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The Kennedys

Dynasty and Disaster

1848-1984

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nedey's campaign workers, coming in over the teletype. Apparently security was so lax that Sirhan experienced no difficulty whatsoever in gaining access to the Kennedy party. Meanwhile, Robert Kennedy was watching the election returns with his family, friends, and aides upstairs in the hotel's Royal Suite. On the brink of collapse from what had been the most strenuous effort of his life, Kennedy looked very tired. A mood of nervous uncertainty pervaded his entourage. The California returns were coming in slowly because of a computer breakdown, and the outcome was still anybody's guess.

At about 11 p.m., Sirhan, according to his testimony at his trial, decided to return home and went back to his car; once there, he realized he was too drunk to drive. So instead of driving home he took his Iver Johnson 22-caliber pistol from the back seat, "so the Jews wouldn't get it" (there was supposed to be a Jewish parade in the area that evening to commemorate the first anniversary of the Six-Day War), tucked his pistol into the top of his pants, and returned to the Kennedy party. (This story is widely regarded with skepticism as having been concocted to avoid a charge of premeditated murder.)

From this point on, according to Sirhan's own testimony again, Sirhan's mind went blank and he remembered nothing that followed. However, later under hypnosis, he recalled going back to the Kennedy party in the main ballroom, drinking two cups of coffee to sober up, and then going into the Colonial Room, where the press had gathered to watch the election returns coming in over the teletype.

At approximately 11:40 a shout of joy went up in the Royal Suite as it was announced on television that Robert Kennedy had won a double victory. In South Dakota he had defeated Hubert Humphrey by 50 to 30 percent, and in California he had triumphed over Eugene McCarthy by 46 to 42 percent.

Kennedy then went down to the ballroom to thank his campaign workers and deliver his victory speech. Without any security protection to speak of he took the service elevator to the kitchen pantry, which was full of kitchen

workers, and from there proceeded through a crowded corridor to the podium in the ballroom. Later a Los Angeles fireman, stationed in the corridor, testified that he had noticed a swarthy, bushy-haired young man carrying what appeared to be a rolled-up poster in the corridor as Kennedy came through. By the time Kennedy reached the podium the young man had gone into the pantry area with his package, and, standing among ten or twelve kitchen workers near the steam tables, began waiting for Kennedy to come through again. It was generally known by this time that, after his victory speech, Kennedy was going to go to the adjacent Colonial Room to meet the press. The short cut to the Colonial Room was through the pantry area.

It must be emphasized, at this point, that Kennedy's security guard was virtually nonexistent. All he had to protect him were an Ace Agency guard and two athletes, decathlon champion Rater Johnson and football tackle Rosie Grer. These last two were brawny and agile enough, but neither was expert in security. This lack of adequate protection in Los Angeles was typical of the campaign throughout the rest of the country. Later the Los Angeles Police Department declared that it had offered Kennedy a twelve-man "hot squad" to provide security during his Los Angeles visit and he had refused it. (Kennedy's aides said they knew nothing of the offer.) By all rights, the pantry area should have been cleared before each of Kennedy's sorties through it, but no one on Kennedy's staff had had the sense to even suggest it, never mind make sure it was done. And Kennedy himself was apparently oblivious to the possible dangers of a hotel pantry full of unchecked busboys, waiters, and dishwashers.

When Kennedy arrived at the podium, a huge cheer went up from his supporters. When it subsided, he launched into his victory speech. Its burden was contained in one paragraph:

What I think is quite clear is that we can work together in the last analysis, and that what has been going on within the United States over a period of the last three years—the divisions,

63. The Explanation

IF AN OFFICIAL effort to hide and obscure truth followed the murder of John F. Kennedy, an unofficial obfuscation, or distortion of truth, followed the murder of Robert F. Kennedy. That unofficial distortion was first perpetrated, with few exceptions, by the world's press and later by most of the biographers of Robert F. Kennedy.

For, as it turned out, an overwhelming majority of the world's journalists, historians, and biographers writing of Robert F. Kennedy's life and death either deliberately ignored or neglected to explore the political implications of his murder, preferring to paint it as an act of madness, as the work of a "crazed lunatic," and a symptom of a "sick society."

James Reston of *The New York Times* dismissed Sirhan's motive as "a wholly irrational act" with no political overtones and went on to write of "lawlessness threatening modern public order everywhere."

