

# Manchester's Book Says Oswald 'Was Going Mad'

## The 'Private Nightmare' of Assassin Pictured in Article in Look

By JOHN CORRY

The first installment of "The Death of a President" tells of Lee Harvey Oswald drifting into madness, of Mrs. John F. Kennedy timidly rejoining the world of crowds and campaigns after the death of her baby and of her husband's delight and anxiety that she did.

It tells of hatred in Dallas, of laxity in the Secret Service and of a political, not a security, factor that determined that President Kennedy would speak at the Dallas Trade Mart, passing, on his way there, the Texas School Book Depository.

### A Rejected Oswald

The 15,000-word installment, the first of four in the serialization of Mr. Manchester's book, is reportage, a retelling of the things that preceded the death of Mr. Kennedy. It concludes with Oswald, alone and rejected, watching an old war movie on television, his reason darkening, while the President and his wife slip away from a crowd in the lobby of a hotel in Houston.

The contents of the installment became known on Friday when Look circulated advance copies of the issue in which it appeared. This was done with the understanding that news articles on the installment would not appear until Tuesday morning. However, Look lifted its embargo when The Chicago Daily News broke the release

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By TOM WICKER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 7—The "final conference" between President Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson the night before the President was assassinated angered Mr. Johnson and ended in substantial disagreement over political matters, it is alleged in the first installment of William Manchester's "The Death of a President."

The installment, recounting the events of Nov. 21, 1963, the first day of the Texas tour that ended in Mr. Kennedy's death on Nov. 22, will appear in Look magazine next week. The magazine released the text of the installment today.

### Kennedy-Johnson Clash

Mr. Manchester describes in considerable detail the Texas political feuding that Mr. Kennedy hoped to quell by his scheduled three-day trip.

The author reports that on the night of Nov. 21, while resting briefly in the Rice Hotel at Houston, Mr. Kennedy sent for Mr. Johnson. What the two men said is unknown, Mr. Manchester writes, but he quotes Mr. Johnson as recalling that there had been no disagreement but, somewhat contradictorily, an active discussion in which the two men were in substantial disagreement.

An eyewitness to Mr. Johnson's departure is quoted as saying that the Vice President

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# LOOK SERIAL SEES OSWALD AS 'MAD'

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date with an article on the installment yesterday. "The Death of a President," which Mrs. Kennedy once sought to suppress by a suit, contains in this section little that is new. Its publication was preceded by many news articles that purported to tell what Mr. Manchester had written.

Besides its exploration of a verifetta between Senator Ralph W. Yarborough and Gov. John B. Connally Jr. of Texas, which led to the President's trip to Dallas, it tells in new detail of the small, mean days of Lee Harvey Oswald.

Mr. Manchester writes of Oswald's mother, who had a "ready, scolding voice," who coveted status and money and had neither one and who had said of herself and her son, "I've been persecuted, and he's been persecuted."

Since his childhood, Mr. Manchester says, Oswald was threatened by paranoia. He notes Oswald's trip to the Soviet Union, his disappointment there, the refusal of Cuban authorities to grant him a visa.

"Lee Harvey Oswald," Mr. Manchester writes, "had become the most rejected man of his time."

But the final catalyst for Oswald's madness, Mr. Manchester says, was the destructive relationship he had with his wife, Marina.

Obliquely, Mr. Manchester criticizes Chief Justice Earl Warren, who directed the Presidential commission that investigated the assassination, for treating Marina Oswald with "exceptional consideration."

Mr. Manchester speculates that Oswald thought he had found a "beautiful, dedicated Communist" when he married Marina Oswald, but that instead he found a scold.

He says Oswald's wife hounded and jeered at him. "There were many fights," he says, "and Marina, a quick girl with a knee, was the better fighter."

After one quarrel, he says, she was locked in the bathroom as punishment?

It was Oswald, he says, who

cringed, who wept, who fell to his knees "as the great darkness of his private nightmare enveloped him."

The nightmare became most intense, Mr. Manchester suggests, after Marina Oswald left her husband and moved herself and her daughter into the home of Mrs. Ruth Paine.

