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GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS AND THE JOHN F. KENNEDY ASSASSINATION

The case I wish to make here is for the utility of official documents in reconstructing suppressed facts about the John F. Kennedy assassination. It is of course unlikely that any document will identify the true conspirators and their specific crimes; and certain that many documents were suppressed or even falsified as part of the ensuing cover-up. But by unravelling and exposing the cover-up we come a little closer to what really happened. The analogy of Watergate is helpful here: the Ervin Committee, though it never fully established the reasons of the original Watergate break-in, was able from documentary evidence to expose many of the principals in the ensuing conspiracy to cover up. By focusing on some initially technical details, I hope in the same way to pick up a trail that leads ~~unmistakably~~ to individual suspects in the Dallas cover-up conspiracy, a conspiracy distinct from, but presumably not unrelated to, the assassination conspiracy itself.

More specifically I want to look at certain tiny distortions of Marina Oswald's initial testimony by two emigre Russian interpreters in Dallas, both of whom had known each other for many years, both of whom had worked together to set up a CIA-subsidized anti-Communist "church" in Dallas, and one of whom had known Oswald before the assassination. The distortions in themselves were small, but their implications were potentially very great. We know they occurred, because for some reason a transcript was prepared of a long Secret Service interview of Marina Oswald on November 24, 1963. At a few points, the transcriber noted

small deviations between what Marina actually said and what the interpreter, Oswald's friend Peter Gregory, translated. Two of these small deviations, by a strange coincidence, added the same details about Oswald's rifle as were put down in Marina's police affidavit on November 22, two days earlier, after translation by Gregory's friend Ilya Mamantov:

This (i.e. the alleged murder weapon) was like the rifle my husband had. It was a dark gun. But I don't remember the sight on it (Senkel affidavit, 24 H 219; emphasis added).*

Ruth Paine, who was present at the first interview, also recalled specifically that Marina "said her husband had a dark gun, dark in color... She couldn't definitely recall the sight" (3 H 82).

Keeping in mind the consensus as to the underlined details on November 22, it is disturbing to learn that on November 24 these details did not originate with Marina, but with her interpreter. On both points Marina's testimony was significantly different, enough so ~~to~~ to attract the attention of the transcriber:

- (Q) This gun, was it a rifle or a pistol or just what type of gun? Can she answer that?
- (A) It was a gun.

Mr. Gregory asked: Can you describe it?

NOTE: Subject said: I cannot describe it because a rifle to me like all rifles.

* Citations to the Warren Commission's 26 volumes of Hearings (H), one-volume Report (R), Commission Exhibits (CE's) and unpublished Commission Documents (CD's) follow the Warren Commission's own format: in this instance, Hearings, Vol. 24, p. 219.

Gregory translation: She said she cannot describe it. It was sort of a dark rifle just like any other common rifle.

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- (Q) Can you describe this rifle that you saw?
- (A) Mr. Gregory in Russian: Same size as they are showing to you?

Subject: I think so, but,

Gregory translation: She says that a rifle approximately the same length as you are showing her; however, the stock was longer.

Subject in Russian: It was a hump (or elevation) but I never saw through the telescope, but it was the same kind of hump (or elevation).

Gregory translation: She says there was an elevation on the rifle but there was no scope - no telescope.

- (Q) Would you recognize a rifle scope if you saw one?
- (A) Yes. She says that now she knows the difference between a rifle with a scope and one without a scope. She says until she saw the rifle with a scope on TV the other day she did not know that rifles with scopes existed. (CD 344.22-23, reprinted in David Lifton, Document Addendum to the Warren Report, pp. 312-13)

Even if we knew no more than what has been said, this transcript would ^{appear to} constitute prima facie evidence of a cover-up conspiracy. Mr. Gregory had not been present at the first interview, and (in theory at least) he knew nothing about the rifle and its color. How then, if not by conspiracy, did Gregory supply the seemingly innocuous word "dark", which Marina had not used, and to which so much attention had been paid on November 22? In fact the word was not so innocuous. On November 22 it was reported that the Dallas authorities would arrest Oswald "as part

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of an international conspiracy" (S H 218), and Marina's first interview "interpreted" and was reported ~~by her~~ in such a way as to strengthen that impression:

MARINA OSWALD advised that LEE HARVEY OSWALD owned a rifle which he used in Russia about two years ago. She observed what she presumed to be the same rifle in a blanket in the garage at 2515 West Fifth, Irving [the Paine residence]. On November 22, 1963, she observed the same blanket in the garage but the rifle was missing. MARINA OSWALD stated that on November 22, 1963, she had been shown a rifle in the Dallas police Department, reportedly found at the Texas School Book Depository, and was unable to positively identify it as the one she had observed in the above mentioned garage. She stated that it was a dark color like the one she had seen, but she did not recall the sight (CE 1778, 23 H 383-84).

Ilya Mamantov, Gregory's friend who was the interpreter at the first interview, later went on television to argue that the assassination was an international Communist conspiracy (CD 385.269-72). His case was plausible. As Mamantov himself explained to the Warren Commission, no ordinary person "had a gun in the Soviet Union" (9 H 114); nor would he be allowed one. Mamantov added no less than seven times under oath that Marina had used the word "dark" to describe Oswald's rifle on November 22. Her actual words to Gregory only two days later ("I cannot describe it because a rifle to me like all rifles") suggests how much had been gained as well as lost in translation.

Gregory's interpolation of the word "dark" can hardly have been coincidental or innocent. There was thus no excuse for Secret Service agent Leon Gopadze (who in turn became Marina's interpreter) to report that Gregory's translation "was faultless without deviation and at no time was there any indication that Mr. Gregory was translating otherwise" (23 H 405). The same Gopadze decided it would be "beneficial"

to use Gregory in his own first interview with Marina, when she first said she had taken the picture of Oswald and the rifle, including the disputed scope (23 H 406, 408). Later the Warren Commission decided to use Gopadze and Gregory together as Marina's interpreters on September 6, 1964 (5 H 588, cf. 11 H 275).

It may seem idle to make too much of Gregory's ^{apparently} invented story of a dark and scopeless rifle, since the story was soon abandoned. Four days later Marina changed her story, telling the same Leon Gopadze and Peter Gregory that she had taken the famous photograph of Oswald with pistol and scope-fitted rifle ("she does not remember noticing the scope but... it was Lee's rifle," 23 H 408). Later she told the Commission under oath that Lee sold his Russian gun in Russia (1 H 14) and that "I recognized the telescope...in New Orleans" (1 H 15) on his later gun, which she no longer called dark. The Commission relied on Marina's testimony that the Carcano "was the 'fateful rifle of Lee Oswald'" (R 128, citing 1 H 119, 14); even though it knew very well that, as its counsel Norman Redlich wrote in a memo of February 28, 1964, "Marina has repeatedly lied to the Secret Service, the FBI, and this Commission on matters which are of vital concern." It chose to ignore the abundant indications that Marina, faced with not-so-subtle threats of deportation back to the Soviet Union (1 H 410), frequently changed her story to meet the latest demands of her interviewers.

The Warren Commission, which wisely abandoned some of Marina's wilder gun stories as "of no probative value" (R 189) relied on others; probably because there was virtually no indisputable evidence linking Oswald to murder, the Carcano, or indeed to any gun. For example, when

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it concluded that the rifle in the controversial photograph "is the same" as the Carcano (R 125) it had to pass over the FBI's expert report that the photo showed too little detail to permit this identification (CD 7.325). Before concluding that the Warren Commission were the chief culprits of the cover-up conspiracy, however, one has to consider the many constraints, of time, budget, and of both public and bureaucratic politics, on the scope of their enquiry. Rightly or wrongly, they saw their primary task as being "to lay the dust"; and the "one lone nut" hypothesis which they offered to the nation, even if not true, may have been less untrue and less harmful than Mamantov's alternative hypothesis of an international Communist conspiracy.

For the Mamantov-Gregory story of a dark and scopeless rifle, even if soon discarded, had strong corroborating evidence at the time (which the Commission was thus forced also to reject);

Dial D. Ryder, an employee of the Irving Sports Shop, has stated that he found on his workbench on November 23 [i.e. one day after the Mamantov interview] an undated work tag with the name 'Oswald' on it, indicating that sometime during the first 2 weeks of November three holes had been bored in a rifle and a telescopic sight mounted on it and boresighted.... The Commission concluded that it is doubtful whether the tag produced by Ryder was authentic" (R 646).

The Commission and FBI exhaustively demolished the case that Oswald visited Ryder's gun shop (R 315-18; 22 H 529-58), even though this meant discarding the informed corroborative testimony of two other Irving witnesses as well. It did not, however, consider the alternative hypothesis that the inauthentic work tag reported by Ryder (~~a National~~ ~~Commission~~), and the "anonymous telephone calls" (R 316) which brought

it to the attention of Dallas police and the FBI, constituted prima facie evidence of a conspiracy. Conspicuously it failed to note that F.P. Turner, the Dallas policeman who received and investigated the Ryder story (24 H 328), was the partner of B.L. Senkel who, with Mamantov as interpreter, prepared Marina's November 22 affidavit about a dark and scopeless rifle (24 H 219, 325).

Senkel and Turner are among the couple of dozen policemen who on November 22 and 24 managed to be at all the crucial scenes of action, often in the company of the Secret Service. Senkel and Turner had searched the Texas School Book Depository or TSBD after the shooting, the former arriving on the sixth floor shortly before the controversial Carcano was found (24 H 324, cf. 19 H 502). Both men, after separating briefly between City Hall and the Sheriffs' Office, converged on Oswald's room at North Beckley, where they discovered the leather holster that linked him to the pistol (7 H 223, 24 H 325, 344, 350). Turner later testified that he obtained the search warrant for that search on November 22, although police records would indicate that it was dated November 23 (24 H 344, cf. 7 H 222). With Turner and Senkel at the search was Assistant District Attorney Bill Alexander (24 H 327), who promptly "prepared to charge Oswald with murdering the President 'as part of an international Communist conspiracy'" (William Manchester, The Death of a President, p. 326).

Before the assassination, Senkel and Turner were in the pilot car of the Kennedy motorcade, along with Deputy Chief George Lumpkin (who chose Mamantov to be Marina's interpreter, 9 H 106) and two alleged members of the Secret Service (20 H 497, 24 H 329). In fact (21 H 578)

these "Secret Service"^{personnel} were Lt. Col. George Whitmeyer, a local Army Reserve Commander, and Jack Puterbaugh, the local advance man for the Democratic National Committee who had helped fix the parade route in front of the TSBD (17 H 619).

The pilot car's behavior on November 22 is certainly suspicious. Driving "about 3 minutes ahead of the motorcade", the pilot car made one recorded stop along the parade route -- exactly in front of the TSBD. ("Deputy Chief G .L. Lumpkin... stopped momentarily at the corner of Houston and Elm Street" and spoke to the policeman "working traffic at that corner", 21 H 579). None of the three policemen assigned to that corner reported this conversation in their affidavits (22 H 598, 600, 604); one of them (J.M. Smith) did however report his part about ten minutes earlier in the police request of 12:19 p.m. for an ambulance for "a white male who had an epileptic seizure" (22 H 600, cf. 23 H 839). Eight pages of police radio Channel One transcript at the precise period of the assassination (23 H 839-42) relate to this "emergency" and the need to open a route directly and exactly to Parkland hospital ("cut all traffic for the ambulance going to Parkland" 23 H 841) -- not for the President, who was shot only mid-way through this "emergency", but for the man with the so-called "epileptic seizure". The Commission later learned, but did not report, that the man, who walked away from the ambulance at Parkland, had not had an epileptic seizure at all. (CD 1245.6-10)

Considering that Deputy Chief Lumpkin in the pilot car was (I have been reliably informed) a member of the Army Intelligence Reserve, and considering that the pilot car also contained the local Army Reserve commander as an unscheduled occupant (4 H 170), it is intriguing to learn

that a bystander at the scene of the "epileptic seizure" in Dealey Plaza was an Army Intelligence agent, James W. Powell. (CD 206.19-20).

Special Agent Powell was soon afterwards "trapped inside the Texas School Book Depository after the Depository doors had been sealed"

(CD 354, SS 1009 , reprinted in Josiah Thompson, Six

Seconds in Dallas, p. 312; cf. CD 329.58). The man who had ordered the TSBD sealed was Lumpkin (21 H 580), who had driven there with Lt. Col. Whitmeyer, Senkel, Turner and Dallas Secret Service Chief Sorrels (24 H 324). Yet Lumpkin later reported that, apart from a Channel 8 photographer whom Powell saw in the TSBD, "all other persons, including the press, was [sic] kept outside the building" (21 H 581). This statement is contradicted by a police report that in the TSBD were FBI agent Pinkston, two Alcohol Tax Unit agents, and a Secret Service agent (probably Sorrels, 21 H 512, cf. 23 H 926).

As many as three Army Intelligence agents may have figured in the events surrounding the Kennedy assassination; alternatively, one or both of the two "other" agents may have been Powell. There was the Army Intelligence agent who with a member of the Alcohol Tax Unit spent the morning of November 22 with James Hosty (4 H 461), the FBI agent whose name was in Oswald's notebook (16 H 64), and who reportedly described Oswald to Dallas Police Lieutenant Revill as "a member of the Communist Party...capable of committing the assassination" (17 H 495). And there was the "Army intelligence man" whom "Lieutenant Revill knew" and drove back to his office from the TSBD (5 H 57), shortly before Revill encountered Hosty (5 H 34). This agent may well have been Powell, since Revill had organized the search of the TSBD which discovered the famous

rifle on the sixth floor, where Powell (along with Lumpkin) was present (CD. 329.57-58, cf. 21 H 58). Whoever he was, Revill omitted his name when testifying under oath as to the occupants of his car (5 H 34).

Until recently it might have seemed unwarranted to see anything conspiratorial in this convergence of Army Intelligence personnel on Dealey Plaza. But on May 16, 1973, the day before the first of the Senate Watergate Hearings which would help drive President Nixon from office, Army Intelligence declassified an extraordinary army telegram about Oswald despatched late in the evening of November 22, 1963. The cable, from the Fourth Army Command in Texas to the U.S. Strike Command at McDill Air Force Base in Florida, gave two statements about Oswald, both false, which had an interesting source:

Don Stringfellow, Intelligence Section, Dallas Police Department, notified 112th Intelligence Group, this Headquarters, that information obtained from Oswald revealed he had defected to Cuba in 1959 and is a card carrying member of Communist Party.

Stringfellow was a member of the police intelligence unit headed by Jack Revill (19 H 120), while the Fourth Army's 112th Intelligence Group (with offices in Dallas and New Orleans) was the unit of James Powell (CD 329.58).

USSTRICOM, the U.S. Strike Command, is an extraordinary two-service command (Army and Air Force) set up in 1961 in response to the so-called "Lebanon crisis" of 1958. Designed to provide a swift strike force on short notice, its location in Florida made it singularly appropriate for a surprise attack on Cuba. Since mid-1963 its commander had been General

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William D. Rosson, a CIA general who in 1954 had formed part of General Lansdale's team in Vietnam. Fletcher Prouty, in his book The Secret Team, lists him as one of the six who "made rapid promotions to the grade of brigadier general and higher as a result of the CIA, Special Forces, and Vietnam." (Fletcher Prouty, The Secret Team, p. 412). There is a flavor of Seven Days in May to this cable of November 22, which USSTRICOM Intelligence requested, since the distribution list (although confusing) suggests that it may not have reached headquarters in Washington until four days later.

All of these facts add some interest to the unusual fashion in which Mamantov was recruited for the first interview about the "dark and scopeless rifle". I have already mentioned that he was phoned by Deputy Chief Lumpkin (9 H 106), but the initial contact with Mamantov had been made two minutes earlier by Jack Alston Crichton, (9 H 106) a right-wing Republican, oil operator, member of Army Intelligence Reserve (9 H 106), "and head of a local Army Intelligence Unit" (CD 386, SS 1058) Crichton knew Mamantov personally as a fellow petroleum geologist (like Gregory). He also knew him because Mamantov was a precinct chairman of the Republican Party, for which Crichton became the 1964 candidate for Governor of Texas (CD 386, SS 1058).

It is not known how many Dallas policemen were also (as is apparently a widespread practice) members of the U.S. Army Reserve. One such reservist was Detective Adamcik (7 H 203), a member of the party which retrieved the rifle-blanket from the Paine garage and later reported what he overheard at Mamantov's interview of Marina about the Carcano ("She said that it looked like her husband's rifle. She said that it

was dark" 24 H 291). Another member of Army Intelligence Reserve was Captain W.P. Gannaway, Revill's supervisor as head of the Dallas Police Special Service Bureau (CD 1426.26), Gannaway's secretary was reported by an out-of-town police chief to be "closely connected" to Jack Ruby (CD 86.151). This story was plausible, given the close connections between Jack Ruby and the SSB, including men who participated in the search of the TSBD and the arrest of Oswald. Since the protection of visiting dignitaries was one of the SSB'S responsibilities (5 H 48), Gannaway was involved in the meetings arranged by Secret Service advance man Lawson for the Kennedy visit (5 H 39; 7 H 580).

