

# CLANDESTINE AMERICA



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"This is the Age of Investigation, and every citizen must investigate." — Ed Sanders

## LEGEND OF A LEGEND: THE EPSTEIN- ANGLETON PLOY

Our readers are aware, no doubt painfully, of the presence of a new and well-hyped bestseller on the ever-lengthening JFK assassination bookshelf, *Legend*, by Edward Jay Epstein. Epstein is the author of *Inquest* and a recanted critic of the Warren Commission's lone-Oswald theory of Dealey Plaza. *Legend* is the product of a half-million-dollar research grant put up by Reader's Digest, Inc., involving two and a half years of labor in which Epstein had the support of upwards of a dozen special assistants.

The book is an audacious piece of deception, and the question arises as to whether Epstein could be said to know it or not. Does Epstein know what he is doing in the counter-intelligence business? Does he realize that he is operating in deep waters? But we can appreciate the stakes in this respect better if we first get clear about what it is exactly that Epstein is saying in the book.

Epstein goes further than any serious mainstream reporter has so far gone toward attributing Lee and Marina Oswald's presence in Dallas to the KGB. One must add at once that Epstein does not accuse the Russians of having ordered Oswald to kill the President. Rather, he thinks Oswald came unstuck in mid-'63, flew out of control around a fantasy about Fidelismo and fears of his own manhood, and shot the President possibly thinking to be seen as a hero by the Cuban revolutionaries and a real man by his bored wife.

The story that Epstein tells of Oswald's years in Russia and later in Dallas, New Orleans and Mexico City may be outlined as follows:

Oswald was a Marine in Japan in 1959 serving as a radar operator in the CIA's super-secret U-2 program. Epstein says he was recruited during this period by agents of the KGB and maneuvered to stage his noisy defection to the USSR in October 1959. He was debriefed by Soviet intelligence and found to possess useful military information, including the flight characteristics of the U-2 aircraft.

While in the Soviet Union he was afforded privileges only the Soviet citizen with considerable power could achieve, including a comfortable apartment with a highly prized view. Epstein's suggestion is that during this period Oswald was recruited into the KGB and given the assignment of redefecting to the U.S. in 1962 to carry out, with his wife and co-agent, an unknown intelligence mission in Texas. But Oswald unilaterally abandoned the KGB relationship in 1963 and moved toward a more militant Castroite stance, finally deciding to take Kennedy's life.

In the period just after Oswald killed Kennedy (Epstein buys the lone-assassin theory), rumors of an Oswald-Soviet connection were rife. The Dallas police murmured of the "communist angle." Oswald's original defection was seized upon as the leading and most revealing episode of his life. The KGB thus grew concerned that Oswald was about to be identified as their man. They wanted to get the U.S. investigation off that trail.

So in early 1964, within weeks of the assassination, the KGB dispatched a secret agent named Yuri Nosenko. Pretending to be a defector to the West, Nosenko was a product of the penetration branch of Soviet intelligence, says Epstein, the organizational point of origin for most Soviet efforts at penetration of U.S. intelligence. Therefore, whatever Nosenko had to say would have to be taken as a concoction of Soviet intelligence, i.e., as a "legend," a cover story for a secret operation.

Nosenko's legend was that the Russians and the KGB had nothing to do with Oswald. The KGB had not debriefed him, had not recruited him, had not trained him in Russia for a mission in America, and had had nothing to do with him before, during, or after the assassination.

Nosenko's legend, says Epstein, was ultimately bought. Nosenko was accredited as a good-faith defector. And what Epstein is here calling the KGB's "legend" of Oswald became the official story of the Warren Commission.

But one group of CIA insiders opposed this view of Nosenko. This was the CIA's counter-intelligence division and its chief, James Jesus Angleton, now 60.

Angleton is the central figure in Epstein's book and is in every sense Epstein's principal source. He is in much the same relation to Epstein as Deep Throat to Bob Woodward, except that Epstein has (wisely) chosen not to conceal Angleton's identity.

The story that Epstein unfolds is thus actually Angleton's story. True, Epstein and his staff did an immense amount of original investigative work, but it was all ordered by Angleton's thesis and carried out with a view to proving Angleton's points. Epstein played star researcher to Angleton's master theorist. The student's task was to put flesh on the teacher's theory.

So who is Angleton? What do we know about him?

Angleton's identity as the chief of CIA counter-intelligence was first exposed in 1974 in consequence of a power struggle. Angleton was then busy losing to William Colby over the succession to the retiring Richard Helms. Colby was of the CIA group that supported Nosenko's claim of authenticity. Colby won out over Angleton as CIA Director and was not



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about to make up with Angleton.

Colby called in star *New York Times* reporter Sy Hersh and told him that the CIA had been running a dubious counter-intelligence program against domestic antiwar forces on the instruction of Nixon (Operation MH CHAOS) and an illegal program of intercepting mail from the Soviet Union. Colby told Hersh that the man in charge of both these operations was Angleton. No sooner was Hersh on his way with this story than Colby summoned Angleton and his top aides. Angleton was requested to resign. The others were told they had no future with the Agency.

Angleton resigned. It was right after this that Reader's Digest, Inc. decided to put up a half million dollars to support Epstein and a research staff in a "definitive" examination of Oswald's last years. Thus Angleton established his contact with Epstein and *Reader's Digest* for the book that is now coming out as *Legend* in the immediate aftermath of his being ousted from the CIA by Colby, defender of Nosenko, hence defender of the no-KGB-conspiracy theory of the JFK assassination.