Mrs. Paine, a Quaker, was separated from her husband, Michael. She had gone to great lengths to befriend the Oswalds when they arrived in Texas, and she had, Mr. Manchester says, become something of a protector of Marina Oswald.

In September, Mrs. Paine took Marina Oswald into her home; Oswald sought refuge in Cuba two days later. When this failed, he attempted to rejoin his wife and Mrs. Paine. Neither one, Mr. Manchester says, wanted him.

Mr. Manchester writes that Ruth Paine never really understood her companion, that she was aware of what she called a "wall" in the friendship. Furthermore, he writes, Marina Oswald never told her about all of her husband's strange life.

## 'Final Humiliation'

She did not, for example, tell her that Oswald used aliases, that he had allegedly tried to kill Edwin Walker, former major general; that she had photographed Oswald with a Mannlicher-Carcano carbine and a .38-caliber revolver, or that the carbine was concealed in a garage.

In this continued relationship, Mr. Manchester writes, Marina Oswald turned to Mrs. Paine, to the final humiliation of her husband.

"No one can predict the catastrophe in any case," Mr. Manchester says. "But we now know that the fire storm in Lee Oswald's head ignited on the evening of Thursday, Nov. 21, 1963."

"The total eclipse of his reason," he says, occurred that night after Oswald had returned to the Paine home. He lavished affection on his wife and pleaded for her return. She refused him.

Mrs. Paine returned shortly. She was surprised to find Oswald there, the story says, but did not admonish him, even though he was supposed to phone in advance for permission to visit.

At 6:30 that evening, Oswald

joined the women for dinner. He was quiet then but afterward pleased with Marina again. In turn, she asked him to buy her a washing machine. He said he would, that he wanted her.

Then Marina Oswald told her husband to spend the money on himself, that she no longer needed him.

This was Oswald's end as a man, Mr. Manchester writes. He was without pride. Marina Oswald, he says, glanced at her husband in the living room later and saw that he was watching television.

"In fact," Mr. Manchester says, "he was going mad."

## Secret Service Accused

In his account, Mr. Manchester also says that the Secret Service was lax in its security arrangements. He says that nine agents from the White House detail, unknown to Roy Kellerman, the agent in charge, visited nightclubs the night before the assassination.

He says the nine had beer and mixed drinks at the Press Club in Fort Worth with Malcolm Kilduff, the President's assistant press secretary, and that seven of the nine later went to a place called The Cellar, where they had non-alcoholic drinks. One, he writes, stayed there until 5 A.M.

He said that four agents who were to ride in the car behind Mr. Kennedy visited The Cellar in those early morning hours, and that at various times they were joined by three agents who were supposed to be on guard outside the President's bedroom door.

In its report, the Warren Commission said it had concluded that "at the time of the assassination the arrangements relied upon by the Secret Service to perform this [protective] function were seriously deficient."

However, the commission did not allege any lapses by Secret Service agents on the night before the assassination. Mainly, it said that the intelligence agencies had been deficient in exchanging information about potential dangers to the President.

When Mrs. Kennedy and Cowles Communications, which publishes Look, reached the agreement that led Mrs. Kennedy to drop her suit to prevent the serialization, Look said that it would make only one revision

in the installment. This, it said, dealt with a reference to Mrs. Kennedy.

However, Mrs. Kennedy found more than one passage in the first installment offensive. She is said to have objected to the descriptions of the hotel bedrooms in which she and her husband stayed in Texas, and she is said to have objected to other passages that she considered too personal.

Look did not revise all the material to which she objected. However, it is known that some passages she had found offensive—in the original 300,000-word manuscript of the book—had been revised by Look itself before Mrs. Kennedy brought suit.

It is not known if any of the material Mrs. Kennedy found offensive was transferred from the first installment to other parts of the serialization. It is known that most of the passages Mrs. Kennedy objected to are in the last two parts of the serialization.

In Chicago, Roy Fisher, editor of The Chicago Daily News, said his paper had decided to print its article on the Manchester serial in Look after having obtained an advance copy of the magazine.

In a telephone interview, Mr. Fisher said there had been no release date on the copy of the magazine his paper obtained, and that the paper had not received a news release from Look.

