

PROBE

Magazine. The truth is in here.

Vol. 4, No. 6 September-October, 1997

Probe is published by CTKA
Citizens for Truth about the Kennedy Assassination

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New Trial For James Earl Ray, Or New Judge For Shelby County?

By Jim DiEugenio

On August 11th, Shelby County Criminal Court Judge Joe Brown stated that, due to the District Attorney's reluctance, he may seek the appointment of a special prosecutor in the James Earl Ray case. In an order setting August 19th as the next hearing date, the judge wrote that the state seems opposed to discovering the "true facts" of the matter and because of this obstinacy, "The patience of this court has been very sorely tried." Further, Judge Brown added, "The state appears singularly opposed to vigorously proceeding to ascertain the true facts of this case." He characterized the prosecutors as being "further opposed to recognizing let alone protecting the interests of the family of the victim, the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr."

There seems to be enough evidence to indicate that Brown is correct about the reluctance of the Memphis DA's office to vigorously pursue Brown's evidentiary proceeding to its fullest. Brown has been trying to refine the process of testing the alleged rifle that James Earl Ray had in Memphis and which was supposedly used to kill King there in 1968. The first round of tests came back inconclusive in July. There was a marking on 12 of the 18 bullets test fired which was not on the 1968 death slug. But this may have been caused by either a build up of residue in the barrel from the test fires or from a metal defect in the rifle barrel itself. Brown suggested cleaning the barrel to determine the origin of the marking.

That state attorneys, led by John Campbell, objected to this procedure. Campbell argued that cleaning the rifle with brushes would alter the identifying markings left on any subsequent bullets fired. He then added: "All you're going to do is increase the controversy in this case." Ignoring that remark, Judge Brown also told attorneys to acquire the pre-

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viously fired test bullets shot by the FBI in 1968 and the House Select Committee on Assassinations in 1978. On July 18th, prosecutors announced to the press that the FBI could not find the original 1968 test bullets. Lee Coffee, an assistant DA, said he had been told, "They have been able to locate copies of the lab notes only. They have not been able to find the bullets." Later in the month, the Bureau said they had found the bullets. Campbell then told the Associated Press:

To think that now, all of a sudden, we're going to be able to do something with these bullets is really pushing it. As much as people may want this gun to tell them something, there's just a limit to how much you can expect it to do.

After Brown's comments about a possible special prosecutor, Campbell again fired a shot at Brown: "This is going completely out of control. He basically wants to conduct his own Warren Commission [and] that's going too far."

It seems that the powers that be in Memphis are siding with Campbell. Brown's col-

league on the bench, John Colton, has ordered the transcripts from an April administrative hearing delivered to his office. That hearing and a subsequent appeal decided that Brown's court (Division 9) could hear Ray's appeal even though Ray's original plea in 1969 was in Colton's court (Division 3). This is an issue that the DA's office has also raised in the press.

Campbell seems to have an ally in the local newspaper. The *Memphis Commercial Appeal* has tried to make an issue of who should be made to pay for the costs of the test firings done by Ray's defense team. This issue made the top of the front page on July 18th. The next day, the *Commercial Appeal* ran an editorial which quoted the DA's office and their witnesses calling the whole proceeding a waste of time. That

editorial is typified by its opening statements: "More than one person may be milking the James Earl Ray case. Possible motives include
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PROBE

Volume 4 Subscriptions
(6 issues):
\$30 USA, \$35 Canada,
\$39 Other International
Back Issues Volume 3: \$4

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From the Chairman's Desk:

What is going on in Memphis? On one hand, we have an apparently honest judge, Joe Brown, who wants to proceed with a thorough investigation of the rifle that allegedly killed Dr. King. He has even suggested appointing a special prosecutor. The DA, no Jim Garrison, objects to the idea. Then, the judge whom the DA apparently favors, John Colton, *does* appoint a special prosecutor. Yet, he was not the judge presiding over the rifle hearing. These latest occurrences just happened as we were going to press. Is Colton for real? Why has he attempted to take over the case? We bring you up to date on these and other Memphis matters in our cover story and outline even more of the problems Brown is having. If you wish to support Brown in his struggles, visit our Internet site and we will let you know who to get in contact with.

In other current news, the Review Board garnered an exceptional amount of publicity over its press release revealing some of Gerald Ford's last minute medical maneuverings to get a majority of the Warren Commission to go along with the single bullet theory. As we explore the story, we show that the "majority" was manufactured for public consumption. John McCloy didn't really buy it. But this ultimate establishment figure always knew which side his bread was buttered on. The title of Sylvia Meagher's wonderful book, *Accessories After the Fact*, has never seemed so apt. Travis Kelley polishes off Ford with another panel from his "Ministry of Truth" series. We also alert you to the news that the Board got its extension.

On the research front, John Armstrong begins his long awaited two-part series on Lee Harvey Oswald. John has presented his new Oswald findings at conferences before, but this is the first time it has been in print. We welcome the opportunity to present his utterly fascinating research. As I wrote before (Vol. 4 No.3, p.3), the riddle of Lee Harvey Oswald has gained an unanticipated complexity. Armstrong lays in another panel and raises the mystery to another level in what is certainly a key element to the case.

Professor Donald Gibson completes his two-parter on the assassination of Huey Long and unearths more about the substratum of New Orleans. In part one he showed some of the similarities in the policies of Kennedy and Long. This new installment shows that at least some of the network opposed to Long was still around in the sixties opposing Kennedy, i.e. Alton Ochsner and the Butler family. Gibson shows further that these local forces were tied into the Wall Street power elite. Lisa Pease provides more on the New Orleans scene from Gordon Novel's amazing 1969 *Playboy* deposition. Garrison didn't know how close he was.

This year began a recycling of a subtle but clear campaign to smear the legacy of John Kennedy and, to a lesser extent, his brother Robert. It began with Liz Smith in *Vanity Fair* in January, will continue with Sy Hersh's book in the fall, and will spread over into 1998 with a book by John Davis. This all concerns the ongoing saga of the triumvirate of Judith Exner-Mary Meyer-Marilyn Monroe and their alleged associations with the Kennedys. It struck me as odd that all this should be recycled in what would have been the Board's final year. So I decided to take a look at some of these stories that had been so readily accepted by ABC, Barbara Walters, the *New York Times*, etc. Was it a coincidence that the same people who never had any questions about Kennedy's assassination also never dug deeply into this posthumous mugging? The investigation was interesting, twisting, and, at last, unexpected. It led back to the man who helped cover up the CIA's role with Oswald, and Kennedy's dubious pal at the *Washington Post*. If you're surprised, so was I. But when you get done reading, you won't be.



What is CTKA?

Citizens for Truth about the Kennedy Assassination was organized as a result of the April 1993 Chicago *Midwest Symposium on Assassinations*. At the end of that conference, it was generally decided that the time had come to create a political action group, which would urge the executive branch of our government to reopen the unsolved assassinations of the 1960s — i.e., the murders of President John F. Kennedy, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, and Dr. Martin Luther King. CTKA endeavors to ensure that the Review Board fulfill its mandate to release *all the remaining records* pertaining to the JFK assassination; to alter the current Freedom of Information Act to render future covert actions more difficult to hide; and to urge the American people to discover the truth about their history.

If you are not already a member of CTKA, please consider supporting our efforts with a subscription to PROBE or a donation to help cover the hidden costs of running a not-for-profit organization.

Thanks to all of you who are already CTKA supporters. Let's continue to work together to get the truth out about our collective past.

Gerald Ford: Accessory After the Fact

By Jim DiEugenio

On July 2nd, the Assassination Records Review Board mined some gold from its September 17th Los Angeles open hearing. As *Probe* reported then (Vol. 4 No. 1, p. 7), J. Lee Rankin's son donated to the Board 17 boxes of documents — reportedly 40,000 pages — of his father's notes and records of his work as chief counsel for the Warren Commission. Also included in that voluminous donation were drafts of the Warren Report, including alterations suggested by certain members of that Commission. Many people, among them then Board spokesman Tom Samoluk, thought that this would turn out to be one of the most valuable finds yet.

Samoluk turned out to be correct. The July 2nd press release signaled the fact that the Rankin collection had now been culled by the Board and would be entering into the National Archives. Specifically, the press release stated that the collection included "memos and handwritten changes to the draft chapters of the final report recommended by Commission members, including Gerald Ford (R-MI), John McCloy and Allen Dulles."

The changes are not merely editorial or stylistic in nature. They are substantive and go to the heart of the lone gunman thesis upheld by the Commission. If we examine some of them, they seem to be designed to shore up certain areas of the *Warren Report* which, as critics have pointed out through the years, are lacking in both evidence and logic.

The first and perhaps most important alteration is Ford's change in the location of the entry point for the single bullet that traversed both President Kennedy and Governor Connally. Vincent Salandria was the first to question whether a single bullet fired at a downward angle could hit Kennedy in the back, reverse direction and go upward to emerge at his throat, and then reverse back downward to hit Connally in his back. Ford's careful surgery on this point was designed to smudge the issue enough to get the Commission to agree on it. Ford deftly changed the wording of the draft from the bullet entering Kennedy's back to: "A bullet had entered the back of his neck...." By moving the point of entry from the back to the neck, Ford alters the trajectory of the bullet through Kennedy's body making the Commission's

thesis more tenable. On the same page, in a subtler change, in the section of the report describing Connally's actions during the shooting sequence, the draft copy describes Connally as starting "to turn toward the left in order to see the President," Ford crossed out the last six words. The reason for that deletion seems to be that, if left in, it would imply that Connally was reacting to a first shot that he *heard* and wanted to see if it had hit Kennedy. By eliminating that phrase, the report now cuts out Connally's reaction time

The overwhelming majority of Ford's handwritten alterations were worked into the report in nearly the exact wording that he had suggested.

thereby suggesting that one shot hit both men simultaneously.

It also seems that Rankin and the working staff were thinking of dropping the account of the alleged shooting of General Walker (in April of 1963) from the report, as it does not appear in the draft Ford was working on. He wrote in the margin:

Emphatically feel we should mention Walker incident and probably Nixon also. This would involve purchase of rifle. Reason he moved to New Orleans was Marina's insistence. Not loss of job.

Again, Rankin complied and the rewrites about Walker were incorporated into the report. But wisely, Rankin did not go overboard and include the plot against Nixon which not even the FBI could verify and looks like something foisted on Marina (perhaps by her then ever-present companion — writer and CIA asset Priscilla Johnson).

The next major change Ford insisted on concerned the brown paper package that Oswald supposedly had with him on the way to work the day of the assassination. There

has always been a problem with this story. Although Wesley Frazier, who drove Oswald to work that day, claimed he had seen the package, no one inside the Texas School Book Depository had. Ford insisted on including the package to suggest that Oswald carried a rifle into the depository that day.

The overwhelming majority of Ford's handwritten alterations were worked into the report in nearly the exact wording that he had suggested. Taken as a whole, this obeisance is quite revealing. First, it definitely suggests that Ford himself was aware of the evidentiary problems inherent in the Commission's case against Oswald. Because in every one of these instances, and others, he seems to be anticipating weaknesses that the critics themselves will later point out.

A case in point would be the change Ford made concerning the shooting of policeman J. D. Tippit. In the section dealing with Oswald's exit from this murder scene, Ford inserted the adverb "hurriedly" to describe Oswald's progress from that scene to the movie theater where he was apprehended. Harold Weisberg, and many others, have shown that it would be very difficult (or impossible) for Oswald to leave the crime scene and then end up at the theater in the time frame that the *Warren Report* describes. So Ford simply sped up Oswald's pace. In Vincent Bugliosi's prosecutor lingo, this would show Ford's "consciousness of guilt" as far as the weaknesses in the report go.

Another striking element in Ford's work is Rankin's willingness to go along with the alterations. In his interview with Mike Ewing of the House Select Committee, Rankin talked about the "strong personalities" on the Commission and implied that he had a difficult time with them. This particular Board release seems to exemplify what Rankin was talking about.

This relates to another syndrome observable in this release. The alterations made by Ford went through a very skimpy vetting process. There was very little, if any, "quality control" exercised by the Commission. The staff doing the field work and document review should have been more knowledgeable about specific areas of the investigation than the Commission itself. When the body was set up, certain staff lawyers were assigned certain areas of inquiry. For example, Arlen Specter was assigned to study the medical evidence; David Belin to the murder of Tippit; Wesley Liebler to Oswald's activities in New Orleans; Leon Hubert and Burt Griffin to Jack Ruby. This release suggests that, when it came time to finalize the report, either the staffers did not put up much of a fight, or

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Gerald Ford

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Rankin allowed the Commissioners nearly free rein at this stage. For example, the overwhelming preponderance of evidence states that Kennedy was hit by a bullet well below his neck, 4-6 inches below the collar, to be exact. Yet Ford was allowed to erase the evidence with a stroke of his pen.

This July release by the Board received perhaps the most press attention of any announcement yet by the ARRB. Both the Associated Press and United Press International put out wire reports on it. The *Washington Post* carried its own story by George Lardner, with commentary by Harold Weisberg. *USA Today* and the *New York Times* carried briefer items on the Ford story. Some smaller papers like the *Richmond Times Dispatch* carried large front page stories on Ford's alteration. Gerald Ford's defense in a quoted phone interview was "My change had nothing to do with conspiracy theory. My changes were only an attempt to be more precise." How changing the anatomical location of a bullet entry wound amounts to being "more precise" was not explained.

On the heels of this important release, COPA chairman Cyril Wecht wrote a letter to David Marwell of the ARRB requesting subpoenas for any personal papers on this matter by Ford himself or Sen. Arlen Specter in order to pursue further the evolution of the fabled single bullet theory.

Wecht had his prayers answered by an article in *Newsday* on August 11, 1997. In a syndicated story carried by other newspapers we were alerted that in those Rankin files, Warren Commissioner John McCloy had also expressed serious doubts about the single bullet theory. In a confidential memo to Rankin, McCloy wrote:

I think too much effort is expended on attempting to prove that the first bullet, which hit the president, was also responsible for all of Connally's wounds. The evidence against this is not fully stated.

And later in the memo,

The statement concerning the bullet which was found on the stretcher is not particularly persuasive because there is no indication that the "stretcher bullet" was in fact the bullet which caused the [Connally's] wrist wound.