Moreover Winston Lawson, the White House Secret Service agent responsible for the choice of the Kennedy motorcade route, was himself a member of the Army Intelligence Reserve (4 H 318). Lawson's first three reports of what happened on and before November 22 raise considerable questions about his performance. For example ^{along with another Secret Service agent} he reported that motorcycles were used on "the right and left flanks of the President's car" (17 H 605, cf. 17 H 624, 18 H 741), although numerous later reports from the Dallas police agreed that at Lawson's own instructions the proposed side escorts were redeployed to the rear of the car (7 H 581, 3 H 244, ^{18 H 803,} 21 H 571). This change, ostensibly for the sake of security, would appear to leave the President more open to a possible crossfire.

Lawson also noted that "the motorcycles cleared a path to the Parkland Hospital" (17 H 629), and later that his own car (the lead car, between Lumpkin's and the President's) "assisted the motorcycles in escorting the President's vehicle to Parkland Hospital" (17 H 632, cf. 21 H 580). This leaves unexplained the paradox that at this time the

only radio orders to clear a route to Parkland (and block off alternative routes) had been issued, not for the President's car, but for the ambulance summoned by the pseudo-"emergency" of the so-called "epileptic seizure" (23 H 841, cf. 17 H 368).

Events since the Kennedy assassination have alerted us to the possibility of illicit collaboration between members of Army Intelligence and the Secret Service. In 1970 the Washington Star reported that "plainclothes military intelligence agents played a questionable - and still secret - surveillance role at the 1968 national conventions" in Chicago, where the Secret Service admitted borrowing agents from the Illinois-based 113th Intelligence Group (Washington Star, Dec. 2, 1970, A-8). These borrowed "security" forces conducted extensive domestic intelligence operations, and there were rumors of provocations as well. In 1972 there were similar rumors about the 1972 party conventions and the 111th Intelligence Group in Miami, where one provocateur (Pablo Fernandez) was said to be a former CIA agent working with Watergate burglar E. Howard Hunt (Nation, October 1, 1973, p. 297; Saturday-Review-World, September 11, 1973, p. 28). What we know from these later disturbances suggests that it is ^{now} common practice for the Secret Service, whose local offices are scantily staffed, to augment their staff for special events with auxiliary personnel from military Intelligence and other sources.

Quite by accident, we know that the Dallas Secret Service recruited thirty men from the Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce Sports Committee (of whom the informant at least was a former Army Air Force intelligence officer) to "assist the Secret Service at the breakfast for President Kennedy" on November 22 (18 H 691). In Dallas, where Adlai Stevenson had been

attacked only one month earlier, one would expect the Secret Service, which gave "special attention" to this event (2 H 108), to have recruited even more such auxiliaries. Yet the reports and testimony of Lawson and other Secret Service agents are silent on this score. Meanwhile the FBI reported that its offer of assistance had been declined (17 H 821). The Warren Commission, faced with reports and rumors of unexplained additional "Secret Service" on the grassy knoll (6 H 196), with Lumpkin (4 H 162), behind the TSBD (6 H 312), in front of the TSBD (19 H 524, 20 H 443) and even at the Tippit killing (3 H 332, cf. 12 H 202, 24 H 204, 12 H 45) asked no questions and learned nothing.

We recognized earlier the political constraints which made it difficult for the Warren Commission, which had questionable constitutional authority and no independent investigative staff, to pursue the documentary indications of a possible conspiracy linking Army Intelligence and the local Dallas police (who engaged Mamantov as interpreter) to the Secret Service (who engaged Gregory, 2 H 344, CD 5.291). Thus one might exculpate the Warren Commission for not having asked more questions of high-level witnesses, such as Washington Secret Service Inspector Thomas J. Kelley. It was Kelley who ratified the strange and possibly illegal arrangements under which the Secret Service, after being telephoned by Gregory himself, sequestered Marina ^{for 36 hours} from other investigative agencies and brought in Gregory as her interpreter (2 H 344, CD 5.292, CD 87, SS 533.1-2, cf. 20 H 445, Kelley himself had ^{attended} four interviews with Oswald but was not questioned about them, 7 H 403; he was questioned only about his later role in the controversial official "re-enactment" of the assassination, concerning which conflicting testimony had been

received, 5 H 130.)

Considering the Warren Commission's difficulties in the face of so many unanswered questions about the role of the Secret Service, the failure to pursue these questions is less surprising than the Warren Commission's controversial recommendations that the Secret Service's domestic surveillance responsibilities be radically increased (R 25-26). Somewhat illogically, the Warren Report concluded both "that Oswald acted alone" (R 22), like most American assassins (R 463), and also that the Secret Service, FBI, ^{and} CIA, should co-ordinate more closely the surveillance of "organized groups" (R 463). In particular it recommended that the Secret Service acquire a computerized data bank compatible with that already developed by the CIA (R 464-65, cf. 5 H 125, 472-75, 577-79.).

Thanks to Senator Ervin's investigation into federal data banks, in the wake of the army intelligence espionage scandals of 1970, we know that these recommendations were eventually implemented, under the direction of the same Thomas J. Kelley, who by now was Assistant Director of the Secret Service for Protective Intelligence (New York Times, June 28, 1970, p. 4a, reprinted in Federal Data Banks Hearings, p. 1669). The Warren Commission's recommendation was by 1970 "widely cited in the government as the authority for citizen surveillance", by any agency, including the controversial army intelligence program. (loc. cit., p. 1668).

Federal domestic surveillance increased ~~immediately~~ after November 22, 1963, even before this recommendation; and it increased again after the Watts and Detroit riots ~~of 1967~~. For Army Intelligence "the big build-up in information gathering, however, did not come until after the shooting of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. in April 1968" (Washington Star, Dec. 6,

1970, reprinted in Federal Data Bank Hearings, p. 1728). Army intelligence agents were assigned to spy at the 1968 political conventions because the Secret Service "had been handed the job of protecting presidential candidates after the June 5, 1968 assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy -- and didn't have enough men of its own" (Washington Star, December 2, 1970, reprinted in Federal Data Banks Hearings, p. 1752). The termination of these Army Intelligence programs, after their disclosure in 1970, led directly to the Huston Plan and succeeding series of White House intelligence operations, which climaxed with the so-called "plumbers" unit of Watergate burglar E. Howard Hunt. Once again Thomas J. Kelley was the Secret Service participant in at least one of these clandestine White House units (Watergate Hearings, p. 3401).

This rapid glance at the post-assassination increase in domestic surveillance operations does not tell us anything about who committed those assassinations. It does however refute the absurd but frequently encountered hypothesis that assassinations have had no impact on the U.S. structure of government. Not only have assassinations (or attempts at assassination) had a very direct bearing on the outcome of the last three presidential elections, they have also helped inaugurate a new era of domestic intelligence operations which, as one Nixon official conceded, "would have been unthinkable, and frankly, unattainable from Congress in a different climate" (Federal Data Bank Hearings, p. 1668).

Thus the failure of the Warren Commission to establish the true facts about the John F. Kennedy assassination, and the subsequent failure of Congress to rectify that deficiency, have a direct bearing on America's current political crisis and erosion of Congressional power. I have

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II

So far we have indicated that Army Intelligence and the Secret Service, who were involved together in the latter's responsibility for the fateful presidential motorcade in Dallas, both intervened later in matters of law enforcement outside their responsibility; and produced "interpreters" who came up separately with a baseless story about a dark and scopeless rifle. It would be wrong however to leave the impression that the foregoing evidence relates exclusively to Army Intelligence and the Secret Service, exonerating other government agencies and groups.

There is also, for example, the CIA to be considered. As mentioned before, Mamantov and Gregory had collaborated in 1955 (9 H 121, 124) to set up a Dallas parish of the CIA-subsidized Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia, a parish restricted to aristocratic anti-Bolshevik Russians who had been "checked, rechecked, and double checked" by the CIA-subsidized Tolstoy Foundation (9 H 5, 7). Members of this tiny anti-Bolshevik parish of "maybe 25 families" (9 H 222), at least eight of whom were connected like Mamantov and Gregory with the oil exploration business, acted very much in the manner of intelligence case officers in providing "babysitting" services for the ~~exotic~~ Oswald family when they arrived in Texas (9 H 7, 2 H 304).

The exotic oilman and baron George de Mohrenschildt, in particular,

would cheerfully drive the Oswalds to other oilmen's parties and swimming pools; and once spent all day loading his car down to the ground when Marina wanted to move (9 H 243, 253, 265, 23 H 475). De Mohrenschildt told the Warren Commission that during World War II he worked for French intelligence (9 H 193-84). He thus concealed that during the war he was a suspected German agent who admitted having worked for a year with movie producer Baron Constantine Maydell, whom he described as "not a spy but pro-German" (CD 537.18, 27). Today it is known that Maydell was for a period the top German Abwehr agent in North America (William L. Shirer, The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich, p. 823n; Ladislav Farago, The Game of the Foxes, p. 305). Reinhard von Gehlen, who in the post-war era was in charge of the CIA's Russian emigre programs, is said to have recruited veterans of Maydell's Abwehr Group II and to have worked with East European emigre organizations inside the United States (E.H. Cookridge, Gehlen, Spy of the Century, pp. 64, 243, 362-63). I mention this, because Oswald was met on his return to America from Russia by Spas T. Raikin (R713), the ex-Secretary General of one such group, the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. Raikin's AFABN, like the Gehlen network and some of its CIA sponsors, was bitterly opposed to Kennedy's moves in 1963 towards rapprochement with the Soviet Union.

Many if not all of the international oil companies themselves maintain their own private intelligence networks, which collaborate all over the world not only with the CIA but with the emigre organizations subsidized by the CIA and von Gehlen. And at home in the United States, "the American Petroleum Institute has encouraged its member companies to sponsor reserve-officer units among their employees" (Robert Engler, The Politics of Oil,

p. 301). This brings us back to Army Intelligence Reserve Officer Jack Alston Crichton, the oilman who recruited Mamantov as Marina's interpreter and who in 1963 was an API delegate behind the Iron Curtain.

However de Mohrenschildt's past intelligence activities may have been less relevant than his post-war career as an oil exploration geologist, like Gregory, Mamantov, and Crichton. The extensive plumbing by the Warren Commission of his overseas travels and intelligence work for oil companies (e.g. 9 H 214) revealed the extent to which this was a secretive and closely-knit profession with CIA overlaps (e.g. 9 H 5); and also that the emigre Russians of St. Nicholas and similar CIA-subsidized parishes played a role in it analogous to the role later played in world-wide CIA activities by emigre Cubans. (Asked about a Russian emigre oil financial expert in Connecticut with the Chase Manhattan Bank, and his connections with the Dallas Russian community, de Mohrenschildt replied, "We all knew him. Because there are so few people in this geological field," 9 H 223).

De Golyer and MacNaughton, the Dallas-based firm with world pre-eminence in this profession, were closely linked to members of the Russian parish and others who took turns baby-sitting the Oswalds. Lewis MacNaughton's personal accountant, the White Russian George Bouhe (8 H 356), was said to have been "rather mad at Marina for taking an apartment at Oak Cliff because it was rather too far for him to drive and help her when she needed help with the baby" (2 H 304). De Mohrenschildt, who took care of Marina's dentist bills and later lied about this to the FBI, apparently had MacNaughton's son in his house as an "associate . . . and constant guest" (CD 7.135). Michael Paine, an ideological right-winger who went with Oswald to the suspect Dallas Civil Liberties Union (which the Dallas

Police and 112th Military Intelligence Group both had under surveillance), had an uncle, Eric Schroeder, who was a friend and investment associate of de Golyer; his cousin Alexander "Sandy" Forbes, a former director of United Fruit, belonged to the elite Tryall Golf Club retreat in Jamaica with former de Golyer associate Paul Raigorodsky, a financial patron of St. Nicholas Parish (9 H 3-4, San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 11, 1972, p. 25). Finally Declan Ford, whose ^{with his} Russian wife took care of Marina after the assassination, had worked many years for de Golyer and MacNaughton (2 H 323, 336), the former employers of Jack Alston Crichton.

It seems possible that behind these MacNaughton associates' solicitude for the Oswalds was a less disinterested concern with Cuban oil. Before the fall of Batista, de Golyer and MacNaughton had been active exploring for oil in Cuba, on behalf of a closely linked company which today (as Panoil) has Crichton as director. Oswald's chief chauffeur, Count George de Mohrenschildt, also explored for oil in Cuba at this time, on behalf of the interlocking Cuban-Venezuelan Oil Voting Trust (9 H 202), a company which played heavy Cuban politics in order to obtain and protect its oil leases. One of its directors, Amadeo Barletta, the local representative of General Motors, was close to dictators Batista and Trujillo, as well as, allegedly, the international narcotics traffic (Hans Tanner, Counter-Revolutionary Agent, G.T. Foulis, 1962, p.). Another, J.M. Bosch Lamarque, "was one of the first and earliest supporters of Castro" before turning against him in 1959; he was also Castro's chief contact with Jules Dubois, a Chicago Tribune Castro publicist and alleged U.S. Army Intelligence veteran who ^{also} played an important role in the 1954 CIA coup in Guatemala (Jules Dubois, Fidel Castro, Bobbs Merrill, 1959, pp. 163, 361).

The hope of establishing a stable climate for investment appears to have encouraged men like Bosch to first support Castro and later oppose him. Money, rather than ideology, explains why Bosch, and other bankers of his Cuba Trust Company, put up money in the late 1950's to smuggle arms to Castro, which were provided by such un-radical American mercenaries as Frank Fiorini (alias Sturgis), the future Watergate burglar, and Richard Lauchli, the right-wing Minuteman.

Both in New Orleans and in Dallas, Oswald showed an informed familiarity with, and interest in, the anti-Castro activities of those sponsored by de Mohrenschildt's former employers in Cuba, although it is still not clear whether his interest was that of a sympathizer or, as some suspected, of a spy. In New Orleans, Oswald's brief flurry of ostentatious pro-Castro activities were usually in front of television cameras and in the company of public relations men, particularly the anti-Castro Cuban Carlos Bringuier, whose DRE organization was originally supported by Jose Bosch. According to Bringuier, Oswald privately affected an anti-Castro role, and offered "his service to train Cubans in guerrilla warfare at the same moment when there was a secret anti-Castro training camp in New Orleans . . . not publicly known" (10 H 43, cf. 35, CD 984B.28).

The camp was run by the so-called Christian Democratic Movement, or MDC, whose military chief was Laureano Batista Falla; Laureano Batista's brother, the financial patron of the MDC, was Agustin Batista, the Chairman of the Cuba Trust Company. In charge of training at the camp was Victor Paneque Batista (CD 984B.21, 984A.10), the former chief of the Havana underground run by Frank Fiorini for the displaced Cuban casino operators (Parade, May 14, 1961, p. 8; Tanner, p.121). On July 31, 1963, one day after

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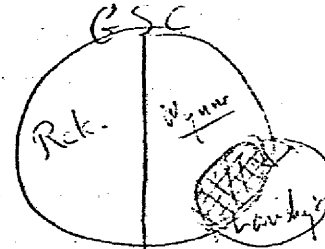
the camp came to the attention of the FBI (CD 984B.20) the FBI raided a near-by arms cache at the home of William McLaney (a former Havana casino operator) and arrested several Cubans along with the Minuteman Richard Lauchli.

Even after switching from an anti-Castro to a pro-Castro role in New Orleans, Oswald stamped his pro-Castro literature with the 544 Camp Street address of the anti-Castro Cuban Revolutionary Council, one of two such councils originally organized by Howard Hunt for the CIA's Bay of Pigs. The New Orleans council involved at least three current or former associates of Agustin Batista and Jose Bosch (Mrs. Fowler, Francisco Bartes, Carlos de la Vega), and at least four people who told of meeting Oswald (Carlos Bringuier, Ernesto Rodriguez, Jr., 24 H 659, Orest Pena, 11 H 356, and the CRC's registered agent Ronald Caire, 22 H 831). In Dallas, also, Oswald was thought to have attended a small meeting of Bringuier's DRE, where General Edwin Walker and other right-wingers from the Dallas Freedom Forum were present (CD 205.646, CD 246.22, cf. 26 H 738). Oswald himself wrote that he had attended a second "ultra-right meeting" featuring General Edwin A. Walker and Madame Ngo dinh Nhu (20 H 272, cf. 11 H 424, 23 H 516).