This is the single most important relationship we learn about from this book: Angleton's with Colby. Colby denies that their differences went beyond a "professional disagreement over counter-intelligence and Nosenko" but Epstein's account makes Colby every inch the villain triumphant and Angleton the hero fallen in obscure combat.

Angleton, upon losing out to Colby and being driven out of the service, applied his reputedly cool, precise and vast intelligence to the question: How could Nosenko possibly have endured Angleton's opposition? How could a self-styled defector from KGB counter-intelligence be trusted over the chief of CIA counter-intelligence? What could explain this, that Angleton had found Nosenko out as a would be "mole" (a penetration agent bearing disinformation), that he had shown this to the top CIA command and for his pains had suffered expulsion from the agency. How? Only one thing could explain this. There must be somebody in the CIA capable of protecting Nosenko. *There must be a mole in the CIA already!*

And that is the crux of Epstein's book. His and Angleton's theory of Oswald is almost incidental. The real burden is that the KGB has implanted a mole at high levels in the CIA. Further, Angleton tells us, through Epstein, that J. Edgar Hoover knew about this, and that he kept quiet in order to protect a KGB defector of his own!

It is really quite an amazing "conspiracy theory" that Angleton has fed Epstein. We are to believe that JFK was killed by a KGB agent, that another KGB agent was sent to deny the connection, that this second Soviet spy succeeded in spite of Angleton's effort to unmask him, and that the chiefs of the FBI and CIA — Hoover and Colby — were involved in the successful effort to cover all this up.

Can it be believed, this story? Can we trust our sources, Epstein and Angleton? Or is their story of Oswald and the KGB actually a "legend" itself?

Certainly we can have no great confidence in Epstein. He is unbelievably sloppy with his facts. He bases his whole defense of the WC lone-assassin theory, for example, on the claim that an oak tree which the WC said blocked the sniper's line of sight to the target was actually without leaves (Epstein reminds us it was November 22), so that the sniper could have fired through the branches. This ploy would obviously allow more than the WC's 5.6 seconds for the total elapsed time of the shooting and make the sniper's alleged feat somewhat more credible. But Epstein only had to look at any of several photos snapped at the precise time of the shooting to see that the tree was in full leaf. Or he will explain the famous backwards snap of JFK's head at the moment of the fatal headshot as the result of the limousine's sudden for-

ward acceleration, while claiming (more accurately) in another part of the same book that the limo was actually braking to a stop.

And Angleton? Can we believe him? One simply has to remember that Angleton was the top counter-intelligence officer of the CIA until he failed to survive an internal power struggle and got fired by Colby, that it is Colby chiefly that *Legend* implicitly fingers as the likely KGB mole in the CIA, and that Angleton never went to anyone with his fears of Soviet penetration until he lost his job. Why should we not view his incredible tale as the product of an embittered bureaucrat who lost his job and chose this bizarre way of getting back at his rivals?

Well, if *Legend* is itself a "legend," what could it be hiding? Is it an attempt to scare the Russians? Or to deceive the American people? The best guess at the AIB is that Oswald had been involved, from the CIA side, in a combined CIA-KGB operation of a most secret character, and that it was this operation which was placed in jeopardy when Oswald was made the patsy for the JFK hit: if the WC checked too hard into Oswald's background, the CIA's dirtiest and most painful secret — that of its combined operations with the KGB — would have been threatened with exposure. And that was a politically catastrophic thing to complete. Evidently it still is. As this book makes abundantly clear, the struggle to cover up the truth of Dallas and Oswald is very much still with us. *Caveat emptor.*

C.O.

## LETELIER-MOFFIT UPDATE

The past two months have been far and away the most active period since the search for the murderers of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffit began on September 21, 1976. (See *Clandestine America*, Vol. 1, No. 2, for background information). Currently the case is in a fluid state, with changes occurring daily as this is written.

On February 21, 1978, the U.S. government made public its official request of the Chilean government to produce two suspected Chilean secret agents for questioning regarding their possible involvement in the assassination conspiracy. The U.S. government asked that a Chilean court question the two men in the presence of U.S. Assistant Attorney Eugene M. Propper, who has been heading the investigation for the Justice Department. Four days earlier, Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher had personally handed the request (legally termed "letters rogatory") to the Chilean Ambassador.

The two men, Michael Vernon Townley and Armando Fernandez Larios, are suspected of having acted on behalf of the Chilean secret police to contract the Letelier hit out to trained assassins from the anti-Castro Cuban exile community.

Townley, a 35 year-old expatriate American, is a well-known terrorist who has worked for DINA (Directorate of National Intelligence, the former name of the Chilean secret police) and has had alleged CIA ties. Born in Iowa, he has lived in Chile since 1957. While publicly he worked recently as an automobile electrician, privately he was an electronics expert for DINA and his missions took him frequently to the U.S. (Letelier and Moffit were killed when a remote control bomb blew up their car).

Fernandez, 28, is a captain in the Chilean Army who had



been assigned to DINA from 1974 to early 1977. Both men were members of the Patria y Libertad (Fatherland and Liberty), a right-wing extremist organization which opposed the Allende government. Patria y Libertad had launched an abortive coup attempt on Allende several months before the September 11, 1973 coup.