Of course, McCloy endorsed the report and never publicly expressed his doubts. In fact, he once stated to historian Douglas

Brinkley that he never saw a more open and shut case than the one against Oswald. But now, with this memo, we know that a majority of the Warren Commission — Richard Russell, John S. Cooper, Hale Boggs, and McCloy — had severe reservations about the single bullet theory. This, of course, makes their conclusions even more suspect than ever, albeit 33 years after the fact. At least now we have it in their own words and writing.

It is appropriate that a week after the Ford release, President Clinton signed a bill extending the life of the Board for one year. That bill, H. R. 1553 was signed by Clinton on July 3rd. The legislation passed with alacrity in both houses. This allows the Board to continue its work until September 30, 1998. The extension will allow the ARRB to submit a more complete final report at that time.

Another note of good cheer is that Tom Samoluk, who left the Board a few months ago (see *Probe* Vol. 4 No. 3, p. 32), is now back with them. He is working in the field with special concentration at the JFK Library in Massachusetts. Thom Wilborn, who replaced him as Board spokesman, has left and Eileen Sullivan is now handling more of those duties. †

NEWS from

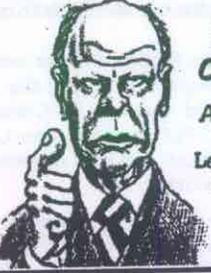
THE MINISTRY OF TRUTH

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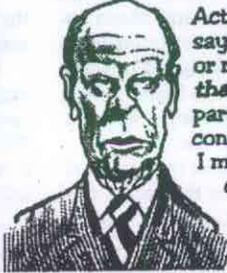
Gerald Ford clarifies the Warren Report



Yes, I changed the placement of President Kennedy's wound in the Warren Report, from "back" to "neck." And I am not ashamed of it.



I did it for reasons of **CLARITY!**
Also brevity. Got that? Let me clarify further ...



Actually, I intended to say "back of the neck," or rather the "neck of the back", meaning that part of the back connected to the neck. I mean, if a neck can connect a back and a head, why not a back and a neck?

You see, "neck" is a generic term of connection, like "neck of a bottle," or, uh, when a boy and his girl are "necking."

And if I, or some lone nut, were to shoot a bullet through a bottle, would it matter where it hit?



The neck or the back of the bottle? What's the difference? You'd just get a pile of jagged shards, and I would advise you, do not go barefooted there. Because I've done that before, and it's really very irritating.

Now I hope I've made that perfectly clear.

So all of you just leave me alone. Because someday soon, you won't have Gerald Ford to kick around any more.



The Posthumous Assassination of John F. Kennedy

Judith Exner, Mary Meyer and Other Daggers

By Jim DiEugenio

Current events, most notably a past issue of *Vanity Fair*, and the upcoming release of Sy Hersh's new book, extend an issue that I have dealt with in a talk I have done several times around the country in the last two years. It is entitled "The Two Assassinations of John Kennedy." I call it that because there has been an ongoing campaign of character assassination ever since Kennedy was killed.

In the talk to date, I've dealt primarily with the attacks on Kennedy from the left by Noam Chomsky and his henchman Alexander Cockburn which occurred at the time of the release of Oliver Stone's *JFK*. But historically speaking, the attacks on the Kennedys, both Jack and Robert, have not come predominantly from the left. The attacks from the right have been much more numerous. And the attacks from that direction were always harsher and more personal in tone. As we shall see, that personal tone knows no limits. Through papers like the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, the attacks extend into the Kennedys' sex lives, a barrier that had not been crossed in post-war mainstream media to that time. To understand their longevity and vituperativeness, it is necessary to sketch in how they all began. In that way, the reader will be able to see that Hersh's book, the *Vanity Fair* piece on Judith Exner, and an upcoming work by John Davis on Mary Meyer, are part of a continuum.

The Right and the Kennedys

There can be no doubt that the right hated the Kennedys and Martin Luther King. There is also little doubt that some who hated JFK had a role in covering up his death. One could use Secret Service agent Elmer Moore as an example. As revealed in *Probe* (Vol. 4 No. 3, pp. 20-21), Moore told one Jim Gochenaur how he was in charge of the Dallas doctors testimony in the JFK case. One of his assignments as liaison for the Warren Commission seems to have been talking Dr. Malcolm Perry out of his original statement that the throat wound was one of entry, which would have

indicated an assassin in front of Kennedy. But another thing Gochenaur related in his Church Committee interview was the tirade that Moore went into the longer he talked to him: how Kennedy was a pinko who was selling us out to the communists. This went on for hours. Gochenaur was actually frightened by the time Moore drove him home.

But there is another more insidious strain of the rightwing in America. These are the conservatives who sometimes disguise themselves as Democrats, as liberals, as "internationalists." This group is typified by men like Averill Harriman, Henry Stimson, John Foster Dulles and the like. The common rubric used to catalog them is the Eastern Establishment. The Kennedy brothers were constantly at odds with them. In 1962, Bobby clashed with Dean Acheson during the missile crisis. Acheson wanted a surprise attack; Bobby rejected it saying his brother would not go down in history as another Tojo. In 1961, JFK disobeyed their advice at the Bay of Pigs and refused to add air support to the invasion. He was punished for this in *Fortune* magazine with an article by Time-Life employee Charles Murphy that blamed Kennedy for the failure of the plan. Kennedy stripped Murphy of his Air Force reserve status but — Murphy wrote to Ed Lansdale — that didn't matter; his loyalty was to Allen Dulles anyway. In 1963, Kennedy crossed the Rubicon and actually printed money out of the Treasury, bypassing that crowning jewel of Wall Street, the Federal Reserve Board. And as Donald Gibson has written, a member of this group, Jock Whitney, was the first to put out the cover story about that Crazy Kid Oswald on 11/22/63 (*Probe* Vol. 4 No. 1).

Killing off the Legacy

In 1964, author Morris Bealle, a genuine conservative and critic of the Eastern Establishment, wrote a novel called *Guns of the Regressive Right*, depicting how that elite group had gotten rid of Kennedy. There certainly is

a lot of evidence to substantiate that claim. There were few tears shed by most rightwing groups over Kennedy's death. Five years later, they played hardball again. King and Bobby Kennedy were shot. One would think the coup was complete. The war was over.

That would be underestimating these people. They are in it for the long haul. The power elite realizes that, in a very real and pragmatic sense, assassination isn't enough. You have to cover it up afterwards, and then be ready to smother any legacy that might linger. The latter is quite important since assassination is futile if a man's ideas live on through others. This is why the CIA's Bill Harvey once contemplated getting rid of not only Castro, but his brother Raul and Che Guevara as well as part of single operation. That would have made a clean sweep of it. (In America's case, one could argue that such an operation was conducted here, over a period of five years.)

The smothering effect afterward must hold, since the assassinated leader cannot be allowed to become a martyr or legend. To use a prominent example, in 1973, right after the CIA and ITT disposed of Salvador Allende and his Chilean government, the State Department announced (falsely) that the U. S. had nothing to do with the coup. Later on, one of the CIA agents involved in that operation stated that Allende had killed himself and his mistress in the presidential palace. This was another deception. But it did subliminally equate Allende's demise with the death of Adolf Hitler.

The latter tactic is quite prevalent in covert operations. The use of sex as a discrediting device is often used by the CIA and its allies. As John Newman noted in *Oswald and the CIA*, the Agency tried to discredit its own asset June Cobb in the wake of the Kennedy assassination. It did the same to Sylvia Duran, Cuban embassy worker in Mexico City who talked to Oswald or an impersonator in 1963.

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2nd Assassination

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In *Probe* (Vol. 4 No. 4, p. 9) we have seen how journalist (and CIA-applicant) Hugh Aynesworth and the *New York Herald Tribune* tried to smear Mark Lane with compromising photographs. If one goes to New Orleans, one will still meet those who say that Jim Garrison indicted Clay Shaw because he was himself gay and jealous of Shaw's position in the homosexual underworld. And we all know how the FBI tried to drive King to suicide by blackmailing him with clandestinely made "sex tapes."

The Church Committee

What precipitated these posthumous and personal attacks on the Kennedys? Something happened in the seventies that necessitated the "second assassination" from the right — i.e. the use of scandal to stamp out Kennedy's reputation and legacy. That something was the Church Committee. Belated revelations about the CIA's role in Watergate, and later of the CIA's illegal domestic operations created a critical firestorm demanding a full-scale investigation of the CIA. The fallout from Watergate had produced large Democratic majorities in both houses of congress via the 1974 elections. This majority, combined with some of the moderate Republicans, managed to form special congressional committees. The committee in the Senate was headed by Idaho's Frank Church. Other leading lights on that committee were Minnesota's Walter Mondale, Colorado's Gary Hart, Tennessee's Howard Baker, and Pennsylvania's Richard Schweiker.

As writers Kate Olmsted and Loch Johnson have shown, the Church Committee was obstructed by two of the CIA's most potent allies: the major media and friendly public figures. In the latter category, Olmsted especially highlights the deadly role of Henry Kissinger. But as Victor Marchetti revealed to me, there was also something else at work behind the scenes. In an interview in his son's office in 1993, Marchetti told me that he never really thought the Agency was in danger at that time. He stated that first, the CIA had infiltrated the staff of Church's committee and, second, the Agency was intent on giving up documents only in certain areas. In Watergate terminology, it was a "limited-hangout" solution to the problem of controlling the damage.

The Escape Route

The issue that had ignited so much public interest in the hearings had been that of assassination. CIA Director Bill Colby very clearly drew the line that the CIA had never plotted such things domestically. Colby's admission was a brilliant tactical stroke that was

not appreciated until much later. First, it put the focus on the plots against foreign leaders that could be explained as excesses of anti-communist zealotry (which is precisely what the drafters of Church's report did). Second, all probes into the assassinations of JFK, RFK, and MLK would be off-limits. The Church Committee would now concentrate on the performance of the intelligence community in investigating the death of JFK; not complicity in the assassination itself. This distinction was crucial. As Colby must have understood, the Agency and its allies could ride out exposure of plots against Marxists and villains like Castro, Patrice Lumumba of the Congo and

"It should be noted that the briefing of [Robert] Kennedy was restricted to Phase One of the operation, which had ended about a year earlier. Phase Two was already underway at the time of the briefing, but Kennedy was not told of it." — CIA's IG Report on its Castro Assassination Plots, 1967

Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic. The exposure of domestic plots against political leaders would have been lethal.

Colby's gambit, plus the strictures put on the investigation as outlined by Marchetti above, enabled the intelligence community to ride out the storm. The path chosen for limited exposure was quite clever. The most documentation given up by the CIA was on the Castro assassination plots. Further, the Agency decided to give up many documents on both the employment of the Mafia to kill Fidel, and the AM/LASH plots, that is, the enlistment of a Cuban national close to Castro to try and kill him. Again, not enough credit has been given to the wisdom of these choices. In intelligence parlance, there is a familiar phrase: muddying the waters. This means that by confusing and confounding the listener with diverse and prolific amounts of information, the main point becomes obfuscated. Since none of the Mafia plots succeeded, one could claim they were ineffectual. The huge amount of publicity garnered by them could eventually be deflected onto the Mob's role in them and not the Agency's. The AM/LASH plots, exposed in even more copious documentation, could be used in a similar way. If Castro knew about these plots within his midst, couldn't he then claim turnabout and use the same tactics by employing a Communist in the U.S. to kill Kennedy? This, or a combination of the two, has been what suspect

writers like Jean Davison and Jack Anderson have been foisting on the public for years.

The Establishment Takes Some Hits

The political fallout from the Church Committee was quite intense. The CIA took quite a few hits, though it emerged intact. Eastern Establishment-GOP mainstay Allen Dulles was implicated in the authorization of two assassination plots (Lumumba and Castro). Even Republican icon Dwight Eisenhower was implicated:

The chain of events revealed by the documents and testimony is strong enough to permit a reasonable inference that the plot to assassinate Lumumba was authorized by President Eisenhower.

Nixon was shown to be obsessed with getting rid of the Allende regime in Chile. And since he had already been disgraced with Watergate, his defenders, like Bill Safire of the *New York Times*, felt that this was piling on. As we shall see, Safire struck back through Judith Exner.

But the plots against Castro took center stage. They seemed full of sensational, fantastic revelations that seemed right out of a James Bond movie: poison pills, exploding sea shells, contaminated diving suits etc. But no matter how hard they tried, the media moguls (*New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*) could not tie the Kennedys to them. This didn't seem fair in light of all the mud heaped on Eisenhower, Dulles and the Watergated Nixon. Unfortunately, not even the CIA's 1967 Inspector General's report, commissioned by Richard Helms for LBJ, implicated the Kennedys.

No Authorization

The Inspector General's Report (which is quite thorough and methodical), and the Church Committee's report dealing with assassinations (entitled *Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders*) are both quite clear on this point. For instance, when the former report was analyzing the published details of a Drew Pearson-Jack Anderson 1967 leak about the Castro plots, it labeled the Pearson-Anderson insinuation about Robert Kennedy's "approval" of the plots as "Not true." It later goes on to say that the role played by Robert Kennedy in Pearson's story is "a garbled account." What had happened was that through the FBI's discovery of a wiretapping favor done for Maheu's contact in the plots (Chicago mobster Sam Giancana) Hoover had learned of the CIA-Mob link and forwarded his knowledge to Robert Kennedy. Kennedy turned it over to Courtney Evans, his FBI liaison, and asked him to get back with all the known details. He was finally briefed on it in May of 1962. There can be no doubt about his reac-

tion. As one of Bobby's CIA briefers stated: "If you have seen Mr. Kennedy's eyes get steely and his jaw set and his voice get low and precise, you get a definite feeling of unhappiness."

In a memo of a meeting Hoover had with RFK after this briefing, Hoover wrote: "The Attorney General told me he wanted to advise me of a situation in the Giancana case which had *considerably disturbed him*" [emphasis added]. For his own part, Hoover wrote of his talk about the matter with the AG:

I expressed great astonishment at this [the association] in view of the bad reputation of Maheu and the horrible judgment in using a man of Giancana's background for such a project. The Attorney General shared the same views.

Kennedy had made it clear to the CIA that if they were to have any more of these types of ideas about using these characters, they would have to go through the Justice Department first, i.e. him. But what RFK did not know is that, as the I. G. Report states:

It should be noted that the briefing of Kennedy was restricted to Phase One of the operation, which had ended about a year earlier. Phase Two was already underway at the time of the briefing, but Kennedy was not told of it.