The Boston Globe, in an editorial, proclaimed, "So now it develops that Sirhan Bechara Sirhan was a mad man, truly mad . . . I did it for my country. I love my country." Sirhan is said to have cried out as he watched Sen. Kennedy fall. And thus he proved his madness, for this deluded young Jordanian from Jerusalem, a victim of the senseless conflict in the Middle East, is in truth a man without a country to love anymore."

And so it went. All over the world the press, as in one unified chorus, proclaimed Sirhan a "madman," the assassination a "senseless killing," and the United States of America a "sick," "violent" society. The plight of the Palestinian Arab refugees was hardly mentioned.

There were, however, two important exceptions to this chorus: *Le Monde* and *The Economist*. On June 7 *Le Monde* editorialized:

Whether the murderer of Robert Kennedy acted of his own volition, or whether he was the unwitting instrument of a dark conspiracy, the criminal act of a Palestinian nationalist on June 5, the anniversary of the Six Day War, has a symbolic importance. A year after the victory of the troops of General Dayan, twenty years after the creation of the State of Israel, never has despair and hatred been so intense among a people that believes that it has been robbed of its homeland. Sirhan Sirhan is precisely one of the hundreds of thousands of Palestinians who have had to leave their homes, some to find shelter in a neighboring Arab country, others to settle in a foreign land. The resolutely pro-Israeli declarations of Robert Kennedy in the course of his electoral campaign, his appeals for an increase in the supply of American arms to the government of Mr. Eshkol, could have exasperated this young, twenty-four-year-old man who, like so many of his compatriots, dreams only of revenge and "liberation."

Echoing *Le Monde*, *The Economist* of London on June 8 declared, "The man charged with killing Senator Kennedy is a Palestine Arab. When are we all going to tackle the root of the refugee problem?"

But these two instances were voices crying in the wilderness. For the overwhelming majority of the world's newspapers, including the Arab press, which was clearly disturbed over an Arab killing a Kennedy, saw the Kennedy murder as a "senseless killing" by a "lone madman."

Even more serious than the world press's unwillingness to face the truth of why Robert Kennedy was killed was the reluctance of Kennedy's biographers to face the issue.

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Jack Newfield, Jules Witcover, William vanden Heuvel, and Milton Gwirtzman all failed to consider the political motive for Sirhan's act. Robert Kaiser, in his *R.F.K. Must Die!* flatly rejected it. Was it because these biographers, all (but Kaiser) being friends of Robert Kennedy, were too close to their subject to be objective about it? Or was it because the non-Arab world had stubbornly insisted on looking upon the Arab-Israeli conflict in a wholly one-sided way: that is, the Israeli cause was all good and the Arab cause all bad? Or was it because the Palestinians themselves had made their cause so unpopular through their violent terrorist retaliations that few non-Arabs would be willing to sympathize with their plight?

Whatever the case, there seems to have been a national blind spot in the American consciousness in regard to the struggle between the Israelis and the Palestinian Arabs. That blind spot blotted the Palestinian Arabs out of the American field of vision entirely. The American public, and especially the American press, could see clearly only the cause of the Israelis. What was, of course, desperately needed was not a pro-Arab vision, or a pro-Israel vision, but a *balanced* view of the struggle, one that could understand and sympathize with both sides.

The only differing account of the RFK assassination I know of was written by a Burmese journalist and diplomat, Godfrey H. Jansen, whose *Why Robert Kennedy Was Killed: The Story of Two Victims*, was published in 1970 by The Third Press. Mr. Jansen's book is a carefully reasoned analysis of Sirhan Sirhan's background, personality, and motivation and is the only account of the tragedy I know of that delves into Robert Kennedy's courting of the Jewish vote in 1968 in any significant detail.

Might there also have been a conspiracy to murder Robert Kennedy in which Sirhan Sirhan was only a pawn? Sirhan Sirhan was a very sensitive, impressionable, and suggestible young man, who fell under hypnosis easily;

several students of his crime have theorized that he killed Kennedy as a result of hypnotic suggestion.

But who was the programmer? William W. Turner, a former FBI special agent, and John G. Christian, a former broadcast newsmen for ABC, in their book *The Assassination of Robert F. Kennedy*, published by Random House in 1976, relate the testimony of two call girls who "serviced" a noted hypnotist by the name of William Joseph Bryan, Jr., who, in turn, told them, before his death, he had hypnotized Sirhan Sirhan. Bryan also told the two girls he was involved with the CIA and was privy to certain "top-secret projects." The call girls' questionable assertions have never been thoroughly investigated.