At this time Washington investigators have been able to formulate a fairly complete picture of the chain of command behind the assassination. After the Chilean junta decided Letelier had to be killed, President Pinochet relayed the message to DINA head, Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, who initiated plans with senior DINA officials. The DINA then sent Townley and Fernandez to the U.S. with instructions to make contact with anti-Castro exiles (Brigade 2506) through the Chilean Consul in Miami, Hector Duran. The two are suspected of entering the U.S. under aliases while carrying official Chilean passports on August 22, 1976 — three weeks before the assassination. (Townley may have used his own or another American passport). They are known to have visited Duran during this trip, and it is believed he put them in touch with the exiles in southern Florida. Exile leaders Roberto Carballo, Bernardo de Torres, and Armando Lopez Estrada have all been before the Letelier-Moffitt Grand Jury in Washington. After a meeting with the Chilean agents, the exile leaders contracted the murder out to New Jersey members of CORU, the Cuban exiles' united terrorist front. New Jersey exiles Guillermo Novo, his brother Ignacio Novo, and Jose Dionisio Suarez have also been called before the Grand Jury. (On April 14, Guillermo Novo, who had been a fugitive for nearly a year, was arrested in Miami by the FBI on a separate charge).

After the February 17 "letters rogatory", several meetings took place between U.S. and Chilean officials to negotiate the conditions under which Townley and Fernandez could be interrogated in a Chilean court. Townley, who lives in a fashionable district in Santiago with his wife (Mariana Callejas de Townley, a noted Chilean writer) and two sons, dropped out of sight after his picture was printed in newspapers as a suspect. Fernandez was reportedly being held in military custody during this time.

Finally, on April 1, the two men were produced and a Chilean judge began questioning them in closed session. Describing both men as DINA agents, the judge asked them 55 questions which had been prepared by US Attorney Propper. Fernandez answered all the questions put to him and reportedly denied any connection to the Letelier murder. But Townley, after giving only his name, refused to answer 53 questions, invoking the American Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination each time.

On April 8, there was another breakthrough, as Townley was expelled from Chile and put on a plane to Miami, escorted by FBI agents. The deportation came after the U.S. applied strong diplomatic pressure on the Pinochet government. A U.S. source told the *NY Times*, "If Townley was not flown to U.S. custody, the Ambassador would have been recalled to Washington and public disclosure would have been made on what investigators have learned already." A refusal to hand over Townley would have been an admission of guilt by the junta, and would have jeopardized Pinochet's campaign to improve both Chile's tarnished worldwide political image and its relations with American credit banks and multi-nationals.

Upon his arrival in the U.S., Townley was arrested on a federal warrant as a material witness to the Letelier murder. He was put under heavy security as officials fear the Cuban exiles may try to silence him. As a material witness, Townley can be held for an unspecified time without bond.

Before his expulsion, Townley told reporters in Chile, "I

have a clear conscience." He added that U.S. efforts to question him were "a sly political attack against the government of Chile. I am a supporter of the junta above everything else and I have full confidence in Chilean justice." His feelings may have changed, since soon after this statement he was swiftly expelled without receiving Chile's version of due process.

His wife told a Chilean newspaper after his arrest, "A collaborator was betrayed (by the Chilean government). An accumulation of state secrets was sent abroad with him. I think that the FBI will make him confess state intelligence secrets. I am very sorry for Chile."

Townley is the first DINA agent ever to be questioned by officials outside of Chile.

Before U.S. pressure produced Townley and Fernandez, there had been prolonged foot-dragging by the Chileans. Delays had occurred over technical-legal questions between the two countries, as well as over the actual identification of the two men. The investigation has been further frustrated by another chilling development. It has now been determined that a key witness, who might have identified the two men, died in mysterious circumstances six months ago. Guillermo Osorio, a high-level Chilean diplomat, had authorized the diplomatic visa requests to the U.S. for Townley and Fernandez. Osorio's original death certificate showed cause of death as a heart attack. However, his family demanded a new autopsy and the body was exhumed. The new autopsy showed a bullet hole in his head. The government now claims Osorio was depressed and therefore committed suicide. His family says he had just been promoted to an important ambassadorship and was in good spirits.

On the day of his death, Osorio returned home from an official visit at the Peruvian Embassy accompanied by General Contreras, the DINA head. Contreras was the last person to see him alive. The Chileans are now conducting an official investigation into Osorio's death which is separate from the Letelier case.

On March 21, while attention focused on Townley and Fernandez and their DINA ties, the Chilean Army high command unexpectedly announced the "voluntary" resignation of General Contreras. The *Washington Post* later reported that he may be under "house arrest". Contreras had been replaced as DINA boss in October, 1976 after heading Chile's secret police for five years of military rule. During his reign as no. 2 man in Chile, DINA had the reputation as the most brutal state police force in the Western Hemisphere. Since October Contreras had been serving as commander of the engineering division of the Army and he was still an intimate friend and close adviser to President Pinochet. Pinochet told reporters on April 3 that Contreras' resignation had "nothing to do" with the Letelier investigation. It is still too early to tell just what Contreras' fall from power signifies. Maybe he is being prepared as the scapegoat of the junta.

