Mr. David J. Garrow Political Science Dept. CCNY, New York, N.Y. 10031 Dear David.

Professional Mistorians and political scientists, like those of us you regard as an ignorant rabble to be talked down to, are entitled to your biases and prejudices and preconceptions and, absent self-restraint, are licensed to indulge as you do in tothe day's Washington Post Book World But this does not extend to ignorance and your flaunting of your own ignorance. (Please excuse my worse than usual typing; I'm recovering from eye surgery.)

Aside from perhaps the belief that you know all there is to know about anything, what qualifies you to all or any part of:

W...an ongoing fascination—at least on the partof authors and publishers—with the real and imagined minutae of the Kennedy assassination itself, a fascination that shows no sign of diminusion even as the most determined conspiracy theorists flirt with science fiction in their overheated imaginings...To anyone who has followed even in a half-hearted fashion the evolution of the burgeoning literature on the John Kennedy's shooting, the sinking feeling that less is known with each passing year — and arriving book—becomes inescapable."

Do you, personally, qualified as the "helf-hearted" student of the literature? Your language in this distribe reflects ignorance, not even half-hearted knowledge. Aside from this, what I have no reason to believe troubles you at all, it is grossly unfair and misleading and in some respects it is false.

What in the world do you mean by "minutae?" The backbone of histiry and of law and justice is not what is commonly referred to as "minutae?" Or is this an ignoramuse way of seeking to put down what he cannot address on the basis of fact and his personal knowledge? Or of seeking to diminish the solid works of years ago by bracketing them with the current nonsense of the Davises and the Scheims? How can the appearance of such junk make less be known when there is what you ignore, solid works of the past?

What do you know of either the Warren Commission, the books about it or what I am confident David Belin largely ginores what those of us you and he seeks to put down have brought to light from official suppression, that entitles you to offer the opinion that Belin is "persuasive" in his defense of his own past that you and he refer to as his defense of the Commission? Do you know elough about Belin to hold an intelligeant opinion about him and what he says and has daid and done, including in other than his own self-serving version, what he did and did not do on the Commission?

What do you really know, in other than a Belinesque version, of "the physical facts of the Kennedy shooting" to say to so large and trusting an audience, not to mention trusting editors, that "for all practical purposes" these "physical facts.... can no longer be disputed?"

I minte no words on this - you lie and it is an ugly, at disgusting lie coming from one of your discipline when in the real context you ignore you are talking about the most subversive crime possible in a society like ours.

What if anything at all do you really know of the physical facts, the actualities, not the self-serving representations of the Belins or his Commission?

Do you know, or is this part of what you seek to dismiss as "minutae," that on the most basic of facts about the assassination, what shots hit who, to this day both the Secret Service and the FBI disagree and as of my last knowledge sneered to themselves about the Commission's version. (And this, by the way, your eminent ignoramus, sir, is the actual theorizing, the officials of all levels, as you'd know if you had read and understood the Warren report itself.)

In any translation of your closing words into everyday, dispassionate English, you actually wall for an end to critical writing on this subject, this most subversive of crimes, this most dubious official inquiry into what, contrary to the other opinions you offer, turned the world around.

For shame, David! You belittle yourself, you demean your discipline, you Orwellize when more than at any time I can recall, and I've lived a third as long as our country, the people have an urgent need to know what is real and true about so much, including how their government serves them and their system of self-government, really of freedom.

This outrageous stuff cames with even poorer grace from one whose own work was to a large degree made possible by those he deprecates for without the effort of which you are well aware and to which neither you nor any other professional historian or political scientist contributed in any way, those records would not have been available to you and the others under the freedom of Information act. Done by a "conspiracy theorist," was it, "avid? Some of that "imagined minusee?" Perhaps "science fiction in their overheated imaginings?"

I'm sorry for you that you are capable of something as indecent, as dishonest, as this is,

Harold Weisberg

## Kennedy and the Mythology of Camel

By David J. Garrow

Kennedy's White House years expand further and further with each new crop of handsomely produced picture books-e.g. LIFE in Camein Dallas on November 22, 1963. Each annither burnishing and invocation of the JFK impresidential campaign—also witnesses, a furversary—and seemingly every successive age. Not only does effusive celebration of The Kennedy Years-but each election VERY FIFTH sary of John F. Kennedy's assassination 1988—now witnesses a major anniver-November-1983,

ern Christian Leadership Conference," which won the 1987 Robert F. Kennedy Book Award and the 1987 Pulitzer Prize in hography. David J. Garrow is the author of "Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the South-