Turner and Christian also introduced a "second gunman" theory in their book, naming Ace security guard, Thane Cesar, as their prime second-gunner suspect, an hypothesis which has yet to be authoritatively upheld, since the witnesses involved were not called to testify at the trial. And they wondered, not without reason, about the identity of the girl in the polka-dot dress who had been seen with Sirhan on the tray stacker just before Sirhan fired at Kennedy. In the end, however, Turner and Christian were unable to put forth a convincing case for conspiracy.

Nevertheless, there remain some unsettling aspects to the Robert Kennedy murder that suggest a conspiracy could have existed. We have mentioned Sirhan's association with Frank Donnaruma of the Santa Anita racetrack and the Corona horse ranch. It took the FBI ten months to find out who Donnaruma was, that his real name was Henry Ramistella and that he had a criminal record. Could the Cosa Nostra, through Ramistella, have recruited Sirhan to murder Kennedy? Sirhan would have been an ideal candidate for the job because, like Oswald, he was already motivated for political reasons of his own.

Sirhan wrote in his notebook after his "Robert F. Kennedy must be assassinated" entries: "please pay to the order of of of of of of of of of of of of that 8 000 000 HL," suggesting a payment for the assassination might have been offered. And we are reasonably certain that Sirhan visited Corona two days before the assassination.

However, although the Mafia certainly did not want Robert Kennedy to be President, one wonders why they would have attempted to kill him so early in the campaign. Being prudent men of business, wouldn't they have waited until after Kennedy's nomination and not have made a move until it began to appear certain that Kennedy was going to win over his Republican opponent? Perhaps not. Perhaps it would have been smarter to eliminate him early, when the crime would receive less attention (and investigation).

According to Turner and Christian, an FBI report that was released ten years after the RFK murder gave evidence that the Mafia was at least contemplating the assassination of Robert Kennedy. The report mentioned an informant who claimed that a wealthy southern California rancher, who hated Robert Kennedy because of his support of Cesar Chavez, had pledged \$2000 toward a \$500,000 to \$750,000 Mafia contract to kill Senator Kennedy "in the event it appeared he could receive the Democratic nomination for President."

Why wasn't Sirhan's possible link to organized crime fully investigated at the time of the assassination? Because, for one thing, the CIA-Mafia-Cuban exiles alliance was not yet public knowledge and was still not associated in the public mind with John F. Kennedy's assassination. In fact, the only people who knew about this alliance, outside the FBI, the CIA, and a few Kennedy intimates, were the Mafia plotters and Lyndon Johnson, Allen Dulles, and Robert Kennedy, and they had all covered up what they knew. Also, the FBI conducted the principal investigation of the crime, and if it had kept the CIA-Mafia plots from the Warren Commission, it was certainly not going to air them in their investigation of Robert Kennedy's murder. That would have clearly shown they had withheld vital information from the commission.

This brings us to the FBI, which, at the time of RFK's assassination, was still under the direction of Robert Kennedy's archenemy, J. Edgar Hoover. According to William Sullivan's memoirs, when Robert Kennedy's name came up at a top-level FBI meeting in the spring of 1968, Clyde

Tolson, then the number two man at the Bureau, who was presiding at the meeting, said, "I hope someone shoots and kills that son-of-a-bitch," indicating, quite clearly, that the Bureau's attitude toward Kennedy had not changed at all since Kennedy's days as attorney general.

Sullivan went on to state that there were "many holes in the [Sirhan] case." "We never could account for Sirhan's presence in the kitchen of the Ambassador Hotel," he wrote. "Did he know Kennedy would be walking through?" "There are so many unknowns," he went on, "in the end we were never sure." However, the FBI did conclude that Sirhan Sirhan had acted alone:

My own belief is that, based on the current status of the evidence, the Robert F. Kennedy assassination remains an unsolved crime. The possibility that Sirhan could have been framed, or programmed hypnotically to fire at Kennedy—from the Senator's right, while another gunman administered the fatal shot from Kennedy's rear, is feasible, given what we now know about the crime. However, even if Sirhan Sirhan did not act alone, his participation in the crime, given his anti-Israel prejudices, could still be regarded as just one more violent episode arising from the struggle between the Israelis and the Palestinian Arabs. For if there was a plot, the conspirators surely exploited Sirhan's prejudices to lure him into it.

administration, including one that was in progress the very day Kennedy was killed)?; (3) did organized crime plot and carry out the murder of one or both of the Kennedy brothers?; and (4) if it did, why did the United States government's two major investigative agencies, the FBI and the CIA, let the Mob get away with the two crimes?