Asked where he had obtained the advance copy, he replied, "From one of our circulation people." He said Look is printed in Chicago.

He said his staff had called the Look bureau in Chicago and asked when the magazine would be on the newsstands. He continued:

"We were told the magazine would be on the stand on Tuesday, and that they had no information on whether there would be any release date. We called Look in New York, but they had already closed."

"After checking with our own attorneys, we concluded this was in the public interest."

"We complied with the usual rules on copyrighted material not to use more than 500 words of direct quotation."

Actually, Look had stipulated that no more than 300 words could be quoted from the text of the installment.

# Clash of Kennedy and Johnson Is Related by Look

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looked furious, and Mr. Manchester reports that Mr. Kennedy later told his wife, Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy, that "Lyndon" was "in trouble."

Caterers and hotel servants heard the name of Senator Ralph W. Yarborough mentioned several times during the Kennedy-Johnson hotel talk, Mr. Manchester writes.

Mr. Johnson, the article says, controlled his temper while in the presence of Mr. Kennedy, but in the words of one man on duty outside the hotel room, "He left that suite like a pistol."

## Another Recollection

Mr. Manchester refers to this meeting as the final conference between the two men, but Mr. Johnson has recalled at least one later, more felicitous exchange between the two.

At the LBJ Ranch a few days after Christmas, 1963, Mr. Johnson—by then the President—told this correspondent and others that the last words Mr. Kennedy had spoken to him were:

"Lyndon, I know there are two states we're going to carry in 1964—Massachusetts and Texas."

Mr. Johnson said Mr. Kennedy told him that in a room at the Texas Hotel at Fort Worth on the morning of Nov. 22, just before the Presidential party departed for Dallas.

Mr. Manchester writes that Mr. Kennedy did not want to make the Texas trip, believed that Mr. Johnson ought to be able to straighten out that state's political problems by himself but felt that he had no political choice since his prospects of carrying Texas in 1964 were endangered.

As was reported at the time in this and other newspapers, the Texas feud—which still exists—was between a conservative Democratic faction headed by Gov. John B. Connally Jr., then and now a close associate of Mr. Johnson, and the liberal wing of the party led by Senator Ralph W. Yarborough.

Mr. Manchester writes that during the Presidential visit to Texas, Governor Connally intended to snub and embarrass Senator Yarborough, who had been a strong supporter of Mr. Kennedy. He recounts how the Senator, on Nov. 21, twice refused to ride in the same car with Vice President Johnson in motorcades at San Antonio and Houston.

This was widely reported at the time. It was further reported on Nov. 22, when Mr. Yarborough and Mr. Johnson



Associated Press

President Kennedy speaking in Fort Worth on the morning of Nov. 22, 1963, the day he was slain in Dallas. Behind him, from left: Senator Ralph W. Yarborough, Gov. John B. Connally Jr. and Lyndon B. Johnson. Their relationships are discussed in Look.

did ride together in the fatal motorcade at Dallas, that they had done so on the express orders of President Kennedy, who wanted a show of unity.

In a letter to this correspondent dated Dec. 21, 1965, Senator Yarborough called the latter report "absolutely incorrect" and added that "it was not on any President's orders that I rode with Vice President Johnson."

## Fort Worth Motorcade

That part of the story is not reached in the first installment of "Death of a President," but the Yarborough letter of 1965 mentions one incident not included in the installment's account of the events of Nov. 21.

Conceding that he had not ridden with Mr. Johnson in the San Antonio and Houston motorcades, Senator Yarborough wrote:

"That same night, Nov. 21, 1963, I rode in the car with Vice President and Mrs. Johnson from Carswell Air Force Base

in a parade to the Texas Hotel in Fort Worth at approximately 11:00 P.M. and planned to ride with Vice President Johnson for the rest of the time if requested, and if he had no objections. President Kennedy had not asked me to ride with Vice President Johnson then."

In Mr. Manchester's account of Nov. 21, as presented in Look, there is no mention of this motorcade or of the Yarborough-Johnson presence in the same car. The author mentions only the two occasions on which Mr. Yarborough did not ride with Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Manchester reports that Mrs. Kennedy — shortly after the Kennedy-Johnson conference that is said to have angered the Vice President — "blurted" to the President that she did not like Governor Connally.