Several questions now remain. The main one is whether or not the U.S. government will make a serious effort to force the Chilean junta further to cooperate in the investigation. If the Chileans refuse, it remains to be seen if the Carter Administration is prepared to carry out its threat to recall its Ambassador and leak the names of high Chilean officials who are implicated in the plot. These steps may hold the key to solving the murders and bringing the killers to justice.

On the other hand, Pinochet continues to say publicly that his "conscience is clear" with respect to the murders (echoing Townley's words exactly). In a recent nationwide TV address, he charged that an international "conspiracy" is responsible for the reports linking him to the assassination. If

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### HSCA REPORT: UPDATE

On March 13, the HSCA received a vote of approval from the full House for its 1978 funding. The final vote on the House floor of 204 to 175 mandates the Committee to operate through January 3, 1979, with a \$2.5 million budget.

The final vote was preceded by a brief skirmish in which several Republican members objected to approving the budget on the grounds that the HSCA had accomplished little in a year and a half — at least little that HSCA members are willing to share with other members. The big question posed was, "What results can you now show us which will justify \$2.5 million of our faith?" This question had been asked several times since January 25, when the HSCA began its funding process with the issuance of an interim report. HSCA members, including Reps. Stokes, Preyer, Devine, and McKinney, answered the question the same way each time. Paraphrasing their answers, they repeatedly made the following points:

"We got off to a rocky start last year. We've only actually been investigating since Chief Counsel Blakey took over in July. But we've been on the right track now for eight months. It has been an air-tight, leak-proof investigation, one that the House can be proud of and which will set an example for others to come. We've worked well within our budget so far. We've returned \$400,000 for 1977. Don't cut off our support now that we've swum halfway across the lake. Trust us a little longer, because we can't yet disclose what we've found. There are no 'smoking guns' yet. But we will be thorough, and we will promise to finish on time, with a final report late next fall."

Rep. McKinney summed up the Committee's plea on the floor when he called this a bipartisan effort with all members working in unparalleled harmony. In the end, you (the House) "will be proud of our investigation, proud of the Committee, proud of our facts, and proud that you have supported us."

#### THE FUNDING PROCESS—

All House committees, including the HSCA, must have their yearly funding requests approved, and generally pared down, by the House Administration Committee before they are sent out to the full House for a vote.

On January 19, the HSCA submitted its funding resolution (House Resolution 956) to Rep. Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ), the Chairman of the House Administration Committee, asking for \$2,978,000 for the year. Accompanying the resolution was a letter from Chairman Stokes, which included a "Budget Summary" and a 12-page "Justification for Proposed Budget." The budget was summarized as follows: staff salaries, \$2,400,000; travel, \$300,000; consultants, \$132,000; witness expenses, \$25,000; office operating expenses, \$121,000.

Other points in the letter included the proposed staff breakdown and the expected consultant services. The projected HSCA staff of 115 (the total for both subcommittees) includes: Chief, Deputy Chief, and Special Counsels (5); Staff Counsels (18); Staff Investigators (28); Legal Unit (3) Document Analysis and Research Unit (27); Security Unit (2); Administration (4); and Secretarial-Clerical (28). Quoting from the letter, "The Committee has 28 consultants presently under contract for a total of \$108,750 in the following categories: ballistics, pathology, photography, photo enhancement, neutron activation, handwriting,

organized crime, dentistry, polygraphs, police procedures." To continue these and engage new ones in 1978, the HSCA asked for an additional \$132,000.

#### THE HSCA INTERIM REPORT

On January 25, the HSCA issued an austere 10-page interim report. The report provided few insights into the probes of the JFK and King deaths. Instead, it mostly discussed administrative details. Its issuance was unannounced and it was printed only in a very limited edition, making it difficult for many researchers and Washington reporters to obtain. The AIB will make available Xerox copies of the report to anyone desiring a copy. Please send a self-addressed, stamped envelope (business sized) and a \$1 check (to cover xeroxing and handling).

Highlights of the report's contents are:

1— As of December 31, 1977, the HSCA had conducted more than 1400 interviews, issued 103 subpoenas, and held 42 days of hearings. In the fall, the HSCA will hold "up to 20 days of public hearings on each assassination." After these hearings the HSCA will file its final report on the assassinations.

2— The report states that highly sophisticated analyses are being conducted on ballistics and medical evidence, photographic data (the HSCA has accumulated more than 1000 photos relating to the Kennedy case), acoustic recordings of the JFK shooting located by the staff, and handwriting of Oswald and Ray. Some staff members are reported saying that some of these tests have already been completed and that they destroy the lone-assassin theories in both the JFK and King cases.

3— The HSCA returned \$425,000 to the House from its 1977 budget. This refund was explained, in part, as unpaid salaries due to a delay in filling staff positions. However, this accounts for only \$137,000 of the total. The projected \$400,000 travel budget went underspent by \$225,000. Some observers inferred from this return of funds that important areas of the investigation were being curtailed on orders from Chief Counsel Blakey. Others saw this as a ploy to show the House that the committee had been fiscally responsible, so it could get all of its 1978 budget request. *New Times* reported (February 20) that some staff members charge "that the investigation has pulled some punches for want of funds."