Whether Oswald moved in these right-wing circles as a sympathizer or as a spy, he was certainly entering an area rife with anti-Kennedy resentment and activity. Among the Warren Commission's unpublished internal documents is a memorandum from Assistant Counsel Burt Griffin, reporting on an interview with Treasury Agent Frank Ellsworth, the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Unit's top expert on the arms traffic in Dallas. Mr. Griffin reported that

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III

At the beginning of this study we examined Peter Gregory's distorted "translation" of Marina Oswald's testimony, to supply the baseless story, already reported by Gregory's friend Mamantov, of Oswald's "dark and scopeless" rifle. Because this story was ultimately not used, and the "corroboration" for it painstakingly discredited, it might appear that Gregory's role in the Dallas cover-up, even if improper, was a small one not worth examining in such detail.

Gregory, however, played a second and more lasting role in the post-assassination history of Marina Oswald. It is Gregory who assumed responsibility for delivering Marina into the hands of employees and lawyers of the Great Southwest Corporation, a real estate venture which, in the wake of a later major scandal, was revealed to have been controlled tightly in 1963 by the wealthy Wynne family in Dallas (allies of the Murchisons) and the even more wealthy Rockefeller family in New York (U.S. Cong., House, Committee on Banking, The Penn Central Failure and the Role of Financial Institutions, Staff Report, 91st Cong., 2nd Sess., December 21, 1970, Part III, p. 30; cited hereafter as Penn Central Failure). One such employee, James Herbert Martin, soon became Marina's manager. After he was fired, William A. McKenzie, a lawyer from the Wynne family law firm (which represented Great Southwest) became Marina Oswald's lawyer. Both men, along with still other

employees of Great Southwest, were responsible for highly questionable "links" between Oswald and the Carcano rifle, some of which were again discarded by the Warren Commission. ^R It was Marina who negotiated the sale of the retouched photograph of Oswald with the rifle (1 H 496). McKenzie, according to the ~~corroborated~~ testimony of two witnesses under oath, improperly coached his client as to what she should tell the FBI about her husband and his rifle (2 H 321, 336-37). Shortly after Gregory altered Marina's rifle testimony to add the gratuitous details that when she first saw it, "there was no scope" and "the stock was longer" (CD 344.23), two Great Southwest employees told the FBI of seeing Oswald at a rifle range one day before the assassination; one of them specified that Oswald had "a foreign gun and it appeared the front end of the wood stock had been cut off" (26 H 371, cf. 372, 370). The Warren Report, quite properly, found "no substantial basis" for believing this identification of Oswald (R 318); quite improperly, it converted ^{at least} three similar ~~separately~~ independent and corroborative reports of a shortened "stock" (CE 2915, 2916, 2935, 26 H 370, 371, 383; cf. 10 H 374) into less suspicious ³⁸¹ accounts of a shortened "barrel" (R 320).

Once again we are faced with a prima facie case of a conspiracy to deceive; especially since one of these witnesses, M. Price, testified under oath that "Oswald" had told him in early November, 1963, he had just had a Japanese scope "mounted and boresighted" (10 H 370, 372). Readers will recall the local work ticket "with the name 'Oswald' on it" to have a scope "mounted . . . and boresighted" in early November, which the Commission rightly doubted was "authentic" (R 315, 646, CE 277). Other evidence showed that Oswald had bought the rifle with the scope already mounted on it in March; yet this scope was indeed, just as M. Price testified, Japanese

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For wholly different reasons it is clear, in retrospect, that Marina should never have been delivered into the hands of the Great Southwest Corporation. A Dallas investigative reporter has since accused Great Southwest, which later had Maurice Stas^{ns} as a prominent shareholder and from 1965-68 employed Nixon's personal lawyer Herbert Kalmbach, of involvement in a bankruptcy fraud with organized crime overtones. It is certain that highly questionable transfers of assets to Great Southwest (resulting in the second instance in criminal indictments for two Great Southwest directors) contributed to the spectacular bankruptcies of first the Webb ^{and} Knapp real estate empire in 1965 and second the Penn Central in 1970--the world's two greatest bankruptcies up to that time.

X

Control of Great Southwest, in late 1963, "was tightly centered in the Rockefeller and Wynne families" (Penn Central Failure, Part II, p. 30), the Wynnes being long-time close associates of the even more influential Murchisons. Bedford Wynne, the senior partner in the family law firm of Wynne, Jaffe, and Tinsley, was a Washington troubleshooter for the powerful Murchison Oil and construction interests in Texas; in 1963 his questionable lobbying activities were beginning to attract the attention of the federal government. In August 1963 Wynne was the subject of a highly critical army audit about his "salary" from a firm with federal government contracts (Sweetwater Development) which had been set up by the Murchison's Tecon Corporation through the law firm of Wynne, Jaffe, and Tinsley (Congressional Record, January 26, 1965, p. 1313). To Wynne this must have seemed like gross political ingratitude. As recently as January 1963, Bedford Wynne had raised a cool half million for the depleted treasury of President Kennedy's Democratic Party, after which Clint Murchison's son John was granted a

mutually satisfactory interview with President Kennedy about preserving the oil depletion allowance (Jack Anderson, Washington Exposé, Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1967, pp. 212-13).

But it was unlikely that Wynne could escape being noticed in the mounting publicity about the scandalous activities of Lyndon Johnson's Senate protege, Bobby Baker. Ironically, it was in the Life Magazine issue of November 22, 1963 (p. 92A) that Bedford Wynne was first named as a member of the "Bobby Baker set" at Washington's Q Club. Later Treasury and Congressional investigation of Bedford Wynne and Clint Murchison established that their company Sweetwater had made payments (which looked very much like political kickbacks) to the legal firms of Bobby Baker and of Democratic Congressman Emmanuel Celler (U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Rules, Construction of the District of Columbia Stadium, Hearings, 88th Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 862; cited hereafter as Stadium Hearings). Dallas Republican leader Robert H. Stewart III, a director of Great Southwest, had also arranged for questionable loans to Bobby Baker, via the same two Murchison employees (Robert Thompson and Thomas Webb) who figured in the Baker payoffs from Bedford Wynne (Stadium Hearings, p. 989).

For whatever reason, the Great Southwest Corporation was not investigated, but protected, by the Warren Commission investigation. An FBI Report ~~about the suspicious sale of Marina's story by~~ ^{its former employee, James Herbert Martin,} ~~its former employee, James Herbert Martin,~~ to a semi-underworld character with an FBI record (CD 1039), remained ~~withheld~~ ^{withheld} until ~~1972~~ ¹⁹⁷⁰.

There was no scrutiny of the interlocking relationships between Peter Gregory, the Oswald family, the Secret Service, the Wynnes, and the Great Southwest Corporation. No one examined Gregory's baseless addition to Marina's rifle story, and its corroboration by a Great Southwest employee. No one challenged the circumstances under which a phone call from Gregory

led (as we shall see) to reservations for Marina at Great Southwest's motel--reservations arranged for by Gregory's contact in the Secret Service. No one asked questions as to how the same Secret Service agent came to select Gregory as an "interpreter" on Saturday, November 23 (CD 5.291, 2 H 344).

This was not an objective choice. The Secret Service agents who chose Gregory had already learned from him that he knew Lee Harvey Oswald (23 H 421). Indeed, the Gregory family were so close to Lee and Marina as to have helped support them (2 H 340). ~~This fact was apparently recognized as embarrassing, for some law enforcement official took Lee's certificate of proficiency in Russian, which had included Gregory's letterhead and signature, and retyped it to delete the reference to Gregory (CE 384, 16 H 976; cf. 2 H 340, 24 H 342).~~ Gregory himself gave an elaborate story under oath, corroborated in its details by Oswald's mother Marguerite Oswald, to suggest that his selection by a Secret Service agent to translate on Saturday (which came to naught when Marina proved to be unavailable) had nothing whatsoever to do with Gregory's request on Sunday to the same Secret Service agent to protect Marina and Marguerite Oswald, following which Gregory did translate for the Secret Service (2 H 344, cf. 1 H 155).

~~Gregory's story (CD 5.290) which was later corroborated by Marguerite~~

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decided she needed "help" and a place to stay (1 H 156); she therefore telephoned, not her son Robert, but her new Russian instructor whose classes she had attended exactly twice with several other women (1 H 156, 2 H 344). Mr. Gregory thereupon telephoned Secret Service agent Mike Howard at his home and Mr. Howard said "we will find a hiding place for her" (2 H 344). It was thus completely by accident that Marguerite and Marina spent most of Sunday in the company of Secret Service agent Howard, who was looking for them on Saturday night (16 H 902) and of Peter Gregory, who had already been chosen by the Secret Service on Saturday to be Marina's interpreter (2 H 344).

The effect of this "very unusual coincidence" story is to give Marguerite Oswald and Peter Gregory, rather than the Secret Service, the responsibility for Mike Howard's having hidden the Oswalds on November 24 from all authorities, including the FBI, at an Arlington motel called the Inn of the Six Flags, which at this time was one of the chief assets of the Great Southwest Corporation. Marguerite's and Gregory's testimony, in other words, explained away the embarrassing anomaly that Howard had arranged for a reservation for the Oswalds (at government expense) by 11:00 a.m. on Sunday morning, before Lee Oswald was shot; even though the Secret Service had no standing authority for such action and was only authorized by Lyndon Johnson to do so on compassionate grounds after Lee Oswald had died on Sunday afternoon (CD 87, SS 533.1-2; cf. 1 H 471-72).

Robert Oswald later wrote that in the next few days the Inn of the Six Flags "seemed to be serving now as a kind of regional headquarters" for the Secret Service (Robert Oswald, Lee, New York, Coward-McCann, 1967, p. 154). If so, the Secret Service was dealing with landlords they knew well; for their Dallas office was housed in the building of the Reliance

Life and Accident Insurance Company, of which the brothers Bedford and Angus Wynne were directors. Furthermore the landlords had a special relationship of sorts with Marina Oswald as well, inasmuch as Morris Jaffe of the Wynne, Jaffe and Tinsley law firm was attorney for Marina's mysterious friend and protector, Baron George de Mohrenschildt (9 H 201), whom Marina's own attorney from the same law firm, William McKenzie, also knew (1 H 395).

Howard's choice of the Inn of the Six Flags was, as we have seen, a momentous decision, since the motel's manager, James Herbert Martin, soon became Marina's agent and lodged her in his home (16 H 770, 1 H 473-75). Martin, who sold Life the dubious photograph of Oswald posing with a rifle (2 H 23), later had Marina's life story taped and "interpreted by Ilya Mamantov" (2 H 22), the friend of Peter Gregory. Later still Martin arranged for Marina's story to be ghost-written by Isaac Don Levine, a veteran China Lobbyist who had previously corroborated on anti-~~Russian~~^{Soviet} projects with the CIA and the CIA-subsidized Tolstoy Foundation. Like Mamantov, Levine reportedly "was trying to tie in Oswald . . . with the Communist Party" (1 H 487) and with "a Russian connection, conspiracy concept" (John J. McCloy, in Lifton, Document Addendum, p. 26).

Despite appearances, Howard's choice of the motel (introducing Martin) was probably not accidental but deliberate. For in February, when Marina fired Martin and engaged a new lawyer called William A. McKenzie, she had not really changed protectors. Martin had been an employee of the Great Southwest Corporation. William A. McKenzie, a close college friend of Bedford Wynne, had only just resigned from Bedford Wynne's family law firm of Wynne, Jaffe, and Tinsley (the lawyers for Great Southwest) in order, so I have been reliably told, to become the lawyer for Marina.

On February 17, 1964, the day that McKenzie and his new law office-

mate Pete White signed a contract with Robert Oswald (16 H 762), McKenzie informed the FBI of a new story that would help bridge the problematic gap between Oswald and his alleged rifle (1 H 336). According to this latest story from Marina, Oswald had "intended to shoot Nixon" in Dallas; and she "had locked Lee Harvey Oswald in the bathroom the entire day . . . to prevent him from doing so" (22 H 596; cf. 1 H 482, 2 H 321). Faced with the fact that the Oswald bathroom, like all others, locked from the inside, Marina then told the FBI (in the company of McKenzie's law partner Henry Baer, another veteran of Wynne, Jaffe and Tinsley) that in April 1963 "she forcibly held the bathroom door shut by holding on to the knob and bracing her feet against the wall" (23 H 511, 22 H 786). Finally she would tell the Warren Commission (in McKenzie's presence) that she and her much stronger husband "struggled for several minutes" inside the bathroom (R 188, 5 H 389-90). Faced with other, irreducible difficulties in this Nixon story, the Warren Commission discreetly concluded it was of "no probative value" (R 189).

What is interesting about the story is not its content, but the corroborating testimony (later withdrawn) that Nixon had indeed been invited to Dallas in April 1963. This testimony came from Maurice Carlson, then the Dallas County Republican Party Chairman as well as a "close friend of Richard Nixon" (23 H 414, cf. 22 H 631), and also "independently" from William McKenzie (1 H 339) and even from Richard Nixon himself (who "vaguely thought there was some invitation extended during the early part of 1963, probably in April," 23 H 831).

Despite this authoritative corroboration, this invitation story was swiftly retracted, under suggestive circumstances. Maurice Carlson was the President of the Reliance Life and Accident Company, the Dallas landlords

of the Secret Service, and the Secretary of this company (of which Bedford Wynne and his brother Angus were directors) was McKenzie's partner Henry Baer. On February 25, 1964, just one day after Secretary Baer heard Marina tell of "bracing her feet against the wall," President Carlson prudently retracted his story of the Nixon invitation ("Since refreshing his memory, he remembered it was Senator Barry Goldwater and not Nixon," 23 H 416).

This retraction is not particularly embarrassing to Richard Nixon, who only "vaguely" remembered being invited, although it does raise questions about Mr. Nixon's "quick business trip" to Dallas on November 20-22 for Pepsi-Cola (23 H 941)--presumably about Pepsi's impending land deal with the Wynne family's Great Southwest Corporation, which would normally have been handled by the latter's law firm Wynne, Jaffe, and Tinsley. Mr. Nixon also planned to talk to "several Dallas Republican leaders" (23 H 942); ~~such~~ a ^{category which} ~~category~~ included Crichton (the 1964 gubernatorial candidate), Mamantov, and Carlson.

Mr. Carlson's timely retraction of the invitation story on February 25 leaves Mr. McKenzie, the veteran of Wynne, Jaffe, and Tinsley, with the task of explaining his unequivocal corroboration of it to the Warren Commission on February 21 ("I recall when Mr. Nixon was coming to Dallas at the invitation of Mr. Carlson," 1 H 339). The Warren Commission never explored whether Mr. McKenzie had been guilty of fraudulent statements under 18 USC 1001. It also failed to pursue unsolicited sworn testimony that McKenzie had improperly "coached" Marina in the problem area of the Carcano rifle ("He advised her 'They will ask you if there were two guns, you tell them there was one gun that was used,' he told her," 2 H 321, cf. 336-37). Marina, we learn elsewhere, told the FBI in McKenzie's office precisely that ("Oswald had only one rifle," 22 H 785).

If the Warren Commission had looked more closely at McKenzie, it would have found what it was ostensibly looking for, links between the world of Oswald and the world of Ruby. The Report rightly concluded that "It was unable to find any credible evidence to support the rumors linking Oswald and Ruby directly or through others" (R 661). The rumors it chose to investigate were indeed false, but it would have been more profitable to have investigated ~~— such as the business relationship between Marina's lawyer William McKenzie~~ certain facts. ~~One of these facts was the appearance of the new office telephone of William McKenzie, Marina Oswald's lawyer (RL 1-1295) in the notebook of Jack Ruby's assistant Larry Crafard (19 H 73, 14 H 34).~~ ~~The Commission was interested in Crafard, who fled Dallas right after the assassination. It apparently suspected that Crafard, who was thought by some to resemble Oswald, might have impersonated Oswald at a Dallas rifle range with the shortened-stock rifle (Silvia Meagher, Accessories After the Fact, New York, Bobbs Merrill, 1967, p. 361).~~ Thus it asked witnesses at the rifle range if they could recognize pictures of Crafard as the man in question: one witness did answer, "Yes" (10 H 375B; cf. CE 455).

Just as Marguerite Oswald assumed responsibility for securing the Great Southwest reservation, so Robert Oswald assumed responsibility for choosing McKenzie as his and Marina's lawyer. He also testified that McKenzie's law partners Henry Baer (of Reliance Life) and Pete White (the name entered in Crafard's notebook) were persons "known to me" (1 H 282). The Commission asked Crafard about Pete White (14 H 34) but they did not ask Robert Oswald. They should have. Pete White, who together with McKenzie had once served as Assistant District Attorney, told the FBI that he had got Ruby's charge of pistol-carrying dismissed back in 1954, and that he "ran into" Ruby on November 20, 1963, two days before the assassination (CD 273.120). The FBI duly incorporated this encounter with White in their chronology of

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Jack Ruby's movements before the assassination (CD 360.130). In the Warren Commission's published chronology (which included such trivia as Ruby's 30-minute treatment for baldness on the same day) his encounter with White has been suppressed (25 H 321). Worse, when Ruby's room-mate George Senator was asked about more than fifty names in the Crafard notebook, that of Pete White was for some reason skipped (14 H 295).