Since the hardcover publication of this book in July 1984, I have become more convinced than ever that organized crime had a hand in the JFK assassination, and I am beginning to believe that the Mob may have also been behind the RFK murder. Among the developments that have influenced my thinking was my interview in October 1984 of a distinguished newspaper publisher who knew CIA-Mafia anti-Castro conspirator John Roselli for twenty years and spoke with him about the JFK assassination shortly before Roselli's murder. According to this source, who has requested anonymity, Roselli knew how and why President Kennedy was killed: in retaliation for Bobby Kennedy's crackdown on the Mafia. The conspirators, who were members of organized crime with connections to Castro's Cuba, had recruited the pro-Castro Oswald as a scapegoat, luring him into the plot by informing him of the secret CIA-Mafia murder plots against Castro. While Oswald certainly fired on the President, another gunman—a professional killer hired by the conspirators—fired also, from close range. Oswald was supposed to have been identified as the lone assassin immediately after the crime and killed as he was making his escape. When this plan failed, Jack Ruby, a figure connected to several major crime families, including the Giancana, Marcello, and Trafficante organizations, and also to Jimmy Hoffa's Teamsters, was quickly recruited by the conspirators to silence Oswald. Why did the FBI and the CIA fail to identify the conspiracy? Because they realized that if they did, the secret assassination plots against Castro would have become known. For reasons of "national security" (and probably also of national honor), the FBI and the CIA decided this should never happen.

It is worth noting that, despite all that has come to light over the past nine years about the Kennedy brothers'

knowledge of, and possible involvement in, the CIA's plots to assassinate Fidel Castro during the Kennedy administration, the glorification of John and Robert Kennedy continues unabated, often to the sacrifice of historical truth.

During the 1984 presidential election campaign, it was revealed that the Reagan administration's CIA had given a handbook for guerrilla warfare to the Nicaraguan "contras" that advocated such terrorist tactics as "hiring professional criminals to bring about uprisings and shootings that will create martyrs" and "neutralizing selected and planned targets such as court judges and security officials." When former Attorney General (under Lyndon Johnson) Ramsey Clarke was interviewed about this on a call-in radio show, a caller asked him whether President Kennedy had ever been knowledgeable of the CIA Castro assassination plots during his administration. Clarke replied, "No, President Kennedy did not know anything about them and had nothing to do with them." When I once stated on a radio talk show that there was conclusive evidence that the Kennedy brothers were aware of at least two or three of the CIA-Mafia plots and certainly were behind the CIA-AM/FLASH plot, a storm of outraged callers blasted me for defaming the late President's memory. Later on in the program, when I stated that one of the CIA's AM/FLASH plotters had told me on the record that the plot "to get rid of Castro" had had the full authorization of President Kennedy and his brother, irate callers told me that either the CIA officer or I was lying. And how dare I insinuate that President Kennedy might have been assassinated in retaliation for his own administration's efforts to assassinate Castro?

The principal investigators of the Robert F. Kennedy murder case at this writing are Gregory Stone, former special assistant to Representative Allard K. Lowenstein, and Dr. Robert F. Joling, a former president of the American Academy of Forensic Sciences, who came to dispute the official findings in the case. Lowenstein was killed by a former associate as he was pushing for the re-investigation of the RFK assassination; he and Dr. Joling were

collaborating on a book about the assassination. The Lowenstein estate and Dr. Joling have since authorized Gregory Stone to revise and complete the manuscript.

According to Stone, who is now involved in legal efforts to reopen the investigation, the current status of the evidence suggests that "reasonable grounds for doubt exist that Sirhan Sirhan acted alone in the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy" and that "the balance of available evidence establishes a rebuttable assumption that at least two guns were fired in the Ambassador Hotel pantry the night of the shooting." Crucial to Stone's belief is the evidence contained in some 4000 previously classified FBI documents on the case obtained by various independent assassination investigators—principally by Bernard Fensterwald, Jr., a Washington, D.C., attorney—as the result of Freedom of Information Act petitions. These documents clearly indicate that more than eight shots were fired in the Ambassador Hotel pantry the night of June 5, 1968. Also, according to Stone, Los Angeles coroner Thomas Noguchi's autopsy report establishes that the fatal shot was fired into the back of Kennedy's head from no more than two or three inches away. This finding would rule out the possibility that Sirhan fired the fatal shot, for he was three or four feet from Kennedy's right when he commenced firing.