In fact, on the same day that RFK was briefed, the CIA's Sheffield Edwards (one of the briefers) along with William Harvey agreed to falsify the record by saying all future plots had to be authorized by the Director of the CIA. They weren't. John McCone was deliberately kept out of the loop by Richard Helms and Harvey. Harvey admitted to the Church Committee that the Edwards memo was a deliberately false record, a cover story. In fact, Harvey had already taken over the plots when Edwards told Robert Kennedy they were terminated.

JFK Never Authorized Them

On the question of authorization, every official from Kennedy's administration testified that JFK never knew of any plots, or authorized them. This includes Dean Rusk, Max Taylor, John McCone (*Alleged Assassination Plots* pp. 154-161). Even McGeorge Bundy, about whom many have had suspicions, denied that Kennedy had ever approved them or been informed of any plots (*Ibid.* p. 156). To conclude the matter, the two people in on them at this time (1962) said the same, i.e. Richard Helms (*Ibid.* pp. 148-152) and Bill Harvey (pp. 153-154).

The CIA *did* try to coax approval from him. The Church Committee took testimony from two people who were quite compelling on this point. They were Tad Szulc, a reporter for the *New York Times* Washington bureau, and Sen. George Smathers of Florida. In late 1961, Szulc had been called in to speak with the presi-

dent at the request of Richard Goodwin and Robert Kennedy. After a general discussion of Cuban matters, JFK asked him, "What would you think if I ordered Castro to be assassinated?" Szulc said he didn't think it would help foster change in Cuba, and he didn't think Americans should be associated with such matters. Kennedy replied, "I agree with you completely." Szulc testified that:

He went on for a few minutes to make the point how strongly he and his brothers felt that the United States should never be in a situation of having recourse to assassination.

Szulc's notes of the meeting state:

JFK then said he was testing me, that he felt the same way — he added "I'm glad you feel the same way" — because indeed the U. S. morally must not be part (sic) to assassinations.

The Church Committee also heard testimony from Smathers who stated that once when it was brought up in his presence (presumably by the CIA friendly Smathers), Kennedy got so mad he smashed a dinner plate and told him he did want to hear of such things again (*Alleged Assassination Plots* p. 124). Smathers furthered this portrait later when he stated that:

President Kennedy seemed "horrified" at the idea of political assassination. I remember him saying... that the CIA frequently did things he didn't know about, and he was unhappy about it. He complained that the CIA was almost autonomous. He told me he believed the CIA had arranged to have Diem and Trujillo bumped off. He was pretty well shocked about that. He thought it was a stupid thing to do, and he wanted to get control of what the CIA was doing." (*The Assassinations: Dallas and Beyond* pp. 379-380)

Such statements not only absolve Kennedy, they actually provide a motive for the CIA to get rid of him, which is probably why the media ignored them.

The fact that Kennedy had clean hands was a bitter pill to swallow. The establishment organized a furious counterattack. Frank Church was accused of being a partisan. The Democrats were charged with "protecting" the Kennedys. There was an exchange of letters in the press between David Eisenhower and one of Bobby Kennedy's sons over the issue. Finally, a solution appeared. Her name was Judith Campbell Exner.

All of this essential background is usually left out of any discussion of the following. It can't be. As we shall see, in many ways it is crucial to an understanding of some events

that — without this precis — seem to take place in a vacuum: motiveless, random, out of place; yet in Exner's case, recurring at regular intervals. As we shall see the promulgators of the following, are very aware of the results of the Church Committee.

Exner To The Rescue

The committee had found that Hoover had a meeting with President Kennedy on March 22, 1962. Through his investigation of Sam Giancana, the Director had discovered that an acquaintance of his — Campbell — had called Kennedy at the White House on numerous occasions. Once Kennedy was told of this, the calls to the White House stopped. Campbell's

name was included in the first draft of the report. But in deference to her privacy and the fact that she denied ever communicating any messages between the two, the committee — by a unanimous vote — did not name her in the final draft. She was referred to there as a "close friend." Some

staffers, perhaps the CIA plants to which Marchetti referred, leaked her name to the *Washington Post*. Significantly, *four days* before the final report was issued, the *Post* printed her name in an article about her. This did the trick. The *Times* and *Post* used this to weaken the impact of Church's report. No less than *two dozen* stories were printed in those two newspapers about Exner. Altogether, those two establishment bastions kept her name in the papers for *six months*. William Safire of the *New York Times*, a former Nixon speechwriter, screamed there could be no "whitewash" of this matter and made it his personal agenda to use Exner as JFK's connection to the plots. He himself wrote five columns on the subject. *Time* magazine did a feature on her. *Newsweek*, the *Post's* sister publication did two. Exner — via the *Times* and *Post* — became a media sensation.

Riding the wave, Exner now took advantage of the publicity and decided to write a book. Big-time literary mogul Scott Meredith was her agent. Meredith reportedly sold serialization rights to the book, sight unseen, to the *National Enquirer* for \$150,000. The book outline was prepared by Meredith's office and was approved by Exner's attorney. A co-author was arranged for.

The co-author turned out to be Ovid Demaris. This is significant. Demaris is usually described as a veteran crime writer of such

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books as *Captive City* and *The Green Felt Jungle*. This is true as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough.

Demaris Enters the Scene

In his prologue, Demaris writes that he was in the midst of a multi-city tour for his previous book when he heard about Exner's story. The previous book was an oral biography of Hoover entitled *The Director*. In the Hoover book, Demaris has some disparaging remarks about the Church Committee: it was politically motivated, inspired by "rehashes of old charges," and was "flogging a dead horse." Demaris was also unhappy with the many books on Watergate and the fall of Richard Nixon. He characterizes them with the following: "While some of their tall tales may be true, they are not unaware that truth that is stranger than fiction will sell better in a market already jaded by exotic overexposure."

Demaris' book on Hoover can only be called sympathetic. This is immediately indicated by his choice of interviewees. They include high level FBI administrators like Robert E. Wick, John P. Mohr, and Mark Felt; former Attorney General Richard Kleindienst; Hoover publicity flack Louis Nichols who named one of his sons after his boss; and actor Efreim Zimbalist who starred in ABC's glamorized series on the Bureau. In the entire book, there are eight pages on Hoover's infamous COINTELPRO operations, i.e. the infiltration, disruption, and occasional destruction of domestic political movements.

In Hoover's disputes with the Kennedys, there can be no doubt where Demaris stands. Speaking of Hoover's reputed blackmailing of presidents, he writes: "It is possible that one or two were intimidated by their own guilty conscience...." He sums up Hoover by saying, "He was, whatever his failings, an extraordinary man, truly one of a kind." The above gives us a hint of why Demaris hooked up with Exner. But a previous work of his is more valuable in that regard.

In 1968 Demaris co-authored with Gary Wills a book titled *Jack Ruby*. The book is, to say the least, a rather shallow portrait of Ruby based on a string of conversations with people the nightclub owner worked with. The profile that emerges is in total concordance with the Warren Commission view of Ruby as a dim, emotional, hustler who killed Oswald because he admired Jack and Jackie so much and wished to spare the widow the ordeal of a trial. Other events are also in line with the *Warren Report*: the shooting is from the sixth floor, Oswald killed Tippit, Ruby went straight down

the Commerce street ramp on November 24th to kill Oswald.

The authors' honesty and acuity are quite suspect in that one of their chief sources is Dallas Deputy DA Bill Alexander, notorious for his close relationship with FBI-CIA journalist and cover-up artist Hugh Aynesworth. Striking also is the fact that they described one of the doctors treating Ruby as "having performed LSD experiments on an elephant" and left it at that. If they would have dug a little deeper, they would have found out that the man was longtime CIA doctor Louis J. West, who also treated Aldous Huxley. It was West's diagnosis that Ruby was a "candidate suitable for treatment" that allowed him to be put on drugs.

At the end, the book reveals that Demaris was "standing close to Jack Ruby when he shot Oswald." In fact, he was the first person to identify Ruby.

Demaris and Wills spend much of their time ridiculing the critics of the *Warren Report*, especially Mark Lane. They also attack Nancy Perrin Rich, a witness who calls attention to Ruby's very important gunrunning into Cuba. At the end, the book reveals that Demaris was "standing close to Jack Ruby when he shot Oswald." In fact, he was the first person to identify Ruby. He then began interviewing witnesses and got especially close to Ruby's lawyers. The authors are especially thankful to Elmer Gertz, the same Gertz who has been revealed in the last two issues of *Probe* as a lawyer for CIA agent Gordon Novel whose attorneys were "clandestinely remunerated" for their services. Gertz also wrote a book on Ruby. It is an equally gaseous whitewash that also goes out of its way to attack the critics, again singling out Mark Lane.

To make the picture complete, in his prologue to the Exner book, Demaris writes about his new task at hand:

Legends are not easily surrendered. The press will fight to preserve its manufactured illusions, its Camelots and Good Ships Lollipop, and God help anyone who inadvertently threatens them.

God, or rather the *Washington Post* and a good review from the *New York Times*, helped them to the tune of over 145,000 books sold, including a mass market paperback sale. Demaris later adds, characterizing the book's approach:

She has a story to tell that is unique, and I would gladly topple all the Camelots, and King Arthurs, or Sir Lancelots, to give her that chance. . . . Francis Ford

Coppola, who directed *The Godfather*, says it best: Men of power and the criminals in our society are distinguished only by their situation, not their morality.

In other words, as far as Exner and he are concerned, there is little difference between the Kennedys, Sam Giancana, and Johnny Roselli.

Judith Exner: My Story

The book itself is more of the same. The aim is to make Exner as attractive as possible; more personally attractive than those around her, especially Kennedy, his clan, and circle. Giancana and Roselli are just your average Italian-American good guys. To Exner, they might as well have owned Domino's Pizza. And Demaris places her frankness beyond question. She says that she will tell the truth, even about people and events she doesn't care to. It is her vow to tell the whole story. Exner inherited a lot of money from her grandmother (in the twenty year adult span of the book, she only mentions one job of a few weeks duration). In her early years she gravitated toward the Hollywood acting colony, since her sister and first husband were thespians. She fell in with the California-Malibu jet set: Dean Martin, Frank Sinatra, Sammy Davis et. al. She says she prefers the company of men over women and her book shows it. She is flying from one to another so often that, at times it is hard to keep track of where she is: Los Angeles, Palm Springs, Miami, Chicago, Washington etc. She met JFK through Sinatra. Kennedy immediately fell for her. According to Exner, it was not just physical. Kennedy became a doozy mooner in her hands. He talked of leaving his wife for her. At times the pressures of his life got so intense he wanted to escape with her to a deserted island. Since he can't bear to lose her, whenever there is friction in the relationship, Kennedy pours on the charm to smooth it out. Even when Hoover confronts him with the Exner-Giancana association, Kennedy insists on seeing her. At one time, he asks her to board Air Force One with him. She won't because she wants to spare Jackie's dignity.

There is one scene in the book that caps her aforementioned personal appeal vs. JFK's. It crystallizes the Errol Flynn/Don Juan image that Exner wishes to construct out of Kennedy. It is used by some authors of the type we will discuss, most notably CIA-FBI toady and *New York Times-Washington Post* veteran Ron Kessler in his book *Sins of the Father*. On the first day of the Democratic convention in Los Angeles in 1960, Kennedy sends for Exner. She arrives at the hotel but several people are there, including Kennedy's sister. He assures her that they will all be leaving momentarily and that he wants to be alone with her in his moment of victory. Eventually

most of the visitors leave except for two: a tall skinny secretarial type, and Kennedy's adviser Ken O'Donnell. As JFK and Exner slip into the bedroom, the secretary type slips into the bathroom. Exner is puzzled. Kennedy/Flynn then suggests a menage a trois. Exner is outraged, "I can't tell you how disappointed I am in you." Kennedy is in love with her though. Sweetly, he eventually calms her down and they later resume their relationship.

There was something about this hotel scene that bothered me. Something was off and I couldn't put my finger on it until later. I then realized that Exner had left Ken O'Donnell in the suite before the fireworks began. I couldn't understand why. Was Kennedy, with the boss' permission, going to make it a foursome? Was he there because he liked to watch and Kennedy understood? Was he going to take pictures so Kennedy/Flynn could admire his handiwork later? Or was he just there to give JFK a ride home since he would be too tired to drive? None of the above. Kennedy asks Exner to give O'Donnell a ride home. When she drops him off, Exner has Ken make an incomplete pass at her. That's when I realized why Ken had not just called a cab while waiting around. O'Donnell had been one of those who wouldn't ratify Exner's visits to the White House. So Exner and Demaris have to make a lecher out of him in order to weaken his credibility and preserve theirs.

O'Donnell had been one of those who wouldn't ratify Exner's visits to the White House. So Exner and Demaris have to make a lecher out of him in order to weaken his credibility and preserve theirs.

Although *Judith Exner: My Story* is pretty thin and prosaic, it runs on for 300 pages. But evidently, Demaris didn't ask enough tough questions. Because in 1988 Exner's story started growing arms and legs. In the February 29, 1988 issue of *People* magazine, Kennedy's picture appeared on the cover. The magazine now did what the Church Committee could not: it linked Kennedy with the plots to kill Castro. The story billed Exner as "the link between JFK and the Mob."

Exner's 1988 Version

Exner's writer for her new rendition was none other than Kitty Kelley, the woman who shattered the non-fiction category forever by reducing it to tabloid standards. Significantly, the article was entitled "The Dark Side of Camelot," a phrase used by Ron Rosenbaum

(who will be discussed later) and the title of the upcoming book by Sy Hersh, of whom Kelley is a great admirer. In this new version, Exner now said that she was seeing Sam Giancana at Kennedy's bidding. She even helped arrange meetings between JFK and Giancana and JFK and Roselli. Some of the meetings took place at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. Why would Kennedy need personal consultation with gangsters like Sam and John? To cinch elections on his ruthless way to the White House and later to arrange the liquidation of Castro. Kelley adds that the latter meetings were done for operation MONGOOSE. But Exner's time sequence does not jibe with the lifespan of that operation and, as the record shows, Castro's assassination was not on the MONGOOSE agenda. In spite of that explicit record, Kelley adds that historians have never been able to pinpoint Kennedy's role in those plots, thereby ignoring the abundant evidence unearthed by the Church Committee which says he had none. Nevertheless, Kelley and Exner will now exhume the hidden history of those times for *People*. Let's examine their excavation.