4— Under a section entitled "Relationship With Executive Agencies and Departments," the Report commends the DEA, IRS, Justice Department, and Immigration and Naturalization Service for their cooperativeness. However, the Report complains that "in the case of the CIA, the FBI, and the Secret Service and Defense Department, which have larger amounts of material bearing on the Committee's inquiry as well as peculiar institutional concerns, agency cooperation has been adequate but occasionally beset with bureaucratic or technical delays." (Emphasis by AIB).

5— Under a section entitled, "Security Considerations", the report states: "... the committee has adopted stringent security procedures. All staff members on the committee have received or are in the process of receiving 'top secret' security clearances. The FBI, as an accommodation to the committee, conducts the background investigations for these security clearances. The CIA then reviews the background investigations done by the FBI. After consultation with the FBI and CIA, the full committee makes the determination regarding an individual's security clearance."

In at least one incident, reported by the *LA Free Press*, the HSCA's chief researcher, Donovan Gay, was forced to resign



because the CIA would not approve his clearance.

In 1975, the House Judiciary Subcommittee chaired by Rep. Don Edwards found that the FBI had destroyed material evidence in the JFK assassination. Other Congressional investigations have shown that the CIA also withheld important evidence from the WC. One of the HSCA's stated purposes is to investigate whether "agencies and departments of the US Government adequately performed their duties and functions" in collecting pre-assassination information, protecting the President, and investigating the crime. In light of this, how can the very agencies that are supposed to be investigated by the HSCA be given the power to determine the security clearances of each HSCA staff employee?

On February 28, 1978, Attorney General Griffin Bell addressed himself to this problem of FBI security checks. Testifying before Rep. Edwards' Judiciary Subcommittee, which is currently considering a new FBI charter, the Attorney General said that the FBI should be freed of some of its responsibilities for making "background" checks on possible Presidential appointees because "there is room for abuse there. These background files could certainly be misused."

### ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE SESSIONS—

On February 22, the HSCA Chairman Stokes argued for his funding request before the Subcommittee on Accounts of the full House Administration Committee. He stressed the "professionalism," "non-sensationalism," and "thoroughness" of the Committee's work since the hiring of Chief Counsel Blakey. He added that the Committee has "worked like a glove together . . . with no partisanship."

Democratic Congressmen Davis and Minnich were not satisfied. They demanded to know substantial details of the investigation before voting for the allocation of funds. Davis asked, "Can you tell me where you're going and where you've been?" Rep. Stokes refused to answer this question in public, so the Subcommittee immediately retired into executive session with the HSCA members.

The next day, the full Administration Committee met and heard the Subcommittee's funding recommendation for the HSCA. It called for a \$2,500,000 budget, slashing \$400,000 out of Stoke's request. When asked what had transpired in the executive session the preceeding day, Congressman Davis reported to Committee Chairman Thompson that "there was a small progress report made." Several Congressmen then voiced their objections to the budget when a unanimous consent vote was asked for (including Nedzi, Minnich, and Cleveland). Chairman Thompson then made the following statement for the record, "Let it be noted that this is a controversial matter which by courtesy of those here has been approved." It was obvious there wouldn't be a fight here, and that the House leadership supported the \$2.5 million continuation of the HSCA.

The stage was then set for an expected close vote on the House floor on March 13. Following a brief skirmish and the supporting remarks of several Congressmen, conservative Rep. Robert Bauman (R-Md) offered an amendment for a full House vote. Bauman objected to the lack of specific information about the investigations submitted by the HSCA to the Administration Committee. He therefore requested that the HSCA be continued for only a 3 month period at \$600,000. During this time he wanted the Administration Committee to hold further hearings on the nature of the evidence the HSCA has so far dug up and where they stood to date. Only then did he feel the full House could vote on the '78 budget. Bauman's amendment was defeated in a close vote — 198-182.

With the opposition defeated, the final vote proceeded without further opposition to the 204 to 175 margin.

### HSCA MEMBERS VISIT CUBA & PORTUGAL

Three key members of the HSCA's JFK Subcommittee, Chairman Stokes, Subcommittee Chairman Preyer, and Rep. Dodd secretly spent four and a half days in Cuba, beginning on March 31. Accompanying them were Chief Counsel Blakey, JFK Deputy Chief Counsel Gary Cornwell, and Edwin J. Lopez, a researcher who acted as interpreter. The trip had been in the works for some time.

Upon their return to Washington, none of the Committee members would comment on the purpose of their visit or whether they had met with Fidel Castro. However, the trip was the first direct contact in 14 years between official U.S. investigators and Cuba regarding the JFK assassination.

According to the *Washington Post*, Rep. Preyer had flown to Havana from Lisbon, Portugal, where he and two Committee investigators interviewed "sources in Lisbon in an attempt to learn why James Earl Ray spent 10 days there shortly after Dr. King's murder. Preyer told the *Post*, "It was never conclusively determined why Ray came here." He added that one of the major theories is that "he met somebody here, which would bear on the conspiracy theory."

J.G.

### KING CASE

Jerry Ray, brother of alleged assassin James Earl Ray, was slated to appear before the HSCA this past February. In particular, the HSCA was hoping that Jerry Ray would shed additional light on his brother's movements from the time he escaped from prison in 1967 until April 1968, when Dr. King was assassinated.

Jerry Ray was recently recruited to work as a bodyguard for J.B. Stoner, leader of the white supremacist National States Rights Party. Stoner served briefly as one of James Earl Ray's attorneys before he was convicted of killing Dr. King.