Stone conjectures that Sirhan had been set up as a fall guy, perhaps through hypnotic suggestion, and that the security guard who followed the senator into the pantry, only a step behind him, may have fired the fatal shot. William Turner and Jonn Christian speculated in their book on the RFK assassination that Sirhan's role in the murder conspiracy was to attract attention away from "the killer-gunman immediately behind Kennedy who administered the fatal shot." In his 1983 book *Contract on America*, David Schein suggests the possibility of Mafia involvement, citing a 1975 Boston University symposium during which a Chicago crime investigator, Alex Bottus, alleged that the security guard, Thane Cesar, had been affiliated with reputed California Mafia boss John Alessio. When the police questioned Cesar in the course of the RFK as-

sassination investigation, he denied firing his gun at the time of the shooting. However the police did not impound Cesar's gun after questioning him.

Dr. Thomas Noguchi offers his interpretation of the crime in his 1983 book, *Coroner*:

Forensic evidence suggested that the shooting occurred in a different way. An instant after Kennedy entered the pantry, a gun appeared three inches from the back of his head, fired, then disappeared. Kennedy threw up his right arm and started to turn. Other shots were fired [from Sirhan's position]. . . .

That . . . forensic re-creation of the scene could mean only one of two things: (1) either Sirhan lunged toward Kennedy and fired, a move unseen by anyone, and then as Kennedy spun, lunged back to fire from further away, a second move also invisible to all, or (2) a second gunman triggered the first shots up close, ducked away, and then Sirhan fired the other bullets from three feet away as Kennedy turned.

Noguchi speculates in his book that there might indeed have been a second gunman in the pantry and that "Sirhan, consumed with hatred for Kennedy, had agreed to jump into the middle of the room and start firing wildly to divert attention from the real killer." To support the speculation, Noguchi cited the statement of Karl Uecker, the assistant maître d' who led Senator Kennedy into the pantry and was standing between Kennedy and Sirhan when the shooting broke out. "I told the authorities that Sirhan never got close enough for a point blank shot. Never." Uecker told the former chief medical examiner. Noguchi concludes that "until more is positively known of what happened that night the existence of a second gunman remains a possibility. Thus I have never said that Sirhan Sirhan killed Robert Kennedy."

If the violently anti-Israel Sirhan had been hired to divert attention from the real killer, at a time when Kennedy was assiduously courting the Jewish vote, who might

have put such an ingenious plot together? Stone has a host of suspects but will not speculate on them until more hard evidence is assembled. Kennedy's principal enemies at the time included Jimmy Hoffa, who had already conspired to kill Kennedy in 1963 and who was now in jail because of him; certain Mafia bosses, including Marcello, Giancana, and Trafficante, whom Kennedy had tried to destroy; certain elements of the CIA who had never forgiven him and his brother for the Bay of Pigs disaster and the firing of Dulles and Cabell; and FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, who was destined to be retired once and for all should Kennedy be elected President.

To these should be added whoever might have been behind John Kennedy's assassination. The chilling contents of the FBI teletype alleging the existence of a March 1963 New Orleans plot to kill JFK, possibly involving the Kennedy family, may be pertinent also to the Robert Kennedy murder. One of the alleged conspirators mentioned in the document had stated that there was "a price on the President's head and on other members of the Kennedy family." Were the same conspirators who were behind the JFK assassination also involved in the murder of his brother? Researchers have found some possible connections, including one member of organized crime who was both in Dealey Plaza on November 22, 1963, and near the Ambassador Hotel the night of June 5, 1968, but have so far been unable to link the two crimes.

Although Gregory Stone, with Dr. Joling's support, continues to work on his book about the RFK assassination, and Dr. Noguchi has urged that the crime be re-investigated, there are as yet no official plans to reopen the case. The Department of Justice apparently has no interest in probing the murder of its former attorney general any further, and neither Sirhan nor the Kennedy family wishes there to be another investigation—Sirhan because he still wishes to appear a martyr in the eyes of the Arab world, and the Kennedy's for reasons that have never been made clear.