Exner says that Kennedy needed help in West Virginia in the 1960 primary. So her first secret assignment for Kennedy was to arrange a meeting with "Sam Flood" for JFK. (By a coincidence, Kennedy also knew Giancana by the very same alias that Exner did, even though he had fifteen others.) After the meeting, with Exner waiting outside, Kennedy emerged beaming. He was so exuberant he wanted to pay for a mink coat for his girl. And of course, he won the election. On the heels of this success, Exner arranged another meeting between Kennedy and Giancana. (In an insider aside, Exner assures us that Giancana called the president "Jack"). In the ensuing exchanges of sealed envelopes between the two, Exner didn't open any of them. In another aside, Kennedy cutely tells her, "Don't let him [Giancana] turn your head."

Later, JFK wanted meetings with Roselli too. After a series of these, the meetings stopped. Retroactively, Exner finally realized that, unbeknownst to her, she was arranging the plots to kill Castro.

The trusting Kelley never seemed curious enough to ask the skeptical questions that any researcher would pose. For instance, the Kennedy family's worth at that time was estimated to be between 400 and 600 million. With that kind of money, why would they need someone like Giancana to buy a state as sparsely populated as West Virginia? Was he supposed to rally up the squirrel vote? Kelley never asked what Bobby Kennedy's reaction was to seeing Giancana at the White House. But considering his efforts against Giancana, it must have been something like, "Geez Sam,

I guess our surveillance slipped. I didn't know you were going to be here tonight." Or to his brother: "Jack, this is going to make me look like a hypocrite. Also, it will compromise my case against this guy in court when he shows the judge that photo of us three sitting here." Finally, Kelley has no questions about a glaring inconsistency in her scenario. In the course of these ongoing meetings, probably at the first one, wouldn't nice guy Sam say, "Jack I really appreciate the dinner, but this is all kind of redundant. See, I'm already working with Bob Maheu at CIA to kill Fidel." Evidently, Exner was so convincing that neither Kelley nor her editors ever entertained any doubts. Or to hopeless cynics like myself, maybe they didn't want to blow the hundred grand they had invested in their cover story.

Kelley did ask one pertinent question. Namely, why did Exner not tell Demaris these startling details back in 1977? Why did she wait eleven years to bare her soul? Exner says she was afraid and needed to protect herself. Unfortunately, this rings a bit hollow since 1) Giancana and Roselli were both dead when she wrote her book, 2) the Church Committee spilled all the beans on the plots to kill Castro in 1975, which 3) leaves only the Kennedys to fear, and its clear she doesn't give a damn about them.

In the course of these ongoing meetings, probably at the first one, wouldn't nice guy Sam say, "Jack I really appreciate the dinner, but this is all kind of redundant. See, I'm already working with Bob Maheu at CIA to kill Fidel."

But for those still skeptical, she adds the other (clinging) reason for breaking the silence: her doctor told her she had terminal cancer and she had only 36 months to live. The article ends in a crescendo that would move even the world weary Claude Rains:

Now that I know I'm dying and nothing more can happen to me, I want to be completely honest. I don't think I should have to die with the secret of what I did for Jack Kennedy, or what he did with the power of his presidency. I feel that I am finally free of the past.

Exner's 1997 Version

I hope Exner sued her doctor, because ten years later she's still with us. She now turns up in the pages of the January 1997 *Vanity Fair* which, unembarrassed, again bills her as "facing her death." This time she was teamed with another questionable expert on Kennedy's Cuba policy — Hollywood gossip columnist

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Liz Smith. And evidently, the previous fear of death wasn't enough to squeeze the whole story out of her. She still has a few goodies to add.

The choice of Smith in 1997 is as revealing as Demaris in 1977 and Kelley in 1988. Smith writes for the *New York Post*, which is literally a tabloid in both format and approach. Like Kelley, Smith is a big fan of Sy Hersh. In fact, her column has released several "teaser" items about his upcoming book. In the past she has also flacked for Tony Summers. What do those two writers have that other Kennedy researchers, say John Newman, do not? They have both pushed the angle that the Kennedys were somehow involved with the death of Marilyn Monroe. Smith dutifully mentions both authors in her *Vanity Fair* piece and writes, as fact, that RFK was at Marilyn's the day she died. Exner herself claims that Summers has offered to supply a new "foreword should she write another book" and Smith sent Exner to see Hersh who, predictably, also endorses her story.

In the article, Smith seems conscious of her questionable qualifications to address the serious subjects of Kennedy and Cuba and the Church Committee. Throughout, she sprinkles in little aphorisms to neutralize any attacks. She quotes Oscar Wilde (not famous for his history books) when she says that history is merely yesterday's gossip. Later on she notes that "today's gossip is tomorrow's headline," a bit self-serving considering her profession. Rising to an Exner-like crescendo near the end, she quotes the ancient Greek historian Herodotus, who felt that history "is what people have said to me and what I've heard, that I must write down." She leaves out the fact that Herodotus did not have access to the National Archives, 3.5 million pages of newly declassified documents, and the on the record testimony of the principals involved via Sen. Frank Church.

Like the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*, Smith has her hatchet out for the Church Committee. About the most extensive investigation of the CIA and FBI ever, she says that it was a "little nothing of a half-assed investigation," that the report was written by "aides and underlings" and that they asked Exner "rather pointless questions." She finishes them off by characterizing it as "the pathetic

1975 Church hearings," the implication being that Smith — between interviews of Barbara Streisand and Julia Roberts — has been digging through the newly declassified record and will now set us straight.

But her only source is Exner. And, like Kelley, Smith seems to avoid asking the tough questions, probably because these two have been pals since 1977. At one point she calls her a "real star." None of the inconsistencies or absurdities I have noted get into the article. In fact, Smith adds more of her own. As with Demaris, one of her aims is to make Exner a victim of the press so that she can imply that the "liberal media" is "protecting" the Kennedys. As demonstrated above, this is preposterous. Exner was a media creation used

This about the man who had such heavy surveillance on Giancana that the mobster went to court to stop those six FBI agents from following him everywhere. Including the putting green of the golf course.

The other revelation is something that she forgot: Kennedy impregnated her and she had an abortion. There are some problems with this that the never curious Smith doesn't bother to pursue. In 1977, in her book, Exner stated that there was no abortion; that this was a canard made up by the FBI in order to harass her. In fact, it is the one scene in the book that has emotional force. Consider for yourself:

"A what?" I yelled, speaking to them for the first time since the day they had broken into my apartment.... "You people are insane! I didn't have an abortion. How dare you walk in here and accuse me of that.... You get out of this room right now!"

She then adds:

If I could have killed that man, I would have on the spot. There is nothing heinous about having an abortion today; but in 1963, my God, it was the sin of the century. They knew precisely what they were doing when they falsely accused me of something like that.

Another problem with this story is how Exner knows it was JFK's child. She deduces this from the fact she had been with no one else during the whole time, "not ever" she assures us. Trying to remain a gentleman, I will only refer the reader to approximately the second half of the book, which details a rather active social life on her part.

Finally, what raises this latest revelation to a jocular level is Exner's description of Kennedy's reaction to her pregnancy when she informs him of the news. Again, let us use Exner's own words as quoted by Smith:

So Jack said, "Do you think Sam would help us? Would you ask Sam? Would you mind asking?" I was surprised, but said I'd ask. So I called Sam and we had dinner. I told him what I needed. He blew sky-high. "Damn him! Damn that Kennedy." He loved to be theatrical, and he always enjoyed picking on Jack.

Smith/Herodotus was so carried away by that cute, cuddly Italian mobster that she never bothered to ponder the fact that zillionaires in America have always had quiet, discreet ways to solve such personal problems. How about a private jet to a secretive Swiss clinic? They don't need Mafia chieftains to help them. Especially one with six FBI agents following him around ready to squeal on Kennedy the minute Hoover wants them to.

"The government wants me to talk again."

— Judith Exner, 1997

by that press to pummel the Kennedys who the *Times* and *Post* — and their ally the CIA — never liked. To camouflage this, Smith claims that after her book came out, the Exners "fled" to California. Yet, according to Demaris, Exner and her husband were already in California when he met them to start work on the book. Smith can actually write the Orwellian statement that Safire — author of no less than five pro-Exner columns — "derided" Exner's story. Again, contradicting her book, Exner now says she never went to bed with Giancana. In fact, in the *Vanity Fair* version, the whole scene where he proposes to her is different from the book. In the revisionist go round the suggestion is that good Italian Catholics, even though they may be murdering mobsters, don't believe in premarital sex.

More Hidden History

What are the new revelations about the Kennedys that merited Exner's meeting with Smith for a catered dinner at the five star Four Seasons Hotel in Newport Beach? There are two. First, she forgot to add that Bobby's crimefighting campaign was a mirage. Not only did he not mind JFK's White House meetings with Giancana, he encouraged her in arranging them. For *Vanity Fair*, she remembers RFK's words to her about the subject:

You know I used to be at the White House having lunch or dinner with Jack, and Bobby would often come by. He'd squeeze my shoulder solicitously and ask, "Judy, are you O.K. carrying those messages for us to Chicago? Do you still feel comfortable doing it?"

Say That Again Please

There is one revelation in the article that does not come off tongue-in-cheek.

After talking to Smith's pal Hersh, Exner calls Smith back. She states that the Kennedy-Giancana talks could be released under the JFK Act. She then adds: "I hope they will. *The government wants me to talk again.*" [Emphasis added]

No surprise, Smith didn't ask Exner what she meant by that last comment, which sent the following flurry of questions bursting through my brain: *Who* in the government wants her to talk? Since she had just talked to Hersh, was it him who relayed this to her? And what on earth does that stunning adverb "again" signify? Does this mean the government pushed her in 1977? In 1988? On both occasions?

In retrospect, the recurring intervals of Exner's appearances are suggestive. Although the *Post* surfaced her in 1975, her book did not come out until two years later, on the fifteenth anniversary of Kennedy's assassination. The 1988 *People* version — boosted by two *Times* stories previewing its release — seems done to get the jump on other stories for the 25th anniversary (as we shall see, Ron Rosenbaum filled this role for the 20th anniversary). The latest edition, with Exner aware of the JFK Act, was done at the beginning of what was originally to be the last year of the Review Board. Smith wrote the piece before the extra year was granted by Congress. Smith's friendliness with Hersh, seems to further this. For according to the ARRB's original timetable, the *Vanity Fair* piece would arrive at the beginning of its last year and Hersh's attack book in October, right when the Review Board was originally set to shut down. This would make a nice pincers movement with which to smother the Board's serious and blockbuster work amid sexy smears about abortions and Marilyn Monroe (Hersh).

In historical perspective, the *Times* and *Safire*, and the *Post* and Ben Bradlee (who, as we shall see, also embraced Exner) opened the flood gates to all kinds of *National Enquirer* type stories about JFK's private life. Rumors about Monroe, numerous secretaries, these all started to get tossed about. A prominent one about to be recycled emerged just a year after Exner. It was promulgated again by Bradlee's *Post* via *The National Enquirer*.

Mary Meyer

Mary Pinchot was the niece of that early conservationist hero Gifford Pinchot. She married CIA officer, and Allen Dulles protégé, Cord Meyer. Mary's sister was named Tony and was married to Ben Bradlee. Mary and Cord divorced in 1956 and he later went on

to become a CIA — associated reporter for various papers including the *Chicago Tribune*. In the fall of 1964, while walking along the tow path of the C & O Canal in Georgetown, Mary Pinchot Meyer was murdered by being shot through the face. A suspiciously acting black man was apprehended nearby and was identified by a witness as being the nearest person to Meyer before she was killed. At the trial, the man was acquitted through the efforts of a very good defense attorney, mainly due to the circumstantial nature of the case. Many years after Mary's death, the *National*

"A what?" I yelled, speaking to them for the first time since the day they had broken into my apartment ... "You people are insane! I didn't have an abortion. How dare you walk in here and accuse me of that ... You get out of this room right now!" ... They knew precisely what they were doing when they falsely accused me of something like that.

— Judith Exner, 1977

"I telephoned and said, 'Jack, just about the worst thing I can tell you has happened. I'm pregnant. ... I can't keep this child.' ... Abortion was then illegal. So Jack said, 'Do you think Sam would help us? Would you ask Sam?' ... After the abortion, Jack was on the phone to me right away, begging me to come back to Washington...."

— Judith Exner, 1997

Enquirer revealed that she had been a girlfriend of Kennedy.

Before getting into all the details of this story and its aftermath, it is necessary to note a bit about Ben Bradlee's actions in both the Exner and Meyer stories. Bradlee is essential, not just because of his personal involvement in the matters under discussion, but because he was the editor of the *Washington Post* in 1976 when the *Enquirer* broke the story. As with the Exner story, once the Meyer story broke, the *Post* gave it its imprimatur by filling out certain elements of the story and giving it respectable, mainstream play. Thirty five years later, the essentials I have drawn out above are really all that can be known for certain about this tale. All the remaining details are hazy, confusing, or contested. This is not

surprising since two of the people involved in shaping the story are CIA counterintelligence chief James Angleton and Ben Bradlee. Relating to the Kennedy murder, much has been written about the former (and more will come in *Probe*). Little has been written about Bradlee (see the sidebar on page 30).

Bradlee, JFK & Meyer

Bradlee's background, and his need to hide it, are important in his role with Kennedy and in the origin and evolution of the Mary Meyer story. Bradlee has always tried to suggest that he had a fairly normal, middle-class WASP background in Massachusetts. In fact, in his book *Conversations With Kennedy*, there is a charming subtext by Bradlee implying that Kennedy comes from a high social strata to which Bradlee can't relate. For instance, Bradlee makes Kennedy out to be a fashion plate, changing shirts two or three times a day. Bradlee has to remind him that common folk sometimes wear the same shirt two days in a row. Like he does. When he and Kennedy are talking about the tax code, they commiserate over there not being enough tax breaks for middle class people like Bradlee.