> year provides a wider and wider range of ofthe Kennedy legacy as their own. tice-seekers eager to claim some version of

nedy was the most retrospectively popular American president. More pointedly, 65 percent of the Gallup respondents said they believed that the United States would have been are mourning our own unfulfilled promise," Kennedy had not been killed. As Robert Mac-Neil writes in his introduction to The Way We Were: 1963, The Year Kennedy Was Shot, "We "much different"—and presumably better—if Five years ago a Gallup poll found that Ken-

> timism that rings through the feelings Americans had, and retain, about that time—and attribute to Kennedy." most particularly "the spirit of hope and op-

vant," Thomas Brown aptly notes in JFK: Hisered celebration of JFK. "Symbols often emsmall but eminently useful volume is likely to tory of an image, and no reader of Brown's body needs that render literal facts irrele-America's often maudlin and historically blind-Kennedy presidency hes at the center of prances of past hopes and expectations to the The attribution of such roseate remem-

finish it still believing that Ronald Reagan's

was the first "Teflon presidency."

No serious scholar could successfully conthe mythology of "Camelot," but the very prenot the assassination alone that has stimulated elevated him to a primary place in the political consciousness of Americans." However, it is tend that the actual achievements and policies of the Kennedy presidency account for the tremendous popular regard in which JFK is ities that will long outlast those of the Reagan record in office to benefit from Teflon qualfrom the national scene that has allowed his mature and sudden passing of that president rather than the events of his life that have "It is the circumstances of Kennedy's death now held. Instead, as Brown succinctly puts it,

foreign affairs, the ... record was far from a smashing success. In fall of 1963 the Kennedy presidential -Continued on page 10

## INSIDE

## **NEW AMERICANS: AN ORAL HISTORY** RAYMOND CHANDLER AND OTHER MYSTERIES THE LETTERS OF JACK LONDON GORE VIDAL'S ESSAYS 00 90



John F. Kennedy with his daughter Caroline

FROM JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY AS WE REMEMBER HIM"

Continued from page 1

most notable event had been the incredibly inept military and human debacle at the Bay of Pigs. On the domestic front Kennedy had been largely unable to persuade Congress to pass any truly significant legislative proposals. Politically the 1962 congressional elections had witnessed no notable Democratic or Republican gains, but re-election to the presidency in 1964 appeared safe only if the Republicans would be so kind as to nominate Barry Goldwater.

That much was known on Nov. 22, 1963. However, any one of several things now known would have, if revealed in 1963 or at any point during the later life of a non-assassinated John F. Kennedy, ended the Kennedy presidency and left the ex-president with a historical reputation inferior to that of Richard M. Nixon, among others. The two most damaging examples will suffice. Revelations of any part of the Kennedy-supported CIA assassination plots targeted at Cuba's Fidel Castro likely would have had as

severe a contemporaneous political impact as Watergate had on the Nixon presidency or the Iran-contra scandals have had on Reagan's. Second, even if the Mafia's extensive involvement in those government-sponsored plots had not on its own been enough to generate calls for impeachment or resignation, revelation of an incumbent president's extensive sexual involvement with a top hoodlum's girlfriend—Sam Giancana's Judith Campbell—certainly would have. Looked at with the cold retrospective eyes of history, the assassination in Dallas may well have saved John Kennedy from a political destruction that would have been extraordinarily painful and embarrassing.

OHN KENNEDY is of course not the only major figure from the 1960s whose reputation in death has far exceeded his popularity while alive or his likely popularity had he lived. The same is equally true for the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., who at the time of his death was widely viewed as both dangerously radical on the question of Vietnam and as in-

creasingly less influential within black America, and for Robert Kennedy, who at the time of his assassination was struggling both to evade responsibility for the FBI's recently revealed wiretapping of the just-deceased King and to quell the resurgence of "bad Bobby" analyses that followed from his entry into the 1968 presidential campaign only after Eugene McCarthy had all but toppled Lyndon Johnson. For MLK, death in Memphis resulted in a sudden enshrinement in American history that would have been most unlikely had he survived through the

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late 1960s and into the 1970s, never mind until the present day. For RFK too, popular history's symbolism has been kinder than would have been in the case had he failed to capture the Democratic nomination from Hubert Humphrey in 1968 or had he failed to win out over Richard Nixon.

