales of about \$100 million, it accounts for more than 10 percent of the revenue of Random House Inc. Its success is therefore important to the overall performance of the company which is owned by Mr. Newhouse's Advance Publications and has been run for the last 18 months by Alberto Vitale, who was brought in to replace Robert L. Bernstein and to bring cohesion and greater profitability.

Because books generally take years to write, altering the character of a publishing house is a slow process. The current list, a reflection of the work of Mr. Evans's predecessor,



Harold Evans, a former British newspaperman who was brought to Random House eight months ago to revamp it, has committed the company to broadening\_the\_content\_of\_its\_publishing, particularly\_in\_the\_ fields of business, science, art and current events.

suggests that this impish and boundlessly enthusiastic former editor of The Times and The Sunday Times in Britain has a solid base. The list includes works by James A. Michener, Paul Theroux, Wilbur Smith, Diane Ackerman and Ann Beattie.

Still, Mr. Evans, 62 years old, wants to do things differently. His gritty, forthright style can ruffle feathers. Some editors, who insisted on anonymnity, said Mr. Evans has involved himself in all aspects of Random House's activities, from editing book jacket copy to suggesting- promotional schemes like advertising current-affairs books on the news, rather than the book, pages of newspapers.

Jack Mannung/ Th

Continued on Page D8 \*

## Brazil See <u>To Resolv</u> Debt Impa

#### By JAMES BROOK

Special to The New York Tir BRASILIA, June 16 — Or a visit to the United State President and his new Minister said in interview day that they planned to talks with commercial b

Brazil's \$50 billion foreign ( "We have a sense of Marcilio Marques Moreira omy Minister, said of the passe which has moved li first 15 months of the G here. "I hope that by the year we might have it wrap Sense bunded wards a

Several hundred yards a Planalto Palace, President Collor de Mello indicated th urgency comes from the toj "I would have been ver

"I would have been ver this negotiation over our been concluded last year, 41-year-old President. "I more desirous of a quick of debt-negotiation process than the Brazilian Governn

#### Talks With Bankers

On Monday, the Preside Economy Minister are to Washington for a four-day indication of the trip's new on debt, a day in Los Ar dropped in favor of a da York — Thursday — to bankers.

As a signal to the bank delegation will include a negotiator, Pedro Malar representative to the Inter Development Bank. It was here on Thursday that Jór debt negotiator since last y be reassigned to Brussels.

Mr. Dauster was the las from the economic team of doso de Mello, who res month ago as Economy Bankers had complained

Continued on Page 1

tor, are submitted by writers who find her name in Literary Market Place, the directory of the publishing industry, or in mystery magazines. One of St. Martin's biggest-selling books — "While Waiting," a guide for expectant mothers by Anne Marie Mueser and George Verrilli — was

tion largely determines whether the editor will look at it, while those sent to no one in particular are read by assistants as time permits.

Next spring, Atheneum will publish "Mark and Livy," a book about Mark Twain and his wife, Olivia Langdon. The book arrived at the house after scheduled a tour by the author, who lives in Ellicott City, Md., to 12 suburban towns from New York to California. And two promotions later, in part because of her discovery of "Carpool," Ms. Ash is now an associate editor.

### Feather Ruffling Is Heard Under the Eaves at Random

Continued From First Business Page

This style has led to clashes with a few people, among them Janice Donnaud, who departed earlier this year and will be replaced this week as associate publisher by Walter L. Weintz, the former head of the United States office of Arnoldo Mondadori Editore S.p.A. of Italy.

With Ms. Donnaud went her close friend Peter Gethers, the former head of Villard Books, which, along with Times Books, is also overseen by Mr. Evans. Mr. Gethers is now an editor at large for Villard.

- Amy Rhodes, Charles Woods and Robert Aulicino, executives involved in Random House's marketing, promotion and graphics, have also gone. Only on the editorial side, where Jason Epstein, Joseph M. Fox and Robert • Loomis remain, has there been relative stability.

Mr. Evans said that when he took over he found dissension that was "acute and unproductive" and that this problem had to be resolved.

#### 'The Berlin Wall'

But inevitably, these staff changes have led to griping. So too did Mr. Evans's decision to close off the door between his office and the corridor, insuring that -visitors have to go through his secretary's office. The closed-off door has become known as "the Berlin Wall."

It is seen by some editors as a symbol of the fact that they sometimes find the publisher difficult to reach. His deep involvement in a just-published fast book on the gulf war called "Triumph in the Desert" left some feeling he was distracted.

Over all, in the corridors of Random House Inc., Mr. Evans is now commented upon as much as Sonny Mehta was when he took over Alfred A. Knopf from Robert A. Gottlieb in 1987. After a rocky start, Mr. Mehta has been highly successful."

#### Evans Thoroughly Backed

irst

ire.

In establishing his position, Mr. Evans has an advantage over Mr. Mehta, the Indian-born, British-educated publisher of Knopf. Mr. Metha did not have the confidence or support of the company's former chief executive, Mr. Bernstein, but Mr. Evans is firmly backed by Mr: Vitale.

"Harry has a zillion strengths that he brings to the party," Mr. "Witale said in an interview, "He has tremendous enthusiasm and creativity and a determination to explore any avenue available to make a book successful. The fact is, change is always a bit of a trauma in a traditional trade house."--Certainly, there are plenty of people with natural interests in fostering criticism of Mr. Evans, who is married to Tina' Brown, the editor of Condé Nast's Vanity Fair, another property of Mr. Newhouse. Mr. Evans was offered the top job at Random

House a few weeks before Ms. Evans, no relation, discovered that she would be replaced, people familiar with the negotiations said. She moved on to a smaller new imprint, Turtle Bay Books, but her allies at Random House are numerous and some of them are angry.

#### Resentments and Rivalries

Moreover, although he was briefly editor in chief of the small Atlantic Monthly Press, Mr. Evans has more experience in newspapers and magazines than books. In a house where many editors have vast experience, some resentment and jibes were inevitable.

Other editors emphasize what they see as a growing rivalry between Mr. <u>Evans and Mr. Mehta. Both publish</u> ers are re-introducing a line of classics: Knopf with the Everyman Library, which it is bringing out this year, and Random House with the Modern Library, which is to come out next year.

Mr. Evans, however, said his jousting with Mr. Mehta was no more than "literary cricket," and Mr. Mehta also downplayed any tension. Mr. Evans said: "Randôm House's

Mr. Evans said: "Random House's range will be broader than Knopf's.

### A new publisher is in a scramble to increase profits.

They are a superb publisher over a narrower area. Our challenge is to be an equally superb publisher over a wider range."

#### Doomsayers May Be Confounded

It is a big-challenge. But the signs are that Mr. Evans's quick insights' and bubbling enthusiasm may well confound the doomsayers and bring success with innovation, just as they did at The Sunday Times, where he was considered a brilliant editor, and at his previous job as founding editor of the very successful Condé Nast Traveler magazine.

The son of a Lancashire engine driver, Mr. Evans is used to battling for success and combines a determined nature with editorial flair. He already has had several successes. He has concluded <u>10-year deals to</u> publish the photographs of Richard Avedon and of Robert Mapplethofpe —books that will take Random House into the photographic area in an unprecedented way. In the business field, he recently won a tough negotiation for a much-sought nonfiction book by David Dorsey, "The Force," which follows the success of an extraordinarily driven Xerox sales team in Cleveland.

In other difficult transactions, like



Sonny Mehta, who took over Alfred A. Knopf in 1987 and is now considered highly successful there, was not supported by the company's former chief executive. .

the one for Marlon Brando's memoirs, he has shown an ability to win highly competitive negotiations.

Mr. Evans has an irrepressible nature. He has the eclectic gadfly mindof the journalist. His natural gait is a lope. He gets as excited about designing type for large-print books or about revamping Times Books and Random House's medical publishing (where he has appointed a new editor, Betsy Rapaport) as he does about a first novel or his success in arranging the simultaneous release of "Triumph in the Desert" as an ABC videocassete and as a book.

"If a brilliant trade house publisher is someone who gets the best books under contract and then makes sure their potential is fully exploited, then Harry is superb," Mr. Weintz said.

Mr. Evans has a vision of publishing everything from poetry to blockbusters with distinctive panache. Hisstaff changes, particularly the hiring of Bridget Marmion away from Farrar, Straus & Ciroux as director of marketing, have concentrated on improving the promotional side of Random House's business. Publishing for Mr. Evans is quite unabashedly an act of commerce.

#### Innovative Advertising

For "Beast," the story of a giant octopus that was written by Peter Benchley, the author of "Jaws," Mr. Evans is advertising with banners on beaches and a slogan that says, "There's something in the water."

For a biography of George Bernard Shaw, Mr. Evans is organizing a festival of Shaw plays. "I could have just sat here and let

"I could have just sat here and let things tick over and been immensely popular," Mr. Evans said."But I've had to make a lot of necessary changes, and there's been some rockiness with all the comings and goings. But my new team is now the best there is in publishing."



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### Alan Mirken Joins Abbeville Press As Associate Publisher

Alan Mirken, former vicechairman of Random House, has joined Abbeville Press as executive vicepresident and associate publisher.

When he left Random House at the end of January, Mirken said he would be taking "an equity position and active role in a smaller publishing house." Robert E. Abrams, president, publisher and majority stockholder of Abbeville, said Mirken has taken "a minority position" in the firm and declined to elaborate.

Mirken was president of the Crown Publishing Group for nine years until he and the late Nat Wartels sold it to Random House in October 1988.

Abrams, who founded

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Abbeville Press in 1977 with his father, the late Harry N. Abrams, called the new arrangement "a kind of second generation association. I've done a lot of business with Crown through the years, producing a number of their promotional books, and it really goes back to my father and Nat Wartels."

Abbeville publishes about 60 new titles a year, primarily in the art and gift book areas.

### 40 Random House Publishers and Editors Speak Out on Pantheon

Forty editors and publishers of Random House Inc.issued a public statement March 12 addressing the recent resignation of Pantheon's André Schiffrin and most of his editorial staff.

"It is with terrible sadness that we find Random House, and by extension all of us and all of our colleagues, attacked and disparaged," the statement "Our sadness is said. heightened by our conviction that the problems of Pantheon need not have resulted in this unfortunate exodus. Pantheon's financial problems were serious but not insoluble. We believe that the Fantheon leadership could have stayed and solved those problems. We also believe that the news coverage that has followed their departure has been misleading and inaccurate."

Like Pantheon, the statement said, "We would abhor corporate censorship. We have never experienced it, nor do we believe that Fan theon has ever experienced it. We would not tolerate censorship in any form and we are offended by any suggestion to the contrary. But unlike Pantheon, we have preserved our independence and the independence of our authors by sup-

porting the integrity of our publishing programs with fiscal responsibility."

#### Support for Jordan

"Committed to publishing a diversity of good books," those who signed the state ment said they had always supported Pantheon's high editorial standards and now support Pantheon publish, cr Fred Jordan and the authors he inherits.

In addition to spokespect ple Jason Epstein and Ash bel Green, others who signed the statement are Marty Asher, Joëlle Del bourgo, Janis Donnaud, Jo seph Esposito, Joni Evan Joe Fox, Jane Friedman Peter Gethers, Peter Guz zardi, Bruce Harris, Goral Harrison, Carol Janeway Judith Jones, Susan Kami William Koshland and Owen Lock.

Robert Loomin Also: Charlotte Mayerson, Erro McDonald, Kate Medina Leon Sonny Mehta, Nevler, Peter Osnos, Susa Pctersen, Betty Frashke Susan Reich, Diane Reve and, David Rosenthal, J net Schulman, Jonatha Segal, Michelle Sidran Car Elisabeth Sifton, Southern, Michael Spring Steve Wasserman, Jam Wade, LuAnn Walther and Robert Wyatt.

### Smith Is HBJ Senior Editor

Corlies M. "Cork" Smith, formerly editorial director for Ticknor & Fields, has been named senior editor for the trade divison of Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Peter Jovanovich, president and CEO of HBJ, said, "Cork is a marvelous editor. It is a delight to us to hear the congratulations from so many quarters on his joining HBJ."

Smith began his publishing career in 1955 at J. B. Lippincott and



worked for 21 years as a senior editor at the Viking Press. He has edited books by Jeffrey Archer, Madison Smartt Bell, William Kennedy, Gioria Naylor, Thomas Pyrchon, John Williams and many others.

### Harper Collins Posts Record Profits, With Revenues Up 40%

Record 1989 revenues and profits for the Harper Collins companies in North America were announced by Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation.

Revenues for the year ending December 31 were \$470.5 million, up \$130.2 million, or almost 40%, over 1988.

Operating profit was \$58.1 million, up \$9.3 million, or 12.5%, over 1988.

Compared with 1987, the year News Corporation acquired Harper & Row and named George Craig chief executive of Harper Collins, its worldwide book publishing operation, 1989 revenues are almost double; 1987 revenues were \$243.7 million. Operating profit increased 100%, or \$29.1 million over 1987's.

"I'm pleased to say that the improvements came from all of our publishing divisions," Craig said. "Lippincott and Gower Medical both had good years, while Zondervan and Harper's college division doubled

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their operating profits."

Revenues by category for the companies in the U.S. and Canada for 1989 were: general books, \$207.5 million; educational and professional, \$181.4 million; religious, \$116.2 million; and other, \$15.4 million.

Following News Corporation's acquisition in January 1989 of the U.K. publisher William Collins, the worldwide group was consolidated July 1 and has adopted a fiscal year ending June 30. For the six months ending December 31, total revenues were \$619 million and operating profit was \$100 million.

For the first full year of Harper Collins, which will include the acquisition of Scott, Foresman, the company expects revenues of \$1.5 billion. In contention for the world's largest En glish-language publisher are Simon & Schuster, which had revenues last year of \$1.3 billion, and Time Warner, with \$1.1 billion.

Mr. Weisbergie un Dwosnithese wonted. Dwy what you wonted. Any what you pricole Hre you ready to begin? (Y/N): Y NEWSABS NO: 01239702 AUTHOR: Cohen, Roger TITLE: Ruffled Feathers in Random Eaves SOURCE: New York Times SEC.PG:001: 0, 1:3 DATE: Jun 17, 1991 ABSTRACT: Harold Evans, a former British newspaperman, was brought to Random House eight months ago with a mandate from its owner, S. I. Newhouse, to revamp a publisher that was scarcely profitable. Since then, Evans has left no doubt that he takes his mission seriously, making drastic changes in staff and style that seem to have provoked resentment and admiration in equal measure. admiration in equal measure. ARTICLE TYPE: News ARTICLE LENG: Long (18+ col inches) SPECIAL FEAT: Photograph DESCRIPTORS: Publishing; Biographical profiles: Reorganization NAMED PEOPLE: Evans. Harold; Newhouse, Samuel I Jr COMPANIES: Random House AVAILABILITY: UMIACH: 60001.01 JOURNAL CODE: NY JOURNAL ISSN: 0362-4331 Next Record NEWSABS ND: 00905158 TITLE: Random House Taps SOURCE: Wall St-Europe SEC.FG:COL: 8:1 DATE: Nov 1. 1990 ABSTRACT: The Newhouse family's Random House Inc named Harold Evans president and publisher of adult general books at its main v division. The move jolted the publishing industry because Evans has little book publishing experience. ARTICLE TYPE: News ARTICLE LENG: Long (18+ col inches) SPECIAL FEAT: Illustration DESCRIPTORS: Appointments & personnel changes COMPANIES: Kandom House JOURNAL CODE; WE Next Record NEWSABS ND: 00382758 AUTHOR: Trueheart. Charles TITLE: New Head at Random House SOUKCE: Washington Post SEC.PG:COL: - 3:1 DATE: Nov 9. 1989 ABSTRACT: Media baron S. I. Newhouse Jr wasted little time in ABSTRACT: Media baron S. I. Newhouse Jr wasted little time in ABSTRACT: Media baron S. I. Newhouse Jr wasted little time in Barnstein, naming Aberto Vitale, who heads Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, to run the Random House empire. ARTICLE TYPE: News ARTICLE TYPE: News ARTICLE LENG: Medium (6-18 col inches) DESCRIPTORS: Publishing: Executives: Appointments & personnel changes NAMED FEOPLE: Newhouse, Samuel I Jr: Bernstein, Robert: Vitale, Alberto COMPANIES: Kandom House AVAILABILITY: UMIACH: 60208.00 JOURNAL CODE: WP JOURNAL ISSN: 0190-8286 Next Record NEWSABS NO: 00379637 AUTHOR: McDowell, Edwin TITLE: Random House Swept by a Rash of Rumors SOURCE: New York Times SEC.PB:COL: D. 8:5 DATE: Nov 6, 1989 ABSTRACT: For the publishing community, there are questions and rumors about why Robert L. Bernstein departed after 23 years as chairman of Random House and who S. I. Newhouse, Jr. whose family owns Random House, would appoint as the successor. ARTICLE TYPE: News ARTICLE LENG: Long (18+ col inches) DESCRIPTORS: Publishing: Appointments & personnel changes: Company profiles profiles NAMED PEOPLE: Brothes COMPANIES: Random House AVAILABILITY: UMIACH: 60001.01 JOURNAL CODE: NY JOURNAL 195N: 0362-4331 Set continuous printing/downloading to OFFI press Enter to return to J. Indiana 4500 Hoard, R.J. J. pent Hoard, R.J. 5. pent Hoard, R.J.

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Lunchtime Evanescence

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oni Evans is unrelated to Harry Evans, and they are both unrelated to Red Sox outfielder Dwight Evans. If those facts are unrelated (or uninteresting) to you, please refrain in the future from gossiping about the gossipy world of New York publishing. It demands attention to such details.

Here are some more: until last week, Joni Evans, 48, was publisher of Random House, a division of Random House Inc., which is privately owned by billionaire Si Newhouse, who also owns all Condé Nast magazines, including Condé Nast Traveler, which was run until last week by Harry Evans, 62, whose wife, Tina Brown, is editor of Vanity Fair, also owned by Newhouse, who competes with Simon and Schuster, which is headed by Richard Snyder, who was once married to his subordinate, Joni Evans, who defected to Random House not long after Robert Gottlieb left the Newhouse-owned Knopf to edit the Newhouse-owned New Yorker, which has been known to run sentences even longer than this one.

OK, short-sentences. Last week The New York Times suggested on its front page that



Harry Evans: New chief at Random House

Joni was pushed aside in favor of Harry. This bit of news was practically enough to overload all telephone circuits in the provincial media village of midtown Manhattan. The only problem was that Joni and lots of reliable independent sources said that she jumped. Was Random House, which had dissembled about painful Newhouse firings in the past, actually telling the truth this time? It looked that way, but a few hundred motormouthed publishing types decided to discuss it further...over lunch.

When last heard from, Joni and Dick were fighting viciously in court over money and who loved their dog more. In happier times, Dick had shot a rattlesnake, which Joni told friends (who told the press) stimulated passionate sex. More recently, Joni was a success at Random House, publishing 18-best sellers so far this year alone. But she and her colleagues forgot that the 1980s were ending, and they paid \$2 million for a tepidselling sequel from Donald Trump. Tired of so much administrative work, Joni will now launch her own small Random House imprint, though she can't think what to calrit.

When last heard from, Harry and Tina were leading a British invasion that had publishing groupies squealing as if the pair were John and Yoko. Chewing over the fact that Harry's daughter from a previous marriage serves as their namy could alone run up a \$150 tab at the

Four Seasons. Harry is the only man in the world who has worked for Rupert Murdoch, Henry Kissinger (as his book editor), Mort Zuckerman and Si Newhouse and *lived*.

After editing The Sunday Times and The Times of London, Harry wrote a critical memoir of life with Murdoch. Now it's Murdoch's turn to write his own memoirs—for Harry at Random House. Editors insist there's absolutely no truth to the gossip linking Murdoch's \$1 million book deal to his. crucial testimony at Newhouse's recent trial, which helped save Newhouse a fortune in back taxes. All that lunchtime incestuousness can lead to such misunderstandings. In fact, Joni says she will write soon about her industry's ceaseless rumormongering. For a Murdoch-owned magazing, of course:

JONATHAN ALTER

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JUSTICE **'Say, Warden, Could I Pay More for a View?'** Zarat's Guide to Prisons: a \$5,000 fine—was fully in ac-

Zagat's Guide to Prisons: \$47.20 per night (single rate). Secure blocks, diverse clientele, meal plan: Free exercise room and safe for valuables.

e's been videotaped, convicted and ordered to serve six months in prison. But a fortnight ago when Washington Mayor Marion Barry was sentenced for cocaine possession, he suffered one more humiliation: he'll have to pay for his stay in the pokey.

Actually, U.S. District Judge Thomas Penfield Jackson's order that Barry pay \$9,653 for jail time and one year of supervision—on top of cord with the law. Since U.S. sentencing guidelines took effect in late 1987, all federal prisoners are supposed to ante up for their confinement. "Why should the taxpayers have to cover an inmate's room and board and medical services when the defendant can afford it?" asks William Wilkins, the federal appeals judge who is chairman of the U.S. sentencing commission. Judges are supposed to waive the rule for inmates who are indigent or have dependents needing subsistence money; inmates with limited funds also make restitution for their crimes first.



Thus, officials estimate that only 10 percent of inmates wind up paying for their time.

- Barry, who's appealing his sentence, is one of the first high-profile defendants to be sentenced under the guidelines. Leona Helmsley, Jim Bakker and Michael Milken all committed their misdeeds before the rules took effect. Critics attack the novel payfor-jail provision as "unseemly," in light of the less than four-star-prison conditions) Sam Buffone, former chair of an American Bar Association sentencing committee, says, "It's a lot of show," given the lack of mon-ey collected. But "show" has a place in criminal law. Barry's \$9,653 tab may help deter the next high roller who decides to party in a hotel room.

# The House That Harry

ANDOM HOUSE PUBLISHER Harold M. Evans twisted his arms and legs into a pretzel shape. "I'm a Japanese wrestler who's suddenly wrestling with himself," he explained with the satisfaction of one who should have such a problem.

A whopping eight of his books have settled on The New York Times' national best-seller list and two newer titles may get there as well — to be further propelled by the price discounting that the big retailers routinely give to best sellers.

"Brando: Songs My Mother Taught Me," a \$5-million acquisition arranged by Evans himself, jumped on the list after its release on Sept. 7 (though Marlon Brando's autobiography now appears to be slip-

ping off). Two memoirs of the 1992 presidential campaign, James Carville and Mary Matalin's "All's Fair" and Hunter S. Thompson's "Better Than Sex," also have landed there, along with two new novels, John Irving's "A Son of the

the wings. Of the latter book, the true story of a hunt for a killer

virus, Evans said: ''I will eat a paperback book if that's not on the

It may be that Random House's wealth of popular choices will

conspire to keep one or more of them from achieving maximum

sales - or, as Evans fears, block less star-driven titles from

reaching best-seller status. "There's no doubt about it that we are

fighting with ourselves to some degree," he said. In the mean-time, however, there's no doubt about it that the best-seller tally

alone will make this a strong year for the publishing house. "It's all coming together," a competitor conceded. "There's a

The 67-year-old Evans, a former British newspaperman who is

married to New Yorker editor Tina Brown, was an editor at

Atlantic Monthly Press, U. S. News & World Report and Condé

Thing."

best-seller list this week or next week.'

lot of excitement there."

Circus" and Anna Quindlen's "One True

James Michener's "Recessional" and

Richard Preston's "The Hot Zone" are in

Paul D. Colford

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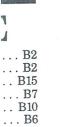
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AYBE IT'S THE Mother Teresa in us, but this month we've grown fond of rescuing readers who have taken pen to paper.

"David Pagel" — "not my real name," assures our gentle reader, which makes us wonder how much time he spent concocting that pseudonym, and whether it's a veiled bagel reference — reminisces that he spent his young adulthood in the early '80s in alternative clubs like Spit in Levittown and Paris, New York in Huntington. "My musical taste includes '60s British invasion, '60s



Nast Traveler before being named president of the Random House Trade Publishing Group, including Villard Books and Times Books, in 1990. Early in his tenure, he promised to open up Random House's list of offerings to make it "genuinely 'random.' ''

The current array, which also includes a first novel (Laura Joh Rowland's "Shinju") and a \$45 photographic history ("The Rus-sian Century"), appears to fulfill that promise even though Evans says he relied on those seasoned editors under him to deliver it. (It was editor Ann Godoff, for example, who acquired three of Ran-dom House's recent hits — Nathan McCall's "Makes Me Wanna Holler," Caleb Carr's "The Alienist" and John Berendt's "Mid-night in the Garden of Good and Evil," a no-longer-sleeper of a murder mystery that has spent 30 weeks — and counting — on the best-seller list.)

At the same time, what makes Evans a welcome presence in the frequently tight-lipped world of New York book publishing is his willingness to speak candidly about the pitfalls and finances of the industry. At a seminar last winter, he helped dispel the popular notion that a best seller is by definition a profitable book when he bared some of Random House's own profit-and-loss realities.

According to Evans, the 29 Random House titles that made the

ghtBeat hen Disco's Just Not Your Beat

Hot Spot

If you're not logging mileage or pledges for the sixth annual AIDS Walk Long Island on Sunday at Heckscher State Park in East Islip, you can at least attend "The Bash Before the Walk" tomorrow at Bob Buchmann's Jukebox Cafe (Motor Parkway, Hauppauge, 273-CAFE) or a pasta party planned for that same night at Whispers (in the Sheraton Smithtown, 110 Vanderbilt Motor Pkwy., Smithtown, 231-1100. The \$5 door shares at both will be

Random House publisher Harold Evans: eight titles on The New York Times national best-seller list and two apparently on the way

Musky 9/9/94 Built

> Times' end-of-1993 list of "notable books" collectively lost around \$600,000. In addition, a smaller group of nonfiction titles honored in 1993 by the American Library Association, including David Remnick's "Lenin's Tomb" and Paul Kennedy's "Preparing for the 21st Century," together lost about \$360,000.

> Coming from the privately held company — Random House is part of the Newhouse family's media empire — this was a tantalizing admission. What's more, Evans went on to explain, two

books essentially floated all boats by netting \$1.4 million between them. He did not identify the pair, but presumably he was referring to Maya Angelou's popular "Wouldn't Take Nothing for My Journey Now" and Marianne Williamson's "A Woman's Worth."

"Two books were so profitable that they paid for the rest," he repeated in his office this week.

"There's a lot of luck in it," he added, citing the example of Gerald Posner's "Case Closed," which argued that Lee Harvey Oswald alone killed President John F. Kennedy — and became an unexpectedly strong seller.

"We would have done it ['Case Closed'] even if we'd have lost money," Evans said. "No, let me rephrase that: We don't sign up a book deliberately saying, 'Tee-hee-hee, we're going to lose a lot of money on this.' You always live in hope and try to be realistic and try to take a long view, too." That is, some books, such as "Case Closed," may sell for years after their initial release.

Indeed, Brando writes that Evans presented a long view when the publisher wooed him to write the autobiography. According to the actor, Evans argued that potential profits from the showbizzy memoir would enable Random House "to publish books by talented unpublished authors that might not make money. In his own way, Harry is a hooker just like me, looking for a way to make money any way he can."

Seated in his corner office, a suspendered gentleman with afternoon tea in hand, Evans was asked about Brando's blunt recollection.

"It's something I might say," Evans stated. "Brando's a very provocative man. He will ask you questions about the nature of the universe, or marital relationships, or the ethics of the press. So you're off on an intellectual wild goose chase. In the course of that, I think he might have asked how you run a publishing

Please see COLFORD on Page B11

crowd) and on Thursdays (the alternative 007, which has distanced itself from its long-time partner, WDRE / FM 92.7).

— Not satisfied with two solid nights — thirtysomething singles on Fridays and a more mixed, ostensibly hipper bunch on Saturdays — Lexi Bianca Cafe (231 Old Country Rd., Carle Place, 747-4494) tries to jump-start its Thursdays with the debut of "Sophisticated Lady" tonight. Though at first glance that sounded to us like a burlesque revue, it is in fact the restaurantclub's ladies night, which starts with live jazz and segues to dance music at 11 p.m. Admission is free and so are women's drinks, starting at 9 p.m.

#### Possibilities



The star: Katherine Dunham today, and as a dancer

# A World Em Through Da Benefit for an artist-ar

#### By Joseph H. Mazo

T COULD BE a movie: An 85-year-old star, revered by her peers and pupils but largely forgotten by the general public, continues to conduct workshops and to teach disadvantaged children in an inner-city area while the money gets low.

The star also is a distinguished anthropologist — this is a movie, remember? — but her collections of notes, costumes and photographs are in danger because the small museum that houses them lacks climate control; some are stored, uncataloged, in boxes.

Unfortunately, it isn't a movie. Katherine Dunham, a pioneer of American dance and of research into the cultures of the African diaspora, continues to live in East St. Louis and to teach classes for children in that depressed city. Her financial situation, says Marta Vega, executive director of the Caribbean Cultural Center in Midtown, is "an indictment of public funding and of private funding." Dunham has "supported her own work Ailey use choreogr in Los A of what theater. Dunha pany in Broadwa to tour i herown ing take Universi Haiti an can coun as expres tions; in tions int public at "Kath choreog Holder, Martha dances ( Graham

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#### Randall

Randall Stores Inc.	
1705 N. Main	(605)996-7511
Mitchell, SD 57301	Fax: (605)996-1167
Sales: \$400.0* million	FY End: 4-30
Employees: 2,800	Type: Private
Founded: 1950	.,port mate
SIC(s): 5411 Grocery Stores; 2086	6 Bottled & Canned Soft

Description: Retail: Grocery store chain. Manufacturing: Soft

drink bottling. Officer(s): Ronald Randall, Pres & Chm Bd; Leonard Ellwein, Controller; Bill Bell, VP of Operations.

#### Randall Stores Inc. Randall Foods

1200 S. Hiverfront Dr.	(507)387-6644
Mankato, MN 56001	
Sales: \$38.0* million	FY End: 4-30
Employees: 500	Type: Division
Founded: 1946	•••
Immediate Parent: Randall Stores Inc.	
SIC(s): 5411 Grocery Stores.	
Description: Retail: Grocery stores.	
Officer(s): R.F. Randall, President; D. Dunla	an CEO

#### Randall Stores Inc. Randalls Bakery

nanuali Stores Inc. nanualis Dak	ery
Westgate Ctr.	(507)454-2976
Winona, MN 55987	
Sales: \$6.0* million	FY End: 4-30
Employees: 78	Type: Division
Founded: 1949	
Immediate Parent: Randall Stores Inc.	
SIC(s): 2051 Bread, Cake & Related Products.	
Description: Manufacturing: Bread.	
Officer(s): Kevin Youngerberg, Gen Mar.	
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#### **Bandall Textron Inc.**

P.O. Box 46334	(513)896-9400
Cincinnati, OH 45246	Fax: (513)896-3876
Sales: \$210.0* million	FY End: 12-31
Employees: 2,000	Type: Subsidiary
Immediate Parent: Textron Inc.	,, ,
SIC(a) 2465 Automative Stamping	2000 Direction Draduate

- IC(s): 3465 Automotive Stampings; 3089 Plastics Products Nec. Description: Manufacturing: Auto body stampings and plastic
- products. Officer(s): Russell Downing, President; Robert D. Wells, VP & Controller; John Hayes, VP of Sales; Denny Hayes, Info Systems Mgr; Robert Hicks, VP of Human Resources.

#### Randall's Food and Drugs Inc.

nunuun o i oou unu biu	33 1110.
14303 Inwood Rd.	(214)661-9700
Dallas, TX 75244	Fax: (214)661-3866
Sales: \$1,000.1 million	FY End: 6-30
Employees: 8,000	Type: Subsidiary
Founded: 1919	<u>,</u> ,
SIC(s): 5411 Grocery Stores.	
Description: Retail: Grocery store	chain.
Officer(s): R. Randall Onstead Jr. Spiles, VP & CFO; Bob L. Gowe Judy Ward, Dir of Human Resol	, Pres & COO; James E. ns, Dir of Data Processing;
Randall-Graw Company P.O. Box 3119 La Crosse, WI 54602	Inc. (608)784-6228

La Crosse, WI 54602	
Sales: \$15.0 million	FY End: 12-31
Employees: 60	Type: Private
Founded: 1946	
SIC(s): 5084 Industrial Machinery 8	Equipment.
Description: Wholesale: Industrial	
Officer(s): R.B. Graw, President; L.	
Midtlien, Dir of Mktg.	

Randcastle Extrusion System 74 Sand Park Rd. Cedar Grove, NJ 07009 SIC(s): 3559 Special Industry Machinery Description: Manufacturing: Plastic extr	(201)239-1150 v Nec.
Randers Engineering Inc. 570 Seminole Rd. Muskegon, MI 49444 Operating Revenues: \$6.0 million Employees: 70 Founded: 1976	(616)733-0036 Fax: (616)733-8137 FY End: 12-31 Type: Subsidiary

Immediate	Parent:	Randers	Group	Inc.

- SIC(s): 8711 Engineering Services. Description: Services: Engineering firm. Officer(s): Thomas R. Eurich, *President*; Michael J. Kvivitzky, *Treasurer.*

(616)733-0036
Fax: (616)739-1505
FY End: 12-31
Type: Public
Exchange: AMEX
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12 Architectural

#### Description: Services: Engineering and architectural

consultants. Offloer(s): Thomas R. Eurich, *President;* Michael J. Krivitzky, *Senior VP & Treas.* 

#### Ward's Business Directory of U.S. Private and Public Companies - 1995

J.S.	Private	and	Public	Com	panies -	19
121 Was Tota Fou SIC Des ac pr Offi	ndmark M 1 Connecticut hington, DC 2 al Assets \$12 loyees: 43 nded: 1978 s): 6324 Hosp (s): 6324 Hosp	Ave. 0036 2.0 millio bital & M rance: M employe Wergin, r, Dir of	n Iedical Servid Ianaged den Prs, dentists	Fax: ce Plans. tal healti and insu	(202)293-8800 (202)466-3785 FY End: 12-31 Type: Private ncare plan irance	9
P.O. Mac Sale Emp Fou SIC Des	ndo Mach Box 614 sedon, NY 145 ses: \$4.0* millic loyees: 40 nded: 1949 (s): 3552 Text cription: Man cer(s): M. Will	02 in ile Mach ufacturir	inery. a: Textile m	achinerv	(315)986-2761 (315)986-794 FY End: 12-31 Type: Private o, Dir of Mktg.	9
P.O. Cha Ope Emp SIC Des Offi	ndolph an Box 410283 rlotte, NC 282 trating Reven ployees: 30 (s): 1542 Noni cription: Con: cer(s): Ray Ri ec.	41 <b>ues:</b> \$6. residenti struction	0 million al Constructi : Commercia	on Nec. I building	(704)588-7116 FY End: 12-31 Type: Private	8
P.O. Ash Tot: Emp SIC Des Offi	ndolph Ba Box 1888 eboro, NC 272 al Assets: \$86 bloyees: 60 (s): 6022 State cription: Fina cer(s): K. Reid ktg.	204 5.0 millio e Comm nce: Sta	n ercial Banks. te-chartered	Fax:	(910)625-1000 (910)625-3850 <b>FY End:</b> 12-31 <b>Type:</b> Private rcial bank. łammer, <i>Dir of</i>	)   2
Ra 100 Bos Ope Emp Fou Imm SIC Des Offi	ndolph Cc Federal St. ton, MA 0211( rrating Reven Jolyees: 18 nded: 1965 nedlate Paren (s): 7377 Com cription: Serv cer(s): William reasurer; Mich	t: First N puter Re ices: Co	0.0 million National Ban ental & Leas mputer leasi <i>President</i> ; E	T k of Bos ing. ng. David Hite		
108 Clev Sale Emj Fou SIC Des	ndolph Di 01 Broadway, veland, OH 44 ss: \$2.5 millior bloyees: 10 nded: 1965 (s): 5021 Furn cription: Who nd dining room cer(s): L.R. W	Ave. 125 iture. ilesale: H tables.	Household b		(216)883-036( FY End: 3-3 <sup>-3</sup> Type: Private living room	
202 Nev SIC Des	ndolph Du W. 40th York, NY 100 (s): 2339 Won cription: Man isses' sportsw	018 nen's/M ufacturir	ng: Showrooi	wear Neo m for wo	(212)302-589( c. mens' and	)
P.O Ash Tot Em Fou SIC Des Offi	ndolph Ele Box 40 eboro, NC 27? al Assets: \$12 ployees: 72 inded: 1939 (s): 4911 Elec coription: Utilit cer(s): Bob M ave Rowe, Dir	204 2.0* milli tric Serv lies: Elec IcDuffie,	on ices. ctric services <i>CEO</i> ; Fred (		(919)625-5177 FY End: 12-37 Type: Private	1
317 Live Sale Fou SIC Des Off	ndolph M( 42 Enterprise s: \$56.0* mill ployees: 225 inded: 1932 (s): 5047 Med scription: Who icer(s): D.L. R ec; Elliott Gre f Operations.	Dr. ion lical & H blesale: I andolph	ospital Equip Medical equi , <i>President</i> ; ,	pment. J.W. Brai	(313)427-4810 FY End: 9-30 Type: Private ne, <i>Treas &amp;</i> M. Blohm, <i>VP</i>	0
440 Chi Sal Em Fou SIC Des Off	ndolph Pi 1 W. 44th Pl. cago, IL 60633 es: \$27.0* mil ployees: 90 inded: 1965 (s): 2035 Pick scription: Mar icer(s): Gary Mar ktg.	2 lion les, Sau lufacturii	ces & Salad		(312)927-7700 FY End: 12-3 Type: Privato gs. chwartz, <i>Dir of</i>	1

### Randolph Products Co. P.O. Box 830 Carlstadt, NJ 07072 Sales: S8.5 million Employees: 80 Founded: 1933 SIC(s): 2851 Paints & Allied Products. SIC(s): 2851 Paints & Allied Products. (201)438-3700 Fax: (201)438-4231 FY End: 12-31 Type: Private Export Description: Manufacturing: Paints and varnishes. Officer(s): John H. Randolph, *CFO*. Randolph-Brooks Federal Credit Union P.O. Box 2097 Universal City, TX 78148 SIC(s): 6061 Federal Credit Unions. (210)945-3333 Description: Finance: Federally chartered credit union. Random Access Inc. Handom Access Inc. 8000 E. liff Ave. (303)745-960 Denver, CO 80231 Fax: (303)745-024 Sales: \$113.9 million FY End: 8-3 Employees: 300 Type: Public Founded: 1984 Founded: 1984 Exchange: NASDAF SIC(s): 5734 Computer & Software Stores; 7378 Computer Maintenance & Repair. Description: Retail: Computer and software store chain. Services: Microcomputer repair, maintenance and training services. Offlecr(s): Bruce A., Milliken, CEO & Pres: John Gierscher. (303)745-9600 Fax: (303)745-0242 FY End: 8-31 Type: Public Exchange: NASDAQ services. Officer(s): Bruce A. Milliken, CEO & Pres; John Gierscher, CFO & Treas; Kim Orr, Dir of Mktg: Andes Snorteland, Dir of Info Systems; Todd Shriner, Dir of Personnel. Random Corp. 591 Northland Rd. Cincinnati, OH 45240 Sales: \$18.0 million (513)825-0880 Fax: (513)742-2775 FY End: 10-31 Sales: S18.0 million FY End: 10-3 Employees: 150 Type: Privat Founded: 1962 SIC(s): 3841 Surgical & Medical Instruments. Description: Manufacturing: Medical instruments. Officer(s): Ernest J. Timperman, President; Richard McCoy, *CFO*. Type: Private Random House Inc. 201 E. 50th St. New York, NY 10022 Sales: \$290.0\* million Employees: 1,500 Founded: 1923 (212)572-2120 Fax: (212)572-6035 FY End: 12-31 Type: Subsidiary Import/Export Founded: 1923 Import/Export Immediate Parent: Newhouse Publication Corp. SIC(s): 2731 Book Publishing. Description: Manufacturing: Book publishers. Offlicer(s): Alberto Vitale, *President*; Rich Szefc, VP & CFQ; Bill Wright, COO; Christine Mames, VP of Personnel. Random House Inc. Ballantine/Del Rey/Fawcett/lvy Publishing Group 201 E. 50th St. (212): New York, NY 10022 SIC(5): 2741 Miscellaneous Publishing. Description: Manufacturing: Book publishing. (212)572-2677 Random House Inc. Crown Publishing Group 201 E. 50th St. New York, NY 10022 Immediate Parent: Random House Inc. SIC(s): 2731 Book Publishing. Description: Manufacturing: Book publisher. (212)751-2600 Random House Inc. Del Rey Books Div. 201 E. 50th St. (212)572-2677 New York, NY 10022 SIC(8): 2731 Book Publishing. Description: Manufacturing: Science fiction and fantasy book publishing. (212)572-2677 Random House Inc. Random House Home Halloom House Inc. Halloom House Video Div. 225 Park Ave S. 8th Fl (2 New York, NY 10003 Employees: Not available T Immediate Parent: Outlet Book Co. SIC(s): 7812 Motion Picture & Video Production. Description: Services: Video producer. (212)254-1600 Type: Division Random House Inc. Random House Reference & Electronic Publishing Reference & Licertenne (212)572-212 201 E. 50th St. (212)572-212 Immediate Parent: Random House Inc. (212)572-212 SIC(s): 2741 Miscellaneous Publishing. Description: Manufacturing: Multimedia CD-ROM products. (212)572-2120

Random House Inc. Turtle Bay Books 201 E. 50th St. New York, NY 10022 SIC(s): 2731 Book Publishing. Description: Manufacturing: Book publisher. (212)751-2600 Random House Inc. Villard Books

### 201 E. Soth St. New York, NY 10022 SIC(s): 2731 Book Publishing. Description: Manufacturing: Book publishing. (212)572-2720

#### 3611

3610

Random Lak P.O. Box 305 Random Lake, WI Sales: \$6.0 millior Employees: 18 Founded: 1917 SIC(s): 5191 Farm Stores.

Description: Who Officer(s): Thoma

Randomex Ir 1100 E. Willow St. Signal Hill, CA 908 Operating Revent Employees: 100 Founded: 1971 SIC(s): 7389 Busin Descrition: Section Description: Servi Officer(s): Garrick Richard Diangelo Admin.

Randstad Sta 2970 Clairmont Rd Atlanta, GA 30329 SIC(s): 7363 Help Description: Servi agency.

Randy Interna 147-95 Farmers Bi Jamaica, NY 11403 Operating Revenu Employees: 150 Founded: 1969 SIC(s): 4731 Freigh Description: Trans Officer(s): Norman Sciara, VP of Fin

Rane Corp. 10802 47th Ave. W Mukilteo, WA 9827 Sales: \$10.0\* millio Employees: 90 Founded: 1982 SIC(s): 3651 House Description: Manual equipment Officer(s): Linda Ar

Ranfac Corp. Ranfac Corp. P.O. Box 635 Avon, MA 02322 Sales: S4.0 million Employees: 50 Founded: 1888 SIC(s): 3841 Surgic Equipment & Sup Description: Manuf and dental proces Officer(s): R.M. Adl Barry H. Zimble, I

Rangaire Co. P.O. Box 177 Cleburne, TX 76033 Sales: \$26.0 million Employees: 250 Founded: 1948 SIC(s): 3632 House Sheet Metal Work Description: Manuf and fluorescent lic Officer(s): Joe McK Mary S. Sain, Pers

Rangaswamy 304 W. Liberty St # Louisville, KY 40202 Operating Revenue Employees: 14 Founded: 1974 SIC(s): 8711 Engine Construction Nec. Description: Service Construction: Corr contractor.

contractor. Officer(s): Thangam Dir of Mktg & Sale Processing; Robin

Range Arc Inc P.O. Box 768 Eveleth, MN 55734 SIC(s): 5169 Chemic Description: Wholes

Range Cooper 102 S. Hoover Rd. Virginia, MN 55792 Sales: \$7.0\* million Employees: 35 Founded: 1933 SIC(s): 5411 Grocery Description: Retail: Officer(s): Douglac Officer(s): Douglas Mgr.

3129 1995	Alphabetic List
1113	
NewGen Systems Corp. 17550 Newhope St. (71	(4)641-8600 Newkirk Electric Associates I 1875 Roberts St.
Fountain Valley, CA 92708 Fax: (71	4)641-2800 Muskegon, MI 49442
Employees: 100 Ty	ype: Private Employees: 200
Founded: 1988 SIC(s): 3577 Computer Peripheral Equipment Nec.	Founded: 1963
Description: Manufacturing: High resolution laser	printers. Description: Construction: Industrial elec
Officer(s): John Tu, President; Joel Palmer, Dir of Sales; Kathy Vancura, Dir of Human Resources.	Mktg & Officer(s): C.T. Anton, Pres & Treas; B.J. C.F. Marine, Vice President.
Newgy Industries Inc.	Newland Group Inc.
Gallatin, TN 37066	5)452-6470 9404 Genesee Ave. La Jolla, CA 92037
Sales: \$.5 million FY	Operating Revenues: \$16.0* million
Founded: 1990	Export Founded: 1987
SIC(s): 3949 Sporting & Athletic Goods Nec. Description: Manufacturing: Table tennis robots, to	SIC(s): 6552 Subdividers & Developers N
equipment. Officer(s): Joseph E. Newgarden Jr., President; Ar	property developers.
Putnam, Dir of Info Systems.	Officer(s): Robert McLeod, President; La Controller.
Newhall Jones Inc.	N.J. Newland Co.
Bellevue, WA 98005	14231 E. 4th Ave. #220
SIC(s): 1521 Single-Family Housing Construction; Subdividers & Developers Nec.	Operating Revenues: \$1 million
Description: Construction: Single-family home cor	Employees: 3
Real Estate: Land development.	SIC(s): 4731 Freight Transportation Arrar Description: Transportation: Transportati
Newhall Land and Farming Co.	Officer(s): Nancy J. Newland, President.
23823 Valencia Blvd. (80	05)255-4000 Nexulia Octovers
Valencia, CA 91355	End: 12-31 325 Lumpkin Ave.
Employees: 263	Type: Public Tupelo, MS 38801
Founded: 1883	ange: NYSE SIC(s): 7372 Prepackaged Software. Description: Services: Prepackaged com
SIC(s): 6552 Subdividers & Developers Nec; 0174 Fruits; 0212 Beef Cattle Except Feedlots.	Citrus
Description: Real Estate: Land developer. Agricul	ture: Citrus Newlin Co.
fruits and beef cattle. Officer(s): Thomas L. Lee, CEO & Chm Bd; Robe V Chm Bd & CFO; Thomas E. Dierckman, Senic	70 Martines A
V Chm Bd & CFO; Thomas E. Dierckman, Senic James Smith, Senior VP of Info Systems; Micha	el Whaling Operating Revenues: 51.5 million
Dir of Human Resources.	Employees: 15 Founded: 1986
	SIC(s): 8743 Public Relations Services.
Newhall Land Co.	Description: Services: Public relations fir Officer(s): Patricia E. Newlin, <i>President</i> ;
Mill Valley, CA 94941	15)383-2551 CFO.
SIC(s): 1521 Single-Family Housing Construction. Description: Construction: Customized home const	struction
press construction, customized none con	Newlin Hardware Company I
Newhart Products Inc.	110 N. Main St. Burlington, NC 27215
	D3)878-3546 Sales: \$4.0 million Employees: 30
Sales: \$2.0 million F	Y End: 8-31 Founded: 1938
SIC(s): 3469 Metal Stampings Nec.	ype: Private SIC(s): 5211 Lumber & Other Building M Description: Retail: Lumber and building
Description: Manufacturing: Metal stampings. Officer(s): Thomas D'Aulizio, <i>President</i> .	Officer(s): Ronald Wrightenberry Sr., CE Wrightenberry, VP & Sec.
Newhebron Manufacturing Compar	y Inc. Newly Weds Foods Inc.
P.O. Box 269 (60	01)694-2181 4140 W. Fullerton Ave.
Sales: \$3.0 million FY	01)694-2188 Chicago, IL 60639 2 End: 12-31 Sales: \$140.0 million
	ype: Private Employees: 500 Founded: 1932
SIC(s): 2329 Men's/Boys' Clothing Nec; 2326 Me	n's/Boys' SIC(s): 2051 Bread, Cake & Related Pro
Work Clothing; 2339 Women's/Misses' Outerwe Description: Manufacturing: Men's and womens'	clothing. Description: Manufacturing: Bakery proc
Officer(s): Buddy Steverson, President.	and spices. Officer(s): Charles T. Angell, President;
Newbourse Broadcasting Corr	Dir of Mktg & Sales; John Kandl, VP o Nevers, VP of Personnel.
	15)463-7675
Syracuse, NY 13221	Y End: 7-31 Newman and Associates
Employees: 2,000 T	ype: Private 4063 Wander Way
Founded: 1944 SIC(s): 4841 Cable & Other Pay Television Servic	Greenwood IN 46142
Holding Companies Nec. Description: Communications: Cable television. F	Description: Services: Retail store interi
Holding company.	
Officer(s): Robert Miron, CEO.	Newman and Associates P.A
Newhouse Publication Corp.	327 N. Orange Ave. Orlando, FL 32801
Star Ledger Plz. (2	01)877-4141 Operating Revenues: S.5 million Employees: 8
Newark, NJ 07101 Employees: Not available	Type: Private Founded: 1971
SIC(s): 2711 Newspapers. Description: Manufacturing: Newspaper publishin	SIC(s): 8/21 Accounting, Auditing & Boo
veseription, manufacturing, newspaper publishin	9. Officer(s): Charles E. Newman, Principa Office Mgr; Connie Barney, Dir of Data
Newins Bay Shore Ford Inc.	Cince Mgr, Connie Barney, Dir Of Data
219 W. Main St. (5	16)665-1300 Newman and Company Inc
Sales: \$30.0 million FY	Y End: 12-31 Newman and Company Inc. 6101 Tacony St.
Employees: 66 T Founded: 1935	Type: Private Philadelphia, PA 19135 Sales: \$19.0 million
SIC(s): 5511 New & Used Car Dealers; 7514 Pas	senger Car Employees: 125
Rental. Description: Retail: Automobile dealers. Services	
car and truck rentals.	Description: Manufacturing: Paperboard
Officer(s): Charles Stickney, President; Pam Foy,	, Controller; Officer(s): Milton Newman, Chairman of

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#### wkirk Electric Associates Inc. '5 Roberts St. skegon, MI 49442 erating Revenues: \$22.0\* million (616)722-1691 Fax: (616)722-1690 FY End: 12-31 ployees: 200 Type: Private nded: 1963 (195): 1731 Electrical Work. scription: Construction: Industrial electrical contractor. loer(s): C.T. Anton, *Pres & Treas*; B.J. Fenner, *Controller*; .F. Marine, *Vice President.* wland Group Inc. (619)455-7503 Fax: (619)453-2010 FY End: 12-31 Type: Private 4 Genesee Ave. Jolla, CA 92037 Jolia, CA 92037 Fax: (619)45 verafting Revenues: \$16.0\* million ployees: 75 unded: 1987 C(s): 6552 Subdividers & Developers Nec. scription: Real Estate: Residential and commercial oroperty developers. ficer(s): Robert McLeod, President; Laura Wending, Controller. ontroller **J. Newland Co.** 231 E. 4th Ave. #220 rora, CO 80011 (303)341-9020 erating Revenues: \$.1 million FY End: 6-30 Type: Private ployees: 3 Typ C(s): 4731 Freight Transportation Arrangement. scription: Transportation: Transportation brokers. licer(s): Nancy J. Newland, President. wlife Software (601)844-9101 5 Lumpkin Ave. pelo, MS 38801 Delo, MS 38801 C(s): 7372 Prepackaged Software. scription: Services: Prepackaged computer software. ewlin Co. Madison Ave. w York, NY 10016 erating Revenues: \$1.5 million (212)689-0777 Fax: (212)689-0930 FY End: 12-31 perating Revenues: \$1.5 million FY End: 12-3 rployees: 15 Type: Privat unded: 1986 C(s): 8743 Public Relations Services. scription: Services: Public relations firm. ficer(s): Patricia E. Newlin, *President;* Nancy Rosenblum, CFO. Type: Private ewlin Hardware Company Inc. 0 N. Main St. rlington, NC 27215 les: \$4.0 million (919)227-5503 FY End: 12-31 Information of the second seco Type: Private ewly Weds Foods Inc. 40 W. Fullerton Ave. (312)489-7000 icago, IL 60639 les: \$140.0 million nployees: 500 Fax: (312)489-2799 FY End: 12-31 Type: Private unded: 1932 Export (CS): 2051 Bread, Cake & Related Products; 2045 Prepared Flour Mixes & Doughs; 2099 Food Preparations Nec. scription: Manufacturing: Bakery products and doughs, and spices and spices ficer(s): Charles T. Angell, *President;* Bruce A. Leshinski, *Dir of Mklg & Sales;* John Kandl, *VP of Operations;* Bruce Nevers, *VP of Personnel*. ewman and Associates 63 Wander Way eenwood, IN 46142 C(s): 7389 Business Services Nec. (317)882-9611 scription: Services: Retail store interior design. ewman and Associates P.A. (407)843-6694 7 N. Orange Ave. lando. FL 32801 erating Revenues: \$.5 million FY End: 9-30 Type: Private nployees: 8 ounded: 1971 C(s): 8721 Accounting, Auditing & Bookkeeping. escription: Services: Accounting firm. flicer(s): Charles E. Newman, *Principal*; Carolyn Newman, *Office Mgr*; Connie Barney, *Dir of Data Processing.* ewman and Company Inc. 01 Tacony St. niladelphia, PA 19135 (215)333-8700 Fax: (215)332-8586 FY End: 12-31 Type: Private

	Newman
Newman and Holtzinger P.C. 1615 L St. N.W. Washington, DC 20036 Operating Revenues: \$29.0* million Employees: 176 SIC(s): 8111 Legal Services. Description: Services: Law firm. Officer(s): Kevin Gallen, Managing Partner.	(202)955-6600 FY End: 8-31 Type: Private
Newman and Novak Architects I 330 Motor Pkwy. Hauppauge, NY 11788 SIC(s): 8712 Architectural Services; 1521 Sing Housing Construction; 1542 Nonresidential Nec. Description: Services: Architectural firm. Con Residential and commercial buildings.	(516)273-5700 gle-Family Construction
Newman and Pemerton Corp. 2007 University N.W. Knoxville, TN 37921 Operating Revenues: \$3.0 million Employees: 10 Founded: 1948 SIC(s): 4213 Trucking Except Local. Description: Transportation: Over-the-road tru Officer(s): Dorothy Newman, President; Larry Secretary.	(615)637-4611 FY End: 12-31 Type: Private Jocking. B. Newman,
Newman and Schwartz 641 Lexington Ave. New York, NY 10022 Operating Revenues: \$1.0* million Employees: 9 SIC(s): 8111 Legal Services. Description: Services: Law office. Officer(s): Gustave Newman, President.	(212)308-7900 FY End: 12-31 Type: Private
Newman Brothers Inc. 5609 Center Hill Ave. Cincinnati, OH 45216 Sales: \$10.0 million Employees: 100 Founded: 1882 SIC(s): 3446 Architectural Metal Work. Description: Manufacturing: Handrails and re Officer(s): D.A. Newman, CEO.	(513)242-0011 FY End: 12-31 Type: Private
Newman Construction and Deve Inc. 1172 Solana Ave. Winter Park, FL 32789 Fa Operating Revenues: \$1.0 million Employees: 6 Founded: 1982 SIC(s): 1521 Single-Family Housing Construc Residential Construction Nec; 1541 Industr Warehouses; 1542 Nonresidential Construc Description: Construction: General contractor family, residential, industrial and nonindustr Officer(s): Lee Newman, President.	(407)645-0886 x: (407)645-0181 FY End: 8-31 Type: Private tion; 1522 ial Buildings & ction Nec. or for single
Newman Enterprises Inc. 1859 Riverside Dr. Klamath Falls, OR 97601 Sales: \$1.0 million Employees: 50 SIC(s): 2411 Logging. Description: Manufacturing: Logging. Officer(s): Diamond Newman, <i>President</i> ; S. 1	(503)882-5375 <b>FY End:</b> 4-30 <b>Type:</b> Private Newman, <i>Vice</i>

#### Newman Flange and Fitting Co.

President.

P.O. Box 905	(209)862-2977
Newman, CA 95360	
Sales: \$8.0* million	FY End: 11-30
Employees: 63	Type: Private
Founded: 1975	Export
SIC(s): 3462 Iron & Steel Forgings.	
Description: Manufacturing: Steel flanges and	fittings.
Officer (a) Cide as Malferra Descident Anna	

Officer(s): Sidney McKenna, *President*; Annette Vander Poel, *Bookkeeper*; Steve Bissitt, *Sales Mgr*.

George Newman and Co. 1100 W. Hutchinson Madison, IN 47250 Sales: \$18.0 million Employees: 100 SIC(s): 3111 Leather Tanning & Finishin Description: Manufacturing: Bonded lea Officer(s): George Newman, President; : Paul E. Barkman, VP of Sales.	ther.
Herbert S. Newman and Part 300 York St. New Haven, CT 06511 Operating Revenues: \$5.0 million Employees: 35 SIC(s): 8712 Architectural Services. Description: Services: Architectural firm Officer(s): Herbert S. Newman, Presider	(203)772-1990 FY End: 12-31 Type: Private

Leonard Newman Agency L.P. (212)344-6300 111 John St. New York, NY 10038 SIC(s): 6411 Insurance Agents, Brokers & Service. Description: Insurance: Insurance brokerage.

Note: An asterisk (\*) indicates estimated financial data. Abbreviations, Codes, and Symbols are defined in the introductory section.

Sales. 021.001111 Stock Exchange(s): NNM \*Also DIRECTORS BUSINESS: Wholesale computer prod.

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STANDARD

S.I.C. 5045 RANDOM HOUSE INC. (Subs. Advance Publications Inc.) 201 E. 50th St., New York, NY 10022 Tel. 212-572-2104 \*Chrm, Pres & Chief Exec Officer-Alberto Vitale \*Exec V-P (Admin)-Alexander MacGregor, III \*V-P (Pres, Ballantine Books)-Susan J. Peterson \*V-P & Gen Coun-Ellis Levine V-P (Westminster Distr Center)-John F. Gambatese V-P & Cont-Sandra E. Stiles Div V-P (MIS)-Richard J. Blosveren Div V-P (Random House Enterprises)—Karen Robinson Div V-P (Per)-Christine Names Pres & Publ (Random House Adult Trade Books)-Harold Evans Editor-in-Chief (Random House Adult Trade Books)-Jason Epstein Pres (Random House Trade Publishing Group)-Bruce Harris Pres (Juvenile Publ)-Gerald Harrison Editor-in-Chief (Reference)-Stuart Flexner Acets- Steinhauer, Sheiman, Glickman & Co., New York, NY Employees: 3,500 \*Also DIRECTORS -Other Directors Are: S. I. Newhouse, Jr. Donald Newhouse **BUSINESS:** Publishing books S.I.C. 2731 RANDOMEX INC. 1100 E. Willow St., Signal Hill, CA 90806 Tel. 310-595-8301 Pres-Joseph M. Ludka, III Exec V-P-John R. Trask V-P (Adm Serv, Human Resources & Public Rel)-

Bonnie Hubert V-P (Sales & Serv)-Christopher P. DeCicco Sales: \$3,50Mil Employees: 50 PRODUCTS: Magnetic media maint. & products, mfr. & refurnishing disc packs & cartridges, mini reels, data recovery serv. S.I.C. 3679; 3577; 7379

#### RANDTRON SYSTEMS (Subs. Loral Corp.)

130 Constitution Dr., Menlo Park, CA 94025 Tel. 415-326-9500 \* Pres-Fred Marquardt Sr V-P (Tech)-Jim Scherer V-P (Fin)-Mark Buzzetta V-P (Mech Engr)-Ron Bungo Accts- Coopers & Lybrand LLP, San Jose, CA Primary Bank- Bank of America Illinois Sales: \$40Mil Employees: 170 \*Also DIRECTORS PRODUCTS: Electronic controls, defense radar equip. S.I.C. 3699

RANDUSTRIAL CORPORATION (Div. Pioneer Mfg. Co.) 4529 Industrial Pkwy., Cleveland, OH 44135 Tel. 216-671-5500 Pres-James Schattinger Exec V-P-Thomas Telenko Gen Coun-Arthur Hadden Oper Mgr-Jack Nesser Primary Bank- Society National Bank Employees: 400 PRODUCTS: Floor & roof patching & resurfacing products; parking lot patching & sealing compunds; non-selective weed killers; ice melters, epoxy polyurethane coatings for concrete floors S.I.C. 2952; 2821; 2851; 2879; 2891; 2899 RANDY GROUP LTD. 147-95 Farmers Blvd., Jamaica, NY 11434 Tel. 718-995-5200 \*Pres & Treas-N. G. Greif \* Exec V-P & Secy-W. C. R. Lembeck \* Exec V-P (Fin)-John A. Rocca Cont-Alice Sciara Gen Coun-Sigmund Fox Accts- Ernst & Young LLP, New York, NY

Primary Bank- National Westminster Bank USA

Primary Law Firm-Golenbock, Eiseman, Assor & Bell

Secv-A. Glincher Accts- Tofias, Fleishman & Shapiro, Cambridge, MA Primary Bank- Neworld Bank Primary Law Firm-Peabody & Brown Sales: \$4.50Mil Employees: 55 PRODUCTS: Hypodermic instru., surgical, dental & veterinary instru. S.I.C. 3841

RANGEN, INC. 115 13th Ave. S., Buhl, ID 83316 Tel. 208-543-6421 \* Chief Exec Officer-Christopher T. Rangen \* Pres-Phillip Jones Compt-Wayne Courtney MIS Dir—Dennis Pugh Accts— Arthur Andersen LLP, Boise, ID Primary Bank— West One Bank, Idaho, N.A. Primary Law Firm-May & May Sales: Over \$20Mil Employees: 175 \*Also DIRECTORS PRODUCTS: Feeds, grains, seeds, organic fertilizer, beans; diagnostic & fish research; commodity trading S.I.C. 2048; 0181; 2041; 2873; 2874; 6799; 8731 RANGER INDUSTRIES

6081 Court Street Rd., Syracuse, NY 13206 Tel. 315-433-5006 Pres & Sales Mgr-John A. Reinhardt Gen Coun-Randy J. Schaal, Sherrill, NY Purch Agt & Plt Mgr-Carman R. Sicilia, Jr. Accts- Shannon & Shay, Oneida, NY Primary Bank- Oneida Savings Bank Sales: \$1.40Mil Employees: 85 PRODUCTS: School, athletic & bowling bags, soft-sided luggage, totes, private label S.I.C. 3161; 3949 RANGER INDUSTRIES

1133 6th Ave., New York, NY 10036 Tel. 212-642-8975 \* Pres & Chief Exec Officer-James B. Rubin Secy—Kaye C. Handley Sales: \$504.48Mil Employees: 2,740 Stock Exchange(s): OTC \*Also DIRECTORS -Other Directors Are: Duncan N. Darrow James Berman PRODUCTS: Toys S.I.C. 3942

#### RANGER INSURANCE CO. (Subs. Fairfax Financial Holdings Limited) 10777 Westheimer Rd., Houston, TX 77042 Tel. 713-954-8100 \* Chrm & Pres-Thomas H. Friedberg \*Exec V-P-Douglas J. Coats \*Sr V-P-Peter M. Wallner \*Sr V-P (Claims)—Robert J. Nelson \*Sr V-P & Gen Coun—John L. Kenny Sr V-P & Chief Fin Officer—Thomas D. Nimmo V-P—Ronald H. Bay V-P-Paul J. Becker V-P & Cont-Dwayne D. Hallman V-P—McKinley Shumate, Jr. V-P—John B. Deibler V-P—R. S. Pulis V-P—Donald R. Mathis V-P-Geoffrey W. Shisler V-P-Wm. David Knight V-P—Richard L. Witherite V-P—George W. Newton V-P—John E. O'Shea V-P-Arthur C. Pletz Treas-Robert J. Sabo Secy-Barbara Blasingame Accts- KPMG Peat Marwick LLP Primary Bank— Bank One, Texas, N.A. Premiums Earned: \$132.38Mil Employees: 323 \*Also DIRECTORS -Other Directors Are: Robert Hartog J. Paul T. Fink Eric P. Salsberg John C. Varnell V. Prem Watsa BUSINESS: Property & casualty ins. S.I.C. 6331 RANGER OIL LIMITED 1600-321 6th Ave. S.W., Calgary, Alta., Can. T2P 3H3 Tel. 403-232-5200

\*Chrm—S. Simon Reisman \*Pres & Chief Exec Officer—F. J. Dyment Sr V-P (Canadian Oper)—G. C. Chase V-P (Risk Mgt & Investor Rel)—J. G. Faulds V-P (Admin)—A. B. Henderson V-P (Fin)—J. M. D'Aguiar

15 Park Rd., Tinton Falls, NJ 07724 Rd., 111101 1 41., 12 Tel. 908-389-3535 \*Gen Mgr-Gary Callichio \* Prod Mgr-Anne Generas H.E. Prior Mgr—Anne General Primary Bank— Tinton Falls State Bank Sales: Over SIMil Employees: 30 H \*Also DIRECTORS. PRODUCTS: Specialty inks & stamp pads S.I.C. 3953; 2893

RANGER STEEL SUPPLY CORP. P.O. Box 11848, Houston, TX 77293 Tel. 713-633-1306 (1980) Chrm-Roy E. Whitley Pres, Treas & Sales Mgr-Ron Whitley

Accts- J. White & Co. Primary Bank- Texas Commerce Bank, N.A. Primary Law Firm-Hutcheson & Grundy, LLP Sales: \$24Mil Employees: 11 : 101 PRODUCTS: Steel plate S.I.C. 5051

RANGERS DIE CASTING CO. 10828 S. Alameda St., Lynwood, CA 90262 Tel. 213-979-2193

\* Chrm-Paul T. Harlow \*Pres-Larry P. Larson \* V-P (Mfg)—Paul S. Harlow \* Secy & Treas—R. Kent Shortle Gen Coun—Gregory N. Sequin, Irvine, CA ) mewh later Sales Mgr-Don Klements Accts- Muller, King & Mathys, Downey, CA Primary Bank- First Business Bank 22918 1 Sales: \$6.50Mil Employees: 60 \*Also DIRECTORS PRODUCTS: Aluminum die castings, die cast toolide S.I.C. 3363 F. RANIVILLE CO. 5346 36th St., Grand Rapids, MI 49512

Tel. 616-957-3200 \* Pres-R. H. Beanman 16149 3 644 \*Secv-Richard W. Bryant Accts- Ernst & Young LLP, Grand Rapids, MI Primary Bank— Michigan National Bank, at Primary Law Firm—Wheeler Uphan, P.C. Sales: Over \$1 Mil Employees: 40 \*Also DIRECTORS Also DIRECLORS PRODUCTS: Industrial supplies, a belting transmission equip., production machine tool S.I.C. 3052; 3541; 3568 THE RANK ORGANISATION PLC 6 Connaught Pl., London, England W2 222 Tel. 44-71-706-1111 \*Chrm-Leslie Fletcher \*Mgn Dir & Chief Exec Officer-M. B. Gifford Secy—B. C. Owers \*Fin Dir—N. V. Turnbull Acets- KPMG Peat Marwick LLP, London, Eggen Primary Bank— National westminister and Primary Law Firm—Freshfields Sales: S3.14Bil Employees: 41,029 Stock Exchange(s): TOR, NSC \*Also DIRECTORS —Other Director David V. Atterton H. A. Crichton, Laber F. Garrett John F. Garrett Denys H. Hender Terence H. North Douglas M. Yate J. Daly James A. Harmon Michael C. Jackaman PRODUCTS: Holding co.; mfr. & supplier or many companies, which mfr. & marter copier/duplicators & other bus. equip, file distr., marinas, hotels & holidays scientific fun-goods & electronic equip, theatre & studio fu-processors of cinema & TV film, casino, machines & centers, bingo, nightelubs, centers, caravan & timeshare resorts & them S.I.C. 6719; 3648; 3812; 3822; 3999; 5043; 5045; 5065; 5199; 7011; 7812; 7996; 7999 RANKS HOVIS McDOUGAL PRODUCTS: Holding co.; mfr. & supplier of co (Subs. Tomkins PLC) Alma Rd., RHM Ctr., Box 178, Windsor, Land England SL4 3ST Tel. 0753-857123 \*Chrm-Robert Michael Muddimer Fin Dir-Brian James Harris Secy-Richard Norman Marchant Primary Bank—Barclays Bank PLC Accts- Arthur Andersen LLP

RANSOHOFF CO. 1933 Provident Dr., Cincinnati, OH 45246 Tel. 513-870-0100

Don Kayser V.P.& Gen Mgr-Stephen D. Temple (Oper)-Karle Wilson Ohlef Fin Officer-John Hartig Chief Fin Omeer-John Hardy Agt-Wayne Kieser Ernst & Young LLP, Cincinnati, OH Bank-Fifth Third Bank The Firm-Keating, Muething & Klekamp Rage: 512-14Mil Employees: 100 Also DIRECTORS CODUCTS: Machinery for washing, rinsing, phosphate ing, drying, burnishing, de-burning, de-scaling, metal 1565; 3569 RANSOM & RANDOLPH CO.