Questions about Pete White might have opened up several possible connections to the underworld past of Jack Ruby, and also to the Minutemen-Cuban exile-General Walker milieu supported by H.L. Hunt and his two sons. In 1962 one of Pete White's two partners was Ivan Irwin, formerly of the family law firm identified to the FBI (by Paul R. Jones, a mafia representative, convicted dope-trafficker, and associate of Ruby) as the conduit for payoffs ^{by organized crime} to local law enforcement officials ~~by organized crime~~ (22 H 298). Irwin's son, Ivan Irwin, Jr., was a lawyer for the Hunt oil interests, and more particularly for Nelson Bunker Hunt (23 H 690) to whose office Ruby drove on November 21, 1963, one day after seeing White (R 368; Peter Noyes, Legacy of Doubt, New York, Pinnacle, 1973, pp. 72-79).

Irwin represented Nelson Bunker Hunt in the matter of the anti-Kennedy advertisement (supra, ii, 18). This ad, paid for in part by Hunt, had been arranged for by a young right-winger, Larrie Schmidt, who with help from General Walker had organized the anti-Stevenson demonstrations which became one of Dallas police chief Curry's ^{reasons} ~~reasons~~ for recruiting outside security personnel on November 22 (22 H 623, 625, 630). Robert Hatfield, the only member of Schmidt's group arrested at the Stevenson incident, engaged Pete White as his attorney (20 H 420-21). Larrie Schmidt's semi-conspiratorial CUSA cabal, which had captured the local chapter of the right-wing Young Americans for Freedom (18 H 874) included Warren Carroll, whom Schmidt

described to a friend as a scriptwriter for H.L. Hunt "and a former CIA man (don't worry)" (18 H 875). Among Schmidt's other contacts were Dr. Robert Morris of the American Security Council (18 H 886) who in 1962-63 lobbied actively on behalf of General Walker and Otto Otepka (the former State Department officer who had ~~worked with~~ Oswald's file) and against Kennedy's policies towards Cuba, the Soviet Union and Vietnam. Also Morris' protege, Professor Anthony Kubek of the ASC, author in 1963 of How the Far East Was Lost (a belated but timely McCarthyite attack on the State Department), who ~~was present~~ ^{like} ~~with~~ ⁱ General Walker ~~at the~~ ^{attended a} Cuban exile DRE meeting in ~~Dallas~~ ^{the} Fort Worth area (CD 246.23).

Schmidt's CUSA member in charge of public relations, finally, was Art Franzwald at the "Bedford Wynne PR Agency" (18 H 839)--indicating that CUSA had not only conspicuous links to right-wingers like Morris and the Hunts but also (less conspicuously) to the vastly more influential "center" world of the Wynnes and their Murchison and Rockefeller allies (as embodied in the Great Southwest Corporation). This rapprochement between the Pete White-Ruby-Irwin-Hunt netherworld and the Bedford Wynne-Rockefeller overworld is even better illustrated by the movement in late 1963 of Marina Oswald's mysterious attorney, William A. McKenzie, from the office of his old friend Bedford Wynne to that of his old friend Pete White.

* * *

In the pages that follow I shall argue that McKenzie's move from the office of a Rockefeller investment ally to that of a former Jack Ruby attorney appears to have been no accident, but part of a conspiratorial cover-up in Dallas which leads back to those responsible for the planning and execution of the fateful Dallas motorcade. But to understand this argument it will be necessary to focus on larger links between the underworld of Ruby and upperworld of the Great Southwest Corporation. The most obvious of these links was the use (or abuse) of the Teamsters^{Central States} Pension Fund as a fund to maximize political power by rendering favors to underworld and upperworld alike, most conspicuously to the firm of Webb and Knapp which put together the Great Southwest Corporation.

By all informed accounts this Teamster practice dates back to the alliance after World War II between James Hoffa and Paul Dorfman

a major figure in the Chicago underworld who also knew his way around in certain labor and political circles. . . . Dorfman took over as head of the Chicago Waste Handlers Union in 1939 after its founder and secretary-treasurer was murdered. . . . He was closely linked with such underworld figures as Tony Accardo. . . . Dorfman is also considered a power in some political circles, both Democratic and Republican. . . . Hoffman made a trade with Dorfman. In return for an introduction to the Chicago underworld . . . Hoffa turned over to him and his family the gigantic Central Conference of Teamsters Welfare Fund insurance. (Robert Kennedy, The Enemy Within, New York Popular Library, 1960, p. 87.)

This summary by Bobby Kennedy of the Senate McClellan Committee findings was published in 1960. It does not therefore note that the Chicago Tribune's chief source in the Waste Handlers Union murder--for which no one was convicted, and which ~~was not~~ ^{in 1963 could not} even be found in Chicago police files (22 H 345)--was Dorfman's predecessor as Secretary-Treasurer, Jack Rubenstein, later known as Jack Ruby (Chicago Tribune, December 9, 1949, p. 1; cf. 22 H 438). Ruby stayed on only a few months after Dorfman took over the local and

began with his son Allen Dorfman what eventually became a nation-wide union insurance manipulation; but Ruby was also in touch by telephone in late 1963 with at least two of the Dorfman family's most notorious associates (Irwin Weiner and Barney Baker^{25 H 244, 246}), as well as other members of the Teamster-underworld "grey alliance" ~~who were bagmen and underworld contacts for the Democratic Party~~ all over the country.

The Warren Commission, some of whose staff were drawn from the same grey alliance, reported very misleadingly that

there is no evidence that Ruby's union activities were connected with Chicago's criminal element.¹⁶¹ Several longtime members of the union reported that it had a good reputation when Ruby was affiliated with it¹⁶² and employers who have negotiated with it have given no indication that it had criminal connections.¹⁶³ (R 788)

A closer look at the cited FBI reports reveals how curiously ^{selective and} uncritical both the FBI and the Commission became in this politically sensitive area of labor racketeering. The first footnote ~~including Dorfman's own testimony (CE 1292.2)~~ ^{including Dorfman's own testimony; and only one page earlier this report} cites an FBI Report (CE 1292), ~~which on one page earlier~~ had called the local, in its first two years with Ruby, "largely a shake-down operation" (CE 1292.2, 22 H 433). The President at that time, John Martin, had been indicted in August 1939 as a co-conspirator with top Chicago gangster Terry Druggan (Chicago Tribune, December 9, 1939, p. 1). The "several" employees' reports of the union's "good reputation" were ~~three~~ ^{actually} two, both from members in the Dorfman era; and both reports in fact spoke of the union's "good reputation in 1942 and prior" thereto (CE 1292.7-8, 22 H 436), thus giving as "clean" a bill of health to Dorfman (who took over in 1940) as to Ruby. In fact the Junk Dealers and Pedlars group had been designated as a labor racket back in 1930 (Kenneth Allsopp, The Bootleggers, New Rochelle, N.Y., Arlington House, 1968, p. 307).

The inane third ^{clause} ~~sentence~~ and footnote ignore, as wilfully as the FBI

ignored, the well-known fact that Paul Dorfman ran the local in collusion with employers, and in particular with their representatives Ted Shulman, a business partner of Paul Dorfman in alleged "collusive deals" (McClellan Hearings, pp. 16084-103). Shulman's evasions and use of the Fifth Amendment before the McClellan Committee did not deter the FBI from eliciting from the same Ted Shulman the desired statement that his old friend Jack Ruby "had no connections with the organized criminal or hoodlum element" (CE 1206, 22 H 320). It is this report, along with two others of equal reliability, which forms the basis for the third cited footnote. It is hardly surprising that the Commission failed to pursue unsolicited testimony ~~about~~ ^{about} a private investigator, Bob Mullenix, who was possibly looking into Ruby's post-war links to Paul Dorfman, and who was killed in an auto accident in 1962 (CD 856.29; cf. 13 H 193).

In fact Ruby had known Paul Dorfman for a decade before they moved into Local 20467 (22 H 382). Both men trained as fighters and were connected with the 24th Ward West side group around prize fighter Barney Ross, who repeated to the FBI the admission in his autobiography that his group used "to run innocuous errands for Al Capone" (22 H 422). More specifically Ruby and his poolroom friends were members of the Dave Miller gang (22 H 425). The Warren Report characterizes this gang as a "spur of the moment" group of anti-Nazis (R 789). In fact however Dave Miller was the local gambling boss and contact for Capone representatives like Dan Serritella who mobilized young toughs in newspaper wars for the Hearst newspaper empire, and then used this muscle for the related fields of ward politics and the sales of horse-racing tip sheets, scratch sheets and wire services (Kefauver Hearings, 5.759, 955). Racing scratch sheets and wire services had been organized from a Chicago base into a nation-wide shakedown racket by two successive

top circulation managers in the Hearst empire, Moe Annenberg and his Chicago successor James Ragen.

Because of Dave Miller's importance in gambling and "muscle" operations, it is no surprise to find two of his young pugilistic proteges, Benny Barrish and Jack Rubenstein alias Ruby, working in the mid-1930's for the Hearst circulation organization in San Francisco (R 787; 22 H 349), where Ruby also "sold tip sheets at the race tracks" (20 H 37, cf. 58). Barrish has since ^{become known} ~~acquired a reputation~~ as a San Francisco Democratic bagman, and acquired some unfavorable publicity when it was reported that he had helped an eastern mafia figure, Tony Romano, ~~from the Teamster-related Bufalino family in Buffalo~~, beat out more respectable opposition for a profitable lease on a publicly owned golf course (San Francisco Chronicle, September 25, 1974, p. 1).

Among the other interesting friends of Ruby in the Dave Miller pool-room crowd are Ben Epstein (22 H 312, CD 4.277), a bookmaker whose brother Joe financed the narcotics trips of Bugsy Siegel's mistress Virginia Hill (Ed Reid, The Mistress and the Mafia, p. 199); John McDonald (22 H 427), the bookmaker for Dan "Tubbs" Gilbert who combined police, labor racket and gambling activities to become "the ^{richest} ~~wealthiest~~ cop in the country" (Kefauver Hearings, 5.581; Demaris, pp. 138-40); and Don and Maurice "Frenchy" Medlevine (22 H 310, 329, 352, 427).

Don Medlevine later ran the Chez Paree night club in Chicago for a syndicate group headed by Charles "the Babe" Baron (a casino operator for Meyer Lansky in Havana and Las Vegas) and Dave "Dingy" Halper, who later worked for Allen Dorfman's men at the Las Vegas Riviera (Lait and Mortimer, Chicago Confidential, p. 217). Don Medlevine suggested that Halper "might have some background" on Ruby (22 H 319); but Halper denied this (CD 5.279). Meanwhile Don's brother, Maurice "Frenchy" Medlevine, went on to be indicted

in a California stolen securities case with Dalton Smith (Los Angeles Times, September 12, 1970), a Denver-based lieutenant of mafioso Carlos Marcello in New Orleans. Both Medlevines denied seeing Ruby recently; but on October 30, 1963 Ruby did telephone a Marcello motel (the Tropical Court) which was operated by Smith's brother-in-law Nofio J. Pecora (25 H 242, 246), a long-time veteran of Marcello's narcotics ^{and call-girl} operations (McClellan Hearings, p. 17217, Congressional Record, 1970, p. 27751). ^{TP} Someone in the Justice Department or the National Archives appears to have been aware how this aspect of Jack Ruby's background could embarrass the Democratic Party. A Justice Department index (CD 355), of those Ruby acquaintances interviewed by the FBI, was shortened by the removal of almost a hundred names, including those of Benny Barrish, Maurice Medlevine, 24th Ward Democratic politician Erwin Horwitz (22 H 311), one of two Ruby friends of hoodlum Leonard Patrick's protege Alderman Ben Lewis, who was murdered in February 1963 (Chicago Crime Commission, Report, 1963, p. 29, cf. 22 H 313), Leonard Patrick's brother Jack (22 H 367, cf. 21 H 373), Allen Dorfman's front Irving Weiner (CD 84.12), top Chicago Jewish mobster Maishi Baer (22 H 358) whose restaurant allegedly became the new haunt of Ruby's old poolroom crowd (22 H 366), and Dallas assistant district attorney William Alexander (25 H 145), of whom more later.

Ruby in his pre-war days appears to have moved from this background into the grey world of gambling and muscle activities associated with the Dorfman's and with rising 24th Ward politician Jacob Arvey, later a national Democratic figure behind the candidate ^{sy} of Adlai Stevenson. The shady legality of some of these activities should not mislead us into confusing them with the activities and networks of ^{the mafia} ~~organized crime~~. On the contrary, Ruby, like Arvey, had important contacts in this world but did not blend

into it. In the period 1944-46 a dozen important figures in the Arvey-Ruby world of 24th ward politics were murdered by the Capone-Guzik mob, including Ben "Zookie" Zuckerman, Arvey's gambling boss and an alleged Ruby associate (Chicago Crime Commission, Report, 1963, p. 30; Washington Post, November 26, 1963, A6); and Zuckerman's partner Lawrence Mangano, stepfather of Ruby's gangster friend Paul "Needlenose" Labriola (22 H 478).

In the important 1946 gangland slaying of James Ragen, the former Hearst circulation manager and ~~Racing tip czar~~^{racing tip czar}, Arvey, as Ragen's attorney, appeared once again to be on the losing side. Other sources tell us however that this post-war battle for the Annenberg racing-wire was waged on a nation-wide level, and resolved, by way of compromise, by a New York meeting chaired by Meyer Lansky of the National Crime Syndicate (Messick, Lansky, p. 150). After the publication of Drew Pearson's diaries, Arvey, who in 1946 was being secretly bankrolled by financier Henry Crown in profitable real estate deals with Cook County (Demaris, pp. 244-45) looks like less of a loser. We learn that Pearson had persuaded Ragen

to meet with the FBI. I sold the idea to Tom Clark, then Attorney General, and the FBI interviewed Ragen at great length. They brought back a multitude of tips, leads, and evidence. Tom Clark told me afterward that it led to very high places. J. Edgar Hoover intimated the same thing. He said the people Ragen pointed to had now reformed. I learned later that it pointed to the Hilton Hotel chain, Henry Crown, the big Jewish financier in Chicago, and Walter Annenberg, publisher of the Philadelphia Inquirer. The investigation never got off even to a start. Ragen was murdered about a month after he gave the information to the FBI and, although I pleaded with J. Edgar Hoover, he wouldn't even give a bodyguard to Joe [Joe Leibowitz, who sent Ragen to Pearson and the FBI]. He had previously refused a bodyguard to Ragen (Drew Pearson, Diaries 1949-1959, New York, Holt Rinehart, and Winston, 1974, p. 470).

One has to remember that the post-war era during which Jake Arvey rose to national political prominence was a period of exceptionally corrupt

politics in both parties. While Republican Governor Dewey pardoned Lucky Luciano, Democratic President Truman paroled the principals in the Browne-Bioff Hollywood extortion gang, the latter a group of high-level gangsters who worked with lawyer Sidney Korshak, a man close to both the Dorfman's, to Arvey, and to Henry Crown's factotum Patrick Hoy. But these scandals were at least equalled by the cover-up of the Ragen murder, for which ~~Ruby's~~ ^{Ruby's} ~~indicted but never prosecuted Ruby's~~ friends Dave Yaras and Lenny Patrick, were indicted but never prosecuted. Years later a federal report would reveal that Patrick was the real gambling boss of the 24th ward, and could not be stopped

since he was backed politically by Jake Arvey. . . . Patrick grew up in Arvey's ward . . . Arvey would often call upon him for strong arm tactics in connection with stuffing ballot boxes (1961 report, quoted in Demaris, Captive City, p. 183).

The consequence of the racing-wire settlement following the death of Ragen was to consolidate a national system of corruption and political control. As government expert Rufus King has written,

Following the murder of James E. Ragen of Continental Press in 1946, into the center of this spider's web moved Tony Accardo and "Greasy Thumb" Guzik, the heirs of Al Capone from Chicago, with satellite gang overlords joining them from every crime center in the country. . . . To attribute half the gang killings and mob violence of the forties and fifties to battles over control of this gambling empire would be a very conservative speculation. Whoever controlled the wire service 'drops' in a town became master of gambling activities there. And more often than not he also responsibly controlled--the word is responsibly chosen, controlled--the community's local law enforcement agencies. No one could run a substantial book without the wire service . . . and . . . once you have got the patrolman--and his lieutenant and his captain and the Chief--taking bribes from your organization for 'protection' of a harmless little gambling enterprise, you have got them for all purposes (Rufus King, Gambling and Organized Crime, Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1969, pp. 27-29, emphasis is original).

To this we must add that the financial interests linked by ^{Pearson} to Ragen's murder also profited from this national system of corruption and control. The rising Hilton Hotels chain soon interlocked with the Loeb

Rhoades-C.V. Starr insurance company (U.S. Life) chosen by Allen Dorfman to receive Teamster business. Henry Crown, a Hilton director, was soon rich enough to lease back the Empire State Building to Prudential Insurance, while transferring his undoubted skill at obtaining preferential government contracts from the local level (the Chicago Sanitation District) to the national (as the largest single shareholder of General Dynamics).