The Justice Department is, however, continuing its investigation of the John F. Kennedy assassination case,

specifically the findings and supporting volumes of hearings and exhibits of the House Select Committee on Assassinations' 1976-1979 re-investigation of the murder. The department was to have announced the results of its review of the case in 1983, but after repeated delays, for which no reasons have been made public, it now estimates that the results will be published in June 1985.

Among the evidence the department has been reviewing are: the Dallas police dictabelt recording of the sounds at the assassination site, which led the House committee to conclude that four shots had been fired at the President—three from the Book Depository and one from the grassy knoll; a film of the assassination scene by an amateur photographer, Charles L. Bronson (originally dismissed by the FBI when turned over to them on November 25, 1963, then not rediscovered until 1978), that purports to show two figures in the window from which Oswald allegedly fired on the President; and all the new evidence of organized crime associations shared by Oswald and Ruby that the House Assassinations Committee discovered during its investigation in the late seventies.

After making public its review of the House committee's findings, the Justice Department will either reopen the case or shelve it. Most authorities on the subject who regard the case as still unsolved believe that the Justice Department will probably do the latter. If it does, then we may never arrive at the judicial truth of the assassination, and it will be left to private investigators to try to reach the historical truth. One such effort was initiated by the *Reader's Digest* three years ago but is temporarily stalled because of a recent shake-up of the *Digest's* editorial board. Another is the ongoing unofficial investigation being conducted by former chief counsel of the House assassinations committee, G. Robert Blakey, who has said, "I am now firmly of the opinion that the Mob did it. It is an historical fact."

Many doubts and mysteries continue to thwart the resolution of both cases, and the question of questions remains unanswered: Was organized crime able to eliminate the Kennedy brothers and get away with it? If the Justice Department and the American people choose not to face this question,

the cause of justice and personal liberty in America will receive a severe setback. To honor the courage and vision of the slain Kennedy brothers, especially their brave attack on organized crime, truth and justice in the Kennedy assassination cases should be pursued as long as significant doubts and unsolved mysteries remain.

Do the Kennedys have a future of leadership in the United States, or are the failings of David Kennedy and Robert F. Kennedy, Jr., indicative of a general decline in the family's capacity for the self-discipline and resolve needed to maintain a position of leadership in American society?

I do not believe these two instances of failure portend anything for the Kennedy family as a whole. The self-destructive impulses of Bobby and David Kennedy, though present to a lesser degree in a few of their cousins, do not characterize the entire younger generation. Several of the young Kennedys have already demonstrated exceptional promise and ability. RFK's oldest daughter, Kathleen, for example, has become a leader in social service work in the southwest. Maria Shriver is a talented television reporter who often displays flashes of the charm and charisma of her famous uncles. Her brother Bobby, a brilliant student at Yale who wrote his undergraduate thesis on his grandfather Joe, has become a successful California attorney with ambitions to enter national politics. Steve Smith, Jr., is a bright, energetic young man who graduated from Harvard and Columbia Law and is eager to get into politics. Helping his father manage several major campaigns, including Ted Kennedy's 1980 campaign, young Steve has already gained an extraordinary political education. Joe Kennedy III successfully launched a low-cost fuel oil business in Boston, and in 1976 effectively managed his Uncle Teddy's campaign for re-election to the Senate. He is the father of twins named Matthew Rauch Kennedy and Joseph P. Kennedy IV, born in October 1980. Edward M. Kennedy, Jr., showed courage, strength, and determination in overcoming a cancerous bone tumor that cost him one of his legs, and at the 1984 Democratic convention proved himself equal, if not superior, to his father and

uncles as an orator. There is little doubt that one of these young Kennedys will someday attain high political office. It is only a question of who and when.

No, the squalid end of David Kennedy is by no means indicative of a general decline of the Kennedys. Nietzsche once wrote that "the strength of an organism may be judged from how much disease it can stand." This aphorism can be applied to families, institutions, nations, even entire civilizations. In the last two generations, the Kennedy family has survived one case of hopeless mental retardation, two young deaths from air accidents, two brutal murders witnessed by the entire world, a tragic auto accident, two crippling strokes, and now another young death, this time from an overdose of drugs. Yet the family has withstood all this and remained strong.

To insinuate, as some writers have, that the Kennedys are finished because one out of twenty-nine grandchildren died of a drug overdose, and two or three others have taken drugs, is tantamount to saying that the current high incidence of drug addiction and alcoholism in America, the increased suicide rate among the young, and the prevalence of other social ills in 1984 mean that American society is in an irreversible decline. The Kennedy family and American society are strong enough to withstand much more than what has assailed them so far.