(Div. Dentsply International Inc.) 120 W. Wayne St., Maumee, OH 43537 Tel. 419-893-9497 fel. 419-893-949/ fen Mgr--K. E. Hoekstra stes & Mktg--S. E. Waters DIr-Michael J. Hendricks Mgr--M. E. Smith thr- Price Waterhouse 120Mil Employees: 70 ODUCTS: Refractories, binders, investments for invest. 11. 5297; 2789; 3324 RANSOME CO. The Ann Way, Box 6849, Oakland, CA 94603 Tel. 510-430-1900 Sydney K. Smith Edward K. Webster Cor V.P & Secy-Peter T. Scott Lindquist, vonHusen & Joyce, San Francisco, Bank— CivicBank of Commerce 7 Law Firm—Bell, Rosenberg & Hughes Range: \$5-10Mil Employees: 75 "Also DIRECTORS -Other Directors Are: Haney Mary M. Smith TODUCTS: Paving contractors, street constr., earth uc. 1611; 1771; 1794; 8711 RAPID AIR SERVICE 140 4th St., S.E., Box 888220, Grand Rapids, MI 49588 . 1ME Tel. 616-957-5050 Loretta VanTine-Norton YP-Gordon VandenHout LSOMil Employees: 12 \*Also DIRECTORS \*Also DIRECTORS Flying charter serv.; flying instruction; aircraft equip. repair serv. 122; 7699; 8299 RAPID CIRCUITS, INC. McPherson Ave., Levittown, PA 19057 Tel. 215-547-7710 Geren-Robert F. Monach, Sr. Gerald A. Monach KPMG Peat Marwick LLP, Philadelphia, PA \$2-5Mil Employees: 45 DIRECTORS —Other Directors Are: D. Jones, III CTS: Printed circuit boards INDUSTRIAL PLASTICS CO., INC. Unden Ave., E., Jersey City, NJ 07305 Tel. 201-433-5500 Martin Sirotkin Martin Sirotkin Herbert Siegel, Spring Valley, NY Bank Hudson Valley National Bank Law Firm-Nobile, Magarian & DiSalvo \$100Mil Employees: 150 \*Also DIRECTORS Distribution of plastic resir \*Also DIRECTORS Distribution of plastic resins 82 ing of molded products RAPID INDUSTRIES, INC. Caklawn Dr., Louisville, KY 40219 Tel. 502-968-3645

James Burke

Mites Burke Mites-Mary J. Sheets

\*Treas-Robert R \*Secy-Dante Ca Accts- Thomas Primary Bank-Primary Law Fi Sales Range: \$5-

PRODUCTS: Ini

S.I.C. 3469; 3085

RAPID MC

assemblies

4300 W \* Chrm & Pres-V-P (Sales)-Pi Treas-James E \* Secy-Barry Pit Traffic Mgr-E Accts- Altschu Primary Bank-Primary Law F Sales: \$25Mil \*Also DI}

Sharon Abrams BUSINESS: Mo displays, toys & S.I.C. 3993; 275 RAPI

6010 Twenty-Ei \* Pres—James R.

\*Exec V-P-Rus Sales: \$5Mil 1 PRODUCTS: Fo

S.I.C. 2657 RAPID PO

Graysbr \*Chrm-Ronald \* Pres-Riley C. V-P (Sales)—N V-P (Engr)—Ja \*V-P (Mfg)-N Accts- Grant Primary Bank-Sales: \$21Mil

PRODUCTS: L S.I.C. 3643; 361 RAPID \ (5 528 Be

Pres-Bernard V-P-Paul Go Secy-Matthey Accts- Lipsky Primary Bank Primary Law ] Sales Range: \$ PRODUCTS: ] plastic, paper ( S.I.C. 2295; 26'

RAP 750 St. \* Chrm, Secy &

\* Pres, Chief E: Newman, Ji V-P (Engr) & Accts- Meng Primary Banl Primary Law Sales: \$3Mil \*Also D C. Richard Co David Marsha PRODUCTS: machining; cc machines for S.I.C. 3559; 35 RAPIDES (Subs. 400 M

\*Sr Chrin-Re \*Chrm-Charl

#### ULTIMATE PARENT COMPANIES ALPHABETICALLY

monitoring; Fire detection & burglar alarm systems specialization. U J Brualdi Jr Pr CEO ADT SECURITY SYSTEMS MID-SOUTH HOLDINGS INC SONITROL OF BALTIMORE (Suby of ADT OPERATIONS INC) 2631 Sisson St, Baltimore, MD 21211-3119 Level 2 Tel (410) 338-1800 Sales 24.7MM<sup>E</sup> Emp 105 SIEs 24.7MM<sup>E</sup> Emp 105 SIC 5063 Alarm systems. Wesley L France CEO VP Wesley L France D-U-N-S 61-139-9064

ADVANCE BANCORPORATION 18300 Dixie Hwy, Homewood, IL 60430-3228 Tel (708) 206-1212 No. of Sites 15 Fiscal Year End 12/31 Net Worth 51MM Seles NA Emp 300 Founded/Ownership Date 1985 SIC 6022 State commercial banks. \*Morgan L Fitch Jr Ch James A Fitch Pr Jaard of Directors: Ronald J Serpe 60430-3228 ADVANCE BANK SB (Suby of ADVANCE BANCORPORATION) 2320 Thornton Rd, Lansing, IL 60438-2162 Tel (708) 474-1600 Fiel (708) 474-1600 Fiscal Year End 12/31 Sales NA Sales NA Emp 153 SIC 6036 State savings banks, not federally chartered. Morgan L Fitch IV SUTH CHICAGO BANK (Suby of ADVANCE BANCORPORATION) 9200 S Commercial Ave, Chicago, IL 60617-4508 Tal (312) 768-1400 Level 1 Fiscal Year End 12/31 Net Worth 21MM

Sales NA Emp 123 SIC 6036 State savings banks, not federally chartered. James A Fitch Ch Bd Pr

D-U-N-S 19-357-6006 (DE) ADVANCE HEALTH CARE INC ADVANCE HEALTH CARE INC \$45 E John Carpenter Fwy, Irving, TX \$5062-3931 Tel (214) 830-6199 No. of Sites 16 Sales 4.1MM<sup>6</sup> Emp 59 Founded/Ownership Date 1988 \$(C 7352 5122 5047 Medical equipment rental; Pharmaceuticals; Medical equipment & supplies. "David Halbert Ch Bd CEO "Jon Halbert Ex VP

ADVANCE HOME MEDICAL INC (Suby of ADVANCE HEALTH CARE INC) 
 545 E John Carpenter Fwy, Irving, TX 75062-3931

 Tel (214) 830-6199

 Sales 2.7MM<sup>E</sup>

 Emp 38
 Level 1 Sales 2.7MM<sup>E</sup> Emp 38 SIC 7352 5047 Medical equipment rental; Medical equipment & supplies. David D Halbert Ch Bd CEO

ADVANCE HOMECARE INC (Suby of ADVANCE HEALTH CARE INC) 545 E John Carpenter Fwy, Irving, TX 75062-3931 Tel (214) 830-6199 Fiscal Year End 12/31 Level 1 Fiscal Year Eng 12/31 Sales 1MM Emp 38 SIC 8059 Personal care home, with health care. David D Halbert Ch Bd CEO

ADVANCE PHARMACIES SERVICES INC (Suby of ADVANCE HEALTH CARE INC) 545 E John Carpenter Fwy, Irving, TX 75062-3931 Tel (214) 830-6199 Level 1 Emp 142 
 Sales NA
 Emp 142

 SIC 6411 5122 8741 Insurance agents, brokers & service: Patent medicines; Management services." David D Halbert
 Ch Bd Pr

ADVANCE HOME PRESCRIPTIONS INC (Suby of ADVANCE PHARMACIES SERVICES INC) 545 E John Carpenter Fwy, Irving, TX 75062-3931 Tel (214) 830-6199 Emp 84 Level 2 Sales 34MM SIC 5961 Mail order house. Ch Bd CEO

#### ADVANCE PRESCRIPTION MANAGEMENT

INC (Suby of ADVANCE PHARMACIES SERVICES INC) 545 E John Carpenter Fwy, Irving, TX 75062 Tel (214) 830-6199 Level 2 Sales NA Emp 13 SIC 6411 Medical insurance claim processing. contract or fee basis. CEO David D Halbert PARADIGM PHARMACY MANAGEMENT INC INC (Suby of ADVANCE PHARMACIES SERVICES INC) 2205 York Rd, Lutherville-Timonium, MD

21093-3111 Tel (410) 560-3790 Sales 1.5MM<sup>€</sup> Level 2 Emp 26 Sales 1.5MM<sup>-</sup> Enip 20 SIC 8741 Management services. Joseph Filipak Pr

D-U-N-S 00-170-5839 (NY) ADVANCE PUBLICATIONS INC ADVANCE PUBLICATIONS IN 950 Fingerboard Rd, Staten Island, NY 10305-1453 Tel (718) 981-1234 No. of Sites 114 Sales 1.6MMM Emp 11.500 Bank Chemical Bank, New York, NY Founded/Ownership Date 1924, 1949 SIC 2711 2721 2731 Newspapers, publishing & printing: Magazines: publishing & printing: Book nublishing publishing. \*S I Newhouse Pr Donald F Newhouse ADVANCE PUBLICATIONS INC 950 Fingerboard Rd, Staten Island, NY 10305-1453 TU305-1453 Tel (718) 981-1234 Emp here 350 SIC 7383 2759 News syndicates; Commercial Br printing. Richard Diamond BOOTH NEWSPAPERS DIV 203 S Washington Ave, Saginaw, MI 48607-1244 Tel (517) 754-6532 Emp here 450 Div SIC 2711 2721 2731 Newspapers, publishing & printing: Magazines: publishing & printing; Book Div publishing. Jim Thomas Brnch Mar ADVANCE MAGAZINE PUBLISHERS INC (Suby of ADVANCE PUBLICATIONS INC) 350 Madison Ave 14th FI, New York, NY 10017-3704 Tel (212) 880-8800 Level 1 Sales 226MM<sup>E</sup> Emp 2,000 Solo 2721 Magazines: publishing & printing. S I Newhouse Ch Bd S I Newhouse I Newhouse BEI GRAPHICS CORP (Suby of ADVANCE MAGAZINE PUBLISHERS INC) 3550 Frontier Ave. Boulder, CO 80301-2410 Tel (303) 449-8010 Level 2 Sales 16.1MM<sup>4</sup> Emp 150 SIC 2752 Commercial printing, offset. Ismes F Noel Pr EVENING JOURNAL ASSOCIATION INC 
 EVENING JOURNAL ASSOCIATION INC

 JERSEY JOURNAL

 (Suby of ADVANCE PUBLICATIONS INC)

 30 Journal Square, Jersey City, NJ 07306-4101

 Tel (201) 653-1000

 Leve

 Salas 25.9MM<sup>€</sup>

 Emp 450

 SIC 2711 Job printing & newspaper publishing
 Level 1 combined. Samuel Newhouse III Pr HERALD CO INC SYRACUSE HERALD JOURNAL (Suby of ADVANCE PUBLICATIONS INC) Clinton Square, Syracuse, NY 13202 Tel (315) 470-0011 Level 1 Sales 100MM Emp 600 SIC 2711 Newspapers, publishing & printing. Stephen Rogers Pr MEDIAN SUPPLY CO INC (Suby of ADVANCE PUBLICATIONS INC) 950 Fingerboard Rd, Staten Island, NY 10305-1453 Tel (718) 981-1234 Sales 500M<sup>6</sup> Emp 3<sup>c</sup> SIC 5084 Printing trades machinery, equipment & supplies. Richard E Diamond Pr MOBILE PRESS REGISTER INC (Suby of ADVANCE PUBLICATIONS INC) 304 Government St, Mobile, AL 36602-2600 Tel (205) 433-1551 Seles 27.3MM<sup>E</sup> Emp 475 SIC 2211 Newspapers. Level 1 William J Hearin Ch Bd NEWARK MORNING LEDGER CO INC STAR LEDGER (Suby of ADVANCE PUBLICATIONS INC) 1 Star Ledger Plaza, Newark, NJ 07102-1200 Tel (201) 877-4141 Lev Sales 70.1MM<sup>E</sup> Emp 1,200 Level 1 SIC 2711 Newspapers, publishing & printing. Donald E Newhouse Pr

REPUBLICAN CO INC UNION-NEWS (Suby of NEWARK MORNING LEDGER CO INC) 1860 Main St, Springfield, MA 01103-1000 Fel (413) 788-1000 Sales 40.6MM<sup>E</sup> Emp 700 SIC 2711 Newspapers, publishing & printing. Level 2 David Starr Pr

#### OREGONIAN PUBLISHING CO INC

OREGONIAN THE (Suby of ADVANCE PUBLICATIONS INC) 1320 SW Broadway, Portland, OR 97201-3469 Tel (503) 221-8327 Leve Sales 64.2MM<sup>6</sup> Emp 1,100 SIC 2711 Newspapers, publishing & printing. Fred Stickel CEO Pubr Level 1

 PATRIOT-NEWS CO INC
 (Suby of ADVANCE PUBLICATIONS INC)

 812 Market St, Harrisburg, PA 17101-2808

 Tel (717) 255-8100

 Level 1

 SIC 2711 Newspapers, publishing & printing.

 Raymond L Gover
 Pubr

PLAIN DEALER PUBLISHING CO INC

 
 Claub
 OFADVANCE PUBLICATIONS INC)

 1801
 Superior Ave E, Cleveland, OH 44114-2198

 Tel (216)
 999-5000
 Level

 Sales
 96MM<sup>6</sup>
 Emp 1.639

 SIC 2711
 Newspapers.
 1000
 Level 1 Alex Machaskee Pr Pubr

Jex Machaskee DEL-COM INC (Suby of PLAIN DEALER PUBLISHING CO INC) 14701 Detroit Ave, Cleveland, OH 44107-4187 Tel (216) 529-5100 Sales 1.6MM<sup>§</sup> Emp 40 SiC 7331 Direct mail advertising services. Thomas Vail Pr Level 2

#### R F D PUBLICATIONS INC

*MDWEEK MAGAZINE* (*Suby of* ADVANCE PUBLICATIONS INC) 9600 SW Boeckman Rd, Wilsonville, OR 9600 SW Boeckman Hg, wilsonville, on 97070-9242 Tel (503) 682-1881 Level 1 Sales 27.3MM<sup>6</sup> Emp 475 SIC 2711 2752 Newspapers, publishing & printing; Level 1 Commercial printing, offset. Larry Miller

 
 Kandom House Inc

 (Suby of ADVANCE PUBLICATIONS INC)

 201 E Soth St, New York, NY 10022-7771

 Tef (212) 751-2600

 Sales 170MM
 Level 1 Sales 170MM Ellip 2,400 SIC 2731 Books: publishing only. Ch Bd Pr CEO

 BARRE PUBLISHING CO INC

 (Suby of RANDOM HOUSE INC)

 225 Park Ave S, New York, NY 10003-1604

 Tel (212) 751-2600

 Level 2

 Sales 840M<sup>6</sup>

 Emp 8

 SIC 2731 Books: publishing only.

 Nat Wartels
 Ch Bd

CLARKSON N POTTER INC (Suby of RANDOM HOUSE INC) 225 Park Ave S, New York, NY 10003-1604 Tel (212) 751-2600 Sales 25.6MM<sup>6</sup> Emp 200 SIC 2731 Books: publishing only. Level 2 Michelle Sidrane

CROWN PUBLISHERS INC CROWN PUBLISHERS INC LENOX HILL PRESS (Suby of RANDOM HOUSE INC) 201 E 50th St, New York, NY 10022-7703 Tel (212) 751-2600 Lev Sales 39.2MM<sup>6</sup> Emp 345 SIC 2731 Books: publishing only. Michelle Sidrane Pr. Pubr Level 7

FODOR'S TRAVEL PUBLICATIONS INC (Suby of RANDOM HOUSE INC) 201 E 50th St, New York, NY 10022-7703 Tel (212) 751-2600 Sales 3.7MM<sup>E</sup> Emp 35 SIC 2731 Books: publishing only. Kristina Peterson Pr Pubr Level 2

KNOPF ALFRED A INC (Suby of RANDOM HOUSE INC) 201 E 50th St 21st FI, New York, NY 201 E 50th St 215t Ft, No. 10022-7703 *Tel* (212) 751-2600 *Sales* 7.5MM<sup>§</sup> Emp 75 *SIC* 2731 Book publishing. Pr Level 2 Sonny Mehta

RANDOM HOUSE VALUE PUBLISHING (Suby of RANDOM HOUSE INC) 40 Engelhard Ave, Avenel, NJ 07001-2217 Tel (908) 382-7600 Sales 33.9MM<sup>E</sup> Emp NA Level 2 SIC 2731 5199 Book publishing: Art goods & supplies. Harold Clarke Pr

TIMES PICAYUNE PUBLISHING CORP (Suby of ADVANCE PUBLICATIONS INC) 3800 Howard Ave. New Orleans, LA 70125-1429 3800 Howard Ave, New Cristian Tel (504) 826-3279 Lee Sales 64, 2MM<sup>k</sup> Emp 1,100 SIC 2711 Newspapers, publishing & printing. Dealth Sic Pr Pubr Level 1 TIMES PICAYUNE TRANSPORTATION

(Suby of TIMES PICATUNE PUBLISHING CORP) 2740 St Louis St, New Orleans, LA 70119-5518 
 Zr40 St Eduis St, New Orleans, EA / T

 Tel (504) 821-0422

 Sales 3MM<sup>€</sup>

 Emp 81

 SIC 4212 Delivery service, vehicular.

 Anthony J Pauratore

 Pr
 Level 2

# *D-U-N-S* 00-692-8980 (DE) ▲ ADVANCE ROSS CORP

ADVANCE ROSS CORP 233 S Wacker Dr Ste 9700, Chicago, IL 60606-6502 Tel (312) 382-1100 No. of Sites 5 Fiscal Year End 12/31 Net Worth 22.4MM Sales 11MM Emg 330 Tkr AROS Exch NMS Bank Continental Bank International, Chicago, IL Accts Deloitte & Touche LLP Founded/Ownership Date 1914 S/C 7299 5399 3564 Tax relund discounting; Duty-free goods; Precipitators, electrostatic. "Harve A Ferrill Ch Bd CEO "Paul G Yovorich Pr COO

ADVANCED HOME HEALTH CARE INC 19 Harvey E Campbell Ex VP Tr Constance Schirmer Sec Asst Tr Board of Directors: Roger E Anderson, Duane R Kullberg, Thomas J Peterson, William W Staudt, Herbert S Wander

ADVANCE ROSS ELECTRONICS CORP ADVANCE ROSS ELECTRONICS CORP PPC INDUSTRIES (Suby of ADVANCE ROSS CORP) 3000 E Marshall Ave, Longview, TX 75601-6118 Tel (903) 758-3395 Level 1 Fiscal Year End 12/31 Net Worth 691M Sales 6.6MM Emp 24 SIC 3564 Air purilication equipment; Precipitators, electronitators,

electrostatic. William M Fisher Jr

William M Fisher of EUROPE TAX FREE LIMITED U S (Suby of ADVANCE ROSS CORP) 233 S Wacker Dr. Chicago, IL 60606-6306 Fel (312) 382-1100 Sales NA Emp 1 SIC 6719 Investment holding companies, except Level 1 banks.

UINTAH BASIN INC (*Suby of* ADVANCE ROSS CORP) 111 W Monroe St Ste 2100E, Chicago, IL 60603-4003 Tel (312) 346-9126 Level 1 Sales 190M<sup>E</sup> Emp 3<sup>E</sup> SIC 3564 Air purification equipment. Harve A Ferrill

D-U-N-S 60-530-8972 (CA) ADVANCED HI-TECH CORP

### AHT 2221 Rosecrans Ave, El Segundo, CA

2221 Rosectans AVe, El Segundo, CA 90245-4911 Tel (310) 643-7571 No. of Sites 4 Fiscal Year End 08/31 Net Worth 3.3MM Sales 1.7MM Emp 90 Bank Bank of America National Trust & Savings Association, Manhattan Beach, CA Association, Mannattan Beach, CA Founded/Ownership Date 1989 SIC 7373 3577 Computer integrated systems design, Computer peripheral equipment. Fou-Sen Chang Pr CEO Or Yy Chang Ex VP LI-Ming Hsieh Cont

Entine INC (Suby of ADVANCED HI-TECH CORP) 105 Despatch Dr. East Rochester, NY 14445-1447 7el (716) 381-7500 % Owned 55 Level 1 Net Worth 1.3MM

Sales 2.9MM Emp 14 SIC 7379 Disk & diskette conversion service. David L Taylor Pr

GENESIS HI-TECH CORP (Suby of ADVANCED HI-TECH CORP) 3860 Bay Center Place, Hayward, CA 94545-3619 Tel (510) 782-4800 Level 1 Level 1 rel (510) /82-4800 Le Fiscal Year End 08/31 Net Worth 1.1MM Sales 7.5MM Emp 60 SIC 3555 Printing trades machinery. Fou-Sen Chang PhD CEO

VIC HI-TECH CORP (Suby of ADVANCED HI-TECH CORP) 2221 Rosecrans Ave, El Segundo, CA 90245-4911 Tel (310) 643-7571 & Owned 99 Level 1 Sales 1MM Emp 10 SIC 7371 3577 Computer software development; Computer software version and software version and software development; Computer software version and software version and software development; Computer software version and software versio Computer software developme Computer software systems analysis & design, custom; Computer peripheral equipment. Foch Tsai Pr

D-U-N-S 18-634-8801 (TN) ADVANCED HOME HEALTH CARE INC

Rur Rt 2 Box 70, Unicol, TN 37692-9650 Tel (615) 282-5764 No. of Sites 4 Fiscal Year End 03/31 Net Worth 807M Sales 1.2MM Emp 24 Bank First American Corp. Nashville, TN Acts Parker Stewart Shorter Founded/Ownership Date 1986 S/C 7352 5999 Medical equipment rental; Medical apparatus & supplies. David Davis Pr Joyce Davis Sec Tr Vera Davie VP Sec Tr Brian Davis ADVANCED HOME HEALTH CARE INC KEN-

 
 TUCKY i
 Income inc Level 1 SIC 5999 Hospital equipment & supplies; Technical aids for the handicapped. Pr David Davis ADVANCED HOME HEALTH CARE INC

ADVANCED HOME HEALTH CARE INC NORTH CAROLINA (Suby of ADVANCED HOME HEALTH CARE INC) Rur Rt 2 Box 70, Unicoi, TN 37692-9650 Tel (615) 282-5764 Fiscal Year End 12/31 Sales 59.4M Emp 1 'Level'1 BOOKS IN PRINT 1994-95 / RR BOWKER VOL. 10

#### RAKHAMIM PUBNS.

- Rakhamim Pubns., (Rakhamim Pubns; 0-9612500), P.O. Box 7, Berkeley, CA 94701 (SAN 291-848X); Dist. by: Bookpeople, 7900 Edgewater Dr., Oakland, CA 94621 (SAN 168-9517) Tel 510-632-4700; Toll free: 800-999-4650; Dist. by: Inland Bk. Co., 140 Commerce St., East Haven, CT 06512 (SAN 200-4151) Tel 203-467-4257; Toll free: 800-243-0138.
- RaLa-VenRue Foundation, (RaLa-VenRue: 0-9636422), P.O. Box 2098, Monrovia, CA 91016; 320 E. Hillerest Blvd., Monrovia, CA 91016 Tel 818-359-7188.
- Raleigh Historic Districts Commission, Inc., (Raleigh Hist; 0-9635677), P.O. Box 829, Century Sta., Raleigh, NC 27602; 222 W. Hargett St., Rm. 307, Raleigh, NC 27601 Tel 919-832-7238.
- Ralls County Bk. Co., (Ralls Cnty Bk; 0-9617769), P.O. Box 375, New London, MO 63459 (SAN 664-7138) Tel 314-985-8211.
- Rally America!, (Rally Am: 0-9632401), 6 Fieldcrest Rd., Westport, CT 06880 Tel 203-454-1479
- Rallysport Video Productions, (Rallysport Video Prodns; 0-926727), P.O. Box 29809, Los Angeles, CA 90029 Tel 213-255-6777.
- Ralmar Enterprises, (Ralmar Enter: 0-941977), 1340 W. 30th St., Los Angeles, CA 90007 (SAN 666-7503) Tel 213-734-3312.
- Ralston-Pilot, Inc., Pubs., (Ralston-Pilot; 0-931116), P.O. Box 1357, Cedar City, UT 84720 (SAN 282-2067) Tel 801-586-7395.
- Ralston Publishing Co., Inc., (Ralston Pubng; 0-9638315), 99-969 Iwaena St., Aica, HI 96701 Tel 808-487-9919.
- Ram Assocs., Ltd., (Ram Assoc: 0-943308), P.O. Box 66781. Saint Petersburg Beach, FL 33736 (SAN 240-1118) Tel 813-343-1301.
- Ram Foundation See Common Man Institute
- Ram Pr., (Ram Pr; 1-880871), Box 2060, Key Largo, FL 33037; Toll free: 800-484-2075; 10 Bunting Dr., Key Largo, FL 33037 Tel 305-451-3287. Do not confuse with Ram Pr., Lakewood, CO.
- Ram Pubns., (Ram Pubns; 0-9622688), 3605 Arctic Blvd., No. 538, Anchorage, AK 99503 Tel 907-277-9942.

RAM Publishing (Japan) See RAM (Research Art Media)

- \*Ram Publishing Co., (Ram Pub; 0-915920), P.O. Drawer 38649, Dallas, TX 75238 (SAN 203-0837) Tel 214-494-6151; CIP.
- Rama Publishing Co., (Rama Pub Co; 0-913071), P.O. Box 793, Carthage, MO 64836 (SAN 283-3875) Tel 417-358-1093.

Ramakrishna Math (India) See Vedanta Pr.

Names

- Ramakrishna Mission (India) Scc Vedanta Pr.
- Ramakrishna Vedanta Centre, (UK) Sec Vedanta Pr.

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Texas School Book Appendix A = 477 Depository The "Cones" Using computer enhancements of the Zapruder film, Failure Analysis Associates calculated the trajectories of the two bullets that Oswald's struck their target. They fixed the sniper's position of the limousine and the postures of Kennedy and Connally nest at the precise moments of impact. Working backward and allowing for a margin of error, a computer then calculated a line through the 1 entry and exit wounds. The trajectory could then be splayed into a "cone." Cone A shows the origin of the second shot, and Cone B of the third shot. **The First Shot** During the first shot (dotted line) there were oak trees and a traffic-light support post between Oswald and Elm Street. That shot was almost certainly deflected by a branch, and its only trace was a nick made on a concrete curb near the Triple Underpass. A chip of concrete from that shot cut James Tague on the cheek. **The Zapruder frames** Shot

The moments of impact of Oswald's second and third shots can be established by analyzing frames of the Zapruder film. The second shot (Cone A) hit both the President and Governor Connally just as their limousine emerged into Zapruder's view from behind a freeway sign. Careful analysis points to the impact of Oswald's second shot at frames 223–224. The third shot (Cone B), in full view of Zapruder, hit Kennedy in the back of his head at frame 313.

d: Lee Harvey Oswald and the Assassination of JFK," by Gerald Posner (Random House, Sept. 1, 1993)

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And what about Jack Ruby, the Chicago native who moved to Dallas to run strip clubs? Did he just happen by the Dallas jail on Nov. 24 and shoot Oswald on the spur of the moment?

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#### Thumbs up from the critics

Three weeks after its release, it is eighth on The New York Times national best-seller list and seventh on the Tribune's list of Chicago's best sellers.

U.S. News & World Report, which ran excerpts from "Case Closed," writes: "Posner achieves the unprecedented. He sweeps away decades of polemical smoke, layer by layer, and builds an unshakable case against JFK's killer

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So Posner attended law school at the University of California at Berkeley, where he was an honor student, then joined a prestigious Wall Street law firm, leaving two years later to form his own firm.

In 1981 he represented Jewish victims of Dr. Josef Mengele, the notorious Nazi war criminal who escaped from Germany after World War II and died in hiding in South America.

"It was a pro bono case, and I sued the Mengele family and the German government," Posner said. "Nothing came of the suit, but I accumulated 25,000 documents about Mengele, so I thought I'd write a book."

"Mengele: The Complete Story," which he co-wrote with John Ware, was published in 1986, prompting Posner to leave the law and write full time.

"Case Closed" is his fifth book. "A weakness of mine is that I tend to underestimate the difficulty of each project I undertake. This was true with this book, but as I kept going I kept finding answers to things I didn't think I could get answers to."

#### The real cover-ups

Posner agrees with critics of the Warren Commission who say its investigation was flawed.

"There was a cover-up by the FBI and the CIA, but they weren't attempting to conceal their involvement in the murder of the president but rather their own inefficiency and bungling," Posner said. "I go into detail in exposing these cover-ups, but they can't be interpreted as evidence of conspiracy."

The Warren Commission's work also was tarnished by a dubious finding of the 1978 investigation by the House Select Committee on Assassinations, Posner said.

"The committee's acoustics experts tested a Dictabelt recording of radio traffic on Dallas police channels and said they were 95 percent certain there had been a fourth shot, therefore a second shooter and a conspiracy."

A retest by the National Academy of Sciences discredited the committee's experts, concluding that the recording was made a minute after the shooting, Posner said.

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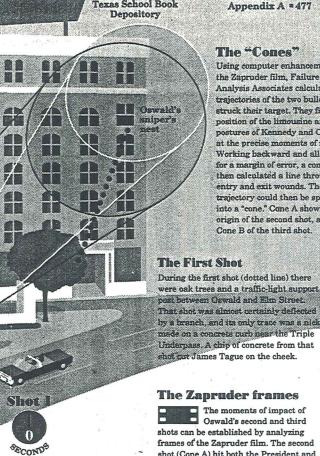
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U.S. News & World Report, which ran excerpts from "Case Closed," writes: "Posner achieves the unprecedented. He sweeps away decades of polemical smoke, layer by layer, and builds an unshakable case against JFK's killer

.. Lee Harvey Oswald." It quotes Stephen Ambrose, biographer of Dwight Eisenhower and Richard Nixon: "The chapter on the [magic] bullet is a tour de force, absolutely brilliant, absolutely

So Posner attended law school at the University of California at Berkeley, where he was an honor student, then joined a prestigious Wall Street law firm, leaving two years later to form his own firm.

In 1981 he represented Jewish victims of Dr. Josef Mengele, the notorious Nazi war criminal who escaped from Germany after World War II and died in hiding in South America.

"It was a pro bono case, and I sued the Mengele family and the German government," Posner said. "Nothing came of the suit, but I accumulated 25,000 documents about Mengele, so I thought I'd write a book."

"Mengele: The Complete Story," which he co-wrote with John Ware, was published in 1986, prompting Posner to leave the law and write full time.

"Case Closed" is his fifth book. "A weakness of mine is that I tend to underestimate the difficulty of each project I undertake. This was true with this book, but as I kept going I kept finding answers to things I didn't think I could get answers to."

#### The real cover-ups

Posner agrees with critics of the Warren Commission who say its investigation was flawed.

"There was a cover-up by the FBI and the CIA, but they weren't attempting to conceal their involvement in the murder of the president but rather their own inefficiency and bungling," Posner said. "I go into detail in exposing these cover-ups, but they can't be interpreted as evidence of conspiracy."

The Warren Commission's work also was tarnished by a dubious finding of the 1978 investigation by the House Select Committee on Assassinations, Posner said.

"The committee's acoustics experts tested a Dictabelt recording of radio traffic on Dallas police channels and said they were 95 percent certain there had been a fourth shot, therefore a second shooter and a conspiracy."

A retest by the National Academy of Sciences discredited the committee's experts, concluding that the recording was made a minute after the shooting, Posner said.

Half of "Case Closed" is a meticulous examination of Oswald's entire life, culminating in an almost day-by-day chronicle of his movements in the last two months before the assassination. "Many conspiracy books almost ignore Oswald. But he's the key, and it's amazing how much is known about him," Posner said.. "It's certainly enough to disprove all the theories that he was a spy



**RANDOM HOUSE, INC.** 

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LÉSLEY OELSNER ASSOCIATE GENERAL COUNSEL

August 24, 1994

BY FEDERAL EXPRESS

Harold Weisberg 7627 Old Receiver Road Frederick, MD 21702

#### Re: CASE CLOSED, by Gerald Posner

Dear Mr. Weisberg:

I am writing with regard to your letter of August 11, 1994 to the President of Doubleday concerning the Anchor reprint edition of Gerald Posner's book <u>Case Closed</u>.

1 1

Your allegations about Mr. Posner and Random House are utterly without basis in fact or law. Whatever your motives, you have far exceeded the bounds of appropriate or accurate comment. It is clear that no purpose would be served in listing the many errors in your letter, and we decline to do so. Nor does your vituperative personal attack on Mr. Posner warrant response. (You are, of course, totally wrong in thinking that Mr. Posner had added a "lengthy personal attack" on you for the Anchor edition. Mr. Posner has neither desire nor need to engage in such attacks.)

Sincerely,

My Clebri

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ROBERT D. LOOMIS VICE PRESIDENT & EXECUTIVE EDITOR

February 22nd, 1995

Dr. Gerald Ginocchio Wofford College 429 North Church Street Spartanburg, SC 29303-3840

Dear Dr. Ginocchio:

I think the only thing that I can say to your letter is that I feel sorry for you.

Yours,

rd1/bh

#### March 1, 1995

Dear Mr. Loomis:

Thank you for your non-response in the tradition of Mr. Posner's non-response to <u>Case</u> Open. To save time and paper, let me provide you with three examples (among dozens, many documented by my students) of what I would consider gross ignorance (dare I say, editorial incompetence?) or deceit from <u>Case Closed</u>. If you can explain these discrepancies between the official record and Mr. Posner's versions on other grounds, I would be happy to read it. If not, save your pity for yourself.

r. Gerald Ginocchio

2



### RANDOM HOUSE, INC.

201 EAST 50TH STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022 TELEPHONE 212 572-2171 FAX 212 572-4949

ROBERT D. LOOMIS VICE PRESIDENT & EXECUTIVE EDITOR

October 27th, 1993

Mr. Alan Houston 200 Beall, #129 Nacogdoches, Texas 75961

00

Dear Mr. Houston:

I have no doubt that you really believe what you are saying, but I must tell you that your letter is one of the best indications I've seen yet as to why the American public has been misled by ridiculous conspiracy theories.

You have proved nothing insofar as I can see, except for the fact that you simply can't see the truth of the situation. My feeling is that it is you and others like you who have perverted the historical record and, in an inexcusable way, pardoned the murderer.

Yours.

rd1/bh

CASE CLOSED: Lee Harvey Oswald and the Assassination of John F. Kennedy. Random House., 607 pages, \$25 Reviewed by Alan Houston.

Gerald Posner's CASE CLOSED has been hailed as a brilliant defense of the Warren Commission's findings by critics as diverse as columnist Tom Wicker, historian Steven Ambrose, and CIA critic David Wise. While Posner has some valid criticisms of certain assassination researchers and and witnesses, Posner's book itself is filled with omissions, distortions, and outright lies-the very thing that Posner accuses the Warren Commission critics of doing.

The first section of CASE CLOSED is intended to prove that Oswald was indeed the lonely, frustrated Marxist that the Warren Commission and the House Select Committee on Assassinations (HSCA) painted him to be, and that he could not possibly have been a low-level illelligence operative, as many researchers have suggested. Unfortunately, much of this section relies on highly questionable sources. He quotes a psychiatrist, Renatus Hartogs, who examined Oswald briefly as a teenager, and who told the Warren Commission that Oswald exhibited "definite signs of dangerousness." He fails to mention that in 1975, Hartogs lost a \$350,00 judgement to a young woman who said that he had forced her to have sex with him as part of his "therapy." Posner relies on Marina Oswald's testimony throughout the book, yet even the Warren Commission regarded her testimony as unreliable at best. One of the Warren Commission's own counsels, Norman Redlich, wrote that "Marina Oswald has lied to the Secret Service, the FBI, and this Commission on matters which are of vital concern to the people of this country and the world." Marina herslf has admitted that she was threatened with deportation and told the Commission what it wanted to hear.

Posner relies on FBI reports throughout his book, yet at least sixty people have said that the FBI-as well as the Warren Commission-distorted their testimony, and there is proof that the FBI altered documents.

Posner also quotes repeatedly from the book MARINA AND LEE, by Priscilla Johnson Mcmillan. Mcmillan is widely regarded by researchers as a CIA, employee posing as a journalist, with good reason. A reporter with an extraordinary range of contacts within the intelligence community, she contracted with Marina Oswald, while she was still being held in protective custody by the Secret Service, to write an account of her life with Oswald. The book did not appear until the late seventies. Meanwhile, McMillan provided shelter for Svetlana Stalin when she defected to America. In his book PLAUSIBLE DENIAL, Mark Lane quotes Marina as saying after the book was published, that much of the book was false, and Mcmillan knew it to be false.

Posner quotes throughout from Oswald's "historic diary," and

he notes that the HSCA verified it as being in Oswald's handwriting. He fails to mention that they also concluded that it appeared to have been written in one or two sittings, and that the diary has anachronisms which prove that it is not a contemporaneous account. The "diary" is not a diary at all, but was written long after the events occurred, possibly to conceal Oswald's contacts with American or Soviet intelligence.

Posner relies on the assurances of the controversial KGB defector, Yuri Nosenko, and Oswald's KGB files to prove that Oswald had no contact with American or Soviet intelligence. Posner, of course, did not actually see these files, only read summaries of them. The contents of these files were supposed to belaired on "Nightline," but at the last moment the KGB got cold feet. Forrest, Sawyer told Dick Russell, author of THE MAN WHO Knew TOO MUCH, that the files "didn't reveal a damn thing," and added that he was allowed to examine material only from the KGB's Second Directorate. His request to see the far more telling First Directorate files was refused. "These days," Sawyer concluded, "you can bet that a Russian intelligence agency won't put out anything that would upset the CIA."

Posner's reliance on questionable Vo sources-a quack psychiatrist Marina's unreliable testimony, a work of CIA disinformation, an phony diary, and the questionable assurances of the FBI and the KGB-render most of Posner's book worthless. Posner also omits certain facts that would tend to connect Oswald with the CIA: Hearefers blandly to Richard Snyder as an "American consul" who handled Oswald's defection and return. He fails to mention that Snyder had worked with the CIA in 1949-50, and that the HSCA had discovered that Snyder's CIA file had been "redflagged" as a matter of "cover." A book entitled WHO'S WHO IN THE CIA, published sin East Berlin in 1968, lists Snyder as having been with the CTA since 1951. When the Oswalds returned to the U.S., Snyder returned Oswalds's passport to him several months ahead of his scheduled departure, although the embassy had specifically instructed him in writing not to do so.

As for some of Posner's outright lies, here are just a few samples: Rose Cheramie was a prostitute who was thrown from a car by two men. Before the assassination, she told a policeman, Francis Fruge pr that Kennedy would be killed. Posner distorts the HSCA report on Cheramie to make it appear that she had made up the story afterword. In fact, the report confirms that Cheramie warned the policeman before the assassination. The report goes on to say that Fruge was able to identify Cheramie's companions, one of whom was Sergio Archaca Smith-who just happened to be a good friend of David Ferrie, the right wing extremist, former CIA contract agent, and employee of mob boss Carlos Marcello, whom most researchers, suspect of playing a major role in the Kennedy assassination.

Posner claims that the only evidence linking Mafia boss Santos Trafficante to the assassination was the testimony of Cuban exile Jose! Aleman, and that there was no tape-recorded evidence of conspiracy. In his updated edition of CONSPIRACY, Anthony Summers states that "It can now be reported that the Assassinations Committee was provided with an FBI surveillance tape of Trafficante, recorded following the murder of Sam Giancana. Trairicante was heard to say "now only two people are alive who know who killed Kennedy, and they aren't talking."

In his list of mysterious deaths, taken from Jim Marr's book one of CROSSFIRE, Posner: states that "Charles Mentesana was filmed Lt. Carl Day carrying the several news cameramen who Carcano rifle out of the Book Depository." Actually, Marrs states that Mentesana, filmed a rifle OTHER than the Carcano being removed from the Depository. A recent article in THE THIRD DECADE, a journal of research on the JFK case, discussed this film; which shows a rifle other than the Carcano being removed from the roof of the Depository. Since Jim Garrison also mentions this film in his book, Posner cannot claim that he simply made an error. He simply lied about it. Posner also fails to mention that Federal agent Frank Ellsworth told Dick Russell that that the Mannlicher-Carcano was actually found on a lower floor than the sixth floor. Posner states that the policemen who found the rifle sixth floor and identified it as a Mauser quickly In fact, only one officer, onthe corrected corrected themselves. Seymour Weitzman, said that he may have been mistaken. All of the other officers, including Deputies Boone and Mooney, swore under oath that Captain Fritz, in their presence, examined the rifle on the sixth floor and pronounced it to be a 7.65 German Mauser. Deputy Roger Craig later said that the rifle had "Mauser" stamped on the barrel. There is no evidence that any of these officers recanted their descriptions of the rifle. The Deputy who was with Weitzman when he found the rifle was shown the Carcano during the Warren Commission proceedings, and flatly rejected it as the one he had seen. A CIA document, written several days after the assassination, also refer to the rifle as a Mauser. (Weitzman, the only officer to recant his discription of the rifle, later identified, to two researchers, Watergate burgler Bernard Barker as being one of the men he had encountered behind the grassy knoll). Thus, the evidence proves that three rifles were found in the vicinity of the Book Depository, and that the Dallas police concealed two of these rifles. Posner refers to the testimony of Julia Mercer, who saw a man take out a rifle from a truck driven by Jack Ruby before the assassination, and he states that an investigation proved this story to be false. The source of the statement regarding this alleged investigation was a Dallas police officer. Posner also fails to mention that Mercer said that her statements had been distorted by the Sheriff's office

and the FBI. Referring to a picture taken of General Walker's house, Posner notes that Marina' told the Warren Commission that a hole in the picture, obliterating the license plate number of a car, had been added since Lee had shown it to her. Posner writes that had been may be mistaken. A photo of evidence taken from Oswald's "Marina may be mistaken. A photo of evidence taken from Oswald's at that time." In fact, a picture printed in the books CONSPIRACY at that time." In fact, a picture printed in the books CONSPIRACY and HIGH TREASON, shows that the original photograph was intact. Before the assassination, someone posing as Oswald deliberately attracted attention to himself. Posner's accounts of the Oswald imposter sightings are-like everything else in his

book-filled with distortions. For example, in the case of auto salesman Albert Bogard, who said that a Lee Oswald had made a high speed test-drive of a car, Posner states that "none of his fellow workers supported Bogard's story except one." three other witnesses, Frank Pizzo, Oran Brown, and Eugene Wilson corroberated Bogard's story. Posner observes that one witness "did remember a five-foot tall "Oswald," not a very good imposter." He fails to mention that this witness was blind in one eye and had cataracts. Regarding Oswald's alleged visit to the Cuban and Soviet embassies in Mexico, Posner states that Sylvia Duran identified the man as being the real Oswald. Posner fails to mention that she was twice arrested by the Mexican police, on orders of the CIA, and subjected to brutal treatment. It was then that she said that the man was the real Oswald that she had seen. When Anthony Summers showed her films of the real Oswald, she did not believe that he was the man she had seen. (There is now evidence that both the real Oswald and an imposter may have visited the embassies).

Posner uses the testimony of Charles Givens to place Oswald on the sixth floor at 11:50. He fails to mention that this was actually Givens' second version of his story. In his first version, Givens said that he left the sixth floor at 11:30, and did not go back up to the sixth floor. An FBI report stated that Givens, who was wanted on a drug charge, might be willing to change his story for money. When Warren Commission counsel David Belin interviewed Givens for a second time, he was aware of Givens' first account, but he went ahead and suborned perjury from Givens, and Posner uses this perjured testimony to make his case against Oswald. Posner also accepts the testimony of Tippet witness Helen Markham, who told Mark Lane that Tippet's killer was "a short man, somewhat on the heavy side, with bushy hair." Warren Commission questioned Markham about her statements, she denied making them. Lane, however, produced a recording of the conversation, proving that Markham was a liar. Despite this, the Warren Commission accepted her (revised) testimony, and Posner also, accepts it. Thus, Posner, while many conspiracy witnesses because of inconsistencies in their statements, is willing to use proven liars when it suits him. (Not surprisingly, Posner was formerly a

One of Posner's main contentions in his book is that there is no credible evidence of a relationship between Oswald, David Ferrie, and Guy Banister, whose office address was stamped on some of the pro-Castro leaflets that Oswald was handing out in New Orleans. He bäses this claim on inconsistencies in some of the witnesses' statements, as well as the claim of Banister's secretary, Delphine Roberts, that she lied to author Anthony Summers. Posner, however, omits many witnesses, such as employee William Gaudet, who told Summers that he had seen Oswald with Banister and Ferrie. Posner states that there that Ferrie's library card was found on Oswald, that this was not was a rumor true, and that Ferrie produced his library card. Posner fails to mention that two witnesses told the HSCA that Ferrie came by on the day of the assassination, frantically asking about Oswald's

library card. The card that Ferrie displayed to the FBI had long since been expired. Michael Kurtz, a historian and author of CRIME OF THE CENTURY, was able to locate several more witnesses to an Oswald-Banister-Ferrie relationship, and the statements of one of these witnesses, George Wilcox, who was interviewed by one these witnesses, George Wilcox, who was interviewed by the things that Delphine Roberts told Anthony Summers, proving the things that Delphine Roberts told Anthony Summers, proving that Roberts was telling the truth to Summers, and is lying to that Roberts was telling the truth the assassination produced a Posner now. A recent PBS special on the assassination produced a

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pnotograph of Osward and refirs in the Schwerz on Jack Ruby and One could go on and on. Posner's chapters on Jack Ruby and the Garrison investigation are filled with similar omissions and distortions. Apparently, the overwhelming majority of reviewers distortions. Apparently, the overwhelming majority of reviewers who have praised this book never even considered the possibility who have praised this book never even considered the possibility who have praised this book never even considered the Warren Commission that a clever, articulate apologist for the Warren Commission such as Posner might also be a greedy opportunist. Only Warren commission critics; it seems, could be out for money or fame. Commission critics; it seems, could be out for money or fame.

As for Posner's chapter on the physical evidence, it is Posner's book proves otherwise. worthless. The best study of the medical and ballistics evidence is Michael Kurtz' CRIME OF THE CENTURY, which Posner lists in his which he obviously did not read. Kurtz demonstrates that the HSCA's "experts" made almost as many mistakes as the Warren Commission did. He points out the HSCA pathology panel all agreed that the bullet which struck JFK in the back did so at a slightly upward angle, yet none of the panel members recognized the significance of this. A bullet coming at a downward angle from the sixth floor of the Book Depository could hardly enter Kennedy's body at an upward angle, unless JFK had been leaning over when hit. All of the films and photographs of the assassination depict Kennedy as sitting upright when struck. Therefore, this bullet must have come from someplace lower than the sixth floor, which means that there were two gunmen firing at Kennedy from behind. Posner's book uses a computer trajectory study-which was originally commissioned for a mock trial of Oswald by the American Bar Association-which depicts the bullet entering Kennedy's back at a downward angle, a blatant distortion

Posner also quotes Dr. Cyril Wecht, a Warren Commission of the evidence. critic, as admitting that the X-rays do not support a shot from the front. Wecht is mistaken here. Michael Kurtz notes that a wound ballistics expert, Larry Sturdivan, told the HSCA that JFK definitely not struck in the head by an exploding bullet fired from the grassy knoll because the X-rays do not depict "a cloud of bullet fragments very near the entrance wound." Kurtz notes that Sturdivan was shown only the computer-enhanced X-rays. In the original, unenhanced X-rays, there is indeed a cloud of bullet fragments clustered in the right front portion of the head. Kurtz also notes that after learning of the acoustics evidence, the HSCA requested Dr. David O. Davis, an eminent radiologist, to review the JFK skull X-rays. He conceded that the X-ray evidence was compatible with a shot from the front only if Kennedy's head was "tilted to the left side, that is, with the The Zapruder film

shows shows the head in exactly that position at the moment of the head shot. Thus, two of the HSCA's own experts, apart from Dr. Wecht, provide evidence that JFK was indeed shot from the front with an exploding bullet. If Posner showed Wecht only the computer enhanced X-rays, it's no wonder that he didn't see these bullet fragments. Kurtz refutes virtually every thing else in Posner's chapter on the physical evidence. As for Dr. Michael Baden's statement that only in movies do people fall backward when shot, this is nonsense, as any combat veteran can tell you. Michael Kurts notes that World War II films of people being shot in demonstrate without exception that people always fall backward in the direction of the bullet. These films do not depict any explosion of brain tissue, such as can be seen in the Zapruder In his book, Posner refers to the claim of Chauncey Holt, a former CIA employee and career criminal, as being one of the "tramps" who were arrested in the railroad yards behind the grassy knoll and photographed in Dealey Plaza. The other two tramps have been identified as Charles Rogers, a CIA agent who butchered his parents and put them in the fridge, and Charles Harrelson, a mob hitman-and father of actor Woody Harrelson-now in prison. Posner notes that when the Dallas Police files on the JFK assassination were released, the names of three different men were produced, and one of these men, Harold Doyle, came forword with his story. Unfortunately, Posner hasn't read the MAN ON THE GRASSY KNOLL, by John Craig and Phillip Rogers, which refutes Doyle's claim. The authors were two detectives who stumbled on the assassination material by pure chance. They point out that between six to eight men, not three, were arrested in the railroad yards, so Doyle and his two friends may have been genuine tramps, but they were not the men in the photographs. Lois Gibson, a leading forensic artist, compared a picture of Doyle to the tramp which he claimed to be, and concluded that he was not that man. But she compared, pictures of Holt, Rogers, and Harrelson to the tramps, and concluded that they matched (several other photographic experts have identified Harrelson as being one of the tramps. When Harrelson was arrested for the murder of a federal judge, he claimed to have been involved in the JFK assassination). Furthermore, there is Oswald, Holt, and Rogers in the same frame. The authors were able to locate several witnesses in Houston who were told by a now a photograph showing deceased woman of a visit that Oswald, Rogers, and Harrelson had made to her home prior to the assassination. The testimony of these witnesses, as well as this photograph, is the hard evidence that researchers have long needed to put Oswald directly in the company of members of the CIA and the mafia. Posner also refers to Mark Lane's book PLAUSIBLE DENIAL, which deals with the case of Hunt vs. Liberty Lobby. E. Howard Hunt sued the lobby over an article implicating him in the JFK assassination conspiracy. Hunt lost the case. At the trial, Marita Lorenz, a former CIA operative, directly implicated Hunt in the assassination. Posner quotes former HSCA investigator

Edwin Lopez as saying out that the HSCA checked out Lorenz' allegations, and that there was nothing to them. Lopez is apparently unaware that three witnesses have come forward to support Lorenz' allegations. Apart from her claims, Lane was able to destroy Hunt's alibi under cross examination, and prove that Hunt was in Dallas on Nov.22, 1963. Hunt had claimed that his children had been with him, yet his children did not even testify on his behalf. Another witness, journalist Joseph Trento, the CIA would have to explain Hunt's presence in Dallas on the Docent of the assassination.

Posner also criticizes Dick Russell's book THE MAN WHO KNEW TOO MUCH, which is one of the most important books every written about the JFK assassination. Posner states that the main subject of Russell's book, Richard Case Nagell, was so unreliable that even Garrison didn't use him, and refers to his questionable mental state. The reason Garrison didn't use Nagell was that, at the time, Nagell refused to reveal what intelligence organization he was working for, and was vulnerable under cross examination. As for his mental state, Nagell was injured in a plane crash in 1957, but a psychiatrist who examined him in the mid sixties found that there was no evidence of brain damage. Russell was able to corroberate much of Nagell's story with interviews with other witnesses, as well as government documents. One document which Nagell supplied to Russell states, directly, without qualification, that Nagell was employed by the CIA investigating Oswald and his anti-Castro activities prior to the assassination. Nagell's story must therefore be taken seriously. and was Apart from Nagell's story, Russell was able unearth on his own a great deal of new evidence, all of which Posner ignores in his

Posner's book is a cynical, sanctimonious, thoroughly dishonest piece of fool's gold which will be praised only by people who are not in possession of the facts. Perhaps the best comment on CASE CLOSED was made by Marina Oswald, who told Tom Brokaw to "forget about this book. It's like wallpaper covering termites." She might have added that the paperhanger was a weasel.

Room 200, Fog University of Pittsburgh at Greensburg Vear Warold, Thankyou for rending the letter to Bill Schapp. I get the peeling that they are doing nothing for my book; my last two letters to them have not even been answered. When I said on the phone that I remembered seeing, in a reliable place, information indicating a close connection between CIA and hittle, Beaun publishers, I was quite certain of that. I still am. But a search of my files kas not produced a clear reference for that . I am afraid I saw it but did not copy it on take notes on it. I have enclosed a few pages documenting Time the's ownership of hittle, Brown back to 1979 and one page kinting at a CIA link to hitle Brown, There are of course intelligence connections of various kinds to Time Inc (rime Warner) through the Luce formily, C. O. Jackson, etc. Mailer published at least three books with title, Brown: The Executioner's Long (1979), ancient Evenings (1983), and after the White Negro (198

GREENSBURG, PA. 15601

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NEW YORK: DELL PUBLISHING CO., INC., 1924

#### 184 The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence

came from the analysis of satellite photography of the U.S.S.R., Soviet ship movements, U-2 photographs of Cuba, and information supplied by Cuban refugees. Penkovsky's technical background information, provided well before the crisis, was of some use—but not of major or critical importance.

Several scholars of the Soviet Union have independently characterized *The Penkovsky Papers* as being partly bogus and as not having come from Penkovsky's "journal." The respected Soviet expert and columnist for the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Washington Post*, Victor Zorza, wrote that "the book could have been compiled only by the Central Intelligence Agency." Zorza pointed out that Penkovsky had neither the time nor the opportunity to have produced such a manuscript; that the book's publisher (Doubleday and Company) and translator (Peter Deriabin, himself a KGB defector to the CIA) both refused to produce the original Russian manuscript for inspection; and that *The Penkovsky Papers* contained errors of style, technique, and fact that Penkovsky would not have made.

British intelligence also was not above scoring a propaganda victory of its own in the Penkovsky affair. Penkovsky's contact officer had been MI-6's Greville Wynne, who, working under the cover of being a businessman, had been arrested at the same time as Penkovsky and later exchanged for the Soviet spy Gordon Lonsdale. When Wynne returned to Britain, MI-6 helped him write a book about his experiences, called Contact on Gorky Street. British intelligence wanted the book published in part to make some money for Wynne, who had gone through the ordeal of a year and a half in Soviet prisons, but the MI-6's main motive was to counteract the extremely unfavorable publicity that had been generated by the defection of its own senior officer, Harold "Kim" Philby, in 1963, and the subsequent publication of his memoirs prepared under the auspices of the KGB.

Interestingly, nowhere in *Contact on Gorky Street* does Wynne cite the help he received from the CIA. The reason for this omission could have been professional jealousy on the part of British intelligence, good British manners (i.e., not mentioning the clandestine activities of a friendly intelligence service), or most likely, an indication of the small role played by the CIA in the operation.

#### Propaganda and Disinformation

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Another book-publishing effort in which the CIA may or may not have been involved-to some degree-was Khrushchev Remembers, and the second volume of Khrushchev memoirs scheduled for publication this year. While these autobiographical and somewhat self-serving works unquestionably originated with the former Soviet premier himself, there are a number of curious circumstances connected with their transmission from Moscow to Time Inc. in New York, and to its book-publishing division, Little, Brown and Company. Time Inc. has been less than forthcoming about how it gained access to the 180 hours of taped reminiscences upon which the books are based, and how the tapes were taken out of the U.S.S.R. without the knowledge of the Soviet government or the ubiquitous and proficient KGB. The whole operation-especially its political implication-was simply too important to have been permitted without at least tacit approval by Soviet authorities. Unlike Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Khrushchev was subsequently neither denounced nor exiled by Moscow's allpowerful party chiefs.

Most of the explanations offered by Time Inc. to clarify the various mysteries involved in this eposide have a slightly disingenuous air. They may be true, but a number of highly regarded American and British scholars and intelligence officers dealing with Soviet affairs find them difficult to accept in toto. Why, for example, did Time Inc. find it necessary to take the risky step of sending a copy of the bound galleys of the book to its Moscow bureau-secretly via Helsinki-before it was published? The complete story of the Khrushchev memoirs, in short, may never be publicly known. And if it is, it may turn out to be another example of secret U.S.-Soviet cooperation, of two hostile powers giving wide circulation to information that each wants to see published, while collaborating to keep their operations away from the eyes of the general public on both sides. After all, the publication of the first volume, in 1971 had a relatively happy effect-it supported Moscow's anti-Stalinists, and in turn increased the prospects for détente. profitable upper tier of this ad Ballantine (a strong science . Other specialties and other a vacuum is left as the result of other opening.

hers in several categories, but pear to be related to distribubok field, for example, there r of salesmen required to cover between 100 and 150 persons. large staffs and thus their gher in relation to revenues. teting costs amounted to 23.3% ers, 25.5% for 10 middle-sized shers in this sector.

is was comparable for all three company the greater the outlay ort with respect to a given series ere nearly proportional to sales were selling departmental exte greater the indicated marketort, while still obtaining sigflow to improve the quality of s thereby seem to be capturing najor textbook markets while thrive in geographic or subject

y, then, the available options ificantly greater sales in short cing to rapidly build a major be most common but riskiest); inkets where the competition is t paperback publishing, then, it realthiest for the industry in the iffs and a diversity of textbook ter ease of entry in the smaller, he continuing formation of new i-sized companies do not choose e areas.

## from "BOOKS" by J. KENDRICK NOBLE, JR. pp. 251-291 IN BENJAMIN M. COMPAINE (ED.) WHO OWNS THE MEDIA BOOKS 281 NEW YORK: HARMONY BOOKS

#### LEADING PUBLISHERS\*

With its acquisition of Book-of-the-Month Club in late 1977, Time Inc. became the largest book publisher, as measured by revenue. Sales in 1978 were \$361 million, the largest portion coming from the mail order Time-Life Books division. Trade publisher Little, Brown is also part of Time Inc. CBS Inc., which had reached the top of the list in 1977 after the Fawcett books acquisition that year, slipped to second, despite a revenue increase of 10%.

The third largest publisher, Reader's Digest Association, Inc., derives almost all of its book revenues from mail order sales of its condensed books series, home repair guides and other "how to" books. About half of Reader's Digest book sales are in foreign markets. McGraw-Hill, virtually even with Reader's Digest, is a leading textbook publisher, but also has extensive trade and professional book lists, all under its own imprint. Doubleday's estimated \$275 million sales include its extensive book club operations (Literary Guild is the best known), but eliminate estimated bookstore and printing revenue from its 1978 total of \$350 million. Doubleday's most recent publishing acquisition was mass market and trade publisher Dell.

Another leader listed in Table 6.16 is Scott & Fetzer, which became a publisher in 1978 with its acquisition of World Book/Childcraft from Field Enterprises.

As an indicator of the changing fortunes of publishers, as recently as 1974, Grolier was the leading publisher, having \$240 million in sales that year. But a string of financial setbacks brought the mail order and encyclopedia publisher close to bankruptcy, and it has retrenched at the expense of some operations.

Harper & Row, an independent trade publisher, reached the top ranks having consummated its merger with J. B. Lippincott in 1978. Lippincott specializes in medical and college textbooks, with a separate religious imprint (Holman) and some trade sales.

In relative terms, book publishing is seen here to be a small enterprise, since even the largest publisher would not make it into the ranks of the *Fortune 500* on book sales alone.

#### Leading Trade Publishers

Trade books, the fiction and nonfiction titles that are addressed to the general consumer, are the most visible segment of the industry because they have distribution through bookstores across the country.

<sup>\*</sup> This section provided by the editor, from data compiled by Knowledge Industry Publications, Inc.

#### "Dear Mr. President . . . " / 97

#### 96 / MEDIA MONOPOLY

what Pearson and Allen might expose in Lima, Peru, or Asunción, Paraguay, or Rio de Janeiro, might evolve to become a negative factor insofar as the governments were concerned and, through the governments, upon the papers to which the United Press sold its service.

In 1981 two editors of the national news agency of Canada, Canadian Press, told a Canadian government commission that the news service edited its news about the media in ways to please major media owners. The press service is bought by 110 newspapers, forty of which are owned by the Thomson chain. The two editors said that a news account of a Thomson paper strike was deliberately reduced to three paragraphs and that a speech by the president of the Ontario Federation of Labor criticizing the Thomson organization was killed. When a branch of Canadian government investigated to see if a series of birth defects in women employees of Thomson was caused by electronic terminals used in the newspaper's plants, the wire service delayed the story for twelve hours until they saw what the Thomson paper would report about itself.

Time, Inc. owns book publishing houses, national news magazines, and book clubs, among other media properties. *Time* magazine has been a steady supporter of the policies of Henry Kissinger. The Time, Inc. book house, Little, Brown, published both volumes of Kissinger's memoirs and his ideas on foreign policy. *Time* magazine excerpted large sections of the books and ran Kissinger's picture on the magazine's cover. Kissinger's books were also selections of the biggest book club in the country, Book-of-the-Month Club, owned by Time, Inc. These coordinated promotions of Kissinger's books could have been coincidental but it is a coincidence experienced by few authors and publishers who lack control of so many media.

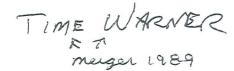
Large media corporations have their own political action committees to give money to favored candidates or, in the growing fashion, to defeat unfavored ones. Some media corporations also own other industries that will benefit from the right candidates.