These facts cast a shadow over the events in Dallas and over the ability of the Warren Commission to review them objectively. For behind the developing Bobby Baker scandal of late 1963 was the even greater scandal of McNamara's award of the TFX fighter contract to General Dynamics. Don Reynolds, a close associate of Bedford Wynne's protegee Bobby Baker, told the Senate Rules Committee

there had been a \$100,000 payoff on the controversial TFX contract, and alluded to a 'big sex party' in a New York City Hotel (Demaris, Captive City, p. 246).

Perhaps the most striking political consequence of the assassination in Dallas was that the TFX Hearings, which had adjourned on November 20, 1963, with the announced intention "to resume hearings next week," were in fact postponed until 1969, or after Lyndon Johnson had left office.

There were many leads--some obvious, some not so obvious--linking Lee Harvey Oswald to Peter Gregory's friend Max Clark, former security officer for the Fort Worth plant of General Dynamics which obtained the TFX contract (8 H 352), and Jack Ruby to the milieu of General Dynamics' controlling stockholder Henry Crown and his friend Jake Arvey. The latter, interestingly, involved Cuba: attorney Mel Belli's account of the Ruby trial tells how Ruby attributed his own interest in Cuban business deals to Jake Arvey's interests there. Ruby did not mention that Arvey was a director of the notorious Dania National Bank in Florida, one of two Florida

banks through which funds from Meyer Lansky's casinos in Havana were allegedly laundered (cf. Jack Anderson, Washington Exposé, p. 67). Another director of this bank was R.H. Gore of Gore Publishing in Fort Lauderdale, whose family first sponsored the CIA-DIA meetings with Frank Fiorini about an invasion of Haiti, and then employed James Buchanan and ~~Harold~~ ^{Fernando} Penabaz ~~to~~ and publish^{ed} Fiorini's false story about Oswald's activities in Miami. (In 1972 the funds for Fiorini's Watergate break-in would be traced to the Republican National Bank of Miami, a Cuban-owned bank where once again one of the founding directors had been Jake Arvey.)

In his curious "translation" of Marina Oswald's testimony, Peter Gregory, who was a close friend of Max Clark and his Russian wife, suppressed the name of one of the Oswalds' contacts in the Russian community: other testimony suggests that the missing name was almost certainly that of his own friend Clark. This pattern of cover-up was repeated by the Warren Commission. There the task of investigating the possibilities of a conspiracy was entrusted to a lawyer, Albert E. Jenner, Jr. (Meagher, p. 285), who like Gregory might more appropriately have disqualified himself from the task. For at this very time, in early 1964, Jenner was representing Henry Crown in a case which allegedly worried Crown even more than the Senate investigation of the TFX contract--a case challenging Crown's right to the stock by which he had acquired control of General Dynamics (Demaris, p. 248). (Much later, in 1970, Jenner would sit with Crown on General Dynamics' Board.) We shall see that Jenner (the future minority counsel in the House Nixon impeachment inquiry) was by no means the only possible conflict-of-interest case on the Warren Commission and its staff.

In short it seems quite plausible that the FBI and Warren Commission investigation of events in Dallas were constrained by their inability to

challenge the powerful immunities resulting from the gambling protection racket which strengthened the links between law enforcement, politics, and organized crime. It is a matter of record that in 1946-47 Chicago underworld figures moved to bring the national wire service into a controlling relationship with the Sheriff of Dallas (Kefauver Hearings, Part 5, p. 1180), and there is authoritative testimony that Ruby himself was part of this group. The Warren Commission, to be sure, painted a different picture. Noting that in 1946 Paul Roland Jones had made offers to Sheriff Guthrie of Dallas on behalf of "other Chicago criminals," it noted that

22 recordings of the conversations between Guthrie . . . and Jones not only fail to mention Ruby, but indicate that Jones was to bring from outside the Dallas area only one confederate, who was not to be Jewish (R 793, citing CE 2416).

In fact the recordings (which were largely unintelligible, though the FBI chose not to mention this) indicate no such thing (CE 2416, 25 H 514); Jones told Guthrie in 1947, the year that Ruby himself moved from Chicago to Dallas, he would bring down several syndicate associates from Chicago, some of them Jewish (Kefauver Hearings, Part 5, p. 1179). The Warren Commission's source, Dallas Police Lieutenant George Butler, who by his own admission had "known Ruby for years" (24 H 69) told the McClellan Hearings in 1958 that about 20 members of the Chicago group had come down to Dallas ^{(McClellan Hearings, p. 12521).} Their lines of activity ranged from gambling to slots, liquor, and narcotics.

Ruby in 1947 knew both Paul Roland Jones (22 H 300) and his partner Sam Yaras (the brother of Dave Yaras, 22 H 372) whose Dallas apartment was used by the Chicago crowd (McClellan Hearings, p. 12522). As to how Ruby met Jones there has been much obvious lying to government officials, and possibly some perjury. In 1947, when Jones was successfully indicted on

a charge of smuggling opium, Jack Ruby told the Federal Bureau of Narcotics (FBN) that he had met Jones "on numerous occasions" in Dallas but never in Chicago (23 H 203), where ~~the~~^{the} narcotics negotiations had taken place. Jones on the other hand claimed that he first met Ruby in Chicago, not Dallas, in the company of labor hoodlums Paul "Needlenose" Labriola, James Weinberg and possibly Danny Lardino (22 H 300, 478). Jones, who had less reason to lie in 1963 than Ruby in 1947, seems ~~to~~^{the} more plausible witness, partly because he put the encounter in the Congress Hotel, and claimed, correctly, that this was where Ruby in fact lived (23 H 203).

The FBN file on this case was given to the Warren Commission (CD 101f), but as published is apparently incomplete. However the first post-assassination report of the FBN file (from the Secret Service) agreed with Jones' account and unambiguously contradicted Ruby:

The meeting between Jones, Hyman [Rubenstein, Jack Ruby's brother] and Jack Ruby was arranged by Eva Grant [Jack Ruby's sister]. . . . They met in Jack Ruby's room at the Congress Hotel, Room 6-142. Co-defendant Melton stated that Hyman and Jack Ruby when propositioned concerning narcotics refused to have any part of it (23 H 206).

The Warren Report, characteristically, quotes only from the last sentence, to support its contention that Ruby "probably was not involved" in Jones' narcotics violation (R 792-93). But in fact Melton's account serves less to exonerate Hyman and Jack than to inculcate them; for if true it makes Jack a liar (23 H 203) and Hyman an apparent perjurer (15 H 23-24: "They found one of my cards in his [Jones'] pocket. So, I am subpoenaed. . . . Jack was in the Army. . . . He never met Jones."). The FBN's earlier failure to pursue these apparent contradictions of testimony in its own files strengthens the hypothesis that Ruby enjoyed protection as a government informant (cf. 13 H 183, Ramparts, November 1973, p. 17).

FBN Report

From the published portion of the ~~ESI~~ we do learn that Hyman admitted meeting Jones in the Sherman Hotel (23 H 203), another of Jack Ruby's hang-outs and residences (22 H 366, 368). The Sherman Hotel after World War II was also a headquarters for the muscle boys of the old Lawndale Poolroom crowd, for ~~the~~ ^{the Dorfman-Shulman} labor racket activities (McClellan Hearings, pp. 16112, 16115), and in general for organized crime. The hotel, which ~~was~~ ^{1960 by Webb and Knapp,} bought in ~~by the~~ ^{by the} ~~Hotel~~, was managed by Patrick Hoy, Henry Crown's lieutenant and liaison with Syndicate gambling representatives like Charles "Babe" Baron, ^{the boss of Ruby's friend Maurice Medevine.} Hyman Rubenstein admitted he was a long-time Democratic Party political protege of Morris Feiwell (15 H 11), a banking associate of the ^{Hoy-} Hilton Hotels empire, and through Feiwell enjoyed patronage jobs at the race tracks of the Lindheimer family (15 H 11), associates and employees of Henry Crown.

The Sherman Hotel's associations with labor racketeers lend credence to Jones' story that he met Ruby in Chicago in the company of labor shake-down hoodlums Paul Labriola (stepson of Lawrence Mangano, cf. supra, p. 18) and possibly Daniel Lardino (22 H 300). Danny Lardino was known as a labor extortionist working on druggists and lunch counters, an activity which could easily explain the success of the three Rubenstein brothers in selling salt and pepper shakers (R 791). The profits of salt and pepper shakers established Eva Grant at the Singapore night club in Dallas (R 792), which with Jack Ruby as manager became a Dallas headquarters for Chicago hoodlums Jones, Labriola and Lardino (22 H 370, 23 H 298). Over the years Hyman Rubenstein has worked for a succession of firms supplying hotels, restaurants, etc. (15 H 6-10), and such firms are frequently a vehicle for extortion payoffs. There is also an unconfirmed report that in Dallas, where Jones was organizing for the Teamsters, ^(McClellan Hearings, p. 12524) Ruby started to organize for the Hoffa-

dominated Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union (23 H 351) into which Danny Lardino's local was merged (McClellan Hearings, pp. 13031-8).

Whether criminal or merely friendly, Ruby's early contacts with Paul Jones and his hoodlum friends in 1947 are of direct relevance to the assassination cover-up sixteen years later, not just because these associations were covered up, but because they ^{may} help explain the strange behavior of lawyer William McKenzie in "representing" Marina and corroborating her rejected testimony. The key to this explanation is McKenzie's mysterious office mate Pete White, who as we saw knew both Jack Ruby and Robert Oswald, and whose 1962 law partner, Ivan Irwin, had come from the old Irwin family law firm which in 1947 had represented Paul Roland Jones and channeled Syndicate pay-offs to the local Democratic Party (22 H 298). Jones' "Dallas group" (which included Dave Yaras' brother Sam, another Ruby associate) were no small-time criminals, but were said to have been behind the wire service killing of James Ragen (McClellan Hearings, p. 12575).
cf. McClellan Hearings, p. 12526).

Like Ruby, Pete White had links to the Syndicate-politics-business "grey alliance" in the present as well as the past. White's other 1962 partner, Fowler Roberts, became a lawyer for Girardian Life Insurance, a Teamsters insurance company in the Dorfman business complex. In mid-1963 Girardian was bought by an investment firm (Diversa Inc.) uniting a former Murchison employee (Gerald C. Mann, Diversa's President) to Ruby's accountant (W. Boone Goode), and the financier (John D. MacArthur) whose insurance company president James Dunn financed Ruby's purchase of the Carousel night club (CD 4.385, cf. 22 H 917). Girardian enjoyed the insurance business of a Teamster local active in the Caribbean and controlled by Mike Singer, a man active in the banking activities of both Meyer Lansky and of Bedford Wynne's protege Bobby Baker.

The Warren Commission received and pursued detailed charges about a purported 1961 meeting between Ruby and Singer's Teamster allies Richard Kavner and Frank Chavez (CD 86.558) and hints that Chavez, a Teamster organizer for Singer in Puerto Rico once indicted for murder, might have been behind the murder of John F. Kennedy (CD 301.66; cf. 26 H 472). It is certain that in late 1963 Ruby phoned Barney Baker (25 H 291), one of Kavner's Teamster hoodlums in St. Louis, and a Dorfman associate who was once arrested with Averell Harriman's private telephone number in his pocket (McClellan Hearings, p. 14072). Walter Sheridan has since written that in 1964 Frank Chavez came from Puerto Rico to New York "to kill Bobby Kennedy," and in 1967 was dissuaded from a second murder attempt by Jimmy Hoffa himself (Walter Sheridan, The Fall and Rise of Jimmy Hoffa, New York, Saturday Review Press, 1972, pp. 407-08).

This "grey alliance," uniting crime, finance, and politics, may or may not have linked Ruby to Puerto Rico; but it quite clearly linked the Teamsters, and Allen Dorfman's political allies in particular, to the Murchisons and Cuba. The McClellan Committee learned that in the 1950's Cuba was the source of narcotics for top Teamster officials in New York who used union business as a front for the dope traffic (McClellan Hearings, p. 19166). It also exposed the role of Ben Dranow (Hoffa's adviser on casino investments) and Lou Triscaro of the Cleveland Teamsters in arranging illegal arms shipments to Cuba for mercenaries behind William Morgan, whose SNFE activities for and later against Castro may (as we have seen) have enjoyed CIA encouragement and/or backing (McClellan Hearings, 19033ss, esp. 19089; Sheridan, pp. 109-14). Luis Botifoll, the Cuban representative of an oil exploration firm, was part of the Havana underground which switched allegiance along with the SNFE; in 1960 he was

with other Cubans a business representative in the Bahamas of Allen Dorfman, and in June 1963 he joined with Howard Hunt's protege Tony Varonia in a CIA-front announcement (Haynes Johnson, Bay of Pigs, p. 334). In 1959 Ruby's Cuban casino friend, L.J. McWillie, also knew William Morgan, while Ruby himself phoned Dranow's casino associate William Miller (23 H 36). Ruby also possessed the phone number of Milt Jaffe (22 H 504), a point-holder and associate of Moe Dalitz at the Las Vegas Stardust, one of the prime recipients of Hoffa's and Ben Dranow's Teamster loan largesse.

Much has been written in the popular press about the Teamster pension funds in the form of loans to Syndicate casino and real estate investments in Las Vegas, and more recently Moe Dalitz's La Costa near Nixon's Western White House. In 1963 however the largest ever loan from the ^{Central States} Pension Fund went (under circumstances at least as suspicious) not to the underworld but to the financial overworld--more specifically to the New York real estate company (Webb and Knapp) which had organized and helped finance the Great Southwest Corporation.

Webb and Knapp had turned in a record \$19,625,151 deficit in 1962, was in arrears on a \$10 million loan from the Prudential Life Insurance Company, and on rental payments for its many leased hotels. During the preceding year the price of its common stock had declined 70 per cent, as compared with a 40 percent rise in the stock market as a whole. Leading financial analysts saw bankruptcy as imminent. Its cash position extremely weak, the company was forced to pay 20 percent interest or 50 per cent equity for funds. It was desperately trying to dispose of minor properties in public auctions (with little success) and was privately selling major properties at a loss. Yet, the CSPF trustees saw fit to grant Webb and Knapp the largest loan it has ever made--\$25 million at only 6-1/2 per cent--to refinance short-term high-interest-rate loans. Webb and Knapp was declared bankrupt in 1965 (Ralph and Estelle James, Hoffa and the Teamsters, Princeton, N.J., Van Nostrand, 1965, p. 250).

This loan would appear to conform to the Teamster's practice of using Pension Fund loans to maximize political influence rather than the assets

of the fund itself. The chief architect of these payments was by most accounts the Central States' Pension Fund's consultant, Allen Dorfman, who in May 1963 had been indicted with Hoffa for jury-tampering by Bobby Kennedy's Justice Department. In this case the chief beneficiaries of the loans to Webb and Knapp were ⁽¹⁾ the huge New York insurance and investment interests to whom Webb and Knapp were indebted, and also those ⁽²⁾ other financial interests with whom, to the end of 1964, Webb and Knapp continued to invest its much-needed cash in long-term investments.

The most prominent American firms in the ⁽¹⁾ first group (Webb and Knapp's creditors) were Prudential Life, whose directors included Rockefeller nominee M.J. Rathbone, President of Standard Oil (New Jersey); and the Alleghany Corp., which until December 1963 was controlled by the Murchisons. In the ⁽²⁾ second group (to whom Webb and Knapp's cash was transferred) we find two prominent firms with intimate links to the Lyndon Johnson machine: Wallace Investments (whose Chairman Eugene Locke of Dallas was Governor Connally's campaign manager and Democratic State Party Chairman in Texas) and Paramount Pictures (whose directors included a Loeb Rhoades partner and Ed Weisl, Lyndon Johnson's private investment adviser).

Like Diversa, Wallace Investments has the earmarks of a "grey alliance" between upperworld business interests, oilmen, and bankers and lawyers with access to the obscure financial empires of Allen Dorfman and Meyer Lansky. Its president, E.E. Wallace, Jr., served as director of an insurance company controlled by the Vaughn family of Dallas (whose counsel was Ethan Stroud of Wynne, Jaffe, and Tinsley), along with Vance Foster of Diversa (who soon after became President of Meyer Lansky's conduit, the Miami National Bank), Charles Storey of the law firm representing Republican National Life (one of Allen Dorfman's two Teamster insurance

at the end of the 1960s. The Hoffa and Rockefeller connection is a bit more complex than it appears. It was a time when a lot of money was being made.

outlets in Dallas), and Percy Carpenter who sat with Angus Wynne on the board of the Wynnewood State Bank. Cuban-American (a Vaughn oil company) had participated by farm-out agreement in George de Mohrenschildt's Cuban oil explorations, along with Trans Cuba Oil (John L. Loeb of Loeb Rhoades and Jose M. Bosch of the Cuba Trust Company) and Stanolind Oil and Gas (a subsidiary of Standard Oil of Indiana, allegedly a Rockefeller-controlled company).