On January 28, 1978, it was disclosed that the HSCA had subpoenaed J.B. Stoner and several of his States Rights cronies with regard to the King Assassinations. The HSCA intends to question Stoner about statements he made to the effect that an FBI informant once offered him \$25,000 to knock off King. In addition, Stoner has claimed that he was offered \$2,000 to bomb a church in Birmingham, Alabama. Stoner is currently under indictment for allegedly dynamiting a black church in Birmingham in 1958. He has pleaded not guilty and is now free on \$10,000 bond pending trial.

Former Memphis Police Detective Ed Redditt, secretly testified before the HSCA King Subcommittee at the end of March. On April 4, 1968, Redditt, who regularly protected King on his trips to Memphis, was ordered off his assigned duty at the command post in the fire station across from the Lorraine Motel.

### Recommended Articles

1. "Can Congress Crack The Kennedy Assassination — An Agenda for Investigators", by Russell Stetler and Paul Hoch *Inquiry*, 3/6/78. An excellent account of how the press, Congress, and private researchers can intelligently collaborate to solve the JFK case. *Inquiry* is a fine new biweekly, political magazine published by Cato Institute, San Francisco, CA. Their mailing address is PO Box 19270, Washington, DC, 20036).



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### CIA ADMITS TRAINING INVOLUNTARY ASSASSINS

Sirhan Sirhan has no memory of the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy. The alleged assassin has consistently maintained that he went into a trance shortly before the killing and did not remember anything until later, when he was restrained by members of Kennedy's entourage.

The chief psychiatrist for the defense, Dr. Bernard L. Diamond, examined Sirhan during the months that followed the assassination. Dr. Diamond concluded that Sirhan had been in a dissociated state, unconscious of his actions, when he fired at RFK. Diamond's initial hypothesis held that Sirhan had somehow programed himself as a robot.

But Robert Blair Kaiser, a journalist who conducted the first independent investigation into the RFK case (and who authored the book *"RFK Must Die!"*), refused to rule out the possibility that Sirhan was a Manchurian Candidate. Indeed, many researchers have raised the question — if Sirhan had programed himself, why was he unable to recollect the programing or the shooting?

New information has surfaced which could shed important light on who might have programed Sirhan Sirhan. For the first time, the CIA has admitted that it sponsored a project to create involuntary political assassins.

Earlier this year the CIA released a four-page document dated January 22, 1954. This particular memo was part of a series of recently-released documents pertaining to Operation "Artichoke," one of the CIA's early mind-control programs. The memo describes how an Artichoke Team (which usually consisted of a psychiatrist, a technician, a drug expert, and a hypnotist posing as a polygraph specialist) visited an unnamed location during the period from January 8 to January 15, 1954. "The purpose of the visit was to give an evaluation of a hypothetical problem, namely: Can an individual of \*\*\* descent be made to perform an act of attempted assassination involuntarily under the influence of ARTICHOKE?"

The document describes the "essential elements of the problem" as follows: "As a 'trigger mechanism' for a bigger project, it was proposed that an individual of \*\*\*\* descent, approximately 35 years old, well educated, proficient in English and well established socially and politically in the \*\*\* Government be induced under ARTICHOKE to perform an act, involuntarily, of attempted assassination against a prominent \*\*\*\* politician or if necessary, against an American official."

This sentence is followed by an asterisk that refers to a handwritten comment on the last page of the memo which states, "simulated only."

The document continues: "Access to the SUBJECT would be extremely limited, probably limited to a single social meeting. Because the SUBJECT is a heavy drinker, it was proposed that the individual could be surreptitiously drugged through the medium of an alcoholic cocktail at a social party, ARTICHOKE applied and the subject induced to perform the act of attempted assassination at some later date. All the above was to be accomplished at one involuntary uncontrolled social meeting. After the act of attempted assassination was performed, it was assumed that THE SUBJECT would be taken into custody by the \*\*\*\* Government and thereby 'disposed of.'"

With regard to the "hypothetical question", the CIA tentatively concluded that in this particular instance, the operational limitations would "probably" be too imposing to overcome. The following drawbacks were listed:

"(1) The SUBJECT would be an involuntary and unwitting subject.

"(2) We would have none, or, at most, very limited physical control and custody of the SUBJECT.

"(3) Access to the SUBJECT is strictly limited to a social engagement among a mixed group of people both cleared and uncleared personnel."

In spite of these limitations, the memo indicates that "the ARTICHOKE Team would undertake the problem." The memo concludes with the following sentence: "It was the unanimous opinion of all ARTICHOKE members that unless the ARTICHOKE Team had more detailed access to the operational plan it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to carry out the assigned mission."

Underneath a handwritten note is scrawled: "This would be made available when and if required."

The fact that most of the CIA mind-control material has been partially, and in some cases, heavily sanitized, if not completely destroyed, only adds fuel to speculation that the CIA was actually involved in modifying the behavior of political assassins who were, in turn, programed to forget the events as they unfolded. As yet, however, there is no direct evidence to indicate that the CIA, as an organization, tried to conduct an assassination in such a manner.

—M.L.

### CIA SANCTIONS "SILLY"?

The Senate Intelligence Committee, which is currently considering legislation for a new CIA charter, recently heard revealing testimony about future authorization of covert capabilities — including assassination.