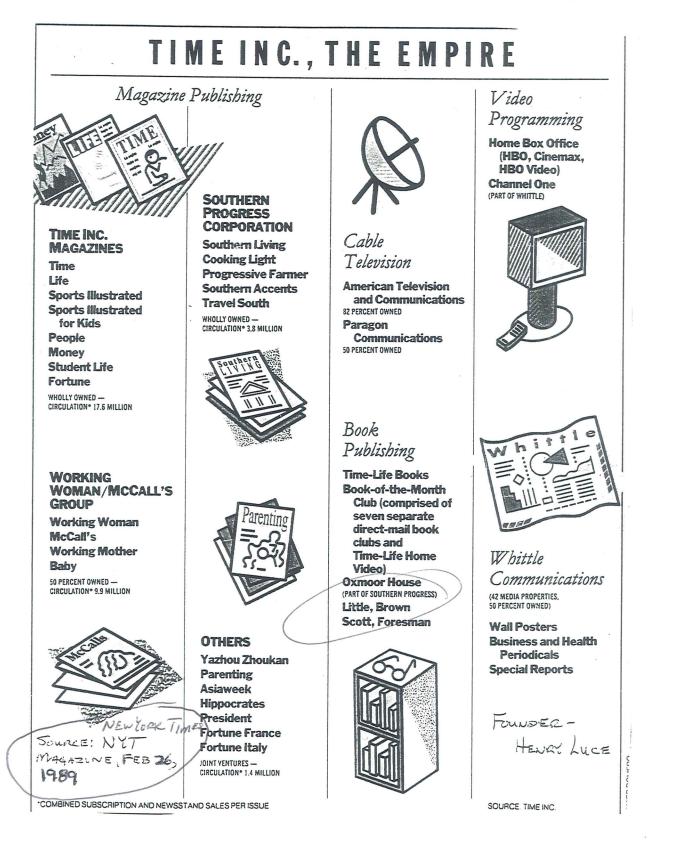
Time, Inc., which owns and operates Time, Life, Fortune,

from BEN H. BAGDIKIAN THE MEDIA MONDFOLT BOSTON: BEACON PRESS 1983 Sports Illustrated, People, and Money magazines, has a political action committee in its own name. Candidates receiving contributions from a Time, Inc. political committee are quite aware that they have become special beneficiaries of the media empire, whose reporting can affect their political careers. Time's parent firm, Temple-Eastex, has its own political action committee, called Committee for Good Government, which supports candidates who presumably will be sympathetic to the wood products company. It would be an extraordinarily dull political candidate getting a contribution from the Committee for Good Government who did not divine that he or she has also become a beneficiary of controllers of the media empire.

It is not every American business person who easily makes appointments with the president of the United States or, like Richard Berlin, is certain to have his or her letters read and acted upon by the president. Berlin's letter created serious change within the Nixon administration even though the favor Berlin asked affected only one Hearst newspaper, the San Francisco Examiner. The other publishers whose names he invoked were not much more involved. Cox had only one paper affected, Knight had only one, Worrell one, Block one, Newhouse two, and Scripps-Howard seven (and though Berlin mentioned all of these there is nothing to indicate that the others participated in his letter to the president, though those he mentioned were pressing for the change Berlin pursued). But Berlin and his fellow publishers were speaking not with the power of fourteen papers, but with the power of seventy-four. In addition to their total newspaper holdings, they spoke with the media power and influence over public attitudes that flowed from their magazines, books, and broadcasting stations. Most of the publishers' properties would be unaffected by the requested law, but all of their media properties could be used to influence the government.

Berlin wanted President Nixon's influence to exempt a group of newspapers from antimonopoly law, which forbids competing firms to perform the act usually described in headlines as "rigging prices"—quietly agreeing on prices among themselves while appearing to compete. Fixing prices is also contrary to





WARNER

BUOKS

MOTION PICTURES

14020 OF PRIME TIME TV Stores

as of 1989 TIME-WARNER OWNED 7.5% OF TURNER BRADCASIDA August 5, 1995

Dear Harold,

Johmmie Cochran has two (2) offices - one in D.C. and another in L.A. The addresses are 201 Massachuseetts Avenue NE and 4929 Wilshire Blvd, respectively. Zip codes and phone numbers we not given and by the time the clerk got them for me, I had to leave the library. My old zip book indicates that the LA one should be 90010 but I am not comfortable with 20006 for D.C. Being as close as you are to D.C. and as familiar as you are with that city, you should be able to zip it quite easily!!

2

As for Random house, PUBLISHER'S WEEKLY notes two (2) shake ups: 1.) RCA selling RH to Newhouse and 2.) much flap over RH ridding itself of Bantheon. A January, 1990 issue of PW devotes major sections to "Looking Back on the '80's." It includes "RCA sold Random HOuse to the Newhouse family which expanded by buying TIME BOOKS, FODOR, SCHOCKEN and CROWN.....It's paperback operation took over FAWCETT." A March, issue of PW carries the headline, "40 RH HMM Publishers and Editors Speak Out on Pantheon." The article lists the 40. The same page has an article on Alan Mirken resigning from RH. A NEWSWEEK issue of DEcember, 1990 had an article entitled, "Manhattan Cannibals." The microfilm was missing ("checked out or stolen") so I did not get to review it. I am guessing hhat it covered the 1980's and the publishing industry devouring itself. I hepe this information is of some help to you - I know I do not feel satisfied with the results.

Marry Ferrell wrote that there will be no ASMSE, But de will hold

(my typewriter ribbon just gave out) there will be no ASK95, but, we will hold a munuconference and she and I will have a one-on-one session! Maybe after 31+ years I can get an "expert" opinion. I"ve had no interest in going commercial which I believe many others would have. Mary has made no profit from her experience and knowledge. My eyes have been opened widely by my greatnephew's interest and his questions. Hence, I found that when I opened a certain can there was only one worm in it - which was very easy to recan and analyze! Once properly handled, it also answered a number of other bothersome questions.

I started looking up references you made in NEVER AGAIN! and the next thing I knew I had reread 7 chapters of NE! and the whole work of CASE OPEN!!!! I apprediate your kind offer of using any of your m material in my effort - I find much of your documented research keeps from having to do it - saves lots of time and effort and gives a read source for a fact or statement. I know you are familiar with working a jigsaw puzzle. Often a section has a piece that is blank and one can pretty well tell what it looks like, what it contains as to detai and what are the hues around the edges. My single-worm can is much 1 that and leads definitely to the Parkland ER form. Thanks to Judge Lee F. Jackson of Dallas the Parkland legal beagles have admitted tha the form exists.

Thanks again for everything and best regards to you and Lil.

Most sincerely,

Paul Haller

Barl the

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ANSNET

## the megamedia are the message

when the government lets go, the deals get going

It was no coincidence. Just as the most sweeping telecommunications reform legislation in sixty years was clearing the last hurdles in Congress, the Disney folk let it drop that they would dine on Capital Cities/ABC, and Westinghouse said they aimed to scarf down CBS. "An utterly great transaction," trumpeted Barry Diller of the Disney concordat. "It's a great deal for both parties," declared Rupert Murdoch. "A great merger," decided Warner Brothers chairman Robert Daly. "The right thing has been done for the shareholders of both companies." announced Warren Buffett. (But what about the rest of us, a few dazed observers wondered.) The Westinghouse/ CBS pact won lesser raves, but mostly because the onetime Tiffany Network (now dubbed the Woolworth Web) is a ratings also-ran (versus the surging, No. 1 ABC) and had been eviscerated by the policies of outgoing proprietor Laurence Tisch. And because Westinghouse was a lackluster suitor compared to the dashing Disney.

That thundering double salvo from the guns of early August was triggered by expectations of a new day dawning in which government, once and for all, will stand aside and not meddle in the profit strategies of America's media conglomerates. The telecommunications bill, to be negotiated between House and Senate this fall, contains provisions that remove all limits on the number of radio stations a

single company could own; increase the number of TV households a single broadcaster could serve; and allow entrepreneurs to own newspapers, radio stations, telephone companies, and cable systems all in the same market. President Clinton has vowed to veto the bill "in the best interests of the public and our economic wellbeing" if it weren't significantly revised - on grounds that it smothered diversity and would permit unwelcome concentrations of media firepower "in every community."

Virtually lost amid all the speculation, jubilation, and lamentation: What vision' do Disney and Westinghouse harbor for the news departments now so firmly in their grasp? At the two press conferences announcing the buyouts, neither Disney boss Michael Eisner nor Westinghouse suzerain Michael Jordan thought to offer a reassuring word that the journalists in their employ would enjoy a sturdy firewall protecting them from the preferences and petulances of the corporate parent. Nor did Eisner and Jordan pay the customary state visits to their network newsrooms (as had Barry Diller and Larry Tisch before them) to reassure the troops. (During a teleconference with ABC employees, Eisner did declare, with customary elegance: "I wouldn't screw around with the news, especially ABC News." And belatedly, on August 9, Jordan paid a flying courtesy call to the CBS News precincts.)

But a Disney executive told The Wall Street Journal Eisner is a "warrior . . . . If he doesn't feel like you're with his program, there's a problem." Attention Peter Jennings and Ted Koppel. Also take heed: the seven Capital Cities/ABC newspapers (including The Kansas City Star, Fort Worth Star-Telegram, and the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader), plus Los Angeles magazine, Women's Wear Daily, and Institutional Investor. New York Post columnist John Cassidy wrote: "To put it kindly, Disney is not renowned for its commitment to freedom of speech."

Clearly, the fear of ownership of news organizations bv mega-corporations (including those that traffic in government contracts) is nothing new (viz. NBC News and GE.) But the Disney and Westinghouse ventures ratchet the concerns up to a new level, especially since the end of big-time merger mania is nowhere in sight. Andrew Barrett, an FCC commissioner, predicted a few weeks ago that by the year 2000 "we'll probably see ten to twelve companies controlling everything we see, hear, and convey in entertainment, voice, and data." "A passion for good old-fashioned journalism could hardly find a more discouraging atmosphere within which to try to survive," wrote Nieman Foundation curator Bill Kovach in The New York Times (August 3). Andrew Jay Schwartzman, director of the Media Access Project, added: "The unprecedented cynicism and

distrust of American jou nalism is not alleviated 1 these consolidations."

Not everybody is so pe simistic. 60 Minutes boy Don Hewitt claims that twenty-seven years m employer has ever tried influence him. Pressur from on high is somethin "that's simply not on m mind. Maybe it should b but it isn't."

A growing number ( theorists like Al Snyde senior fellow at tl Annenberg Washingto Program, feel that Disne Westinghouse, and all othpresent, and future cor glomerates need to issue formal, industry-wide pul lic declaration of their new divisions' independence a document that would con tain language reassurin both the public and th press that journalists are hundred percent insulate from the interests of the owners; that corpora! chieftains will nevo attempt either to advance ( quash a particular story and that news broadcast will never be used for cross-promotion an exploitation. "It's some thing they need to turn the attention to very quickly Snyder says.

Without such a covenant television journalists are vun nerable, even if they don know it. Just after th Disney buyout, Barban Walters recalled that AB<sup>4</sup> News aired a special lans spring from the Disne World movie studio i Florida. "Now, I couldn't d it," she declared.

Wanna bet?

#### Neil Hicka

Hickey wrote "Revolution Cyberia: The Battle Betwee Megamedia, Congress, and the FCC" in the July/August CJR.

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ROBERT D. LOOMIS VICE PRESIDENT & EXECUTIVE EDITOR

February 22nd, 1995

Dr. Gerald Ginocchio Wofford College 429 North Church Street Spartanburg, SC 29303-3840

Dear Dr. Ginocchio:

I think the only thing that I can say to your letter is that I feel sorry for you.

Yours,

Alwom

1

rd1/bh

Hardd, A period this just this afternoon 2/28. Some response! I am tempted to write again for what it is writh. Henry



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ROBERT D LOOMIS VICE PRESIDENT & EXECUTIVE EDITOR

October 20th, 1994

Mr. Joseph Schneider 2805 North Headley Road Bloomington, Indiana 47408

Dear Mr. Schneider:

Thank you for taking the time to write me about your reaction to CASE CLOSED, or at least part of it.

I am not entirely clear about what you're saying insofar as the paper bag Oswald carried into the Book Depository is concerned. First I should tell you that we know very well what Mrs. Randle said along with various other witnesses. Certainly, people described the bag at all different lengths, including as short as, say, eighteen inches.

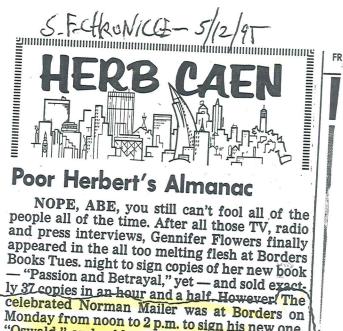
You seem to believe that these accounts, remembered after the fact and certainly not witnessed at the time with any care, make some important difference. We know the rifle was missing after Oswald visited home that day. We know it was kept in a blanket. We know that the rifle was in the Depository with his fingerprints on it. A bag was found which is just the right size for the disassembled rifle to fit inside, and there were fibers in the bag which were similar to those of the blanket. There were no curtain rods found. In fact, Oswald didn't need curtain rods or any short bag such as some people described.

For what it's worth, CASE CLOSED is remarkable and, I think, quite convincing in the sense that it puts a scenario together that is pretty tight fitting all along in which a great many events and happenings are either fitted or they are not, and those that are not are shaky indeed. Did someone else bring in the rifle from the house (a quite impossible plan when you think about it), and plant the bag, and get rid of the curtain rods?

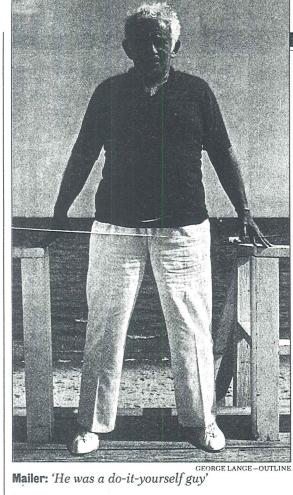
Anyway, I appreciate your writing.

rd1/bh

ANTERSERG



Monday from noon to 2 p.m. to sign his new one, "Oswald," and sold — 18 copies. In these sensitive times, Norman shouldn't be walking around with a bomb like that ... Lowell High's 100th annvy. banquet at the St. Francis Wed. night accurately reflected the power and the glory of S.F. a half-century ago. The only dark faces in



## **No Ordinary Secret Agent**

### **Books:** Mailer talks about Lee and the KGB

ORMAN MAILER'S OSWALD'S TALE: AN American Mystery (828 pages. Random House. \$30) won't appear until early May. But The New Yorker's recent excerpt revealed new material covering JFK's supposed assassin's sojourn in the Soviet Union after his 1959 defection: accounts of Oswald the reluctant factory hand and would-be womanizer, KGB transcripts of his bugged spats with his young Russian wife. And the contrarian Mailer now agrees the Warren Commission was probably right that Oswald acted alone. Like "The Executioner's Song," Mailer's Pulitzer Prize-wining book on Gary Gilmore, "Oswald's Tale" was dreamed up by journalistic entrepreneur and world-class interviewer Lawrence Schiller, who recruited Mailer as writer. (His most recent coup: O. J. Simpson's "I Want to Tell You.") Mailer, Schiller and a team of translators and assistants spent months in the former Soviet Union, amassing 11,000 pages of interviews with Oswald's associates-and KGB men who spied on him. Last week Mailer talked with NEWSWEEK'S Ray Sawhill about Schiller, the KGB and Oswald. Excerpts:

#### NEWSWEEK How do you two work together?

MAILER: We're free to fight, which makes for good relations. Once or twice one of us would pursue a line of questioning the other hated, and we were finally screaming at each other. And the poor Russian interviewee is sitting there looking at us like we're madmen.

How did the KGB react to Oswald? They were grimly fascinated even glumly fascinated. There were so many opportunities to make a big mistake. We have this idea of the KGB as the evil empire, but that's not your typical working KGB man. They've got a family, they want to advance their career, they're as bureaucratic as we are. And they had a hell of a chestnut with Oswald. If he's CIA, he's a

most unusual agent. If he's sincere, it would be a disgrac<mark>e</mark> if they treated him abominably. So they decided to observe him. The KGB are chess players. They play as much chess as the CIA plays tennis.

#### Were they being straight with you?

There was always the chance they were dissimulating. But you'd have needed a sophisticated writer to make up that legend.

#### Did your book change direction?

I started with one book and ended with another. When [our work] was

all over in Belarus, I got fasci-nated with, of all things, the Warren Report. Not that it was a good piece of investigative reporting; it wasn't. But it's a marvelous source of minimalist stories about life in America at that time.

#### And the bottom line?

I think he did it by himself, but I think he was leaned on by the FBI and CIA, which is why there was that tremendous effort at cover-up. Oswald was a do-it-yourself guy. It's hard to see him giving his gun to some-one else. It would have been like him giving his wife to someone else.

## **Family Portraits**

Literature of daily life, from two of the best

AYBE IT'S UNFAIR TO ACKNOWLEDGE new books by Anne Tyler and Sue Miller in a single bow; after all, these novelists have very different voices and, ultimately, different concerns. But as two of the country's best-loved practitioners of the literature of daily life, Tyler and Miller take pleasure in many of the same things-sandwich fixings and porch furniture, old houses and new marital revelations, dumbstruck adolescents and the sleepy affection of longtime lovers. Tyler ("Breathing Les-sons," "The Accidental Tourist") works most easily on the surface, reaping everything she can from the ring and resonance of the ordinary, while Miller ("The Good Mother," "For Love") burrows intently through the underground passages that connect her characters. Neither is in absolutely top form this time around, but that's OK: second-tier efforts from these two are tantamount to most writers' masterpieces.

Tyler's Ladder of Years (326 pages. Knopf. \$24) describes the quiet rebellion of Delia, who married a doctor and raised three kids and is starting to wonder why she bothered. Her husband, Sam, patronizes her when he isn't taking her for granted; and the kids-21, 19 and 15—treat her much the same way. When she disappears one summer day, they tell the police that she's either 5'2" or maybe 5'5" and her eyes are blue or perhaps gray. Delia really has disappeared, though all she did was rent a room in a new town and find a job as a secretary. But the



Wit in abundance: Tyler specializes in the ordinary

OSWALD'S TALE / 187

1 Grend Mariner

rror and admire himself, ' said Marina. "He would vas well proportioned. He I them, so he would flirt. he would say. Just begging onship. Private, but of the g: He really liked women.

s without trying to seduce t was possible that Ella was olier right now than I was thought, "Maybe he liked at bad, he wouldn't push." niration, about that beautit woman he knew. Marina tal blossom whom Lee still rse. There in his mind was her? So that she would pay And learn new ways? She s with great admiration panese girl did to him, this

## l Days

t a girl but a young woman. ty in Russia, you're a *dama*. said to Valya, "My husband e him dirty. He comes back

artment to be just as neat as Once, Valya even went over dirty, a long job, and she had came home from Horizon to have lunch. Marina was cooking, and put food on the table for him, but did not invite Valya to sit down. Later, she said to Marina, "I'm not hungry or poor, but it's a tradition when you clean up for people to be offered something. Yet, there are some who sit and eat and don't offer anything, okay, please!" Marina must have told Alik, because after that, whenever Valya visited, Alik was all over her saying, "Valya, do you want this? Would you like that?" Maybe they had been looking for an hour alone that day, but still, after you wash their balcony, you shouldn't be treated like a servant.

From Marina's narrative: May was our honeymoon month... Of course we were both working but we had evenings after 5 o'clock and Sundays entirely to ourselves. We ate in restaurants, in the first place because I did not have time to cook dinner... and in the second place because I did not know how to cook properly...

He and I loved classical music. We had many Tchaikovsky records, as he was Lee's favorite composer, and also Grieg, Liszt, Rimsky-Korsakov, Schumann. Lee's favorite opera was the Queen of Spades. In Russia, a film was made of this opera, a beautiful film. Lee went to it four or five times and at home I even came to be jealous of this opera. After work he would immediately start playing the record, not once but several times. [Also] we often went to the opera, theatre, the conservatory or the circus... and many of my friends envied the way we lived. Lee was very anxious to have a child and very grieved when the honeymoon was over and there was no sign of a baby.<sup>1</sup>

They wanted her to be pregnant right away. For the first month, nothing happened, and Lee and Valya were equally disappointed. Valya even said, "We were hoping you would have a child, but you're probably going to be like your uncle, won't be able to." Said it after one month! Lee wanted to have a boy. He was going to call him David. Their boy, he assured Marina, would someday be President of the United States. And then, whenever Marina would go to the bathroom, at least when her period was approaching, he wouldn't let her shut that door. He wanted to know for sure whether she was having a period. When she asked him why he didn't trust her, Alik said, "Well, you work in a hospital. If you don't want to have a child, you could have an abortion. So I want to know." It didn't hurt her feelings; she wanted a child too: She





File No.

#### UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON XX D.C. 20535

July 16, 1964

#### LEE HARVEY OSWALD INTERNAL SECURITY - R - CUBA

It will be recalled that a Mr. Martin Samuel Abolow advised that in or about June of 1963, while on a vacation trip in New Orleans, Louisiana, he observed a young man distributing Fair Play for Cuba Committee leaflets to a crowd waiting to board a United States aircraft carrier, which was docked in New Orleans at that time. It will also be recalled that in a letter to Mr. V. T. Leo, then National Director of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Oswald said that "we also managed to picket the fleet when it came in and I was surprised at the number of officers which were interested in our leaflets."

Pursuing the possibility that Lee Harvey Oswald, either alone or with others, may have distributed Fair Play for Cuba Committee literature under the circumstances indicated above, inquiry was made at the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI).

On July 14, 1964, Wilbur Sartwell, ONI, Potomac River Naval Command, telephonically advised a representative of the Federal Durcau of Investigation (FBI), that the files of his office contain no information that would rolate to the subject and the incident described above. He indicated any such record would be at Headquarters, ONI.

On July 15, 1964, Mr. Don Gorham, Acting Chief, NCISC-3, United States Naval Counter Intelligence Support Center, ONI, made available to a representative of the FBI, the Headquarters, ONI files pertaining to the subject.

A review of these files, on July 15, 1964, failed to disclose any record of, or reference to, the circumstances described previously in this communication. This also includes a summary of information available in the file rolating to the subject up to the period of the assassination.

COMMISSION EXHIBIT No. 1412-Continued

LEE HARVEY OSWALD

Mr. Gorham pointed out that the actual file of ONI is with the President's Commission, that the files reviewed represent about intoty-eight per cent of available ONI information pertaining to the subject. He said he did not recall any reference to such an incident possibly involving the subject, and folt if there had been such an incident reported it would have been contained in the previously montioned summary.

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COMMISSION EXHIBIT No. 1412-Continued



File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New Orleans, Louisiana July 22, 1964

#### LEE HARVEY OSWALD

1064 Mr. Lloyd Beck, Office of Naval

#### LEE HARVEY OSWALD

that Harbor Patrolman Girod Ray had been contacted by a member of the United States Navy and requested to locate an individual who was passing out leaflets on the Dumaine Street Wharf or mis office contain no information that would relate to the subject and the incident described above. He indicated any such record would be at Headquarters, ONI.

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A review of these files, on July 15, 1964, failed to disclose any record of, or reference to, the circumstances described previously in this communication. This also includes a summary of information available in the file relating to the subject up to the period of the assassination.

COMMISSION EXHIBIT No. 1412-Continued



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In Reply, Planso Refer to File No. UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION New Orleans, Louisiana July 22, 1964

#### LEE HARVEY OSWALD

On July 21, 1964, Mr. Lloyd Beck, Office of Naval Intelligence, Eighth Naval District, New Orleans, Louisiana, advised a Special Agent of the FBI that according to the records of his agency, the aircraft carrier "USS Wasp" (CVS - 18) visited the Port of New Orleans from June 13, 1963 to June 20, 1963 and during this period of time, was berthed at the Dumaine Street Wharf. Mr. Beck informed that the "USS Wasp" was one of six U.S. Naval Vessels visiting the Port of New Orleans during this period and that the "USS Wasp" is currently at its home port of Boston, Massachusetts. Mr. Beck informed that no information had been received by his agency that during the period that the "USS Wasp" or any other Naval Vessel.

On July 21, 1964, Raymond Martinas, Harbor Master, Port of New Orleans, New Orleans, Louisiana, advised a Special Agent of the FBI that he recalled the visit of the aircraft carrier, the "USS Wasp" to the Port of New Orleans during June, 1963. Mr. Martinas informed that no information had come to his attention that any individual had been distributing leaflets near the "USS Wasp" during the period of time this ship was visiting the Port of New Orleans.

On July 21, 1964, Lieutenant Roy Alleman, New Orleans Harbor Police, New Orleans, Louisiana, advised a Special Agent of the FBI that his agency is in no way connected with the New Orleans Police Department, but is a separate and distinct law enforcement agency. He informed that his agency is under the control of the Board of Commissioners of the Port of New Orleans, an agency of the State of Louisiana.

Lieutenant Alleman advised he recalled an incident wherein an individual was distributing leaflets on the Dumaine Street Wharf at the time the "USS Wasp" was berthed during June, 1963. Lieutenant Alleman stated that he recalled

COMMISSION EXHIBIT No. 1412-Continued

#### LEE HARVEY OSWALD

that Marbor Patrolman Girod Ray had been contacted by a member of the United States Navy and requested to locate an individual who was passing out leaflets on the Dumaine Street Wharf near where the "USS Wasp" was berthed. As a result, Patrolman Ray located this individual, name unknown, and asked this individual to leave the premises. Lieutenant Alleman stated that no arrest was made and that this person upon request, did leave the Dumaine Street Wharf. Lieutenant Alleman unknown individual had been passing out and recalled that one of these leaflets had "something to do with Cuba" but could not recall any additional information.

- 2 -

COMMISSION EXHIBIT No. 1412-Continued

Lieutenant Alleman stated that he did not personally observe the individual passing out the leaflets and that he could furnish no additional information regarding this incident. He stated that the records of his agency do contain a brief, typewritten report made by Patrolman Ray, and also one copy each of the pamphlets that this unknown individual was distributing. Lieutenant Alleman furnished copies of these pamphlets, together with a copy of Patrolman Ray's report, which are set forth in the attached pages.

On July 21, 1964, Patrolman Girod Ray, Harbor Police, advised a Special Agent of the PBI he recalled the incident in June of 1963 wherein he requested an individual to leave the Dumaine Street Wharf, after this individual was observed passing out leaflets in the vicinity of the "USS Wasp."

Patrolman Ray stated that he could not recall the day of the week, but believed it was either on a Saturday or a Sunday and that he had been assigned to a roving patrol in the area of the Toulouse and the Dumaine Street Wharves. He said this was a special assignment, innamuch as the "USS Wasp" was berthed and that there were visiting hours for civilians who desired to go aboard this ship. Patrolman Ray stated that late in the afternoon, possibly between 3:00 pm and 5:00 pm he was approached by an unknown enlisted man from the "USS Wasp" who told him that the Officer of the Deck of the "USS Wasp"

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COMMISSION EXHIBIT No. 1412-Continued

#### LEE HARVEY OSWALD

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out leaflets regarding Cuba and to request this individual to stop passing out these leaflets. Patrolman Ray stated that he was between the Toulouse and Dumaine Street Wharves when he received this information and thereafter, immediately went to the Dumaine Street Wharf where he saw an unknown white male passing out leaflets which were white and yellow in color. He described this unknown individual as a white male, age late 20's, 5'9" tall, 150 pounds, and slender build. He said this individual was distributing these leaflets to U.S. Naval personnel in the area and also to civilians who were leaving the "USS Wasp." Patrolman Ray stated that he approached this person and asked him if he had permission to distribute the leaflets. This person replied that he did not have permission to do this and felt that he did not need anyone's permission since he was within his rights to distribute leaflets in any area he desired to do so. Patrolman Ray stated that he told this individual that the wharves and buildings along the Missisippi River, encompassing the Port of New Orleans, are operated by the Board of Commissioners of the Port of New Orleans, and that if this individual received permission from the Board of Commissioners, he could distribute these leaflets. Patrolman Ray stated that after informing this individual of this information, this person kept insisting that he did not see why he would need anyone's permission and thereafter, Patrolman Ray informed this individual that if he did not leave the Dumaine Street Wharf, Patrolman Ray would arrest him. Upon

Patrolman Ray stated he could not recall how this person was dressed, other than that he was well groomed and that this unknown individual was alone and was not assisted in the distribution of these leaflets by any other person,

Patrolman Ray stated that he could not now recall whether he looked at some type of identification of this individual, but believes he may have done so. Patrolman Ray stated that he feels sure that he wrote this unknown person's name on a slip of paper, but that apparently he had lost this piece of paper,

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COMMISSION EXHIBIT No. 1412-Continued

ANDS

Join the Fair Play for

#### LEE HARVEY OSWALD

as he did not include this individual's name in his typewritten report and that he could not recall the name.

Patrolman Ray stated that he feels that this unknown individual who was distributing the leaflets was Lee Harvey Oswald. He said he bases this on the fact that subsequent to the incident, he had observed photographs of Oswald on television and in the newspapers and that from these photographs he observed, he believes that the individual on the Dumaine Street Wharf was Lee Harvey Oswald.

> 4. Commission Exhibit No. 1412–Continued

The Truth about Cuba

IS IN CUBA!

On January 16, 1961, the United States Government imposed a ban on travel by U.S. citizens to Cuba. Failure to abide by the ban is punishable by a fine of \$5,000 or 5 years in jail or both. (8 USC 1185, 22 USC 275.)

This is in clear contradiction to remarks made by President Kennedy before the United Nations on September 22, 1961, when he deplored action by any nation which "builds a wall to keep truth a stranger and its own citizens prisoners". It seems also to violate the spirit of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations in 1948 which states "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own and return to his country".

What mysterious features exist on this tiny island of 6½ million people to become so taboo for American eyes? Although the policy of the Castro government is to promote tourism everywhere in Cuba, our government innocently explains that the travel ban is to safeguard our welfare.

 Why then does it allow American citizens to travel in such trouble spots as Somoza's Nicaragua?

. Why then does it exempt Americans such as "certain" businessmen and "certain"



terday. The robbers struck one 16-year-old player on the head with a .9-mm handgun and stole his watch and personal stereo, transit police said. Another boy had a \$20 bill stolen before a teammate pulled an emergen-cy-brake cord and scared off the attackers. The team was traveling without adult supervision to an after-school scrimmage at Newtown High terday.

Michael Dobie contributed to this story.

Seeking **JFKPlot** 

Dallas — She slipped into the hotel bar like a wraith. One moment, she was not there. The next, it seemed, she was seated at a table with friends —



Marina Porter

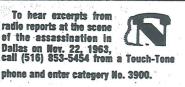
NEWSDAY

SATURDAY,

NOVEMBER

20

1993



Wednesday, January 27, 1993

irand (Fridmer)

## Literati probing Oswald's days in Minsk

#### By James P. Gallagher Chicago Tribune

MINSK, Belarus-A handful of people here have suddenly become minor celebrities, all because they befriended a lonely American named Lee Harvey Oswald more than 30 years ago.

Oswald lived in Minsk for more than two years. He worked in a sprawling radio factory and married a local woman before returning to the United States in 1962. some 18 months before the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Oswald was arrested in the

shot and killed by Jack Ruby at the Dallas city jail.

Until recently, the Minsk phase of Oswald's life has been largely off-limits to foreign researchers. But the barriers fell with the collapse of the communist system, and Oswald's former friends are being besieged for new details of his time in this drab city.

Norman Mailer, the American author, is the most prominent of those digging into Oswald's past. For the last few months, Mailer has been living on and off in

shooting; two days later he was Minsk. He confirmed in a telephone conversation that he is working on a book about Oswald but declined to be more specific.

"I never discuss a book I'm working on, because I might jinx myself." Mailer said.

Mailer even tried to move into the one-room apartment with a view of the Svisloch River where Oswald, then in his early 20s, lived under constant secret police surveillance.

"He offered to send my wife and me on vacation in the south for a See Oswald, pg. 10



Lake

50C Newsstand 40¢ Home Delivery

Norman Mailer (left) is the most prominent writer looking into Lee Harvey Oswald's life in' Minsk in former Soviet Union.

Section 1 Chicago Tribune,

From Page 1

## Continued from page 1

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couple of months," recalled the apartment's current occupant, Mi-khail Kovalevski, a 66-year-old retiree.

"I explained to him we couldn't just get up and leave because my leg is no good, and my wife is sick. He seemed kind of disappointed, but I told him we go to Moscow every summer, and he's welcome to stay here then."

But with the economy on the skids-and with filmmakers, historians and journalists hungry for tidbits about Oswald's past-some of those who used to know him are more eager to cash in on their brief

brush with history. Pavel Golovachev, 51, who worked with Oswald at what is now the Gorizont TV and radio complex, said Mailer paid him \$50 for an interview. And requests to photo-graph former Oswald acquaintances are often countered with demands

for payment. "As the old saying goes, "Thank you' is fine, but it doesn't put vodka in the glass or butter on the bread," D Golovachev said.

Ernst Titovets, a biology professor, has gone so far as to write his own book about Oswald—in English, of which his command is good but not perfect. He said friends in the U.S. are looking for someone to publish the manuscript C rc

the manuscript. "Norman Mailer was here to see me," he said in his office at the Belarus Institute of Neurology. "Look, he hung his coat on this very hook. When he offered to pay for an interview, I suggested a very high price Now we are negotiating trying rę ly b g: fo price. Now we are negotiating, trying to make a deal." P.

Titovets said he was first drawn to th Oswald by the chance to practice his English. "It was hard to imagine back in those days, a real American living in Minsk," he said. "It was it. th like having someone here from outer w. space.

Titovets touts himself as the only one in Oswald's circle with whom the American could communicate sh

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freely in English. That gave him special insights, Titovets insists. "It's the vogue now in Minsk to say you knew Oswald," he said, "but it's possible I was his best friend here. When I first knew him, I had this ready image of an American this ready image of an American, highly educated and cultured, and for a while I saw him through this tl

veil. "Gradually, though, I scaled him I found out things d about him. For example, he would t? suddenly explode on certain provo-cations. But I'm not going to say any more than that, I deal with it all h SI 1 nose who knew Oswald best gen-

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rally speak highly of him. Ella German, who said she was briefly engaged to him, described him as "a pleasant-looking guy with a good sense of humor. He was not as rough and rude as the men here were back then. "We went to the movies, the the-

ater, symphonies. He was easy to be with. He didn't demand anything of me. We kissed, but we did not sleep together. We never became lovers because, in the end, I decided I did not love him " not love him."

German said she broke off the enagement shortly after New Year's gagement shortly after frew rears, 1961. A few months later, Oswald and his wife Marina were wed, "He was certainly very lonely here," Golovachev said. "Maybe he

here," Golovachev sau. wayou in just wanted to get married to any

More casual acquaintances, how-ever, remember Oswald less fondly. Leonid Botvinik, who still works at the Gorizont plant, said most of his fellow employees had a bad opinion of Oswald.

"Honestly, he was not a good worker," said Botvinik, 64. "He would bring all kinds of magazines to read at work, and he was always dissatisfied...At first, we were curi-ous why an American would suddenly appear in our midst, and some of us felt sorry for him. But after a while, most people came to regard him with a kind of antipathy."

To Leonid Tsagoikov, another for-mer co-worker, Oswald was "a lazy-bones who always put his feet up on his worktable," a shocking breach of office etiquette. The fact that Oswald was given a

prestige job making production pro-totypes, along with the higher salary he was paid, did not go down well, Sa lo Tsagoikov added. h

But regardless of their personal opinions of Oswald, almost all of those who knew him do not believe he killed Kennedy, as the Warren

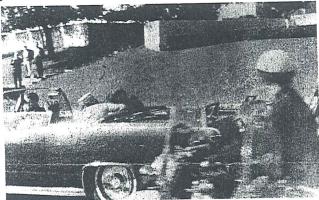
Commission concluded. "Oswald shoot Kennedy? Come on!" Tsagoikov exclaimed. "Oswald could not shoot at all. I went hunting with him once, and when he saw a rabbit, he got so flustered he shot up in the air. There's no way he was capable of the precise marksmanship it would have taken to hit a moving

target from up in that building." Vadim Bakatin, who briefly headed the Soviet KGB in late 1991, writes in his recently published autobiography that the secret police maintained a steady watch on Oswald after he arrived in the Soviet

Oswald after he arrived in the Soviet Union as a tourist in 1959 and told authorities he wanted to defect. But Oswald never denounced his U.S. citizenship, and he gradually became disillusioned with the hard: life in this country, friends said. Bakatin wrote that by the time Oswald departed with his new wife in the spring of 1962, the KGB was in the spring of 1962, the KGB was convinced he was not a spy.

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# FOOTFALLS IN THE CRYPT By Norman Mailer



President Kennedy slumps forward, mortally wounded.

Oliver Stone's new movie, JFK, has something to alienate everyone, from Establishment theorists to the gamut of conspiracy buffs. But as NORMAN MAILER writes, by daring to plumb the depths of America's nightmare obsession on the big screen, the controversial director has posed some very unsettling questions



hat is one to make of *JFK*? It is not routine to take it on, for Oliver Stone presents a nice problem in critical assessment. These years, when the best film directors have preferred to ignore the largest themes, Stone has gone bucking ahead with all the full-

backed intensity of a heavyweight willing to endanger his body against any opponent.

*Platoon*, his first major success, is an example. Its story barely holds together, yet there is no need for the film to do more. Stone, better than anyone before, is showing us what it is

like to endure the physical misery of a patrol on a jungle trail The minute-by-minute experience of slime, bugs, exhaustion and occasional combat is conveyed; by the unspoken logic of film, that is enough. Good films need be no better than good interesting one-night stands. They do not have to change oulives, provided they show us something we had not know before. *Platoon* did that. It offered a sense-filled correlative fe what veterans of the South Pacific and Vietnam had been tryin to explain for a long time. Since it also had the advantage of fine job by Tom Berenger and a performance by Charlie Shee that grew as it went along, *Platoon* worked.

So did *Wall Street*, if at a lower level. Michael Dougla Daryl Hannah, Charlie Sheen, and Martin Sheen did responsible work, but the story, drawn from the history of a coupl of financial worthies who made newspaper headlines for their white-collar crimes, was a contrivance, the cinematog raphy was conventional, and the moral was homiletic.

Illustration by PHILIP BURKE

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seemed apparent that Stone, whatever his willingness, was not a man with a vocation for irony.

Born on the Fourth of July, however, came near to being a great movie. It gave us a view of the torture rack that bound those Americans who went over to Vietnam with a set of conventional beliefs, only to return with no conviction more fiercely held than that morality was equal to surrealism. In one of the best scenes ever filmed in any American movie, Willem Dafoe and Tom Cruise, marooned in their wheelchairs on a clay-dirt road in clay-red Mexican mountains, commence to argue over who has actually shot a baby in Vietnam and who is merely pretending to have it on his conscience. Before the verbal duel is over, each is spitting in the other's face. The wheelchairs tangle, fall over, and the two paraplegics wrestle on the ground, enraged that the other will not believe that, yes, I am guilty of a greater horror than you. Tumbling down together into a gully, they lie halfconscious in the dust, helpless to move, and never are we more aware of their broken spines. That scene captures as much of the war in Vietnam as did Coppola's Valkyrie ride of helicopters in Apocalypse Now. Yes, Born on the Fourth of July was close to being a great movie, but the logic of its inner development was tenuous, and so, despite Cruise's exceptional performance as Ron Kovic, we were only partially convinced that he ends as a radical. Yet what a large and ambitious attempt had Stone undertaken. The size of the gamble underwrote the cruder means. Lack of fear can take an artist into places his skill does not permit.

• The first thing to be said about *JFK* is that it is a great movie, and the next is that it is one of the worst great movies ever made.

By the time Stone made *The Doors*, he must, given his boxoffice successes, have been choked with hubris. *The Doors* has to be one of the truly bad movies of all time, albeit with a prodigious distinction, for it is also virtuoso. It has not one mass scene, but three dozen. Since the demands on a film crew shooting a single mass scene are uncountable, the toll on assistant directors must have been catastrophic. *The Doors*, almost two and a half hours long, probably has two hours of scenes with fifty to five hundred extras. It provides us with the experience of a rock world, but at the harsh cost of living in it. Half-glimpsed wonders of a half-muttered and half-uttered Dionysian life just about convert us to the Apollonian.

It is possible, given Stone's enormous ambition to take on

none but the largest American themes, that he had decided this once (since rock's apocalyptic promise to break through into a brave new consciousness was now two decades dead) that he would shift his interest from wild frontiers onto unparalleled technical difficulties; he certainly brought that much off. At a time when other directors, for lack of heart or certainty of theme, have all been heading toward technical splendor, *The Doors* goes even further into kaleidoscopic cinematography. All of Stone's faults, however, were compounded—his lack of grasp for what a good script can be, his heavy-handed hold on mystical states, and his disjunctive narrative sense of how protagonists can grow, or be destroyed. It may be that the virtue of *The Doors* is that it cleared the decks for something larger.

We come, then, to *JFK*. It is the boldest work yet of a bold and clumsy man, but the first thing to be said about it is that it is a great movie, and the next is that it is one of the worst great movies ever made. It is great in spite of itself, and such greatness owes more to the moxie of the director than to his special talents. Nonetheless, it is an incomparable experience which moves into parts of our heart that we have anesthetized for years.

So one's first judgment is that it cannot be discussed as justa film; it is not of the first interest to talk about where JFK works cinematically and where it does not. One does better to treat it as a psychic phenomenon, a creature in the dream life of the nation, and this is legitimate; film, at its most compelling, lives in our mind somewhere between our memories and our

dreams. One of the most advanced at forms of the twentieth century is, therefore, one of the most primitive as well, or, at least, such a claim can be invoked when we are dealing with the sinister edge of serious film on a large screen ina dark theater. In that sense, Stone's instinct proved superb.

Subjects as heroic in scope as J.F.K. can be as uniquely suited to film as is a good kill to a tribe of hunters, and if the prize was obtained at considerable peril to the chief hunter, then it barely matters how the meat is cooked. Need, and the nature of the exploit, flavors the repast.

JFK is bound to receive some atrocious reviews, perhaps even a preponderance of unfavorable ones, and, a

has been the case already, more than a small outrage is likely to be aroused in the Washington Club (that is, *The Washington Post, Newsweek, Time*, the F.B.I., the C.I.A., the Penta gon, the White House, and the TV networks on those occasions when they wish to exercise their guest privileges). The Establishment has found that Oswald-as-the-lone-assas sin serves a multitude of useful purposes, in much the way that a public figure who wraps himself in propriety, no matter how greasy his private life may be, has a dependable political seat. Studying such prizes on television, we know they lie—the gross and subtle folds of corruption on the average senatorial face are hardly the lineaments of virtue– but we can also recall that nobody who played at being a

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puritan during the Thomas-Hill hearings had to move off his dime. Rectitude planted all the flags.

Ditto for the lone assassin. The F.B.I. was the first to endorse the idea, and this but two weeks after the death of J.F.K. In 1964 the Warren Commission came down foursquare behind that finding. Over the years, however, the Warren Commission lost its credibility. The polls give the figure: a majority of Americans now believe there was more than one killer. That, however, is naught but belief. It is the actions of men that make history, and the majority of action in this case has been taken over by the Washington Club they have circled their wagons around the lone assassin.

It does not matter that in 1978 the House Select Committee on Assassinations decided, on the basis of the acoustic evidence, that there had been a fourth shot. Since it was agreed that no rifleman, no matter how skilled, could get off four aimed rounds from a Mannlicher-Carcano bolt-action rifle in 5.6 seconds, that meant there had to be a second assassin. While this opened a fell crack in the granite wall of lone-assassin solidarity, the committee's thirty-month mandate expired even as it was making the discovery, and its work was not extended. Instead, the Department of Justice was handed its files, with a full invitation to look into the new findings. The Department of Justice and the F.B.I. are still looking-that is about equal to saying that the files pertaining to the case have presumably not been destroyed. Of course, about as much may now be left of such documents as still adheres to an automobile after it has been abandoned on a slum street in the South Bronx. And the House committee's own backup records and unpublished transcripts have been sealed as "congressional material." They won't be made public until the year 2029. We may be witting to the all-butabsolute certainty of a fourth shot by a second assassin, but we are still living in the land of upper maintenance men; they look to keep their establishment intact. So in 1988 the Department of Justice announced that the House committee had misinterpreted the acoustic evidence. How not? The price is too prodigious if there was more than one demented gunman. Two assassins not only have to be able to function in concert, but, by their effectiveness itself, suggest a support system, which is to say a larger conspiracy.

At this point, many an old horror arises. Did Castro have a hand in it? the American left must try not to ask itself again. No, of course not, he had too sure a sense of the consequences is the reflexive reply, but then, who can be certain that individual members of the D.G.I., Castro's intelligence service, had not been engaged in some mutually deceptive game with Cuban exiles in Florida and Texas? Even worse for the national polity is that our political center must ask itself, Could Lyndon Johnson, who, we now seem to be learning, was capable of just about any deed, have ordered it? Certainly not, replies the center, and just as reflexively. Yet how could Lyndon Johnson, even if wholly innocent, have ever been certain that some of that bold Texas money, nudging him through the years, had not decided to take a flier on its native son? Nor could Richard Nixon be certain of immaculate innocence. He had been in contact with Cuban exiles for many years, and some of them had not been without murderous ideas. Could the C.I.A. know its own stables were clean after their hit-man dealings with the

Mafia? Rogue elephants were capable of fancy steps that put ballet dancers to shame. And then, for that matter, who was Oswald? By now, there is more evidence to suggest that he was sent to Russia as a ploy of U.S. intelligence than that he went over on his own. Could the Pentagon afford to look closely into its most special contingents? Could the F.B.I. live with a second rifle after all these years of being signally unable to improve on the absurd tale of one gun? Could those headmasters of the Washington Club's conscience, The Washington Post and its often concordant satellites, Time and Newsweek, live with an unresolved conspiracy after being for decades loyal apostles of the lone assassin? No, it was to the interest of left, center, and right to remain unaffected by the House select committee's findings. Even if, in light of the new evidence, a second assassin could not be denied, it had to be realized, when you got down to it, that a lone assassin was what we had been living with all along. Headmasters do not traffic with the novel and the unforeseen.

When Oliver Stone charged, therefore, in full panoply with all his filmmaking teams and equipment into the valley of assassination enlightenment, there were heavy guns emplaced on the right, and on his left were all the inflamed ragtag assassination buffs. They had been working in relative solitude for decades, laboring on in the private, inspired, and isolated hope that one day they would uncover the mystery and be renowned forever.

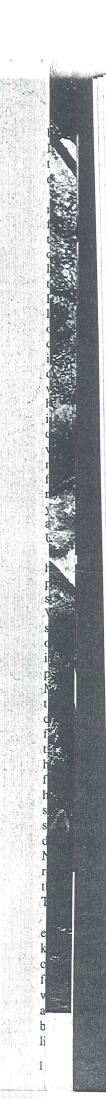
It was a fantasy. The best and most skilled of the assassination buffs knew as much by now. To the degree that the murder of J.F.K. was a conspiracy, so could one assume that the most salient evidence and the most inconvenient witnesses had been removed long ago. Yet a buff could only persevere. It had become one's life. It had become, so far as the universal need for personal power is concerned, a way of life. If one could not solve the assassination, one could at least mow down the theories of other researchers who tried to squat in proximity to the barren acres of one's own land grab.

So, the parvenu, Oliver Stone, endowed with all the wealth, muscle, and arrogance of a \$35-to-\$40-million budget, and no great willingness to become enmeshed with the majority of assassination buffs, naturally encountered trouble on both flanks. The buffs might not have been a well-organized army like the Washington Club—no, by comparison, they were Bushmen with blowguns—but some of them were ready to collaborate with the big guns on the right.

The attacks began before movie shooting even commenced. George Lardner Jr., the resident writer on intelligence matters for *The Washington Post* (which is to say the friend and confidant of many an F.B.I. and C.I.A. man), obtained a stolen copy of the *JFK* script, and did a long piece about Stone for the Club on May 19, 1991.

His hero: former New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison, whose zany investigation of the assassination in the late 1960s has almost faded from memory...Oliver Stone is chasing fiction. Garrison's investigation was a fraud.

Stone has said that he considers himself a "cinematic historian" and has called the assassination "the seminal event of my generation." But Harold Weisberg, a longtime critic of the FBI and Warren Commission investigations of the assassination



... protests, "To do a mishmash like this is out of love for the victim and respect for history? I think people who sell sex have more principle."

...D.A. Costner assails the murder as a "coup d'état" hold your breath—ordered by "a shadow government consisting of corrupt men at the highest levels of the Pentagon, the intelligence establishment and the great multinational corporations," carried out by elements of the intelligence community and covered up "by like-minded individuals in the Dallas Police Department, the Secret Service, the F.B.I., and the White House all the way up to and including J. Edgar Hoover and Lyndon Johnson, whom I consider accomplices after the fact."

The screenplay ends the Sunday Oswald was killed with a White House scene of Johnson meeting with his Vietnam advisers. "He signs something unseen" and tells them, "Gentlemen, I want you to know I'm personally committed to Vietnam, I'm not going to take one soldier out of there till they know we mean business in Asia."

That is nonsense.... All the hoopla, of course, will obscure the absurdities and palpable untruths in Garrison's book and Stone's rendition of it.

The manuscript smuggled over to Lardner had been a first draft, and Stone and his co-writer, Zachary Sklar, were to rewrite the script five times. Stone would later reply, "I've taken the license of using Garrison as a metaphor for all the credible researchers. Lardner...narrows the focus of the picture to his enmity for Garrison, whereas this is not the specific Jim Garrison but an all-encompassing figure."

Played by Kevin Costner in restrained and dignified fashion, the Jim Garrison of the film is, by any rough and living measure, too good to be true-an honorable D.A. consumed by an inner passion to find the light and save the land. If the real Jim Garrison had to be outrageously brave, staggeringly ambitious, willing like many a district attorney before him to cut a few corners, and vain enough to take on the moon, Costner is directed to play him as heir to Mr. Deeds and that particular Mr. Smith who once went to Washington. Wideeyed, open, fearless, and consumed by his work, he is indefatigably fueled by his ideals. His only vulnerability (other than to the classic nagging of his wife, Sissy Spacek, who finds the children and herself ignored as a result of the exigencies of inquiry) is that he is innocent of guile and so has no built-in bulwark against the tide of horror he feels as he encounters the all-pervasive manipulations that are stifling his attempts to uncover the true conspirators responsible for the death of J.F.K.

In this mythic Wagnerian vein, the movie goes back to the primitive roots of silent film when each character was an attitude or a force or a spirit or a project—I will clear the forest, I will find the magic sword. Garrison/Costner takes off after evil, and is unhorsed over and over again by a variety of foul obstacles (the C.I.A.) and treacheries (a trusted associate). Always he gets up, always he goes on. At the end, defeated in his attempt to convict the immediate target, Clay Shaw, of conspiracy to murder the president, Garrison/ Costner is nonetheless redeemed because he is in the right. He will prevail, or if he does not, the good fight will prevail, and if not in this venture, then in another. Many a silent film was built on the vision that virtue is equal to light and will take us through the dark—it was what the pianist was always telling us from the pit.

There should be no surprise, therefore, if the narra jerks and manhandles us around many an unnegotiable to The film has a large conspiracy thesis that cannot be end passed by the likes of Clay Shaw and David Ferrie and supposed link between them as homosexuals. That does provide us enough drama to assure us, as Lardner wan that the Pentagon masterminded the assassination in respo to J.F.K.'s desire to take us out of Vietnam. Nor doe prepare us for Garrison/Costner's final measure of the spiracy, which includes elements from the C.I.A. and Mafia, the F.B.I., the Secret Service, the Dallas police, yes, J. Edgar Hoover and Lyndon Johnson, accompliced ter the fact who directed the cover-up. It is a paranoid in lation the size of a space city on the moon, yet we come f to-face with it in just two scenes, each didactic, expository, and neither emerges from the action.

In the first, Garrison/Costner, all but defeated by three-quarter point of the film, weary, spiritually burde and in need of recharging his missionary batteries, decid visit Washington, D.C., and look around, ask around pays a visit to the Lincoln Memorial, and as he emerges the portico, a mysterious figure in a dark raincoat and as gray checked fedora of precisely the sort that we exper intelligence officer to wear comes into the frame and it duces himself. It is Donald Sutherland. In the next few utes Sutherland explains it all-who killed Kennedy how, and what steps Garrison/Costner can take. It was military-Sutherland now offers-who did it, and w wise smile he informs us of how he knows of what speaks: as a member of an ultra-covert military outfit, h long been geared for elite, high-tech snuff jobs. As stand side by side in a drizzle, Sutherland fills Gam Costner in on how the Pentagon set up the assassing "Testify," says our hero. "No chance," says the infom and in another moment he is gone. It is all but the retu Deep Throat.

It could have been one of the more embarrassing more in recent film history. Given our contemporary film can the use of such a scene is analogous to approaching the of one's beloved with a dildo larger than oneself. Yet Su land shows us what a talented actor using quiet means accomplish in a scene that might be intolerable if anyone tried to bring off this expository implant.

A little later, in the penultimate scene, at the conclusion the Clay Shaw trial, Garrison/Costner comes up with speech to the jury that is beyond the reasonable limits d court; in that speech the cause of Kennedy's death is m ed. He desired to get out of Vietnam, says Garrison/Cos and Lyndon Johnson wanted to keep us there. So we had a changing of the guard. Before it was over, every force in America had made its contribution. A case that not been proved at all in the scene-to-scene details of the now again delivers a final and arbitrary conclusion. We been treated to not one deus ex machina of exposition two, and at the very end, case lost (and indeed we audience, have been given no more real connection bet Clay Shaw and the assassination conspiracy than wa actual jury), Garrison/Costner, reunited with his wifeb force of his pleading in court, walks out hand in hand her and with their children, and we see the family in a corny long shot at the other end of the courthouse lobby.

How, then, is JFK a great movie?

Let us commence with what is needed for a great history (as opposed to a great movie). Such a work not only would require a comprehension of the forces and tides that shape and convey an era, but would also be obliged to possess a special species of pointillism; its thousand diverse points of light ought to be details chosen well enough to buoy the history with resonance. That, however, cannot be asked of any movie. Films, we are bound to repeat, live between

memory and the dream. A great film may be epic, operatic, panoramic, stoic, and certainly it can be mythic and embody the more powerful legends of our lives, but any attempt at cinematic history has to be an oxymoron. Oliver Stone, like many a movie man before him, has mislabeled the product. He has not made a cinematic history, and, indeed, to hell with that! He has dared something more dangerous: he has entered the echoing halls of the largest paranoid myth of our time-the undeclared national belief that John Fitzger-

ald Kennedy was killed by the concentrated forces of malign power in the land. It is not only our unspoken myth, but our national obsession: we have no answers to his death. Indeed, we are marooned in one of two equally intolerable spiritual states, apathy or paranoia.

That is a large remark, but it may fit the condition of our time. Since the death of J.F.K., we have suffered the moral disruption of Vietnam, the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy, the flatulent host of petty mysteries concerning Watergate—why ever did it happen, and what, in fact, took place? Like a battered wife, we have borne our national obsession through Carter and stagflation to be revived for a time by the Pied Piper; he, in turn, wrecked our economy in the course of cheering us up and defeating the Evil Empire. Of course, that Evil Empire was already on the way to expiring in its own dust, but we were ready to accept much hypocrisy (and future bankruptcy) to avoid living with dread.

For what is obsession but a black hole in our psychic space, a zone of ambiguity into which our energies flow and do not return? A nearer example to many of us: when a marriage ends in uncertainty and neither mate knows within who is more at fault for the divorce, then an obsession has commenced. One goes back again and again to the question: Was one more right than wrong, or more wrong than right? Fear stirs, precisely the fear of spiritual consequence. It is then that the ego—its hand on the throttle that will keep us moving forward—discharges funds of assurance. One must keep up the certainty that one is right even when one does not know, and somewhere, off to the side, one wonders if one's will is being corroded. If that is the cost of personal obsession, what is one to make of the million-headed, or is it, rather, the hundredmillion-headed, deficit of the national obsession? There have been moments in our history when all Americans have found themselves together for an hour in the same stricken space. Pearl Harbor was such a day, and the death of Franklin Roosevelt may have been another. The hour in which we learned of the bomb on Hiroshima had to be another. On that day, the new concept of atomic energy spoke with equal force to the idea of a new civilization and to the terror that all civilization would be destroyed. If that is, by now, an inter-

## Oliver Stone has mislabeled the product. He has not made a cinematic history, and, indeed, to hell with that!

national obsession so large that the fears are cosmic, the assassination of J.F.K. remains as the largest single event in the history of nearly all Americans who were alive that day. No afternoon in the recollection of our lives is equal to November 22, 1963, and in its aftermath we lost our innocence and had to decide whether life was absurd (for one demented assassin could swing the ship of state wholly off its course) or, worse, whether the route of the ship of state had been so determined that even a president, wishing to change the given, was hurled off the bridge. We have lived with that question ever since. Do we descend into paranoia, or suffer the tedium of an apathy that tells us we will never know and so may as well accept the theory of Oswald as the sole killer? There is a profound reason why the Washington Club clings to the lone assassin and the incredible bullet that passed at many an angle through both Jack Kennedy's body and John Connally's body-apathy is easier to endure than livid inquiry; a dubious set of unsatisfactory facts disrupts much less than does an all-out, full-scale investigation. Just as a good lawyer never asks a question to which he does not have the answer, at least not if he can help it, so the Washington Club does not pursue the assassination. For no one knows, unless there is someone who does know, where it may all end.

*JFK* is false probably to the likelihoods of whatever conspiracy did take place, since it is all but inconceivable that a major plot involving the Pentagon, the C.I.A., the F.B.I., and the White House could ever hold together through the decades. Yet, the horror persists: if the assassination were not an absurdity committed by one man in a surrealistic universe, nor even a foul deed brought (*Continued on page 171*) **JFK** 

(Continued from page 129) off by a few determined operators who managed to remain undiscovered because the real powers of the nation were all terrified of their own possible implication, so terrified that evidence was buried and all real inquiry paralyzed-no, what if it were even worse than that, what if the assassination was designed by powerful people for large purposes? Once, as a guide for approaching political questions that do not have a quick answer, Lenin laid down the axiom "Whom? Whom does this benefit?" and by that measure, yes, to the degree that history conforms more or less directly to the needs of power and policy, then, yes, if Kennedy was going to end the war in Vietnam, he had to be replaced; Lyndon Johnson was the man to do it.

History, rarely tidy, is not always so functional. Stone's movie offers us the overarching paradigm, not the solution, and that becomes a large part of its power. It is a crude movie driven home with strong colors and heavy strokes, as indeed all of his films have been. He is one of our few major directors, but he can also be characterized as a brute who rarely eschews that heavy stroke. All the same, he has the integrity of a brute, he forages where others will not go, and the result is that we live for three hours in the ongoing obsession of our national lives. (Be it recognized that, while our psyches are obviously devoted in the main to our private concerns, larger and larger grows the national sector of our souls.) So we descend again into that obsession to which we know it is better not to return, that dark land where no answers are provided. It is amazing how powerful the film becomes. Even when one knows the history of the Garrison investigation and the considerable liberties that Stone has taken with the material, it truly does not matter, one soon decides, for no film could ever be made of the Kennedy assassination that would be accurate. There are too many theories and too much contradictory evidence. Tragedies of this dimension can be approached only as myths. Here, the one hat we are witnessing exerts upon us the whole force of Greek drama, and we return again and again to that national chorus of which we were a part on November 22, 1963-we live again in the mystery, the awe, the horror, and the howledge that a huge and hideous event did, yes, take place on that day, and the

gods had warred, a god fell, and the nation could never be the same.

It did not have to be Oliver Stone who made this film. Another director and another script bearing on the same events would have been as powerful if it had dared as much, but Stone is entitled to the kudos he will probably not receive, for he was the first to enter the caves of this obsession and live in them through the year and more of writing, shooting, editing, and being assailed by the media; he was the first moviemaker to be fevered by the heat and chilled with the terror that what he was daring to say about this assassination could keep him sleepless, and will, I expect, until he learns whether this huge gamble, this spelunker's reconnaissance into the caverns of the American horror, will be well received at the box office or rejected by a new generation of television Americans who will choose no aesthetic experience powerful enough to stay with them into the morning after. If so, then the question to ask is whether the attempt to capture greatness has become the most unacceptable aesthetic endeavor of them all. In that case, JFK, the crudest of the great movies, but a great movie, will have to rest in peace.

That is one scenario. If, on the other hand, JFK proves successful, then there is no way in which the point will not be raised by Lardner & Co. that Stone's mythic presentation of the murder of President Kennedy is a monstrous act, for it is going to be accepted as fact by a new generation of moviegoers. One can only shrug. Several generations have already grown up with the mind-stultifying myth of the lone assassin. Let cinematic hyperbole war then with the Establishment's skewed reality. At times, bullshit can only be countered with superior bullshit. Stone's version has, at least, the virtue of its thoroughgoing metaphor.

A coda. Reviewing Thomas Reeves's book on John Fitzgerald Kennedy's private life, A Question of Character, Jonathan Yardley, the book-review whip for The Washington Post, offered these neo-puritanical comments the Sunday after Lardner's attack on Oliver Stone appeared:

[Reeves] undertakes to assess Kennedy not merely in political or mythological terms, but in moral ones.... Though Reeves does not quite come right out and say so, his analysis suggests that the assassination of John F. Kennedy, however cruel and ghastly, may have spared the nation something even worse than the prolonged orgy of grief and hagiography that followed it. He suggests that the gentlemen's agreement by which details of Kennedy's private life were kept secret might well have been violated, for whatever reason, during a second term, and that a vote of impeachment might well have followed.

This, had it come to pass, could have been more damaging even than Watergate. The spectacle of a president of the United States on trial for illicit liaisons within and without the White House, for questionable relationships with ranking figures of the underworld-this would have been more than the United States of the mid-1960s could have stomached. The proceedings would have torn us apart in ways we can scarcely imagine, and left us with a cynicism about politics by contrast with which the residue of Watergate would seem a mild case of disenchantment. Better that the handsome young president died a mythical if not actual hero, and that the true story of his character emerged so tentatively and gradually that we were given time to come to terms with it. Had we been forced to bear in a single blow the full import of the story Thomas Reeves tells, it would have shattered us.

What this singular assessment provides is the new notion that the determination to get rid of Kennedy, if it had failed in the overt attempt, might well have moved on to impeachment, a more protracted affair. So we are free to wonder, having been given not only the presidential models over the last three decades of Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan, and Bush, but also the secondary examples of Humphrey, McGovern, Mondale, and Dukakis, whether any protagonist as innovative, flexible, daring, ironic, witty, and as ready to grow as Jack Kennedy ever did have a chance to change the shape of our place.

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Or is it that we will do anything to get rid of an obsession, even buy the proposition that the guy who gives us the problem in the first place is better off dead? The Washington Club has many mansions, and Yardley Court is the newest.  $\Box$ 

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#### DALLAS 🐲 POSTCARD

## **B**IG DEALEY

### By Doug Smith

Movember in Dallas. Dealey Plaza, the city's only tourist attraction, fills up with those who come to mourn. The Hyatt Regency, home to the Third Assassination Symposium on John F. Kennedy (ASK), fills up with those who come to investigate.

I attended the first ASK convention and it left me seeing my hometown as a sinister, gloomy landscape peppered with unknown men carrying half-hidden rifles in their raincoats, flashing false Secret Service and CIA I.D.S—a City of Shadows in which lurk (all safely out of range) beady-eyed Mafia thugs, rogue agents, Cuban counterspies, crooked policemen, Dan Rather and Richard Nixon.

This year's ASK, however, left a different impression. Despite continued foot-dragging by the various federal agencies in complying with the 1992 Assassination Materials Review Act, the "Who Killed JFK?" controversy has moved up a couple of notches in texture and density. Oliver Stone's scattershot "everybody did it" approach is being supplanted by a general field theory in which, well, the mob did it, but nobody else was sure that they themselves didn't do it because they did do damned near everything else.

There's no question that the subject attracts its fair share of kooks, but most of those couldn't afford the conference's \$175 admission price. The Hyatt lobby was populated primarily by sober-looking professional types in suits, with a smattering of liberals in sweaters and eyeglasses, cowboys in blue jeans, housewives, hippies and computer geeks. What a surprise this assemblage must have been to the media vampires, who have so stoutly embraced Gerald Posner's Case Closed, which makes conspiracy theorists look like well-meaning loons. The newspeople didn't let facts get in their way, though. The Dallas Observer treated ASK condescendingly, as if it were a "Star Trek" convention; The Dallas Morning News reported only on the concessions room. Although something like 80 percent of the American public thinks there was a conspiracy, only a few journalists want to admit to having been fooled. Channel 8 News in Dallas didn't mention the symposium, with its array of forensic experts, eyewitnesses, etc., but it did do a nice report on the all-American grandfatherly convention of Dallas press boys who covered the assassination the right way, without any of those prickly questions.