"Though much is taken . . . much abides." The line from Tennyson that Edward Kennedy quoted in his great victory-in-defeat speech at the 1980 Democratic convention applies just as much to the family disaster of 1984 as to the calamities of 1944, 1948, 1963, 1968, 1969, and 1980. We remain aware of the pride and arrogance that accompanied the Kennedys' rise to power, the *hubris* for which the gods demanded, and received, their due. Still, despite everything, the last lines of Tennyson's poem continue to define the family's spirit, not only today but probably for many years to come:

"That which we are, we are—
One equal temper of heroic heart . . .
Strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find and not to yield."

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The Assassinations of John F. Kennedy and Robert F. Kennedy

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Sources for chapters dealing with organized crime and the CIA-Mafia and AM/LASH plots against Castro and their possible bearing on the assassination of President Kennedy and the investigation of the assassination.

1. Report of the Select Committee on Assassinations, U.S. House of Representatives, 95th Congress, Findings and Recommendations.
2. Hearings and Evidence, Select Committee on Assassinations, U.S. House of Representatives: Investigation of the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy:
 - VOLUME I Hearings, September 6, 7, 8, 1978
 - VOLUME II Hearings, September 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 1978
 - VOLUME III Hearings, September 18, 19, 20, 21, 1978
 - VOLUME IV Hearings, September 22, 25, 26, 1978
 - VOLUME V Hearings, September 27, 28, 29, December 29, 1978
 - VOLUME VI Photographic Evidence
 - VOLUME VII Medical, Autopsy, and Ballistics Evidence
 - VOLUME VIII Acoustics, Polygraph, Handwriting, and Fingerprints
 - VOLUME IX Organized Crime, including FBI electronic surveillance transcripts, staff report on Carlos Marcello, and possible

associations between Jack Ruby and organized crime.

VOLUME X
Anti-Castro Activities and Organizations. Oswald in New Orleans. Plots against Castro. Rose Cheramie.

VOLUME XI
The Warren Commission, including Executive Session Hearings of Griffin, Liebler, Rankin, Redlich, Slawson, Specter and Willens. CIA Support to the Warren Commission. The Motorcade. Military Investigation of the Assassination.

VOLUME XII
Conspiracy Witnesses Dealey Plaza. Tippit Associates. George de Mohrenschildt. Depositions of Marina Oswald. Defector Study. Yuri Nosenko. Bibliography. Includes unpublished manuscript of de Mohrenschildt's projected book on his relationship with Lee Oswald, *I Am A Patsy!*
I Am A Patsy!

3. Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders. Interim Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities. United States Senate, together with Additional, Supplemental, and Separate Views.

Includes assassination plots against Patrice Lumumba, Congo; Fidel Castro, Cuba; Rafael Trujillo, Dominican Republic; and the November 1963 coup against Ngo Dinh Diem, South Vietnam; the question of authorization of the plots, findings and conclusions; and additional supplemental and separate views of Senators Hart, Morgan, Baker, Goldwater, and Mathias.

4. The Investigation of the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy: Performance of the Intelligence Agencies. Book V of Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with respect to Intelligence Activities, United States Senate.

a. Cuba and the Intelligence Agencies
b. The United States Government Response to the Assassination: November 22, 1963 to January 1, 1984

- The CIA Response
- The FBI Response

c. The Intelligence Agencies and the Warren Commission. January to September 1964

- Relationship between the FBI and the Warren Commission
- Relationship between the CIA and the Warren Commission
- Unpursued Leads and Knowledge of Plots to Assassinate Castro

d. Developments after the Warren Commission

- 1965: Termination of AM/LASH Operation
- 1967: Allegation of Cuban Involvement in the Assassination

e. The FBI and the Oswald Security Case. The FBI and the Destruction of the Oswald Note

5. FBI documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act. Includes allegations of Marcello complicity in Kennedy assassination plot and involvement of Jack Ruby with Marcello associates in Dallas.

The Chappaquiddick Case

LEGAL PROCEEDINGS TRANSCRIPTS

In re: Kopechne
Petition for Exhumation and Autopsy
No. 1114 of 1969

Clerk of Courts Office
Luzerne County Court House

N. River Street
Wilkes-Barre, Pa. 18711

Inquest into the Death of Mary Jo Kopechne
Docket No. 15220 1970
Joseph E. Sollitto, Jr.