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# THE MINORITY OF ONE

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## Between Two Assassinations

A White House statement of October 2, 1963, about a meeting of the National Security Council was at that time construed in these pages as "putting Messrs. Diem and Nhu on notice that it [the National Security Council] is not ready to tolerate any . . . negotiations" with the National Liberation Front and North Vietnam. We thought to have found, in the language of the statement, confirmation of reports that initial peace feelers were being made by Diem and Nhu. We also believed that we had perceived echoes of Diem's demand for an early removal of U.S. forces from South Vietnam. In an editorial, "Negotiations Overruled," we commented that a certain passage in the White House statement must have been intended to indicate

that the United States is quite willing to resort to whatever steps are needed to deny the South Vietnam Government any opportunity of settling the war at a conference table or behind the scenes. (TMO, November, 1963.)

Less than six weeks later Diem and Nhu were dead. In a subsequent editorial ("We've Done It! We've Done It!") we commented that the CIA "rescued the war" from "a President who dared to contemplate negotiations. . . ." (TMO, December, 1963.)

Now that version of the Saigon coup of November 10, 1963 has been confirmed by none other than Mrs. Nhu, the notorious sister-in-law of the late President Diem:

In the interview [published in a French weekly *Le Nouveau Candide*], Mrs. Nhu says that it was at her suggestion that her husband was having secret contacts with representatives of North Vietnam and that he was on the point of signing a peace treaty when the Americans, frightened, deliberately launched a coup d'etat and had the brothers Diem and Nhu murdered.

"I had even decided to make a fraternal gesture in sending my two oldest children to the north as pathfinders," she said. . . . Mrs. Nhu said that the Americans envisioned an expanding war and "It was the crime of my husband to be opposed to this war." (*The New York Times*, July 19.)

Diem and Nhu were not the only men who, late in 1963, opposed an escalation of the Vietnam war and looked for ways of settling the conflict. They may well not have been the only ones who paid with their lives for their heresy. Among the heretics was one who certainly deserved special attention:

Senator Wayne Morse . . . suggested to Professor Galbraith that United States policy on Vietnam would have been quite different



The bodies of Diem and Nhu.

—UPI Photo

had not President Kennedy died from an assassin's bullet.

The former President ordered an intensive review of Vietnam policies in the days just before his death, according to Senator Morse. He recalled having visited the President in the White House 10 days before his death on Nov. 22, 1963.

When the conversation turned to the situation in Vietnam, the President mentioned the Senator's critical speeches on the Senate floor and remarked that he "wasn't sure but that I was right," according to Senator Morse. President Kennedy said he had the Vietnam situation under "intensive study," he added. (*The New York Times*, April 26.)

If a foreign President had to be murdered in order to "rescue the war," what would make the murderers hesitate to kill another President if this too was necessary to "rescue the war"?

With the *Warren Report* now utterly compromised as an explanation of what happened in Dallas on November 22, 1963—and how, and why—there is obviously a need for a new inquest. It took almost three years of perseverance by a few truth-seekers, in the face of public ridicule and hostility, to make it quite legitimate at last to question the correctness of the *Warren Report*. Richard N. Goodwin, speech-writer, trouble-shooter, and adviser to President Kennedy, in a review of Edward Jay Epstein's *Inquest: The Warren Commission and the Establishment of Truth* (Viking), published in *Book Week* of July 24, joined the growing chorus of those who pose this demand:

An independent group should look at these charges and determine whether the Commission investigation was so defective that another inquiry is necessary.

Mr. Goodwin stated to a reporter that "he had discussed his reaction to the book with other associates of the late President 'who feel as I do about it.'" (*The New York Times*, July 24.)

Important as is the fact that ever more people are beginning to speak out for a second look at the Dallas events, it is not too soon to warn that another investigation

would not necessarily uncover the truth. It is perfectly conceivable that as public faith in the *Warren Report* continues to erode, a patch-up job might be undertaken with a view to restoring public confidence, while simultaneously burying the truth even deeper. An "investigation" that would merely aim at "establishing" that there were two Oswalds instead of one Oswald, or that would in any other way preclude *a priori* any of the theories that are compatible with the evidence, is the last thing we need. We had one Warren Commission; and we need no more of that.

When a nation's chief political leader is assassinated, it is sheer stupidity not to look into the possibility of a political plot. Yet, in an attempt to lullaby the citizenry, the American public has been conditioned to assume the exact opposite—that only the stupid or sinister suspect politics are behind the assassination. The speculation that President Kennedy was killed so that present U. S. policies in Southeast Asia could be pursued offers itself so strongly that no investigation would be complete unless it considered this as one of the possibilities.

If it is true that Kennedy was murdered for the same reason as Diem, then it may be impossible to have an objective investigation in the near or even foreseeable future. Assassins, even when disguised in judges' robes, are not likely to convict themselves. But even if less sinister factors should be at work behind the scenes, demanding another investigation for no reason other than to boost the prospects of one political aspirant or another, what we would get would not be a real inquest.

As a nation we have grown so perversely pragmatic that every deliberate effort would need to be made to ensure that a second investigation would be immune to any and all political motivation. If nothing but fact-finding is to be achieved, the fact-finders must be men of impeccable integrity as well as men divorced from and inaccessible to the corrupt labyrinths of our body politic; adversary procedure must conscientiously be followed; and all the independent private researchers who have already done so much to uncover the truth must be afforded an opportunity of presenting their evidence and analyses and have them duly heeded.