At the seminars-Intelligence Community & Defec-

tors Panel; Oswald in Mexico City; New Leads and Revelations; A Celebration of the Women's Contributionsthere were some impassioned outbursts, directed as frequently at rival researchers as at Warren Commission apologists. Alas, no chair-throwing. Most of the sessions involved interminable descriptions of evidential minutiae, most of it valid if somewhat trance-inducing. One heard phrases like "how much blood was dripping through the sheets, that's the discrepancy." It's a weird jargon, with assassination buzzwords such as "WCR" (War-ren Commission Report), "MGT" (Multiple German Theory) and "SBT" (Single-Bullet Theory). There was more nitpicking over the details of head injuries here than one finds at most conventions. Where else would you find people arguing over the precise angle at which a flap of ruined skin and cranium was dangling in what frame of which home movie?

One is also treated to the presence of the surviving witnesses, the "royalty" of the symposium, sounding like they have told their stories a million times. And many tend to talk as if everybody has always lived in Dealey Plaza his or her whole life; its geography has the familiarity of a shared home in their conversations. The witnesses, participants, victims, agents and mystery characters sometimes sound like old friends at a high school reunion.

n his keynote address, Norman Mailer, who is researching a new book on the assassination, suggested that Oswald might have been too crazy to have been employed by the CIA, FBI or the Russians—but, because those agencies were so culpable of so many other crimes, and a full investigation of Oswald would have opened up such a can of worms, the lone nut theory had to be etched in stone. (Immediately after Mailer's speech, a total stranger approached me to assure me that Mailer must be a paid dupe of the CIA.) In other words, documents were hidden away because the feds weren't sure they weren't guilty. The establishment feared the worst—that Oswald might be traced to them. They didn't know, and they didn't *want* to know.

Mailer admitted this was an "answer" he didn't want to find. We demand a conspiracy, he said, because we're angry, and we have been manipulated. He scolded the conspiratorialists (his term) for cutting corners to serve preconceived theses. "You've all been intoxicated by the combination of vertigo and fog that accompanies study of the conspiracies." The assassination is mostly questions and few answers, he went on, but some questions are better than others—and some researchers have lost sight of that, chasing clues that lead nowhere.

To Mailer, Stone's movie JFK was great but wrong; a conspiracy so all-encompassing could not possibly have been kept secret. The movie offered the paradigm, not the solution. Stone mislabeled it as history, Mailer says; it's instead a treatment of "the great paranoid myth of our times," the great myth that forced Americans into either apathy or paranoia. Even compared to Pearl Harbor and Hiroshima, the assassination is the largest event, the mystery that forced us to decide whether life

was simply absurd, or outright evil. It doesn't matter that Stone's "facts" are flawed, or that he overshot the mark, Mailer said, because there is no "accurate" version possible.

Mailer's thesis made a lot of sense—not that it can't be shot down, too. Whereas he thinks Oswald may have been too crazy to be used by the FBI, CIA, etc., plenty of ex-agents will tell you that's practically a prerequisite for lower-level tools like Oswald. Moreover, Mailer didn't benefit from the new, unpublished information disclosed on the last day of the symposium by researchers Lamar Waldron and Thom Hartmann, who presented evidence that Oswald, while being used as "bait" for the KGB by the feds, was in fact a patsy for the organized crime syndicates that had JFK killed (by two other gunmen) in revenge.

Mailer is right about one thing: we want a conspiracy. We don't trust the government, and nothing would make us happier than to see the bastards raked over the coals. As Robert Groden, the author of *High Treason*, pointed out, the Zapruder film makes us all witnesses to the assassination. If there's an answer, it won't come from the feds or the media; we'll have to find it ourselves.

DOUG SMITH is a filmmaker and freelance writer.

#### **ON THE HILL**

# THE PRODUCERS

#### By Hanna Rosin

Wer since October, when Attorney General Janet Reno announced at a Senate hearing that government action to curb T.V. violence was not only constitutional, but essential, lawmakers of all stripes have been jumping at the chance to sanitize the airwaves. Fifteen members of Congress have submitted bills to regulate programming, and at least five more plan to. But beyond fuming about the obvious—that violence is bad—none of Capitol Hill's Bochco wannabees can agree on what violence is, or what should replace it.

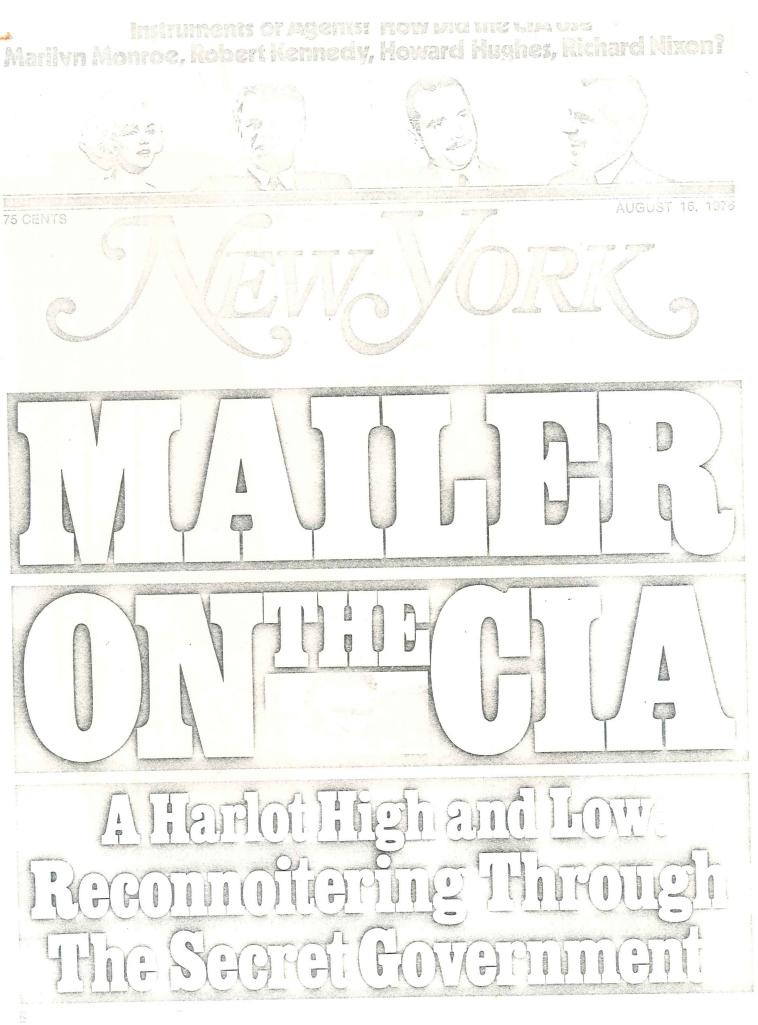
"We all know what it is when we see it," says Senator Dave Durenberger. Well, not really. Most agree that the news, or a Civil War documentary, for example, both contain acceptable violence. But what about a close-up of the Rodney King tape, or a movie about the Civil War, like *Gone With the Wind*? As early as the October 20 Commerce Committee hearing, where Reno made her announcement, the senators were at odds over a definition. Senator Ernest Hollings, the committee chairman, showed a five-minute clip of CBS's "Love and War" as an example of bad programming. His staff says he chose it because he had been working on a NAFTA memo at home the night before and was "disturbed by the ruckus." The problem is, the series is a comedy and the episode Hollings showed was a satire on T.V. violence. People in a bar throw popcorn at each other until one character yells, "Stop fighting. There's too much violence on T.V." Senator Conrad Burns later told Diane English, the show's producer, he thought the episode was funny.

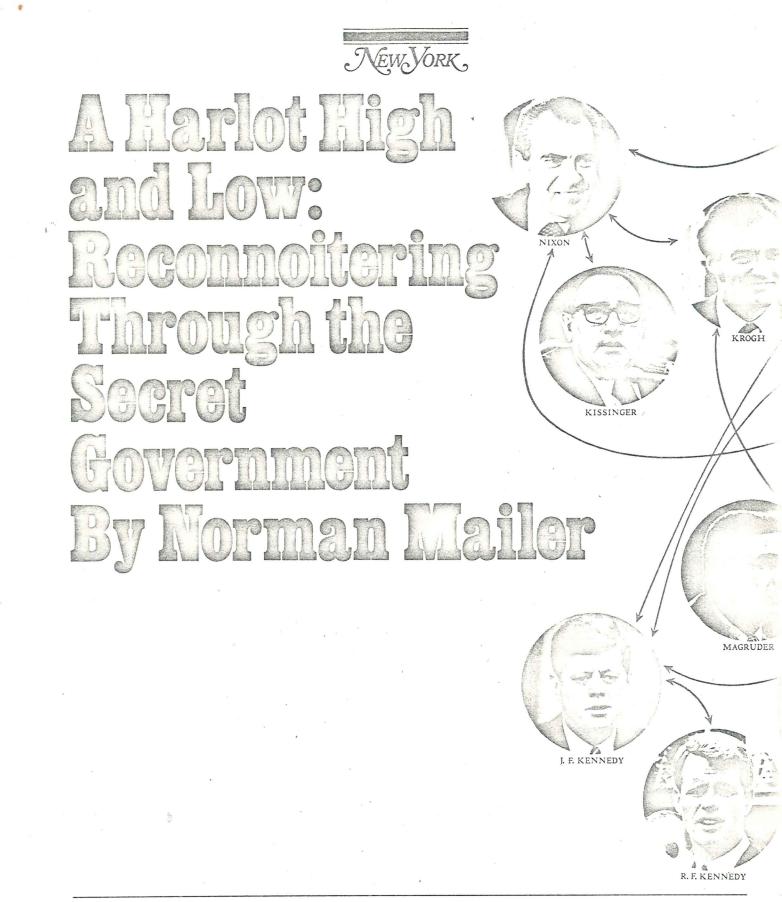
The tangle of proposals attempts to curb violence with a stable of pet panaceas. A bill introduced by Durenberger would require warnings on violent shows; a red "V" would flash ominously in the corner of the screen, like a network logo. Senator John Danforth has a more specific warning in mind: "The following program contains thirteen murders, five stabbings and three rapes." Senator Byron Dorgan's bill would require the FCC to issue report cards rating shows for violence and disclosing the advertisers that buy time on them. Congressman Edward Markey's popular House bill would require "V" chips to be installed in T.V.s, so parents could punch in a code to block out all programming that the networks deem violent. Hollings prefers a lower-tech approach. He would enforce nightly "family hours"-no shootings until after 10:00 p.m. Senator Paul Simon is leading the crusade. He gives the networks until January 1 to clean up or face regulation.

Simon, who isn't supporting any bill yet, says the task is easy: outlaw glamour. "A hero goes for twenty-five minutes and kills dozens of people without getting hurt it's not real," he says. "There are no relatives crying." To solve this, Simon, along with Reno and Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders, suggest more realistic violence. "Show that it really hurts when you get shot," Elders said at a September 15 House Commerce Committee hearing. "You don't get up. You really do bleed."

Others see it differently. Representative Carlos Moorhead says the problem is precisely "those violent explosions where people are shot and get hurt and are writhing in pain. They're too real." Senator John Kerrey complains about reality shows such as "COPS," with "people crying and cops running around." Their solution is more stylized violence. "Cowboy movies were better," says Moorhead. "You shoot someone and he would just slide off his horse." Senator Dorgan agrees: "Roy Rogers and Gene Autry shot people—generally bad people and then they would stop to sing a few musical interludes, and they got on their horse and shot some more."

The faction against stylized violence is further split over the problem of cartoons, a genre of programming taken very seriously because of its direct effect on kids. Senator James Exon, for one, balks at the cartoon menace. "Even the younger mind can differentiate between a cat being smashed into a wall rather than me throwing the cat into the wall," he says. Durenberger disagrees. He cites a case in Indiana where children crawled down storm drains looking for the Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles. And the National Coalition on Television Violence, whose ratings are cited by several congressmen, includes "Bugs Bunny and Pals" and "Cookie's Cartoon Club" in its "very high violence" category. "Bugs Bunny can do





A long trail infested by the CIA's "moles" leads from the death of Marilyn Monroe to Watergate. In this analysis, the author explores the bizarre, interconnecting burrows underneath it all.

COLSON HUGHES HUNT MAHEU 100 BENNETT BUTTERFIELD LANSKY CASTRO MONROE STURGIS LIDDY MC CORD

**Traveling in circles:** A symbolic map of instruments and/or agents of the secret government.

THERE ARE NO ANSWERS. THERE ARE ONLY QUESTIONS. —Jean Malaquais



HARLOT HIGH AND LOW WAS the English title given to Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes, one of Balzac's best novels. The book was concerned as much with secret police as with the prostitutes who passed through its pages, but then whores and political agents made a fair association for Balzac. The harlot, after all, inhabited the world of as if. You paid your money and the harlot acted for a little while-when she was a good harlot-as if she loved you, and that was a more mysterious proposition than one would think, for it is always mysterious to play a role. It is equal in a sense to living under cover. At her best, the harlot was a different embodiment of a fantasy for each client, and at those moments of existence most intense for herself, the role she assumed became more real than the reality of her profession.

A harlot high and low. The pores of society breathe a new metaphor—the enigma of intelligence itself. For we do not know if the people who make our history are more intelligent than we think, or whether stupidity rules the process of thought at its highest level. Is America governed by accident more than we are ready to suppose, or by design? And if by design, is the design sinister? Are the actors playing roles more intricate than we expect? Trying to understand whether our real history is public or secret, exposed or—at the highest level—underground, is equal to exploring the opposite theaters of our cynicism and our paranoia.

For instance, we may be getting ready to decide that the CIA was the real producer of Watergate (that avantgarde show!), but where is the proof? We have come to a circular place. The CIA occupies that region in the modern mind where every truth is obliged to live in its denial; facts are wiped out by artifacts; proof enters the logic of counterproof and we are in the dream; matter breathes next to antimatter.

There are Americans whose careers are composed of fact. One does not begin to comprehend certain men without their collections of fact. It would probably be crucial to know if Harry S. Truman had been happy or angry on a given day since that would enter the event of the day. He lives on an elementary level of biography. There are personalities, however, like Marilyn Monroe, for whom there are no emotional facts. It does not matter on any particular occasion if she was pleased or annoyed, timid or bold, even successful or unsuccessful. Her mood did not matter on a given day since she would as easily be feeling the opposite five minutes later. Moreover, she was an actress. She was able to simulate the opposite of what she felt. Since she was surrounded by people in show business who felt no need to be accurate if that interfered with a good story, one could not begin to discover the facts about such a woman, only the paradoxes. It may be that the difficulties in coming to know Marilyn Monroe offer a modest model for our penetration of Central Intelligence.

## I A Skew in Sociology

Questions of social class and snobbery have always been very important in the CIA. With its roots in the wartime Office of Strategic Services (the letters OSS were said, only half-jokingly, to stand for "Oh So Social"), the agency has long been known for its concentration of Eastern Establishment, Ivy League types. Allen Dulles, a former American diplomat and Wall Street lawyer with impeccable connections and credentials, set the tone for an agency full of Roosevelts, Bundys, Cleveland Amory's brother Robert, and other scions of America's leading families. There have been exceptions, to be sure, but most of the CIA's top leaders have been white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, and graduates of the right Eastern schools. While changing times and ideas have diffused the influence of the Eastern elite throughout the government as a whole, the CIA remains perhaps the last bastion in official Washington of WASP power, or at least the slowest to adopt the principle of equal opportunity.

-Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks, The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence



tionately as the Company, it was delivered to America by the Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949, and grew from 5,000 employees in 1950 to 15,000 by 1955. Because the old OSS was not nearly large enough to make up its cadres, the CIA raided the FBI to obtain some of its first agents (thereby commencing an immense feud with J. Edgar Hoover) and also did its best to strip the army, the navy, the air force, the State Department, and virtually every other government bureau of good personnel. There was, after all, a vision. The potential functions of the CIA were calculated to become immense. They became immense. All intelligence was the purview. There was no reason, for instance, why the best long-term weather forecasts in America should not derive from CIA weather experts-knowledge of the weather helped crops; large crops were an instrument of foreign policy. No vein, therefore, of American business or culture was independent of Intelligence-not finance, media, economic production, labor-management relations, cinema, statistical theory, fringe groups, Olympic teams. There was no natural end to topics the CIA could legitimately interest itself in.

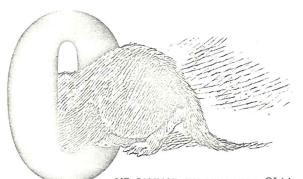
Since we live in an age of general systems, where all knowledge is assumed to live ultimately in the same field as other knowledge, so, from its inception, the CIA looked to draw its experts from every field: bankers, journalists, lobbyists, colonels, professors, commodores, soil-erosion specialists, diplomats, business consultants, students, lawyers, doctors, poison specialists, art experts, public-relations men, magazine editors, movie technicians.

Out of every occupation in American life, men and women were drawn to make up the first cadres of the CIA, and they were often the best in their field.

Because the CIA, like other government bureaus, had a table of organization which limited the rank and salary of its employees, the Company had from the beginning an army of officers serving as privates. There was not room for the amount of ambition in its ranks. People moved out of the CIA almost as quickly as they went in and returned to universities, businesses, other government departments, and major foundations, or back to their previous occupations in American life. Of course, a banker who had been a CIA man and was now in finance again was hardly the same banker. Nor had he necessarily left the CIA. If it had been the most exciting experience of his life and/or the most patriotic, he had sentimental loyalties to the Company. He was out of the CIA but still an effective member of it. Sometimes he might even be on call for special jobs or be asked for privileged information on the movements of his financial community.

Like the breaking out of a virus from the host cell, the metastasis of a cancer colony, or the leavening of yeast in bread-depending on one's point of view-the CIA offered a suffusion into the joints and pores of American life so complete that no master list of its active and reserve members (not to speak of its devoted sympathizers) was ever available. One CIA man could never know for certain whether a CIA man who had left the CIA did not still belong to it, and if he did, there were often excellent reasons no record should exist, particularly if he belonged to the Company as to a club, and took no salary. Some agents who left the CIA but were still in it, or of it, might have given reports every week of their life. Others may never have reported once. Like "moles"—it is the CIA word-they waited underground through the seasons working at their private career in order to be of eventual use. Some old agents might still be reliable, some might not-some might report only to one old friend in the agency. No one would be certain finally who belonged and who did not. In places like the State Department, one could begin to guess, but never know, whether the first allegiance of many a foreign-service officer was to the State desk or to the Company's cover. Since the leaders of the CIA came from a social, financial, and corporate elite, it could be said that the agency was the militant arm of the Establishment, an order of potential martyrs to Henry Luce's American Century.

The CIA is currently the owner of one of the big-gest—if not the biggest—fleets of "commercial" airplanes in the world. Agency proprietaries include Air America, Air Asia, Civil Air Transport, Intermountain Aviation, Southern Air Transport, and several other air charter companies around the world ... [but] CIA headquarters ... has never been able to compute exactly the number of planes flown by the airlines it owns, and personnel figures for the proprietaries are similarly imprecise. An agency holding company, the Pacific Corporation, including Air America and Air Asia, alone accounts for almost 20,000 people, more than the entire work force of the parent CIA. For years this vast activity was dominated and controlled by one contract agent, George Doole, who later was elevated to the rank of a career officer. Even then his operation was supervised, part time, by only a single senior officer who lamented that he did not know "what the hell was going on." -The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence



NE CANNOT FOLLOW THE CIA'S USE of funds: Nobody is meant to know where all the Company's sources of money originate nor how they begin to end. At the core of many a CIA operation is the need for secrecy in the use of money. Some foreign official has to be bought, or expensive military equipment must be left as a gift in another country. If spies are to be paid, and foreign companies infiltrated, if Central American troops are to be trained for invasion forces, and drug traffics infiltrated for the information they will supply on Indochinese troop movements, if a hundred semilegal or nearto-criminal patriotic activities need to be lubricated without congressional grit in the bearings, then money has to pass down to active operative levels in the middle regions of the Company without scrupulous bookkeeping. It was better for the director of the CIA not to know what his agents were up to, not if he had to testify on oath before congressional committees. What one did not know, one could not tell. It was therefore the essence of policy for no one to be in command of more information than he needed-a cellular society has to have waterproof compartments, enclaves. Money, therefore, did not always have to be accounted for; indeed, it often was put into an activity on no more than the word of the good character (and/or good family) of the agent who requisitioned it. No word needed to come back on what had been done with the bread, who was bought, who was killed, who made a profit.1

Since inside information on foreign currencies, or the domestic commodities market and gold market, or advance warning of a devaluation in the dollar, was as available on occasion as money, it is unthinkable that some of the Wall Street men in the CIA did not make secret investments for the agency (that is, for their enclave in the agency) which soon brought back huge profits by virtue of the secret information which had first encouraged the investment. That kind of surplus could now be used for ultrasecret operations or for even more resplendent financial investments. It is novelistically intoxicating to contemplate the pyramiding of wealth which must have gone on in some enclaves of the CIA. What a congeries of friendly and competitive financial empires may have begun to exist within the agency! For all we know, and we will not soon know, half the Swiss banks are now controlled by agents, facets, wings, arms, committees, councils, operators, and officers of the CIA. Contemplating the mix of real names and false names, actual companies and fronts, declared and secret investment, legal and illegal accounting, fair and flawed computers, it is doubtful that we will ever be able to measure the wealth manipulated by the CIA. Add to this the inevitable

<sup>1</sup>The Pike committee in Congress had a withheld report (published in the Village Voice, February 16, 1976) which decided that the real intelligence budget is not \$3 billion, the estimate given to Congress, but is "closer to \$10 billion," the missing \$7 billion being buried in the appropriations of other departments. Ten billion dollars is roughly equal to the annual budget of New York City. intimacies and financial interrelations of such prime possibilities as Hughes, Vesco, and J. Paul Getty, plus the covert investments of the agency in any number of multinational corporations (with the Mafia and without)—lo, it is not so difficult to think that the economic history of the Arab nations may yet be seen to shine by the secret light of the Company's resources. One cannot, of course, know. It is just that it is easier to believe in such a scenario than to assume that all those proud, powerful Company patriots with their comprehensive information and financial skills never used CIA money to make money that did not have to be accounted for.

Besides, it would be interesting to guess the magnitude of the CIA's secret funds. Out of the real \$10-billion Intelligence budget would come the seed money for concealed investments: if the process has been going on for 25 years with continuous reinvestment, then these secret investments could total by now anywhere from \$25billion to \$100 billion, not an impossible sum for the 25 years it has been burgeoning if we compare it to the income of the CIA's senior partner, the Mafia—but we anticipate.

I have worked on projects with many CIA men so unaware of the entire operation that they had no realization and awareness of the roles of other CIA men working on the same project. I would know of this because inevitably somewhere along the line both groups would come to the Department of Defense for support. I actually designed a special office in the Pentagon with but one door off the corridor. Inside, it had a single room with one secretary. However, off her office there was one more door that led to two more offices with a third doorway leading to yet another office, which was hidden by the door from the secretary's room. I had to do this because at times we had CIA groups with us who were not allowed to meet each other, and who most certainly would not have been there had they known that the others were there. (For the record, the office was 4D1000—it may have been changed by now; but it stayed that way for many years.)

#### -L. Fletcher Prouty, The Secret Team

It is inevitable that there should be a loss to CIA agents of a clear boundary to their identity. A man may work in the CIA for twenty years and never perform the role his title suggests he is performing. Two men may work side by side in the same office for ten years and never learn the other's real work, or to the contrary may know the work intimately but not have a clue on what it is designed to cover. A man's wife may only guess at his real activities. Old moles who have been working at a separate career for years might find themselves suddenly activated as agents and have to deal with CIA men who are present under a new cover themselves.

After years of such work, one may no longer be certain of one's own function, loyalty, or sanity—one can hardly be certain of the identity of one's friends, and one can never be sure the CIA has or has not made a new piece of history. It is impossible, for example, for anyone in the Company ever to be positive the agency had absolutely nothing to do with the assassinations of the sixties. In such a medium of existence, paranoia is equal to logic itself, and an infinite number of scenarios may dance on the head of a pin. There is always the unforgettable paradigm of the double agent Azev, who, in the years before the Russian Revolution, spied on the Bolsheviks for the czarist police, but in the course of his false Bolshevik duties murdered czarist police with such daring that Azev rose high in Bolshevik circles and became one of

Lenin's most trusted men. Indeed, Lenin could not at first believe the captured files of the czarist police although they gave unimpeachable evidence that Azev was a double agent. Where is the root of identity in that kind of man?

The human brain is divided: into a right lobe and a left lobe; a bold side and a cautious one; a moralist and a sinner; a radical and a conservative; a live lover and a dead one; a wit and an idiot; a hard worker and a sloth. We are all ourselves, and to some degree we are the opposite of ourselves. Consider the overlays of personality which accompany these shifts of identity when a cover story is added-there must be an actual need to function as double agents now that the psyche has been already once divided! Then contemplate the variety of political activities which take place within the Company: from the right-wingers of the John Birch Society to the social engineers who brood in private over The New York Review of Books; consider the ideological wars which go on between cold warriors and lovers of détente, between those who would presumably die for more government and those who wouldn't mind killing for less. If we take into account the functional need of the agency to have its enclaves cut off from responsibility or accountability, and in turn the natural propensity of these enclaves to become-in compensation for the dirtiness of the work-political, that is, to fight for political ends within the CIA and maneuver for power at the top, as well as engage in capers on their own to affect the internal history of the United States, how then can they not use every tool ranging from-straight financial manipulation to Syndicate involvement to assassination? Yes, try to keep up (if you are the director) with the movements of agents in the CIA attempting to infiltrate rival enclaves. The mind reels. The scenarios do a dervish. To live with a role is to live as an actor-so soon as the role is more satisfying than the life, all clear boundaries of identity are lost. All the more reason, then, for the CIA man to try to find an identity within his false identity by way of some enclave that satisfies his political needs. It is a way of saying he looks for a secret political action which will seem authentic to him-an action that can cut through the confusion of enigmatic projects and multiple identities in order to give the country what it really needs, that is, what he believes America secretly desires.

It is against the background of this mammoth of shuffled identities, concealed fortunes, fever-hot enclaves, secret killers, paranoid visions, osmotic bureaucratic walls, pervasive unaccountability, double agents, infiltrated capers, and cross capers that we attempt to look at Watergate. If what has been proposed already is valid at all, then we can be certain no clear picture will come to us soon. It is better to recognize that we are blind and can only try, through the distorted reverberation of the echo, to im-prove our knowledge of the mood. Of course, that is the true perception of the blind.

## II A Mitch in Historiography

Haldeman ordered an exhaustive investigation into O'Brien's relationship with billionaire Howard Hughes. Caulfield reported back in a Jan. 25, 1971, memo that the investigation could bubblegum in Nixon's face.

The Hughes organization's "tentacles touch many extremely sensitive areas of government," cautioned Caulfield, "each of which is fraught with potential

2The memo actually said "Maheu's tentacles. . . ." We will meet Maheu before long.

#### for Jack Anderson type exposures."2 -Jack Anderson, the Washington Post,

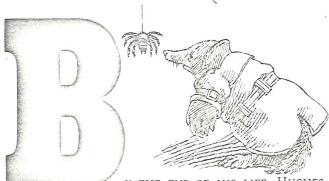
June 6, 1974

The phantom billionaire repeatedly insisted upon total secrecy. He didn't want "the most microscopic chance of the slightest hint being accidentally dropped to anyone," stressed a typical memo. Another time, he declared that his informants "put their very lives in jeopardy with some of the disclosures they make to me, and if they thought this information went to anybody-no matter whom-they would not continue to inform me."

-Jack Anderson, May 23, 1974

Howard Hughes has not been interviewed or photographed by any pressman since 1958.

-Stephen Fay, et al., Hoax



Y THE END OF HIS LIFE, HUGHES satisfies some idea in us of the giant amoeba or master spider. If he first appeared on the screen of the American media as a wealthy and prodigiously eccentric young man, reminiscent of Orson Welles at the beginning of Citizen Kane, he ended as one of the wealthiest recluses and most mysterious right-wingers of history (that is, assuming it was Hughes who just died and not one of his --more than one-legendary doubles). He is at once the principle of total invisibility in public life and a gargoyle out of *The Day of the Locust*. We think fondly of young Hughes, his racing planes, and his movies: Scarface, The Front Page, and Hell's Angels; his stars: George Raft, Jean Harlow, Bob Mitchum, Jane Russell; and then we read of the old gink who abhors bacteria as Dracula fears the cross.

Hughes kept his last wife, movie actress Jean Peters, on a yo-yo string. He would disappear for long stretches and send her endearing but false messages. .

In 1965, he promised to have Thanksgiving dinner with her. But because of his fear of germs, he told her to sit across the room from him. She walked out in a huff.

The following year, he persuaded her to join him in Boston where he promised they would settle down. But again, he kept her at across-the-room distance. She put up with it for three days.

-Jack Anderson, May 23, 1974

Since secrecy was his antiseptic, the media are often tempted to portray his ventures as absurd. The story of the \$350-million CIA contract for the Glomar Explorer came out in the press as a huge and peculiar sum for the CIA to pay Hughes to design a boat that could "retrieve military codes and nuclear warheads from a Soviet submarine sunk three miles deep in the Pacific . . . [especially] since the codes were outdated and the value of the other information was negligible."3

<sup>3</sup>Howard Kohn, "Strange Bedjellows-The Hughes-Nixon-Lansky Connection," Rolling Stone.

Of course, the Soviet submarine might only have been the cover. Maybe, it was wiser to assume the CIA had grown concerned with finding a new source of minerals to compete with Third World cartels. They could have "awarded Hughes the \$350 million to develop an advanced technology for underwater mining—thereby giving Hughes a head start toward a bonanza with more potential than oil...."<sup>4</sup>

The Glomar bonanza could leave Hughes, by some counts already the wealthiest man in the world, an order of magnitude wealthier. But then for two decades Hughes must have been suffering something like the psychosis of a heavyweight champion. (Every heavyweight champion has to be a fraction insane since he cannot know if he is the greatest fighter alive or if some unseen maniac of the martial arts is getting ready to destroy him in an alley.) So Hughes had to wonder whether he was making history or was only a servant of the history the CIA might be making through him. He could not know, and no one looking on from the outside could know, how much of the CIA was part of his operation or how much of his operation was directed by the CIA. Indeed, was there even a live man named Hughes at the center of it all, or was there a Special Committee?<sup>5</sup> Suffice it that whatever entity was comprised by his name, Hughes had properties. Since we don't know what we are dealing with, let us designate it hughes.

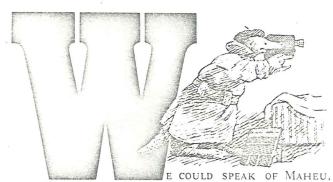
HUGHES's corporations earned more than half a billion dollars a year from government contracts alone and 32 such contracts were with the CIA. That was the largest number held by any corporate entity with the Company. *Time* fortified such figures: "During the past ten years Hughes Aircraft, which relies almost exclusively on Government work, has won nearly \$6 billion in Government contracts. . . There was also about 6 billion dollars more in secret contracts with the CIA over this period. . . . Asserts one former Pentagon official. 'Their interests are completely merged.' "6 So, HUGHES, whoever HUGHES was, might begin to look like the pope of Avignon to any director of the CIA. If an enclave needed funds for a special caper, who was better than HUGHES to fund it? HUGHES was Daddy Warbucks to the CIA. HUGHES owned half of Las Vegas. HUGHES, by way of various intermediaries, had absorbed it from Meyer Lansky. Since the CIA already had associations with Lansky, easily as old as their mutual attempts to assassinate Castro, the Company could now, by way of HUGHES and Las Vegas, enter into another majestic interface with the Mafia, that is, with half the labor unions of America, and nearly all of the entertainment industries, the construction industries, the highway, travel, and tourist industries, not to speak of the more celebrated nonlegal industries like prostitution, porny, narcotics, and-the finest operation yet discovered for laundering huge sums of money and evading the IRS-gambling. (If the Mafia had detested the very mood and atmosphere of gambling casinos, it would still have been obliged to get into the business for the legerdemain it offered to heavy sums.) In turn, the highpotential money in the CIA would want to discharge into the great sea of Syndicate wealth. There the takevoices fill in awe-came to \$50 billion a year, and that

4"Strange Bedfellows."

<sup>5</sup>The body of the Hughes who died in April of this year had its fingerprints checked "against genuine Hughes prints on file with the FBI in Washington. It was." Time says cheerfully (April 19, 1976), "Hughes, all right." Of course that assumes no one in the mills of identification has ever been able to switch a set of prints. <sup>6</sup>Time also says: "Not until 1971 did the IRS subject the

<sup>6</sup>Time also says: "Not until 1971 did the IRS subject the Hughes holdings to an overall audit; the results of that audit have been kept secret." was twice General Motors' if only half the size of the defense budget.

CIA officials asked Maheu to enlist Syndicate men for the Castro murderer . . . and authorized him to pay \$150,000 for the hit. Maheu told the Church committee he hesitated initially because he feared the project might interfere with his work for Howard Hughes, who also had retained Maheu's services. But Maheu said he agreed to the assignment after informing Hughes of the murder plot—and, according to one source, gaining the billionaire's approval. For the project Maheu called on John Roselli, Sam Giancana and Santo Trafficante.<sup>7</sup>



an ex-FBI agent on special retainer to the CIA since 1954, as a man of variety and dimension, a veritable fixer, but such words do not elucidate the physics implicit in his personal forces. Rather, Maheu is known in Intelligence as a "pivotal" figure—the roads go through his tollbooth. We will learn for instance from the Pike committee that pornographic movies were sometimes made with CIA funds to blackmail people and "one of these was titled 'Happy Days' with Mr. Robert Maheu as casting director, make-up man, cameraman and director." The detail is cited not to offer us the opportunity to rise in moral height above Maheu so much as to loosen our imagination. He was also for a time the most visible HUGHES representative in public life. "You are me to the outside world," reads one memo to Maheu.<sup>8</sup> "Go see Nixon as my special confidential emissary," says another in the spring of '68. "A Republican victory this year . . . could be realized under our sponsorship and supervision every inch of the way."<sup>9</sup> HUGHES even had a \$600,000 French colonial mansion built for Maheu on the Desert Inn grounds.

The first time he entertained for lunch the casino managers . . . Maheu tapped his water glass for attention. Then, to the astonishment of his Las Vegas colleagues, Robert Maheu said grace.<sup>10</sup>

"O'Brien and Maheu are longtime friends from the Boston area... During the Kennedy administration, there apparently was continuous liaison between O'Brien and Maheu."

—Memo from John Dean to H. R. Haldeman, January 26, 1971.<sup>11</sup>

There was, of course, the delicate matter that Hughes wanted to hire me but didn't want to meet

7"Strange Bedfellows." In excerpt, out of respect for the source's punctuation, Hughes will appear in lowercase. <sup>8</sup>David Tinnin, Just About Everybody vs. Howard Hughes. 9Ibid. <sup>10</sup>Ibid.

11J. Anthony Lukas, Nightmare-The Underside of the Nixon Years.

me face to face. Maheu raised the issue—he said that was simply Hughes's style of operation, that he, Maheu, had worked for the man for years, and was his chief executive officer, but had never met him. —Larry O'Brien, No Final Victories

After Hubert Humphrey's defeat in 1968, Larry O'Brien was relatively at liberty. The new administration might be Republican. but O'Brien had not worked as postmaster general and chairman of the Democratic National Committee nor managed the presidential campaigns of Kennedy, Johnson, and Humphrey for too little. Nobody had more contacts in Washington than Larry O'Brien. From early in 1968 on, even as Maheu was being confidential emissary to Nixon, so was he also being instructed to hire O'Brien as HUGHES's Washington representative; but it was only in October, 1969, after a stretch for O'Brien on Wall Street, that the consulting firm O'Brien Associates was formed and given a HUGHES contract at \$15,000 a month. The arrangement, however, soon faced complications. By late 1970, HUGHES had decided to replace Maheu with Intertel.

Although this is not widely known, an increasing number of big corporations in recent years have either established private intelligence units or hired intelligence consultants from the CIA, the FBI, the DIA, the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department, the Treasury, the Secret Service, or the Internal Revenue Service. The purpose is, basically, to protect a corporation's own secrets or acquire other corporations' secrets in the ever-competitive business world. A whole underworld of corporate intelligence has thus developed.

Several organizations in the United States openly offer corporate intelligence services. The most important is Intertel....

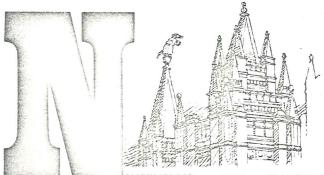
#### -Tad Szulc, Compulsive Spy

It could be said that Intertel had better CIA connections than Maheu. In fact, they were socially superior. Intertel's owner was James Crosby, good friend and host of Rebozo and Nixon. Crosby was also the chairman of Resorts International, an immense gambling-and-tourist complex in the Bahamas which (with many a camouflage) had been taken over from Meyer Lansky by the CIA. (Brave men grow bold in the Caribbean and gentlemen turn into pirates.) Resorts International came right out of the Crosby Miller Corporation, in which a controlling interest had been acquired in 1958 by Mary Carter Paint, a corporation originally gotten up by Allen Dulles and Thomas E. Dewey.

If the CIA hierarchy had icons analogous to the Mayflower, they were Allen Dulles, Thomas E. Dewey, and the Mary Carter Paint Company. By such cachet James Crosby of Intertel was to Maheu's CIA pornies and assassination capers as Louisburg Square to Scollay Square. In addition, Intertel may also have been in position to offer HUGHES the Glomar Explorer contract if he would take them on. That meant letting Maheu go. Since Maheu knew a lot about HUGHES, it was a big payment for a real peril.

The changeover in 1970 was accomplished with the maximum of mystery. The man, Hughes, six feet four inches, reported to weigh 97 pounds and, by a Las Vegas doctor's report, next to death, gave over his authority to Maheu's most determined enemies with a proxy which enabled these enemies to bring Intertel's security force into the casinos and drive out Maheu's troops, a dramatic night for Las Vegas, whose citizens were learning about this time that a tall thin man, claimed by his proxy-holders to be Howard Hughes, had been smuggled out of his sanctuary in the penthouse of the Desert Inn and been flown to the Bahamas (even though he was next to death and swore he would never fly again). There were some, Maheu among them, who offered the mordant suspicion that HUGHES was now a karmic transplant, but then there were others who had been supposing the same since 1958, when the man, Hughes, stopped seeing anyone but a few Hughes Tool Company executives and/or his rotating male nurse-secretaries (five), who received all messages for him. Maybe, by the time of the move to the Bahamas, HUGHES was going into his second karmic transplant; maybe HUGHES was now a computer not unrelated to octopus at Langley.

But such speculations take us too fast down the stream. Let us keep to what we may suppose we know. It seems clear that HUGHES, now divested of Maheu, would not necessarily want to keep Maheu's friend in his employ. Of course, dropping O'Brien would hardly be fail-safe. It was not comfortable to estimate how much O'Brien had learned about the CIA from Maheu (if for that matter O'Brien had had a great deal to learn about the CIA).



ONETHELESS, THE TRANSFERS were made. Sometime after Intertel took over from Maheu, HUGHES replaced O'Brien with Bob Bennett. The son of Senator Wallace Bennett (R), from Utah, Bob Bennett was a churchgoing Mormon; in fact, he was part of the three-man bishopric of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in Arlington, Virginia, a detail of dubious interest until it is fortified with the knowledge that a large number of HUGHES aides, assistants, and top executives were Mormons; indeed, Maheu's most devoted enemies in HUGHES were Mormons. We might wonder how such religious fellows would comport themselves in Las Vegas, but there is always a tendency to underrate the sects we know least. It seems, consulting the Encyclopaedia Britannica, that a secret Mormon society called the Danites was organized for Joseph Smith in October, 1838. They had "the avowed purpose of supporting Smith at all hazards, of upholding the authority of his revelation and decrees as superior to the laws of the land, and of helping him to get possession, first of the state, then of the United States, and ultimately of the world."

It would be an investigator's pleasure to now reveal that there is a modern-day Danite enclave in the CIA reaching out to the Danites in HUGHES, but we shall have to content ourselves with the only Mormon we have— Bob Bennett—and his relations to Chuck Colson and Howard Hunt.

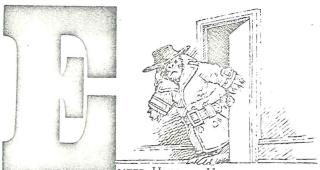
Bennett had been a director of congressional relations at the Department of Transportation, to wit, a public-relations man and lobbyist. Needless to say, both are splendid positions for a mole. In addition, any work Bennett could find concerning highway construction might bring him, if he chose, close to the Mafia: he was thereby twiceconnected to voyage out from his one third of a bishopric. Since he had also been friends with Chuck Colson since 1968, and lately of quiet service as the White House

contact (that is, informer) in the Department of Transportation, Bennett was on his very to being his own pivotal figure. Consequently, he was in a position to try to do a favor for HUGHES. The good deed (seeking to divert the dumping of nerve gas from the Bahamas ocean floor-a way of protecting future HUGHES investments in the Bahamas) could not be accomplished, but Bennett left a good impression and was hired by his fellow Mormons.

Then "Colson called Bennett to say that Robert Mullen wanted to sell his company. Colson urged Bennett to buy the company and said he would help him find clients."12 Bennett bought into Mullen & Company, and in one month rose from executive vice-president to president; after nine months he completed the purchase. Earlier than this, sometime "during his first months with the company . . Robert Mullen told him about the company's relation with the CIA."13

This small account of a purchase is invaluable for whatit teaches of how to detect a cover story by the incriminating anemia of its narrative. For it asks us to tolerate the idea that a useful CIA front was sold to a non-CIA man who was then kindly informed of the CIA's relation to the company he bought; in return for such courtesy, he proceeded without ado to labor for the agency. Since Ben-nett will labor long hours, it is comfortable to suspect he has been with the CIA before we have met him.

It is in the political agent's interest to betray all the parties who use him and to work for them all at the same time, so that he may move freely and penetrate everywhere. -Galtier-Boissière<sup>14</sup>



NTER HUNT. HE HAS BEEN WITH Mullen & Company since May, 1970, a little better than six months, before Bennett has arrived, and according to his account, he is furious with Mullen because Bennett came as a surprise. "The switch was as unexpected as it was unwelcome."<sup>15</sup> Hunt had seen himself as eventually taking over Mullen & Company. Accordingly we are encouraged by his account to believe Hunt moved over to the White House out of disgust with his situation at Mullen & Company rather than as part of a more or less orchestrated plan to bring Bennett and Hunt nearer to the administration. It was, in any case, not a shift that was difficult to make, for Hunt was also a friend of Colson's. They had met at the Brown University Club of Washington in 1966. Later, Colson became president of the club and Hunt, vice-president. They met frequently for lunch all through 1969 and 1970, and at one time Colson even thought enough of Hunt to try to make him director of a conservative think-tank, the Institute for Informed America, which, would provide intellectual opposition to the Brookings Institution. The scheme lapsed (since Hunt frightened off Jeb Magruder

13Ibid.

by a proposal to use the think-tank for covert action), but now that Hunt was working for Colson in the Plumbers and Colson was also friends with Bennett, maybe Colson could be forgiven for thinking the prospects seemed fair for a happy family. As early as the beginning of 1971, he even sent a confidential memo to an aide of Agnew's:

"Bob is a trusted loyalist and a good friend. We intend to use him on a variety of outside projects. One of Bob's (new) clients is Howard Hughes. I am sure I need not explain the political implications of having Hughes' affairs handled here in Washington by a close friend. . . . Bob Bennett tells me that he has never met the Vice President, and that it would en-hance his position greatly if we could find an appropriate occasion for him to come in and spend a little time talking with the Vice President. The important thing from our standpoint is to enhance Bennett's position with Hughes because Bennett gives us real access to a sort of power that can be valuable, and it's in our interest to build him up."

#### Compulsive Spy

It is enough to remind us of Tolstoy's opening sentence in Anna Karenina: "Happy families are all alike; every unhappy family is unhappy in its own way." Colson's gang, we know in advance, will be unique.

But we can get a look into how closely Hunt is working with Bennett. A couple of years later, it was found out by way of the minority staff of the Ervin committee that Bennett "suggested to Hunt that Hank Greenspun, publisher of the Las Vegas Sun, had material in his safe that would be of interest to both Hughes and the Com-mittee for the Re-election of the President," and Bennett also arranged "a Hunt interview with Clifton Demotte [about] the episode at Chappaquiddick. . . . Furthermore . Bennett learned of [Dita Beard's] whereabouts from a Hughes Tool Company executive . . . [and] acted as an intermediary between Howard Hunt and Gordon Liddy 

This encourages the minority staff to the following conclusions:

(1) While Hunt was at the White House on Charles Colson's payroll, Bennett was, at least, suggesting and coordinating many of Hunt's activities; (2) Bennett obviously enjoyed a close and confidential relationship with some of Howard Hughes' top people at a time when they were furnishing cover for the CIA; and (3) Bennett was acting as a go-between between Hunt and Liddy immediately after the Watergate break-in, and during all of these activities he was undoubtedly reporting periodically to the CIA case officer. -At That Point in Time

We are even offered a bona fide side-bar. An inquiry came in from HUGHES. The Mormons (we may as well assume it is specifically the Mormons) wanted to know "the cost of bugging the home of Clifford Irving at the time he was writing the spurious Howard Hughes biography. Hunt got an estimate from James McCord and reported back to Bennett." The project proved to be too expensive, but HUGHES, whether the man or the karmic transplant, announced by way of a telephone interview with seven reporters that he had suspicions about the origins of the hoax. "To assume that it's all an accident certainly takes a lot of assuming." It seems HUGHES had decided the genius behind Clifford Irving was Maheu. Dare we say that every unhappy family is happy in its own way?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Nightmare.

<sup>14</sup>E. Howard Hunt, The Berlin Ending (epigraph). 15E. Howard Hunt, Undercover.

<sup>16</sup>Fred D. Thompson, At That Point in Time. The author was chief minority counsel for the Ervin committee.

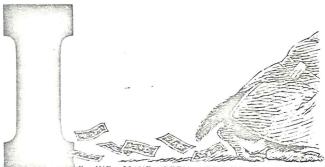
## III An Exercise in Epistemology

In an ironic twist, the White House's high priest of snoopery, Charles Colson, was himself bugged recently as he uttered some of the Watergate scandal's most indiscreet confessions.

Colson, when he was the top White House hatchet man, was fond of flipping a switch and tape-recording friends and enemies alike. A few days before he went to prison for obstructing justice, however, he was secretly recorded as he bared his soul to Washington businessman and sometime private eye Richard Bast. . . .

Beside Bast's swimming pool, whose fountain made background water music over a "mike" secreted among poolside flowers, the two men discussed how Nixon could rid himself of CIA and military spying on the White House.

-Jack Anderson, July 15, 1974



WE HAVE BEEN F ENTERTAINING OURselves until now with the illusion that we are pursuing a narrative, or hovering over a picture that will soon come to focus, we may as well recognize that we can count, at best, on no more than a glimpse of a narrativeenough perhaps to give us hope this is a narrative which exists and not a chaos. But it is a curious endeavor. The best details often lead nowhere. Nixon, for example, received campaign contributions in 1972 which were as large as \$2 million from W. Clement Stone and \$1 million from Richard Mellon Scaife of Pittsburgh. Nonetheless, the Nixon administration reacted with excessive anxiety to the disclosure of a gift of \$100,000 in 1970 from HUGHES by way of Richard Danner to Bebe Rebozo; in fact Nixon fired Archibald Cox only two days after he had indicated to Elliot Richardson how displeased he was about Cox's zealous investigation of Rebozo. The break-in at Watergate was even explained in some scenarios as the measure of Nixon's need to know how much O'Brien knew about HUGHES's gift.17 It made no sense. Rebozo had an explanation which was legally impeccable. He told investigators that he was worried about the "appearance" of the gift and so did not give it to the president but put it in his own safe-deposit box, and later, in June, 1973, sent it back to HUGHES. One did not have to believe the story, but in the absence of evidence that the cash had been passed, why did Nixon react so powerfully?

"They must certainly know something very heavy on Nixon," commented Bast. . . .

Colson . . . replied, "They must."

"I mean, if he knows this stuff is going on and he's not doing anything about it . . ." began Bast.

<sup>17</sup>That would assume it was worth \$250,000 to CREEP to find out a little more about \$100,000.

"You know what I think?" interrupted Colson. "You want to know what I really think? . . . I'm loyal to the guy (Nixon) 'cause he's my friend . . . I think Bebe used that (\$100.000) for himself and for the President, for the family, and the girls. I think that the President figures—this is my worst suspicion —that if he really blows this, Hughes can blow the whistle on him." . . .

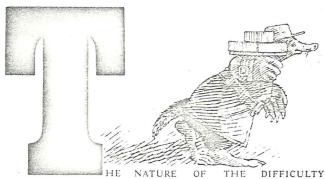
... Bast asked whether the only thing the CIA had hanging over Nixon's head was the \$100,000.

Replied Colson morosely:

"Who knows that that's the only \$100,000?" —Jack Anderson, July 16, 1974

It is a fascinating detail. It is just that nothing comes of it. We still don't know if it is the only \$100,000 or no more than the tail of the mouse left in the trap. Since much that we examine will appear, then tend to disappear, it is nice to think there is something iridescent about a view seen for an instant in the fog.

Perhaps it is the effect of such glimpses to leave us with an afterimage. On reflection, Nixon's reaction to the \$100,000 does not have to be political. Even a political man is entitled to a private emotion. Fighting the attack on Rebozo, Nixon could be expressing the outrage he felt at attacks against himself. Or, maybe the gift just gave him an uneasy feeling from the moment it was proposed. Of course, the hard chancre of an inflamed in-house scandal could also have been sitting beneath the money. We simply do not know to which corner the mouse has gone.



begins to disclose itself. We cannot house an explanation because we do not know which of our facts are bricks and which are papier-mâche painted to look like bricks. We can only watch the way the bricks are handled.

It is painful, nonetheless, to relinquish one's hope for a narrative, to admit that study of the CIA may not lead to the exposure of facts so much as to the epistemology of facts. We will not get the goods so quickly as we will learn how to construct a model which will tell us why we cannot get the goods. Of course, that will never be enough—willy-nilly, the habit will persist to look for a new narrative (and damn the papier-mâche bricks). In the meantime, however, a short course:

Epistemological Model I:

If half the pieces in a jigsaw puzzle are missing, the likelihood is that something can still be put together. Despite its gaps, the picture may be more or less visible. Even if most of the pieces are gone, a loose mosaic can be arranged of isolated elements. The possibility of the real picture being glimpsed under such circumstances is small but not altogether lost.<sup>18</sup> It is just that one would like to know if the few pieces left belong to the same set.<sup>19</sup>

Epistemological Model II: Maybe it is the splinters of a mirror rather than the

<sup>18</sup>Larry Rivers has taught us as much. <sup>19</sup>Is this what Robert Rauschenberg is up to? scattered pieces of a jigsaw puzzle that provide a superior ground for the metaphor. We are dealing not with reality, after all, but that image of reality which reaches the surface through the cracked looking glass of the media.

Epistemological Model III:

What is most crucial is that we do not forget that we are interpreting curious actions. Men who seem to be honest are offering cover. We are obliged to remind ourselves that a life lived under cover produces a chronic state of mind in the actor which is not unlike those peculiar moments when staring in the mirror too long we come to recognize that the face looking back at us must-inescapably-be our own. Yet it is not. Our vicissitudes (but not our souls) stand revealed in the mirror; or, given another day, and another mirror, there we are, feeling wretched, looking splendid.

#### Epistemological Model IV:

Doubtless the difficulty is analogous to writing a poem with nothing but names, numbers, facts, conjecture, gossip, trial balloons, leaks, and other assorted pieces of prose.

For example:

When we interviewed him in my office on December 10, 1973, he struck all of us as a highly intelligent, highly motivated person. . . . Finally I asked him, "Mr. Martinez, if in fact you were a CIA plant on the Watergate team and were reporting back to the Agency, would you tell us?" He broke into a broad smile, looked around the room, and laughed. He never answered the question; no answer was necessary.

—At That Point in Time

Let us go back to the facts, to the false facts, distorted facts, concealed facts, empty facts, secretly rich facts, and unverifiable speculations of our narrative.

In this connection, nothing we have read about Gordon Liddy explains his long silence in jail so well as the supposition that he is an agent of real caliber. Of his biography we know he was in the FBI in the early sixties, an assistant district attorney in Dutchess County, ran for Congress on the Conservative party ticket, and got a job with the Treasury Department high up in a Customs Bureau drug campaign called Operation Intercept. It was not a position to leave him alien to such intimacies of the CIA, the Mafia, and the flow of profits in the drug trade. Liddy came to the White House to work for Egil Krogh, who was trying to organize the Nixon administration's war on drugs with a projected team of CIA men, FBI men, narcs, and private detectives, an undertaking some would see darkly as a most ambitious cover for Nixon's real intent, which was to commence his own Intelligence on a competitive level with the CIA and the FBI-in other words, his unspoken follow-up to the Huston Plan. It is worth mentioning that during this period, Liddy wrote a memo for Nixon in criticism of the FBI, which Nixon described to Krogh as "the most brilliant memo-randum" to come his way "in a long time."<sup>20</sup> It is with this background that Liddy comes to CREEP. There is nothing in these details to suggest he could not be a career agent.

We read of how he burns his hand in a flame to impress a girl and threatens to kill Magruder if Jeb touches him on the shoulder again. John Dean describes to us how Liddy offers to commit suicide if that will protect the

20These details are given in a forthcoming book impressively researched by Edward Jay Epstein, An American Coup D'Etat (Putnam's).

administration. Liddy offers a lecture on how to kill a man with a finely sharpened pencil. There is nothing in these details to suggest he could not be a career agent.

"The master who instructed me in the deadliest of the Oriental martial arts taught me that the outcome of a battle is decided in the minds of the opponents before the first blow is struck." -G. Gordon Liddy<sup>21</sup>



on the Watergate burglars as ignorant Cubans led by clowns. Being scorned as ridiculous is, of course, a cover in itself; the CIA can count on such a disguise being provided by the wire services. Simple declarative sentences make curious actions appear automatically absurd.

Under examination, the burglars look better. Gonzales had been a bodyguard for Batista, and fought in the Bay of Pigs. Martinez had been a CIA boat captain and made 354 illegal runs to Cuba. Barker was a member of Batista's secret police, and an FBI contact in Cuba, then an informer against Castro. By Hunt's own description, Barker became his "principal assistant" during the Bay of Pigs, and Hunt was chief of political action.

The fourth Cuban happens to be Italian-Frank Sturgis, an ex-marine born Frank Angelo Fiorini. He served with Castro in the Sierra Maestra-and would later claim he was already an agent for the Company. In any case, he was good enough to be working as Fidel's personal supervisor in the Havana casinos until the day gambling was eliminated. Then Sturgis decided to defect. To the Mafia and to the CIA. (Or is it simpler to say the Mafia wing of the CIA?) It is a not inconsiderable defection.

Before the Bay of Pigs, Sturgis would act as contact for Santo Trafficante, who with his son Santo Jr. "controlled much of Havana's tourist industry," and was alleged to have received "bulk shipments of heroin from Europe and forward them through Florida to New York."<sup>22</sup> During this period, Sturgis joined a CIA unit called Operation Forty, which had been set up to kill Castro and a number of important Fidelistas. Involved in this training were Trafficante and E. Howard Hunt,23 Frank Sturgis,24 and Robert Maheu. Maheu and Sturgis must have been reasonably well met, since Sturgis is still pivotal enough eleven years later to be chatting with Jack Anderson in the lobby of Washington National Airport on the morning he arrives from Miami with Barker, Martinez, and Gonzales for the last break-in at Watergate, but then it would be difficult to name an investigative reporter in America more pivotal than Anderson.

22 Alfred W. McCoy, et al., The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia.

#### 23"Strange Bedfellows."

<sup>23</sup>"Strange Bedjellows. <sup>24</sup>In Undercover, Hunt mentions in passing that he did not meet Sturgis until shortly before Watergate. Of course, he also does not mention that there was a plot to assassinate Castro. Nor does he bother to inform us that Hank Sturgis is the name of a character in Hunt's early novel, Bimini Run, which Frank Angelo Fiorini liked well enough to modify into an alias.

<sup>21</sup> As quoted in Nightmare.

"I don't know if I told you before," Sturgis wrote to his wife [while in jail], "but William F. Buckley used to work for CIA and I don't know if he still does. When he found out that Howard (Hunt) was going to work in the White House, he told Howard it was good that he could be so close to the President but Howard told him that he was there to take orders and not to influence anyone. That was a good answer!"....

... Buckley frankly admitted he was a "deep cover agent" for the CIA from July, 1951, to March, 1952, but said he had not worked for them since.

-Jack Anderson, September 18, 1973

It was apparent from the documents that in November 1971, a month after he took part in the Fielding break-in, Martinez mentioned his association with Hunt to his case officer who, in turn, took Martinez to the CIA's chief of station in Miami. We immediately requested that the chief of station

We immediately requested that the chief of station be brought from Florida for an interview. The chief, a heavyset man who appeared rather nervous, told us that in March 1972, Martinez had asked him if he "really knew all about the Agency activities in the Miami area." Martinez had dropped hints about Hunt's activities, the chief said, which had concerned him so much that he wrote a letter to CIA headquarters inquiring about Hunt's status. The answer, we were told, was that the chief should "cool it" and not concern himself with Hunt's affairs.

-At That Point in Time

One does better not to rely on that comfortable picture we have of E. Howard Hunt as an unhinged undercover man in a wild red wig impotently badgering Dita Beard on her hospital bed—the wig may have been chosen to make him startling to a fearful woman.

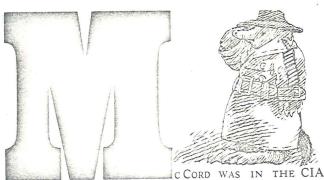
By the rank of the posts he occupied in his career, it is obvious that Hunt, for a long time at least, was well regarded in the agency. For that matter, he has so many credentials we can wonder how close he came in his own mind to becoming director of the CIA. In his autobiography, Undercover, he remarks, "Obviously I was never going to be director of Central Intelligence, nor did I particularly want to be," but the year is 1966 and he says it after more than fifteen years of service and such prime positions as deputy chief of station in Mexico (which is where William F. Buckley Jr. worked for him); chief of covert operations for southeastern Europe-Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey; chief of political action for the Guatemala operation which overthrew Arbenz; chief of covert operations for the north Asia command—China, Korea, Japan; chief of station in Uruguay; chief of political action for the Bay of Pigs; chief of Domestic Operations Division (the United States); and chief of covert action for Western Europe. Before joining the CIA Hunt had been an English

Before joining the CIA Hunt had been an English major at Brown, served in the navy, the OSS, been a war correspondent for *Life*, published novels, worked in Hollywood, had a Guggenheim Fellowship for one of his novels, and been in Europe for the ECA under Averell Harriman. Later, within the CIA, he collaborated with Allen Dulles in the writing of *The Craft of Intelligence*. He also worked closely with Frank Wisner, Allen Dulles, Dick Helms, Richard Bissell, Track Barnes, Tom Karamessines—there are no larger names in the CIA. If his autobiography fails to mention Cord Meyer or James Angleton there is no reason we cannot speculate on his concealed relations with them, particularly from 1966 to 1970, when Hunt neglects to describe what he is doing for

the Company, and the assumption, since he is stationed in America, is capers, domestic capers.

A Dutch manufacturer of electronic gadgetry was demonstrating, some ultrasophisticated electronic "sneakies." The Dutch salesman announced that over twenty items of gadgetry had been hidden in the exhibition room and invited his CIA guests to find them. They looked and they couldn't find a single one. Then the Dutchman set about to uncover them, and he couldn't find them. Jim McCord had sneaked into the room before the demonstration, found them all, and removed them. "Jim is one fine operator," said Helms....

—Miles Copeland, National Review, September 14, 1973



for twenty years but he seems like nothing so much as an FBI man. A devout Methodist, abstemious, soft-voiced in his right-wing opinions, his personality speaks of law and order rather than espionage or counterespionage. With the CIA from the first years of its inception (those years when it was raiding the FBI, and Hoover did not like it, and may for all we know have been casting about for a career agent who could infiltrate the CIA for the rest of his working life), McCord worked for the Company from 1951 to 1970 and became chief of the Physical Security Division of the Office of Security.

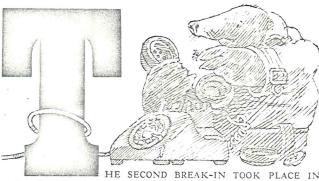
As we know, his work had in part to do with finding concealed bugs and dealing with advanced eavesdropping equipment. He was good enough to receive a Distinguished Service Award from Helms, and Allen Dulles once referred to him as "my top man."<sup>25</sup> We do not know what he was top man in, but it is not mean praise.

His performance during the Watergate break-in is on the consequence fascinating for its incompetence. McCord, according to Hunt's account, bought only four walkietalkies where six had been needed. He delayed charging the batteries. He neglected to disconnect a burglar-alarm system. In the course of the first break-in, he removed his men from the Democratic National Committee offices before the job was done. Then for several days he was unable to process the two rolls of film the Cubans did manage to take because McCord's "man" was out of manage to take because McCord's "man" was out of town. In addition, according to Liddy, McCord "bugged the wrong telephone line. He was supposed to tap O'Brien's."<sup>26</sup> So a second attempt was necessary. On the next try, two of McCord's walkie-talkies had uncharged batteries. McCord retaped the locks after the guard had removed the tapes. He then insisted to Liddy on going ahead with the operation. He also retaped the locks horizontally instead of vertically; the tape was therefore visible at a glance. Hunt would finally decide that McCord was a double agent for the Democrats. A double agent he may have been-for the CIA-and a triple agent for the

<sup>25</sup>Lewis Chester, et al., Watergate. <sup>26</sup>Undercover. FBI, but a Democrat? McCord?

Whoever he was, McCord broke the Watergate case by his letter in March, 1973, to Judge Sirica: "There was political pressure applied to the defendants to plead guilty and remain silent. Perjury occurred during the trial...."

He also said, "The Watergate Operation was not a CIA operation. . . I know for a fact that it was not." It is a retired CIA operative speaking, which is to say. a man who may or may not be retired. Authoritative disclaimers by CIA officials bear the same relation to fact that the square root of minus one bears to a real number. The net effect of McCord's remark, therefore, is to make us more suspicious of the CIA. The possibility that he is an FBI man thereby increases an iota.



order that the tap on Larry O'Brien's phone that McCord had not put in well enough to function after the first break-in should now be put in again. Hunt thought the project was odd. "O'Brien's in Miami," he said to Liddy. "Why in hell should we tap the phone in his Washington office? . . . What's the rationale? As a friend, colleague and fellow professional, I'm asking you to go back to Mitchell, Dean and Magruder and reargue the case."<sup>27</sup> Liddy replied, "Okay, I'll try again, but I hate to do it. They look to me to get things done, not argue against them."

Since Liddy is the conspirator who has remained silent, we do not know his "principal," that is, we do not know who told him to break into Democratic headquarters the first time, nor—it may be more interesting—who insisted on a second time when Hunt thought the only logic was to call it off. It is not impossible that Magruder, Mitchell—or could it be Dean?—had an undisclosed relation to the CIA. Let us spin on the vertigo of that thought.

Mr. Haldeman said he had never understood why Alexander P. Butterfield, the aide who disclosed the existence of the White House tapes to the Senate Watergate committee, wanted to join the White House staff....

"He was soon to become an Air Force General. I have never understood why he insisted, against my advice, on dropping his commission or why he suddenly wanted to be part of the Nixon team.

"In view of his subsequent role," Mr. Haldeman went on, "these actions seem even more curious today. Was Butterfield a CIA agent? Maybe. I just don't know."

-The New York Times, June 23, 1976

In the early Sixties he [Haig] ran a CIA-financed Bay of Pigs rehabilitation program, preceding Alexander Butterfield in the job.

-----"Strange Bedfellows"

<sup>27</sup>Quoting from Hunt is biting the bullet. Still, it is tempting to quote. From Undercover.

Colson complained to Bast that the President was always on the verge of coming down hard on the CIA. But, Colson groused, Nixon was talked out of it by presidential staff chief Al Haig, who feared it would "take down the whole intelligence community." —Jack Anderson, July 15, 1974

Haig told us there was "no way" he was working for the CIA. —Jack Anderson, July 15, 1974

Paul F. Hellmuth, the managing partner of St. Clair's Boston law firm, has been associated over the past decade with . . . Anderson Security Consultants, Inc. . . . a CIA front. . . .

Mysterious checks, written for large amounts, would frequently arrive at the office of the firm's secretary-treasurer, Virginia lawyer L. Lee Bean, who would . . . disperse it upon instructions.

The secret instructions often came, say our sources, from James St. Clair's quiet law partner. Some of the mystery money was dispatched to Miami banks and was used allegedly to support the CIA's anti-Castro activities. . . [Hellmuth] insisted . . . that James St. Clair didn't know "the first thing about the security firm."

-Jack Anderson, July 22, 1974

[Leon] Jaworski had been . . . a director of a private foundation that laundered funds for the CIA. —"Strange Bedfellows"

We also learned that Paul O'Brien, who had served as counsel to the Committee to Re-elect the President after the Watergate break-in, was a former CIA operative.

-At That Point in Time

Among the officers of OSS Detachment 101 was Clark MacGregor, later a Congressman, a White House staffer, and, after the Watergate break-in, the replacement for John Mitchell as head of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President.