Having swallowed this, I was surprised to learn that Bradlee's family spent each summer with the Astors in Maine (the Astor Foundation owned *Newsweek* which is how Bradlee got started there); that one of Bradlee's early mentors was Walter Lippmann, that fabled adviser to presidents and confidant of OSS chief Bill Donovan; that on his father's side, the Bradlees went back *five generations* at Harvard. That his father married into the law firm of Cravath, Swain & Moore, John McCloy's firm. In other words, Bradlee was Boston Brahmin all the way. David Halberstam once described a typical Saturday morning in the Bradlee household as follows: 9:00 AM — French lesson, 10:00 AM — piano recital, 11:00 AM — horseback riding, 12:00 AM — ice skating. Bradlee's first marriage was into another wealthy Massachusetts family, the Saltonstalls. Bradlee may or may not have succeeded in deceiving Kennedy about who he was (I hope not). But the fact that he feels the need to hide all this — and more — from the reader is instructive to the matter at hand. Because, as we will see, Bradlee's writings on the Meyer story are at odds with other renditions. And no one has ever bothered to point out the many discrepancies, or a possible motive for them.

Bradlee's Version

We now come to the most relevant part of the Meyer story: the circumstances surrounding her lost diary which supposedly contained notes on her affair with Kennedy. No one to

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LONG AND KENNEDY: TARGETS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT

by Donald Gibson

In part one we saw that Senator Huey Long and President John Kennedy shared a philosophy of government and had similar if not identical opponents. We also saw that a lawyer named Herbert Christenberry played an important role in events leading up to Huey Long's assassination and was then, thirty years later, as a judge, involved in stopping Jim Garrison's prosecution of Clay Shaw. In this second part, we will continue to examine the direct links between the Louisiana enemies of Long and Kennedy; then, we will discuss the meaning of these connections. We continue with flesh-and-blood connections between Long's foes and Clay Shaw.

OCHSNER AND BUTLER: FROM LONG TO SHAW

One of Huey Long's opponents was a prominent New Orleans physician by the name of Alton Ochsner. Reportedly, Ochsner was bitterly anti-Long. In reaction to Ochsner's verbal assaults, Long used his influence to have the doctor's visiting privileges withdrawn at New Orleans's Charity Hospital. In 1929 Governor Long went after another of his opponents. He discovered that the New Orleans Dock Board (Board of Commissioners of the Port of New Orleans) had engaged in deception in the issuance of bonds and he also charged that the Board was setting tariff rates so as to benefit the Texas investments of its chairman, Edward S. Butler. Long launched a successful effort to replace Butler as Chairman and to gain a loyal majority on the five member Board. Ochsner and Butler's grandson and namesake would turn up later as part of a network of people associated with Clay Shaw and Lee Oswald. Both also had numerous connections to people opposed to Kennedy.

OCHSNER, BUTLER, AND THE COVER STORY

About thirty years after Long had broken Edward Butler's control of the Dock Board, Butler's grandson, also named Edward S., ap-

peared on a talk show with Lee Harvey Oswald. Butler presented himself as a staunch anti-communist, proclaiming his great admiration for Joe McCarthy. This presentation was partially authentic. There is no doubt that Butler was anti-communist, but he was more the elitist or East Coast Establishment type of anti-communist than the mid-west, populist, McCarthy type.

Both of Butler's grandfathers had belonged to the most exclusive social club in New Orleans, the Boston Club, and the paternal grandfather, Long's enemy, had also been president of the Cotton Exchange, another target of Long's policies. Much of the later Butler's political work would be supported by the Establishment types who, ironically, were often accused of communist sympathies or tendencies by McCarthy or his supporters. That political work came to be centered in the Information Council of the Americas (INCA), an organization founded by Butler in May of 1961, one month after the Bay of Pigs operation failed. Butler started INCA as an anti-communist, psychological warfare operation. Interestingly, INCA would claim after November, 1963, that Oswald was inspired by communist ideology but that the assassination was not the result of a communist conspiracy. This supported the most important part of the lone nut theory, the "lone" part, that was sprung on the country by the *New York Herald Tribune* and by Mayor Earle Cabell of Dallas within hours of the assassination. The INCA version would direct anyone doubting that Oswald acted alone towards the direction of a left-wing conspiracy. The "lone-commie" theory of INCA was essentially the same as the FBI view, originated by Alan Belmont and endorsed by Hoover. Neither INCA nor the FBI challenged the rendition put forward by the Establishment media immediately after the assassination, i.e., Oswald did it alone.

Butler's partner in the creation of INCA was the rabidly anti-Long Alton Ochsner. When Garrison reopened his investigation of

the Kennedy assassination both Ochsner and Butler attacked Garrison and both reportedly felt threatened by that investigation. There were rumors that Garrison was considering the possibility of bringing indictments against Ochsner, a member of the Reily family (Oswald's onetime employer), and Seymour Weiss, who had done very well indeed after his "friend" Huey Long was murdered.

OCHSNER AND THE EASTERN ESTABLISHMENT

Like Butler, Ochsner at times identified himself with views that could be thought of as anti-Establishment (e.g., he praised the ostensibly anti-Establishment Birch Society book, *None Dare Call It Treason*). But as with Butler, any image of Ochsner as a red-neck, anti-Establishment, right-wing populist would be misleading. He was racist, anti-union, and anti-welfare but he was associated with and committed to upper-class conservatism.

Ochsner was part of the local aristocracy and he was thoroughly plugged into the national power structure, particularly the "internationalist" parts of it. Any right-wing yahoo looking to Ochsner for leadership would have been shocked to learn that Ochsner was thoroughly connected to the same old, big moneyed interests that non-upper-class right wingers love to hate (or love to pretend to hate). Ochsner was a leader in the 1960's of both the International House (IH) and the International Trade Mart (ITM), where he worked with Clay Shaw. He was a member of the exclusive Boston Club and was a guest in 1965 at the Bohemian Grove in California, a place where big East Coast money mingles with the wealth of the West and South. Ochsner served as a director of National Airlines and of Florida National Banks of Florida, Inc. The latter position was achieved through a friendship with Edward W. Ball of the DuPont interests. The DuPonts had investments in a number of Latin American countries, giving them an interest in common with

Ochsner. Everything considered, Ochsner's social world had little in common with small-business and middle-class right wingers.

Ochsner was comfortable with a more sophisticated type of conservative. At Tulane University, where he became Chairman of the medical school's surgery department, Ochsner was involved in efforts to orient the school's programs toward support for the growing U.S. upper class involvement in Latin America. Ochsner had become a supporter of the Somoza regime in Nicaragua. Due in part to the efforts of Ochsner, Tulane became a major center for Latin American study. The university was aided by grants from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation, where C. D. Jackson, another expert on right-wing propaganda, was a trustee. Two of Huey Long's United Fruit enemies, Samuel Zemurray and Joseph Montgomery, were trustees of Tulane at that time. Ochsner became president in 1956 of the Cordell Hull Foundation which was established to promote "free enterprise" by providing scholarships to Latin American students for study in the United States. In this context "free enterprise" means that neither the U.S. government nor the host country's government will interfere with the operations of organized, powerful, private interests.

THE SHAW-OCHSNER CIRCLE

Ochsner was personally close to the leaders of the New Orleans elite and he was directly connected to many in the national power structure. Among his New Orleans associates was Theodore Brent, who was also close to Clay Shaw. Brent was president of the Mississippi Shipping Company and a director of the Hibernia National Bank. He was a founding trustee of the Alton Ochsner Medical Foundation and he helped to finance the Ochsner Foundation Hospital, which opened in 1954. In return for the financing, Ochsner named a visitors hotel on its grounds Brent House. Brent was also a director of the ITM-affiliated International House. IH was a New Orleans based, but nationally connected, promoter of "free trade" with Latin America. It was one of a series of such "Houses" created by the Rockefeller interests beginning in the mid-1920's. Brent's Mississippi Shipping apparently subsidized the *Latin American Report*, published in the 1940's and 1950's by William G. Gaudet. Gaudet, was a CIA man who also received support from Ochsner and was associated with Edward Bernays of United Fruit. Gaudet turned up as the man who escorted Lee Oswald (or an Oswald imposter) as he began his famous trip to Mexico.

Another of the local elite who Ochsner was close to was Brent's friend Rudolph Hecht, Chairman of the Hibernia National Bank of

New Orleans. In Long's time Hecht was willing to cooperate with Huey if circumstances dictated it i.e., Long held office and his decisions could affect Hecht's bank. Hecht's association with Long appears to have been one of convenience. In the years following Long's death, Hecht became an even more important local figure and, like Brent, became closely associated with out-of-state powers. For example, Hecht had close ties to National City Bank in New York, linking him to the Stillman-Rockefeller interests.

Hecht provided a non-collateralized loan to Alton Ochsner and four other doctors to establish the Ochsner Clinic, opened in 1941. Brent and New Orleans attorney J. Blanc Monroe were also involved in the creation of the clinic. Monroe, of Monroe and Lemann, became Ochsner's attorney. His firm aided Walter Sheridan in the NBC hatchet job on Garrison's investigation, broadcast in July of 1967. Hecht and Brent were, with Clay Shaw, members of the governing board of the ITM at the time of its incorporation in 1945. Also on that board was Seymour Weiss, the Long supporter who seems to have been bought off around the time of Long's assassination. The involvement of Ochsner's associates with the International Trade Mart was one of his many connections to higher levels of power.

THE HIGHER CIRCLES

Among Ochsner's friends and supporters were people associated with America's great fortunes and its most powerful private institutions. Ochsner had a friendship with Turner Catledge, managing editor of the *New York Times*. Ochsner was personally close to Samuel Zemurray of United Fruit and to Edgar B. and Edith Rosenwald Stern of the Sears Roebuck fortune. United Fruit's southern headquarters was in New Orleans and Sears opened an export office in New Orleans in 1948. Ochsner's foundation and hospital received financial support in the 1950's from Crawford Ellis of United Fruit, from the Ford Foundation, and from three of the wealthiest Texas-based families: Murchison, Richardson, and Bass. The chairman of the Ford Foundation from 1953 to 1965 was John J. McCloy, who spent part of the summer of 1963 with Clint Murchison. McCloy also served as honorary chairman of International House in New York City and he was a director of United Fruit. In the early 1960's, David Rockefeller, a close associate of McCloy and, like McCloy, Kennedy's opponent on many issues, was a trustee and chairman of the executive committee of International House.

At the 1959 dedication of a new building for the Ochsner hospital, Ochsner introduced as guest speaker Monroe J. Rathbone, Presi-

dent of Standard Oil of New Jersey (Exxon). Rathbone had been an executive of Standard Oil in Louisiana during the time that Standard clashed with Huey Long. In 1962 Ochsner was president of IH; his tenure there probably overlapped with Shaw's time as Managing Director of IH. Shaw's predecessor and one of the creators of IH in New Orleans was an anti-Long journalist who rose to be New Orleans bureau chief of Associated Press, Charles P. Nutter. Nutter was close to Shaw. Around the time of JFK's assassination, the board of Ochsner's hospital featured the son, Ashton Phelps, of one of Huey Long's enemies, Boston Club president Esmond Phelps, and it included Joseph W. Montgomery of United Fruit. Phelps later became publisher of the *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, which very soon after the exposure of Garrison's investigation took an anti-Garrison stance.

ANATOMY OF INCA

When Ochsner and Butler created the Information Council of the Americas (INCA) a month after the Bay of Pigs failure, they acted not as local right wingers, but as Establishment right wingers. When Butler formed INCA in May of 1961 he was forming his second right-wing group within a year. He had created Free Voice of Latin America in 1960. It was headquartered at the ITM. According to historian Arthur Carpenter, INCA developed from three sources: Edward Butler, Alton Ochsner, and elite anti-communism. In Carpenter's view, the organization was intended to stimulate anti-communist fears and then to exploit those fears to discredit opponents of the elite and to justify elitist policies. Butler had longstanding interests in these kinds of psychological warfare efforts.

A few months after he and Ochsner created INCA, Butler was bragging about his relationship with CIA Deputy Director Charles P. Cabell, who would soon be fired by President Kennedy. As noted earlier, his brother, Dallas Mayor Earle Cabell, would be the first public figure to offer the lone assassin theory, a view also promoted by INCA. The newly formed INCA had interesting members and supporters.

William B. Reily and H. Eustis Reily of William B. Reily & Company, onetime employers of Lee Oswald, were members of INCA. Apparently, two of Oswald's cousins also worked for Reily. Percival and Edgar B. Stern of the Sears Roebuck family were also members; they owned the local NBC station WDSU on which Butler and Oswald appeared together. According to James DiEugenio, people at WDSU cooperated with NBC in smearing Garrison in 1967. Other members of INCA included William Zetzmann, president of ITM, George Dinwiddie, president

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of IH in 1960, Ashton Phelps, son of a Boston Club president, and Joseph Montgomery of United Fruit. Montgomery and Crawford Ellis of United Fruit were, with Ochsner, members of the Boston Club. INCA received financial support from Standard Oil, the Reily Foundation, Mississippi Shipping Company, the Hibernia Bank, and ITM. INCA was a creature of the upper class.

SHAW AND THE ESTABLISHMENT

Clay Shaw served for many years as managing director of ITM. He was in 1961 and 1962 managing director of IH. In that capacity, Shaw was linked to Ochsner and to the many interests which were hostile to Kennedy and, earlier, to Long. That would include Morgan interests, Rockefellers, and the Boston-United Fruit group.

The first, and clearly interim, managing director of IH in New Orleans was Herman C. Brock of the Morgan controlled Guaranty Trust Company. During the early thirties, Shaw had worked for Western Union. According to Lewis Corey, a J. P. Morgan biographer, Western Union came under the control of Morgan around 1910. In the late thirties Shaw worked for the Lee Keedick Lecture Bureau. Lee Keedick would be a member in the 1950's of the Morgan-Rockefeller linked Foreign Policy Association.

Brock was replaced at IH by J. Stanton Robbins, Nelson Rockefeller's special assistant in the 1940's at the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. In January of 1944, Rockefeller had helped IH President Zetzmann, who was close to Montgomery, Brent, and Hecht, to announce the formation of IH on the radio. Three years later, the Rockefeller controlled Venezuela Basic Economy Corporation opened its New Orleans office.

People related to United Fruit and Associated Press were also involved with IH. Crawford Ellis was a founding member, vice-president, and director of IH. Zemurray supported IH. Reportedly the idea for IH in New Orleans originated with Shaw's friend, Charles Nutter, ex-Associated Press bureau chief for New Orleans. Nutter, who covered the important Moscow purge trials in the late thirties, became the first full-time managing director of IH, as Shaw was of ITM.

Clay Shaw, Alton Ochsner, and Edward Butler were thoroughly entrenched in this Establishment network connected to ITM and IH. That network included people associated with the Freeport Sulphur Company. Those complimentary relationships were discussed in several previous *Probe* articles. What has

been conclusively demonstrated is that the local activities of Shaw, Ochsner, and Butler were related to the programs, policies, and institutions of a series of interconnected upper-class interests based in Boston and New York.