E.E. Wallace had recurring links to the milieus of Jack Ruby, on the one hand, and the Warren Commission investigation, on the other. In Beverly Hills he was a director of the Fidelity Bank, along with Maxwell L. Rubin of the Syndicate-controlled firm Reddi-Wip (headed by Marcus Lipsky, who ^{with Jones} had been part of the Syndicate invasion of Dallas in 1946-47), and H.B. Garfield of Desser and Garfield (later merged into World-Wide Realty with Lansky front-man Vance Foster as director), the firm whose real estate on Key Biscayne included lots mortgaged to Desser and sold to Richard M. Nixon. In Dallas Wallace sat on the board of the First Citizens Bank with Ruby's ^{doctor-acquaintance} ~~friend~~ Herman Ulevitch (19 H 59, 22 H 504), Dallas district attorney Henry Wade, Tom Lively of the Wynne-Murchison investment venture New Orleans East, and J.J. Laney of Eugene Locke's law firm. Lively and Laney were also directors of Wallace Investments.

In other words, by following the flow of Teamster money into politically powerful real estate alliances, we uncover a business nexus uniting the Wynnes and Rockefellers to associates of Ruby and to principals in the Dallas assassination inquiry. The reverse is also true: if we look at patterns of government investigation, we stumble upon the same business nexus. Thus Henry Wade, who indicted both Oswald and Ruby, spent the morning of November 23 with former Army Intelligence colonel Robert G.

Storey, a member in 1946 of the U.S. legal team at Nuremberg along with Leon Jaworski, Loftus E. Becker, and others who would later be associated with the CIA. Storey's junior partner Barefoot Sanders had managed the JFK-LBJ campaign of 1960 in Texas, and thus became the U.S. attorney for North Texas in whose office (and presence) key witnesses were interviewed by the Warren Commission staff. Texas Attorney General Carr, Wade, Storey and Jaworski met with the Warren Commission in January 1964 to discuss allegations that Oswald had been an informant for either the FBI or CIA; later Storey and Jaworski both represented the State of Texas in Warren Commission interrogations, and the two men helped Carr write a Texas Supplemental Report on the Assassination of John F. Kennedy.

Harold Weisberg has noted the ^{possible} conflict of interest in Jaworski's serving with the Texas Court of Inquiry into Oswald's background, including his alleged CIA connection, at the same time that Jaworski sat on the board of the M.D. Anderson Foundation, a CIA conduit. The same conflict can be discerned in the identical role played by Jaworski's old friend Robert G. Storey, a long-time counsel for the Waggoner family interests, whose estate, once managed by Robert B. Anderson ^{who joined} Loeb Rhoades, now formed the basis for that Rockefeller-Loeb-Rhoades-Webb-and-Knapp real estate venture, the Great Southwest Corporation. (Robert B. Anderson, whom Walter Winchell called "LBJ's No. 1 financial adviser," spent several hours with the new President on November 24, 1963, the same day that Johnson saw Texas Attorney-General Carr and also made his first emergency decision [NSAM 273] not to withdraw from Vietnam.) In June 1957 Robert B. Anderson had been paid \$900,000 in a political payoff from the Dalada Corp., another Wynne-Rockefeller joint venture, as part of a complicated system of deals concocted by another Murchison and Rockefeller co-venturer Sid

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Richardson, and completed in September 1963. Connally was Richardson's attorney in 1957, and later profited from a similar such deal himself.

In 1967 Lyndon Johnson himself named Storey and Jaworski to his Commission on Law Enforcement, charged with reporting on organized crime and later accused of covering up for it. (The man specifically accused was the Commission's staff director James Vorenberg, who in the Nixon Administration joined the Office of Special Prosecutor several months earlier than did Leon Jaworski himself.) Life charged that under Vorenberg's editing a 63-page paper, which "dealt with specific links between public officials and organized crime" in Chicago, was reduced to four footnotes (Life, September 8, 1967, p. 103). No one seems to have noted that while Robert Storey investigated organized crime, his son Charles P. Storey was, as we noted above, partner in a law firm representing an Allen Dorfman insurance connection, and a business associate of men like Vance Foster of Diversa (whose bank ~~was~~ ^{was a conduit} for Meyer Lansky) or the mysterious E.E. Wallace of Wallace Investments.

Connally-associates Storey, Jaworski and Wade were not likely to investigate the possible links of Connally-associate Locke (or his company Wallace Investments) to the Kennedy assassination. Yet such an investigation would have been appropriate. On November 8, 1963, it was announced that Wallace Investments had sold to Webb and Knapp its 625,000 shares of Gulf States Land and Industries (Zeckendorf's long-term investment in Louisiana). On November 14, 1963, in the office of Wallace ^{Investments'} Chairman Eugene Locke (17 H 619, 18 H 715), a decision was made to route the John F. Kennedy motorcade to the Trade Mart owned by right-winger Trammel Crow (an investor and future director of Wallace Investments) past the Texas School Book Depository owned by ^{right-wing} joilman D.H. Byrd (whose employee J.R. Stanley sat on the board of both Wallace Investments and Gulf States Land

and Industries).

A Secret Service report of this meeting suppresses Eugene Locke's name, noting only that Special Agent Winston Lawson "was informed by Mr. Jack Puterbaugh, representing the White House Staff [sic, actually the Democratic National Committee], that the luncheon would be held at the Trade Mart" (18 H 715; cf. supra, i, 8). Lawson himself, who came from Washington with Puterbaugh to handle the Kennedy visit to Dallas, was similarly deceptive. His initial list of seventeen persons "assisting and cooperating with this Service in preparation for this visit" (17 H 611) omitted the name of Eugene Locke, along with those of J. Erik Jonsson (18 H 716), in 1972 a Finance Co-Chairman of the Committee to Re-elect President Nixon, and Robert Strauss (18 H 717) a future director of Allen Dorfman's associates, Diversa Inc., and presently Chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

Why did Lawson omit the name of Locke, who appears to have been the most important of his Dallas contacts (and who went on to be Lyndon Johnson's Deputy Ambassador in Vietnam ^{in 1967-68} ~~in 1967-68~~ before ending up as a director of the former Cuban oil firm Panoil along with Jack Crichton)? (Why for that matter did Locke ^{reportedly} become Mrs. Tippitt's attorney right after the assassination, 20 H 426?) Lawson must have known that even his later report of his meeting with Puterbaugh in Locke's office continued to ~~omit~~ ^{omit} one relevant detail: Puterbaugh was no stranger in Dallas but had family there, whose business interests were represented by Locke's law partner and cousin Maurice E. Purnell, a director of the Great Southwest Corporation.

Because of the involvement of Great Southwest's employees in the Dallas cover-up, it is interesting to note that Purnell sat on the board of another corporation whose employees played significant roles on the day

of the assassination. This was the A.H. Belo Corp., which owned the Dallas Morning News and the TV Station WFAA (Channel 8). It was an employee of the News (CD 1245)⁶⁻¹⁰ whose non-existent "epileptic seizure" resulted in the "emergency" police orders to "cut all traffic for the ambulance going to Parkland" (23 H 839-41)--just as the Kennedy car was about to proceed there.

It was a WFAA employee, Malcolm Couch, who, right after the shot was fired, "saw the rifle in the window" (R 65)--in the company of Thomas Dillard of the News, who took two pictures of the window (R 65). ^{(Mal Couch and a fellow News employee had earlier attended a local meeting of the Cuban exile DRE, CO 246-24).} It was News Reporter Jim Ewell (7 H 47), alias "Jim E. Well" (7 H 45) who drove with policemen Valentine and Hill to the TSBD in the famous police car 207, which Oswald's landlady later claimed had honked outside of their roominghouse, one half hour after the assassination (25 H 909). (This gives the lie to Dallas police records which "indicate that Patrolman Valentine was the sole occupant of Car 207 on November 22, 1963"--25 H 910.)

Other A.H. Belo employees were inside the sealed TSBD with Army Intelligence agent Powell (CD 354, SS 1009, 21 H 581) and in the Texas Theatre at the moment of Lee Harvey Oswald's arrest (15 H 348, ²¹ 21 H 309). One of the latter, Hugh Aynesworth, was later suspected of receiving Oswald materials leaked by Deputy District Attorney Bill Alexander ^{(CD 1295.1),} who on November 22 ^{rode} ~~came~~ with Jim Ewell ^{et al.} out to the scene of the Tippit murder (7 H 47). And it was an A.H. Belo Corp. employee, Ray John, who told Detective F.M. Turner (who on November 22 was first with Puterbaugh and later with Alexander) the story that Oswald's "scopeless" rifle had been equipped with a sight in Irvine, Texas ^(7 H 224). We have already noted that this story, false but corroborated by a non-authentic work tag, constitutes prima facie evidence of a conspiracy (i, 6); also that the scopeless rifle story was corroborated by an employee of the Great Southwest Corporation.

One can easily understand the reluctance of the Connally friends and/or appointees of the Texas Court of Inquiry to investigate the mutually-corroborative stories and activities of Purnell's business associates and employees. Purnell, after all, was the cousin and law partner of Connally's campaign manager, Eugene Locke. But did Purnell have any such influential connections on the federal level? This brings us back to Purnell's service on the board of the Great Southwest Corp. at the time that it was controlled by Wynnes and Rockefeller; and to allegations that two publicly-held corporations went bankrupt because they improperly tied up their cash resources in this long-term investment.

These two corporations were Webb and Knapp in 1965, and the Pennsylvania Railroad in 1970, each of whom had been closely involved with that sometime Murchison investment company, the Alleghany Corp. ^{William Zeckendorf of} Webb and Knapp had joined in 1960 with Rockefeller Center, Inc., with Loeb Rhoades, and with Dallas-Fort Worth investors, to form the Great Southwest Corporation, whose principal property at that time was the old estate of the Waggoner family (represented over the years by Robert Bernard Anderson and by Robert G. Storey). As early as May 1963 Esquire was able to note that the transfer of Webb and Knapp's much-needed assets to Great Southwest had aggravated its weak cash position. Zeckendorf was likely to fail, it noted, "when he got beyond a city's lines. Very little has happened to 5,000 acres between Fort Worth and Dallas" (p. 121).

But in fact things were beginning to happen at Great Southwest. A group of insiders at Glore Forgan, the stockbrokers who had arranged the public issue of Great Southwest stock, had formed a private investment club called Penphil in 1962 and brought in Angus Wynne of Great Southwest. The key to the success of Penphil was the participation of David Bevan,

Finance Chairman of the Pennsylvania Railroad (and later the Penn Central), and Charles Hodge, a Great Southwest director and partner of Glore Forgan, investment advisers to the railroad. In July 1963 Penphil bought 10,000 shares of Great Southwest for \$165,000 (or \$16.50 a share); a year later the railroad, on the advice of Bevan and Hodge, bought control of Great Southwest. In two days, on July 15 and 16, 1964, it purchased 520,367 shares of Great Southwest at a cost of \$11,633,257.50 (or \$22.41 a share).

The Pennsylvania Railroad, just like Webb and Knapp before it, was showing how corporations do not always conform to the profit-making models of economic behavior. Exactly the same "mistake" was being repeated: for the second time a corporation was aggravating its cash shortage to the point of ultimate bankruptcy by tying up its assets in the long-term investment of Great Southwest. After the Penn Central collapse in 1970, a House Banking Committee staff report would conclude that the Hodge-Bevan investments, and Great Southwest in particular, "contributed significantly to the Penn Central's ultimate financial collapse" (Penn Central Failure, Part I, pp. iii, 1). Later Hodge and Bevan were convicted on conspiracy charges of having manipulated over \$85 million in Penn Central investments to the benefit of a private investment group, i.e. Penphil.

But Hodge and Bevan were only minor profit-makers from the Great Southwest transaction. The Penphil club held only 10,000 shares of Great Southwest; at this time Rockefeller Center held 170,851 shares, worth \$4 million at the railroad's price of \$22.41. The Rockefellers sold ^{their shares} to the railroad, but Bedford Wynne's brother Angus did not. In 1970, at the time of the Penn Central bankruptcy, Angus Wynne still held 326,300 shares of Great Southwest, with a paper value of \$19.6 million (Penn Central Failure, III, 29). It developed that Glore Forgan and its personnel held

an additional 424,600 shares. The Patman Committee staff report noted that "a substantial portion of these shares, according to the minutes of a December 6, 1963 GSC Board of Directors' meeting, were acquired in 1963" (Penn Central Failure, III, 28). Besides Maurice Stans, the 1970 Glore Forgan shareholders in GSC included (with 38,000 shares) OSS-veteran James Russell Forgan, who helped draft the post-war operations charter of the CIA, and ^{was} a director of the World Commerce Corporation whose Panama subsidiary had recruited criminal aid to smuggle arms to Chiang Kai-shek. In summary, we can say that the Great Southwest Corporation by late 1963 represented a joint venture by the Rockefellers and their associates close to the CIA, and by Wynne-Murchison associates close to J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI.

Were these money movements in 1963 between Great Southwest, Glore Forgan, Penphil, and the Rockefellers purely financial? Or were they designed with an insider's eye on Cuban policy as well? One indication of the latter possibility is that Penphil, after acquiring its GSC stock on July 18, 1963, moved in August to purchase \$191,450 worth of stock (10,000 shares) in Tropical Gas, whose extensive Cuban holdings had been nationalized by Castro. Tropical Gas marketed natural gas in the Caribbean from Esso's (i.e. the Rockefellers') Venezuelan oil fields. Its Cuban lawyers also represented the Cuban-Venezuelan Oil Voting Trust, the employers in Cuba of Oswald's mysterious mentor George de Mohrenschildt; and Cuban-Venezuelan in turn held a farm-out agreement in Cuba with Stanolind, another Rockefeller investment which had participated in the \$1 million dollar Murchison pay-off to former Treasury Secretary Robert Bernard Anderson. In 1969-70, when Penphil members (backed by Penn Central stock) held five of Tropical's eleven directorships, two other

Rockefeller-linked

directors included a former manager of Mobil Oil Caribe (John HageI, Jr.), and a former president of Esso (M.J. Rathbone, a director not only of Prudential but also of Executive Jet Aviation, the most scandalous of the Penphil intrigues).

Penphil's Florida banking ventures in 1966-67 brought Angus Wynne into even closer contact with the domestic Cuba Lobby. Penphil acquired control of the First National Bank and Trust Company of Boca Raton, from which the famous Dahlberg counter check was issued which ended up in the bank account of Watergate burglar Bernard Barker. In November 1972 this bank's holding company, First Bancshares of Florida (in which Penphil held about 5 percent of the stock) merged with a bank (Fidelity National of South Miami) controlled by anti-Castro Latin Americans. These included Roberto Alejos, the exiled Guatemalan whose Retalhuleu plantation had been used by the CIA as a training camp and air base for the Bay of Pigs; and Carlos J. Arboleya, in 1970 one of the five members of the anti-Castro "Torrient^e Plan" Committee. The key figure in this alliance, Thomas Fleming of First National, was a member of the so-called "Smathers group" in Florida, the financial director in 1964 of Lyndon Johnson's Florida campaign, and a business associate of Senator George Smathers' sidekick H. Loy Anderson. H. Loy Anderson in turn was an early director of Bebe Rebozo's Bank of Key Biscayne, and a member of the Palm Beach Smathers-John F. Kennedy jet set in which, apparently, Smathers' proposal of assassinating Castro was seriously proposed to President Kennedy (Miami Herald, August 19, 1970).

In the preceding pages we have tried to show that documented instances of mis-translation by Marina Oswald's interpretor for the Secret Service, Peter Paul Gregory, are suspiciously supported by various individuals linked in one way or other to the same real estate corporation, the

Great Southwest Corporation, to which Marina was directed, in highly suspicious and unexplained circumstances, by Peter Paul Gregory and the Secret Service. We have seen furthermore that these coincidences, which merited further investigation, received none; and that both on the state and the federal level Great Southwest was in fact powerfully integrated into the very milieu of business and politics from which those supervising the "investigations" were drawn. On both the state and federal levels, furthermore, individuals and firms from those milieux were, or soon became, prominently involved with Lyndon Johnson's new policies of expanded U.S. military security operations, and specifically with the Vietnam War. At the same time they were linked in business "grey alliances" with the organized crime milieu of Jack Ruby and others who should have been suspects in an assassination conspiracy.