-Compulsive Spy

"Bob Woodward interviewed me on numerous occasions. I have told Woodward everything I know about the Watergate case, except the Mullen company's tie to the CIA. I never mentioned that to him." —Robert Bennett: House subcommittee testimony

Because Robert Bennett's CIA ties were exposed by the Watergate scandal, he has closed down the Mullen Agency. He now works for the Hughes organization as a vice-president and CIA liaison.

-"Strange Bedfellows"

During the Bast interview, Colson would name Bennett' as Deep Throat. At one point, he would say in pain, "Every story that Woodward won the Pulitzer Prize for was fed to him by the CIA."

An observer of the Company, hearing of this, shook his head. "Deep Throat is a cover in itself. Where is the casual reader who will argue with so agreeable a story one man's revelation pulling down the entire Nixon administration? If Deep Throat told all, it was only because the information had already been neatly collected for Deep Throat to tell." The observer shook his head. "Learn the law of reversal. The victims can be the agents

<sup>28</sup>As quoted in "Strange Bedfellows."

in these affairs. There is as much need to remain suspicious of Colson as to feel sorry for him, since in attacking the CIA, Colson creates good cover for them. The reaction of the newspaper reader who dislikes old Chuck is to think, 'Even if it is true (and I must say I have had my suspicions of the CIA) I won't believe the story if it comes from Colson.' The Bast interview, you see, bothers me. Colson visits Bast, a private investigator, sits down by the pool next to the shrubbery and never wonders if he is being taped? Colson? Pit-bull Colson? "By the same guideline, the heroes can be the villains. Beware of the heroes of Watergate. I look at the Washington *Post* and think, 'Isn't it a brave paper? Isn't that a heroic editor who dares what no editor of no other major paper will dare? Isn't that right in the vein of major newspaper editors as we have come to know them?'"

On publication of this piece, the editor of the Washington *Post* emphatically denied that he had ever been, or was now, a member of the CIA.

"Never allow yourself," the observer says, "to think you have a fixed platform from which to measure these motions. We're out in the stars with Einstein, I assure you. For instance, you speak of McCord as being inefficient, when what you relate is no more than Hunt's description of how McCord acted in the break-in. Hunt's book could have been written by an enclave."

"Were they wishing to suggest that McCord was dealing with the Democrats?" "Never look for the answer. Pursue the question into

the next question. The answer is invariably smudged, but the questions are beautiful. There is the rapture of the depths descending into the questions."

I also suspected, but could never prove, that the Nixon crowd tapped my telephones. I was only slightly surprised, therefore, by a letter mailed to me on April 15, 1972. It was written by William Haddad, a New York entrepreneur who, until a dozen years ago, had been a prize-winning investigative reporter. Haddad told me he had learned from a private investigator of plans to tap the telephones of the Democratic National Committee. Haddad understood the plot had been hatched by a group of advertising men, known as the November Group, who had been recruited for the Nixon campaign.

-Jack Anderson, Parade, July 22, 1973

A letter from William Haddad to Larry O'Brien, March 23, 1972:

"I am hearing some very disturbing stories about GOP sophisticated surveillance techniques now being used for campaign purposes and of an interesting group here in New York where some of this "intelligence" activity is centered. The information comes from a counter-wiretapper . . . who had come to me highly recommended. . . . Can you have someone call me so you can get the info first hand and take whatever actions you deem necessary."

-At That Point in Time

O'Brien sent the director of communications for the Democratic National Committee to visit Haddad and there was a meeting with the counter wiretapper whose name proved to be Woolston-Smith. He was "a short paunchy bald man who spoke with a pronounced British accent and smoked a pipe." In October, 1973, a year and a half later, two members of the minority staff of the Ervin committee took a deposition from Woolston-Smith. He testified that he was a private investigator in New York City, a citizen of New Zealand with experience in British intelligence, and a permanent resident of the United States. He acknowledged that he had excellent contacts in the intelligence community and said his New York offices had been used by the CIA, after the Bay of Pigs, as a clearinghouse for those returning from the invasion brigades. This information was consistent with what we had determined from other sources. Woolston-Smith was a most mysterious person; there were indications that he had connections with both British and Canadian intelligence, although we could never determine the exact relationship.

Woolston-Smith said he had told William Haddad of the possibility of Republican media control through the November Group as early as December 1971, and that they had discussed the Group many times before the meeting of April 26, 1972. He knew enough about the operation, he said, to know that Gordon Liddy "ran the show."

#### -At That Point in Time

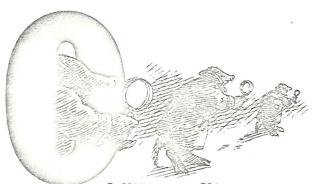
Since Gemstone, Liddy's first ambitious plan to tap the Democratic National Committee and wire Miami for the Democratic convention, was not even presented to John Mitchell until January 27, 1972, it seems that some undisclosed scheme was already being developed by Gordon Liddy and the November Group in the fall of 1971. Such a probability hardly diminishes the hypothesis that Liddy is an agent of stature. (In fact, the November Group will even be given a million dollars by CREEP before the famous April 7 deadline for campaign contributions. While the majority of this is ostensibly for the November Group's stated purpose, which is advertising, not espionage, the figure is nonetheless interesting. It is equal to the sum Liddy tried to get for Gemstone.)

At any rate, we are left with the following additions:

(1) The Democrats were well aware of the November Group and the possibility that their offices would soon be bugged.

(2) British and Canadian Intelligence can now be added to the soup. Let us think of them as herbs.
 (3) Marke the Derivative of the source of the

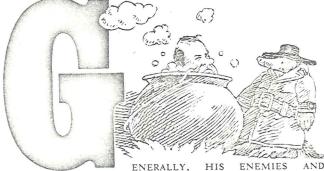
(3) Maybe the Democrats were putting in the garlic. Haddad "sent his entire file to Jack Anderson in April 1972" and now "could not remember what was in it. In fact, Haddad said, he sent material to Anderson twice, but had kept no copies." Jack Anderson "had acknowledged receipt of the material from Haddad concerning plans for the break-in, but he said he had since lost it."<sup>29</sup>



F COURSE, THE CIA HAD INFILTRATED the FBI, and the FBI had unknown men working for it in the CIA. We must assume both had agents in the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, the IRS, the National Security Council, the 40 Committee, the

29At That Point in Time.

Atomic Energy Commission, the Special Operations Division, Naval Intelligence, Air Force Intelligence, the Intelligence Agency, the National Security Defense Agency, the Council on Foreign Relations, HUGHES, plus a number of private intelligence companies whose work extended from military-industrial security to private detectives' offices. In turn, these companies, bureaus, groups, and agencies had to the best of their ability infil-trated the CIA and the FBI. Since the CIA, the FBI, and other major intelligence also had had their authority infiltrated by their own unknown enclaves, it is, in certain circumstances, meaningless to speak of the CIA as a way of differentiating it from the AIA, the DIA, the NSC, HUGHES, or the SOD-let us use the initials CIA therefore like a mathematical symbol which will, depending on the context in which it is employed, usually offer specific reference to a CIA located physically in Langley, Virginia, with near to 18,000 employees, understanding that under other circumstances CIA may be no more than a general locus signifying an unknown factor whose function is intelligence and whose field is the invisible government. Students of Einstein's work on tensor calculus may find it comfortable to deal with these varieties of unknowns. In the world of social theory, however, we are at the point where a special and general theory of relative identity in social relations would be of inestimable use since the only situation for which there can be no cover is anguish, and the operation of the twentieth century may be to alienate us from that emotion in preparation for the ultimate destruction of the human soul as opposed to the oncoming hegemony of the technological person.



friends agreed that Nixon was a fool not to destroy the tapes. They may not have understood the depth of the pot in which he was boiling. There was reason to be-lieve there were copies of the tapes. If Butterfield would reveal their existence, he could be an agent; if one agent was near those tapes, then more than one; what reason to assume duplicates of the damaging tapes were not being systematically prepared all the while he was being set up? Impeachment was certain if he burned the evidence and a copy appeared.

"You do not understand. This man stood at the threshold of his own idea of greatness. He was going to write the peace with Communism. He was going to be immortal. Now, as he loses respect, it is slipping away from him inch by inch." Kissinger smiles sadly over his salad. Across the city, the Ervin committee is holding a hearing in the hot summer afternoon. "People criticize Nixon for being irresolute about Watergate. Why does he not confess what is wrong and end it? they ask. They do not understand that he cannot make a move because he is not in possession of all the facts. He does not know what is going to happen next. He does not know what is going to break upon him next." Kissinger sighs. "Nobody will ever know how close that man was to getting the foreign situation he wanted.'

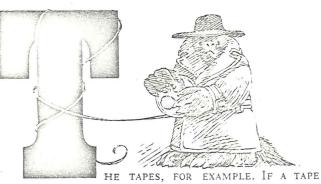
Nixon is not only a Shakespearean protagonist in the

hour of his downfall, but Macbeth believing that Birnam Wood will never come to Dunsinane. Of course, he is as appealing in his travail as Ronald Reagan might be playing Lear, but the echo nonetheless of a vast anguish comes back-who else has known such anguish and managed to live in the American world? Birnam Wood will come back to Dunsinane as the tapes one by one get to be taken.

Epistemological Model V: "Sometimes," said the wise observer, "I think of that story of Howard Hughes being so fearful of bacteria that he kept Jean Peters across the room from him, and then I think, what if the fear of bacteria is the cover, and the double dare not get too close to Jean Peters?'

#### Epistemological Model VI:

There is hardly an episode in Watergate which was not presented to us in a way that makes it seem more stupid than it ought to have been. Or, is it closer to say that what we hope to perceive is more brilliant than the level at which we have been encouraged to perceive it?



can be made, a copy can be made. Until we brood upon the matter, it is natural to assume the copy is equal to the original. We do not stop to think that the poor tapes we thought were the originals could in fact have been inferior copies. The remarkably bad quality of the tapes might have been produced by design. There are advantages to a tape which can hardly be heard: The affair is downgraded, and seems less sinister. No cover is more comfortable to a clandestine operation than the appearance of ineffectuality. Let us remind ourselves of how inept the Secret Service seemed in its taping operation. Possessing all that White House power, all those funds, all that available electronic equipment-yet the product sounds like it was recorded in the glove compartment of a moving car. Admittedly, there were technical difficulties to the taping, but the product still seems inadequate. Nixon must have suffered another turn of the screw. Since he cannot know if the tapes he hears are the unique, original, and only tapes, or a debased copy prepared by his enemies, he cannot even be certain whether it is a trap to encourage him to take advantage of the garbled sound and rephrase the transcripts in his favor. He takes the plunge. But his emendations are discovered later by the House Judiciary Committee. A corrected transcript is presented to America-How can Nixon not wonder whether somebody substituted a subtly clearer version of the tapes to John Doar's staff?

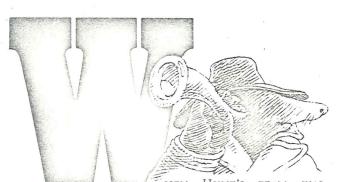
All the while, Nixon has to confront another question. If he evades every snare, pit, impressment, and delusion, if he even manages to work his way through the Senate to the edge of being declared not guilty in the impeachment, how can he be certain that in the last minute after the very last of all these abominably unexpected breaches in his cover-up, the missing eighteen minutes will still not appear? Then he can envision how America will spank the horse, and he will twist forever in the wind.

## IV A Crisis in Criminology

I received a telephone call from L. Patrick Gray, the Acting Director of the FBI-a man I had never met. Gray told me he was disturbed by reports suggesting the FBI was not conducting a thorough investigation. "That is simply not true," Gray told me. "I assure you this matter will be pursued wherever it leads, regardless of my position in the Administration. Let the chips fall where they may." I told Gray I appre-ciated his call, and he concluded our talk with an unexpected comment: "Mr. O'Brien, we Irish Cath-olics must stick together."

On July 7, following Gray's call, I was visited by two Secret Service agents... They told me they had been instructed to report to me that the FBI's exhaustive examination of the National Committee offices had uncovered no telephone bugs or other elec-tronic devices—that "the place was found to be clean." I accepted their report without question. I knew the FBI had torn the place apart-removing ceiling panels. dismantling radiators, and the likeand if they said there were no bugs, then I assumed there were no bugs. Later evidence, of course, re-vealed that bugs had been placed on my phone and that of Spencer Oliver, Executive Director of the Association of State Democratic Chairmen. To this day I cannot explain the discrepancy between those facts and the report I was given.

-No Final Victories



hen Hunt's team WAS caught, McCord had already removed a few panels from the ceiling of O'Brien's office. It is not so very well known that an excellent and advanced kind of eavesdropping can be achieved by driving a nail into the flooring of the office you wish to monitor from the ceiling of the office below. A listening device is then attached to the nail. The sophistication of this method is that it is not possible to detect the bug from the office being taped, since the listening device attracts no more attention than any nail in the floor. The first question to ask of many a break-in is not therefore which office was entered, but who is working in the office above. By this logic, a real interest in O'Brien's conversations could best have been satisfied by a break-in on the fifth floor-in order to tap the sixth. Since we are already on the sixth, who inhabits the seventh?

That part of the seventh floor of the Watergate Office Building, which rested unmistakably over Larry O'Brien's quarters, was occupied at the time by no less than the office of the secretary of the Federal Reserve Board. Can matters be this simple? It is not seemly that great financial secrets should be discussed in an office of a building which looks to have been designed by an architect with a degree in Mafia Modern, but interest augments when we learn

that one of the computers of the Federal Reserve Board is located in the basement of the same Watergate Office Building. If, on a given day, the Federal Reserve Board had sealed itself in to discuss a change in the discount rate, is it wholly inconceivable that a CIA man (a veritable Grand Mole of a banker) installed for years on the Federal Reserve Board might have phoned in to the computer in the Watergate Office Building basement an apparently routine question that would yet manage to tell his undercover assistant in the basement what the shift would be in the discount rate? Assuming that this assistant has been sequestered with the computer to maintain his discretion during these important deliberations of the board, the question is whether the basement assistant could not manage to make an innocent phone call to somebody on the seventh floor. Since we are assuming the man on the seventh floor is not part of the team to which the man in the basement belongs, the conversation would have to go something like this:

Basement: I hear Vida Blue is pitching today.

Seventh floor: Impossible! He pitched two days ago.

Basement: (Indignantly) Who did?

Seventh floor: (Triumphantly) Vida Blue!

That was what the basement wanted to hear said on the seventh floor and said loud enough for the nail in the ceiling of the sixth floor to pick it up-the names of baseball pitchers having been geared to the rise and fall in the discount rate. Now, whoever monitored that conversation could pass the information along. Since more than one team would presumably be working to get advance information on the change in the rate, let us assume our team got the word out with a possible lead of three hours over all the others.

"How much would such information be worth?" 'a banker was asked. "Conservatively," he replied, in the rich and pompous

voice which is privy to large sums, "billions." "For just a few hours' lead?"

"That is time enough."

The possibility is now open that the CIA was using the break-in to the Democratic National Committee as its elegant cover to the real operation, which was to tap privileged Federal Reserve Board information. Elegance offers its exquisite use of resources, so one would not claim the CIA had no interest in O'Brien nor in Oliver. O'Brien and Oliver had had their propinquity with the CIA, after all. While we know they cannot be in Intelligence-since how may we conceive of a good liberal Democrat who is?-nonetheless, they might attract an enclave in the CIA (if, of course, it is an enclave performing the break-in under the auspices of CREEP and not just a burglary by red-hot amateurs executed at the third rate of CREEP stupidity). Yes, some enclave might legitimately have been curious to know more about what O'Brien and Oliver knew of Chappaquiddick, or Eagleton's secret medical file, or HUGHES in relation to Maheu, Lansky, Rebozo, and Nixon on one side, or HUGHES, Bennett, Hunt, and Helms on the other. Name the teams; HUGHES is on all of them. Recognize that with the Democratic Committee break-in as cover, the operation has power over CREEPwhich is to say ultimately over Nixon-even if its burglars are caught. That is elegance. Obtaining neither their first objective-the Federal Reserve tap-nor the second -lines on O'Brien and Oliver-the entrepreneurs still end with more power over the presidency than before. Once everybody made certain the election was won in spite of Watergate, there would be even more power.

Of course, a risk was taken. If Watergate had broken too early, McGovern might have been able to get his campaign turned around (although the thought does not ring loud in the lost ether) but (Continued on page 43) until the election was safe and the operators could begin to apply that wrenching pressure on the bones of the Nixon administration.

It must, however, be immediately visible that while this last scenario violates no facts, it is only a l terary fancy not an iota of proof. Just another model. Perhaps we can modernize William of Ockham's razor by saying: The simplest model which satisfies all the facts is likely to lead us to inexplicable facts.

Four of the five men arrested in the bugging attempt at the Democratic National Committee headquarters Saturday morning were registered as guests at the Watergate Hotel on April 28, the same night that two other firms in the Watergate building were broken into....

The firm of Freed, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Kampelman, located on the 10th floor of the Watergate Building, 2600 Virginia Ave. NW, was broken into on May 18, but officials of the firm did not report the incident to police until yesterday....

A spokesman for the Freed law firm said yesterday that the burglary was not immediately reported to police because nothing appeared to be missing, and employees did not associate the incident with political espionage until disclosure of Saturday's break-in.

On April 28, the night four of the five bugging suspects were registered at the Watergate Hotel, according to police, the 11th-floor offices of the Sterling Institute, a management consulting firm, were broken into and \$1,100 worth of typewriters and calculating machines was stolen...

The same night, police records show, the law firm of Boykin and DeFrancis, located on the eighth floor of the Watergate, was forcibly entered and \$525 worth of office equipment was stolen.

-The Washington Post, June 21, 1972

Maybe if our scenarios have had a purpose, it has been to flavor our reading with the temperament of an agent, a way of saying that we have become sufficiently paranoid to see connections where others see lists. So let us look at a list of the offices in July, 1973, on the seventh and eighth floors of the Watergate Building, and take the pleasure of wondering how many of those names and corporations have no relation to Intelligence.

701 Defense & Aerospace Center of Sterling Institute, Inc. 205 Division of Federa Reserve Bank Operations	ıl
H. F. Dean Human Factors Re- Authorities	
search Associates, Office of Defense Inc. Planning	
Inst. for Psychiatry & Securities	
Foreign Affairs Stat Methodology &	ć
704 Harris Intertype Corp. Procedures Section	on
Harris Shire, Con- 811 Interstate General	
ductor Corp.	
Radiation, Inc. L. E. Steele	
R. F. Communications, 812 Armistead I. Selden	, Jr.
Inc. Boykin & De Franc	is
707 EDP Technology 815 Perkin Flyer Corp	
Systemed Corp. Joseph Dixon,	
711 Federal Reserve Board Manager	
Office of Sec'y	

When we add the three robberies in the last news story and include the possibility of break-ins to other offices we know nothing about by burglary teams who were removing taps that others had been putting in, there is now posed to our brand-new agent-type brain a further not being tapped?

Our procedure has conducted us to the point where we have to recognize that we have used up our last scenario in order to bring us to a place where we have no scenario to replace it. Now, we know less than before of what might possibly be going on.

Said the C		V in	Teleolog	V
Said the C		in	Teleolog	V
			400	I
is mor honey. Bang bang We don't r We need	mprinted upo ney, Howard. need you.		aptiness	
The space	where you w	ere.	—Anonymo I	L'Rivera

Next to Nixon, Hunt is an idler gear. His anguish is all of his existence, but it moves us less. The main gear goes until the last of the tension in the spring runs down, but the idler gear never runs down—it is merely attached to the alarm. So its end is not inexorable but catastrophic —as when the clock is dropped and the idler gear is broken.

Hunt was broken. The style of *Undercover* has that numbness of affect which comes from a fall. He writes without feeling more for one period in his life than another as though he is saying it is costly enough to locate the episodes. He is like a semiconscious victim who senses that coming awake will be equal to crawling up a slope of broken glass. The horrors to come will be greater than the ones he has known already.

Yet, as with Nixon, there is no danger of getting to like Hunt too much. We can decide that Nixon was set up by Watergate and feel no great pity because we can also remember the war in Vietnam he kept going for four years in order to assure his reelection. One can always recall the voice Nixon used when he spoke of the North Vietnamese as "my enemy," on the day he ordered the Christmas bombing. He had always wanted to be an actor and he ended by playing the classic role of the criminal who is convicted for the wrong crime. So one does not have to feel an overcharge of compassion for Nixon—just enough to water our imagination. Your enemies succeed after all when they dry up your imagination.

when they dry up your imagination. By the same token, there is a built-in limit to how much compassion we can feel for Hunt. We have only to read his account of his own methods on a caper in the early fifties:

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12/13/93 DALLAS POSTCARD New Republic BIG DEALEY By Doug Smith You don't need a calendar to know when it's late November in Dallas. Dealey Plaza, the city's only tourist attraction, fills up with those who come to mourn. The Hyatt Regency, home to the Third Assassination Symposium on John F. Kennedy (ask), fills up with those who come to investigate.

I attended the first ask convention and it left me seeing my hometown as a sinister, gloomy landscape peppered with unknown men carrying half-hidden rifles in their raincoats, flashing false Secret Service and cia i.d.s--a City of Shadows in which lurk (all safely out of range) beady-eyed Mafia thugs, rogue agents, Cuban counterspies, crooked policemen, Dan Rather and Richard Nixon.

This year's ask, however, left a different impression. Despite continued foot-dragging by the various federal agencies in complying with the 1992 Assassination Materials Review Act, the "Who Killed jfk?" controversy has moved up a couple of notches in texture and density. Oliver Stone's scattershot "everybody did it" approach is being supplanted by a general field theory in which, well, the mob did it, but nobody else was sure that they themselves didn't do it because they did do damned near everything else.

There's no question that the subject attracts its fair share of kooks, but most of those couldn't afford the conference's \$175 admission price. The Hyatt lobby was populated primarily by sober-looking professional types in suits, with a smattering of liberals in sweaters and eyeglasses, cowboys in blue jeans, housewives, hippies and computer geeks. What a surprise this assemblage must have been to the media vampires, who have so stoutly embraced Gerald Posner's Case Closed, which makes conspiracy theorists look like well-meaning loons. The newspeople didn't let facts get in their way, though. The Dallas Observer treated ask condescendingly, as if it were a "Star Trek" convention; The Dallas Morning News reported only on the concessions room. Although something like 80 percent of the American public thinks there was a conspiracy, only a few journalists want to admit to having been fooled. Channel 8 News in Dallas didn't mention the symposium, with its array of forensic experts, eyewitnesses, etc., but it did do a nice report on the all-American grandfatherly convention of Dallas press boys who covered the assassination the right way, without any of those prickly questions.

At the seminars--Intelligence Community & Defectors Panel; Oswald in Mexico City; New Leads and Revelations; A Celebration of the Women's Contributions-there were some impassioned outbursts, directed as frequently at rival researchers as at Warren Commission apologists. Alas, no chair-throwing. Most of the sessions involved interminable descriptions of evidential minutiae, most of it valid if somewhat trance-inducing. One heard phrases like "how much blood was dripping through the sheets, that's the discrepancy." It's a weird jargon, with assassination buzzwords such as "wcr" (Warren Commission Report), "mgt" (Multiple German Theory) and "sbt" (Single-Bullet Theory). There was more nitpicking over the details of head injuries here than one finds at most conventions. Where else would you find people arguing over the precise angle at which a flap of ruined skin and cranium was dangling in what frame of which home movie? One is also treated to the presence of the surviving witnesses, the "royalty" of the symposium, sounding like they have told their stories a million times. And many tend to talk as if everybody has always lived in Dealey Plaza his or her whole life; its geography has the familiarity of a shared home in their conversations. The witnesses, participants, victims, agents and mystery characters sometimes sound like old friends at a high school reunion.

In his keynote address, Norman Mailer, who is researching a new book on the assassination, suggested that Oswald might have been too crazy to have been employed by the cia, fbi or the Russians--but, because those agencies were so culpable of so many other crimes, and a full investigation of Oswald would have opened up such a can of worms, the lone nut theory had to be etched in stone. (Immediately after Mailer's speech, a total stranger approached me to assure me that Mailer must be a paid dupe of the cia.) In other words, documents were hidden away because the feds weren't sure they weren't guilty. The establishment feared the worst--that Oswald might be traced to them. They didn't know, and they didn't want to know.

Mailer admitted this was an "answer" he didn't want to find. We demand a conspiracy, he said, because we're angry, and we have been manipulated. He scolded the conspiratorialists (his term) for cutting corners to serve preconceived theses. "You've all been intoxicated by the combination of vertigo and fog that accompanies study of the conspiracies." The assassination is mostly questions and few answers, he went on, but some questions are better than others--and some researchers have lost sight of that, chasing clues that lead nowhere.

To Mailer, Stone's movie jfk was great but wrong; a conspiracy so all-encompassing could not possibly have been kept secret. The movie offered the paradigm, not the solution. Stone mislabeled it as history, Mailer says; it's instead a treatment of "the great paranoid myth of our times," the great myth that forced Americans into either apathy or paranoia. Even compared to Pearl

Harbor and Hiroshima, the assassination is the largest event, the mystery that forced us to decide whether life was simply absurd, or outright evil. It doesn't matter that Stone's "facts" are flawed, or that he overshot the mark, Mailer said, because there is no "accurate" version possible.

Mailer's thesis made a lot of sense--not that it can't be shot down, too. Whereas he thinks Oswald may have been too crazy to be used by the fbi, cia, etc., plenty of ex-agents will tell you that's practically a prerequisite for lower-level tools like Oswald. Moreover, Mailer didn't benefit from the new, unpublished information disclosed on the last day of the symposium by researchers Lamar Waldron and Thom Hartmann, who presented evidence that Oswald, while being used as "bait" for the kgb by the feds, was in fact a patsy for the organized crime syndicates that had jfk killed (by two other gunmen) in revenge.

Mailer is right about one thing: we want a conspiracy. We don't trust the government, and nothing would make us happier than to see the bastards raked over the coals. As Robert Groden, the author of High Treason, pointed out, the Zapruder film makes us all witnesses to the assassination. If there's an

answer, it won't come from the feds or the media; we'll have to find it ourselves.

Doug Smith is a filmmaker and freelance writer.

Transmitted: 93-11-29 13:54:59 EST

The Mexican Communist leader was then visiting Peking. On the day of his departure Bob North airmailed me a copy of a Chinese newspaper announcing his departure, sending a duplicate copy to CIA headquarters. To replace the departure announcement I fabricated a story in which the Mexican Communist was quoted as deprecating fellow Mexicans and saying, among other things, that Mexican peasants could never hope to achieve the cultural level of the superior Chinese. I cabled the fabrication to headquarters, where a special type font had been made by reproducing samples from the local paper. My fabricated story was set in this duplicate type and the entire front page of the local paper re-created by technical means. A dozen copies were pouched to me and were received before the target Communist returned to Mexico.

The fabricated newspapers were made available to local journalists who published facsimilies of the offensive interview together with a translation into Spanish. The target's protestations of innocence gained no credence whatever, for technical tests conducted on the duplicated Chinese paper affirmed that the type in which the story was printed perfectly matched other type samples in the same newspaper and so had to be authentic:<sup>30</sup>

#### —Undercover

A footnote says, "It was this sort of technical assistance from CIA that I lacked when I undertook to fabricate two State Department cables in 1971."

No, we do not have to like him too much. Self-pity is Hunt's companion, and bitterness is his fuel. He writes with the tightly compressed bile of a disappointed man; the reader is to be reminded that his early prospects were happier than his later ones. Photographs taken of him on the beach at Acapulco a few months out of OSS show the would-be screenwriter looking well built in bathing trunks. He bears a bit of resemblance to Hemingway, and is at pains in *Undercover* to show pictures of himself skiing and hunting. For that matter, he is also adept at fishing, squash, golf, tennis, riding, boxing, and screwing —so the autobiography suggests.

It would be a bet Hemingway is his hero, and that Hunt in the late 1940s was torn between a life as a great novelist and a social life as a spy. We can guess how he chooses. He is, with everything else, a social climber, and drops on the reader every big name he knows from Eisenhower and Nixon down, making a show of his good WASP family origins (Hunt's Point in the Bronx is named after a relative who goes back to the Revolutionary War, and Leigh Hunt is on the family tree) as well as his wife's sterling ancestry ("In addition to being descended from the Presidential Adams and Harrison families, my wife was one-eighth Oglala Sioux. . . "). Before Hunt, she has been married to the Marquis de Goutière. No matter that her maiden name is Wetzel and Hunt is from Brown, not Princeton (a full demerit in the early CIA), he will still look to climb high into the good life of Oh So Social. "The service plates were Revere gadroon, the crys-tal was an opaline . . ." is a line from one of his novels, and he will make a point of asking Bill Buckley to be godfather to his children. At the end, when tragedy strikes, he and his family are living in a house called Witches Island in Potomac, Maryland, in "what was to be our final family home. On its ample acreage were paddocks, a stable, outbuildings and woods." He is the perfect reader for the magazine edited by the godfather of his children.

<sup>30</sup>This story is a perfect example of how a fact can be wiped out by an artifact.



anti-Communist with nothing but the righteous moral equivalent of tunnel vision. He has also had a life. It is almost an appealing life. He has had dyslexia as a boy and played trumpet in a high-school dance band. What is most irritating about Hunt is that he is nearly large enough to be a protagonist in a good and solid novel, and yet—hatred has certainly dried his imagination—he is never large enough. No moment of wit will ever separate his soul from his disasters.

All the heavier must those disasters sit on him. Those disasters pose insoluble questions. Their lack of an answer promises insanity.

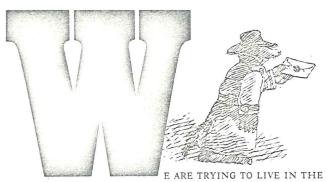
What, for instance, can he make of that list of offices on the seventh and eighth floors of the Watergate Office Building? Or of those extra break-ins he may now be hearing about for the first time? With his sophistication in the infiltration of one group of Intelligence by another —he has after all been chief of covert action in the Domestic Operations Division—how could Hunt not entertain the hypothesis that a species of trench warfare in bugging and counterbugging had been going on in the Watergate Office Building long before his operation ran into its peculiar trap? Let us even assume that everything he has told us is only a cover story for the more serious job he assumed he was doing. After the arrests, how can he be certain he was told anything accurate?

There is a tool of inquiry provided by Lenin. He suggested that when a political event occurred whose origin or motive seemed incomprehensible, then ask the question: "Whom?" Whom does this benefit? Whom did Watergate benefit? Hunt would ask the question. And he would have to face the nightmare that the Nixon-Kissinger wing of the CIA, which by now for practical purposes could be described as the Rockefeller-Détente wing, had been mangled at Watergate by the Cold War wing. If so, however, then he, Hunt, had also been set up in the process; had been sacrificed by his own people to implicate Nixon. There was a centrality to such a hypothesis no agent could ignore.

There are not only dimensions to paranoia but degrees. Cold paranoia can serve as the assistant to brilliance, but fevered paranoia (where the heat comes from the thought that one is being done in by one's friends) is the true hellion of hysteria. All panics are loose, all proportions are lost. In such a fry, how can one ignore the smallest detail?

Hunt could even begin to brood over people like R. Spencer Oliver, whose phone happened to be the other line tapped at the Democratic National Committee. Hunt could remember a dinner with a young Democrat named Spencer Oliver who had been out with Mullen, Bennett, and himself back in 1970 or 1971. During the meal, Oliver had made a point of mentioning the names of a few CIA officers Hunt knew personally. Oliver had been surprisingly knowledgeable. Mullen and Bennett had even wanted to take Oliver into Mullen & Company as a partner! But Hunt had disapproved.

Now, he had been caught on an operation which had for one of its tasks the tapping of Oliver's phone. Hunt could mention Oliver casually in his book and make no connection between the Spencer Oliver with whom he had dinner and the R. Spencer Oliver whose phone was tapped. He does not ask if they are not most certainly the same man. Such calm, however, is for his book. From Hunt's point of view, Oliver might have little or a great deal to do with Watergate. In the ongoing crisis of trying to solve the mystery of his life with all the working experience of his career, how is Hunt to measure the relevant importance of that detail, or of McCord and Fensterwald? McCord, for instance, has taken Bernard Fensterwald for his lawyer to go before the Ervin committee, Fensterwald who is chairman of the Committee to Investigate Assassinations. The unspoken shock to the media would not be small. It is a way of saying Watergate is related to Dallas. What enclave now wanted the media to think that way? Dallas and Watergate. That would be the scoop of the century. The people behind McCord might be serving some kind of notice.



measure of Hunt's anguish, but it is impossible to speculate here. We do not know, after all, whether he had anything to do with Dallas. The photograph of the two bums arrested by the police in Dealey Plaza shortly after the murder does show a resemblance to Hunt and Sturgis but there is an indigestible discrepancy in the height. On the other hand, Hunt was chief of covert action in the Division of Domestic Affairs at the time; that is a perfect desk from which to have a hand in such an assassination (especially if it has been brought off by some variant of a Mafia and anti-Castro Cuban team). At the least, we have to assume that Hunt would have been in position to pick up enough to embarrass the CIA profoundly. But then it is staggering to contemplate how much Hunt may have found out about matters he had not necessarily been active in himself. If no one in the CIA could locate to a certainty the details of other operations, still a tremendous amount might be learned through gossip, or by reconnaissance through those more or less secret files which would be more or less available on long, dull office afternoons. And he was a writer of suspense novels, no less. What material might be at hand! To the degree the CIA is bureaucratic and not romantic there would be formal procedures in getting to the files which could be winked at, breached, circumvented, or directly betrayed. To the degree the CIA was a culture, then Hunt was a living piece of inquiring matter, and in the years from 1966 to 1970 as his career in the CIA was ostensibly winding down, he had time to do a little research on some of those hundred and more murders in Dallas supposedly connected to witnesses of the assassination, time to get a line on who might be doing the job. For the CIA, whether im-plicated or not, could hardly be without interest in a mopup operation of such magnitude. Over a hundred murders to keep the seepage of information under control!

So Hunt may have known a great deal about Dallas. We

have to hold this in our attention when we begin to think of the nightmare within Hunt's nightmare-the death of his wife in the crash of United Air Lines Flight 553 from Chicago on December 8, 1972. The Washington to plane had crashed on landing at Midway and she was one of 45 people who were killed. We do not know how much Hunt knew nor how much he had told his wife. We know that she was making payments to the Cubans with White House money, but that is hardly a piece of information worth silencing by the risk and carnage of sabotaging an airplane. An investigator, Sherman Skolnick, in Chicago, would lay the claim that twelve people in one way or another connected with Watergate were on the plane, and he would remind us that White House aide Egil Krogh, Gordon Liddy's old White House boss, was appointed under secretary of transportation the next day and would supervise the National Transportation Safety Board and the Federal Aviation Administration in their investigations of the crash. That is not an automatically insignificant detail. On December 19, Alexander Butterfield would be appointed the new head of the F.A.A.31



F HUNT AND DOROTHY HUNT HAD KNOWN a great deal about Dallas and were threatening to tell the world, then Hunt would not have to brood over such details. He could assume his wife's plane had been encouraged to crash. Of course, we would no longer be talking about anguish, but masterplots and last-reel peril. The likelihood is that Hunt and Dorothy Hunt were trapped in a smaller game, and the crash was a mixture of inefficiency, cynical maintenance, and who knows?—some overload of psychic intensity among the passengers. (Why else do great athletes live in such fear of traveling by air but that psychic intensity is also a species of physical charge and can even distort the workings of an electronic system?)

No. it is more likely Hunt was living with the subtle horror that attends every inexplicable crash—is there a psychology to machines? Had there been an intervention of moral forces, a play of the dice from the demiurge? At the least, Dorothy Hunt's death was evidence of the raised law of coincidence in dramatic and dreadful events. Great or livid events could indeed be peculiar in their properties, and maybe no perfect conspiracy ever worked, since people were so imperfect—only imperfect conspiracies succeeded and then only when a coincidence drove the denouement home. Was it possible that Hunt was finally obliged to look over the lip of tragedy itself—a view which leaves us, the Greeks were certain, babbling and broken? Did he come to think that a psychic vortex pulls in a higher incidence of coincidence itself?

"A man may defend himself against all enemies save those who are resolved that such a man as he should not exist." —Tacitus, epigraph to Undercover

<sup>31</sup>For that matter, Dwight Chapin, appointments secretary to Nixon, moved over two months later to an executive position at United.



EFLECT ON THE PHENOMENON: A higher incidence of coincidence itself. The more central the dreadful act, then the greater is the number of accidents, disasters, and astonishing connections which surround it. By such a cosmic thesis, more than one assassination plot would come to collision on those murderous days of our history (when Americans began to live in fear of more than the atom bomb) and so, too, more than one agency, more than one enclave, more than one motive, yes, more than one plot have been set up, or unhinged, at Watergate. We have to free our minds of a hundred certainties we have been provided (and have provided ourselves) on that third-rate burglary. We have preferred to rely on the testimony of a hundred skilled and profes-sional liars rather than face into a vision of reality which would recognize that Franz Kafka is the true if abstract historian of the modern age, and the Möbius strip is the nearest surface we can find to a plane.32

To free our minds! We live in one existence, but have the overlay of another upon us. We strive to make our history, and sense, with the uneasiness of confrontations never faced, that we may dwell under the overall domination of an invisible second government (at odds with itself?) whose touch is subtle, but whose scenarios sit like an incubus upon Intelligence itself.

<sup>32</sup>A Möbius strip is like a paper band curved into a circle, but twisted a half turn before it is glued. If you start drawing a line down the middle of the band your pencil will end up on the opposite side of the paper once you have circled the ring. Stated by its paradox, the top surface of the plane is now the bottom surface.

Of course we also live in a world more dazzling with the montage of startling connections than a Kenneth Anger film. Maybe, it is our reward. During that season when Bobby Kennedy, weary from stalking Jimmy Hoffa, would relax with Marilyn Monroe, we find out Hoffa, in his turn, hired a wiretapper, Bernard Spindel, to listen in on Bobby.33 Spindel, who must have been as proficient as Gene Hackman in The Conversation, was going to be arrested eventually and would die in jail. There is reason to think the Kennedys never forgave him, for Spindel seems to have gotten some tapes on Bobby, and the wiretapper's widow appears to have kept and concealed them. She rose up to the polluted surface of the news a year or two ago, Mrs. Barbara Fox Spindel. A small munitions company she owned had been offering (by the claim of promotion material) to be able to produce fatal its exploding cigarette packs and other small works of surprise for the use of the CIA and other espionage. Her company and her name became connected by way of the newspaper story to Lucien "Gus" Conein, an old CIA hand who had long worked for General Lansdale, the CIA station chief in Saigon. Conein denied the connection vehemently, of course, but then we can imagine how quickly somebody in his line of work is going to admit a

professional association with Mrs. Spindel. Now, it happens to be Conein, an old Company associate, whom Hunt interviewed when Chuck Colson was looking for a way to cook up a few false Kennedy cables on the assassination of Diem. It is a long trail which leads from the tragedy of Marilyn Monroe to E. Howard Hunt and his thunderstruck fun and games, and there is not much voltage in these connections. No shock comes across the gap. It is just that like Agatha Christie's characters we all seem to end up knowing one another. Before too long, if irony does not paralyze, we may be singing, "No man is an Iland, intire of it selfe" in the god-awful music of Ernest Hemingway's final whiskey-cracked voice. Listen to his record.<sup>34</sup> What a crazy country we inhabit. What a harlot. What a brute. She squashes sausage out of the minds of novelists on their hotfooted way to a real good plot.

<sup>33</sup>Robert F. Slatzer, The Life and Curious Death of Marilyn Monroe.

34Ernest Hemingway Reading, Caedmon Records TC 1185.

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This supplement would not have been possible without the liberal use of information from the following books:

Francis Beckett: Enemy Within—The rise and fall of the British Communist Party (John Murray, 1995)

John Callaghan: Socialism in Britain (Blackwell, 1990) Rajani Palme Dutt (Lawrence and Wishart, 1993)

David Caute: The Fellow Travellers (Weidenfeld, 1973)

Stephen Dorrill and Robin Ramsay: Smear! (Harper Collins 1991)

Mark Jenkins: Bevanism— Labour's high tide (Spokesman, 1979)

Mervyn Jones: Michael Foot (Gollancz, 1994)

David Leigh: The Wilson Plot (Heinemann, 1988)

Walter Kendall: The Revolutionary Movement in Britain (Weidenfeld, 1969)

Seumas Milne: The Enemy Within— Maxwell and the Scargill affair (Verso, 1994)

Kevin Morgan: Harry Pollitt (Manchester University Press, 1993) bish. The reason that 250,000 people turned out to demonstrate for unilateral nuclear disarmament was that they had been mobilised by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, which had sprungback to life after Nato's 1979 decision to station cruise and Pershing II intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. And, contrary to the fairy-tales circulated by right-wing cold warriors, CND was not (and is not) controlled, or even influenced, by the KGB.

During the 1960s and 1970s, CND had been kept ticking over by a curious coalition of the CP and the Quakers—and in this period it had undoubtedly not been particularly critical of Soviet military strategy. But its rebirth in the early 1980s changed all that. Although members of the CP were active in the organisation and a few played major roles, it was nonaligned activists, opposed to Soviet nuclear weapons and suspicious of any attempt by Moscow to manipulate the western peace movement, that set the pace for the revived CND. Edward Thompson, a long-standing critic of the Soviet Union, was from the beginning the movement's most respected intellectual spokesperson; and the European Nuclear Disarmament group (set up by Thompson, Ken Coates and others on a platform of removing all nuclear weapons from Europe and overcoming the division of the continent into two opposed blocs) rapidly became the most influential part of the CND coalition, both in policy and personnel.

In the Labour Party, which adopted a non-nuclear defence policy for most of the 1980s, the core support for unilateralism came not from the mere handful of remaining enthusiasts for Soviet socialism but rather from the left that had been critical in 1956 and 1968.

END's encouragement of contacts between the Western peace movement and independent East European peace groups and dissidents was less widely endorsed than its opposition to Soviet nuclear weapons and military strategy and there were many in CND who argued against END's belief that responsibility for the arms race lay as much with the Soviet Union as with the US. But even the Eurocommunist wing of the CP accepted (somewhat grudgingly) CND's adoption of a policy of opposing Soviet deployments of SS-20 missiles in Eastern Europe.

The existence of an uncritical pro-Soviet element in the peace movement cannot be denied. In 1980, the British Peace Assembly, the local affiliate of the Moscow-controlled World Peace Council, numbered among its supporters eight Labour MPs or MEPs (James Lamond, its president, Alf Lomas, Frank Allaun, Syd Bidwell, Joan Maynard, Stan Newens, William Wilson and Richard

Caborn) as well as CP general secretary Gordon Maclennan and a smattering of trade union leaders (most prominent among them Ray Buckton of the traindrivers' union Aslef, Ken Gill of whitecollar union Tass, Bill Keys of the printers' union Sogat, Alex Kitson of the transport workers, Alan Sapper of the television technicians' union ACTT and Jim Slater of the seafarers' union). Among the MPs and MEPs listed by the WPC as members in the early 1980s—in addition to Lamond (its vice-president), Lomas, Caborn and Wilson—were Andrew Bennett, Robert Hughes, Roy Hughes, Russell Kerr and Ernie Ross. Meanwhile, in a sad footnote to a political career that had spanned half a century, Fenner Brockway—in his nineties a regular lunch partner of one of Gordievsky's KGB colleagues—allowed his minuscule World Disarmament Campaign to become a cheer-leader for Soviet disarmament proposals.

Yet the influence of the BPA and WPC—let alone Brockway's group— on the British peace movement was minimal. Few of the Labour Party figures supporting them (or claimed as supporters) had any weight in the party, nor were they particularly active in the movement against nuclear weapons.

#### Gorbymania

B y 1985, when Mikhail Gorbachev became general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, CND's tide was ebbing and the British CP was in the throes of a split between the "Tankies" aligned with the Morning Star and the "Eurocommunists" around Marxism Today—based in part on the Tankies' unwillingness to criticise the Soviet Union and its allies—which was to prove almost terminal.

Gorbachev's liberalisation was greeted by a wave of enthusiasm on the British left unlike anything seen since the Khrushchev thaw. Hardly anyone thought that the Soviet economy was such a basket case that his reform programme would fail. Nor did anyone predict the backlash by the military-industrial complex, which ended with a 1991 coup attempt. Instead, erstwhile radical left critics of Soviet-type societies rushed to Moscow to embrace glasnost and perstroika; social democrat cold-warriors welcomed his disarmament proposals with open arms.

The CP, however, was in no state to benefit from Gorbymania. On one hand, most of the Tankies were expelled between 1984 and 1986: some joined the New Communist Party, the product of a 1977 split that was subsidised by the Czechoslovak regime in the years before 1989, and some created a new hardline Communist Party of Britain. Many si ply dropped out of politics. Those tl stayed active were suspicious of G bachev and mourned when the Ber-Wall came down: today, the hardli Communist parties have no more th 1,000 members between them, althou; the Morning Star, now close to the CP somehow survives.

On the other hand, the newly Eur communist Communist Party of Gre Britain soldiered on until 1991, when "transformed" itself into Democrat Left-just weeks after the attempte coup against Gorbachev, and days after the Sunday Times revealed that Reube Falber had taken Moscow gold to keep th party going after 1957. Today, Democra tic Left has a lot of money and conside able respect elsewhere on the left for it open style and radical democratic pol tics, but membership of the network is n more than 1,000—barely a fifth of th number who signed up after Lenin spen  $\pounds$ 55,000 to establish the CP 75 years ago.

#### Goodbye to all that?

pponents of the left have long conflated every struggle for equality and justice with Stal inism, Soviet manipulation and the hidden hand of the communist international. Over the years, the argument has been used by Tories, the rightwing press, the intelligence services and Labour leaders alike. And, even though Soviet communism is now a thing of the past, this line of attack still has some life init.

One reason is that more and more archives in the former Soviet Union are either open or for sale to the highest bidder. Another is that former Soviet intelligence officers have realised that there is money to be made from confessional autobiographies that name names (however inaccurately or maliciously). Oleg Gordievsky's Next Stop Execution is just one in a stream of books published or planned.

No one can be sure what the archives or former intelligence officers might reveal-but the best guess is that it will not do much damage to the left as it is Perhaps, as more pressure is today. placed on Labour's union links, tales will be told about the role of the CP in the 1970s.Perhaps there will also be revelations about the association of some of the 1968 generation with (often Sovietbacked) radical nationalist regimes in the third world.But the likelihood, on the available evidence, is that any revelations of note will relate to the distant past. Even the few Labour politicians who were close to the World Peace Council in the early 1980s are mostly retired or dead. Tony Blair's New Labour is, in the main, too young to be compromised in any way.

The hur Atalianan

Harold Weisberg 7627 Old Receiver Rd. Frederick, MD 21702

May 17, 1995

Ma. Patricia Holt, Book Review Editor The San Francisco Chronicle San Francisco CA 94100

Dear Ms. Holt:

Because of all the many reviews I've been sent of what is really <u>Mailer's</u> <u>Tales</u> and because you have been slightly critical of the content of the book as others have not been, I take time of which I now have so little from the work on which I have been long engaged to suggest to you that with clearly good intention you fell far short of what I prefer to believe you would have done.

Please excuse my typing. It cannot be any better. I'm 82, in impaired health and limited in many ways. I am trying to perfect the record for history as best I can.

I am alone among those writing about the JFK assassination and its investigation who has never advanced any theories of the assassination and who has restricted himself to the official evidence. And that from the record is what book review editors, along with all the rest of the major media, simply will not touch. I'm not a practicing amateur shrink like Mailer so I offer no explanation But it is a fact. For example, the first of my <u>Whitewash</u> series, which was the first of the books on the subject, neither you, the <u>Chronicle</u> nor any other major paper reviewed. Nor any of mine that followed. Yet of all those hundreds, if not thousands, of whom I have written critically, not one has written or phoned to complain that I treated him unfairly or was inaccurate. And as the back cover of my current book, for which from the record I still expect no review, it is a fact what the Department of Justice said in defending the FBI in that particular one of a dozen or so of my FOIA lawsuits. In them I brought to light about a third a million pages of once-withheld records. The DJ did say that. Copy on request.

When I met Mailer in 1973 I offered him the same unrestricted and unsupervised access to all the records I have. He said it was interesting and he'd think it over. I've not heard from him since. I've also not heard from him or from his assistant when I asked if it were not a fact that, rather than merely being invited by the Minsk KGB to see its Oawald file, Larry Schiller, in accord with a long past of it, did not buy those rights from the KGB. I do not expect any response. Mailer knew exactly what he was doing and he fully expected, with reason, the almost entirely uncritical reception his most deliberately and yes, quite incompetent book would receive. I have dealt with extensive dishonesty and corruption on this subject for more than 30 years and Mailer's is more wretchedly bad these ways than any other. The competition for that distinction is stiff.

What simply astounds me is that all of you blandly accept his statement of his position and concept of the book that it makes no difference if Oswald  $m_{\rm H} \bar{U}$ were guilty.

You quote him as saying, "Let's forget the evidence," as saying he will "not concern" himself with such things as "ballistics." He is more explicit elsewhere. You also quote, "The question is not whether Oswald had the skills to bring off the deed but whether he had the soul of the killer." Not one of you commented on this. Nor did any of you wonder how many we have wandering around with the soul of a killer - and killed nobody.

Mailer has from the first assumed Oswald's guilt. He still has nothing but his assumption. This is why he forgets the ballistics or, as he told the Philadelphia <u>Inquirer</u>, he avoids the evidence because it is "impenetrable" to him. But not to others and not to me in all my books. Which he seems not to have read in basing so much on a couple of deplorably bad works of sycophancy.

2

Yet if he had looked at my first book, of <u>1965</u> he would have found citation to the Warren Commission <u>published</u> evidence about which with such uninhibited dishonesty he bent your ear.

The plain and simple truth is that the very best shots in the country, under vastly improved conditions in all respects, in testing for the Commission were not able, <u>not one of them</u>, to duplicate the shooting attributed to Oswald who was officially rated by the Marines, and I published this in facsimile, as "a rather poor 'shot'."

So Mailer had to assume Oswald's guilt and keep himself ignorant of the official proof that he was not guilty, despite the official misrepresentation of that. (You can find more on this and on those tests in my current book.)

(I explain the format of my earlier books. I had over 100 international rejections without a single adverse editorial comment before I decided to open the subject by self-publishing. That book in that form remains the basic available book on the subject. That was the only way we could afford to do the book. And in thousands of unsolicited letters I recall not a single complaint about it.)

And so it was Mailer devotes himself to "motive," which he makes up, because he did not come back from Minsk with the "secrets" he expected of the KGB.

You are more than merely correct in noting Mailer's obsession with sex. He and Schiller have been commercializing it for years, along with the necrology they share. You quote Mailer as saying that Marina "had gone to a few wild parties," a dubious interpretation of what his book says, but "had done only what 9 out of 10 American girls do."

Too bad you did not compare that with what he does to ruin Marina's reputation when she is a grandmother.

His one source on her "sleeping around" is the Yuri you refer to. But he did more than that. He was in fact the only source Mailer had for saying repeatedly that she had been expelled from Leningrad for being a whore. Which

3

Mailer knew was false, as his book says and I enclose. Moreover, he also knew and says that Yuri was a "prodigious liar" also enclosed. And the one man in Minsk said to have slept with her denied it.

And all the reviews and attention to this most disgusting of corrupt and dishonest of assassination books (which it also is not) merely call attention to this indecent condemnation of the innocent and decent woman who is also a victim of the assassination. And as a practical matter there is nothing she can do about it.

The attitude these sexist pigs, which may defame pigs, have toward women and sex is medieval. In sex men "have" women. What is right for men is wrong for women. In sex, too, women are the property of man. And obviously, what is wrong for women is right for men.

Mailer knew that Marina was put out of his home by her stepfather because a man had sent her flowers!

He knew that the only thing untoward in her life in Leningrad was being raped. His source, as his page I enclose says, is the woman who, not telling Marina, sold her to an Afghan who raped her. Yet Mailer spends much of two whole chapters and occasional mentions elsewhere based on the Yuri fabrication that she was expelled for being a whore and only her uncle (who was not in the equivalent of the FBI but was an engineer in the equivalent of the Department of the Interior) and his position kept her from the gulags over it!

It is a great national tragedy, I think, that in the wake of so great a tragedy book reviewers will give space and attention to the most disgusting and disgracefully "safe" books that support the official mythology but ignore, as you have, works on them that are factual, are based on the official evidence and thus are unwelcome to most and to all major publishers and do not get published by minor ones with ease at all.

h

If our representative society is to function it requires that on major issues the people be at least adquately informed. That has not happened with the JFK assassination and its official investigation. Perhaps book-review editors have more than policy to contend with when the ads come from the major publishers like Random House.

The people and the system suffer for it and, unfortunately, it is symptomatic rather than an exception.

You say what is true and is in fact praise, it being that much worse, that Mailer "offers nothing original." Yet look at the space and attention you gave it. And please think of those books that are not accompanied by major ads and give the other side and cannot get a review. Or the people who depend on reviews are kept in ignorance of them.

If you saw the perhaps 500 letters I got from Case Open, without a single promotion, review or ad, you'd know that the people are hungry for and appreciative of books that are entirely factual, theorize no conspiracies and are based on the official evidence that is "impenetrable" to the literary whores like Mailer who could not write a thing or get published if they even look at it, the evidence of the crime.

I'm grateful that you had at least a few critical and truthful comments on Mailer's consummate indecency. I regret that is little chance people will ever be told the truth. Marina at least had a little spunk. She told Schiller and Mailer that for the five days of their interview of her they were "sex deviates." They were worse.

Sincerely,

4 a Millasbury

Harold Weisberg

5

#### NEVER AGAIN! Harold Weisberg

The FBI says that Harold Weisberg knows more about the Kennedy assassination than the FBI itself. In *Never Again!*—his eighth book on the subject—Weisberg again proves it.

In the same classic investigative style of Whitewash and Case Open, Weisberg's Never Again! pursues the truths regarding the autopsy of America's thirty-fifth President—truths that have for thirty years been buried or distorted or obfuscated or ignored not only by the American government but also by the national press. To three decades of official error and bureaucratic failure the Journal of the Amer-



*ican Medical Association* added more inaccuracies and more deceit with its publication in 1992 of two lengthy articles defending the 1963 conclusions of the JFK autopsists while disregarding facts unearthed by researchers since. *JAMA*'s irresponsible journalism prods Weisberg again to follow the path of official conspiracy that bred lone-assassin and magic-bullet theories to dispose of the death of a President, a path that takes him from the Navy hospital in Bethesda through the corridors of the FBI to the Justice Department and into the office of the Attorney General as well as that of the President.

Weisberg argues his case for conspiracy with exclusive regard for the facts. Facts lead to the book's startling new illuminations. Facts support its blistering indictments. Facts provide a compelling narrative filled with intrigue and laced with outrage. Facts reveal the failure of America's institutions to deal effectively with perhaps its profoundest national tragedy. In the face of overwhelming facts, Harold Weisberg justly exhorts us to allow it to happen *Never Again*!

**HAROLD WEISBERG**, a newspaper reporter and former Senate investigator, was the first person to criticize the Warren Report. He is the author of *Martin Luther King: The Assassination*, as well as eight volumes on the Kennedy assassination, among them *Whitewash: The Report on the Warren Report* and most recently *Case Open: The Unanswered JFK Assassination Questions*.

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CARROLL & GRAF • 7

APRIL

ble application of the instructions given to Marines should permit them to be qualified as at least a marksman. To become qualified as a sharpshooter, the Marine Corps is of the opinion that most Marines with a reasonable amount of adaptability to weapons firing so become qualified. Consequently a low marksman qualification indicates a rather poor 'shot' and a sharpshooter qualification is a fairly good 'shot'."

So, Oswald at his military best was only "fairly good" and at the end of his service was a "poor shot". To offset this destruction of its sand castle, the Commission compared Oswald with a number of men who have spent their lives fir-ing and studying weapons, men of the highest competence, firing weapons regularly as part of their livelihoods for all or most of their adult years, men who had had scientific weapons training. Then on July 24, 1964, the Commission called James A. Zahm, a Marine non-commissioned officer in weapons training (11H306ff.). Zahm was willing to call Oswald a good shot. But even he specified a minimum of ten practice shots as prerequisite in the use of the telescopic sight (R192). And this, of course, assumed a good telescopic sight. After deliberation, the Report concludes that Oswald's Marine

experience, "his other rifle experience (a bad performance with a .22 rifle) and his established familiarity with this particular weapon (totally non-existent) show that he possessed ample capability to commit the assassination" (R195).

Just how easy were these assassination shots? Could the per-formance be regarded as within the "capability" of a man who was at of a man who was at the time less practiced than when the Marine Corps several years earlier had evaluated him as a "poor shot"? The Commission error of the time to the termination of term

The Commission arranged what it presumably considered a fair test, with its three genuine marksmen, "rated as master by the Na-tional Rifle Association" (R193). "The marksmen took as much time as they wanted for the first target and all hit the target. For the first four attempts, ... missed the second shot. ... Five of the six shots hit the third target ... "(R193). And they were firing at still targets, not moving, living things!

These three really were "masters". Two were civilians in the Small Arms Division of the Army's Development and Proof Services, and the third man was in the Army and had "a considerable background as a rifleman" (3H445). Yet even they were not able to do what the Report says Lee Harvey Oswald, the poor shot in the Marines, when out of practice, "had ample capacity to commit". There is no reason to doubt that the ten-dollar rifle could be

fired accurately. The improbability of an assassin ordering his weapon by mail when the same weapon was readily available locally (26H63) is not referred to in the Report, nor is his getting such a cheap weapon for such serious shooting. But the testimony of the experts is clear and unequivocal. The rifle could be fired accurately. (3H390ff.) Only not at the time of the assassination, and not when received at the FBI laboratories in Washington, for initial

testing, or at Edgewood Arsenal for further tests. Robert A. Frazier, the FBI's expert, said, "When we attempted to sight this rifle at Quantico we found that the elevation adjustment in the telescopic sight was not sufficient to bring the point of impact to the aiming point. ... every time we changed the adjusting screws to move the crosshairs in the telescopic sight in one direc-tion it also affected the movement of the ... point of impact in the other direction." The defect in the sight was structural (3H405). other direction." The defect in the sight was structural (3H405). So, "... we left the rifle (alone) as soon as it became stabilized and fired all of our shots with the point of impact actually high and to the right". Frazier did not know the nature of "the defect in the scope" but he had noticed a damage from which "the scope tube could have been bent or damaged" (3H406). After some experimentation, they learned that "you could take an aiming point low and to the left" and fire accurately (3H407). Such experimentation and adjustment were

unreported from the By the time Fra ken off the rifle", set in Dallas (3H41] were no shims under This mystery is clear refers to "Three shi during tests perform was done to it befor duplicate the feat. in describing Exhibi 241). All of the ex is no such thing as identification of us takably by each weap uniquely, a point th essarily cluttered i justed for a left-he

tion is buried among The precision w ture of the ammuniti With the bullets, th cases. When the rif firing position. Th There were also thre port leaves one to a expended at that fir were no extra bullet usual situation as n bones for Dulles' bu rifle and had to be evidence that Oswald proof that he had. box. The possibility lets attributed to h person and residence: back by four detecti paperclip. Nothing : ammunition dealer the some motions wore mawith the dealers who search and the negati completely overlooked Even though the

empty shells, they we shells were identific cartridge, which was metal jacketed bullet clear, it was not a tained the same type consistent references a "high velocity" bul ity" (3H1,14).

But when the tes tific identification: possession on Wednesd was that they were of

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OSWALD'S TALE / 343

uri's relations she knew all Marina was a at Yuri could .hat this rela-

s going to be er was called don't do any-Yuri's mother said. 'It's not ake Yuri with

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d that my posiy had a special

munist revolu-

YURI: And you hate me. That's why I am telling. MOTHER: Why would I hate you? YURI: No. I know that she hates me. MOTHER: You ought to be ashamed to say so! . . .

She was old, and he was ill. At fifty years of age, still handsome, he was bent over and coughing, curled around his glass of vodka like a leaf seared by heat. And she was in her seventies. Together they fought. Bitterly, and with the rage that only a mother and son can feel at the control each has the power to exercise on the other.

The interviewers could wonder if Yuri would ever forgive his mother for revealing that he was a liar on a prodigious scale and so virtually all of what he had told them about Marina and himself was doubtless not true. Ambiguous—since it seemed as if he had scen her to some little degree—but probably not true. Experience bore the same relation to his memory as facts to high romance.

3

### The Most Degrading Moment in Her Life

If we are to take the reminiscences of Russians we have known about the state of their feelings in the aftermath of Jack Kennedy's death, can there be an ending to Volume One more appropriate than to inquire into Marina's state of mind?

She would say that the most humiliating thing that she ever experienced was on her walk from the police car to the police station after they told her that Lee had been arrested.

The police brought her out of the car, and she had to walk—she didn't know how far; it looked forever. Maybe it was some short distance; she does not recall. But, such shame—the most degrading, humiliating moment ever in her life. Just by going from car to building. Reporters were shouting, and it was nothing she could understand. She wished some earth would swallow her. She even believed that Lee had committed this crime, because she believed



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such a bad winter in Leningrad, a lot started to happen. A fine spring followed, and a wild summer. She still remembers one night when her boyfriend, Eddie—a man twice her age—got off a boat with her and it was early morning. People were still cleaning the streets; the sun was shining; everything sparkled. She and Eddie were both in a good mood because the White Nights had been beautiful and their boat had gone out to the Gulf of Finland. Music had been playing all night, and you could dance and maybe smooch a little.

As they passed the market, Eddie said, "I want to buy you flowers," and he picked up a bunch, and they went skipping through wet puddles. Their city was so cheerful. But all of a sudden, she saw her stepfather walking toward her, and she had to run into the nearest entry of an apartment house.

She told Eddie that if her papa had seen her, what would he think? He would not know it was the next thing to innocent. With Eddie it was play and caressing, petting, never any more than that. But she was ashamed of what her stepfather would think. He would probably believe she was a streetwalker. All those flowers, and out with a man so early that morning.

So she tried to go home and sleep, but Alexander came in and said, "Still in bed? Get up!" Then he said, "Get out of here!" And called her a whore. Then she was sure he had seen her. He said, "I do not want you in this apartment. Get out of my life." And she said, "No, you cannot throw me out." And he said, "You have relatives in Minsk. Just go." Marina said, "I don't want to leave. I'm going to complain to the city militia that you are cruel and rude and sending me away against my will." He said, "Okay, see your militia, and I'll tell you who your real father was."

At that moment, he stopped himself and went out the door. That was it. She never did learn any more about her real father.

All this while, she kept seeing Eddie, who worked for a film studio in Leningrad, Eddie, from Soviet Georgia, who was dark and had a mustache. She liked him. She did not see him every day, and she had other boyfriends. But there was nothing big going on. She was very choosy.

Of course, she also had rough dates who would take her out for dinner, but at the end, she would manage to avoid them—so far. She just felt lucky to have a meal. Even excited. It was like you were balancing the meal against future trouble. You eat first, then you hold the man off afterward—a hard way to earn a meal. But she was so hungry of a white prin always a rough Eddie's last

went over to h she asked for F So she found c his wife. And maybe he told Maybe he was boy out to a dplaying with hsee him.

After that, sl was staying with date with a clice to his hotel roo come with his changed cloth that was how se know you were found out he put her out of you think you nothing for it?

She felt she some boys who ing through for and a fire. The these musicians naive kids. One picnic, but she morning came that's all. She s day, and when her grandmotl been writing to guilty about ho from her pensic she couldn't far felt like a prosti pen. A fine embers one ge—got off a still cleaning ed. She and e Nights had If of Finland. ce and maybe

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er came in and of here!" And her. He said, "I life." And she "You have relait to leave. I'm cruel and rude Okay, see your

out the door. r real father. d for a film stuo was dark and r every day, and going on. She

ake her out for 1 them—so far. as like you were first, then you 1 meal. But she was so hungry, and yet was still a virgin. And she was still thinking of a white prince, a red carpet and flowers. It didn't happen. It was always a roughneck.

Eddie's last name was Dzhuganian, and he was very nice. She went over to his apartment one day to leave him a note, but when she asked for him, someone said, "Is that a man with a little boy?" So she found out that he was married and living in Leningrad with his wife. And she didn't know what he did to excuse himself maybe he told his wife that he was shooting a movie all night long. Maybe he was free this summer because he had sent his wife and boy out to a *dacha* and so he owned summer for himself. He was playing with her, and she wrote him an angry letter, and wouldn't see him.

After that, she certainly felt too lazy to work. That was when she was staying with Irina, who took her out one night on a double date with a client, an Afghani, who tricked Marina into coming up to his hotel room. He said he was going right out again; would she come with him just for a minute and a bite to eat while he changed clothes. Then, he raped her. He took her by force, and that was how she lost her virginity. Afterward, he said, "I didn't know you were a virgin. I want my money back." That was how she found out he had paid Irina in advance. After this Afghani had put her out of his room, Irina said, "Well, what do you expect? Do you think you can go around with me forever, and eat, and do nothing for it?" And then Irina's mother spoke to her as well.