On April 4, noted Washington lawyer-manipulator Clark Clifford told the Committee that the U.S. would look "silly" if Congress passes specific charter language which prohibits the CIA from assassinating foreign leaders, violently overthrowing democratic governments, or employing torture and germ warfare techniques. Clifford, a former secretary of defense and adviser to five presidents, was a key drafter of the National Security Act of 1947, which established the CIA. He admitted that the 31-year-old act "has worn out . . ." But he didn't believe legislation could prevent the CIA from carrying out the abuses mentioned above.

Nor should it, Clifford added, because some nations are dedicated to harming the U.S., therefore it is sometimes necessary to violate democratic principals and "do what we have to do." He testified that even if Congressional oversight disapproved of specific covert operations in the future, the president should have the right to go ahead anyway.

Finally, Clifford argued that problems might occur if it was assumed that any covert operations not specifically prohibited had therefore been authorized by the Congress (i.e., violent overthrow of *nondemocratic* governments).

Testifying one day later, former CIA Director George Bush echoed Clifford's statements. He felt such language was "demeaning" to the U.S. and that properly authorized operations would not use such techniques. William Colby's testimony, however, supported the restrictions.

The pending Senate bill, the National Intelligence and Reform Act of 1978, also contains an interesting attempt at "newspeak". The term "covert operations" has been sanitized into the new phrase of "special operations".

J.G.



### SPYPLANE MANUFACTURER SUES THE CIA

It had to happen. A private company is suing the Central Intelligence Agency for corporate espionage. General Aircraft Corporation (GAC), a small airplane manufacturer based at the Air Force's Hanscom Field in Bedford, Mass., is charging that the CIA engaged in a conspiracy from 1962 to 1975 to illegally manufacture planes designed by the company without authorization or paying royalties. General Aircraft is further charging that the CIA conspired to disrupt the company's foreign and domestic sales.

GAC, also known as Helio Aircraft Company, recently filed three suits in the U.S. District Courts of Virginia and Washington, D.C. against the U.S. Government, the CIA, and the Agency's proprietary companies — firms wholly owned by the CIA — including Air America, Air Asia, Bird and Sons, and Continental Air Services. GAC is seeking a reported \$7.7 million in damages for alleged violations of the Torts Claim Act, the Tucker Act, and the Sherman Act. A CIA spokesman refused to comment whether this is the first time the CIA has been sued over alleged corporate espionage.

The case could gain further significance if it ever reaches court. As the plaintiff, GAC may very possibly subpoena as evidence top-secret files on the CIA's air proprietaries and their paramilitary activities in Southeast Asia. (For example, a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reported in 1971 that Air America, the CIA's most active air proprietary, provided transportation for a secret 30,000 man "volunteer" army in Laos that the CIA maintained at a cost of \$70 million a year). An important legal battle looms when the CIA refuses to hand over its documents on the claim that "national security" would be compromised. If such sensitive data is ever forced into the open, it could shed further light on the CIA's involvement in the origins and rise of the Vietnam War and the Agency's relationships to powerful political forces at home, such as the China Lobby, the Democratic Party, and Wall Street. Subpoenaed files might also expose seamy and closely guarded secrets like the Agency's involvement with organized crime and Southeast Asian opium traffic. General Aircraft was bought in 1969 by Helio Aircraft and the final merger evolved into the present day GAC. From 1949 on Helio Aircraft had marketed planes under the trade name Helio or Heliplane. General Aircraft had developed and manufactured short take-off and landing light aircraft known as STOLS.

STOLS are excellent for the rugged bush or guerrilla warfare, and GAC made good inroads into the worldwide market. After testing and evaluation, the CIA purchased several STOLS from GAC in 1958, and acquired more indirectly up to 1962. The CIA's "secret war" against communism in Southeast Asia was gaining momentum, particularly in Laos and Vietnam, and STOLS were used to provide air support for paramilitary operations, allegedly unknown to GAC.

However, by 1962, GAC claims its business relationship with the CIA went sour through no fault of its own, and the Agency started undermining many of GAC's varied financial dealings. The suit claims the CIA accomplished this through its private air force, Air America, one of the world's largest, which it owns through a complex empire of front corporations and proprietaries.

GAC says that in 1962 the CIA demanded, through Air Asia (the Air America proprietary responsible for maintenance of the CIA's Asian airfleet), the "proprietary data" for GAC's planes. The requested materials consisted of the drawings, blueprints, tools, jigs, and fixtures necessary to construct Heliplanes.

GAC refused, arguing this information constituted trade secrets, which if released, would put GAC out of business. The suit claims the CIA made several unsuccessful attempts

to get the data. Finally, the suit continues, a CIA "secret agent, Nathan C. Fitts, was planted in GAC's D.C. office. He allegedly "secured by illegal and wrongful ways" the plans and microfilm for the design, production and assembly of Heliplanes. Thus, by the end of '62, GAC was unable to sell its planes to the CIA and its proprietaries.

Both George Doole, Jr. (the organizer and chief executive officer of the CIA's air proprietaries, until he retired in 1971) and Lawrence Houston (CIA General Counsel and chairman of EXCOMAIR — Executive Committee AIR — the CIA's super-secret oversight committee for its aircraft assets) are named as defendants of the suit.