All this could be documented at length, but perhaps single examples from the federal level will suffice to show the connections of Great Southwest's owners, the Wynnes and the Rockefellers. It has been charged (and never denied) that J. Edgar Hoover frequently enjoyed the lavish hospitality of the Wynnes' friend Clint Murchison of the Alleghany Corp. (Hank Messick, Hoover, pp. 144-51), at a California motel, the Del Charro, said to have been frequented also by John Connally, Richard Nixon, and even by gambling acquaintances of Jack Ruby (23 H 363). On a more dignified level, the two non-governmental members of the Warren Commission, and possibly the two most powerful members, were Allen Dulles of the Rockefeller-Standard Oil firm Sullivan and Cromwell, and John J. McCloy of the interlocking Rockefeller Chase Manhattan Bank. Dulles still enjoyed a privileged relationship to the CIA which he had headed so long; and both men were close friends and club-mates of Clarence Douglas Dillon, who as

Treasury Secretary now commanded the Secret Service (and who, even before the Warren Commission ratified this decision, directed the Secret Service towards more closely co-ordinated domestic surveillance in conjunction with the CIA--5 H 578, 18 H 905).

One could expand indefinitely on these interlocks. For example Kingman Douglass, Sr., Dillon's cousin and managing partner of Dillon Read, was a former head of current intelligence for CIA; his son, Kingman Douglass, Jr., was an Executive Vice-President of Glore Forgan which handled the investment banking of Penphil, Great Southwest Corporation, and Tropical Gas.

More significantly, the Rockefellers and employees of their firms (notably Mobil) have been identified as active campaigners in 1962-63 for greater emphasis on overseas security operations, in Latin America and also in Vietnam (Myer Kutz, Rockefeller Power, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1974, pp. 222-23; P.D. Scott, in Mark Selden (ed.) Remaking Asia, New York, Pantheon, 1974, pp. 127-31). By February 1963 Nelson Rockefeller in particular had been identified as the "mastermind" behind the concerted "Cuba Lobby" opposition to Kennedy's agreements with the Soviet Union over Cuba (Drew Pearson, Washington Post, February 25, 1963).

This report underlines the strategic political alignment in Great Southwest of the Rockefellers with the Wynnes, since Bedford Wynne's circle in Washington included not only the Murchisons and Bobby Baker, but top Murchison lobbyist Irving Davidson, who doubled as a lobbyist for Nicaragua where the Somozas were backing new Cuban invasion plans, and also as a principal beneficiary (along with the Murchisons), of the Dorfman-dominated Teamsters' Central States Pension Fund. Dorfman's associates in corrupt Teamster circles included, as we have already noted,

men active in anti-Castro activity and also the assassination profession.

In the same vein, the Warren Commission staff were hardly detached from those they should have been investigating. The lawyer said to have been responsible for investigating the possibility of conspiracy was Albert E. Jenner (later special minority counsel for the House Judiciary Committee on the question of impeaching Richard Nixon). ~~By serving with the Warren Commission, Jenner may well have placed himself in a conflict of interest situation.~~ At the same time in an important private suit he was representing Henry Crown, who as we saw was a leading financier in the Arvey-Korshak-Dorfman Chicago political milieu out of which Jack Ruby emerged, and which had overt links to organized crime, the Teamster's CSPF, and most significantly to Cuba.

Ruby was said by at least two witnesses to have been a 24th Ward Arvey Democrat (21 H 314, 22 H 327), and his brother Hyman admitted to being a "politically active" Democrat (15 H 11). Ruby and his brothers knew at least a dozen members of the Arvey political machine, three of whom were named in the Chicago Crime Commission Report for 1963; and Ruby explained his business interest in Cuba as being inspired by the example of Jake Arvey (Belli, p. 49). Jake Arvey's law partner Paul Ziffen, together with Syndicate front man Sam Genis, had been active together in California real estate operations with Democratic backers of Governor Edmund Brown, and with Webb and Knapp which had helped assemble the Great Southwest Corporation (Demaris, p. 242).

Jenner was by no means the only example of Warren Commission personnel whose background overlapped with the subject-matter of the investigation. ~~His assistant Wesley Liebeler came from a Wall Street law firm, Carter, Ledyard and Milburn, which had once had two alumni (William H.~~

~~Jackson and Frank Wisner) serving simultaneously as Deputy Directors of~~
~~the~~ Francis W.H. Adams, another assistant counsel, had formerly
 represented the Murchisons in a dispute over control of the Alleghany
 Corp. Joseph Ball ^{was later identified as} ~~was later identified as~~ ~~joined by Governor Bond~~
~~was~~ ^{the Albert Parvin Foundation et} the counsel for Albert Parvin, who had involved himself (in
 collaboration with Justice Douglas and possibly with the CIA) in
 Caribbean politics; Parvin's Las Vegas casino activities were managed
 by Sidney Korshak, an old ally of Arvey and Dorfman in Chicago (Ovid
 Demaris, Dirty Business, New York, Harper's, 1974, pp. 313-15). Albert
 Parvin held six points in the Las Vegas Sands ^{Hotel} along with alleged fronts
 for Frank Costello, Meyer Lansky, and Chicago hoodlums from Jack Ruby's
 background (Reid and Demaris, Green Felt Jungle, pp. 77, 78, 231).
 Maxwell Rubin, of Albert Parvin & Co. and the Sands, was a business
 associate both of Marcus Lipsky who had participated in the Syndicate's
 1946 move to Dallas with Sam Yaras and Paul Roland Jones (22 H 301,
Kefauver Hearings, 5.1180-86) and more immediately of E.E. Wallace, Jr.,
 whose firm of Wallace Investments was chaired by E.M. Locke of the Dallas
 parade route planning group. The Sands' syndicate connections had been
 given public attention as recently as October 22, 1963, when the Nevada
 Gaming Control Board ordered Frank Sinatra to sell his 9 percent interest.
 Sinatra was a known associate of the Fischetti brothers in Chicago
 (Chicago Crime Commission Report, 1963, 48-49), who were linked both to
 the activities of Jones in Dallas and to the Ragen-Drury killings.
 Finally Arvey's representative Charles "the Babe" Baron in Havana was
 now an official greeter at the Sands.

For any of the above reasons, ^{the counsel was in 1963} the counsel of Albert Parvin might
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There is no evidence to demonstrate that the inappropriateness was deliberate. It was however compounded by the presence on the Commission itself of Congressman Hale Boggs, whose son Thomas Hale Boggs, Jr., a registered lobbyist, was said by Robert Winter-Berger

to have worked on behalf of the Hilton Corporation [Henry Crown], the Parvin-Dohrmann Corporation [Albert Parvin], the Baltimore Contractors, Inc., General Dynamics [Henry Crown] . . . among others. Boggs, Jr. was to his father what Bobby Baker was to Lyndon Johnson. It was common knowledge around Washington that if the team of Boggs and Boggs couldn't get a bill through the House, nobody could. (Robert N. Winter-Berger, The Washington Pay-off, Secaucus, N.J., Lyle Stuart, 1972, p. 197).

?? (There is no need to multiply examples. It is clear that the establishment of the Warren Commission was a procedure whereby evidence pointing to the "grey alliance," between politics, bureaucracy, business, and organized crime, would be evaluated by representatives of the self-same "grey alliance." The wonder is not that such men could find that Oswald "acted alone." It is that for more than a decade there has been so little challenge to this finding, in a nation once noted for its devotion to freedom, decency, and truth.

Why can PDS not summarize?
 Above ducks the whole issue he sets
 up. More to come?

An organization known as the Minute Men is the Right-Wing group in Dallas most likely to have been associated with any effort to assassinate the President. . . . The Minute Men are closely tied to General Walker and H.L. Hunt. Mr. Ellsworth described in some detail his undercover efforts in procuring the arrest of a local gun shop owner who is an ardent member of the Minute Men. As a result of these undercover activities Agent Ellsworth learned that Manuel O. Rodriguez, apparently a Cuban survivor of the Bay of Pigs episode, was attempting to purchase arms in Dallas for Alpha 66. Rodriguez is also a member of the DRE. Agent Ellsworth indicated that virtually all information gathered by the FBI with respect to [such] activities was the responsibility of Agent Hosty [the FBI agent responsible for the Oswald file, whose name and license number were entered in Oswald's notebook, 16 H 64].

(Griffin memo of April 16, 1964)

Shortly after this memo, the Warren Commission received an entire file on Manuel Rodriguez Orcarberrio (CD 853 of April 24, 1964) which is still withheld. We know from other documents, however, that he was the Dallas President of the so-called SNFE-Alpha 66-MRP Group, which with the DRE grew out of the pre-1959 Directorio Revolucionario funded by de Mohrenschildt's employer Jose Bosch (CD 1035U.1). This group met regularly at 3126 Hollandale, Dallas (CD 1085U.4), and a Dallas County Vice Squad Sheriff with a card to Ruby's night club (CD 223.119) had reported that according to an informant Oswald had frequented a group of Cubans meeting at "3128 Harlendale" (19 H 534, cf. 503, 520). This information may possibly have been incorrect, since we are told elsewhere that the same Manuel Rodriguez (identified by his address) resembled Oswald so closely as to have been mistaken for him in Oklahoma (CD 23.4).

The SNFE-Alpha-Directorío Revolucionario 66 Group have been linked to at least three successive attempts to assassinate Fidel Castro. ~~The~~ The attempt of 1962 involved the parents of Silvia Odio (26 H 839, cf. U.S. News ^{and World Report,} Oct. 29, 1962, p. 40), who allegedly reported "that she knew Lee Harvey Oswald, and that he had made some talks to small groups of

Cuban refugees in Dallas in the past" (26 H 738). It also involved Antonio Veciana, the Alpha 66 chief who visited Rodriguez' group in Dallas (CD 1085U.4). The 1966 attempt by former Directorio leader Rolando Cubela Secades is linked by author Tad Szulc to Howard Hunt and the CIA, who planned the assassination to coincide with a plan ("Second Naval Guerrilla" involving James McCord, Bernard Barker, and Hunt's protege Manuel Artime) to invade Cuba from Nicaragua (Tad Szulc, Compulsive Spy, New York, Viking, 1974, p. 97). The 1967 attempt, with cyanide-tipped bullets and other alleged assistance from the CIA, involved one and possibly two personal friends of Manuel Rodriguez (NYT, August 7, 1967, p. 13; cf. CD 1085U.24).

There are many indications and reports that the MDC training camp, and possibly with it the Lauchli-McLaney arms cache, was part of the widely-reported invasion plan in 1963 ("Second Naval Guerrilla") which linked Laureano Batista of the MDC, Laureano Batista's close friend Manuel Artime, Artime's aide Miguel de Leon, and former President Carlos Prío Socarras, to the former Nicaraguan President Luis Somoza Debayle and training camps in Nicaragua (Hispano-American Report, 1963, pp. 415, 674-5, 761, 858; Nation, October 12, 1963, p. 209). There are also unconfirmed stories that in late 1963 at least one of those arrested with Lauchli (Sam Benton, later indicted in connection with a mafia securities swindle) was recruiting in Miami for an assassination attempt against Castro.

Shortly after the Kennedy assassination, the Secret Service received a report that a "revolutionary Cuban" negotiating an illicit arms deal had said on November 21 that his group (or their new financial backers) would soon "take care of Kennedy." The Secret Service investigated but soon discounted this report, noting that "the Cuban was identified as belonging

to the 30th of November Group" and that

It was the consensus of other security agencies that it was doubtful this 30th of November Group would be involved in illegal activities (26 H 441).

No single sentence could better illustrate the security bureaucracy's lack of sympathy with the new official Kennedy policy in 1963 of cracking down on counter-revolutionary activities against Castro within the continental United States. The FBI knew that the Chicago chapter of the anti-communist labor 30th of November Movement (founded by Dubois' old underground contact David Salvador) "supported revolutionary type activity within Cuba" (CD 1085D9.1) and that on July 8, 1963, the U.S. Customs had seized arms on a Florida Key in the possession of a national 30th of November leader (Jesus Fernandez Hernandez, CD 1085D10.3). From July on the 30th of November Movement had allied itself to the Artime-Nicaragua-Alpha 66 invasion plan (Hispano-American Report, 1963, p. 449).

The Warren Commission, to its credit, took the Chicago report more seriously than the Secret Service, since one of the members of the group in question had worked in Dallas for a company once involved in exploratory oil drilling in Cuba (Hubert-Griffin memo of March 20, 1964; cf. CD 87 SS 477.1). It evidently failed to notice that the apparent American arms supplier was Thomas Moseley (CD 87 SS 626.3), the supplier for (and later a government witness against) the gunrunning Minuteman Richard Lauchli (J. Harry Jones, The Minutemen, p. 83). The Dallas representative of the 30th of November Movement, furthermore, was allied with Manuel Rodriguez, while his brother and room-mate, Delfin Leyva Avila, was the director in Dallas of the Cuba Libre or Free Cuba group. District Attorney Henry Wade at his press conference on the night of the

assassination, twice referred to Oswald as a member of the "Free Cuba movement" (24 H 831), until he was corrected by none other than Jack Ruby (5 H 189, cf. 15 H 459). Ruby has himself been accused of Cuban gunrunning activities, and was certainly in contact with at least one of Prio's gunrunners (26 H 650-51), whose co-defendant in U.S. gunrunning charges, Jorge Enrique Sotus Romero, was later part of a Cuban anti-Castro underground embracing both Frank Fiorini and Manuel Rodriguez (CD 1085U.3; Karl Meyer and Tad Szulc, The Cuban Invasion, New York, Praeger, 1962, p. 55).

The Warren Commission also learned that following the assassination numbers of people connected with the Artime-MDC-Nicaragua invasion plan came forward with detailed stories to link Oswald with an assassination conspiracy organized by Fidel Castro. In Miami Frank Fiorini, who in 1963 was involved in at least one anti-Castro raid with MDC veterans of the old Revolutionary Directorate, was a named source for stories that Oswald had tried to infiltrate this raid group, that Oswald had been consequently involved in a fight with a Cuban in Miami, and that he had been in contact with Cuban intelligence (CD 59.2-3, CD 395.2, 15, CD 1020.10; cf. Ramparts, November 1963, p. 13).

Another story linking Oswald to a Castro intelligence agent in Nicaragua came from Fernando Penabaz, a Cuban with Nicaraguan government experience (26 H 302) and a friend of Bringuier who joined Bringuier and General Walker at an Anti-Communist school organized by General Walker's close friend Billy James Hargis (CD 770.3-7). Four years later Penabaz would be involved in a short-lived Cuban story making Sirhan Sirhan, the assassin of Robert Kennedy, out to be a militant and belligerent leftist.

involved in a fight with a Cuban in Los Angeles (Insight, July 15, 1968). According to Penabaz, Castro's control officer for Oswald was Quintin Pino Machado, a man also fingered by the Secret Service's Miami informant "3-11-48" (CD 87, SS 206.1).

The sources for Penabaz's Oswald story turned out on investigation to be Sixto Mesa, the Administrator of Artime's MRR organization, and Miguel de Leon, Artime's personal representative in the invasion planning with the Somozas in Nicaragua (CD 770.8-9). This fact is especially interesting in the light of Tad Szulc's revelations about the involvement of Howard Hunt, James McCord, and Bernard Baker in this planning. For Hunt was so close to his protege Artime as to be godfather to his child; and in turn it was Artime who organized the "defense fund" for the Watergate defendants which apparently served as a cover for the funds flowing from the Nixon White House (NYT, July 9, 1973, p. 25, June 19, 1972, p. 20; Tad Szulc, Esquire, February 1974, p. 93).

Szulc
book

~~Another~~ ^{Oswald-Cuba} false story appears to have caused the Warren Commission particular difficulties, and may help explain why certain initial skeptics in the Warren Commission staff ultimately settled for the "one lone nut" alternative. Richard Helms, then the CIA's Deputy Director for Plans, summarized the story for the Commission very circumspectly as follows:

On 26 November 1963 a young Latin American, referred to herein as "D", came to the U.S. Embassy in Mexico City. He claimed he had been in the Cuban Consulate in Mexico City on 18 September 1963 when a man he later recognized to be Lee Harvey Oswald received \$6,500 in cash to kill an important person in the United States. . . . "D" was known to this Agency as a former informant of a Latin American security service. . . . "D" claimed he was in Mexico City working against the Cuban Communists for his service. The service, however, had denied that he was acting on its behalf (26 H 857-58; cf. R 307-08).

The unpublished documents of the Warren Commission suggest an explanation for why Mr. Helms was so reluctant to name names, or even to report candidly just what "D" had claimed. According to an FBI report, "D" was one Gilberto Nolasco Alvarado Ugarte, and "Alvarado claimed that the real purpose behind his proposed travel to Cuba was a penetration mission for the Nicaraguan Secret Service" (CD 1084(e).157). The Warren Commission, faced with these suggestive indications that "D" had not "acted alone," chose to suppress them. It had the report in question retyped, so that Alvarado became a safely anonymous "T-32", and the quoted sentence was suppressed altogether (26 H 859, 24 H 647).