She felt she was a fallen woman. Yet, that summer she also met some boys who invited her on picnics, and they spent time tramping through forests outside Leningrad, a big group with musicians and a fire. They would sing through the White Nights. Some of these musicians would hire prostitutes, but she stayed with the nice naive kids. One night, there was even a wild orgy at one end of this picnic, but she just sat and talked with the nice kids, and when morning came, everyone went for a swim—just a little kissing, that's all. She spent an entire weekend like that, Saturday and Sunday, and when she came home she found herself thinking about her grandmother and how she was dead, and she had not even been writing to Tatiana before she died because she had felt so guilty about how she was living, but she had been receiving money from her pension and hadn't written to thank her. Even in a letter, she couldn't face Tatiana. She had failed her. It was horrible. She felt like a prostitute because she had been taking meals from men

#### at of 2nd Lieutenant Hubert B. CHERNIE II, Squadron Duty Officar

at 1900 on the evening of 5 Junuary 1953, the Corporal of the Guard, 1. NOWE and I had just finished inspecting the guard, Pfc PERSONS on the crypto van in the MACS-1 storage area. Everything was secure, quiet and well lit and the sentry was alort. Cpl ROWE and I got into the jeep to inspect further and drive around the area and consult with the other contries. We had just driven around back of parking area immediately beside the crypto van when the crypto sentry came running over whistling and shouting words to the effect, "Lieutenant!! there was a shot, the sentry across the way shot somebody, come quickly!!" Where upon I turned my jeep around and sped directly to post adjacent the crypto van area. I drove up the line of trucks, left to right, searching methodically. I discovered Pvt. SCHRAND lying face up in similar fashion to the photos with the exception of the weepon. I stopped the jeep beside him, jumped out, scanned the area not too thoroughly for possible intruders. I stooped down over the fallen man, and looked him over without moving him. I decided to get medical help. It appeared to me that he had fallen on top of his weapon for it was underneath his legs. I took immediate action to get to a phone. I left the corporal of the guard with Pvt. SCHRAND . and I rushed back to the crypto ven. The centry there was not aware of . the phone and its location, so I rushed over to the tower and dispatched the crash crew and any readily available doctors and corpsman. I had another man alert the hospital. Upon returning to the scene the Corpsman and crash crew were already there. The ambulance was on its way and not very far behind me, and care was being administered. At this time I secured the weapon and the empty shell. There were no other rounds in the weapon. It was told to me that the fired shell was still in the chamber, although I did not receive the weapon and shell as such. The ambulance arrived very shortly and the boy was rushed to the hospotal. I returned to the tower to call Maj FIEGENER and inform him. I then drove back to the area, picked up Cpl ROWE and drove to the hospital. Arriving at the hospital I learned . I turned the weapon over to the authorities that the boy was D. O. A. at the hospital. The authorities there uncovered four (4) unused rounds in Pvt. SCHRAND's pocket.

Heber B. Chesis I

HUBERT B. CHERRIE II

ENCLOSURE (3)

#### ENT of Corporal Ronald L. ROWE 1538428/6741 USMC

for about 1905 January 5, 1958 Lt. CHERRLE and myself were checking yuard posts at the airstrip area. We had checked the orypto watch and were driving around the other side of the hangar to check another sentry when Pfc FERSONS who was crypto watch at the time whistled for us. He told us he had heard a shot fired from the area of the vehicles park- . ed on the other side of the airstrip. Immediately Lt. CHERRIE and I drove over and found Fvt. SCHRAND laying on the ground bleeding very badly. It. CHERRIE then went and called for ambulance. I stayed with Pvt. SCHRAND. I did not see anyone around the area. SCHRAND was unconscious and did not move, however he groaned about two or three times. Some sailors came in the meanwhile and tried to help. The ambulance then arrived and took Pvt. SCHRAND to the hospital. I then talked to Commander WALIBRIDGE of the security force and told him everything I knew. When I examined the weapon SCHRAND was carrying at the time it had one discharged shell in the chamber. I turned the weapon over to the doctors at the hospital.

Pvt. SCHRAND, being the first sentry on post that evening, was instructed of by myself on the limitations of his post, and of his special orders before taking over his duties as sentry, at about 1710. After I had checked the weapon and found it to be in good working condition, I gave it to him along with five rounds of ammunition which he put in his pocket. Pvt. SCHRAND, along with the other sentries, had been instructed that day during the daily guard school on the handling and carrying of the shotgun. They had also demonstrated to me the loading and unloading of the weapon. As a result, Pvt. SCHRAND stood guard duty and attended guard school at least the two days previous, the guard then being under verbal appointment, with no guard log being kept.

Ronald & Rowe RONALD L. ROWE

ENCLOSURE

and THE CENTER FOR AMERICAN CULTURE STUDIES, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY in association with

THE NATION INSTITUTE

WRITERS GUILD OF AMERICA, EAST present

# HOLLYWOOD & HISTORY: THE DEBATE OVER JFK

A TOWN MEETING with panelists NORA EPHRON EDWARD JAY EPSTEIN NORMAN MAILER OLIVER STONE and SPECIAL DESIGNATED QUESTIONERS

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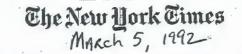
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Debating art's duty to history were, from left, Oliver Stone, Nora Ephron, Edward Jay Epstein, Norman Mailer and Victor Navasky, moderato

# What Debt Does Hollywood Owe to Truth?

#### By WILLIAM GRIMES

When Hollywood and history collide, which side wins? With "J. F. K." still agitating a national audience, the question was put before Oliver Stone, the film's director, and fellow panelists Norman Mailer, Nora Ephron and Edward Jay Epstein on Tuesday night at Town Hall in Manhattan in a debate sponsored by the Nation Institute and the Center for American Culture Studies at Columbia University in association with the Writers Guild of America, East. Before a packed house, the four discussed the duty of art to history, fiction to fact and whether George Bush could be placed at Dealey Plaza in November 1963.

Feelings ran high. "Never have I been so besieged and be-faxed by people who felt that their point of view was not represented," said the moderator, Victor Navasky, the editor of The Nation magazine, in his opening remarks. Looking out over the audience, he asked, "Will all of you out there who feel you don't belong on this panel please stand?"

#### 'I've Come to Have Severe Doubts'

It was a pro-Stone crowd, primed to sneer at what Mr. Mailer called "the mind-stultifying myth of the lone assassin," with a large percentage of groundlings eager for tales of conspiracy and cover-up, and inclined to become restless if more than five minutes passed without a fiery denunciation of the Central Intelligence Agency, the Warren Report, American cold-war policy or the Bush Administration. They got all this and more from Mr. Stone, who, as he lumbered toward the lectern, looked like a man who had bulked up by carrying the weight of history on his shoulders for too long. In a crowd-pleasing recitation, he went over the experience of working on "J. F. K.," one that has shaken him so deeply, he said, that he has wondered aloud about the version of American history given in the books he read as a youth.

Disillusionment evidently has been a bitter pill. "I've come to have severe doubts about Columbus," he said, "about Washington, about the Civil War being fought over slavery, about World War I, about World War II and the supposed fight against Nazism and Japanese control of resources."

Careering toward a climax, Mr. Stone apparently decided to drive his car right off the cliff. To thrilled applause, he concluded, "I don't even know if I was born or who my parents were."

Mr. Stone's dead-serious, deadahead approach momentarily eclipsed a fine performance by Mr. Mailer, the evening's first speak who contended that the surplus theories about the Kennedy assas nation makes a factual movie on subject impossible. "'J. F. K.,'" Mr. Mailer sa

"'J.F.K.," Mr. Mailer sa "should be seen not as history but myth," the story of "a huge and h eous event, in which the gods warr and a god fell."

#### 'Worst of the Great Films'

He then delivered a series of ba handed compliments that had the fect of a skillful station-house beati the kind that inflicts maximum da age without leaving any visi marks.

"J. F. K.," Mr. Mailer said, w "perhaps the worst of the great film but one with the power to make m history." It is powerful but crude, said, "like all of Oliver Stone's m

Continued on Page C22

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## at Debt Does Hollywood Owe?

#### Continued From Page C15

ies," which is only natural, since its maker "can be characterized as a brute." But, Mr. Mailer added, "he has the integrity of a brute."

By snuffling and rooting around "our national obsession," Mr. Stone accomplished something, Mr. Mailer said. Sometimes, he concluded, using a familiar vulgar expression, nonsense can only be driven out by superior nonsense.

In taking the high road of myth, Mr. Mailer sidestepped entirely the niggling, footnote-plagued problems of Kennedy assassinology, leaving the fact versus fiction discussion to Mr. Epstein, the author of several books on the Kennedy assassination, and Ms. Ephron, who co-wrote the screenplay for "Silkwood," the 1983 film based on the life of the antinuclear advocate Karen Silkwood.

Mr. Epstein made a plea for maintaining the distinction between fiction and nonfiction. "In nonfiction the writer is bound by the universe of discoverable fact," he said. "When he reaches the limits of discoverable fact, he stops."

The problem comes, he continued, when an artist tries to mix fact and fiction. "What you get is not a hybrid," he said, "but pure fiction, because the introduction of a fictional scene or fact changes everything after it."

Ms. Ephron delivered a cool, disdainful and very witty set piece on the failure of the press, specifically The New York Times, to understand the legitimate claims of art in such matters. Burned and still smoldering after her experience as a screenwriter for the film "Silkwood," which provoked criticism in the press for its treatment of biographical fact, she tried to explain the furor over "J. F. K." as the innate hostility of the press to any incursion into its territory.

The aim in films like "Silkwood" and "'J. F. K.," she said, is to create "not the truth, but what it was like sort of, maybe — in a way that journalism could never come close to."

"'J. F. K.,' "she said, was "more ambiguous and brilliant" than its defenders. "It's not a wild and wacky look at the assassination, but a look at 30 years of assassination madness," she said.

Mr. Stone, who looked lethargic and put-upon for most of the evening, raised an eyebrow halfway at this one.

All three of Mr. Stone's fellow panelists criticized his treatment of Jim Garrison, the District Attorney from New Orleans played by Kevin Coscner, as an unsatisfying figure, with none of the dark corners and complications of the actual man.

Mr. Stone defended himself on grounds of narrative efficiency and dramatic coherence. Complicating Jim Garrison, he said, would have turned the movie into a biography, when the point was to use him as a kind of spotlight to illuminate broad historical questions.

Falling in with Mr. Mailer's myth approach, Mr. Stone called the District Attorney "a Mr. Smith who goes to Washington but whose trip must end in tragedy," done in by the same dark forces that kept the American

### Drawing the line between fact and fiction, when it can be found.

people in thrall "to a single-party superstate with its own cold-war religion, police and culture."

His remarks met with stormy applause.

In a brief question period, four counter-panelists onstage fired away at Mr. Stone, who relied heavily on a young research assistant at his side who slipped him notes on yellow paper with arcane bits of Kennedy-assassination data.

When a questioner from the floor asked if President Bush was a C.I.A. agent, Mr. Stone said, judiciously, "He may well have been, but I don't put him at Dealey Plaza," a delicious possibility raised by an earlier questioner. Mr. Stone suggested that a thoroughgoing investigation of the matter might be in order, however.

Max Holland, a contributing editor at The Nation, took aim at the Kennedy halo, calling the movie "a case of wish fulfillment," and remarking sourly on such events as the Bay of Pigs and the assassination of President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam.

Mr. Holland also criticized Mr. Stone on more narrow factual grounds. He cited a scene in "J. F. K." in which a man is seen doctoring the famous snapshot of Lee Harvey Oswald holding the rifle used in the assassination.

In fact, said Mr. Holland, technical examination of the photograph in 1979 showed it to be genuine. "A film maker crosses the line," he said, " when he bends the facts to suit his thesis."

"I talked to Marina Oswald about the photograph," Mr. Stone said of Oswald's widow. ""She told me that she did take the photograph, but that she took it from the stairs." Here Mr. Stone paused dramatically. "But if you look at the photograph, you'll see the stairs in the background."

#### Rejecting Panel Arguments

The remark hung in the air, like many others that night, delivering the kind of brief but delicious frisson that has made "Unsolved Mysteries" mandatory television viewing.

Christopher Hitchens, a columnist for The Nation, decided he had had about enough of the Kennedy worship for one night. He noted the panelists' fondness for the notion of "American innocence, loss of same," and rejected it as "an objectionable, narcissistic formulation."

Turning the cold shower on full blast, Mr. Hitchens directed the attention of the "media haters, and I know you're out there," to the myth of Camelot as the first and grandest of the press conspiracies, a soft-focus treatment of the Kennedy era that has disguised its roots in McCarthyism and segregation.

"Let us get rid of that Arthurian metaphor with which we've been stuck ever since Jackie Kennedy went to a musical," he concluded.

Mr. Mailer softly rebuked Mr. Hitchens, explaining that although Kennedy was not perfect, "he was flexible and extremely intelligent for a U.S. President."

#### **Conspiracy Upon Conspiracy**

It was too late for Mr. Mailer, however. He had thrown away any audience good will at Town Hall, 123 West 43d Street, several minutes earlier by arguing that the C.I.A. should not be dismantled and by defending the Persian Gulf war as a necessary evil. Not even a vintage Mailer rant about the nation teetering on the edge of fascism could bring the crowd back.

Yet it was Mr. Mailer who embraced, perhaps embodied, the historical complexities and ambiguities heaped up throughout the evening and showed the best chances of negotiating the wheels within wheels of conspiracy, duplicity and bad faith. It was a high point of sorts when, in a daring see-you-and-raise-you move, he tossed before Mr. Stone the juicy theory that Watergate might have been a plot to get rid of President Richard M. Nixon before he could dismantle the cold-war state. A look crossed Mr. Stone's face momentari-... ly, the look of a man who had justbeen pitched a rather interesting movie idea.

"This country is so complicated," Mr. Mailer said at one point, "that when I start to think about it I begin talking in a Southern accent."

# JEWISH WORLD COVER STORY



What became of the corpse of Adolf Hitler? As The Jerusalem Report's Moscow correspondent stared at fragments of the Fuehrer's skull in the Russian state archives, the final pieces of a macabre mystery fell into place. Here, on the anniversary of Hitler's April 30 suicide, The Report unravels 50 years of Russian lies, distortion and manipulation.

#### ALEXANDER LESSER Moscow

OEBBELS WAS wearing the remains of a yellow scarf, and I could only think about the yellow star he made the Jews wear. And now the yellow cloth was at his throat, like it had strangled him," recalls Yelena Rzhevskaya of May 3, 1945, when she entered the gar-

den of the Imperial Chancellery in Berlin's Wilhelmstrasse as a lieutenant in the Soviet army. Goebbels and his wife Magda lay dead, their bodies burned, but the Nazi propaganda genius, with his club foot, was ea-

ganda genius, with his club foot, was easily recognized by Rzhevskaya and the two Smersh (Russian acronym for "death to spies") counterintelligence officers for whom she was translating. Still, Goebbels's corpse was of scant interest to the team. Their task was to find Adolf Hitler.

The three descended into the Fuehrer's bunker through a door in the garden, uncertain of what they would find. The scene in Berlin then, Rzhevskaya recalls, "was hellish. Everywhere there were buildings burning or in ruins, bodies and debris littering the streets." They had to dodges small arms fire from Soviet units that raked the chancellery garden, probing for pockets of die-hard SS resistance.

Inside there was total darkness, the electricity cut. They used flashlights to negotiate the stairs. Down and down they went, until they pushed open a door and came upon a handful of servants, huddled, ready to surrender.

Passing quickly from room to room,

Rzhevskaya found the six Goebbels children dead in their bunk beds, poisoned by their parents. Even now, gazing back across half a century from the book-lined living room of her spacious Moscow apartment, Rzhevskaya, 75 — slim, smoothskinned and looking 10 years younger — speaks with emotion of "the sleeping children." Aware then of German crimes



RZHEVSKAYA: Went back to the bunker for Hitler's dental records

against the Jews, she, herself a Jew, nevertheless could not feel hatred. "I'm not a believer in collective guilt," she says. "The children were innocent."

Next, the three came across suitcases and trunks packed, it emerged later, for Hitler's anticipated flight south with Eva Braun. They found reams of secret documents and many personal possessions of

THE JERUSALEM REPORT • MAY 4, 1995

the Nazi leadership. But of Hitler himself, there was no trace.

Yelena Rzhevskaya has told the tale many times, most notably in her 1965 memoir "Berlin, May 1945," which sold more than a mil-

lion copies in the U.S.S.R. But her account is only the first chapter in the convoluted saga surrounding Hitler's death — a saga that is only completely unraveling now, as the 50th anniversary of his suicide approaches. What follows is the full story — from April 30, 1945, when Braun took poison and Hitler either poisoned or shot himself, through Stalin's effort to conceal those deaths, on to the day in 1970 when Soviet authorities ordered the Hitler and Braun bodies burned, right up to the present.

In the last few years, since the break-up of the Soviet Union, the cash-strapped Russian authorities have been auctioning off access to their archive dossier on Hitler and to three fragments of the Fuehrer's skull kept secretly in Moscow through the decades. The Jerusalem Report was invited to participate in the bidding, and this reporter was able to see the documentation and skull fragments.

The Report opted not to pursue the bidding war, and pieced together this story from other sources. But the final deals on access to Hitler's skull and to the paperwork have been struck in the past few months; having systematically distorted the facts of Hitler's death and the fate of



### JEWISH WORLD COVER STORY

# The Man Who Pinned Down Bormann

HOUGH THERE ARE STILL those in the West who believe that the fate of Nazi party leader Martin Bormann remains an open question, in Russia there is little doubt that he died in May 1945. And it was Lev Bezimensky, a Jewish author and expert on the fate of the top Nazi leadership, who brought the story of Bormann's end to light.

Like Smersh translator-turnedauthor Yelena Rzhevskaya (see main story). Bezimensky, author of the 1974 book "The Last Notes of Martin Bormann," developed his interest in the subject during the war. He was also a German-Russian interpreter, attached to a military intelligence unit. He translated during the interrogation of Field Marshal Friedrich von Paulus, the German commander who surrendered at Stalingrad in 1943.

When Berlin fell, Bezimensky was a captain. He was not part of Rzhevskaya's Smersh counterintelligence unit. But like hundreds of victorious Soviet soldiers hunting for souvenirs or simply curious, Bezimensky was drawn to the Imperial Chancellery and Hitler's bunker, which he entered on May 5, 1945. He carried off a complete set of records of Tchaikovsky's symphonies. "They were 78s." he recalls, "too thick to play on today's stereos."

Only in the early 1970s was his interest in Bormann's fate piqued — as a result of

an accidental discovery in East Berlin. On the night of December 7-8, 1972, two skeletons were unearthed near the Weidendam Bridge in East Berlin while a sewer pipeline was being laid. After a medical examination, Soviet experts, basing their conclusions on the size of the remains and their teeth, judged them to be those of Bormann and an SS doctor named Stumfaeger.

Bezimensky was able to provide confirmation. He looked into what the Soviet army had learned about Bormann in 1945, and discovered that a retired general had Bormann's diary in his personal archive. And he learned how the diary came into Red Army hands.

"Just after the fall of Berlin, a German civilian came across two bodies near the Weidendam Bridge. One was wearing an expensive leather overcoat. The civilian stole the overcoat and when he got home, he noticed the name

COURTESY OF LEV BEZIMENSKY

**BEZIMENSKY: Found** 

Tchaikovsky in the bunker

'Bormann' stitched into an inside breast pocket. In another pocket he found a diary. Fortunately for history, he took the diary to the nearest Soviel command post, and if eventually found its way to our Berlin headquarters."

Bezimensky photo copied the diary for us in writing his book. A for the original, he say the general died an

left it to Soviet military archives. "It' somewhere in one of the archives now I suppose," he says.

Alexander Lesse

"I felt a little uneasy, since a senior officer had hinted that we should give it up," she says. But nevertheless they began asking well-known doctors who Hitler's dentist was, found his name, his office, and finally his assistant. She pointed them to a second office, back at the chancellery, where detailed records were kept. "So we went back there, on May 10. It was still dangerous. We had to move around by flashlight in the ruins. The guards were jumpy because they thought SS men might still be there." Eventually they found the records and compared them to the body lying in the Buch clinic, which had been assigned the number 12.

"Without showing her the corpse, we asked the dental assistant to describe Hitler's teeth — where the crowns and bridges were, etc. Then we sent her to one of the medical officers to repeat her description. There was a discrepancy. She said Hitler had three fillings, while the medical officer said corpse No. 12 had two. We checked the body again and saw she was right."

With a sense of grim satisfaction at a job completed, the team reported its findings to a special "military-investigative commission." Instead of publicity, though, the new evidence prompted an immediate and explicit order to stop work, and on May 18 a general arrived from Moscow and took possession of all the documentary evidence, as well as the teeth, jaw and dental work of corpse No. 12.

The cash-strapped Russian authorities have been auctioning off access to their Hitler dossier

The documents eventually found their way into the Soviet State Archive; the jaw and teeth have never been seen since, remaining hidden to this day somewhere in Moscow — presumably in a KGB archive.

Rzhevskaya was transferred to another unit and demobilized in October 1945. She was not to learn for another 20 years that Hitler's body and those of Braun and

h, the the dogs were taken to various So army bases, winding up in 1946 Magdeburg, East Germany, where d took were buried in munitions boxes, in y evimarked graves covered with asphalt.

> HE REASON FOR THE SUD end of the investigation Stalin's desire to make it see though Hitler had escaped. eral times during the summer of 194 used the same phrase publicly: "L yevo nyet" ("We don't have him"). To derscore the Soviet government's tion, the Communist Party news Pravda reported that summer that J had fled to the West.

Why Stalin wanted the world to be that Hitler was alive is a matter of ce ture. The presumed motives were to keep the country alive to a potential cist threat, and to show that the bound West was sympathetic to fascism might be harboring Hitler somewher

Whatever the reasoning, the NKV ternal secret police (forerunner ( KGB) took the hint, reopening the investigation with a new objecti "prove" that the Fuehrer was still ali

the 20th anniversary of the war's end, she was granted permission to write her memoir of the May 1945 events. As the first eve-witness Soviet account, it created a sensation, dispelling any doubt among Soviet readers that Hitler had died in the bunker, detailing the matching of the dental records. But though she was granted access to the Operation Myth file and learned about Hitler's Magdeburg grave, Rzhevskaya kept silent about the coverup, and felt strongly that the existence of the grave should not be disclosed - because it might become a neo-Nazi shrine.

T IS ONLY SINCE THE FALL OF Communism in 1991 that the full truth about the body-burning at Magdeburg, and about the Hitler skull fragments, has begun to emerge. In the new harsh financial realities, instead of seeking to suppress the truth any longer, the Russian authorities were suddenly eager to market their information.

Six thick folders containing documents, diagrams and photographs from both the original Smersh investigation and Operation Myth are stored in the Center for the Preservation of Contemporary Documents, the new name of the Soviet State Archive. So is some of the physical evidence: the skull fragments, and pieces of the divan on which Hitler and Braun died.

In early 1992, as archivist Sergei Mironenko began looking around for foreign buyers, word leaked out about Hitler's

### The jaw and teeth of Hitler's corpse remain hidden to this day

grave ---- the files, after all, included all the documentation on the Magdeburg burials. Later that year, a Dutch television station arranged for the Soviet veterans who buried Hitler to fly to Magdeburg and open the grave. But they found it empty.

What they did not know was that, in April 1970, the corpses had been disinterred and burned, and the ashes scattered in a nearby forest, by a KGB team acting on the orders of Yuri Andropov. The then-KGB chairman - and later Soviet leader - felt the surest way to prevent the site from becoming a place of neo-Nazi pilgrimage was to destroy it once and for all.

JEWISH WORLD COVER STORY

History has proved Andropov a shrewd judge. The precise spot where Hitler's ashes were scattered remains unknown. None of the KGB agents involved has come forward with details. And neo-Nazis have been denied a place of pilgrimage.

What remained unburned, of course, were the skull fragments that had been transported to Moscow. With their cashstrapped archive in decline, lacking computers and other basic equipment. Mironenko and his boss, Rudolph Pikhoia, chairman of the State Archive Committee, began negotiating the sale of access rights to foreign news organizations.

Among those involved were The Jerusalem Report, U.S. News & World Report and Germany's Pro-Sieben TV network. And this reporter had the opportunity to see the files and evidence, though not to read everything or take photographs.

A mild, thirtyish archivist whose expertise is 16th-century Russian history, Mironenko kept the six folders in a huge antiquated safe in his office. On an upper





The conference will take place at the beautiful Tantur Ecumenical Center on the southern edge of Jerusalem. Time will be divided among presentations, discussions in small groups and specialized tours of Jerusalem. In the evenings there will be home hospitality in East and West Jerusalem and unique bicultural programs. Representatives of many groups struggling with the problems of Jerusalem, local spokespersons from a wide political spectrum, and experts in geography and city planning will participate.

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### JEWISH WORLD COVER STORY

shelf in the safe sat a cardboard box marked "blue ink for pens." In it lay three bits of bone — the Hiller skull fragments.

The negotiations — in six-figure dollar sums — were intense. Hard evidence relating to Hiller was in particular demand, given the media furor surrounding the faked Hitler diaries a decade earlier.

But the deal-making broke down in February 1993 — when a Russian journalist named Ella Maximova, who had also had access to the file, published a long article on Operation Myth in the daily Izvestia. Her revelations, naturally, dampened the interest of other journalists.

Another two years were to pass before the rights were successfully sold off. Ownership remains with the archives, but access to the Hitler files and the skull fragments has recently been granted for an undisclosed sum to HarperCollins, a Rupert Murdoch-owned house that is expected to publish a book on the saga, by Oxford University's modern history professor Norman Stone, later this year. The BBC has also paid for access, for a documentary to be shown later this spring.

And yet, it is unlikely the files will reveal anything startling about Hiller's final days.

The questioning by Rzhevskaya's team produced a picture that corresponds closely with that described in Western books over the years, beginning with Hitler's macabre marriage to Braun around midnight on April 28 and his dictation of his political testament — justifying his career.

According to Rzhevskaya, the marriage

A KGB team, acting on Andropov's orders, burned the corpses in 1970

first became known from a handyman, "a man who said he was in the bunker to repair the ventilation system. He kept talking about preparations for a wedding. We thought he was mad. Above, the city was burning and people dying, and below, they were planning a wedding?" Soon, though, others provided corroboration.

To this day, no one knows exactly how Hitler killed himself. One version has it that he bit on a cyanide ampule wh pulling the trigger of a pistol held to 1 right temple — hence the skull fragmen But Rzhevskaya herself doubts this, b lieving simple poisoning more likely. "He could he have held the gun?" she asl "His health was deteriorating and 1 hands shook." Rzhevskaya herself offe no explanation for the skull fragments.

In any case, Linge entered Hitle chamber at 3:30 p.m. on April 30, 1 gether with Nazi Party leader Martin Be mann. They found Hitler and Braun dea Linge told investigators that he and Be mann carried Hitler's body upstairs a into the garden. Behind them, others carried Braun. Both bodies were wrapped blankets. Cans of gasoline were waitin There was a strong wind, and Borma had to lean against a wall to light a pir of paper. Linge tossed it on the corpses

Shells from the approaching Red Ar rained down. Soon after, someone ligh buried the bodies, and there they lay four days, until the Russians found the

Bormann, Goebbels, Linge and others, for their part, hastily paid the respects and retreated into the bunkslamming the steel door behind them.



#### Wednesday, January 27, 1993

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# Literati probing Oswald's days in Minsk

#### By James P. Gallagher Chicago Tribune

MINSK, Belarus—A handful of people here have suddenly become minor celebrities, all because they befriended a lonely American named Lee Harvey Oswald more than 30 years ago.

Oswald lived in Minsk for more than two years. He worked in a sprawling radio factory and married a local woman before returning to the United States in 1962, some 18 months before the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Oswald was arrested in the shooting; two days later he was shot and killed by Jack Ruby at the Dallas city jail.

Until recently, the Minsk phase of Oswald's life has been largely off-limits to foreign researchers. But the barriers fell with the collapse of the communist system, and Oswald's former friends are being besieged for new details of his time in this drab city.

Norman Mailer, the American author, is the most prominent of those digging into Oswald's past. For the last few months, Mailer has been living on and off in Minsk. He confirmed in a telephone conversation that he is working on a book about Oswald but declined to be more specific.

"I never discuss a book I'm working on, because I might jinx myself," Mailer said.

Mailer even tried to move into the one-room apartment with a view of the Svisloch River where Oswald, then in his early 20s, lived under constant secret police surveillance.

"He offered to send my wife and me on vacation in the south for a See Oswald, pg. 10



5.0

Norman Mailer (left) is the most prominent writer looking into Lee Harvey Oswald's life in Minsk in former Soviet Union.

Chicago Tribune, W Section 1

From Page 1

#### Continued from page 1

couple of months," recalled the apartment's current occupant, Mikhail Kovalevski, a 66-year-old retiree.

"I explained to him we couldn't just get up and leave because my leg is no good, and my wife is sick. He seemed kind of disappointed, but I told him we go to Moscow every summer, and he's welcome to stay here then."

But with the economy on the skids-and with filmmakers, his-a torians and journalists hungry for tidbits about Oswald's past-some of those who used to know him are more eager to cash, in on their brief brush with history.

Pavel Golovachev, 51, who worked with Oswald at what is now the Gorizont TV and radio complex, said Mailer paid him \$50 for an interview. And requests to photo-graph former Oswald acquaintances are often countered with demands for payment.

"As the old saying goes, "Thank you' is fine, but it doesn't put vodka D in the glass or butter on the bread," Golovachev said.

Ernst Titovets, a biology professor, has gone so far as to write his own book about Oswald-in English, of which his command is good but not perfect. He said friends in the U.S. are looking for someone to publish the manuscript. rc

"Norman Mailer was here to see. me," he said in his office at the Belarus Institute of Neurology. lv b "Look, he hung his coat on this very g: fo hook. When he offered to pay for an interview, I suggested a very high price. Now we are negotiating, trying P. to make a deal." CL

Titovets said he was first drawn to th Oswald by the chance to practice his English. "It was hard to imagine re it. back in those days, a real American living in Minsk," he said. "It was like having someone here from outer th space."

Titovets touts himself as the only bε one in Oswald's circle with whom h٤ the American could communicate freely in English. That gave him 4 sh

special insights, Titovets insists, "It's the vogue now in Minsk to say you knew Oswald," he said, "but to it's possible I was his best friend. ť here. When I first knew him, I had this ready image of an American, highly educated and cultured, and for a while I saw him through this tl veil.

"Gradually, though, I scaled him down to size. I found out things about him. For example, he would suddenly explode on certain provo-

Those who knew Oswald best gencrally speak highly of him.

Ella German, who said she was briefly engaged to him, described him as "a pleasant-looking guy with a good sense of humor. He was not as rough and rude as the men here were back then.

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"We went to the movies, the theater, symphonies. He was easy to be with. He didn't demand anything of me. We kissed, but we did not sleep together. We never became lovers because, in the end, I decided I did not love him."

German said she broke off the engagement shortly after New Year's, 1961. A few months later, Oswald and his wife Marina were wed, 160 400

"He was certainly very lonely here," Golovachev said. "Maybe he, just wanted to get married to any-" body." in In

More casual acquaintances, however, remember Oswald less fondly.

Leonid Botvinik, who still works at the Gerizont plant, said most of his fellow employees had a bad opinion of Oswald.

"Honestly, he was not a good worker," said Botvinik, 64. "He would bring all kinds of magazines to read at work, and he was always dissatisfied. . . . At first, we were curious why an American would suddenly appear in our midst, and some of us felt sorry for him. But after a while, most people came to regard him with a kind of antipathy.

To Leonid Tsagoikov, another for-mer co-worker, Oswald was "a lazybones who always put his feet up on his worktable," a shocking breach of office etiquette.

The fact that Oswald was given a prestige job making production prototypes, along with the higher salary 10 he was paid, did not go down well, Tsagoikov added.

But regardless of their personal opinions of Oswald, almost all of those who knew him do not believe the he killed Kennedy, as the Warren Commission concluded.

"Oswald shoot Kennedy? Come on!" Tsagoikov exclaimed. "Oswald could not shoot at all. I went hunting with him once, and when he saw a rabbit, he got so flustered he shot ag an up in the air. There's no way he was capable of the precise marksmanship it would have taken to hit a moving target from up in that building.

Vadim Bakatin, who briefly rei headed the Soviet KGB in late 1991, rev writes in his recently published autolet biography that the secret police maintained a steady watch on Oswald after he arrived in the Soviet Union as a tourist in 1959 and told authorities he wanted to defect.

But Oswald never denounced his U.S. citizenship, and he gradually became disillusioned with the hard: life in this country, friends said, Bakatin wrote that by the time Oswald departed with his new wife in the spring of 1962, the KGB was convinced he was not a spy.

#### AL WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1995

# Down Memory Lane With JFK's Assassin

#### By PHILIP TERZIAN

Here is an 828-page meditation on the life of Lee Harvey Oswald, the 24-year-old assassin of John F. Kennedy, written by a 72-year-old writer who is described by his publisher as America's "most distinguished novelist." I refer, of course, to the latest Norman Mailer production: "Oswald's Tale: An American Mystery" (Random House, \$30).

Let us try to put this in perspective. Kennedy was murdered in Dallas almost 32 years ago; Oswald, in turn, was shot and killed two days later by Jack Ruby. While Mr. Mailer declares that he began his work with "a prejudice in favor of the" conspiracy theorists," by the end of his labors he reaches the same conclusion as the Warren Commission: that Oswald acted alone and that strip-joint owner Jack Ruby did too. The findings of the Warren Commission were announced in September 1964, nearly 31 years ago.

And yet, three decades later, here is "Oswald's Tale," adding a touch of literary luster to the leaden prose of the Warren Commission. It is as if, in the mid-1930s, Sherwood Anderson had written a long ruminative work on the life of Leon Czolgosz, who shot William McKinley in 1901; or William Dean Howells, at the turn of the century, had taken up the case of John Wilkes Booth, who murdered Abraham Lincoln in 1865. What is the point?

The answer is journalism—not history, or even literature. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, selected specimens of KGB records have become available to inquiring eyes, and Norman Mailer (for reasons that are never specified) was granted sole access to certain records about Oswald that were kept by the Soviet government during and after Oswald's brief Russian sojourn. Of course, we have no way of knowing how complete these records may be, or how pointedly incomplete: Since the assassination, the KGB has sought consistently to assure the CIA and others in America that Oswald was not its agent. Indeed, the Soviets could never quite persuade themselves that Oswald was not an American plant.

On the basis of these varied documents, it is not hard to understand why the Soviets were reluctant to embrace Oswald: He was muddle-headed, unreliable and indolent. Yet from these small morsels Mr. Mailer bakes a mighty muffin. We read Oswald's dyslexic diary as he lands in Moscow, as he contemplates his place in



"Oswald's Tale: An American Mystery" By Norman Mailer

history, as he gripes about his job. We talk to his handlers, his translators and his sometime girlfriends, to his workmates in the factory. We are privileged to hear Lee and Marina Oswald squabbling in their Minsk apartment. ("Wife: 'So? I never washed our floors?' LHO: 'You're not a good housewife, no, not a good housewife.' Wife: 'You should have married a good one.'") We trace his boyish embrace of the Marxist vision, and his disenchantment with Soviet society.

All of this is chronicled with scrupulous faith: Mr. Mailer seems to have sought out each living Russian who came into contact with Oswald, and got him talking. And when the plot picks up on these shores, Mr. Mailer covers every inch of Oswald's pilgrimage: his desolate jobs, his squalid flats in the Texas heat, his endless correspondence with diplomats and bureaucrats.

Mr. Mailer does succeed in painting a

portrait of Oswald as he must have been: a Messianic half-wit, alienated, angry, devious, impotent, half-desperate, half-cunning, punishing his insufferable mother with his politics, grasping at power through the barrel of a gun. He draws an interesting parallel between Oswald's reflections and the musings of the youthful & Hitler, whose laziness, nihilism and certain sense of destiny proved more catastrophic to the history of the world. Mr. Mailer succeeds in one important aim: Oswald, as he is drawn here, is just the sort of person who would clarify his clouded existence through violence, and choose as his target the one prominent American who seems to have enchanted his sulking, distant wife.

Yet it's still worth asking: Why go to all this trouble? In Mr. Mailer's view, it is necessary to plumb the depths of Oswald's life and disprove a conspiracy because "it is virtually not assimilable to our reason that a small lonely man felled a giant in the midst of his limousines, his legions, his throng, and his security. If such a nonentity destroyed the leader of the most powerful nation on earth, then a world of disproportion engulfs us, and we live in a universe that is absurd."

This is a curious proposition for the biographer of Gary Gilmore, for someone who has sought out the soul of his country in its gutters and back alleys. The past is a puzzle and the future a mystery precisely because nonentities will strike out unexpectedly, pushing the world along accidental paths. The surprise in all this is not that the life of the glamorous John F. Kennedy was ended by the pitiful Lee Harvey Oswald, but that people like Mr. Mailer should be stunned by such caprice, and go to such lengths to arrive where they began.

Mr. Terzian writes a column from Washington for the Providence Journal.

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LARRY KING LIVE Transcript #1418

April 27, 1995

LARRY KING: Senators ask how to respond to the threat of terrorism. The answer so far, carefully. Plus, more wondering, more waiting. Victims still trying to piece together their lives in Oklahoma City. And author Norman Mailer climbs inside the mind of one of the most notorious men of our time, Lee Harvey Oswald, all ahead on Larry King Live.

What Congress Is Doing About Oklahoma City

Good evening. On this one, Republicans and Democrats alike agree, the United States LARRY KING: government needs new ways, new tools to fight terrorism. And today, they took up just how to do that in the Senate Judiciary Committee. And they agreed on something else, however they proceed they need to be careful to protect civil rights. Back in Oklahoma City, the death toll rose to 110 today, while the number of people still officially missing dropped to 97. Meantime, suspect Timothy McVeigh's preliminary hearing got underway, with an FBI agent testifying that McVeigh's clothing tested positive for explosive residue. The FBI also asked for help in finding license plate, Arizona LZC-646, LZC-646, which may have fallen off McVeigh's car. And agents continue their search for the suspect known only as John Doe #2. Our first guest tonight is keeping close tabs on all of this. He was at the Senate hearing and testified today. We welcome the junior senator from Oklahoma, James Inhofe, to our studios here in Washington. Was that a good get together today? Were you satisfied? Sen. JAMES INHOFE (R-OK): Yeah, I really was, Larry. It's a tough thing to deal with. And I think you had- you know, you had the whole spectrum there, liberals, conservatives, Republicans, Democrats, and all committed to one thing, and that is not to make this into a partisan battle. Nothing good can come from the tragedy in Oklahoma, but if anything could, it would mean- it would be the fact that we're going to be able to pass something now. I really believe that we are.

LARRY KING: Something like?

Sen. JAMES INHOFE: Well, something that has- the provisions that I want in there, that others are not as enthusiastic about, I want real tough penalty provisions. I want habeas corpus reform. You know, here in the United States, it's nine-and-a-half years, on an average, between conviction and execution. And that takes all the deterrent away from it. Now, a lot of them want to get into more of invasion of rights of privacy. It's a very delicate thing. Certainly, we have constitutional protections that we can't invade. And so, that's going to be the grey area. I think there will be a lot of them on the Democrat side that are going to be wanting to stick guns in this thing. The Republican side is going to want habeas corpus.

LARRY KING: Are you confident, though, that the meeting of the minds, since we're on the same track, the goals-Sen. JAMES INHOFE: Yeah. I'll tell you why I'm confident, because the bill that we testified for or about today has been changed dramatically already. And that was only about four hours ago, or six hours ago. For example the use of the Department of Defense in anti-terrorist activities, that's out of the bill now. That was in the bill today. And it was something that I would have opposed. They're now re-looking at the surveillance, so that you're not-I don't think there are going to be the human rights violations- the civil rights violations that there would have been otherwise. So I think that it's changing already. I've talked to Orrin Hatch, I've talked to Arlen Specter, and I've talked to Joe Biden. And I think all the parties will get together, and I don't think it would have been possible otherwise.

LARRY KING: There are some conservatives and liberals, though, joining in this attack on this civil rights concept, that you're going to limit language and you're going to infiltrate organizations, and who decides what organizations you infiltrate?

Sen. JAMES INHOFE: Well, I think that it's- we do have a Constitution that's still in effect. And we have the right to assemble. And, you know, what can you do? Where is that fine line. And I think Janet Reno- and, by the way, it's uncharacteristic, I suppose, but I have to be very complimentary on the administration. The President, he did more than I ever expected the President could do under the circumstances. And Janet Reno came in and has just been great to work with. one of the unsung heroes is James Lee Witt, the head of FEMA. You ought to have him on some day.

LARRY KING: Yeah, he's been on from Oklahoma City. We haven't had him on here yet.

Sen. JAMES INHOFE: So we all are- you know, it was all handled. There wasn't anything that I can look you in the eyes and say should have been done that wasn't done, from a federal perspective or a state or local perspective, as far as that's concerned.

LARRY KING: You also met with the President the other day, didn't you?

Sen. JAMES INHOFE: I met with the President yesterday, yes.

LARRY KING: How did that come out?

Sen. JAMES INHOFE: Well, first of all, the President called me about three hours after the explosion. I was in Dallas Love Field at the time down there, testifying on-LARRY KING: We had you on the phone.

Sen. JAMES INHOFE: That's right. That's right. I forgot about that. But then yesterday, we had a total of 18about 12 members of Congress, and then the administrative staff, administration. And I think that we- we real quickly aired the areas that are going to be controversial, which we have already talked about a little bit. And I have every confidence- they're using the deadline of Memorial Day. And I think that we're going to have a bill by Memorial Day. That's working pretty fast for-

LARRY KING: Boy, very fast.

Sen. JAMES INHOFE: Yeah. But that is- it's slow enough- there's time to stand back, breathe deep, be deliberate, and don't jump in and overreact. You're going to find everybody trying to throw their agenda in this- on this train, because this is going to move fairly fast and it's going to pass.

LARRY KING: How about the political aspect? Is that out the window on this one?

Sen. JAMES INHOFE: I think so. I think so. Now, you'll find a lot of things that are characteristic of the Democratic party and the Republican party that- you're going to find that a lot of the Democrats don't want the habeas corpus reform, for example. And you're going to hear every possible excuse. And some of us, you know, just philosophically are different. But I don't think it's going to be labeled as party, as it would be under any other circumstances.

LARRY KING: John Kennedy once said, if a nut wants to do something, it's going to be very hard to stop him. Sen. JAMES INHOFE: That was another very wise thing that he said. And you've got to keep that in mind, in the forefront, all during this thing. You're not going to come up with the perfect bill that's going to end what happened in Oklahoma City. That was a mobile unit that took it in. There's no amount of additional security you can pass by law that's going to do anything. But I believe that punishment is still a deterrent to the law- to crime. And I think it can- that's the area- the direction we should go.

LARRY KING: Have you been brought into the know on how well the investigation is going into John Doe #2 and how far it's expanding?

Sen. JAMES INHOFE: No, I haven't. I'm on the Senate Intelligence Committee, and we're looking and monitoring what's going on. I don't think I know anything that you don't know.LARRY KING: Our guest is Senator James

Inhofe. He's been on top of this from the get-go. We'll take your calls for Senator Inhofe. And then we'll meet a gentleman having a tough time, Bill Day. His sister Diana worked for HUD. She's listed among the missing. And later, Lawrence Schiller and Norman Mailer talk about Lee Harvey Oswald from information they obtained from secret KGB files. Tomorrow night, Robert McNamara. Don't go away.

LOUIS FREEH, FBI Director: Intelligence, when used carefully and constitutionally, helps to protect the American people. It should not be considered a dirty word. I don't want my remarks to be interpreted as advocating investigating activity against groups exercising their legitimate constitutional rights, or targeting people who disagree with our government. [Commercial break]

LARRY KING: We're back with Senator Jim Inhofe of Oklahoma. We're going to go to your phone calls. On the emotional side, the dealing-with-it side, how is Oklahoma City doing? I mean, we're in day eight now, right? Sen. JAMES INHOFE: Yeah. They're doing- they're doing fine. And it's- and you can watch it on TV and you can listen to the radio counts. Until you're there- and if you have people- I know people who are inside right now. I've had very close- I talked tonight to someone in the hospital by the name of Polly Nickles, a very close friend. She was in the building across the street. The flying glass came through and severed almost everything, and fortunately didn't quite get the life support. If it hadn't been for someone picking her up and taking her down - she was in surgery 30 minutes after that happened - she would be dead today. Don Nickles and I are both are probably a little more emotional about this, because we know the people that are in there, and it's tragic. But when you look around and see how the city came to support- and, as I mentioned in the testimony today, one of the most moving moments is when I saw the firefigh ters coming down that first night, going into the building in shifts, 200 of them, 40 at a time, two-hour shifts, knowing that the structural engineers hadn't even been there at that time, and crawling around in that debris and never knowing when it was going to- but they're all volunteers. They came not just from Tulsa and Oklahoma City and Muskogee. They were from Baltimore, from-LARRY KING: New York.

Sen. JAMES INHOFE: -from New York, from all around.

LARRY KING: Do you ever wonder why?

Sen. JAMES INHOFE: You know, I don't know. We all gravitate. I guess it's part of the healing process, the same as the blood goes to the part that needs to be healed. And people came from all over. It's just really moving. LARRY KING: Orange, California as we go to calls for Senator James Inhofe. Hello. 1st CALLER: [Orange, California] Yes.

LARRY KING: Yes, go ahead.

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1st CALLER: [Orange, California] Instead of concerning themselves with passing legislation to reduce violence, perhaps there should be a discussion on the cause of why so many Americans are becoming paranoid and discontented with our government.

LARRY KING: Does that bother you, Senator? It seems to be going on.

Sen. JAMES INHOFE: Well, no. I'd have to respond to him that there's a way that we can do this in America. The people spoke loudly and clearly in November of 1994, and it was- and the message was heard. It was a very clear mandate. ``We want less government involved in our lives. We want less controls. We want more individual freedom. We want smaller government and bigger people." And that message came through and we're passing things right now. But that's at the ballot box. That's the way to address these things. And I think those people, who are deranged in some way, at least they can look and say, ``We're changing America now." And we're complying with the mandate that was there in November.

LARRY KING: But there is a lot of anger in America, isn't there? Don't you sense that? Anger at things? Sen. JAMES INHOFE: Oh, sure there's a lot of anger, Larry. There's always been a lot of anger in America. And it's not always from the right and not always from the left. I can remember back in the early '70s. I was in the state senate in Oklahoma when Angela Davis was invited into the state to make a speech to our studentsat Oklahoma University, and they paid her to do it. And here, she had taken a sworn oath to overthrow the government. I mean, you know, there's a lot of anxiety there. And I hope that people don't try to indict the conservative cause or somehow tie that to what has happened with these maniacs. LARRY KING: Los Angeles, California, hello.

2nd CALLER: [Los Angeles, California] Hi, Larry.

LARRY KING: Hi.

2nd CALLER: [Los Angeles, California] I just want to mention, because I always found it was awkward, with the difficulty and the red tape, when the military- we have military that are trained for situations like this. And although I think the volunteers and firefighters in Oklahoma did a great job, I just think, why can't we get the military there to use the equipment and the special trained people for these particular situations?

Sen. JAMES INHOFE: Well, first of all, the bill that was- I mentioned to Larry just a minute ago that the bill has dramatically changed since the hearing at 2:00 o'clock today. In that hearing, we were using the Department of Defense in counterterrorism efforts. And that's out of the bill now. The objection to that is- and we went through the same thing during the drug program, getting them into the intervention program. And that is, there's a fear by a lot of people that these people, number one, are not trained for this type of thing. They're trained for different missions. And number two, a fear that that may be too much government. You know, when the military starts getting involved in your life, that's different than just another bureaucrat. LARRY KING: Reykjavik, Iceland. Hello.

3rd CALLER: [Reykjavik, Iceland] Hi, Larry.

LARRY KING: Hi.

3rd CALLER: [Reykjavik, Iceland] I just wanted to point out to you guys that- I'm staying from here to Europe and looking over to the States. I think that the American government should just try to, you know, fix their own place and fix their own corruption inside the military, instead of being all over the world, you know, helping others. LARRY KING: Are we spreading our wings too far?

Sen. JAMES INHOFE: Well, you know, that's a totally different discussion. I'd be glad to go into that with him, because I agree with him. LARRY KING: You do?

Sen. JAMES INHOFE: Yeah. I think we're getting involved in conflicts that are not in the best interest, certainly have no national defense ramifications to them. And we can't afford it.

LARRY KING: We'll take a break, come back with some more moments with Jim Inhofe. And then we'll meet Bill Day. And then spend a good deal of time with Norman Mailer and Lawrence Schiller discussing Lee Harvey Oswald. This is Larry King Live in Washington. We'll be right back.

Sen. DON NICKLES (R-OK): I think we can pass a law that make it [sic] more difficult to do it. And hopefully, that's what we will do. And I might mention, in this process, I don't think that we should trample, in any way, on the liberties of law-abiding citizens, but we should trample on terrorists. And we should make it very difficult for them to do what has happened in Oklahoma City. [Commercial break]

LARRY KING: By the way, this Saturday night, we have a live edition of Larry King Weekend. We will be talking with Peter Arnet, live from Ho ChiMinh City in Vietnam. Our guest is Senator James Inhofe- Jim Inhofe, who, by the way, it's hard to believe, is 60 years old. There's something strange going on in Oklahoma. Muskegee, Oklahoma [sic]. Hello.

4th CALLER: [Muskogee, Oklahoma] Hello, Larry.

LARRY KING: Hi.

4th CALLER: [Muskogee, Oklahoma] This is Larry Kelly.

LARRY KING: Hi, Larry.

4th CALLER: [Muskogee, Oklahoma] And it's Muskogee, Oklahoma, as Senator Inhofe can tell you. Good evening, Senator. My question has to do with combining assets in the intelligence community. The FBI is already operating to assist the Soviets, or the Russians, as they're called now. Why can't we bring the CIA, the DIA, all these agencies, together to combat domestic terrorism?

LARRY KING: Well, CIA can't, right?

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Sen. JAMES INHOFE: Well, first of all, one of the things that I'll be critical about in the draft bill that the President had was that they were talking about building a new bureaucracy, which is doing very much what the gentleman was suggesting, putting everyone in and starting a new department of counterterrorism. I don't think that's necessary. I don't think we need another bureaucracy to do it with. I think our assets are adequate. As I mentioned, I couldn't ask for more support than we have in the federal government. The FBI came in, they set up a command headquarters. You should go down and shoot a show fromthere. It's incredible what they're doing down there, just to look and see. Everyone is well-coordinated at all the agencies there. So I don't think that what he's suggesting is necessary, and it sounds pretty expensive.

LARRY KING: And we don't need, therefore, sweeping new- although it sounds good. Sure sounds good. Sen. JAMES INHOFE: The program that was outlined by the President yesterday had a price tag, they were estimating, of about \$1.2 billion in five years. Now, Ijust don't think we need it. We have- I think we're adequate. I'm not sure we need the thousand new agents.

LARRY KING: Let's get in one more call for Senator Inhofe. Burbank, California. Hello.

5th CALLER: [Burbank, California] Yeah, first of all, my prayers do go out to the people who have suffered a loss in Oklahoma City. Senator, I would like to know that, on this pending legislation that's coming out, is it just for problems with the terrorists against thepeople in the federal government, or will that be expanded to all of us out here, so we feel more like a family in the United States, rather than laws passed for one group of people, with all the rest of us left out here?

Sen. JAMES INHOFE: Well, I think what we're dealing with in the legislation is pending. First of all, don't getand I'd ask all of the viewers to follow this suggestion. Don't get all wrapped up if there's something in there that you don't like, because it's going to change. It's going to change dramatically. This is just the bones we're starting with. And this is to deal with domestic terrorism, but, to a lesser degree, with international terrorism. LARRY KING: But terrorism, from taking over an airplane to blowing up a building?

Sen. JAMES INHOFE: Yeah. And I think you're going to see a change in attitude. Back after Pan Am 103, I had an amendment on the Aviation Safety Bill that would call for the death penalty in cases where a person was- was identified as the terrorist, and a life was lost in a skyjacking. And it was actually voted down by the United States House of Representatives. That bill would pass today. So you're going to see some major changes. LARRY KING: Thanks, Jim.

Sen. JAMES INHOFE: Thank you, Larry.

LARRY KING: Be seeing a lot of you I hope in better circumstances. Sen. JAMES INHOFE: Yes, sir.

LARRY KING: Senator James Inhofe- Jim Inhofe of Oklahoma. When we come back, Bill Day. His sister Diana worked for HUD and is still among the missing. Then Norman Mailer. Don't go away. [Commercial break]

A Personal Story From Oklahoma City

LARRY KING: The personal stories of tragedy and triumph continue to surge to the forefront. Our next guest is doing his part to help the victims' families as a minister at Oklahoma City's Northwest Church of Christ. And he knows their pain. His own sister is still missing in the Murrah Federal Building. We thank Bill Day for joining us. Thanks for being with us, Bill. I know these are not easy times. Can you tell us what your sister did in that building?

BILL DAY, Victim's Brother: She worked for HUD, Housing and Urban Development. LARRY KING: That was where, on the seventh floor?

#### BILL DAY: Seventh floor.

LARRY KING: Do you still have any hope?

BILL DAY: Not much. Notmuch.

LARRY KING: What is it like to go by that building and look at that building all the time and know that someone you love very much is in there?

BILL DAY: It's very painful. It's very painful.

LARRY KING: How do you deal with it?

BILL DAY: Sometimes I don't. I just bury my face in my hands and weeps sometimes.

LARRY KING: Have you- this changed you at all? I mean, you are a minister. Has this affected you, the way you might approach the ministry now?

BILL DAY: Most definitely. I think for sure that, as I minister to people who face similar crises, I won't be so quick to offer quick answers for their problems. I have always been called on to give answers to why this disaster, or this tragedy, might happen. And I've always been willing to try to offer those answers. I will approach it very much differently from now on.

LARRY KING: Will you be less inclined to say it is God's will?

BILL DAY: Well, I think that it's sometimes a bit arrogant for us to try to say this or that is God's will and expect that to give comfort to someone who is grieving. I found myself, as I'm going through the process, individuals offer me the same type of comfort and words, as you've just mentioned, and it doesn't help. It doesn't make the pain go away. Sometimes it even makes me angry, because it's- I've come to realize that it's not really necessary that I understand why and that I understand how God's will works. I have found that- during this tragedy, I have found that my faith is really not rooted in the whys and the answers to questions, hard questions like the one you just mentioned.

LARRY KING: What, then, is it rooted in?

BILL DAY: But it's rooted- it's rooted in the- in the historical event of the resurrection of Jesus Christ. And there's enough historical evidence is there that I'm able to anchor my soul to that. And whether I can answer why or notthat's really all that's been getting me through this, to be honest with you.

LARRY KING: But it doesn't allay the grief.

BILL DAY: Not at all, no. I have found myself going through the normal steps of grief that everybody else goes through, of disbelief and denial and even anger. I have been-I have been angry with God. I don't blame God for this catastrophe. But those are normal- the normal steps of grief. Everybody goes through them, and I'm not exempt.

LARRY KING: Can you tell us laymen what's a good thing to say to people who are the families of victims? Is there anything that's appropriate?

BILL DAY: I think the thing that has helped me the most is for people just to give me a hug and tell me they care. Sometimes I'm able to see their tears, as we weep together. And to let me know that they're thinking of me and praying for me. And that's really been the most comforting. Of all the stuff that's been said to me, that's been the thing that's helped the most.

LARRY KING: Reaching out directly to you without the, "I'm sorrys."

BILL DAY: Yeah, and without trying to make explanations for what's happened.

LARRY KING: Thanks, Bill. Thanks for sharing this time with us. And good luck. BILL DAY: Thank you.

LARRY KING: Bill Day. His sister Diana among the missing. She worked for HUD. We're going to take a break and come back and meet the very prolific, very talented Pulitzer Prize winner Norman Mailer and his collaborator Lawrence Schiller. They are the authors of Oswald's Tale: An American Mystery. The Story of Lee Harvey Oswald From Information Gained Inside the KGB. Don't go away. We'll be right back. [Commercial break]

Inside the Mind of Lee Harvey Oswald

LARRY KING: That time in the United States is called Camelot. But at least one man apparently found it not to his liking. Lee Harvey Oswald left for the Soviet Union, stayed two years, and when he returned to the United States, he shot and killed President John F. Kennedy shortly thereafter, only to be shot and killed himself two days later. Then came the endless questions about his actions, his motives, his mind-think. The Warren Commission tried to explain the shooting. And now a new book tries to explain the shooter, based on exclusive access to KGB files and rare interviews with former KGB officers. Oswald's Tale from Random House provides a portrait of Lee Harvey Oswald, like only Pulitzer Prize winner Norman Mailer could pen. He joins us along with his collaborator, Lawrence Schiller, who is the author, with O.J. Simpson, of a roaring bestseller about Simpson answering letters. It is Mr. Schiller's second appearance on t his program.

How do you- how do you use Lawrence?

NORMAN MAILER, Author, ``Oswald's Tale": Well, it's very hard to use Lawrence. LARRY KING: How do you ask him to work with you?

NORMAN MAILER: No, no, actually, it's very- it's not bad to work with Larry, because he makes me work harder than I would all by myself.

LARRY KING: And you do the writing. He was very specific about that. NORMAN MAILER: Oh yeah. No, no, I do the writing.

LARRY KING: What does he do?

NORMAN MAILER: Well, Larry organizes. You know, when you go to a strange city, for instance, and you want to interview people, and you don't speak the same language, if I went there by myself, I would flounder. I would have to organize. And I'm not good at that. Larry gets an office together, he gets good translators, he has people who go out and find the people we want to interview. He does all that. And then we interviewed the people together. And we- it's marvelous, because we each have our own idea of how to interview a person. LARRY KING: You worked together on what, The Executioner's Song? NORMAN MAILER: Oh yeah.

LAWRENCE SCHILLER, Mailer's Collaborator: We worked on that. We met on a book called Marilyn, which Norman wrote about the life of Marilyn Monroe.

LARRY KING: Where were you, in what city were you that you were spending all this time doing these interviews and looking through these files?

LAWRENCE SCHILLER: We started in Moscow with the KGB in November, December of 1991, when the government was just coming apart. In December of '91, the government fell apart. And then the files went from Moscow to Mensk, so I had to start all over, negotiating with a new government. It was now a separate government. It wasn't Soviet, it was the government of Belarus. And eventually, I asked Norman if he would consider writing a book if the information was obtainable for him.

LARRY KING: Oh, so you were the one that got the thing together, put the thing together, and asked Norman to write it. Did you say yes right away?

NORMAN MAILER: Pretty quickly. I said, "Let me go over and look at it and see what's there." But I probably said yes within four to six weeks.

LARRY KING: What fascinated you about this topic, which has been so written about?

NORMAN MAILER: No, but I've been obsessed with Oswald for, oh, 30 years.

LARRY KING: Obsessed?

NORMAN MAILER: I'd say obsessed. With the assassination, with what happened. I never found anything satisfying in any of the explanations, pro orcon, lonely killer or conspiracy. None of them ever worked for me. I wanted to find out more. I also had a second motive, which was, I had written a book about the CIA, and I finished it in the middle and want to do a second half.

LARRY KING: Yeah, you said to be continued.

NORMAN MAILER: To be continued. In the second half, there's going to be a great deal of KGB in it, so I wanted to get to know the KGB a little better. And that was my second-LARRY KING: Are they similar to the CIA?

NORMAN MAILER: Yeah. One huge difference is that, in the CIA they play tennis, in the KGB they pay chess. LARRY KING: But are personalities similar?

NORMAN MAILER: No, not quite. Quite a bit. But the KGB, particularly the high-level general officers take themselves very seriously. I kept being reminded of New York intellectuals.

LARRY KING: What about Oswald - this is for both of you - surprised you the most? What did you learn-NORMAN MAILER: His intelligence. That's what surprised me the most. He was a very intelligent young man. You know, he was dyslexic, so when you read his writings, he seems to be almost illiterate, in his worst writings. But, more and more I learned about him, the more I realized how intelligent he was, given the fact he was a very young man when he went over there. He was only 20 when he over. LARRY KING: Lawrence.

LAWRENCE SCHILLER: What surprised me the most was that he was almost like a movie star in Mensk. He was 19, 20 years old. He was virtually the only American living there. There were American tourists there. LARRY KING: He was well known?

LAWRENCE SCHILLER: Not- not as anybody but an American, an American that had come to live in the Soviet Union. And virtually, he would walk down the street and people would look at him. LARRY KING: There have been brilliant reviews of this book, The New York Times. USA Today was rough on you. That bother you? NORMAN MAILER: I always get good and bad reviews. As you know-LARRY KING: Rolls off.

NORMAN MAILER: [unintelligible].

LARRY KING: But they say you've invented a language in this book. Can you explain that? NORMAN MAILER: Well, I wanted to capture the way Russians talk. And they do have a special way of talking. And so, the language is 90 percent English and one-tenth Russian, in some funny way. LARRY KING: How much Mailer is in it?

NORMAN MAILER: Not that much. It's like The Executioner's Song. You know, there are certain books where you put a great deal of yourself into them, and then other books where you- the material is so good that you want to step back and let the material speak for itself.

LARRY KING: Why did the KGB keep such an exhaustive file on a 19-year-old?

LAWRENCE SCHILLER: Well, number one, he came with a very, very strange legend, as the CIA and the KGB uses the term. They couldn't figure him out. And therefore, they didn't know if the CIA or American intelligence was trying to use an American in a different way to infiltrate the country. So they just watched him. They were prepared to sit on him for five, 10, 15 years. Maybe he was a new type of a mole. They didn't know what he was. And what was interesting is that we were able to gain access to not only the surveillance reports on Oswald, not only their own interviews with family and friends, but the bugging of his apartment. And Norman was allowed to read not just one transcription of one day, but month after month of conversations between him and his family, his wife, and other friends that he invited to his home.

LARRY KING: Why did they let him leave?

NORMAN MAILER: He- one of the ways in which I realize know how intelligent he was is the fact that he could get out of the Soviet Union. He had to work not only against and with the KGB, he had to work against and with the State Department. And he maneuvered both. They both became afraid of what they'd do if they didn't let him out, for different reasons. The State Department became afraid of what would happen if they didn't let him out because it would be a very propaganda story for them. ``Here's this man that wants to go back to the States and we won't let him back, and he's got a wife, and we won't let her come back. We won'tlet him come back alone." He

kept maneuvering that. On the other hand, the KGB had the feeling, ``If we keep this guy here, what if he commits suicide? What if he makes another suicide attempt, as he did once, and this time is successful, and then we'll be known as that cruel country that was so bad that the man came over to join us and ended up killing himself."

LARRY KING: In a moment, what led him to do what he did? The book is Oswald's Tale, Norman Mailer. His collaborator is Lawrence Schiller. This is Larry King Live. We'll include your phone calls, too. Don't go away. [Commercial break]

LARRY KING: We're back with Norman Mailer and Lawrence Schiller. Subtitled An American Mystery. Why? NORMAN MAILER: Well, it's the largest mountain of mystery in the 20th century. LARRY KING: Do you solve it?

NORMAN MAILER: No, no, no, no. But what I do is, I think I create a couple of characters, Oswald and Marina, so maybe other people come along and be better suited to try to solve it. This is a do-it-yourself book. LARRY KING: Am I going to find things to like about them?

NORMAN MAILER: Oh, you'll find lots to like about Marina. I mean, she's an interesting woman. Very complex. Very practical. Very tortured.

LARRY KING: Where is she now?

NORMAN MAILER: She's living in Texas.

LARRY KING: Did you talk to her now?

NORMAN MAILER: Well, we spent five days talking to her, yeah. LARRY KING: She was very cooperative?

NORMAN MAILER: Yeah, pretty cooperative, yeah. She loves the truth. One of the things I found- so that very often, even though the stories were painful for her to relate, she would tell them, because it's very important to her to be truthful. You know, she had this reputation for years after the Warren Commission that she was a liar. She wasn't. She just was terribly confused and overwhelmed. LARRY KING: Does she believe the lone-killer theory?

NORMAN MAILER: Not any longer. She used to, right after the assassination, for a couple years after that. Now she feels she was brainwashed a bit. And now she doesn't know quite what she thinks, I say. But she believes he was not the killer.

LARRY KING: You conclude he was, though, right?

NORMAN MAILER: Yeah, but I said that I only had a 75-percent conviction that he was guilty, and if I would have been his lawyer, I could have gotten him off. LARRY KING: Gotten him off?

NORMAN MAILER: Of course. The evidence is so difficult and tricky. And, you know, in my own mind, I'm not at all convinced that he wasn't part of a conspiracy. I just think he probably was the lone killer. You have to understand, I was interested in his character, not in solving the mystery. LARRY KING: I got you. You go into his head.

NORMAN MAILER: Yeah. I tried to.

LARRY KING: Russians spied on him, right?

LAWRENCE SCHILLER: They watched him from the minute he arrived in the Soviet Union until the minute he left.

LARRY KING: Well, they all couldn't have been KGB.

LAWRENCE SCHILLER: No. They used people that he worked with. They used people that became acquaintances.

LARRY KING: How? They just asked people, like the Hitlerian theory?

LAWRENCE SCHILLER: Sometimes they went to people very cold. Sometimes they knew certain people were vulnerable for other reasons. One of the interesting things is that Norman was able to sit with the KGB developer of Oswald, the man who was in charge of the Oswald case. A man who is now retired. A very, very serious man who was able to give us his time. And he sat and explained, day by day, how the KGB looked at Oswald. LARRY KING: Did you ask him how he felt when the information was learned then that Oswald had shot the

president? NORMAN MAILER: Well, we certainly did. In fact-

LARRY KING: And what did he say?

NORMAN MAILER: Well, we've got quite a chapter on it. I have quite a chapter on it in the book. LARRY KING: Was he shocked?