Following the theft, the suit charges, the CIA engaged in "improper, unlawful, and illegal fabrication of GAC's Heliplanes and parts at its aircraft maintenance facilities in Tainan, Taiwan, without right, authorization, or license from GAC." It states the spookplanes were of inferior construction, did not meet GAC or F.A.A. standards for quality or safety, and were not licensed or approved by the F.A.A.

Furthermore, following their rift with the CIA, GAC asserts that George Doole, through Air America and others, "engaged in acts to foreclose GAC from further participation in its foreign markets . . . in the domestic markets for its products, namely U.S. Government contract . . . and misrepresented and misused GAC's tradename, thereby causing loss of sales of GAC products. . . ."

For example, the suit cites a large order of GAC's STOLS for Thailand was cancelled when the Thai Air Minister found that the CIA was using GAC as a cover for covert operations, unknown to GAC. Agents of the CIA, by forgery and misrepresentation, posed as sales employees of GAC, knowing well that such was not the case. This unauthorized cover, the suit continues, was used to "carry on illegal and immoral activities in Thailand" on the direction of CIA headquarters. (GAC checked directly with William Colby, then Chief of the CIA's Far East Section, who assured them that the CIA had no intention of undermining GAC's business in Thailand).

GAC claims the CIA sabotaged, at the last moment, a promising 48 plane deal with the Philippines in 1962. Doole froze GAC's planes out of an Air Force contract in March, 1965, and other prospective deals with Nepal, Greece, Micronesia, and Australia.

In 1975, after 13 years of alleged harassment, GAC finally appealed to CIA Director William Colby. Colby acknowledged that Air Asia was indeed making aircraft parts of GAC design in Taiwan. GAC began preparing its suit soon afterwards.

—H.Y.

*Letelier-Moffitt continued from page 3*

presured further, his government will probably try to make it look like Townley, the American, was involved on his own initiative, thus distracting attention from Pinochet himself. U.S. officials are of course happy to have nabbed Townley, and for now the attention has left Fernandez. As one Washington source said, "It was much easier for Chile to give up an American, than a high-level Army Captain."

Another likely recipient of blame from Pinochet may be the Patria y Libertad. It is known that members of this organization were incorporated into the DINA, and Pinochet may pin the responsibility for the assassination on them, through Townley. Especially now that Osario is not alive to tell investigators who actually ordered the passports.

—J.G.



## 8. Clandestine America

### A PITCH

The AIB was founded in 1973 in Boston, our purpose to help build a national citizen's movement for a new Congressional investigation of the assassinations of the 1960's.

The movement grew. Finally its pressure paid off. Congress decided to take the question up. In 1976 it established the HSCA, concentrating on the JFK and King cases.

That same year, the AIB moved to Washington, where we have all known from the beginning the question would ultimately have to be joined. Our thought was that the new investigations needed to be stuck to and watched over closely by the people who had demanded them and who knew what to look for. Our general purpose was to create a way for the scholarly resources of the critical community to be focused in Washington.

Who else would make sure that all the reliable critical voices were heard from? Who would be based in Washington to make the numberless small and large relationships that effective communications through the national media appears to require?

So we came to Washington and set up shop in the land of spook and counterspook. It has been a year and a half. We have become a recognized source of reliable information to the media. Our positive media contacts run the gamut. We have established good relations with people in touch with the committee, not indeed to encourage leaks, but to make sure that the committee's staff has ready access to the work of the critical community.

We are in good position for the crisis phase of this long struggle for the truth, a phase which will be incubating through the summer, and which will take the form of 40 days of public hearings this fall and then, most importantly, the publication of the final report.

The catch is that we have never been in such rotten financial shape. Washington is expensive. The days in which AIB could count on 200 paid lectures a year are gone: not a single lecture since last November, only 25 in all of 1977. We will be struggling out of meager personal pocket to make it through the summer. We are down to a skeletal staff. We have had to cut back on our FBI-document reading project which was turning up so many promising leads (see previous issue). We have had to curtail a valuable student-intern program we had begun on local campuses. And as you have no doubt observed, we were dreadfully late with this issue of the newsletter — all because of being overloaded and understaffed worse than we've ever been. Rare experts on this case are washing dishes now because we can't afford to support their vital research activities.

We have approached the big bucks people, but they tend to get scared of the issue as soon as they notice its political explosiveness.

So we have come to you, our readers and our most committed supporters, the people who best understand the importance of this question and the gravity of the phase it has now moved into. We know that a good many of you are churchmouse-poor students who can hardly afford the cost of the newsletter subscription.

But not all of you are so strapped. This newsletter reaches some 1200 people. If each one of you could cut loose \$10 — and some of you a bit more: the cost of a few movies you could wait to see on the tube or a dinner out — then we could make it to the moment that we have been building towards all these years. But if (as so many cynics declare) the constituency for this issue actually does not exist, and people are willing to let it go whichever way the unwatched Congressional committee wants it to go, then that's going to have to be that. It would be, we think, a tragedy.

— The A.I.B.

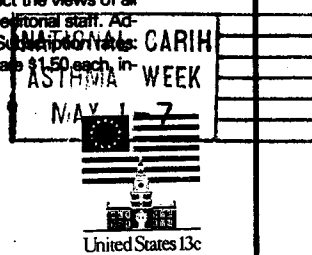
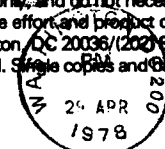
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