What "D" had apparently claimed, in effect, was to be part of the co-ordinated Artime-Nicaraguan plan which was already publicized at that time, and which we have since been told was being co-ordinated by Hunt and McCord for the CIA Plans Directorate. "D"'s claim is in fact all too reminiscent of Hunt's later operations with Cubans for the Nixon White House, which he conducted with former CIA personnel laden down with CIA "pocket litter" and other guarantees that in the event of mishap the CIA would be implicated.

We know that in 1972 CIA Director Helms, faced with this later crisis, used his powers under the so-called CIA-FBI delimitation agreement to contain the latter's investigation. In apparent contradiction to what he later told Congressional investigating committees, Helms actually told the FBI (in his own words)

that we still adhere to the request that they confine themselves to the personalities already arrested or directly under suspicion and that they desist from expanding this investigation into other areas which may well, eventually, run afoul of our operations.

(Helms memo of 28 July 1972, in House Judiciary Committee, Statement of Information, II, 459; cf. Washington Post, November 2, 1972; NYT, November 3, 1973, p. 13)

The CIA was under similar pressure to contain the investigation of Oswald, partly because Oswald had stamped his pro-Castro literature with the 507 Camp St. address of ^(Hunts) CIA-front Cuban Revolutionary Council, and also because his Mexican travel permit followed in numerical sequence that of William G. Gaudet, editor, Latin American Traveler, and admitted former "employee of CIA" (CD 75.588, 613, 652)

The emasculation of the "D" story, and the failure to link it to the story from Penabaz and de Leon, suggest that Helms and the CIA, even if innocent of any illicit conspiracy, authorized a similar cover-up of the facts for the sake of "national security" in 1964.

It is hard for an outsider to determine the degree of control which in 1963 the CIA exercised over the personnel in the Artime-Nicaragua anti-Castro plan. Historically many if not most of the Americans and Cubans had been supported by the CIA in the past--dating back (according to anti-CIA spokesmen John Martino and Nathaniel Weyl) to the CIA's involvement of 1957 "in the so-called Cienfuegos Naval Conspiracy, an assassination plot against" Batista (John Martino with Nathaniel Weyl, I Was Castro's Prisoner, New York, Devin-Adair, 1963, p. 47; cf. Nathaniel Weyl, Red Star Over Cuba, New York, Hillman-MacFadden/Devin Adair, 1961, p. 178; Senate Judiciary Committee, Communist Threat Through the Caribbean, Hearings, p. 694). Earl Williamson was the CIA agent they implicated in this assassination plan, with which Jules Dubois was also involved, and which, according to Dubois, was the origin of the SNFE or Directorio Revolucionario in the Escambray (Dubois, Fidel Castro, 176-81). Williamson has since been accused of involvement with the Howard Hunt-Rolando Cubela assassination plan, with which the SNFE were allied as well as their former leader Cubela.

By late 1963 however many of these former anti-Batista forces were allied to former pro-Batista spokesmen like Martino and Weyl. Frank Fiorini in particular is said by his former colleague Robert K. Brown of Army Intelligence Reserve to have been involved with Martino in a plan, which had the CIA's blessing and possible Syndicate financing from Martino's former employers in the casino business, to topple President Duvalier of

Haiti. It is certain that both Martino and Weyl were involved in the transmission of the false Fiorini story that Oswald was engaged in a fight in Miami (26 H 424, CD 1020.12), which was published in a newspaper owned by Jack Gore, the anti-Kennedy patron of the Haiti invasion plan.

*What evidence to
link Fiorini with
Sturgis?*

The key to this new intimacy between the former ideological opponents (the pro-Batista Fiorini and the anti-Batista Martino) may be explained by the information from Andrew St. George, himself an old friend of Fiorini and allegedly a former U.S. intelligence agent, that the Gore-Fiorini-Martino plan to invade Haiti was sponsored, not just by the CIA, but by the new "joint CIA-DIA operations group" under the National Security Council (Andrew St. George, "The Mafia Vs. the CIA," True, April 1970, p. 82). The same joint CIA-military intelligence planning is apparent in the Artime-Nicaragua plan to invade Cuba, for which several hundred Cubans had been trained by the U.S. Army at Fort Jackson. Later the leader of this Fort Jackson group, Angel Ferrer, would come to Washington on the night of the Watergate break-in with Fiorini and his Cuban co-conspirators from Miami.

Certainly Martino's and Penabaz' stories about Oswald overlap and reinforce each other's; they overlap also with anti-CIA stories circulated nationally by a prominent ~~veteran~~ ^{veteran} John Bircher of Army Intelligence (15 H 712), Revilo T. Oliver. Oliver, like Penabaz and Bringuier, was also associated with the Anti-Communist Leadership School of Billy James Hargis. Oliver published in the Birchite Journal American Opinion a dramatic story, also attributed to Penabaz, which both men later belittled, that the assassination grew out of a conspiracy between ^hKruschchev and Kennedy to enact a "fake 'revolt'" against Castro, shortly before the 1964 U.S. Presidential election, and replace Castro with a crypto-Communist "agrarian reformer" (American Opinion, February 1964, p. 19, at 20 H 726; cf. CD 770.4). The implication, not made explicit, ^{WGS} that the November 1963 assassination of Vietnamese President Ngo dinh Diem, and his

replacement by a coalition government, was part of a secret quid pro quo by which a similar "solution" would later be imposed upon Cuba. The 17,000 U.S. advisers in Vietnam could then be withdrawn, along with the estimated 17,000 (McCone's figure) Soviet advisers in Cuba.

What concerns us here is not the validity of the story, but its source. Oliver, questioned by a Warren Commission counsel on this point, referred vaguely to "general information, rumors you pick up, what you are told by various analysts and so on" (15 H 728). However he did reveal that a major source for his article had been his "research consultant" Frank Capell,

a private expert on Communism and Communistic information, who, I understand, has the cooperation of many former intelligence officers of the Army and former members of the FBI (15 H 718, 724, cf. 743).

Capell in turn was actively disseminating conspiratorial stories about both Oswald and Ruby (20 H 745, 26 H 608), some of it apparently from Fiorini's friends at the DRE (26 H 610), and from Nathaniel Weyl's friend Carlos Marquez Sterling of the Free Cuba Movement (26 H 611, cf. 22 H 864).

Capell was also in close touch with both General Charles Willoughby (MacArthur's former G-2) and Dennis Mower, a leader of the California Minutemen. We know the latter fact because Mower (who was later convicted for transporting a stolen machine gun for the Minutemen) was involved with Capell in a ploy to libel Senator Kuchel (Peter Noyes, Legacy of Doubt, New York, Pinnacle Books, 1974, p. 202; Bill Turner, Power on the Right, Berkeley, Ramparts Press, 1971, p. 189). And the Minutemen themselves had written a secret letter to their membership in 1963, noting that the assassination

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could have simply been a by-product of a known plot (or should we say a very well known plot) to set up a coalition government in Cuba timed to reassure Kennedy's re-election in 1964.

(Minutemen secret letter of late 1963,
reprinted in Noyes, p. 195)

If this plot was well known to the Minutemen membership, it was probably because, as we have seen, some of their members (such as Richard Lauchli) were engaged in supplying arms to anti-Castro Cubans in Dallas and elsewhere. One such Minuteman was Mower's close associate Loran Eugene Hall, alias Lorenzo Pascillio, like Fiorini a former bartender and later mercenary for Castro. Hall visited Dallas twice in September and October 1963--first to raise funds from right-wingers (allegedly for the Interpen unit of Fiorini's International Anticommunist Brigade, Turner, p. 106) and later with a trailer-load of arms for Cubans in Miami (CD 1553.4). Loran Hall's testimony was used by the FBI and Warren Report to refute testimony that Oswald had been seen in Dallas in the company of anti-Castro Cubans (11 H 373-81), even though Hall retracted his own story only four days after he had given it (26 H 834, R 324, CD 1553, quoted in Harold Weisberg, Whitewash II, New York, Dell, 1966, p. 97). Hall and Interpen leader Jerry Patrick Hemming also pawned a rifle in Los Angeles, which Hall later redeemed with a cheque from the American Committee to Free Cuba; this was a Los Angeles group close to Billy James Hargis and to Schick public relations man John F. Fergus, an arrested co-conspirator of Capell and Mower (CD 1179.296-98).

The Minutemen Mower and Hall were also allegedly close to the Ku Klux Klan and the politically-allied National States Rights' Party (NSRP), as well as to right-wing Cubans. This may help explain why the son of

Mario Garcia Kohly, the chosen political leader of the MRR (Artime) and MDC (Laureano Batista) coalition (and a close friend of Fiorini's protege Pedro Diaz Lanz), should serve as guerrilla training leader for a group of Minutemen near Reading, Pa., with American Nazi and NSRP-KKK members (Washington Star, June 11, 1965, reprinted in Congressional Record, June 15, 1965, p. 13757). Martino and Weyl have since served as speakers for the Patriotic Party, the Minutemen's political front, just as Revilo Oliver did for its forerunner the segregationist Congress of Freedom. Both these movements helped pave the way for the 1968 presidential campaign of former Hargis associate George Wallace, to which one of the chief financial contributors was Nelson Bunker Hunt, the son of H.L. Hunt (Noyes, p. 76; Turner, pp. 78-79).

From their public stance and behavior, one would hardly expect H.L. Hunt or his sons Nelson and Lamar to be allied with any official CIA operation. For years they have typified the kind of Texas independent oil operators who have complained about the policies of Washington, the major oil companies, and the CIA. More specifically Nelson Bunker Hunt was one of the John Birch Society sponsors of the black-bordered anti-Kennedy ad in the Dallas Morning News on November 22 (23 H 690), an ad which, at a sponsor's insistence (5 H 507-09) attacked the CIA--in an obvious reference to the coup against Ngo dinh Diem--for "arranging coups and having staunch Anti-Communist allies of the U.S. bloodily exterminated" (18 H 835). In this respect it may be relevant that Mme. Nhu had travelled through the United States with the nephew of a right-wing Texas oilman (Dudley Dougherty); and that, on coming to Dallas, she appeared at the October 23 "U.S. Day" rally attended by Oswald and addressed by H.L. Hunt's protege

General Walker (23 H 516, 11 H 424).

But, just as the CIA itself was bitterly divided over the question of Diem and Vietnam, so some CIA veterans and other elements within the U.S. intelligence community had close links to the Hunt-Walker-Minuteman coterie described by Treasury Agent Ellsworth. One of these persons was Mamantov's friend Jack Alston Crichton of Army Intelligence Reserve, who served as a trustee of the H.L. Hunt Foundation. (Crichton was also a member of the American Friends of the Katanga Freedom Fighters, a group organized by China Lobbyist Marvin Liebman to oppose U.S.-CIA policies in the Congo.)

Nelson Bunker Hunt, meanwhile, had become the Texas representative of a German-based intelligence network, the ICDC or International Committee for the Defense of Christian Culture, which paradoxically united many of the CIA's most prominent opponents within the United States (most notably China Lobbyist General Charles Willoughby, General MacArthur's former G-2 in Japan and Korea) with representatives from CIA-sponsored organizations abroad, such as the Ukrainians cultivated by the Gehlen organization. One Chairman of the ICDC, Hermann Pünder, was a former Abwehr agent and close ally of Gehlen's sponsors Konrad Adenauer and Hermann Abs of the Deutsche Bank, while a later Chairman, Theodor Oberlaender, was close to the right-wing German emigre group to whose newspaper General Walker spoke by long-distance telephone on November 22, 1963, transmitting the story (accepted by the Warren Report, R 13) that Oswald had shot at Walker in April 1963 (CD 1543a.2).

The ICDC, also, appears to have been particularly concerned about the future of Vietnam. Thus Oberlaender represented the ICDC at the 1966

Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, a pro-Diem group, along with several of Diem's original backers in the United States (notably Father Raymond de Jaegher of the Free Pacific Association) and such other luminaries as Tom Charles Huston, then the Secretary General of Marvin Liebman's World Youth Crusade for Freedom and later (after a two-year stint in Army Intelligence) the author of the White House Huston Plan.

The ICDC and Willoughby's allied Foreign Intelligence Digest united many of the American opponents of Kennedy whose names we have encountered already. Among these were Walker's friend Billy James Hargis of the Christian Crusade, Diem's patron Father Raymond de Jaegher, and Revalo Oliver's intelligence source Frank Capell. These men, like Willoughby himself, were close to Army Intelligence rather than the CIA. But the ICDC also included Jose Ignacio Rasco, the Cuban emigre Secretary General of the MDC which (as we have seen) was part of the CIA-DIA-Arttime-Nicaragua invasion scheme and to that end had established a training camp on Lake Pontchartrain.

Richard Lauchli, the Minuteman arrested at the nearby arms cache, is said to have been involved in the transportation of arms to the "Ole Miss" riots of 1962, where General Walker was arrested. Also arrested in Dallas at that time "with several guns and a large quantity of ammunition" was one Ashland Frederic Burchwell who "admitted working for General Walker" (23 H 516). Among Burchwell's personal effects at his arrest was the unlisted phone number of Walker's aide Robert Surrey, whose daughter "presented a bouquet of flowers to Madam Ngo Dinh Nhu" at Walker's "U.S. Day" rally in Dallas (23 H 516). Surrey's activities were rightly given close scrutiny by the Warren Commission, for he was the author of the scurrilous "Wanted

for Treason" handbill attacking Kennedy (R 298). In its format as in its tone, this handbill was remarkably similar to the anti-Khrushchev "Wanted for Murder" handbill, distributed in Dallas two months earlier by the local Minutemen (Dallas Times Herald, Sept. 1, 1963, C1, in CD 320).

Surrey, according to still another unconfirmed report, was himself a member of a Minuteman group, ~~training at the ranch of Dudley Dougherty,~~ Madame Nhu's right-wing Texas host.

I do not consider that those who sponsored the anti-Kennedy publicity in Dallas in November--men like Robert Surrey and Nelson Bunker Hunt--are likely to have been at the heart of the assassination conspiracy. Assassins are rarely advertisers. There is another more pressing reason to discount Treasury agent Ellsworth's claim that the Minutemen, "closely allied to General Walker and H.L. Hunt," were "the Right-Wing group in Dallas most likely to have been associated with any effort to assassinate the President." This is the unexplained presence of Treasury Agent Ellsworth himself, the expert in arms traffic, on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository, where and when the Mannlicher-Carcano was found (21 H 512; cf. ante, p. 9).

But even if the Minutemen crowd were not assassins on this day, they are still relevant to the larger story of the assassination and ensuing cover-up. On the one hand Surrey's leaflet was, we know, the occasion for extraordinary police "precautions" in Dallas, including the recruitment of additional plainclothesmen who may themselves have included conspirators. Among these men, to cite but one example, were the men at the TSBD who told a Dallas police sergeant "they were Secret Service" (6 H 312), but in fact were not. The possibility that the leaflet was in fact a mere pretext for

such "precautions" is of course no more than speculation.) *with*

If the Minutemen were not conspirators, they certainly became suspects. The surreptitious activities of Surrey, Walker and Hunt in particular absorbed a large part of the FBI's investigative energies in Dallas. Numerous false stories linking Ruby and Oswald to the signer of the November 22 advertisement were later used to distract and discredit the energies of the Warren Commission's most vigorous critic, Mark Lane. These facts undoubtedly contributed to the immunity of the real assassin. But the possibility that the leaflet and ad were consciously planted as decoys and false leads is, once more, no more than speculation.

What I have tried to show in these pages is a third way in which the Minutemen crowd were linked to the assassination--as a pretext for cover-up.

Since they were marginally involved in the CIA-DIA-MDC-Alpha 66-Artime-Nicaraguan conspiracy to overthrow Castro (as indicated by the arrest of Lauchli, and General Walker's patronage of the Dallas DRE "group" of Alpha 66 leader Manuel Rodriguez, 11 H 425), and since Nelson Bunker Hunt was directly involved in a network overlapping with the activities of the CIA in Southeast Asia, they were in a position to blackmail the government into silence. The technique, as we have stated, is reminiscent of the blackmail practiced by Hunt's use of CIA cameras in the Ellsberg break-in, and possibly reduplicated by Oswald's use of the 544 Camp St. ^{address,} allegedly a Minuteman address, and certainly the address of a CIA front activated by Howard Hunt himself.

*HUNT
SURREY*

For this reason Congressman Gonzalez, who has been pressing for a Congressional investigation of the events in Dallas, and who all along has suspected a Minuteman involvement, should pay special attention to the

Minutemen's activities as a possibly deliberate conspiracy to provoke a governmental cover-up. We have seen that, according to Tad Szulc, Howard Hunt and James McCord were among the CIA agents in charge of the anti-Castro operation, and we have seen the steps taken by CIA Deputy Director Helms and the Warren Commission to cover up the false but revelatory claims of the Nicaraguan "D". Their obvious discomfiture in the face of the "D" story is, I believe, a clue to the larger tragedy of what happened in Dallas. The CIA, even if not itself responsible for that tragedy, was apparently reluctant to ~~allow~~ ^{permit the exposure of} the villains who were.

exp = Civil war?