NORMAN MAILER: It was a great shock, because they decided he was harmless, that he was not a spy, and that they might as well let him go back. That he was a little odd, but they really- if he wanted to go back, let him go. He was no use to the Soviet Union. Let him go. So they felt very quickly that it was an American plot. And they were very nervous. They felt that they were using him to start a war with Russia. That was the subtext. LARRY KING: Really?

NORMAN MAILER: That was the subtext. So the-

LARRY KING: Did they believe he did it, though?

NORMAN MAILER: No, they didn't believe he did it, because, from what they knew of him- you know, he had been such a bad shot in Russia. He once missed a rabbit from 10 feet with a shot gun. But the thing about Oswald that very few people understand is, Oswald had a huge range of performance. He really was both ends of a bell-shaped curve and the middle. Ard so, Oswald, at his best shooting, is quite different from Oswald at his worst. Oswald speaking in a tough radio debate is quite different from Oswald, the man who can hardly write a letter. LARRY KING: You've written about malcontents and angry people. Gary Gilmore was certainly an angry person. You've written about boxers, they're angry people. Is there a similarity that runs through these people, angry people?

NORMAN MAILER: Well, I've been pretty angry myself for many years, but now I'm so old-LARRY KING: You're right. And you've had fits of it too, yourself. NORMAN MAILER: I'm so old, by now I'm getting mellow.

LARRY KING: Now you swung at me and you fell down and they gave you Medicare. NORMAN MAILER: I broke my ankle.

LARRY KING: But do you understand that kind of-

NORMAN MAILER: Well, I think I do. You know, all writers think they understand something if they're going; to write about it. Yes, I have that notion that I can understand certain kinds of people. LARRY KING: Was this difficult to write?

NORMAN MAILER: This book? No. No. It was agreeable. A lot of the work was what we did together, doing the interviews, because, in the course of these interviews is where you begin to write the book, almost through the interview. That is, in other words, you're pursuing a given course. Part of the fun is, sometimes we'd fight tremendously while we were interviewing people, because there is- you're the poor Russian, let's say. We're interviewing him. Let's say Larry is talking, and [unintelligible] like, ``He's not going in the right direction. This is what I'm interested in." So I'll cut across Larry with a question at that point. Larry will be enraged. This is vice-versa, it could happen with me. Because his continuation is cut off and mine has begun. Before long, we'd be

screaming at one another, and the poor Russian is looking on like, ``Are these two august American citizens absolutely insane?"

LAWRENCE SCHILLER: What you have to realize, that most of these people, we knocked on their front doors for the first time in 30 years. Many of them looked at us and said, "How did you even know that I was even involved in the life of Lee Harvey Oswald?" And how we found the people was a very interesting story, because we actually asked retired KGB officers to work for us. Like, you'd go to Dallas at the time of the assassination, you'd hire an off-

LARRY KING: You pay them.

LAWRENCE SCHILLER: Yeah, you hire an off-duty police officer to drive for you. So we hired an off-duty or retired KGB agent to find people. Now, he didn't go knock on the door, he said, ``This is the phone number." And we brought people out of the woodwork, which gave Norman a tremendous insight to really what it was like for the cold war in 1960.

LARRY KING: You told us the last time you're not a writer. LAWRENCE SCHILLER: That's right.

LARRY KING: You're an interviewer and you collaborate.

LAWRENCE SCHILLER: No, I'm not Norman's collaborator, I'm his colleague. Norman writes and does all the work. I merely help get that information out of the people in what I think is a very unique way.

LARRY KING: But does it bug you that all the ego attention goes to him?

LAWRENCE SCHILLER: No, because I'm really happy with what I do. And I think I do it better than anybody else.

NORMAN MAILER: Listen, his book made more money than any of my books-

LARRY KING: And he's doing another one. I see him in court. We'll be back with Mailer and Schiller and your phone calls, after this. Don't go away. [Commercial break]

LARRY KING: They pulled it off. They got the interviews, they got the files, they got the KGB's angle on Lee Harvey Oswald. The book is Oswald's Tale by Norman Mailer. And with him is Lawrence Schiller. And we go to Fairfax, Virginia. Hello.

6th CALLER: [Fairfax, Virginia] Hi, Larry. Good show.

LARRY KING: Thank you.

6th CALLER: [Fairfax, Virginia] Mr. Mailer and Mr. Schiller, with all due respect, how can you feel confident that the information that the KGB gave to you was 100 percent accurate? We've been indoctrinated to not believe what the KGB-

LARRY KING: Fair question.

NORMAN MAILER: Very good question. In the beginning I didn't believe them much at all, because they said that they have never interrogated Oswald. But we were there for six months, talking to the same people over and over again. We interviewed about 17 KGB men in varying depth. And, after a while, I began to understand how the KGB worked. And what I have to tell you is that the notion we've had in America of how the KGB functions is very far off. If someone in the CIA is asked, ``What about the prisons in Attica, or Marion," they would shrug. They would say, ``What does that have to do with us?" So, by the same token, most of these KGB people don't see themselves as having anything to do with the old gulags. In other words-LARRY KING: They don't?

NORMAN MAILER: Well, you know, they are very far away from it. They consider themselves professionals, intelligence people. And what we've discovered is that, in the KGB, if you make a mistake, it's very bad for your career. And so, I came to believe what they were telling us, mainly because what came through, always, there was a theme, which was, ``Avoid mistakes with Oswald. Don't go overboard on Oswald." And so, while there were people in the CIA like Angleton, who believed that Oswald had been turned into an agent for the KGB, once you understood the way they worked and their huge caution, you begin to see that Oswald is the last man they would

have chosen for an agent. LARRY KING: Crystal River, Florida, hello. If you can't hear, Norm, just push that back in your ear. Crystal River. Go ahead. 7th CALLER: [Crystal River, Florida] Yes, hello. Thank you for taking my call, Larry. LARRY KING: Sure.

7th CALLER: [Crystal River, Florida] I have two questions for your guests. I was about 11 years old when Jack Kennedy got assassinated. And I remember him saying on a newsreel that, ``I demand-" Lee Harvey Oswald said, ``I demand to have someone come forward and give me legal representation. And he never got any lawyer to come forward. And I would like to know why. And the second question is, what about the Dallas police questioning of Lee Harvey Oswald?

LARRY KING: That was pre-Miranda, wasn't it? Thatwas pre-Miranda. It also wasn't a federal crime then. LAWRENCE SCHILLER: I was there. I was actually on the second floor. I was working for the Saturday Evening Post, and I covered the assassination at that time. I can tell, number one, Oswald did ask for an attorney out of New York, I believe. And he was in the process of getting an attorney and getting representation when he was killed by Ruby.

NORMAN MAILER: They were trying to reach that lawyer. And he was somewhere in the country and they couldn't find him. Maybe he was ducking the case.

LARRY KING: Do you have any idea why he told the police officer who arrested him he was a patsy? Strange choice of words.

NORMAN MAILER: Well, Oswald had a lot of resources. You know, this idea that he was this little nerd who wasn't capable of anything, he actually was, you know, kind of- first of all, he was a psychopathic liar on the one hand. He was lying all the time. Another thing is, he played many roles. He was many things to many people. I found him much more interesting than I thought he would be. But, why did he say, ``I'm a patsy?" Because he had a big problem on his hands, didn't he? And he had an instinct for it. And he wanted finally to become enormously important in American life.

LARRY KING: He did want that?

NORMAN MAILER: He succeeded.

LARRY KING: He got what he wanted, but he got killed for it. NORMAN MAILER: Yeah, yeah.

LAWRENCE SCHILLER: And you have to remember that he almost got away with the crime, because he was seen on the second floor in the lunch room. He walked out of that building. He was able to transport himself halfway across the city. And then he was caught by some fluke. LARRY KING: Tippett.

NORMAN MAILER: He wasn't caught by a fluke. He killed Tippett, which was- he panicked. LARRY KING: We'll be back with our remaining moments with NormanMailer and Larry Schiller. The book is Oswald's Tale. Robert McNamara tomorrow night. Don't go away. [Commercial break]

LARRY KING: We're back. The book is Oswald's Tale. We go to Williamsport, Pennsylvania. Hello. 8th CALLER: [Williamsport, Pennsylvania] Hi, Larry. I love you very much. Mr. Mailer, I have a tremendous amount of respect for you. But as far as you saying that Oswald was a lone killer, how can you say that, with the rifle that was supposedly used, a third-rate rifle, and the timing fact, from Oswald getting from the sixth floor to the second floor in approximately a minute-and-a-half?

NORMAN MAILER: Well, like I said, if I had been his lawyer, I could have gotten him off. I'm not totally convinced of the killing. It's my impression, it's my belief, on the basis of my coming to understand him, that he probably did do it, because Oswald was capable of extraordinary actions. Now, you can say, how did he ever get from the sixth floor to the second floor? I think he was in a state of transcendence. That's the only explanation. LARRY KING: Really?

NORMAN MAILER: The harder explanation is, if he didn't do it, who was on the sixth floor?

LARRY KING: Kitchener, Ontario, Canada. Hello.

9th CALLER: [Kitchener, Ontario] Hello, Mr. Mailer. It was a pleasure to meet you in Dallas a little while ago, and we agreed about Oswald being a liar. But I wanted to ask you if you feel any shame, having had access to KGB files but not access to all the files in America?

NORMAN MAILER: Well, I'd love to get access to the American files.

LARRY KING: I mean, isn't that a little weird, that you can get them to theirs and not to ours? NORMAN MAILER: Well, that was Larry's doing. Larry went in there and he sang-LARRY KING: He got them.

NORMAN MAILER: Well, he sang a song to them. He said, ``Don't you realize Norman Mailer is the American Tolstoy? You can't keep Tolstoy from writing about this." LARRY KING: They went for that.

NORMAN MAILER: I was- can you imagine if I had gone into the KGB and said, ``I am the American Tolstoy?" LARRY KING: How long are the American files sealed?

LAWRENCE SCHILLER: I think for about another 15 years. But the interesting thing is, while we were there, the FBI sent the American ambassador to try to get the files at the same time we did. And they were rejected, the American government, but we were not. And the Soviets actually gave us a very good explanation. They wanted this story put into historical perspective. They said a Russian writer should not do it because it was the story of an American. And it was an American mystery. And only an American writer could understand an American that way. No Russian writer could. There was a big debate, even in the Supreme Soviet, whether Mr. Mailershould have it. And in the end result, they decided to give the files. LARRY KING: Are you now going to complete your second CIA book?

NORMAN MAILER: I hope to, yeah.

LARRY KING: Are you writing a book with O.J.?

LAWRENCE SCHILLER: I don't think so.

LARRY KING: You don't think so? Then why are you in court every day? LAWRENCE SCHILLER: Because I'm writing a book about what's happening in Los Angeles. I'm writing an oral history of the O.J. Simpson matter. LARRY KING: Thank you both very much. Continued success, Norman. NORMAN MAILER: Thank you, Larry.

LAWRENCE SCHILLER: Thank you.

LARRY KING: Norman Schiller- Lawrence Schiller and Norman Mailer. The book is Oswald's Tale: An American Mystery. Tomorrow night, Robert McNamara. Saturday night, Larry King Weekend live with Peter Arnet in Ho Chi Minh City. Goodnight.

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FURTHER INFORMATION:

Oswald's Tale by Norman Mailer, available in book stores

The preceding text has been professionally transcribed. However, although the text has been checked against an audio track, in order to meet rigid distribution and transmission deadlines, it has not yet been proofread against videotape.

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-any long Live 4/27/95

kept maneuvering that. On the other hand, the KGB had the feeling, ``If we keep this guy here, what if he commits suicide? What if he makes another suicide attempt, as he did once, and this time is successful, and then we'll be known as that cruel country that was so bad that the man came over to join us and ended up killing himself."

LARRY KING: In a moment, what led him to do what he did? The book is Oswald's Tale, Norman Mailer. His collaborator is Lawrence Schiller. This is Larry King Live. We'll include your phone calls, too. Don't go away. [Commercial break]

LARRY KING: We're back with Norman Mailer and Lawrence Schiller. Subtitled An American Mystery. Why? NORMAN MAILER: Well, it's the largest mountain of mystery in the 20th century. LARRY KING: Do you solve it?

NORMAN MAILER: No, no, no, no. But what I do is, I think I create a couple of characters, Oswald and Marina, so maybe other people come along and be better suited to try to solve it. This is a do-it-yourself book. LARRY KING: Am I going to find things to like about them?

NORMAN MAILER: Oh, you'll find lots to like about Marina. I mean, she's an interesting woman. Very complex. Very practical. Very tortured.

LARRY KING: Where is she now?

NORMAN MAILER: She's living in Texas.

LARRY KING: Did you talk to her now?

NORMAN MAILER: Well, we spent five days talking to her, yeah. LARRY KING: She was very cooperative?

NORMAN MAILER: Yeah, pretty cooperative, yeah. She loves the truth. One of the things I found- so that very often, even though the stories were painful for her to relate, she would tell them, because it's very important to her to be truthful. You know, she had this reputation for years after the Warren Commission that she was a liar. She wasn't. She just was terribly confused and overwhelmed. LARRY KING: Does she believe the lone-killer theory?

NORMAN MAILER: Not any longer. She used to, right after the assassination, for a couple years after that. Now she feels she was brainwashed a bit. And now she doesn't know quite what she thinks, I say. But she believes he was not the killer.

LARRY KING: You conclude he was, though, right?

NORMAN MAILER: Yeah, but I said that I only had a 75-percent conviction that he was guilty, and if I would have been his lawyer, I could have gotten him off. LARRY KING: Gotten him off?

NORMAN MAILER: Of course. The evidence is so difficult and tricky. And, you know, in my own mind, I'm not at all convinced that he wasn't part of a conspiracy. I just think he probably was the lone killer. You have to understand, I was interested in his character, not in solving the mystery. LARRY KING: I got you. You go into his head.

NORMAN MAILER: Yeah. I tried to.

LARRY KING: Russians spied on him, right?

LAWRENCE SCHILLER: They watched him from the minute he arrived in the Soviet Union until the minute he left.

LARRY KING: Well, they all couldn't have been KGB.

3/9/6 (Item 1 from file: 632)
DIALOG(R)File 632:Chicago Tribune
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08093075 MAILER SAYS KGR SAW OSWALD AS BIG BUNGLER Chicago Tribune (CT) - MONDAY. April 3. 1995 By: Associated Press. Edition: NORTH SPORTS FINAL Section: NEWS Page: 10 Word Count: 380

TEXT: NEW YORK - In the Soviet Union, Lee Harvey Oswald was a klutz who couldn't shoot straight and apparently wasn't considered good spy material by the KGB, says a new article on President Kennedy's assassin.

Norman Mailer, writing in The New Yorker's April 10 issue, says the Boviets suspected defector Oswald of being a U.S. agent and kept him under surveillance when he lived there for 2 1/2 years.

Oswald returned to the United States in 1962, a year before the assassination in Dallas.

Soviet agents watched Oswald and his Russian wife Marina through a peephole in the wall of their state-assigned apartment in Minsk, Mailer writes in the magazine, which comes out Monday.

"We can say it now-there were surveillants assigned to Oswald's tails. and certain people were assigned to work with him, to become his associates and friends," the tormer deputy chief of counterintelligence in Minsk is quoted as saying.

Among those interviewed in Minsk was a fellow worker of Oswald in a adio factory. who said he was asked to test Oswald's interest in information about the Soviet Air Force.

"The friend also remembers that Oswald couldn't figure out how to put "ilm in a simple Soviet camera," the article says. "The KOB noted with reat interest that Oswald, a former Marine, never seemed to hit anything then he went hunting and that he didn't know how to operate a shortwave "adio set."

But when Oswald was arrested for the Nov. 22, 1963, Kennedy ssassination. it plunged the Soviet spy service into turmoil, Mailer prites.

The KGB officer in charge of Oswald's case file swore to superiors that o attempt had been made to recruit the eccentric American. "You can cut off my head, but not only did we not try to, the very thought did not even nter our minds." the officer said.

The former deputy chief of counterintelligence told Mailer that even hough the KGB had "no data" that could have foretold Oswald's actions, ennedy's assassination was "the worst moment of my life."

"Everybody blames me for this! It was as if I knew he would shoot," the fficer said.

Mailer's article is adapted from a new book, "Oswald's Tale: An American ystery." and is based on six months of research in the former Soviet nion.

ESCRIPTORS: RUSSIA; RELATION; UNITED STATES; SHOOTING

must never put information into a novel unless it is digested through the lens of a protagonist's perceptions. In "Harlot's Ghost," my protagonist is connected umbilically to the reader. If everything flows from one character to the reader, then there isn't that need for an intermediary, a narrator. Now in "The Executioner's Song." I felt I was entitled to a narrator because the information about Gary Gilmore and other characters is received information; I wasn't making it up.

Lennon-You use a remarkable number of real people. There must be about 20 bistorical characters with speaking parts.

Mailer-There's E. Howard Hunt, Bill Harvey; there's Allen Dulles, Helms, Kim Philby, Burgess, Bissell.

..ennon-The Kennedy brothers.

Jailer-David Fhillips, the Kennedy brothers, all the Kennedy cabinet people. Gen. Lansdale is real.

\_ennon-That's the government world, but then you've also got the Nob.

DESCRIPTORS: BOOK; CELEBRITY; INTERVIEW; PROFILE

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3/9/8 (Item 1 from file: 633) )IALOG(R)File 633:Phil.Inquirer (c) 1995 Philadelphia Newspapers Inc. All rts. reserv.

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NEW GENERATION AT PENN MEETS NORMAN MAILER STUDENTS WHO HADN'T HEARD OF HE PROVOCATIVE WRITER AREN'T LIKELY TO FORGET THEIR ENCOUNTER. Philadelphia Inquirer (PI) - FRIDAY March 24, 1995 (y: Howard Goodman. INQUIRER STAFF WRITER

.dition: FINA/ Section: LOCA/ Page: 801 lord Count: 1.116

EXT: o the World War II generation, he was one of the young lions who set out o conquer the Great American Novel.

To the Sixties' Left, he was an antiwar hero and feminists' foil.

To college kids today, he's Norman Who?

Mailer . . Mailer . . At least a third of the 17 University of ennsylvania juniors in History 398 - honors students all - couldn't quite lace the name when professor Bruce Kuklick assigned The Armies of the ight. Mailer's Pulitzer Prize-winning account of the October 1967 antiwar arch on the Pentagon.

But they dutifully read his book. And Wednesday, in a windowless seminar oom in Collece Hall. they found themselves sitting with him around a long able that bridged the divides of age.

At 72. Mailer wears tiny hearing aids in his half-moon ears, his hair is ilky white, and to his old boxer's stockiness there is now added a wobbly ait.

For more than an hour, they analyzed his reporting of events that courred before they were born - and discovered what their elders have long nown. Mailer is a trip.

"The fact of the matter is that history is exactly like novel writing," ailer told the startled history majors. "They're both fiction."

And he wasn't through: "Ultimately, nothing in history is true. Everything has been misreported from the beginning of time, including the Old Testament and the New Testament, which are perfect examples of egregious misreporting of whatever-it-is."

The world-renowned writer spent four days at Penn this week, reading from his work, participating in discussions on advertising, architecture, politics and "spiritual ecology," and meeting a generation that's estranged from the world that he inhabits and signifies - a world of letters and of intense engagement with the issues of the day.

The students in History 398 half-expected to meet the Mailer who appears as a character in the 28-year-old partly autobiographical literature they had been assigned: Pugnacious. Part drunk. A tough guy, treating literary reputation as a field of combat.

In his opinions. Mailer was as feisty as ever. But his manner was nellow, his attitude toward the twentysomethings not a bit condescending.

His 28th book, an 800-page nonfiction study of Lee Harvey Oswald, appears in bookstores next month, adding to a body of work that includes The Naked and the Dead, Advertisements for Myself and The Executioner's Sono.

Sawald's Tale is the result of six months' research in Minsk, where Tailer interviewed KGB agents who tailed Oswald during the accused tesassin's puzzling 2 1/2-year sojourn in the Soviet Union.

Hailer said he decided "it was likely" that Oswald acted alone in tilling President John F. Kennedy - not from the evidence, "which is .mpenetrable," but "because I got to know his character."

"Oswald is not this little nerd that everybody thinks he is," Mailer old the students. "He is not this poor little unfortunate. He is a very oright, intelligent, bold guy."

Moreover, "this is a man who has this idea of himself that he's destined 'or greatness." Mailer said. "That's the kind of man who does commit an (seasonation."

Several students and Kuklick said they were troubled by the way Mailer relds the roles of novelist and historian. Kuklick, who has written a cholarly book about the vanished Connie Mack Stadium, said historians an't compete with novelists' storytelling powers. "I'm afraid we'll get riped out," the history professor said.

"Well. we're all in danger of being wiped out." Hailer replied. "There s gross tendency all over the world to have less and less respect for any uestion that takes more than 10 seconds to answer."

The students were rapt, sometimes challenging. Mailer talked of the ossibility of fascism coming to the United States. It's a real fear, he aid: An economic depression could inflame animosities between whites and lacks. triggering riots unlike any seen before. The public - already cared to walk the streets - demands that troops guell the strife.

"It could be like Grozny all over again: they'll bring in the heavy tuff," Mailer said. "By that time, you're going to have barbed wire in amden. you're going to have the feds clamp down on them, and you're going o have a de facto fascism."

In some respects, he said, the situation seems worse than the nation's ivisive state during the Vietnam War: "At that time, at least, there were eople on the left who were ready to take punishment for their ideas." sterility of modern life. "Fluorescent lighting is bad spiritual ecology," Mailer said. "It takes 10 percent off the mood. Drinking champagne out of a plastic glass - 10 percent off the mood. And you've all been on airplanes, you know what that does. You pay money to get to a place quicker, but then have to spend two days to recover spiritually, because the stuff is taken off you."

Graham Robinson, a clean-cut student in a trim green sweater, had enough. "You don't have to take a plane." he said to Mailer.

Robinson liked it less when Mailer criticized corporations for "invading our intelligence all the time, all the time, all the time."

"You can't turn on the television set without being brainwashed by the corporations." Mailer said. "They do this far better than the communists ever did."

"Then why do you watch television?" Robinson demanded.

"Because I'm an addict," Mailer said.

All in all, Kobinson was unimpressed with the great writer. "Halfway through the conversation," he said afterward. "I realized that it's a really good thing for the country that we don't have intellectuals in power in the United States."

Madeleine Lopez, however, said it was thrilling to hear Mailer place race at the center of America's challenges. "Leaders of my generation don't want to talk about race," she said, adding that college-age politicos are primarily concerned with ecology or economics, while campuses nationwide have segregated themselves into white, black and Hispanic cliques. "What he said was really, really helpful."

As Mailer got ready to leave, a student lamented: "I feel like we're :rapped. but among young people. there's a feeling that there's no real leadership."

"Well, create a leader among yourselves," Mailer offered. "You know, we there are getting a little old for it."

CAPTION: HOTO

PH070 (2)

 Norman Mailer with a gift from students. The author spent four days t. Penn this week, reading from his works and taking part in discussions. A02)

2. Norman Mailer listens to history professor Bruce Kuklick (top right) ead from Mailer's "The Armies of the Night" as students follow along. (The 'biladelphia Inquirer / VICKI VALERIO)

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3/9/9 (Item 1 from file: 638)
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he Was Style Personified
ewsday (ND) - Monday May 23. 1994
y: Grace Mirabella. Grace Mirabella is founder and publication director of Mirabella manazine
dition: NASSAU AND SUFFOLK Section: VIEWPOINTS Page: A25

referred Member

# The Bulletin for Preferred Members Only • May 1995, No.5

# INTERVIEW WITH **NORMAN MAILER** BOMC talks with the author of Oswald's Tale

ONE COOL, OVERCAST DAY IN JANUARY, BOMC EXECUTIVE EDITOR ANDRÉ BERNARD, PHOTOGRAPHER John Liy and I took a trip to Brooklyn Heights to chat with Norman Mailer about his new book, *Oswald's Tale*, which we're offering this month. He greeted us graciously and led us into his living room, which features a wonderful view, literally hundreds of books and some decidedly unusual dressmaker dummies that look like Egyptian mummies—*Ancient Evenings*, anyone? Mailer told us how he and journalist Lawrence Schiller (with whom Mailer had worked on *The Executioner's Song*) went to Minsk to study the tapes of the KGB's 1959 surveillance of Lee Harvey Oswald. The KGB, it seems, was quite interested in Mailer:

"I remember with the KGB, at one point, they were very suspicious of us," he told us. "They said to us in Moscow and again in Minsk, "Why are you here?" and since they are very literary in a way we are not here, they would ask, "Why are you, Mr. Mailer, important writer, spending six months in our country?" And you could see by the light in their eyes that they had a secret hope that I might be some kind of exotic 'plant' for the CIA."

Mailer was not a spy for the CIA, of course, but he did find his stay in Russia fascinating, even though he spent much of his time there conducting interviews (he and Schiller talked in-depth with 17 people) and reading the Warren Commission Reports in "his typical little apartment" on the outskirts of Minsk. By the time he finished writing the "Russian" portion of the book, he was ready to add a little "epilogue" about Oswald in America. "My publishers said, 'Oh, don't make it too long,' and I said, 'No, I won't.' " Mailer burst out laughing: the "epilogue" has become the bulk of



*Oswald's Tale*, the journey of Lee Harvey Oswald in America. Mailer also talked admiringly of Marina Oswald, Oswald's widow, whom he interviewed for five days in Texas: "She's only in her early 50s, but she's bent over almost as if she were holding a stone on her back.... She has this obsessive question: 'How much of this is my fault?' [And she has] a truly sardonic wit. My wife [the painter Norris Church] met her and said, 'Tm pleased to meet you,' and Marina said, 'Why?' "

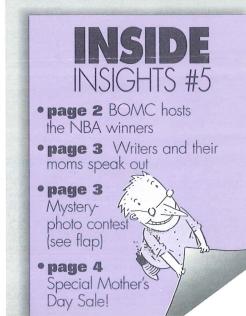
At the end of the interview, Mailer led us outside to his balcony, which affords a panoramic view of lower Manhattan, the East River and the Brooklyn Bridge. We chatted for a little while longer and then John Liy took more photographs and we left more than a little pleased to have spent time in the home of one of America's finest writers, who may just have written his best book in some time....

Report by Creative Director Joseph Cummins





Top: Norman Mailer, Creative Director Joe Cummins and Executive Editor André Bernard, in Mailer's living room. Above: the threesome on the author's balcony.



# **Extraordinary Lives**

A haunting nonfiction masterpiece from the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of <u>The Executioner's Song</u>

# Norman Mailer Oswaldan assassin with a vision? Or merely a killer without

one? "For the sudden death of a man as large in his possibilities as John Fitzgerald Kennedy is more tolerable if we can perceive his killer as tragic rather than absurd," writes Mailer in this meticulously researched and vibrant true story of the life and death of Lee Harvey Oswald. Oswald's Tale reveals not conspiracy, but character. We have come, says Mailer, to "search for the nature of the man before we seek out the plot."

In 1959, the troubled 20-year-old Lee Harvey FOR BOMC BY STEVEN DANA Oswald-an ex-Marine and budding Marxist ideologue-defected to the Soviet Union and was sent by the somewhat puzzled authorities to the provincial city of Minsk, where the KGB could more easily keep an eye on him. In 1993, Norman Mailer spent six months in Minsk carefully interviewing Oswald's former friends and sweethearts and obtaining exclusive access to KGB surveillance reports more than 30 years old. PHOTO-ILLUSTRATION They include transcripts of the bugging of Lee and his new wife Marina's apartment. After Russia, Mailer brings us with Oswald and his new family-Marina and an infant daughter-back to the United States, where he reconstructs Os- Continued on other side



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# **Extraordinary Lives**

# Continued from other side

wald's life, beginning with his birth in New Orleans in 1939, and subsequent wanderings with his overweening mother, Marguerite. From there, searching for clues to Oswald's motive and character, Mailer resumes Oswald's adult life and takes us stepassassination and its aftermath.

6 Oswald owned all the elements that cohere in a ghostambition, deceit, a sense of mission, and the untold frustration of an abrupt death just as a long-held dream of personal prominence was about to unfold. Can there be any American of our century who, having failed to by-step through the gain stature while he was alive, now haunts us more?

What do we learn? That Lee Harvey Oswald was a loner; that he possessed a monumental ego (Oswald considered himself "one of the principalities of the universe"); that a New York social worker met the 13-yearold Oswald and described him thusly: "There is a rather pleasant, appealing quality about this emotionally starved, affectionless youngster .... " The KGB tapes make clear that Oswald and Marina fought like typical newlyweds (Oswald: "You weren't this way before." Marina: "Neither were you."), but later, in America, he beat her.

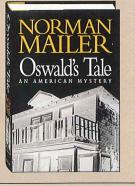
Here was a man for whom "no pit was so deep...as the abyss of unrequited love," killing the king of male sexual icons, JFK. Here was a man, harassed for his views by the intelligence services of two countries, who simply walked by everyone and fired the shot that would change things forever-but not before leaving his wedding ring in a cup for his sleeping wife.

Conspiracy theories will still abound, but in this, his

best book since The Executioner's Song, Mailer has located and achingly opened up for us the solitary and heretofore elusive heart of a man who almost certainly operated by himself on that fateful day.

896 pages Publisher's price \$30 34-8214 Club price \$24.95 Dividend Price: 6 Credits + \$15

PHOTO FOR BOMC BY JOHN LIY



# An exclusive

# talk with Norman Mailer

We visited Norman Mailer in Brooklyn Heights to talk about Oswald's Tale one day last January, a week or so before his 73rd birthday. Mailer was welcoming and friendly, with his famous halo of white hair undiminished. He told us that Oswald's Tale really began when he was



invited to Russia to study the secret KGB files on Lee Harvey Oswald. He jumped at the opportunity ("the equivalent to an Oklahoma Land Grab") and after six months living in Minsk found "there was much more to Oswald than I expected .... He had a unique balance and imbalance.... [He] believed in himself the way people like Lenin, Hitler and Marx believed in themselves." Mailer's goal became to "make Oswald come alive .... He was always a cipher." He extended the book to include Oswald in America, studied the Warren Commission books and the House Special Committee on Assassinations findings and even spent time with Marina, Oswald's widow. Much of Oswald's Tale is about obsession. "I'll never forgive [Oswald]," Mailer says, "because we'll never get over the tragedy that a man who could have been a great president, or could not have been, didn't live long enough to fulfill our notion of history. That leaves a gap in a nation's collective psyche just like a marriage that ends too soon. People are obsessed ... for the rest of their lives.... I think finally what we're dealing with here is a double tragedy. The immense major tragedy of Kennedy's assassination and the minor but nonetheless intense tragedy of Oswald's end."

Interview by BOMC Executive Editor André Bernard and Creative Director Joseph Cummins.

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# Simpson book to create cash, not alarm

LOS ANGELES (AP) – O.J. Simpson's upcoming book probably won't contain any startling revelations and may be just an attempt to gain good publicity and much-needed cash, legal analysts said Sunday.

3

"I can't believe defense lawyers didn't go over this with a fine-toothed comb to find out if there's anything that could hurt them," said Loyola University law professor Stanley Goldman. "If there is, they would have cut it out."

However, it could give prosecutors grounds to seek delays while they study its contents.

The book, "I Want to Tell You," is said to describe Mr. Simpson's agony over being wrongly accused of the June 12 killings of ex-wife Nicole Brown Simpson and her friend Ronald Goldman.

It is Mr. Simpson's response to more than 300,000 pieces of mail he has received since he was arrested, Lawrence Schiller, who collaborated with Mr. Simpson on the project, told *The New York Times.* 

Mr. Simpson receives 2,000 to 3,000 pieces of mail daily from people all over the world, including children who enclose their allowances, Robert Kardashian, Mr. Simpson's longtime personal lawyer, told the newspaper.

The book is to be published next month, the *Times* reported Sunday. Neither Mr. Schiller nor the publishing house, Little, Brown & Co. of New York, returned calls for comment Sunday.

Mr. Schiller, a former neighbor of Mr. Simpson's, is a producer, director and journalist. He collaborated with Norman Mailer on his Pulitzer Prize winning "Executioner's Song" and Mr. Mailer's forthcoming "Oswald's Tale: An American Mystery."

News of the book came just before the start of a hearing on whether jurors may hear evidence about domestic violence in Mr. Simpson's marriage. The tale chasing the dog: Salty old dog Norman Mailer squeezes his robust frame into a chair and reads from his new book, *Oswald's Tale*, at Endicott Booksellers.

[Endicott Booksellers, 450 Columbus Avenue, 7:30 P.M., 787-6300.] NYENGU, 1957 ance wond man

was never the free-for-all that Mr. Mailer describes, not even in the days of William J. (Wild Bill) Donovan, the creator of the O.S.S., America's first coordinated intelligence agency.

"Anyone who worked for Bill Donovan knew perfectly well that you didn't run riot," he said. "Yes, he was a flamboyant man of endless ideas, 90 percent of which were wild. But in the last analysis, he was a sane, rational man, and the impression that his people were running off doing things with no sense of responsibility is not true."

A female C.I.A. analyst was more blunt. The aristocratic, larger-thanlife, East-Coast, Ivy Leaguers with insatiable appetites for sex and duplicity, she said, "would never have passed the polygraph."

But when you have Norman Mailer in your presence, why quibble over facts? The audiences did not dwell on the inaccuracies in their craft or on his mixing up cryptonyms and pseudonyms. Neither did they break it to him that unlike his narrator, agency officials do not spend much of their time rock-climbing, writing endless letters or taking three-month vacations in Maine.

"As a reader," one operations officer said, "you have to get beyond the retired-British-colonel mentality which says that jasmine don't smell in the Kashmir in September," and that as result the whole book is worthless.

### **Delight About Mistakes**

On the contrary, some officials were delighted that in a world where secrecy is sacred, Mr. Mailer got it wrong. "It bothers you most when someone has a lot of sources in the agency and what is written is totally accurate," said one official who has worked both as an analyst and administrator. "You like to see inaccuracies."

During his presentations, Mr. Mailer was asked whether he realized that the real C.I.A. was much grayer than his portrait, and why he paid only fleeting attention to the basic function of the organization: the collection and analysis of information for policy makers. "If you want to write a novel about bureaucracy and not write satire, you need a writer of Thomas Mann's status." he said he told them."

THE NEW YORK TIN

# Around the Nation

# **Court Orders Data On JFK Probe Fund**

NEW ORLEANS—Lawyers for the man accused of plotting to assassinate President Kennedy won their fight yesterday to publicize donors to the private fund behind the probe of District Attorney Jim Garrison.

Criminal Court Judge Edward A. Haggerty signed a subpoena ordering a group of businessmen financing the investigation to produce its membership rolls and money records at a hearing Monday. The group is called Truth and Consequences.

Defense attorneys wanted the records in time for the hearing on their motions to quash the indictment charging New Orleans business executive Clay L. Shaw with conspiring to murder President Kennedy, who was shot from ambush in Dallas Nov. 22, 1963.

22, 1963. The judge also ordered Garrison to relinquish to the court records of receipts and disbursements of the privately donated funds.

In another development, Gordon Novel withdrew his \$50 million damage suit against Garrison and others rather than return here today and make a deposition in connection with the case. Garrison has sought without success since March to have Novel, 29, extradited from Ohio for questioning as a material witness in the Kennedy assination probe.

# **Belli's Ruby Fee**

DALLAS—Lawyer Melvin Belli was paid \$11,000 plus expenses, "which ran into the thousands," for handling the Jack Ruby case, Ruby's brother said.

Earl Ruby, a Detroit businessman, said that the Ruby family became disenchanted with Belli even before the guilty verdict. He was dismissed in a "last straw" move when he tried to sell pictures of Ruby to Life magazine, Earl Ruby testified.

The Ruby fund collected \$26,000 from the sale of a newspaper series, but expenses have run almost \$59,000, the brother said. of an inebriate during drinking spree.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare announced that it will provide a grant of \$564,409 over a 3year period.

Scientists of the Boston Department of Health and Hospitals and Harvard Medical School physicians will study the drunks.

Male volunteers 30 to 45 years of age with a clear-cut history of at least five years' involvement in drinking sprees will be chosen to participate.



The Washington Post MELVIN BELLI ... gets \$11,000 plus Honord

# We CAN MU pest RASY-NORM is a the CASE! A CUNNIFF

With Norman Mailer on the case who dares reast easy? Every time he has gotten into it there has been bad news. What is quoted here is not bad news but wait, he is only beginning. Give him and his imagination time!

He'll probably get a tax WPOswald went to the USSR at 19, after quitting the U.S. marines, but did writ eoff on it besides the possibility that he'll

use some of it.

That is when we really worry!

Thanks,

HW

1/30/ 93

# Minsk quest for the truth about JF S Bill Clinton

prepared for his White House inauguration this week, one of America's most famous authors had his eyes firmly fixed on another. Democrat president.

46 INTERNATIONAL EXPRESS

Hard-living Norman Mailer is in Minsk, in a drab apartment, research-ing the assassination of John Kennedy. Why Minsk? It was here

that Lee Harvey Oswald was hidden by the KGB for three years up to 1962 before Kennedy was gunned down.

not renounce his American citizenship.

# Alimony

But the film JFK suggested that members of the U.S. government and anti-Castro Cubans, not Oswald, conspired to kill Kennedy.

At the end of his last book, Harlot's Ghost, Mailer — six-times mar-ried and twice winner of the Pulitzer Prize — left his form in gurgenera his fans in suspense.

His tour de force of the Cold War took them up to the Kennedy assassina-tion, then said brusquely: "To be continued".

During his cold, winter sojourn in what is now the capital of newly-independent Belarus, Mailer — who at almost 70 has to earn £150,000 a year simply to pay alimony - has interviewed everyone still



JAN. 21-27

1993

### **MAILER: Research**

alive who had any links with Oswald.

Only now are they speaking for the first time. Ernst Titovets, rather chillingly, remembers Oswald reading aloud a Hemingway short story called The Killers about two hired assassins.

"It was eerie," said Titovets, 53, a doctor, but Oswald was merely an "innocent Cold War patsy".

Ella German Prokhorchuk, who had an eightmonth platonic relationship with him, said: "I never believed he could be a killer." However, she did suspect him of spying.

The woman Oswald married, Marina Prusikova, who now lives in the U.S., has also changed her story to deny Oswald was the killer.

And his closest Russian friend, Pavel Golovachev, said: "Oswald was never dangerous." He was also a bad shot when they went hunting.

The KGB's Oswald file remains tightly closed, as does the CIA's. Until this changes, we will never know the real story.

Temp

# **Mailer's way**

# Book tour's abrupt halt triggers few answers

# By John Blades Tribune Staff Writer

**Literary notes** 

n Norman Mailer's ragingbull days, public misconduct was more or less expected of him. Even though he's older, wiser and allegedly a lot tamer, Mailer still had a rude surprise last week for a Chicago radio host and a bookstore proprietor, not to mention all the admirers who'd hoped to catch the ex-devil in the flesh.

Shortly before he was due in Chicago to boost his latest book, "Oswald's Tale," the 72-year-old Mailer bailed out. "I understand he had a tiff with his publisher [Random House]," said one source, "and wanted to put his foot down. He was showing his petulance or anger or whatever by canceling the tour."

That wasn't the corporate line at Random House, however, where Carol Schneider, vice president of publicity, said: "This wasn't any arm-wrestling contest between a writer and his publisher. It was just too much for him. There's a chance he may come back in June, but I can't promise he will. He doesn't like to be away from his writing for long."

Mailer had agreed to media interviews in Chicago for his new book, a non-fiction exploration of the mind and motives of JFK assassin Lee Harvey Oswald. But after aborting his promotional mission, he wasn't available for comment on Oswald or anything else, even by long distance. "He's not comfortable with phone interviews," said a Random House publicist.

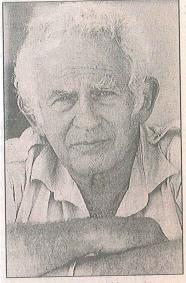
Whatever the reasons, Mailer's no-show was a jolt to Milton Rosenberg, who was left with two hours to fill on his WGN "Extension 720" program on May 11, and Pat Peterson, co-owner of Barbara's Bookstore, who had been promoting Mailer's Friday reading for two months.

Rosenberg, who'd always found Mailer "gracious and pleasant" in previous appearances on his program, said: "Of course, it was a disappointment. I was upset or annoyed for about 15 minutes, but you can't live or die by things like that."

Rosenberg was able to quickly assemble a panel of journalists for a general news review. Pat Peterson, however, had nobody to sub for Mailer at her bookstore, 1350 N. Wells St.

"But we must've gotten the word out, because there was no mob scene," said Peterson, who said she wasn't told why Mailer dropped out of his tour. "Only 20 people wandered in, and they were disappointed but not angry."

Of all the Mailer fans, perhaps the most stricken was Peterson herself: "This was a once-in-acareer event for me. ... When Random House called last winter to set this event up, we were astonished and really proud. So, yeah, you could say it was a letdown."



The cancellation of Norman Mailer's book tour left a couple of Chicago venues in the lurch.

# The case against conspiracy

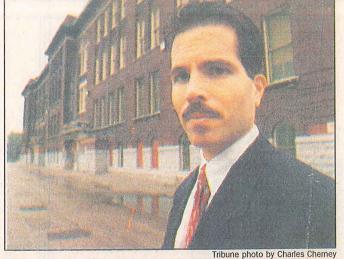
Gerald Posner, acting alone, has wounded the JFK cover-up industry

### By Paul Galloway TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER

he rendezvous was arranged for a weeknight last fall at a Turkish restaurant near CIA headquarters in Langley, Va. The proprietor would be expecting him.

When author Gerald Posner said he was there to meet George and his wife, as he had been instructed to do, the proprietor led Posner and his wife, Trisha, to a private table in the back room.

George was the code name for Yuri Nosenko, a KGB officer who defected to the U.S. in 1964 and now lives under another name in an undisclosed part of the country. Posner was re-SEE POSNER, PAGE 7



Gerald Posner, debunker of conspiracy theorists, at Smyth School on West 13th Street, which Jack Ruby attended.

### **CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1**

searching a book about the assassination of John F. Kennedy, and Nosenko had agreed to speak for the first time exclusively about the Soviet intelligence agency's surveillance of Lee Harvey Oswald during his stay in the Soviet Union from late 1959 until June 1962. Nosenko had suggested that he and Posner bring their wives, Posner said, because the sight of two couples dining together would serve as cover for their interview.

"Yuri supervised the Oswald file in Moscow and was familiar with the KGB files on Oswald's time in Minsk, which I had seen," Posner said. "I knew he could be extremely helpful in reconstructing that period of Oswald's life."

A chapter in Posner's new book, "Case Closed: Lee Harvey Oswald and the Assassination of JFK," is devoted to Nosenko and his assessments of Oswald.

As the title suggests, Posner finds Oswald to be Kennedy's assassin, acting alone, just as the Warren Commission said. Further, he was not a CIA agent, not a KGB agent, not an innocent Chicago Tribune, Sunday, October 3, 1993

patsy but a sociopath and loser who had grandiose notions of making a mark in history.

Posner is as surprised at the book's conclusion as the conspiracy buffs are riled.

"I'm getting some very personal, vindictive calls from the conspiracy people. If it's any consolation, I never set out to do a book that would say here is the final answer, here is who did it," Posner said during a visit to Chicago.

Posner's intention was to write a primer of sorts about the assassination after examining the welter of conspiracy theories to see what was credible and what wasn't.

### Poking in the garbage

"When you read all the conspiracy books, it's apparent they can't all be right because they flatly contradict each other," he said. "I knew there was garbage on the record. I didn't know how much."

After he debunked as many inaccuracies and false leads as he

could, he assumed there would be some issues that would require further investigation, perhaps questions about acoustics or ballistics or possible Mafia involvement.

Yet toward the end of his research, Posner notified Bob Loomis, his editor at Random House, that he had taken an unexpected turn.

"I was convinced the Warren Commission had gotten it right. The evidence was overwhelming," he said.

Posner also was aware, of course, that a large majority of the populace thinks the Warren Commission had gotten it wrong, maybe on purpose.

He got a feel for such skepticism when Loomis, vice president and executive editor of Random House, took his own poll at the next meeting of the publishing house's top editors, who periodically gather to report on works in progress.

"Bob told them about what I'd found and asked how many believed the Warren Commission was right," Posner said. "Remem-

"When people cite polls showing 70 or 80 or even 90 percent of the public as believing the assassina-tion was the result of a conspira-cy, I say I'm surprised it's not 100 called "The Men Who Killed Ken-nedy.'" brightest, best-informed, best-edu-cated people in New York City, mentaries, which are invariably pro-conspiracy," Posner said. "A recent one was a five-hour British A 1978 congressional investiga-tion estimated that 2,000 books, in-cluding those that are self-pub-lished, had been written on the and no one I Bob Loomis." a variety of sometimes-elaborate subject. All but a handful present ber, these are some of the to young people, it's a documentawith demonstrable falsehoods, but "Half of our country's present population weren't born [as of] November 1963. Stone's movie is a 1991. said, is Oliver Stone's \$50 million movie, "JFK," released in late don't. rule, the conspiracy books make killers and cover-ups, and as a scenarios about plotters, motives, one side for three decades. people have essentially heard only percent when you consider historical abomination that's filled bestseller lists, while the others And most influential of all, he "Then there are the TV docu-Posner was not dismayed no one raised a hand except 'JFK' an 'abomination' that cizing it, they say, 'Well, Stone may have exaggerated, but there's nesses and changing of testimo-ny," Posner said. "The jury took only 45 minutes to find Shaw not got to be something there.' Believe it or not, there's not." Shaw was disgraceful, criminal and has been thoroughly discred-ited. There was coercion of witan alleged conspirator. Garrison, including his prosecu-tion of businessman Clay Shaw as said, is that Stone based his movie land Hospital was almost pristine, couldn't have struck Kennedy and John Connally's stretcher at Parkmagic bullet found on Texas Gov Among the doctrines of conspir-acy literature bolstered by "JFK," the Warren Commission. Stone has said "JFK" was a "counter-myth" to the "myth" of that several jurors had to go guilty, and one of the jurors said it would have been 20 minutes but on the investigation of former New Orleans District Atty. Jim planted. Posner noted, the bathroom. ound, "Garrison's prosecution of Clay What's especially galling, Posner "Even if they read articles criti-The no-longer magic bullet

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And what about Jack Ruby, the Chicago native who moved to Dal-las to run strip clubs? Did he just happen by the Dallas jail on Nov. 24 and shoot Oswald on the spur of the moment?

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# Thumbs up from the critics

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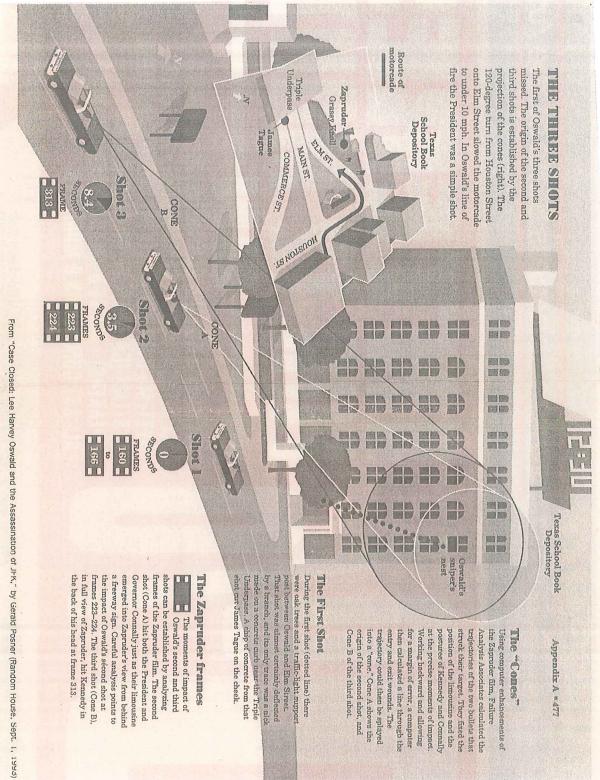
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So Posner attended law school at the University of California at Berkeley, where he was an honor student, then joined a prestigious Wall Street law firm, leaving two years later to form his own firm.

In 1981 he represented Jewish victims of Dr. Josef Mengele, the notorious Nazi war criminal who escaped from Germany after World War II and died in hiding in South America.

"It was a pro bono case, and I sued the Mengele family and the German government," Posner said. "Nothing came of the suit, but I accumulated 25,000 documents about Mengele, so I thought I'd write a book."

"Mengele: The Complete Story," which he co-wrote with John Ware, was published in 1986, prompting Posner to leave the law and write full time.

"Case Closed" is his fifth book. "A weakness of mine is that I tend to underestimate the difficulty of each project I undertake. This was true with this book, but as I kept going I kept finding answers to things I didn't think I could get answers to."

## The real cover-ups

Posner agrees with critics of the Warren Commission who say its investigation was flawed.

"There was a cover-up by the FBI and the CIA, but they weren't attempting to conceal their involvement in the murder of the president but rather their own inefficiency and bungling," Posner said. "I go into detail in exposing these cover-ups, but they can't be interpreted as evidence of conspiracy."

The Warren Commission's work also was tarnished by a dubious finding of the 1978 investigation by the House Select Committee on Assassinations, Posner said.

"The committee's acoustics experts tested a Dictabelt recording of radio traffic on Dallas police channels and said they were 95 percent certain there had been a fourth shot, therefore a second shooter and a conspiracy."

A retest by the National Academy of Sciences discredited the committee's experts, concluding that the recording was made a minute after the shooting, Posner said.

Half of "Case Closed" is a meticulous examination of Oswald's entire life, culminating in an almost day-by-day chronicle of his movements in the last two months before the assassination. "Many conspiracy books almost ignore Oswald. But he's the key, and it's amazing how much is known about him," Posner said. "It's certainly enough to disprove all the theories that he was a spy or a patsy.

"My technique was to go to original sources. Too many books quote secondary sources, some of which are passing on misinformation, which means the garbage is disseminated again and again, becoming fact.

"Here's an example. 'JFK' opens with Rose Cheramie, a prostitute, warning her doctors that the Kennedy assassination is going to take place in Dallas and naming Ruby as involved. I found her doctor, who said she was psychotic and didn't mention the assassination until the day after it happened or Ruby until the day after he killed Oswald."

Posner paused. "I can go on."

# e Bad News Starts at Work in Nation's Newsroc

By Howard Kurtz Washington Post Staff Writer

At the Baltimore Sun, which is cutting 125 jobs, some senior editors have been offered reporting or copy-editing positions if they don't retire.

At the Los Angeles Times, 800 jobs are being abolished, along with the weekly World Report section, six suburban sections and City Times, which was launched after the 1992 riots.

At the Miami Herald, which has killed its Sunday feature section, the publisher

says the paper will henceforth concentrate on nine subjects deemed most important in reader surveys. National and world news are not among them.

And at the Buffalo News, a redesign generally allows only three stories on the front page. Some recent offerings: rumors that O.J. Simpson was marrying Paula Barbieri, and Dagwood and Blondie consulting a marriage counselor. "You can get the facts without straining

your brain," a radio ad says. Across the country, layoffs, budget cuts and a changing approach to journal-

> ism have cast a pall over America's newsrooms. A familiar list of culprits—soaring newsprint costs, declining circulation and growing competition from television, talk radio, direct mail and on-line services has combined to make 1995 the most depressing year in recent newspaper histo-

ry. "The business is scared, and the people running it, myself included, are confused about which way to point the papers and how to deal with the competition," said Zachary Stalberg, editor of the Philadelphia Daily News. "There's a real spiritual

> self-doubt that I don't remember experiencing before."

Lest anyone forget the stakes, the newspaper landscape is littered with the recent corpses of the Houston Post,' New York Newsday and the Baltimore Evening Sun and further darkened by a bitter 3½month strike at the Detroit News and Detroit Free Press.

Morale is particularly low at two of the industry's most prominent chains: Knight-Ridder (which owns the Miami Herald, Detroit Free Press and the Philadelphia

See NEWSPAPERS, A8, Col. 1

# New Stress on the Bottom Line Creating Newsrooms of Unrest

## **NEWSPAPERS, From A1**

Inquirer and Daily News) and Times Mirror (owner of the Los Angeles Times, Newsday, Baltimore Sun and Hartford Courant).

Knight-Ridder's third-quarter profits plunged 82 percent, to \$6.6 million. Times Mirror recently reported \$299 million in third-quarter losses and announced further job cuts.

"The Courant is losing part of its heart and soul," Managing Editor Clifford Teutsch told the newsroom last month after 188 employees—16 percent of the staff accepted buyouts. Those leaving included the staff members who won a 1992 Pulitzer Prize; one is going to graduate school to study botany.

Baltimore Sun columnist Wiley Hall, a 20-year veteran who took a buyout last month, said the editors "encouraged me to leave" by dropping his column.

"I think they're making a big mistake," he said. "They're getting rid of a lot of good experience, people with connections to the Baltimore community, and that's going to hurt them in the end."

At the Philadelphia papers, where 230 jobs are being cut, union officials say management has suggested it may close the Daily News unless the editorial staff agrees to a contract extension. Things are so tight that Daily News reporters can no longer dial directory assistance, except from selected phones.

Knight-Ridder said last week that it is offering buyouts to all its Philadelphia employees in an effort to cut 7 percent of the staff. The company has demanded that the Philadelphia papers roughly double their profit margin.

Stalberg, whose tabloid is boosting its price from 50 to 60 cents, said the profit goal was reasonable. But he conceded "there are some things we're just not going to be able to cover when the smoke clears. . . . To raise the price and cut content at the same time is beyond frustrating."

Gene Miller, a veteran Herald editor and reporter, told American Journalism Review that "Knight-Ridder's terribly schizophrenic—they speak of quality and they talk of profits. They're so interested in money, and that's not why I became a newspaperman."

Lars-Erik Nelson, a Washington columnist who recently quit Newsday, said he was disturbed by the conduct of Mark Willes, the new Times Mirror chairman hired from General Mills.

"Willes made editorial decisions he was not qualified and competent to make," said Nelson, now with the New York Daily News. "It was done for the short-term hit on the stock price." Indeed, Times Mirror stock has risen from \$18 to \$29 a share since Willes took over in May.

Bill Kovach, curator of the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University, said that while many newspapers are overstaffed, "with buyouts you lose some of your best people. That's lousy management. To cut your staff by a significant percentage and say it's not going to have an impact on your report is just . . . public relations propaganda."

Most major newspapers reported circulation declines last spring for the third consecutive six-month period, including a drop of 51,000 at Newsday (to 670,000); 46,000 at the Los Angeles Times (to 1.05 million); 32,000 at the Wall Street Journal (to 1.82 million); and 16,000 at the New York Times (to 1.17 million).

At The Washington Post, circulation dropped 17,000, to 794,000, for the six months ending Sept. 30. The Post last week announced it would offer buyouts to 150 advertising and accounting employees in an effort to shrink its business staff.

Leonard Downie Jr., the Post's executive editor, attributed much of the circulation decline to a reorganization of home-delivery carriers and reduced spending on promotion. He also said the paper is "expanding our definition of news" to include more "real life" stories, such as those involving race relations.

But, Downie said, citing Bosnia as an example, "I don't believe in softening news coverage or abandoning coverage of important issues that might not always be easy to read about."

Many editors insist they are not downsizing quality. John Carroll, the Sun's editor, said his staff cutbacks were offset by the closing of the evening paper.

"I feel the paper has improved a lot in the last year and we'll be able to maintain it in '96," Carroll said. But he remains concerned about the latest buyout offers, saying: "We've got our fingers crossed that our most talented staffers will stay right here."

Laura Morgan, spokeswoman for the Los Angeles Times, said the cutbacks mainly affected weekly sections created in the last five years. "The core paper remains intact and has one of the largest news staffs in the country," she said.

At Newsday, which is under orders to boost its profit margin from 7 percent to 17 percent, so many staff members accepted buyouts that the paper now must fill nearly 20 empty slots.

Anthony Marro, editor of the Long Island paper, noted that "we've sharply reduced the geography we're covering. We've sharply reduced the number of readers we're serving. What we're left with now is still larger than the Boston Globe. This was a strong newspaper long before there was New York Newsday."

Part of the unhappiness in newsrooms these days deals less with budgets than with basics. Nearly 100 staff members at the Buffalo News, long a traditional, hardnews paper, signed a petition complaining they had not been consulted about the redesign, which includes a "Quickread" news summary. Many of the front-page stories are now 250 to 500 words, and no more than two can jump to an inside page.

"People are very, very discouraged," one reporter said. "When radio ads trumpet the fact that we're dumb-



ing down the newspaper, it insults everyone who works there, and it insults readers as well."

But News Editor Murray Light said most readers found the redesign, which was based on focus groups, "a much more pleasant reading experience." He said it is difficult "to find five stories that are worthy of page one display" because he has heard much of it "on the 11 o'clock news."

"Where I really got the opposition was from my own newsroom staff," Light said. "They were just unbelievable. I've never had as much of a rebellion.... The biggest complaint of the staff is that you're yielding to the marketers. Well, part of the job of editors today is to look at those things."

The Herald, which is cutting 300 jobs, has sparked considerable grumbling with its list of the Big Nine subjects (local government, sports, health and medicine, Florida news, education, environment, Latin America, consumer news and crime).

"It's desperation," one staff member said. "They're

grasping at straws." A number of top editors and reporters have fled the paper.

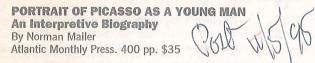
"It's not a disastrous time," said Doug Clifton, the Herald's editor. "The biggest impact will be on our suburban operations." He said the nine-subject agenda is mainly a matter of "emphasis" and "packaging.... We want to get maximum bang for the buck by being noticeably superb in areas that resonate across our geographic boundaries."

For all the hand-wringing, some say a reexamination of newspaper values is long overdue. The demise of New York Newsday, which won Pulitzer Prizes but lost \$100 million in 10 years, stands as a glaring example.

"I knew guys at Newsday who could not care less what the reader wanted," columnist Nelson said. "We used to have guys who told stories; now we have guys who come in with briefcases and record the march of history. If you win prizes for 14-part series on nuclear nonproliferation and nobody can read it or understand it, no wonder your circulation is going down."

WOD

# **Enfants** Terribles



# **By Robert Storr**

HE EGOTISM of a painter is entirely different from the egotism of a writer," Gertrude Stein once observed. The friction between these opposing ego-types shed aesthetic heat and light during the pivotal relationship between Stein and Pablo Picasso and gave rise to two enduring works of modern art. The first was his great sphinx-like portrait of her made in 1906 on the eve of Cubism's invention; the second, more minor but still invigorating, was her 1938 hommage to him in which the words quoted above appear.

When a novelist, poet or specialist in some other literary genre ventures into art criticism, what one hopes for in lieu of conventional historical or formal exegesis is an essay similar

Robert Storr is the curator of painting and sculpture at the Museum of Modern Art in New York.

# Continued from page 1

scholarship," defending this on the grounds that his goal was to write interpretive biography. This is a lame, preemptive excuse for the piratical quoting that provides the only genuine substance to Mailer's project. Whole chapters of "his" book are made up of blocks of text lifted from other books and perfunctorily connected by Mailer. Thus 12 pages describing the early life of Picasso's mistress Fernande Olivier are taken wholesale from her memoirs, with Mailer contributing less than a page of his own commentary. "Abruptly, without warning," goes a solitary line sandwiched between huge chunks of her narrative, "we are given a transition worthy of a good novelist." So much, however, for the transition this formerly good novelist gives us before returning to Olivier's reminiscences. Unfortunately this example is far from rare. The other victims of Mailer's expropriations constitute a veritable who's who of Picasso intimates and scholars, chief

among them Stein, Guillaume Apollinaire, Daniel-Henry Kahnweller, Jaime Sabartes, Andre Salmon, Francis Steegmuller,

William Rubin and John Richardson, the second volume of whose authoritative A Life of Picasso is soon to appear. In short, Mailer's liberal use of their work is not an advertisement for himself but for them, and wise readers will take the hint and go directly to the

sources.

HERE are sections where Mailer writes more, but he does not write better. Stock images and repetitions abound. Moreover, crucial interpretations are loaded with awkward conditional phrasings that hedge Mailer's failure to research or argue his case. "Hopefully we are close enough to Picasso to assume that if his life is a river, he was encountering rapids," he types in a sentence painful to the ear, only to mix his metaphors four lines later by adding "We have to make the assumption that he is at a major crossroads in his life," and then concluding at the

### BOOK WORLD /NOVEMBER 5, 1995

in kind to Stein's short, opinionated but uniquely insightful book. Though the clash of temperaments between Norman Mailer and his subject could not be more obvious in this new monograph, the result reads like a big, shapeless first draft that, instead of offering unexpected perspectives on this most discussed of modern painters, blatantly rehashes the ideas of just about everybody who has written about him in the past while failing to bring anything fresh to our understanding of the writer or the effect that art in another medium has had upon him.

In the preface to this Portrait of Picasso as a Young Maneven the title echoes the work of another writer, James Joyce-Mailer admits that he has undertaken "no original -Continued on page 10

INSIDE

ALBERT CAMUS ...... 5

bottom of the page, "We have to assume that he is not only God-driven in his ambitions . . . but that he feels an uncomfortable intimacy with the deity."

Indeed, Mailer assumes a lot, and where he does not assume he insinuates. In this respect the author's masculine competitiveness plays a large part. The "portrait" of Picasso that Mailer's annotated composite offers us is a contradictory amalgam of the artist as pure and unfettered genius, beyond morality or analytic grasp, and a sexually insecure young man-onthe-make open to all temptations and suspicions. At every opportunity Mailer challenges Picasso's manhood. He reads into his work fears of impotence, making note of the fact that Picasso did not drive, and that, unlike his Cubist colleague Georges Braque-or the author himself, of course-Picasso did not box. Mailer takes off at length on the lurid speculations regarding Picasso's friendships with gay men that were the key sellingpoint of Ariana Stassinopoulus Huffington's Picasso: Creator and Destroyer, this book's only rival for psychological and aesthetic crudeness. Describing how Picasso briefly took refuge from a miserable rooming house by staying with the homosexual poet Max Jacob, Mailer dangles this non-conclusion: "So they lived together. Whether they were lovers we will never know." That the handsome young artist was indeed attractive to both sexes in no way implies that he was attracted by both sexes. However, the sensationalistic appeal of such unconvincing inferences is plain to see in the case of an artist who has stood for generations as the epitome of the supreme male creator and whom Mailer, in a comradely demonstration of literary machismo, repeatedly calls "a stud." In effect Mailer wants his hero both ways, modernist topman and talented weakling. But most of all, in Huffington's wake, he seems to want to titillate the mass public with wornout tales of bohemian excess retreaded for the smarmy '90s.

As to Picasso's art—and despite his blustering attacks on profes-

sional critics and historians-Mailer sees nothing that has not been seen before and misses much that has. When not narrowly attributing images to Picasso's erotic desires and dysfunctions, Mailer is heavily dependent on cliched notions of existential dread. Often, his references to it are inadvertently comical. "Entering the Blue Period," Mailer writes, "[Picasso's] depression poured out of him like unstaunched blood." Thus aesthet-ic "blues" and sanguinary figures of speech flow together in purple prose of the utmost banality. As Picasso's art becomes increasingly abstract and complex, Mailer's formulations become vaguer and more pretentious. His explanation of Cubism as an artistic parallel to modern science's investigation of space-time relativity and the Fourth Dimension runs ideas together with all the self-congratulatory breathlessness of an autodidact mistaking his debatable second-hand discoveries for an original theory of universal causality. About Picasso's artistic influences he has nothing enlightening to say, and he is even timid in naming those that are long-established. "We have, however, to keep reminding ourselves that Picasso's inspirations also come from traditional sources, and the first of them may well have been Cezanne," Mailer hesitantly alerts his audience lest they forget what he seems to have just learned. Finally, when attempting to link the works of Picasso's youth before World War I to those still in his future, Mailer settles for blanket generalizations and lists, finishing one chapter with images of two minor paintings arbitrarily grouped with "The Dream," one of Picasso'smasterpieces, and this throwaway line: "Here are paintings from 1932, 1939, and 1942." Once again, the example is not unique.

Since contemporary art books are also expensive picture albums, it must said that this volume is as shabbily produced as any in memory, distorting Picasso's work as badly as the text does his life. The black-and-white reproductions are frequently wan, out of focus and out of context, and some are pointlessly reused, while the color plates consistently misrepresent the originals, and one is even overprinted with the bold copyright emblem of its photo source.

N THE FINAL analysis, the interest of his book, to the extent that it generates any, is a morbid one deriving not from what it says about Picasso, but from what it shows about the sorry creative predicament of its author. In that regard Mailer's writerly animus toward Stein, who plays a central adversarial role in his effort to conjure up his own Picasso, is revealing and, at times, almost confessional. Introducing a passage from her Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas, Mailer remarks that "if, by habitual reflex, she gets a good bit of it wrong, we can still enjoy her shamelessness. She never feels any more guilt than a hot docu-dramatist at warping history." One can scarcely avoid the thought that Mailer is speaking about himself and preparing his alibi.