THE FAMILIAR AGENDA

What did this group, led by the Morgan-Rockefeller-Boston Brahmin network, want? We get some idea from a New Orleans conference organized in 1955 by ITM, IH, and Time Inc., featuring speakers such as millionaire J. Peter Grace, *Time* co-founder Henry Luce, and Milton Eisenhower. The conference was intended to promote private enterprise and global "free trade," to discourage government intervention in trade (such as the policies of JFK), and to criticize nationalism and communism. What this group wanted — in opposition to Long-Kennedy policies — was for the United States to pursue an imperialist or neo-colonialist policy toward Latin America. This would include the need to maintain or create an alliance between big U.S. banking and raw materials interests and the landed oligarchy of Latin America. What would the people of the United States get from that? Nothing. If anything they would lose by not having the benefit of a growing and prosperous hemisphere. What would the majority of people in Latin America get from that? Perpetual backwardness and poverty. Time, Inc. openly attacked President Kennedy because he was pushing a program of economic development that threatened these neo-colonial interests.

The development of Clay Shaw's International Trade Mart and of its sister organization, International House, was part of the role that New Orleans was playing in the neo-colonial relationship between the New York-Boston Establishment and Latin America. The involvement of that Establishment in Louisiana increased throughout this century, as did the involvement in Latin America. However, this connection between the East and Louisiana did not begin in this century. Its origins go back to the period before the Civil War. We can trace its development by looking at the background of New Orleans' elitist Boston Club.

BOSTON SOUTH

The Boston Club connects the pre-Civil War aristocracy to the New Orleans of Huey Long's time and to the 1960's New Orleans of Clay Shaw, Alton Ochsner, and Edward Butler. The Club also reflects and perpetuates a link between the upper class of Louisiana and that of Boston and New York, relationships evident a century after the Club's founding.

The author of the official history of the Boston Club says that the club was named after a card game called "boston," but he of-

fers no proof that the club's namesake was the game rather than the city. In any event, the game was named after the city. Why would anyone name a club formed in New Orleans after a city that was almost two thousand miles away? The answer of course is that the elites of the two cities were tied together. For example, there was a New England Society in New Orleans before the Civil War; some of its members belonged to the Boston Club. The *Daily Picayune* referred to Club members as "Bostonians." This apparently was not a reference to their choice of card games.

The Boston Club, organized in 1841, is one of the three oldest upper-class clubs in the United States and it had connections to one of the other two, the Union Club of New York. Both clubs were modeled after English elite clubs, for which the epitome is White's of London, and both clubs had Englishmen as members at the time they were founded. Boston and Union had "ties of mutuality" due to numerous individuals belonging to both clubs. In its first two decades the Boston Club, which had two hundred or fewer members, had at least nine members, and probably six additional members, who were also members of the Union Club. Two of these are relevant to our inquiry: Judah P. Benjamin and John Slidell.

RACISTS AND ARISTOCRATS

Slidell was very close to President James Buchanan, was a U.S. Senator from 1853 to 1861, and was an ambassador to England and France for the Confederacy. His three daughters married European aristocrats and his son was part of the Louisiana elite and was a member of the Boston Club. Slidell's niece, the daughter of his sister and Commodore Perry, married August Belmont, Sr. This famous financier was an agent for the Rothschilds and worked at times with J. P. Morgan.

One of the young men who studied law in Slidell's office was Judah Benjamin, fresh from several years at Yale University. Benjamin would go on to serve as U.S. Senator and then Secretary of War and Secretary of State for the Confederate President Jefferson Davis. Benjamin, who was an honorary member of the Boston Club and a member of the Union Club, escaped to England at the end of the Civil War and became a major figure in English jurisprudence. The Boston Club linked together the Anglo-Saxons of Boston, New York, and England with the Southern aristocracy.

The connections between the national elite and Louisiana were a continuous part of the history of the Boston Club. It was noted earlier that Alton Ochsner was a 1965 guest at the elitist Bohemian Grove in California. The Grove is part of the San Francisco Bohemian Club which was started in the late-1800's by Horace Fletcher, an early globe trotting busi-

ness agent who was a member of the Boston Club from 1890 to 1898. Ochsner was also invited to join. In 1916 both Frank A. Vanderlip and James A. Stillman of National City Bank were guests at the Boston Club. Stillman and Vanderlip served on the board of City Bank (Citicorp) with J. P. Morgan, Jr., William Rockefeller, and Robert S. Lovett. These interests were all later connected to the Freeport Sulphur Company, which was linked to Clay Shaw through at least a couple of its officers. (For more on these connections see the articles in *Probe* Vol. 3 Nos. 3 & 4 and Vol. 4, No. 1 by Lisa Pease and the author).

In Huey Long's time, Alton Ochsner and Edward Butler could rub shoulders at the Boston Club with Crawford Ellis of United Fruit and with a host of local notables who had ties to the higher circles, virtually all of whom were Long's enemies. Among those were Edwin S. Broussard, T. Semmes Walmsley, Esmond Phelps, Joseph Montgomery, and John Parker. Many of the Boston Club members would be directors of the Trade Mart and of the International House in the forties and fifties. That included *Times Picayune* president Leonard Nicholson, businessman Kemper Williams, United Fruit executive Montgomery, and banker Dale Graham. Graham came to New Orleans in the early-1930's with George Champion and Oliver Lucas in the Chase Bank's takeover of Canal Bank & Trust, renamed the National Bank of Commerce. Champion would go on to be Chairman of Chase Manhattan, holding that position in the interim between John J. McCloy and David Rockefeller.

As the outline above suggests, in the twentieth century the local power structure inside Louisiana became a junior partner in the neo-colonialist efforts of the East Coast Establishment. Clay Shaw, Alton Ochsner, and Edward Butler's family played significant roles in the Louisiana part of those operations. In the 1980's Alton Ochsner, Jr., continued in that tradition. He was involved with the Nicaraguan Contras, an extension of the Establishment's neo-colonial policy who were also involved with drug trafficking, and he appeared at a press conference with a Contra leader known to be a part of the drug trade. This is actually not surprising. The Boston-New Orleans connection has been important in what is a longstanding involvement of the Establishment in the drug trade.

UNITED FRUIT AND THE DRUG TRADE

United Fruit was incorporated in 1899 in New Jersey but its real base was in Boston. At its formation United Fruit combined a number of existing companies and it would later absorb others, including the Cuyamel Company founded by Samuel Zemurray. One of the companies merged to create United Fruit was

owned by the New Orleans based Macheca crime family. The first officers and directors of United Fruit included Andrew Preston, Minor Keith, Lamont Burnham, and T. Jefferson Coolidge, Jr.

There are several clear links between this group and the opium trade. The Coolidge family played an important role in the trade in the mid-1800's. Thomas Jefferson Coolidge's grandfather, Joseph, was involved with the two most important American firms active in the opium trade at that time. He was a member of Russell & Co. and then was a founder of Augustine Heard and Company. Another Coolidge, Archibald, was the first editor of the Council on Foreign Relations' mouthpiece *Foreign Affairs*. The Coolidges were descendants of Thomas Jefferson. Their involvement in the development of the New York-Boston dominated Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) is but one of many instances in which the East Coast Establishment intersects with openly right-wing and racist interests. For example, Laurence Shoup and William Minter make the following comments on the CFR's image and its first president, John W. Davis:

As the Council on Foreign Relations is identified with the 'liberal' establishment, it is interesting to note that Davis was instrumental in forming the right-wing American Liberty League to oppose the New Deal, and represented South Carolina in defending segregation before the United States Supreme Court.

The Establishment's idea of "liberalism" has much more in common with the elitist English social philosopher John Locke than it does with the ideas of FDR or JFK. As Jules Archer shows in his *The Plot to Seize the White House*, Morgan and other Establishment interests were extensively involved with the American Liberty League in the 1930's.

In the 1930's, W. Cameron Forbes, the grandson of Ralph Waldo Emerson and a descendant of another opium trading family, was a director of United Fruit. Also involved in the Far East opium trade in the 1800's and with United Fruit in the 1900's was the Cabot family. In 1954 when the CIA engineered the coup against the Arbenz government in Guatemala, John Moors Cabot was Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. He had served earlier as President of United Fruit. Henry Cabot Lodge (the Lodges were also United Fruit stockholders) used his influence in the Senate on behalf of United Fruit. Michael Paine, husband of the Oswalds' hostess in Dallas, was related to both the Forbes and Cabot families. Even though she and Michael were separated at the time, Ruth Paine was close to the Forbes family. Marina Oswald lived with Ruth, and Ruth helped Lee to get his job at the Texas School Book Depository.

BITTER FRUIT: 1954 & 1963

The organizers of the coup against Arbenz included United Fruit stockholder Allen Dulles, C. D. Jackson, Tracy Barnes, and David Atlee Phillips. The Dulles's law firm, Sullivan and Cromwell, represented United Fruit. Dulles, with McCloy, would steer the Warren Commission. McCloy himself was a director of United Fruit. Before the assassination, Tracy Barnes, a CIA officer and personal friend of Dulles, was involved with a far-right group known as the Cuban Revolutionary Council (CRC). The CRC had links to INCA and it was headquartered at Guy Banister's Balter Building and Camp Street offices. David Ferrie was well-acquainted with CRC leader Sergio Arcacha Smith. Harold Weisberg noted the possible significance of Butler's INCA and the CRC in his 1967 book *Oswald in New Orleans*. Weisberg also noted that two of the men, involved in what looked like an attempt to frame Oswald by having an impersonator display hostility toward JFK, were arrested less than a month later on a dangerous drug charge. David Phillips, a prime covert operator who later boasted that the Arbenz coup was "effortless," would be identified by Gaeton Fonzi as Oswald's handler "Maurice Bishop." As noted earlier, William Gaudet, a CIA and United Fruit propaganda man, helped Oswald, or an impersonator, on his way to Mexico.

One of the other men brought into the 1954 coup operation was William Pawley. Pawley had helped to transform the World War Two China-based Flying Tigers into the CIA's Civil Air Transport. Civil Air Transport became Air America and was involved in transporting drugs. And so, we see from Cabot involvement in the Far East opium trade in 1804 to a Cabot related institution involved in the Southeast Asia opium trade in the 1950's and 1960's, that the drug trade, covert operations and the interests of the elites have for a long time been intertwined. Perhaps relevant as historical background is the fact that the Louisiana territory was purchased with financial assistance from a group, the Barings of London, that was connected in the 1800's to the opium trade through their involvement with the East India Company and then the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation.

SHAW'S SIGNIFICANCE

Jim Garrison said in his 1988 book, *On The Trail Of The Assassins*, that Clay Shaw was "only a small part of the overall conspiracy." Shaw's role in the assassination may have been limited to management of Oswald's New Orleans activities. He was involved in that area in a variety of ways. He knew Oswald and was of course involved with Bannister and Ferrie. He

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was close to Ochsner who was, in turn, close to the Sterns who owned the station on which Oswald appeared. Ochsner and Butler were active in promoting the "lone-commie" theory, a variation of the lone-nut theory sponsored by Mayor Earle Cabell, the Whitney family's *Herald Tribune*, and the Dulles-McCloy led Warren Commission. Butler appeared on WDSU with Oswald. Butler was close to the Reily family, Oswald's employer.

Shaw, Ochsner, and Butler were deeply involved with the New Orleans elite which has been for over a century a part of the national and international power structure. The local upper class was long integrated as a social subsidiary of the Boston-New York commercial-financial aristocracy. The interests of that aristocracy clashed with the goals of Huey Long and John Kennedy. That aristocracy wanted to and *still wants* to control economic

and social policies through its private organizations and networks, and it is effective in dictating policy to the government.

Kennedy and Long thought that government had a useful and necessary role to play, a role independent of Establishment interests. The aristocracy wanted to maintain Latin America in perpetual backwardness. Kennedy sought ways to spur development. That aristocracy thought and thinks that the United States military exists as a police-extension of institutions such as United Fruit, Exxon, and National City Bank. Long thought the proper role for the military was providing for the defense of the nation and Kennedy opposed its use to support neo-colonial interests. Long and Kennedy thought that the government had an important role to play in stimulating the national economy and in protecting the majority from highly organized centers of wealth and power. The aristocracy believes that the government should foster and expand those centers and perform only the tasks they give it.

It is not surprising then that Long and Kennedy are linked in both their policies and

their national, and localized, enemies. Linked through the persons of Christenberry and Ochsner and the Butler family. Linked because Huey Long's opponents would fill positions at the International Trade Mart and the International House and would be Clay Shaw's associates. Linked because the Louisiana of Huey Long was dominated by the same New York-Boston interests that appear in the time of Kennedy and Shaw.

I think Garrison was correct when he said that Shaw's role was relatively minor. But he did have a role to play. It is important that Shaw was connected through his personal relationships and his work with the International Trade Mart and the International House to the networks of people who opposed Kennedy and then controlled world events after he was murdered. This is part of a pattern. When one examines Shaw's associations one finds the same kinds of people that one finds when looking to see who created and controlled the Warren Commission or who spread the cover story in the hours after the President was murdered. ♣

Specters from the Past

By Jim DiEugenio

On June 18th the Senate voted 98-0 to bar burial and other benefits for veterans found guilty of federal capital offenses. This should really be called the Timothy McVeigh Act since it was specifically aimed at him in the wake of his conviction for the April 19, 1995 Oklahoma City bombing. One of the chief proponents for the bill is Senator Arlen Specter. Specter, ever the opportunist, was seen at the time in various film clips extolling the moral necessity of the bill.

Two other notable events occurred around this time that Senator Specter — chief architect of the single-bullet theory — will probably not be pursuing any photo ops over. In the same month, former CIA analyst Patrick Eddington began his book tour promoting his new volume *Gassed in the Gulf*. As Lisa Pease has noted (*Probe* Vol. 4 No.2, p. 10), Eddington has been the prime whistle blower in the case of Gulf War Syndrome, the strange illness afflicting many veterans of our war against Saddam Hussein. In his book, and in an appearance in Los Angeles, Eddington singled out Specter, former chair of the Senate Intelligence Oversight Committee, as resistant to exposing that institutional cover-up.