Thomas Brown says with reference to the Castro plots and the Mafia connections that "the most salient aspect of the revelations was their lack of lasting impact on the Kennedy image," and that conclusion, in light of

The books discussed in the accompanying essay include some of the following works, all of which have been released or reissued in conjunction with the 25th anniversary of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

LIFE in Camelot: The Kennedy Years Edited by Philip B. Kunhardt Jr. Little, Brown. 319 pp. \$40

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THE WAY WE WERE 1963, The Year Kennedy Was Shot Edited by Robert MacNeil Carroll & Graf. 256 pp. \$39.95

JFK: History of an Image By Thomas Brown Indiana University Press. 160 pp. \$19.95

FINAL DISCLOSURE The Full Truth About the Assassination of President Kennedy By David W. Belin Scribners. 249 pp. \$19.95

CONTRACT ON AMERICA The Mafia Murder of President John F. Kennedy By David Scheim Shapolsky, 480 pp. \$19.95

JOHN F. KENNEDY And a New Generation By David Burner. Edited by Oscar Handlin Little, Brown. 189 pp. \$16.95

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY
. . . As We Remember Him
Edited by Joan Meyers
Running Press. 241 pp. \$24.95

KENNEDY: 25 Years
By Theodore C. Sorenson
Perennial/Harper & Row. 781 pp.
Paperback, \$10.95

'LET THE WORD GO FORTH'
The Speeches, Statements, and
Writings of John F. Kennedy
Selected and with an Introduction
By Theodore C. Sorenson
Delacorte. 433 pp. \$25

MAFIA KINGFISH: Carlos Marcello and the Assassination of John F. Kennedy By John H. Davis McGraw-Hill. 580 pp. \$19.95

ONE BRIEF SHINING MOMENT Remembering Kennedy By William Manchester Little, Brown. 280 pp. Paperback, \$16.95

both the Gallup statistics and the oncoming' flow of reverential picture books, is quite indisputable. Coupled with it, however, has been an ongoing fascination-at least on the part of authors and publishers-with the real and imagined minutiae of the Kennedy assassination itself, a fascination that shows no sign of diminution even as the most determined conspiracy theorists flirt with science fiction in their overheated imaginings of corpse-tampering and Lee Harvey Oswald look-alikes. To anyone who has followed even in a half-hearted fashion the evolution of the burgeoning literature on John Kennedy's shooting, the sinking feeling that less is known with each passing yearand arriving book-becomes increasingly

inescapable. Hoping to stem this devolutionary path is David Belin, former executive director of the Rockefeller Commission's inquiry into CIA misdeeds and a counsel to the Warren Commission, whose basic conclusions about the Kennedy assassination Belin persuasiyaly defends.

tion Belin persuasively defends.

For all "beyond reasonable doubt" purposes the physical facts of the Kennedy shooting can no longer be disputed. Kennedy was indeed killed by Lee Harvey Oswald firing from the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository; no other shots were fired at his car; there was no "second gunman." Similarly beyond dispute is Jack Ruby's killing of Oswald two days later.

Where questions can be asked is in the

realm of motive, both for Oswald and for Ruby. To picture Ruby as a possible operative of organized crime, given Ruby's background, is not at all difficult, although to explain Ruby's actions in the period Nov. 22-24 as those of a conspiratorial hit-man is difficult if not downright impossible. Similarly, to picture Oswald as motivated by political, e.g., pro-Castro desires, rather than by nonideological idiosyncrasies, is also easily possible in light of Oswald's quixotic history as an emigre to the Soviet Union. To tie Oswald to any conspiratorial sponsors, however, and especially to any possible organized crime sponsors, as is the current popular rage, has so far not been done in any persuasive fashion and is unlikely ever to be done. Counsel Belin forthrightly puzzles over the still undetermined possible relevance of Oswald's September 1963 trip to Mexico City, but he acknowledges that neither the Warren Commission nor the House Assassinations Committee—nor anyone else-has offered a fully convincing explanation of Oswald's motive. As often is the case, questions of intent are the most difficult to answer, and with regard to the rifle shots of Nov. 22, 1963, perhaps the time has more than come for us to acknowledge that they never will be satisfactorily answered.

The popular mythology of "Camelot" and the popular appetite for unproven-and unprovable-conspiratorial explanations for John Kennedy's death in Dallas now seem destined to enter the long-term annals of American history, the facts notwithstanding. John Kennedy's thousand days in the White House were not the golden age of American presidential leadership any more than Nov. 22, 1963, witnessed the greatest conspiracy in history or the Mafia's most stunning "hit," but until we commit ourselves to a more critical and less simpleminded rendering of our history, we are destined to be saddled with reverential picture books and bizarre conspiratorial tracts.

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