Nevertheless, it is becoming increasing difficult to enjoy the "shamelessness" of Mailer's overblown and slovenly mixtures of fact and fiction. Of all of them to date, this massive cut-and-paste job-both unnecessary and, except for the disproportionate amounts penned by others, unreadable-is perhaps the worst. One is hardpressed to explain how an indisputably major artist and a once arguably major writer could have been so mismatched. To be sure, the pugilistic Mailer bears the largest part of the blame. Facing off against a man of comparably titanic ego and equally compact physical stature-the dust-jacket pairs their names in block letters as if it were a fightcard-Mailer misjudges his antagonist's infinitely greater reach and ends up flailing away at Picasso but never connecting, even when, as he often does, he aims below the belt. But Mailer's editorial handlers and promoters are also at fault for letting their palooka into the ring. No matter how big the purse, his performance isn't worth the embarrassment to all concerned. In any case, this book isn't worth the cover price. -



Picasso's 1907 painting, "Les Demoiselles d'Avignon. Top right: Picasso in 1912. At bottom:Norman Mailer

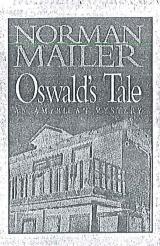
ursday, May 11, 1995 Searching for the



If ... a nonentity destroyed the leader of the most powerful nation on earth, then a world of disproportion engulfs us, and we live in a universe that is absurd. — From Oswald's Tale

## By Olin Chism Staff Writer of The Dallas Morning News

Novelist Norman Mailer was not willing to grant that the universe is absurd, so he set out to see if there was more to Lee Harvey Oswald than has been apparent in the 31 years since the assassination of John F. Kennedy. The result is Oswald's Tale, an 828-page examination



of the personality and character of America's most notorious assassin. If the novelist's perceptions are accurate, Oswald was a tormented, three-dimensional human being with a kind of twisted stature, and not simply a cipher.

Mr. Mailer revisited Dallas recently to talk about his new book. During his research he had paid a quiet visit to the city to spend five days interviewing Oswald's widow, Marina Oswald Porter, and to retrace the paths of the key figures

in the events of November 1963. Mr. Mailer says that he began his book as a conspiracy theorist. But he changed his mind by the completion of his research. He believes that Oswald shot President Kennedy and that the chances are three in four that Please see MAILER on Page 2C. 31 years after the JFK assassination, Norman Mailer gives us a three-dimensional portrait of the man who pulled the trigger



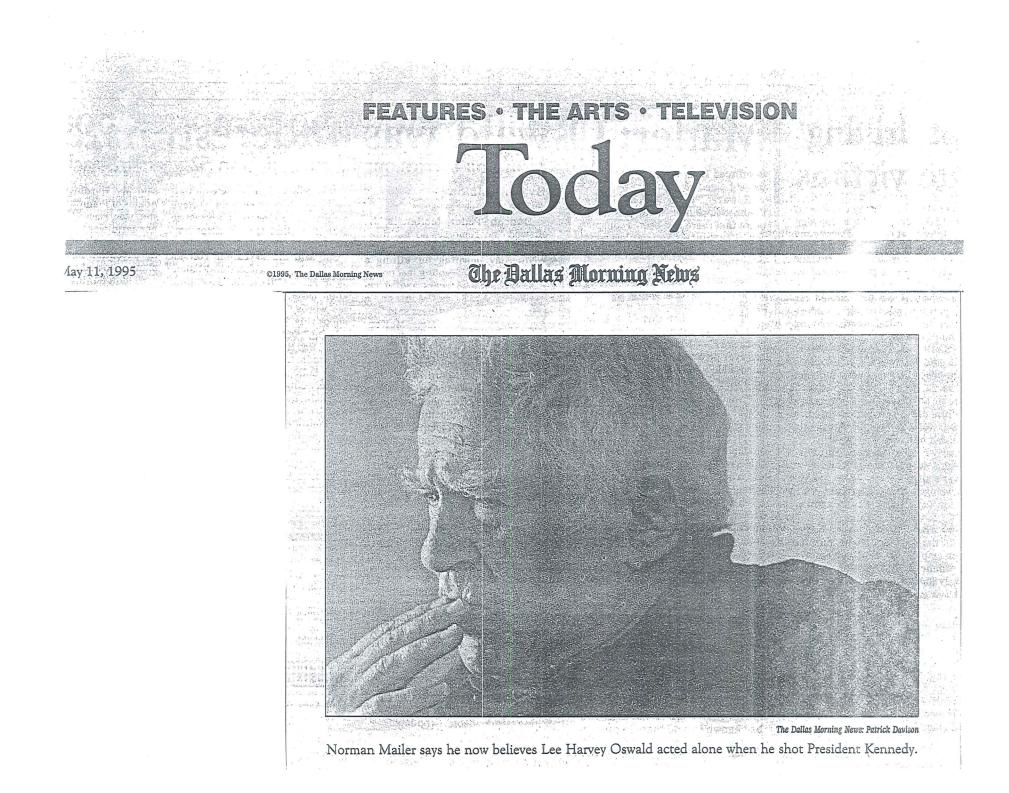
Associated Press Lee Harvey Oswald had an "enormous range of behavior," Mr. Mailer says.

**OTHER WORKS BY MAILER** 

Olin Chism

The Naked and the Dead, The Armies of the Night and The Executioner's Song were well-received, Reactions to the other books were mixed, but all were "literary events." Oswald's Tale is Mr. Mailer's 28th book.

The Naked and the Dead (1948)
The Deer Park (1955)
The Armies of the Night (1968)
Of a Fire on the Moon (1970)
Marilyn (1973)
The Executioner's Song (1979)



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HAndel

With Horman Hailer on the case who dares reast easy? Every time he has gotten into it there has been bad news. What is qu ted here is not bad news but wait, he is only beginning. Give him and his imagination time!

He'll probably fort a tax up. Oswald went to the USSR at 19, after quitting the U.S. marines, but did

wr t coff on it besides

the possibility that he'll

use some of it.

That is when we re lly . vorry!

Thanks,

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Minsk quest

46 INTERNATIONAL EXPRESS

# for the truth about

Bill Clinton prepared for his White AHouse inauguration this week, one of America's most famous authors had his eyes firmly fixed on another Democrat president.

Hard-living Norman Mailer is in Minsk, in a Mailer is in Minsk, in a drah apartment, research-ing the assassination of John Kennedy. Why Minsk? It was here that Lee Harvey Oswald was hidden by the KGB for three years up to 1962

for three years up to 1962 — before Kennedy was gunned down.

not renounce his Ameri-can citizenship.

# Alimony

Alimony But the film JFK sug-gested that members of the U.S. government and anti-Castro Cubans, not Oswald, conspired to kill Kennedy. At the end of his last book, Harlot's Ghost, Mailer — six-times mar-ried and twice winner of the Pulitzer Prize — left his fans in suspense.

his fans in suspense.

His tour de force of the Cold War took them up to the Kennedy assassina-tion, then said brusquely: "To be continued".

During his cold, winter sojourn in what is now the sojourn in what is now the capital of newly-indepen-dent Belarus, Mailer — who at almost 70 has to earn £150,000 a year simply to pay alimony — has interviewed everyone still



TAN. 21-27

1993

## **MAILER: Research**

alive who had any links with Oswald.

Only now are they speaking for the first time. Ernst Titovets, rather chillingly, remembers Oswald reading aloud a Hemingway short story called The Killers about two hired assassins.

"It was eerie," said Titovets, 53, a doctor, but Oswald was merely an "innocent Cold War patsy".

Ella German Prokhor-Ella German Prokhor-chuk, who had an eight-month platonic relation-ship with him, said: "I never believed he could be a killer." However, she did suspect him of spying. The woman Oswald married, Marina Prusikova, who now lives in the U.S., has also changed her story to deny Oswald was the killer. And his closest Russian

And his closest Russian friend, Pavel Golovachev, said: "Oswald was never dangerous." He was also a bad shot when they went

The KGB's Oswald file remains tightly closed, as does the CIA's. Until this changes, we will never know the real story.

IT'S nice for Random House's Harry Evans that his wife, Tina. Brown, chose to publish a chunk of Norman Mailer's upcoming book in her New Yorker this week. This is the kind of synergy Si Newhouse (who owns both outfits) likes to see.

We're not being snide, by the way. "Oswald's Tale: An American Mys-tery" is Mailer at his reportorial best, tracking Lee Harvey Oswald's Russian years.

But to many of us, Mailer's monu-

was his greatest achievement, and we've been waiting since 1991 for him to make good on the promise at the end of that work: "To be continued.

Well, now he's ready. With the Oswald project behind him, Mailer says he's getting ready to start on the sequel to "Harlot's Ghost."

"It was too daunting a task to take up right ing the sequel."

er's 'Ghost'

away," Mailer says. "The Oswald book was a change of direction and now I'm ready to take up the big one." And it will be big, maybe even more than the 1,300 pages of "Har-lot's Ghost." That's one thing that has Mailer slightly concerned.

4

"I picked up a copy just the other day and it is quite a weight. [It weighs 4 pounds, to be precise.] You almost need a bookstand."

He hopes the sequel won't take as long as the seven years he devoted mental CIA novel, "Harlot's Ghost," MAILER: "I'm ready," to the first part, but "it'll take what

it takes." We wanted to know why "Harlot's Ghost" hadn't been turned into a film. It has enough stories for a

dozen movies. "All the versions Hollywood planned involved killing off major characters," Mailer says. "I don't want them doing that and stopping me from writ-

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, APRIL 4,

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# Soviets thought little of Oswald, new article says

Associated Press NEW YORK — In the Soviet Union, Lee Harvey Oswald was a klutz who couldn't shoot straight and apparently wasn't considered good spy material by the KGB, says a new article on President John F. Kennedy's assassin.

Norman Mailer, writing in the April 10th issue of *The New Yorker*magazine, says the Soviets suspected defector Oswald of being a U.S. agent and kept him under surveillance when he lived there for 2½ years.

Oswald returned to the United States in 1962, a year before the assassination in Dallas.

Soviet agents watched Oswald and his Russian wife, Marina, through a peephole in the wall of their state-assigned apartment in Minsk, Mr. Mailer writes in the magazine.

"We can say it now — there were surveillants assigned to Oswald's tails, and certain people were assigned to work with him, to become his associates and friends," the former deputy chief of counterintelligence in Minsk is quoted as saying. Among those interviewed in Minsk was a fellow worker of Oswald's in a radio factory, who said he was asked to test Oswald's interest in information about the Soviet Air Force.

"The friend also remembers that Oswald couldn't figure out how to put film in a simple Soviet camera," the article says. "The KGB noted with great interest that Oswald, a former Marine, never seemed to hit anything when he went hunting and that he didn't know how to operate a shortwave radio set."

4-3-95

MN

# SA # 51. Soviets Spied on Oswalds In Russia, Article Says

# By Karen Freifeld STAFF WRITER

After Lee Harvey Oswald defected to the Soviet Union and married a young Soviet woman, the KGB observed the young couple through a peephole, according to an article in the April 10 issue of The New Yorker magazine.

The article, written by Pulitzer Prize winner Norman Mailer, examines the 31 months Oswald spent in the Soviet Union after he defected there in 1959. It says the Soviets suspected he was a U.S. intelligence agent and kept him under surveillance. Oswald returned to the United States in 1962, a year before President John F. Kennedy was killed in Dallas.

The article, which was adapted from Mailer's new book, "Oswald's Tale: An American Mystery," to be published by Random House in May, was researched in Moscow and in the Ukrainian city of Minsk, where Mailer and a colleague gained access to never-before-seen KGB files, includ-

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ing transcripts of arguments between Oswald and his Soviet wife, Marina.

and a market

"Why did I get married? You tricked me," she cries once. "You can go to your America without me, and I hope you die on the way," she cries another time.

After Oswald was arrested for Kennedy's assassination, the KGB officer who handled his case told superiors that the KGB never tried to recruit him. In addition, the former deputy chief of counterintelligence told Mailer, "You could not find one single person from Minsk who would say, Yes, Oswald had these intentions to go back to America and cause all this trouble.' ''

The author also interviewed Marina Oswald, who is now in her early 50s. "If we go through Lee's character, I myself would like to find out: Who is he?" she says, adding that, "I'm definitely sure he didn't do it." Oswald was shot to death by Jack Ruby before he could be tried, but denied involvement in the assassination.

**TV** Preview Rupert Murdoch, Mogul or Monster?

By Lloyd Grove Washington Post Staff Writer

If American corporate culture circa 1995 is dominated by bean counters and management theorists, Rupert Murdoch is a refreshing throwback to the age of capitalist robber barons. With the steely selfconfidence of Superman, the heart-stopping derring-do of Evel Knievel and the visionary ruthlessness of his onetime political hero, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, Murdoch is a media mogul to beat all media moguls—which he does these days with unnerving regularity.

"Who's Afraid of Rupert Murdoch?"—tonight's installment of PBS's "Frontline," at 9 on Channel 26—is a fascinating primer on an empire builder who began his hegemony four decades ago in his native Australia as the owner of a middling newspaper (a bequest from his wealthy father) and today controls not only a major

See TV PREVIEW, E2, Col. 4

# 'Frontline' On Murdoch

# TV PREVIEW, From E1

American television network, publishing house and movie studio, but also an international satellite service and a string of influential newspapers and magazines on three continents.

In the bargain, according to narrator Ken Auletta, the media columnist for the New Yorker, Murdoch has managed to bend governments to his will, warp journalism into a form of cheap entertainment, pollute the popular culture and even sever his Australian roots to become a U.S. citizen—all in a tireless quest for power and profit.

Washington Post television critic Tom Shales, one of a host of interviewees who serve as a kind of Greek chorus, says Murdoch "seems to have been allowed to grow unchecked, like some sort of monster in a science fiction movie—the Blob." Indeed, an apt alternate title for this 90-minute program might be "It Came From Down Under."

The show traces Murdoch's vora-

cious acquisitiveness—and what Auletta calls his "anti-Establishment anger"—to his days in an elite Australian boarding school where, as the son of Sir Keith Murdoch, a prominent newspaper executive, young Rupert was shunned by the snobbish offspring of the aristocracy.

He learned to attract the attention of his demanding and distant dad by preaching the merits of Lenin at the family dinner table, and later kept a bust of the Russian revolutionary in his rooms at Oxford. "He thought the poor got a raw deal and that kind of thing," an Oxford contemporary recalls, "but it didn't stretch very far, I think. I mean, he was never going to be a social worker."

No kidding. Instead, Murdoch found his calling in editing tabloid newspapers for the masses, displaying a peerless market sense—that is, *down*-market sense—and a genius for making gobs of money. In the process he invented the "Sun Lovelies," bare-breasted models who appeared every day on Page 3 of the Sun, the largest of his lucrative British properties. There were also breathless headlines such as "Vicar Elopes With Lady Organist." It's an aesthetic standard he continues to uphold in his programming of Fox Television.

"I'm not ashamed of my papers at all," a young, plump Murdoch declares in an old film clip. "I'm rather sick of snobs that tell us that they are bad papers, snobs that only read papers that no one else wants." The press lord's testimony from vintage and recent interviews enlivens this documentary, but, alas, Auletta says Murdoch reneged on his agreement to cooperate with "Frontline" after deciding that PBS just couldn't be trusted.

Yet he probably won't find much to object to in this meticulously fair report that gives the devil his due. The accounts of Murdoch's financial prestidigitation, his brass-knuckled unionbusting and his triumph of wresting football from the hapless CBS make clear that he's a force to be reckoned with. Even the parts detailing his decisive if not necessarily beneficial impact on elections in Australia, the United States and Great Britain—and his ability to extract business favors from the powers that be—serve mainly to increase his reputation.

They also cast even more doubt if further straining of credulity were necessary—on Murdoch's assertion that when he met with House Speaker-to-be Newt Gingrich last year to discuss pending legislation, he was innocent of the knowledge that his publishing house, HarperCollins, had just signed a \$4.5 million book deal with Gingrich.

In the end, Auletta says, the question about Murdoch is whether he is "a visionary or malignant genius, or both." There are not many people in this world about whom one can pose such an intriguing question—and "Frontline" poses it well.

# Books

**The Ballas Morning News** 

# CUT DOWN

# New Nov. 22 photos keep surfacing

# PICTURES OF THE PAIN By Richard Trask (Yeoman Press, \$35)

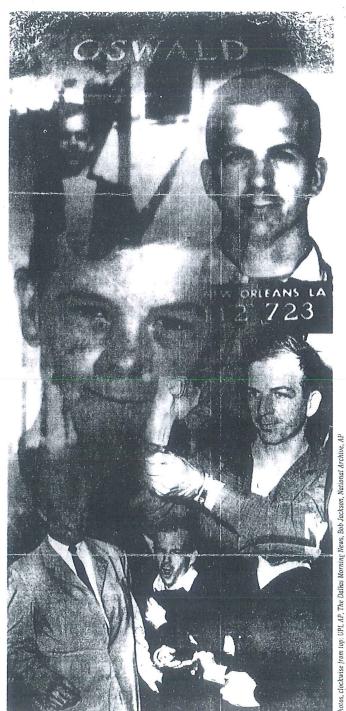
By Gary Mack fter 31 years, hundreds of books and thousands of articles, there's finally a book about the John F. Kennedy assassination without any theories. Boston-area historian and archivist Richard Trask worked from the belief that history needs a detailed record of the people and photographs documenting one of this

country's most horrible days. Pictures of the Pain chronicles most of the professional and amateur photographers who captured those last happy moments at Love Field and along the motorcade route, the frozen terror in Dealey Plaza and numbing grief at Parkland Hospital.

Except for the few films and snapshots made during the actual shooting, official investigations have virtually overlooked the photographic record of Nov. 22, 1963. Now, as memories and the few color images fade, Mr. Trask offers a definitive collection of assassinationrelated photographs and the stories behind each of them.

He recounts how the famous Abraham Zapruder home movie, the only known film of the entire shooting, almost didn't happen. Mr. Zapruder, dismayed by the rain and clouds that morning, left his camera at home until his secretary urged him to retrieve it. Without that crucial view, to the right and above the president's car, there would be far more questions about the assassination than either Earl Warren or Oliver Stone could ever answer.

Another home movie of the assassination, publicly unknown until 1978 when a secret FBI document was declassified, was made by Dal-Please see KENNEDY on Page 9J.



The Dallas Morning News Jejj Mahurin

# Mailer's 'Oswald' plumbs enigma of an assassin

### OSWALD'S TALE: An American Mystery By Norman Maller (Random House, \$30)

By Alan Cheuse

or all of you amateur historians of the JFK assassination, for all of you fans of nonfiction narrative, for all of you devotees of the work of Norman Mailer, a warning: Prepare for some heavy lifting. Mr. Mailer has just brought out a more than 800-page investigation of the life and mind of presidential assassin Lee Harvey Oswald. He calls the book Oswaid's Tale and adds the subtitle, An American Mystery.

The story of the book's inception deserves some mention. It begins with literary entrepreneur Lawrence Schiller. Mr. Schiller is the man who bought the rights to the life story of executed killer Gary Gilmore, on which Mr. Mailer based his Pulitzer Prize-winning nonfiction narrative The Executioner's Song. In the early '90s Mr. Schiller went to work again, traveling to Russia and buying the rights to, among other things, the KGB files on Mr. Oswald, and arranging interviews with dozens of people who knew the American defector during his two-and-one-half years in the USSR. Mr. Mailer followed along and did most of the interviewing, along with translator Ludmila Peresvetova, and then returned to the United States, armed with his notes and the transcripts and files of the Russian secret police; he traveled to Texas and Louisiana for more interviews, including a five-day back-and-forth with Marina Oswald Porter.

Putting this new material together with the results of an exhaustive reading of all 26 volumes of the Warren Commission Report, Mr. Mailer created this massive study of the 20th century's most famous killer. It's an attempt to find a motive for Mr. Oswald that begins in the materials of his life, rather than in any hypothesis about conspiracy or lunacy; in other words, a novelistic investigation rather than one that's, as Mr. Mailer puts it, either "legal, technical or evidentiary..."

"Let me propose," Mr. Mailer tells us midway through the course of this huge new work, "that a mystery of the immense dimensions of Oswald's case will, in the writing, create a form of its own somewhere between fiction and non-fiction. Technically, this book fits into the latter category — it is most certainly not fiction \_\_\_\_\_\_ still it is a peculiar form of non-fiction \_\_\_\_\_\_ The author's musings be-

Please see MAILER on Page 9J.

8 J

# BOOKS

# Kennedy photos set the record straight

### Continued from Page 8J.

las engineer Charles Bronson. Mr. Bronson stood a block away and mistakenly used a wide-angle lens. yet still captured the fatal shot.

Then in 1992, ballistics specialist Howard Donahue and writer Bonar Menninger published the book Mortal Error, theorizing that Secret Service Agent George Hickey, riding directly behind Mr. Kennedy's car in the left rear seat, stood up and accidentally fired his AR 15 rifle. killing the president!

If Pictures of the Pain had been published then, authors Donahue and Menninger would have known that Mr. Bronson's film also shows both vehicles at that very moment. None of the agents inside the car were standing.

And that, perhaps, is the real value of Mr. Trask's book, for every picture or home movie has the potential ability to answer questions. What may have seemed unimportant at the time has, in some instances, become the subject of hearty debate.

For example, it has long been rumored that nightclub owner Jack Ruby, who later gunned down ac- course, how many people photo- Sixth Floor Museum in Dallas.

witnessed the assassination and. therefore, may have been involved.

Although three employees saw Mr. Ruby in the advertising offices of The Dallas Morning News before, during and after the crucial events. conspiracy theorists thought they saw him in a color slide made by the late Phil Willis minutes afterward. His picture shows a right profile view of a Jack Ruby look-alike in front of the old Texas School Book Depository.

But Mr. Trask interviewed freelance Dallas photographer Jim Murray, who had kept his unpublished photographs, including one of "Jack Ruby" from a better angle at about the same time. He was definitely not the real Ruby.

Accounts of the time of the assassination vary, but the mystery is solved by photographer Mel McIntire, who stood west of the Triple Underpass and made two photos of the motorcade approaching and passing his position. In the background on top of the Depository, the clocks shows "12:30." No other photograph has that view.

There is no way to know, of

cused assassin Lee Harvey Oswald, graphed the historic events of that weekend. Unidentified photographers turn up in several pictures making photographs that have never surfaced. One is the man wearing a gray suit, on the northeast corner of Main and Houston, apparently getting an extreme close-up of President Kennedy as his car turned toward Elm Street. No picture from that position has ever appeared, and one wonders what others he may have taken at the scene.

> As a reference work to virtually all the known photographs pertaining to the Kennedy assassination, Pictures of the Pain is invaluable, detailing how the news media and private citizens captured little time capsules of one of the greatest tragedies of this century.

There are more pictures out there, stuck in old scrapbooks and slide trays, or buried among news files that have been boxed up for years. They all contain usable information, and some can answer troubling questions. Richard Trask has made an excellent effort at tracking down such long-lost evidence.

Gary Mack is the archivist at the

# Mailer follows Oswald's paper trail

### Continued from Page 8J.

come some of the operative instruments ... The result can be seen, therefore, as a special species of non-fiction that can be put under the rubric of mystery . . ."

It is, he argues, "virtually not assimilable to our reason that a small lonely man felled a giant in the midst of his limousines. his legions, his throng, and his security. If such a non-entity destroyed the leader of the most powerful nation on earth, then a world of disproportion engulfs us, and we live in a universe that is absurd ...."

The philosophical crux of his inquiry has it "that the sudden death of a man as large in his

possibilities as John Fitzgerald Kennedy is more tolerable if we can perceive his killer as tragic rather than absurd ...."

So up the slopes of what Mr. Mailer calls "the greatest mountain of mystery in the twentieth century" our narrator leads us, playing the KGB tapes of the Oswalds in bed in Minsk, bearing documents, letters, intelligence files, interviews, speculating on Mr. Oswald's secret sex life and the secret life of government agencies, and creating an unforgettable portrait of Mr. Oswald, this fatherless child, smothered by his mother's mad affection, a smart but dyslexic loner who entwined himself in private con-

spiracies as he sought to make his mark on the great public world.

Was it Mr. Oswald acting alone or was Mr. Oswald the main actor or a patsy in a conspiracy to kill JFK? The former evokes absurdity, the latter tragedy, and the reader comes down on the other side of Mr. Mailer's mountain a lot sadder but a lot wiser for the climb, having to give up only about a week's reading time for important new insight into the story of the century.

Novelist Alan Cheuse comments on books regularly on National Public Radio's All Things Considered.

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ROBERT D. LOOMIS VICE PRESIDENT & EXECUTIVE EDITOR

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Hardel, 3/2/95 Ibis is my updated response. There serve capies to a few others - Bill,

\*FYI.

Dear Mr. Porner,

3-2-95

Dr. Gerald Ginocchio Wofford College 429 North Church Street Spartanburg, SC 29303-3840

Dear Dr. Ginocchio:

I think the only thing that I can say for you.

rd1/bh

March 1,

Dear Mr. Loomis:

Thank you for your non-response in the tradition of Mr. Posner's non-response to Case Open. To save time and paper, let me provide you with three examples (among dozens, many documented by my students) of what I would consider gross ignorance (dare I say, editorial incompetence?) or deceit from Case Closed. If you can explain these discrepancies between the official record and Mr. Posner's versions on other grounds, I would be happy to read it. If not, save your pity for yourself.

Sincerely, krall Henouhud

Dr. Gerald Ginocchio

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Yours,

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Gerald Ginocchio

# Example II

# "The Best Religion Is Communism" • 21

mer he proceeded from infantry training at Camp Pendleton to an introductory course on radar at Jacksonville, Florida, to basic instruction in aircraft surveillance at Keesler Air Force Base in Biloxi, Mississippi.<sup>7</sup> In early May, he was routinely promoted to private first class and given a clearance to handle confidential material.\*

His progress in the Marines appeared normal on paper, but he had already developed a reputation as an eccentric among the other men. Allen Felde, a fellow recruit who served with him at both San Diego and Camp Pendleton, said he was a "left-winger" who was not popular with the other recruits and was avoided by most of them.<sup>8</sup> Daniel Powers, a senior Marine at Keesler, recalled, "My first impression . . . is that he was somewhat, to use the term, [a] 'loner.'"<sup>9</sup> Powers thought he was "meek . . . could easily be led," and "his general personality would alienate the group against him."\*\* Other Marines unmercifully razzed him "as the frail little puppy in the litter," and he was nicknamed Ozzie Rabbit, because of his meekness. He used weekend passes to escape, returning the almost one hundred miles to his native city of New Orleans.<sup>10</sup>

ment he had and his ability," said Sgt. Zahm. Major Eugene Anderson, of the marksmanship branch, said the assassination shots "were not particularly difficult" and that, based on his Marine record, "Oswald had full capabilities to make this shot."

\*Oswald had the lowest-level security clearance, "confidential." Two fellow Marines believed he had a "secret" clearance, though they admitted it was merely a hunch and not based on direct knowledge. The House Select Committee on Assassinations investigated the question in the late 1970s, reviewing all relevant military files, and concluded Oswald did not have a higher clearance.

\*\*Powers was perhaps the first person, but certainly not the last, to think Oswald was homosexual. "He had a lot of feminine characteristics," he recalled. Another Marine, David Christie, stayed away from him because he thought he was gay. Although he seldom went to bars with other Marines, several recall that while stationed in Japan, Oswald visited a transvestite bar in Yamato, a club with which he seemed familiar. When stationed in California, Oswald once crossed with a group of Marines to Tijuana, Mexico. There, he took them to a run-down gay bar, the Flamingo. Several recalled that Oswald seemed to know the place and people.

time and .

# Is Communism"

arine Corps recruit depot in was assigned to the Second ven a series of aptitude tests Ie was also trained in the use 1956, after three weeks of ver the score required for a cond highest in the Marine om the standing position, he n a minimum of 200 yards, e he left the Marine Corps, in imself on a firing range. Ald his disgust for the Marines 191, enough to qualify as a NCO in charge of the marks-Marine Corps he is a good as compared to the average es, he is an excellent shot."<sup>6</sup>\* 1957, and through that sum-

marksmanship... was poor..." Oswald's rifle ability, saying he nd had "an abysmal marksmann charge of the marksmanship e was easily capable of carrying y shot for a man with the equip-

# INVESTIGATION OF THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY

# HEARINGS

# Before the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy

PURSUANT TO EXECUTIVE ORDER 11130, an Executive order creating a Commission to ascertain, evaluate, and report upon the facts relating to the assassination of the late President John F. Kennedy and the subsequent violent death of the man charged with the assassination and S.J. Res. 137, 88TH CONGRESS, a concurrent resolution conferring upon the Commission the power to administer oaths and affirmations, examine witnesses, receive evidence, and issue subpenas

> Volume VIII

# UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE WASHINGTON, D.C.

He had the access to the location of all bases in the west coast area, all radio frequencies for all squadrons, all tactical call signs, and the relative strength of all squadrons, number and type of aircraft in a squadron, who was the commanding officer, the authentication code of entering and exiting the ADIZ, which stands for Air Defense Identification Zone. He knew the range of our radar. He knew the range of our radio. And he knew the range of the surrounding units' radio and radar.

If you had asked me a month after I left that area, I could not have told you any but our own. Had I wanted to record them, I certainly could have secretly, and taken them with me. Unless he intentionally with malice afore-thought wrote them down, I doubt if he would have been able to recall them a month later, either.

Mr. ELY. You recall that various codes were changed. Now, at what level were these changed? Was this an action of your specific unit, or a fairly widespread action?

Mr. DONOVAN. Well, I did not witness the changing in any other squadrons, but it would have to be, because the code is obviously between two or more units. Therefore, the other units had to change it. These codes are a grid, and two lines correspond.

And he gives the grid that you want, and he reads back "AB," or whatever the reply is supposed to be, the authentication is supposed to be.

Mr. DLy. Are authentication codes changed from time to time as a matter of course?

Mr. DONOVAN. They are changed from time to time, that is right.

Mr. ELY. Are they changed even if there is no specific incident which elicits the change?

Mr. DONOVAN. They are methodically changed anyway. There are some things which he knew on which he received instruction that there is no way of changing, such as the MPS 16 height-finder radar gear. That had recently been integrated into the Marine Corps system. It had a height-finding range far in excess of our previous equipment, and it has certain limitations. He had been schooled on those limitations.

It cannot operate above a given altitude in setting—in other words, you cannot place the thing above a given terrain height.

He had also been schooled on a piece of machinery called a TPX-1, which is used to transfer radio—radar and radio signals over a great distance. Radar is very susceptible to homing missiles, and this piece of equipment is used to put your radar antenna several miles away, and relay the information back to your site which you hope is relatively safe. He had been schooled on this.

And that kind of stuff you cannot change.

Mr. ELY. Did Oswald have any kind of clearance?

Mr. DONOVAN. He must have had secret clearance to work in the radar center, because that was a minimum requirement for all of us.

Mr. ELY. Was the spot at which he worked such that in order to gain admittance one would have to show some sort of credentials?

Mr. DONOVAN. Yes; they checked your card data. Within the center, which is called a counter-air operations center, he rotated through all positions of an enlisted man. At times, as I told you, he served as plotter, sometimes surveillance, sometimes even as crew chief.

Mr. ELY. Were you the one who picked the crew chief?

Mr. DONOVAN. I was in a rather favorable position, since I was the training officer and assistant operations officer, that I had first choice of crew chiefs. I always picked one of two men—either Sgt. Cornelius Brown or Sgt. Eugene Holmburg. I have already told you where Sergeant Brown is.

Sergeant Holmburg is now a commissioned warrant officer and still on active duty in the Marine Corps.

Mr. ELY. Did you ever pick Oswald to act as crew chief?

Mr. DONOVAN. There was occasion when Oswald acted as crew chief. If one of these sergeants had another duty somewhere else, and Oswald was senior man present, he was crew chief. And I had no complaint about his work.

Mr. ELY. Did he show any special ability in this direction?

Mr. DONOVAN. Yes; I think he was competent, very competent. And I think

he did his job well. Mr. ELY. In actine qualities?

teMr. DONOVAN. I don oMr. ELY. However his ability as a leade as a crew chief again tiMr. DONOVAN. I we Mr. ELY. When the process of getting a 1 than the ones you have

Mr. DONOVAN. I re financially. And you Brown helped him, or Mr. ELY. Did he ac Mr. DONOVAN. He shot from anyone.

Mr. ELY. Did he gi

Mr. DONOVAN. He Mr. ELY. Did you

through observation Mr. Donovan. I ha

around the squadron. Mr. ELY. Would y

discharge you or ot discharge?

Mr. DONOVAN. I do Mr. ELY. Did he ev Mr. DONOVAN. I d that his mother nee was a sole surviving At that time, as I ree help.

Mr. ELY. Did you mental instability?

Mr. DONOVAN. No foreign affairs—or been limited to me. interested in one giv Mr. ELY. During

he raise his voice? Mr. DONOVAN. No in the defense of a

to see what he saw. Mr. ELY. But he

pounding the table, Mr. DONOVAN. Oh

up than people we ta Mr. ELY. Did you more than the ave: Mr. DONOVAN. N he was particularly

complain about hav barracks so many ti I don't recall th complaint he had w

to be in a position aged him to pursue the qualities, or to his best in that way

Mr. ELY. Do you k

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# Example I "He Had a Death Look" • 307

d could have been an entrance wound <sup>768</sup> Drs. Carrico and either an entrance perience with gunalls, "Even at that ecause it was bigger wounds, as you look a halo around them, ound. When a bullet of it and bursts."<sup>70</sup>

s neck, described as exit wound, as some ion that exit wounds "They can be large, t anything inside the small. I have seen uses."<sup>71</sup> Moreover, ex-, a New York physid to view the autopsy t wound in the Presithe shot, with 6.5mm remained small and nd of the shirt, where mly pushed the neck e shots farther away inch, the exit wounds yound was right at **the** 

ine-member forensics tographs, it also examdirection of the neck al autopsy photos, the ad a unique "abrasion

it with his finger when he tate the passage of oxygen collar, a roughening of the edges . . . which clearly depicts the entrance."<sup>74</sup> The angle of the abrasion wound showed the bullet was traveling from right to left, the angle of Oswald's line of fire from the sixth floor.<sup>75</sup> The X rays confirmed there was internal injury, a stress fracture to the first thoracic vertebra, caused by the trauma of the bullet passing so close to the spine.<sup>76</sup> The Select Committee's medical panel unanimously determined that the neck wound was caused by a rear shot.<sup>77</sup>

141.

# The Head Wound

The autopsy physicians concluded the fatal shot entered the rear of the President's skull and exploded out the right side of his head. Humes said the wound was "blatantly obvious."<sup>78</sup> The evidence of the head wound was a textbook example of entrance and exit for a bullet. Seventy percent of the right hemisphere of the President's brain was blown out, leaving a nearly six-inch hole on the right side of his head. The entry on the back of the head was small, not much larger than the 6.5mm bullet that did the damage.<sup>79</sup> Examination of the inside of the skull indicated the edges of the hole were beveled inward, confirming the entry point. Fragments of the parietal bone missing from the right side of the President's head, found in Dealey Plaza, later confirmed outward beveling, indicating that was the exit point.<sup>80</sup> Less than 1mm of metallic dust particles was evident on the X ray of the President's brain, and followed the bullet's rear-to-front path, leading directly to the exit on the right side.<sup>81</sup> Three fragments were found, one at the entrance point and two near JFK's right eye, further evidence of the bullet's path.<sup>82</sup> There was no photographic, X ray, or personal observation of any other exit on the head except for the large hole on the right side.\*

<sup>\*</sup>After the autopsy, Humes and Boswell wrote their report from memory, without the benefit of the photographs or X rays. Robert Kennedy, who feared the public display of the X rays and photos would be offensive to the Kennedy family, reached an agreement with the Warren Commission not to publish the materials, and except for Earl Warren, the commissioners did not examine them. When the film was turned over to the custody of the

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> Volume II

# UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE WASHINGTON, D.C.

and describe various other wounds

before I last asked a question, Dr. cal terms the nature of the wound ne late President?

ion, sir, and Mr. Chief Justice, I ogether, and describe the defects in

### opriate?

-a 1

unission Exhibit 388, where we have the skull a wound which we have large roughly 13 cm. diameter defect would go into some further detail in

was a defect in the scalp and some the scalp was intact completely past in the right posterior region was in ct.

ement which I gave before, I believe

the skull in this region, there was a the skull in this area. u mean by both tables, Dr. Humes?

bone. We will put the scalp in in

two layers of the skull bone, and in irregular bone.

a through and through defect corres-

tics of a wound of entrance for the able was oval in outline, quite similar

octor, to the wound on the lower part

ting here of the wound in the occiput. was larger and had what in the field ving or a coning effect. To make an numission are probably most familiar, pical example, a B-B fired by a child's s there will be a small, usually round from whence the missile came and a psite side of the glass from whence the

aring room.)

nown and my associates and Colonel f interest is wound ballistics can give lly observed fact.

cs of wound of entrance from this di-

ction," will you specify that direction

nean only from without the skull to

ed to our satisfaction and incidentally from both the external surface of the prepared, we concluded that the large ll, in fact, would represent a wound of A careful examination of the margins of the large bone defect at that point, however, failed to disclose a portion of the skull bearing again a wound of—a point of impact on the skull of this fragment of the missile, remembering, of course, that this area was devoid of any scalp or skull at this present time. We did not have the bone.

In further evaluating this head wound, I will refer back to the X-rays which we had previously prepared. These had disclosed to us multiple minute fragments of radio opaque material traversing a line from the wound in the occiput to just above the right eye, with a rather sizable fragment visible by X-ray just above the right eye. These tiny fragments that were seen dispersed through the substance of the brain in between were, in fact, just that extremely minute, less than 1 mm, in size for the most part.

(At this point, Senator Cooper entered the hearing room.)

Mr. SPECTER. Dr. Humes, this would be a good juncture to produce two photographs.

May it please the Commission, Mr. Chief Justice Warren, I have identified as Commission Exhibits 389 and 390 which will at a later time be identified as being two frames from the motion picture camera operated by one Abraham Zapruder, being the amateur photographer who was on the scene, which I think would assist in evaluating the angle of the President's head corresponding to that exhibit designated as 388.

I will hand those to you, Dr. Humes, and ask you if you would state for the record the relative position of the President's head in 389 which is a frame about one-sixteenth of a second before the point of impact shown in Exhibit 390.

(The frames referred to were marked Commission Exhibits Nos. 389 and 390 for identification.)

Commander HUMES. It will be noted in Exhibit 389 that the President's head is bent considerably forward and perhaps somewhat to the left in this frame of the photograph 389.

Mr. SPECTER. Is that in approximately the same position as the angle of the head depicted in Commission Exhibit No. 388?

Commander HUMES. Yes, sir; it is.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. Chief Justice, at this time I would like to move for admission in evidence of Exhibits 385 through 390.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be admitted under those numbers.

(Commission Exhibits Nos. 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, and 390, previously marked for identification, were received in evidence.)

Mr. SPECTER. Will you proceed now, Dr. Humes, to continue in your description of the head wound?

Commander IIUMES. Head wound—a careful inspection of this large defect in the scalp and skull was made seeking for fragments of missile before any actual detection was begun. The brain was greatly lacerated and torn, and in this area of the large defect we did not encounter any of these minute particles.

I might say at this time that the X-ray pictures which were made would have a tendency to magnify these minute fragments somewhat in size and we were not too surprised in not being able to find the tiny fragments depicted in the X-ray.

Mr. SPECTER. Approximately how many fragments were observed, Dr. Humes, on the X-ray?

Commander HUMES. I would have to refer to them again, but I would say between 30 or 40 tiny dustlike particle fragments of radio opaque material, with the exception of this one I previously mentioned which was seen to be above and very slightly behind the right orbit.

Mr. DULLES. Were these all fragments that were injected into the skull by the bullet?

Commander HUMES. Our interpretation is, sir, that the missile struck the right occipital region, penetrated through the two tables of the skull, making the characteristic coning on the inner table which I have previously referred to. That one portion of the missile and judging by the size of the defect thus produced, the major portion of the missile, made its exit through this large defect. A second portion of the missile or multiple second portions were deflected, and

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# "Hands off Cuba" = 127

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# **'ASE CLOSED**

e only bedroom. She noticed they did not have a pleasant 1. "He was very discourteous to her," Ruth recalled, "and gued most of that weekend. I was very uncomfortable in uation, and he would tell her to shut up, tell her, 'I said it, it is all the discussion on the subject." "<sup>16</sup> Their fighting so id the atmosphere that Ruth returned to Dallas on Tuesay 14, a day earlier than planned.

he day Ruth left for Texas, Oswald wrote the Fair Play for leadquarters in New York and notified them of his new 3 address, and he did the same for the Soviet embassy in 1 gton a few days later.<sup>17</sup> He had requested that his Dallas ice box mail be forwarded to his Magazine Street apartand two of his subscriptions, *The Militant* and a Commuilly subsidized by the USSR, *Soviet Belorussia*, soon . He also received a letter from the Socialist Workers f America. It had taken five months to respond to his reor some leftist pamphlets and an English translation to olutionary anthem "Internationale."<sup>18</sup>

lay 2 just over a month after he moved to New Orleans, with a job and apartment, Oswald began preparing for a ase one activist politics. He went to the New Orleans ibrary and borrowed Portrait of a Revolutionary: Mao Tseour days later he wrote Vincent (V. T.) Lee, the president 'air Flay for Cuba Committee, requesting formal memberd saying he wanted to open a Fair Play branch office in leans. He noted that "a picture of Fidel, suitable for framld be a welcome touch."<sup>19</sup> Although Oswald had expressed tion for Castro even when he was in the Marines, Marina led his attraction to Castro peaked in New Orleans. "Well, for a long time that Fidel Castro was his hero," she re-He was a great admirer of him, so, he was in some kind of ionary mood at that period of time. He thought that maybe ld be, I mean, he would be happy to work for Fidel Castro or something like that."20 Since the USSR had failed his t theories, the mercurial Oswald now viewed Cuba as the ibodiment of Communist ideology.<sup>21</sup> Also, Oswald's attrac-Fair Play for Cuba as an instrument for exercising his stro sentiments fit with his view of Marxism/Leninism.

Marina and Ruth and Michael Paine said Oswald was a Trotskyite Marxist.<sup>22</sup> Trotskyites were the heart of the Socialist Workers Party, the key element in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.<sup>23</sup>

Without waiting for a formal reply from the national office, Oswald acted as though he had permission to start an independent chapter. Picking up where he left off with his Dallas demonstration on behalf of Fair Play, he decided to begin passing out leaflets in New Orleans, but on a grander scale. On Wednesday, May 29, he went to the Jones Printing Company, opposite the side entrance of the Reily company. Using the name Lee Osborne, he said he needed a thousand handbills. He handed the receptionist an 8-by-10-inch sheet of paper on which he had written:

# HANDS

OFF CUBA! Join the Fair Play for Cuba Committee New Orleans Charter Member Branch Free Literature, Lectures Location: Everyone Welcome!<sup>24</sup>

Again under the alias Osborne, he ordered five hundred copies of a yellow, 4-by-9-inch membership application for his Fair Play for Cuba "chapter" from the Mailers' Service Company on Magazine Street.<sup>25</sup> Next, also with Mailers' Service, he placed an order for three hundred 2<sup>1/2</sup>-by-3<sup>1/2</sup>-inch membership cards.<sup>26</sup> By June 4, when Oswald picked up the thousand handbills from the Jones Printing Company, he had received a response from Fair

<sup>•</sup>The question of how Oswald could afford such large printing orders on his minimal income has led some to suggest he had secret sources of funding. Oswald paid cash for all the orders. The 1,000 flyers cost \$9.89; the 500 membership applications were \$9.34; and the 300 membership cards cost \$3.50. The \$22.73 printing costs came in a month in which Oswald's total income was \$157.58, and with only \$44 on housing for the prorated month, he had more than enough for the printing costs (WC Report, App. XIV; Burcham Ex. 1, WC Vol. XIX, p. 192).

# 526 • Notes

- 11. Ibid.
- Oswald's application for employment with William B. Reily, May 9, 1963, CE 1398, WC Vol. XIX, pp. 736-37.
- 13. Testimony of Myrtle Evans, WC Vol. VIII, p. 58.
- 14. Ibid., pp. 59-60.
- 15. Testimony of Ruth Paine, WC Vol. II, p. 471.
- 16. Ibid., p. 470.
- Soviet embassy file on Oswald, CE 986, WC Vol. XVIII, pp. 516-17; Lee (V. T.) Exhibit 8-A, WC Vol. XX, p. 531.
- 18. Dobbs Exhibits 7 and 8, WC Vol. XIX, pp. 573-74.
- 19. Lee (V. T.) Exhibit 2, WC Vol. XX, pp. 512-13.
- 20. Testimony of Marina Oswald, HSCA Vol. II, p. 252.
- 21. Testimony of Marina Oswald, WC Vol. I, p. 24.
- Testimony of Marina Oswald, WC Vol. I, p. 496; testimony of Ruth Paine, WC Vol. III, p. 104.
- 23. Testimony of James Hosty, WC Vol. IV, p. 454.
- FBI report, December 4, 1963, of interview with Myra Silver, re: investigation of the printing of pro-Castro materials on order by Lee Oswald, CE 1410, WC Vol. XXII, pp. 796-98.
- FBI report, December 3, 1963, of interview with John Anderson in New Orleans, re: investigation of the printing of pro-Castro materials on the order of Lee Oswald, CE 1411, WC XXII, pp. 800-01.
- 26. Ibid., p. 802.
- 27. Lee (V. T.) Exhibit 3, WC Vol. XX, pp. 514-16.
- 28. Ibid. pp. 514-15.
- 29. Testimony of Marina Oswald, WC Vol. I, p. 22.
- Letter from Marina Oswald to Ruth Paine, May 25, 1963, CE 408, WC Vol. XVII, p. 88.
- 31. Testimony of Marina Oswald, WC Vol. I, p. 25.
- Letter from Marina Oswald to Ruth Paine, June 5, 1963, CE 409-B, WC Vol. XVII, p. 100; McMillan, Marina and Lee, p. 397.
- 33. Testimony of Mrs. Jesse Garner, WC Vol. X, p. 275.
- 34. McMillan, op. cit., p. 397.
- 35. Ibid., p. 399.
- 36. CE 409-B, p. 101.
- 37. Testimony of Marina Oswald, WC Vol. V, p. 401.
- 38. Ibid.
- 39. HSCA Vol. II, p. 255.
- 40. Cadigan Exhibits 23 and 24, WC Vol. XIX, pp. 296-97.
- 41. McMillan, op. cit., p. 402.
- 42. Cadigan Exhibit 22, WC Vol. XIX, pp. 295.
- 43. Testimony of Charles Le Blanc, WC Vol. X, p. 214-15.
- 44. Ibid., p. 215.
- 45. Ibid., p. 216–17.

- Statement of Arturo Mendez Rodriguez, CE 1898, WC Vol. XXIII, p. 702.
- 47. Testimony of Charles Le Blanc, WC Vol. X, p. 216.
- 48. Testimony of Adrian Alba, WC Vol. X, p. 223.
- 49. Ibid., p. 224.
- 50. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 283.
- 51. HSCA Rpt., p. 194.
- 52. Interview with Adrian Alba, March 20, 1992.
- 53. HSCA Rpt., p. 194.
- 54. McMillan, op. cit., p. 405.
- 55. Ibid., p. 413.
- 56. Johnson (Arnold) Exhibit 1, WC Vol. XX, pp. 257-58.
- 57. Letter from FBI to Commission, August 4, 1964, with attached memos of July 16, 1964, and July 22, 1964, re: investigation into allegations that Oswald distributed leaflets in vicinity of Navy at New Orleans (CD 1370,a,b), CE 1412, WC Vol. XXII, pp. 805-6.
- 58. Ibid., p. 806.
- 59. Lee (V. T.) Exhibit 5, WC Vol. XX, p. 525.
- 60. McMillan, op. cit., p. 410.
- Lee Oswald passport application of June 24, 1963, CE 781, WC Vol. XVII, pp. 666-67.
- 62. Ibid., p. 666.
- 63. Testimony of Marina Oswald, HSCA Vol. II, p. 226.
- 64. Testimony of Marina Oswald, WC Vol. I, p. 68.
- 65. Ibid., p. 21.
- Undated letter from Marina Oswald to the Russian embassy, with translation, CE 12, WC Vol. XVI, pp. 26-29.
- 67. Ibid., p. 29.
- Letter from Lee Oswald to Russian embassy, July 1, 1963, CE 13, WC Vol. XVI, p. 30.
- 69. Unpublished Warren Commission Document No. 928, May 6, 1964, memorandum from Richard Helms, Deputy Director of Plans of the CIA, titled "Contacts Between the Oswalds and the Soviet Citizens, June 13, 1962, to November 22, 1963."
- 70. CE 986, pp. 527-28.
- Letter of Ruth Paine to Marina Oswald, July 11, 1963, CE 410, WC Vol. XVII, pp. 102-4.
- Letter from Ruth Paine to Marina Oswald, July 11, 1963, CE 411, WC Vol. XVIII, p. 105.
- 73. WR, p. 726.
- Burcham Exhibit 1, WC Vol. XIX, pp. 211-13; Hunley Exhibits 2, 3, 5, WC Vol. XX, pp. 205, 207, 211; Rachal Exhibits 1, 2, 3, WC Vol. XXI, pp. 282-86; CE 1902-1914, FBI interviews with Roy Richardson, Robert Hedrick, Teddy Guichard, S. K. Manson, G. M. Watson, George

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Dete \_\_\_\_\_ December 4, 1963

KYRA SILVER, socretary, Jones Printing Company, 422 Girod Street, New Orleans, Louisiana, was interviewed at her place of seployment and advised that her records reflect the following information:

She stated that on Eay 29, 1963, a person who whe understood gave his name as OSDORNE appeared at the Jones Printing Company and places as order for 1,000 copies of a handbill, a rough draft of which he submitted on a 8 % 10 looseleaf paper. She stated that the handbill read as follows:

"BANDS OFF CUBA !

"Join the Fair Play for Cuba Committee

"NEW ORLEANS CHARTER MEMBER BRANCH

"Free Literature, Lectures

"LOCATION :

### "EVERYONE WELCOME!"

She advised that the order was placed on job ticket # D-7548 and promised the completed product on June 4, 1963. She advised that the business relationship was strictly cash, due to the fact that her company had never done business with OSBORNE before.

She advised that her records show that OSBORNE appeared on May 31, 1963, and placed a \$4.00 down paysent on his order. She stated that the handbills were made up on June 1, and locked up on June 3, 1963. She advised that

On 12/3/63 et New Orleans, Louisiana File / NO 89-69

by	SA	JOHN	۲.	MCCARTHY	/dmm		Date d	dictoted	12/4/63		
This document contains antiber recon				ber recon	Commission	Exhibit	1410		· FBI	and in Inened in	

COMMISSION EXHIBIT NO. 1410

### NO 89-69/dmm

WEF/kc

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C.A

Part.

ws.

OSEORNE probably appeared on June 4, 1963, picked up his handbills and paid the balance of \$5.89 in cash. The total cost for the handbills was \$9.89.

COMMISSION EXHIBIT No. 1409-Continued

Mrs. SILVER was shown a photograph of LEE HARVEY OSWALD, at which time she stated she could not recognize the person represented in the picture as the person who placed the order for the handbills.

MYRA SILVER furnished the following items to SA MCCARTHY:

Original rough draft layout for the above mentioned handbills.

2) Jones Printing Company job ticket # D-7548.

3) Three copies of finished handbill beginning, "Hands Off Cuba," which handbills were being retained as file copies by the Jones Printing Company.

### NO 89-69/dmm

The above mentioned original rough draft layout, job ticket # D-7548 and three copies of the finished handbill have been furnished to the FBI Laboratory, Washington, D. C., for appropriate examination.

It is noted that the Jones Printing Company, 422 Girod Street, New Orleans, Louisiana, is opposite the side entrance of the William B. Reily Coffee Company, 640 Magazine Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Reproductions of the documents supplied by Mrs. SILVER are set out on the following pages:

COMMISSION EXHIBIT No. 1410-Continued

.344

bout this time, Sgt. Harkness drove up on his three-wheel motor-cycle and stopped on the northeast corner where I was standing. is we started to discuss the situation, the white male renoved the "iva Castro" sign and ran into M. L. Owen Coopany. I started after him but was told by Sgt. Harkness to let him go. Another unknown white male told us that when Sgt. Harkness case up, this unidentified white male said "Oh, hell, here come the cops." This unidentified white male was of medium weight and height and had on a white shirt and use bare headed. I can not identify this white male because he was across the street and I was waiting for Sgt. Farkmess to make the initial contact with him.

Wr. J. S. Curry Chief of Police

Siri

Respectfully,

H. R. Finigan
 Patrolman \$606
 Traffic Division

M. P. Since Just

Subject: An Unidentified Chite Nale Passing Jut Pro-Castro literature at Kain and Ervay Streets

Cc. a day in late spring or early surter of 196), which was approxi-rately one year ago, I was on the northeast corner of Main and irvay Streets and observed an unidentified white male on the northwest corner of Main and Irvay Streets. This white male was passing out so me sort of literature, and had a sign on his back which read "Viva Castro".

I went to the phone in Dreyfuss & Son and called for Sgt. D.V. Markness to meet me on the corner. While I was waiting for 15. Karkness, U.S. Convisioner W. Maddon Hill cave across the streat and said "Scorething should be done about thit guy passing out literature". Kr. Mill seemed to be very angry.

Pay 15, 1964

# WHAT COOKING CAN TEACH KIDS/Page B27

Newsday

Wednesday, May 10, 1995

**B2** 

**B**3

B77



**MUSIC:** Montell Jordan's free-style mixture of rap and R&B.

**THE LITTLE PRINCESS:** Updating a classic. Jack Mathews says it works.

**RADIO:** Listening in on WGBB talk host G. Gordon Liddy.

Far from the grassy knoll, the celebrated author believes he discovered Lee Harvey Oswald's real story - and the conclusion he hoped he wouldn't. Pages B4-5

# What Norman Mailer

# Found in Minsk

Newsday / Ari Mintz

# **CLASSIFIED / Page B45**

# GUL



**B**4

OR MORE THAN 30 years, Norman Mailer has enjoyed one of the best views in town. At the top of a Brooklyn Heights brownstone, his apartment overlooks the New York Harbor traffic of lazy tugs and ferryboats, as well as lower Manhattan's thick forest of towers.

The interior offers its own broad picture of Mailer's long, often tempestuous and ever-varied career. Here a wall hidden by books, many of them his own, and there a wall covered with artifacts of his adventures. A framed flyer announces a public debate with William F. Buckley Jr. A poster heralds "Maid-stone: A Mystery," one of his unorthodox films. And that hammock, stretched daringly about 10 feet above the ground, recalls the boozy parties. "We used to jump into that hammock," Mailer explained. A frightening thought to the sober. "The hard part was trying to climb out. I don't do it anymore."

Mailer is 72 years old, the father of nine, living here with his sixth wife, Norris. A famous writer since the critical response to his first novel, "The Naked and the Dead," proclaimed him a star 47 years ago. To hear him tell it, the dif-ference between the Mailer of bawdy legend the Mailer, for example, who launched a colorful bid for mayor in this room in 1969 — and the Mailer of white-haired seniority is the work.

"You know, work used to be that particular activity that kept me from having fun," he said. "As you get older, it gets simpler." Simpler? "Yeah, I like work now. I enjoy

work. I'm happier when I'm working than when I'm not. I can't say it was true when I was thirty or forty."

The latest proof is "Oswald's Tale: An Ameri-can Mystery," an 800-page journalistic portrait of Lee Harvey Oswald, the presumed assassin of President John F. Kennedy, set against the paranoia and intrigue of the Cold War.

"I had been fascinated with Oswald for thirty years, and I'd thought vaguely about doing something fictional about him," he said. "And then when Don DeLillo's novel came out [in 1988], I liked 'Libra' very much, and I thought, well, that's the end of that. That's one book I 'As time went On,

don't have to write."

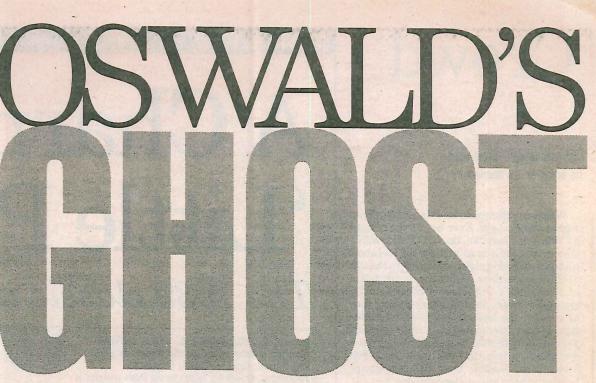
Mailer changed his **Slowly, my** mind on hearing from favorite theories Lawrence Schiller, the collaborator on O.J. Simpson's recent "I Want to Tell You" and were pulled out the man who had of me as if my helped him obtain ac-cess to killer Gary Gilmore that resulted in Mailer's Pulitzer-win-

fering Mailer the all- thesis I ended up too-tempting opportunity to review the surveillance files much rather maintained by the KGB during the two mysteri- have come hack ous years that Oswald lived in the former Soviet Union. After hundreds of books about

of conspiracy ning "The Executioner's Song" in 1979. This time, the enter-prising Schiller was of-there is the solution of with. I would with a conspiracy.'

the Kennedy assassination, the files would make

for a fresh start. "I had a double motive," Mailer explained. "I thought it would be interesting to live in the former Soviet Union for a while and get to know selfishly, ome KGB people, and 9 I wanted that for the second part of 'Harlot's Ghost'" - his MAY CIA novel published in 1991. But like other Mailer projects that grew beyond WEDNESDAY, their original design, what was conceived as a tidy study of Oswald's stay in the city of Minsk more than doubled in length as the writer later sought to render a full-blown examination of an American loser. As Mailer dug into the KGB transcripts of bugged domestic arguments between Oswald and his Russian-born wife, Marina, and interviewed dozens of people who knew the former Marine when



Curiosity about life in the former Soviet Union and the sequel to 'Harlot's Ghost' may have packed his bags, but it was a 30-year fascination with Lee Harvey Oswald that sent Norman Mailer to Minsk.



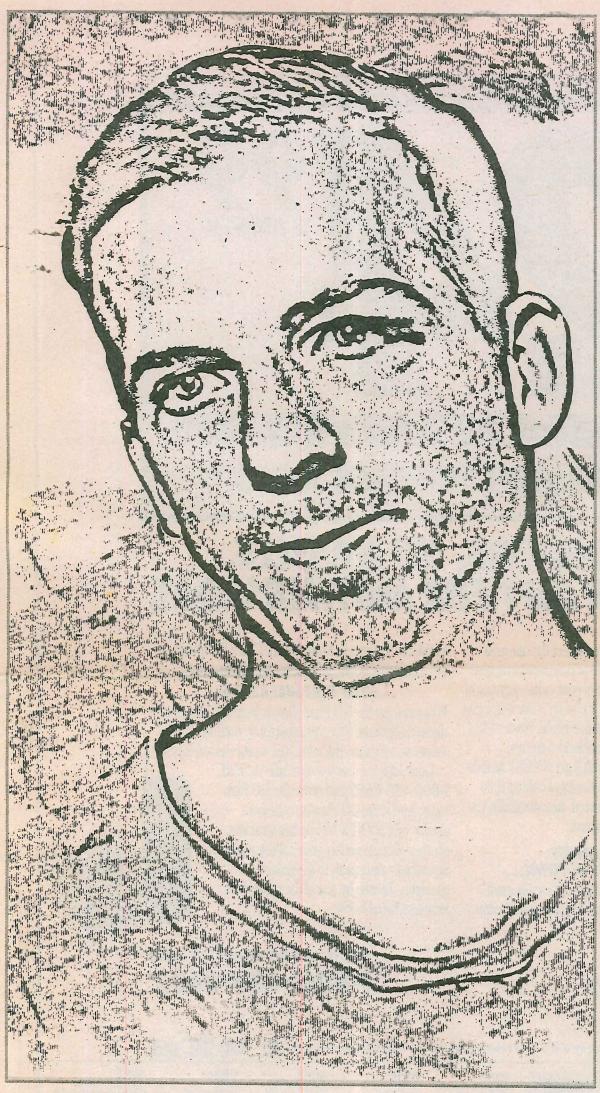
he worked at a radio factory in Minsk, he shed his long-held and vocal belief that a conspiracy was

hatched to gun down Kennedy. "As time went on, slowly, my favorite theories of conspiracy were pulled out of me as if my fingers were being ripped off," he said with a grin. "I hated ending up with the thesis I ended up with. I would much rather have come back with a conspiracy." Mailer is now "seventy-five percent certain" that Oswald acted alone, although he also believes that the FBI and CIA leaned on Oswald and tried to cover up their actions. Mailer's near certainty about the shooter hangs in large measure on his detailed picture of Oswald as a man incapable of working in tandem with anyone. Mailer adds to the evidence that Oswald was no patsy for the Soviets by demonstrating time and again that the KGB believed, odd

Mailer in Minsk, where he researched KGB files on Oswald, right

as it seemed to them, that this hapless Marxist wannabe was planted in their midst by the CIA. His painstaking approach with sources - which

includes long stretches hearing from Pavel, Valya, Ilya and the others who were in Oswald's Russian orbit - exercises a hypnotic hold as the author conveys the dreariness and the ambitions of Oswald's sorry life. Oswald becomes fixed in the mind. At the same time, for all of Mailer's fresh research, his slow windup and heavy reliance on other published materials, including the Warren Commission's findings, predictably has drawn yawns from some of thefirst critics to weigh in on his 28th book. Writing in The New York Times, Michiko Ka-



kutani called Mailer's latest a "cumbersome volume . . . a tiresome rehashing of familiar details and arguments . . . this long-winded and ultimately superfluous book." In USA Today, Deirdre Donahue concluded: "Readers not obsessed with He's really identified a type here. This character of Lee Harvey Oswald will require toothpicks to keep their eyelids from drooping into a coma-like slumber while attempting to get through the first part wald's Tale" avoids whatever awkwardness there of this book." In a more sympathetic reaction, Thomas Powers said in The New York Times Book Review that "the central body of the story, while familiar in outline, has lost none of its power, and Mailer draws us into his spell."

Newsday Illustration Based on AP Photo

"The reviewers of Norman's books fall into two categories - the smart ones and the dumb ones," said Jason Epstein, Mailer's editor at Random House. "The dumb ones don't see what he's doing

for all, that Oswald had indeed acted alone. Mailer said he found Posner's book "very useful, but I don't think it's a great work of investigation and analysis. It's more like a lawyer's brief. He cut many, too many corners."

Reached at home, Posner said he was pleased with Mailer's effort. "Obviously, Norman has some shots to take at me . . . but I like the way that he brought himself into the book," he said. "The Oswald is the same, but Norman makes him a more heroic and tragic figure."

In addition, Posner said, the fact that a writer of. Mailer's renown has broken with the assassination-conspiracy theorists will go a long way to influence those skeptics who would never pick up "Case Closed" or other books that indict Oswald.

Did Mailer come to like Oswald in any way? Not exactly.

"He was a little too devious for my taste," the author said. "But I felt a certain empathy for him. You know, what a bitch of a life he had, what disproportions there were in that life, how hard he tried, how important everything was to him. You could have a kind of disengaged compassion for him. On the other hand, if he killed Kennedy, as I think he did, it's very hard for me to feel a great

# HE COULD HAVE BEEN A COLUMNIST

orman Mailer has written novels, essays, plays, movies and nonfiction, but his output as a columnist has been limited to brief, long-forgotten stretches with the Village Voice, Commentary and Esquire. No daily newspapers.

"I always wanted to do a newspaper column, but no newspaper ever came to me with an offer that ever made any sense," he said. "You have to be syndicated in order to make it work. I know enough to know you don't do a newspaper column with your left hand, not if you want to do a good one.

"I'd have to give up my books if I wanted to be a columnist, and it's far too late now.

Still, because Mailer is never at a loss for an opinion, it often irks him to be without an immediate forum, such as a column.

"I'm so angry all the time, which is the indispensable ingredient for a columnist," he said. In addition, the writer of 800-page books would face the challenge of expressing himself at 800-word length - or

less.

deal of compassion for him, because I sure wish Kennedy had those eight years that he could have used.

"I felt some of the same mixed emotions that I felt for Gary Gilmore. On the one hand, he was godawful, but on the other hand, what an extraordinary life and what an extraordinary sense of possibilities that nobody else could see. Oswald and Gilmore were alike in that one way only."

Before Mailer gets too far along on his sequel to "Harlot's Ghost," he will be represented again in October by "Portrait of Picasso as a Young Man,' an illustrated interpretive biography of the artist being published Grove /by Atlantic.

"No, I don't think I'm at the top of my game," he said. "I think I'm like George Foreman — over the hill." He laughed. "I just hope I don't roll down too fast.

"I'm at the top of my enthusiasm — and that makes up for a lot."

Rapping his knuckles on the table three times and laughing some more, he added: "I hope I've got ten years. I don't think people write much after their eighties, so I've got eight or ten years left. I want to get as much done as I can."

ISDAY,

WEDNESDAY,

MAY

10,

1995

**B5** 

Mailer shrugs, saying his books routinely generate good and bad reviews.

Oswald, as Norman has him, will endure."

With Mailer's name on 150,000 copies, "Osmight have been in following one of his own sources, Gerald Posner's "Case Closed: Lee Harvey Oswald and the Assassination of JFK." The latter book, also published by Random House, arrived with modest expectations in 1993 but received such respectful media attention that it became a bestseller and convinced many skeptics, once and

it would be tough to do it in seven hundred words," he confessed. "That's never been my forte. I'd have to re-tool a lot of those machines out there on the factory floor.' - Colford