Governor Connally, riding in the same limousine with Mr. Kennedy on Nov. 22, was wounded critically by the assassin's bullets.

Mr. Manchester pictures Mrs. Kennedy as having felt that the conservative Governor was hypocritical in his compliments to the President and that he was "needling" Mr. Kennedy.

#### Connally Gets a Laugh

He reports that the President cautioned her against developing a prejudice against Mr. Connally and reminded her that he had come to Texas to heal political wounds, not cause them. He said Mr. Connally had only been hinting that he would run ahead of Mr. Kennedy in Texas in 1964.

Mr. Manchester reports that later that night Governor Connally talked with reporters in the coffee shop of the Texas Hotel in Fort Worth, but he does not include one incident of the Governor's conversation. Mr. Connally tried to get a reporter for The Houston Post to tell him in advance the results of a statewide political poll that The Post intended to publish the next day.

The reporter would not disclose the poll results. White

House reporters who had been in Houston earlier in the day had been told about the poll, however. When Douglas Kiker, then the White House correspondent of The New York Herald Tribune, joined the Connally group he asked Mr. Connally what he thought of the fact that the poll would show that Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona would easily defeat Mr. Kennedy in Texas in 1964.

Mr. Connally laughed out loud at finding out by accident what he had wanted to know. In later discussions of the poll, however, he said he was not surprised at its results as of that time, but believed that by election day Mr. Kennedy would be able to carry the state.

Mr. Manchester lays heavy stress on the right-wing political climate and the penchant for violence that he attributes to the city of Dallas—a city that he asserts had a "disease of the spirit."

He calls it "legitimate speculation" to suggest that this atmosphere had considerable effect upon Lee Harvey Oswald, whom he labels the assassin but who he says did not belong to a conventional criminal conspiracy.

The threatening attitude of Dallas was so pervasive, Mr. Manchester writes, that in the days before his Texas trip, Mr. Kennedy was specifically warned not to visit the city.

The warning was made by Representative Hale Boggs of Louisiana (later a member of the Warren Commission); Byron Skelton, the Texas Democratic National Committeeman, and Senator J. W. Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas.

After having been mobbed in Dallas on Oct. 24, 1963, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson also urged Mr. Kennedy not to visit the city, but he later withdrew his objection.

According to Mr. Manchester, Mr. Skelton carried his objections to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, Walter W. Jenkins of the Vice President's staff, and to John M. Bailey and Jerry Bruno of the Democratic National Committee—all

without effect. Mr. Bailey was chairman of the committee.

Robert Kennedy did pass the warning along to P. Kenneth O'Donnell, then the President's primary aide for political and security matters, but Mr. Manchester reports that Mr. O'Donnell regarded the Skelton warning about the possibilities of violence as being based on an unsupported hunch.

#### A Change in Plans

Mr. Bruno, who made advance arrangements for the trip, had selected the Dallas Women's Building for the President's luncheon speech, Mr. Manchester writes, but for political reasons Governor Connally insisted on the Dallas Trade Mart. The motorcade route to the mart passed the Texas School Book Depository from which Lee Harvey Oswald fired.

Ultimately, Mr. O'Donnell made the decision to accede to Mr. Connally's choice of the Trade Mart.

Mr. Manchester reports that President Kennedy was delighted when Mrs. Kennedy readily agreed to accompany him on the political tour. This was something she had seldom done, and her decision surprised Washington at the time.

The author describes the President as having personally selected the clothes he wanted Mrs. Kennedy to wear in Texas, so that she could show "these Texans what good taste really is."

Informed sources said that this quotation included one of the modifications that Look had agreed to in the first installment. The word "Texans" was said to have been substituted for "these rich Texas broads."

On their departure day, Mr. Kennedy was said to have been angry at Brig. Gen. Godfrey McHugh, his Air Force aide, when it was learned that the weather in Texas would be hot.

General McHugh had reported that the weather would be cool, and the President had chosen cool-weather clothes for Mrs. Kennedy as a result. She wore them anyway, as it was too late to change the selection.