On Tuesday, June 17th, a more distant specter from his past came back to haunt the senator. An Associated Press story datelined Philadelphia stated that the police in France had captured Ira Einhorn at a converted windmill in the rural Bordeaux region. He was believed to have been living there since 1992. The police credited a segment about Einhorn on television's *Unsolved Mysteries* as leading them to the fugitive.

And what a bizarre mystery it has been. In the sixties, Einhorn had been Philadelphia's version of Jerry Rubin or Abbie Hoffman: a strong anti-Establishment, anti-war figure who was into the drug culture and rumored to have dealt some drugs himself. He lived in Powelton Village, Philly's rough equivalent of Greenwich Village or Haight-Ashbury, located near the University of Pennsylvania. He was a lecturer at Pennsylvania's Free University whose seminars were always well attended. He was also a darling of the local media and was the center of many stories in the local newspapers and magazines. When Gaeton Fonzi lived in Philadelphia and wrote for *Philadelphia Magazine*, he once did a profile of Einhorn, who happened to be a student of the JFK murder also.

But unlike Rubin or Hoffman, when the sixties began to wind down, Einhorn managed to adapt to the new waves. In 1970, he gained national exposure by hosting Earth Day in Philadelphia where he played host to guests like Ed Muskie. From here he began to be a harbinger of New Age thinking. He was as-

sociated with psychic Uri Geller, promoted the posthumous scientific discoveries of Nikola Tesla, ran for mayor, was approached by the Rockefellers for other public office, and hobnobbed with executives from Bell Telephone. He had a private mailing list in which he sent out bits of information he had collected from his widely eclectic reading. The list included journalists Alexander Cockburn and Jack Anderson. Towards the end of the seventies he was hobnobbing with the Shah of Iran's nephew and had been invited to lecture at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.

Something else happened toward the end of the decade. In 1977, Einhorn's girlfriend Holly Maddux disappeared. They had returned separately from a trip to Europe that summer. After a five year cohabitation, Holly intended to move out of Einhorn's apartment and to her own place a block away. She never moved into her new apartment. When her parents in Tyler, Texas called Ira he said she had left one night upon her return saying that she was going to the store. She did not come back. A few days later she called and said she was OK but was not returning. He had not seen or heard from her since.

On March 28, 1979 Homicide Detective Mike Chitwood went to Einhorn's second floor apartment with a search warrant. He presented it to Einhorn who asked, "Search what?" Chitwood and his assistants went to his porch, broke open a padlock on a closet and found the remains of Holly Maddux.

Later, the autopsy report revealed that Holly had been beaten over the head with a blunt object, perhaps a heavy lamp. There were severe fractures of her skull, indicating she was hit at least six times, perhaps as many as twelve. Chitwood had been tipped off to Einhorn by a very convincing report put together by private investigators hired by Holly's parents. The parents couldn't believe she would disappear without notifying them and they never liked Einhorn. They also found it hard to believe she would leave without withdrawing the tens of thousands of dollars she had in the bank which went untouched. Also, Einhorn refused to cooperate with the private detectives, and some of his neighbors complained of a fierce odor coming from the porch of Ira's apartment.

In other words, it was a strong case. Yet Einhorn got out on only forty thousand dollars bail. His attorney at the bail bond hearing was none other than Arlen Specter. According to Steve Levy's book *The Unicorn's Secret*, some phone calls were made behind the scenes and Einhorn's distinguished friends got Specter into the case. One of Einhorn's friends was Barbara Bronfman of the fabulously wealthy Canadian liquor manufacturing family, whose attorney at one time was Clay Shaw's acquaintance Louis M. Bloomfield, also associated with Permindex. Specter not only got Einhorn out on bail, but he got a ridiculously low bond of \$40,000, meaning that Einhorn was released by putting up four grand. As the evidence began to build against Einhorn, his friends began to desert him and Specter exited. Einhorn's new girlfriend, daughter of a speech writer in the Reagan administration who Ira met at the Bronfman estate in Virginia, helped him get out of the country to Canada, and then to Ireland. Barbara Bronfman was still aiding him in Ireland, and her help may explain why he had a spacious two bedroom apartment in Dublin.

Specter helped convict, in the public eye, an overwhelmingly innocent man, namely Lee Harvey Oswald. Later, his lawyerly skills helped an overwhelmingly guilty man, Ira Einhorn, escape justice. In another irony, Dick Sprague, first choice to lead the House Select Committee on Assassinations, had been Specter's chief assistant when Specter was Philadelphia's DA. If you talk to Sprague, and others he brought to Washington from that office, he will tell you that although he liked Specter personally, there was no doubt the man was a completely political animal. In other words, the kind of lawyer-politician who puts his finger in the air to determine his stand on an issue. We've had far too many of these spineless pols since Specter helped bury the truth about what happened on November 22, 1963. ♣

Brad Ayers to Jack Anderson: 'Fess Up!

Probe subscriber Bradley E. Ayers, author and former CIA operative at JMWAVE, copied us on his recent correspondence to longtime columnist Jack Anderson. It was Anderson who originally broke the story of the CIA's involvement with

the Mafia in Castro assassination plots. This story resurfaced during the Church Committee's investigation of the CIA in the mid '70s. We obtained Brad's permission to share his letter with the rest of you. — Eds.

Bradley E. Ayers

July 12, 1997

Jack Anderson
1200 Eaton Court N.W.
Suite 300
Washington, DC 20007

Dear Jack:

As I'm sure you're aware, the continued release of documents by the Assassination Records Review Board substantiates much of what you wrote about CIA plots to kill Castro in the early 60s, and the alliance with the Mafia, particularly Johnny Rosselli's role (which remained a prominent one at JMWAVE through the early portion of my tour there, well into 1963).

You will recall that I unhesitatingly identified Rosselli's photo from others that you presented, in the presence of witnesses in your home in the spring of 1971, as a prelude to the four-part column series you and Les Whitten did on JMWAVE and the CIA's secret war on Cuba. You also put me in touch with Rosselli's West Coast attorney in an effort to help with Johnny's parole hearing(s).

I have never ceased my effort to reveal what I believe to be facts about the JMWAVE operation and the personnel there that would be relevant to the murder of JFK and other domestic assassinations, and I will not cease my effort until I'm dead. I am cooperating with the ARRB and am going forth with an uncensored rewrite of my 1976 book, *THE WAR THAT NEVER WAS* (see attached).

I know in my guts that you have a lot more knowledge about the secret war, the Agency people who were involved as well as the Mafia-Rosselli role, and other related information that, for some reason, you've never published. You, me, the other Cold Warriors of that era are getting closer and closer to the grave. In the interest of truth, justice and purging of the soul, I believe the time has arrived for us each to go forth in whatever way at our disposal to reveal all that we know. The public doubt, mistrust and cynicism that pervades America and undermines faith in our institutions of government is a cancer that will ultimately destroy the society that will be inherited by our children. Before it's too late, please join me in this effort.

Brad Ayers

HARVEY AND LEE

THE CASE FOR TWO OSWALDS

BY JOHN ARMSTRONG

Richard Helms once said that no one would ever know who or what Lee Harvey Oswald represented (Washington Post, 8/10/78). The implication, of course, is that Helms did know, and wasn't about to share. If pride does indeed goeth before a fall, Helms must surely be teetering.

John Armstrong has uncovered more hard evidence than any other researcher to date of multiple, concurrent records showing that at least two people were sharing the official life story of one Lee Harvey Oswald. One Oswald went by the name "Lee." Another preferred to be called "Harvey."

While Armstrong's research is important and compelling, he is the first to point out that he cannot pinpoint all the details of which Oswald was where when. Where possible, Armstrong refers to these Oswalds by the names given them by the witnesses that provide the data herein. At times it seems possible to determine, with a fair degree of certainty, which Oswald is where. At other times, Armstrong cannot, based on the known evidence, determine which Oswald is being discussed. What follows is the result of Armstrong's extraordinarily detailed and documented investigation. While one may argue with any particular identification, the overwhelming weight of the evidence suggests that Armstrong is closing fast on the truth about one of the greatest mysteries of this case. — Eds.



Very little is known about the procedures used in the gathering of intelligence. There are few books written about the recruiting, training and handling of spies to be found at your local library. We know that our intelligence agencies have personnel in every major country of the world. That's their job. Some of the people gathering information in countries such as China, Korea, Iran, Cuba, Russia, etc., are native born or native speaking peoples. He or she would be familiar with the spoken and written language, local customs and would blend in with the native peoples of the country. Without a native speaking person, someone must be trained in the language and customs of the country in order to be able to fit in with the local population.

Such was the case with Gordon Lonsdale, who had emigrated from Canada to England. He established a business in England which he used as a cover. His real purpose was passing British defense secrets to the Russians. In 1961, Lonsdale and four members of his spy ring were arrested, tried, and convicted of espionage. Lonsdale was sentenced to 25 years in prison. As the British began delving into Lonsdale's background, they quickly realized he was no ordinary spy. He had fake birth certificates, fake passports and dual identities. To the surprise of the British, he was not a Canadian, but a native born Russian.

His real name was Konan Molodi. He was born in Russia in 1922. He had been sent to California at age nine to live with his aunt. He attended 9 years of school in the U.S. and mastered the English language. He was then recalled to the Soviet Union where he received a commission in the Soviet Navy and was trained in espionage. In 1954, Konan Molodi was sent to Canada, where he assumed the identity of a deceased Canadian named Gordon Lonsdale. A year later he was in England posing as a British businessman. But his real purpose was ferreting out British defense secrets.

Konan Molodi (aka Gordon Lonsdale) was created by the Russian intelligence services. He was first "handled" at age 9. His handling continued through his school years in San Diego, his espionage training in Russia, and his passing on of British defense secrets in the early 1960's. If the Russians can begin creating spies with fourth graders, can there be any doubt that our intelligence agencies ran similar operations — with teenagers in the United States recruited as potential spies?

Whereas Lonsdale was a creation of the Russian intelligence services, available evidence demonstrates that Lee Harvey Oswald, and those impersonating him, were a creation of the American intelligence community.

Documents, photographs and witness testimony show two people were using the name "Lee Harvey Oswald" as early as age 13, years before the Kennedy assassination. Many people knew Oswald, attended school with him, worked with him and served in the Marines with him at times and places that conflict with the official Warren Commission chronology of his life. The information presented here consists of publicly available government documents, photographs and witness testimony that have been available for the past 30 years, much of it from the Warren Commission volumes. Most of this information has been previously overlooked, misunderstood or unexplained. Through these exhibits, it will become apparent we are dealing with two different people, both named Oswald. The possibility of two people using the name Lee Harvey Oswald is not new. People who look alike, as well as identical twins, can be given the same identity and used by the intelligence community. In Cuba, Castro's top intelligence agents were identical twin brothers: Patricio and Antonio De La Guardia. The use of doubles allows the intelligence community endless opportunities for deception. The information presented here follows the lives of two different people, over a period of 10 years. One boy, named by some as Harvey Lee Oswald, was from New York. Another boy, Lee Harvey Oswald, was born in New Orleans and grew up in Texas. The Warren Commission took segments of each of these peoples lives and created the background of one "Lee Harvey Oswald" and presented it as such in their report. The prying apart of two lives that have been merged creates a story that is often difficult to follow, hard to comprehend, and sometimes seems bizarre. No matter how bizarre this story may seem on the surface, please keep in mind that this narrative is not based on a theory — it is based on a chronological account of Oswald's life garnered from available evidence. If my scenario is able to resolve previously unanswered questions and link together fragmented testimony, the result will be a better understanding of Oswald. If not, then we must continue to look for new answers, because the ones we have been given so far cannot be reconciled with the available evidence.

I will discuss five areas of Oswald's life: 1) his education, 2) his employment, 3) his service in the Marines, 4) the framing of Oswald as the assassin, and 5) the alteration of Oswald's possessions after the assassination. I will start by exposing some fabricated and grossly inaccurate stories which have misled the public and given false impressions of his life.

Oswald Myths

One of these stories was fabricated by Robert Blakey of the House Select Committee on Assassinations. For nearly 20 years Blakey has been trying to sell the public on the idea that organized crime killed Kennedy. Blakey has said on national television that Oswald was raised by his uncle, Dutz Murrett, who was tied in with organized crime, thereby tying young Lee Oswald to organized crime in New Orleans. Let's set the record straight. Lee Oswald was in the care of his aunt and uncle, Lillian and Dutz Murrett, between the ages of 1 and 2 while his mother Marguerite was working. At age 3 he was placed in the Bethlehem Orphans Asylum until he was removed by his mother and taken to Dallas in the spring of 1944. Mrs. Oswald remained in the Dallas/Fort Worth area, with summer trips to Covington, Louisiana, until August of 1952. They then moved to New York until 1954. The only time Lee Oswald could have been raised by his uncle was between the ages of 1 and 2. The next time you hear Robert Blakey state that Lee Oswald was raised by his uncle and therefore influenced by organized crime, you'll know better.

Another story was created by Robert Oswald and described in his book *Lee*. In 1948 the Oswalds were living on the west side of Fort Worth. Robert wrote,

The center of Lee's fantasy world shifted from radio to television when mother bought a television set in 1948. One of his [Lee's] favorite programs was *I Led Three Lives*, the story of Herbert Philbrick, the FBI informant who posed as a communist spy. Lee watched that show every week without fail. When I left home to join the Marines [July 11, 1952] he was still watching the reruns.

I Led Three Lives was often mentioned to suggest that Oswald had a vivid and fanciful imagination and was out of touch with reality. But in this case, it was Robert Oswald who was out of touch with reality. This TV program first aired in September, 1953 — a year and two months after Robert left home and joined the Marines. Over the years, Robert Oswald would continue to provide damaging and misleading statements against Lee Oswald for public consumption. These stories are often taken at face value, based upon the supposed credibility of Robert Oswald. In reality, many of Robert's stories and some of his testimony before the Warren Commission were fabrications. Certain items of evidence Robert provided to the FBI were far too convenient to be believed, such as the camera allegedly used to take the backyard photos.

Oswald in New York

Mrs. Jack Tippit, of Westport, Connecticut was related to Officer J. D. Tippit of Dallas. She was telephoned shortly after the assassination by a woman with a foreign accent. The woman had information she wanted Mrs. Tippit to relay to people in Dallas. She would not identify herself because she was afraid of being killed. She said she personally knew Oswald's father and uncle. They came from Hungary and lived at 77th St. and 2nd Avenue in New York. This is Manhattan's German community and locally known as "Yorkville." They were unemployed, received money from communists, and spent all of their time on communist activities. She gave two names: Louis Weinstock and Emile Kardos. If this information is correct, one of the Oswalds lived in New York in his youth. This could explain Oswald's interest in Communism (from his father and uncle), which began as a teenager and continued throughout his life. It could also be the reason for Marguerite Oswald's sudden trip to New York City in 1952.

In August, 1952 Marguerite sold her house in Fort Worth and drove with Lee to New York, allegedly to be near her oldest son, John Pic. Yet Pic told the Warren Commission that neither he nor Robert could get along with Marguerite. In fact, they both joined the service as soon as they could to get away from her. Why then did Marguerite move to New York with Lee?

While in New York, Mrs. Oswald, although allegedly quite poor, hired Louise Robertson as a housekeeper. Marguerite told Mrs. Robertson that she had brought Lee to New York to have mental tests done at the Jacobi Hospital. Marguerite was asked about this by Warren Commission attorney Rankin:

Mr. Rankin: Before you left New York, did you ever tell anybody that you took Lee Oswald to New York so he could have mental tests at the Jacobi Hospital?

Mrs. Oswald: No sir, never. My child was a normal child-and while in New York, I explained to you he had a dog with puppies. He had a bicycle. There was nothing abnormal about Lee Oswald.

Mental tests would not of necessity be aimed at discerning abnormal psychology. Marguerite avoided the broader implications of the question and the point was never again raised by the Warren Commission.

During the year and a half Lee Oswald resided in New York, there are few records of his activities. The available records are often con-

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tradictory and incomplete. His New York school records, found in the Warren Commission volumes, contradict New York Court records and the testimony of Lee Oswald's brother, John Pic. The school records tell us Oswald first entered Trinity Evangelical School in the Bronx in September, 1952. This school is many miles from his residence in Manhattan. When asked for copies of Oswald's school records, the Trinity School allegedly told the FBI they did not maintain records until 1957. This is nonsense. Whoever heard of a school that did not maintain records? If the school did not maintain records, how were the dates of his attendance at Trinity obtained? How did the FBI know he even attended Trinity? And why would 12-year old Oswald be enrolled and attending a junior high school in the Bronx, many miles

from the Pic apartment in Manhattan, when there were numerous junior high schools close by? In fact, one was within a few blocks of the Pic apartment.

John Pic, Lee Oswald's older half-brother, remembers Lee's school enrollment differently. Pic told the Warren Commission that the first school Lee attended in New York was two blocks from his Manhattan apartment, not the Trinity School in the Bronx. Pic was certain that Lee attended this school because he and Lee had discussed this school. Yet there is no record of Lee's attendance at any school near Pic's apartment.

From September of 1952 through January of 1953, Warren Commission records show Oswald attended only 24 days of school. His truancy brought him to the attention of the Board of Attendance. On the last Friday in March of 1953, a probation officer brought Oswald to the office of Dr. Milton Kurian, a psychiatrist employed by the Domestic Relations Court of New York. Dr. Kurian visited with Oswald and read the probation officer's file. The file contained information on Oswald's recent stay at the Youth House. Dr. Kurian noted that Oswald was quite small for his age. Dr. Kurian was 5'7" tall and estimated Oswald's height at 4'6". Oswald discussed his background with Dr. Kurian and said his mother had been married 5 times, even though she had been married 3 times. Oswald told Kurian he had numerous stepfathers and was close to only one of them. But Oswald had only one stepfather, Edwin Ekdahl, in 1945-47. After interviewing Oswald for 45 minutes, Dr. Kurian described the Oswald he met as the most paranoid individual he ever interviewed. However, Dr. Kurian is not mentioned anywhere in the *Warren Report* or the 26 volumes. The only psychiatrist Oswald was supposed to have seen was Renatus Hartogs, on May 1, 1953.

A comparison of Dr. Kurian's interview with the Oswald of the Warren Commission discloses several inconsistencies. First, Dr. Kurian described Oswald as being 4'6" tall in March of 1953. Yet by May of 1953, Lee Oswald in Fort Worth, Texas measured 5'4". Even in 1952, Oswald was described as being tall. In 1952, in Fort Worth, Texas, 12-year old Lee Oswald was in the 6th grade. He and classmate Richard Garrett were attending Ridglea West elementary school. Garrett told *Life* magazine: "Lee was the tallest, most dominant member of our group." A 6th grade photo shows Oswald to be the tall, well-built kid described by Garrett. His height was again measured at 5'4" four months later — tall for a 13 year old boy. Dick Russell and I spoke with Dr. Kurian in February, 1997. When I informed Dr. Kurian of Oswald's height as listed on the New York school records, Dr. Kurian stated, "Those records must be wrong. I interviewed Oswald at that time and he was a little fellow. He was no taller than the middle of my chest, perhaps 4'6" tall."

Another discrepancy is the number of times Oswald said his mother had been married, and his many stepfathers. But the most curious discrepancy concerns the date Dr. Kurian met with Oswald. He interviewed Oswald on 3/27/53. He recalls it because it was his last day of employment with the court system. Oswald's file showed *previous confinement* at the Youth House. But Warren Commission records tell us that Oswald's first and only placement at the Youth House was from April 16, 1953 until May 7, 1953 — three weeks *after* Dr. Kurian saw Oswald.

Warren Commission records show Oswald attended only 24 days of school through May 7, 1953. Why then do New York School records (W.C. Exhibit 1384) show him attending 109 days of school at that same time? The court and school records are both Warren Commission exhibits. Which are we to believe? Did he attend 24 days of school and wind up in the Youth House, or did he attend 109 days of school in the 7th grade? Or, are these records for two different "Oswalds"?

While Oswald was in the Youth House, Marguerite met with his probation officer, John Carro. Carro's interview of her appears in the Warren Commission evidence (Vol. 19, p. 309). The number of simple errors Marguerite makes in that interview is astounding. Some ex-

New York 1952 - 1953

1952 - August

Marguerite and Lee arrive in New York, stay at John Pic's in-laws apartment at 325 E. 92nd St.

1952 - September 8

Trinity Lutheran Evangelical School - 7th grade - 9 days.

1952 - September 30

Public School #117 - 7th grade - 15 days

1953 - Jan. 16

Leaves Public School #117 - fails to enroll in Public School #44.

1953 - March 23

Enrolled at Public School #44 - 7th grade.

1953 - April 16

Court hearing - sent to Youth House until May 7.

1953 - May 7

Released; FBI report shows Oswald began attending Public School #44 in the 9th grade.

1953 - Summer

Louise Robertson works as housekeeper for the Oswalds.

1953 - Summer

Visits Bronx Zoo. A photo of Lee Oswald taken.

1953 - July/August

A "Harvey" Oswald is residing in Stanley, North Dakota.

1953 - September/December

Attends Public School #44 in New York.

1953 - Fall

LHO attends 89 days at Beauregard Jr. High in New Orleans.

1954 - January 11

Moves to New Orleans, attends Beauregard Jr. High.

amples: Marguerite said she was the youngest of 6 children; yet there were 5 children in the Claverie family. She gives Lee Oswald's father's name as Robert Lee Harvey; yet his real name was Robert Edward Lee Oswald. She said Lee's father died at age 45, but we know he was 41 years old when he died. She gave her marriage date as July 19, 1929, but she married Robert Oswald in 1933. She gave her sister's name as Lillian Sigourette, when we know her sister's name was Lillian Murrett. She said she formerly owned a house in Corning, Texas; yet there is not and never has been a "Corning" Texas. She gave Lee Harvey Oswald's birth date as October 19th, when the correct date was October 18th. She said Lee was baptized at the Trinity Lutheran Church in New Orleans, but the records show he was baptized at the Redeemer Lutheran Church in New Orleans. When she was asked whether Lee's father was right or left handed she replied "I do not remember, sir." There is no reason for a 45 year old woman to make these kind of errors concerning her background. Would you, the reader, make any of them? Errors of this type are unexplainable, and yet are found in her Warren Commission testimony, news articles and interviews. The continual errors tend to make one suspicious of Marguerite Oswald and her background. Had she forgotten? Was she lying? Or was this person not truly Lee's mother?

Missing Grades

Assistant FBI Director John Malone, who was in charge of the New York FBI office, reviewed the court file on Oswald, which included his school records. Malone filed an eight page report and stated that when Oswald left the Youth House on May 7, 1953, he entered Public School #44 in the 9th grade. The 9th grade? Oswald entered the 7th grade the previous September and attended only 24 days of school. How could he have skipped from the 7th to the 9th grade? One set of school records show Oswald to be truant while another set of records show him to be attending school full time. Dr. Kurian interviewed Oswald in March of 1953, yet the Warren Commission says Oswald was first interviewed by a psychiatrist two months later. Dr. Kurian says Oswald was in the Youth House prior to that time, yet the Warren Commission says Oswald was first confined to the Youth House a month later. Dr. Kurian said Oswald was 4'6" tall, yet New York school records list his height a month later as 5'4". These discrepancies suggest there were two different people — both named Oswald — in New York in the spring of 1953. This would explain the testimony of Lee Oswald's half-brother John Pic when he was shown a series of photographs from *Life* (2/21/64) of Lee Oswald as a youth. Pic identified photo-

graphs of Oswald from age 2 through age 12. But when Pic was shown a photograph of a 13 year old Oswald standing in front of the Bronx Zoo (W.C. Exhibit 2893), Pic denied it was his brother. Warren Commission attorney Albert Jenner showed John Pic the "Bronx Zoo" photo and asked "Do you recognize that photo?" John Pic replied "Sir, from that picture, I could not recognize that is Lee Harvey Oswald." Attorney Jenner responded "that young fellow is shown there, he doesn't look like you recall Lee looked in 1952 and 1953 when you saw him in New York City?" John Pic replied "No, sir." This is the only known

photograph of Oswald taken during his year and a half stay in New York. Robert Oswald testified that the boy in the picture was Lee Oswald and that he had taken the picture. John Pic, who testified months after Robert, denied the boy in the picture was Lee Harvey Oswald.

In the summer of 1953, Lee Oswald was living in the Bronx with his mother. According to employment records obtained by the FBI, Marguerite worked at Lady Orva Hosiery from May 9 through December 20, 1953.

Oswald in North Dakota

While "Lee Oswald" was living in the Bronx and Marguerite was working at Lady Orva Hosiery, there was a "Harvey Oswald" residing for a short time in North Dakota. After the assassination, Mrs. Alma Cole wrote a letter (at left) to President Johnson informing him that her son, William Henry Timmer, had befriended Oswald in Stanley, North Dakota in 1953. Timmer (who lives in Great Falls, Montana) was interviewed by the FBI shortly after the assassination. Timmer told of meeting a boy in the city park who

introduced himself as Harvey Oswald. This is the first known reference to "Harvey Oswald," the person who likely assumed the identity of Lee Harvey Oswald. Harvey spent a lot of time with Timmer during the next two months, the summer of 1953. They went swimming at the reservoir and rode their bicycles in the park. He remembered Harvey riding a bicycle with no fenders or chain guard and being impressed by this kid "from the big city." Harvey talked of gang fights in New York and of making weapons with razor blades stuck in potatoes. Harvey said he had been all over the country. Harvey carried a pamphlet in his back pocket and on one occasion showed it to Timmer and remarked, "I'll bet you've never seen anything like this." It was a pamphlet on Marxism. Where would he get such a pamphlet in North Dakota? Perhaps from his father and his uncle, who were, according to the woman who spoke with Mrs. Tippit, "Hungarians and spent all

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[Stamps on this letter from the FBI's files indicate this letter was in late December, 1963. All grammar, punctuation and capitalization are as they appear in the original.]

President Lyndon B. Johnson

Dear Sir,

I do not know how to write to you, and I can't decide if I should or shouldn't.

My Son knew Lee Harvey Oswald, when he was at Stanley, North Dakota. I do not recall what year, But it was before Lee Harvey Oswald enlisted in the Marines. The boy read Communist books then.

He told, my son He had a calling to kill a President. My Son told me, he asked him, How he would know one? Lee Harvey Oswald said, He didn't know, But the time and places [unintelligible] be layed before him.

There are others at Stanley that knew Oswald.

If you would check, I believe what I have wrote will check out.

Another women that knew of Oswald and his mother, was Mrs. Francis [unintelligible — looks like Jolliard or something similar]. She had the Stanley, Cafe. (She's Mrs. Harry M [unintelligible] now.) Her Son, I believe knew Lee Harvey Oswald better than mine did.

Francis and I just thought Oswald a bragging boy. Now we know differs we told our Sons to have no more to do with him, (I am sorry, I can't remember [unintelligible])

This letter is wrote to you in hopes of helping, If it does all I want is A Thank you.

Mrs. Alma Cole
Rt. 3 Box 1 H.
Yuma, AZ

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of their time on Communist activities." In New York City, two years earlier, 21 people had been arrested and were facing trial for communist related activities (*New York Times*, 6/21/51, p. 16). One of the people arrested was Louis Weinstock. Curiously, Louis Weinstock was one of the names mentioned by the anonymous woman who called Mrs. Tippit in Connecticut. The early 1950's was the McCarthy era — when everyone was afraid of being labeled a communist. Is it likely that Hungarians would promote communism in the middle of New York City at a time when many of the most active members of the American Communist Party were FBI agents working under cover? Oswald's father and uncle may have been people acting like communists, who were in reality agents of American intelligence, *agents provocateur*. And their mission was to uncover and identify domestic communists. This, of course, is what many believe to be the role of Oswald himself.

Confirmation of Oswald in North Dakota comes from several sources. Oswald told Aline Mosby, in a 1959 interview in Moscow, that after living in New York "we moved to North Dakota." Mosby's interview appeared in newspaper articles in 1959, and is mentioned in FBI reports. When Oswald was arrested in August, 1963 in New Orleans, he was interviewed by Lt. Francis Martello. He told Martello that he had moved from New York to North Dakota. When FBI agent John Quigley met with Oswald in jail that afternoon, he testified that Oswald was introduced to him by Martello as "Harvey Lee Oswald." When it was pointed out that Quigley had said "Harvey Lee," Quigley said he had meant "Lee Harvey." Curiously, Clay Shaw would make this same "mistake" in 1967.

During State Department Security Hearings in 1964, J. G. Sourwine, Chief Counsel for Thomas Dodd's Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, questioned State Department officials about their knowledge of Oswald residing in North Dakota. From the adduced record, several people knew about Oswald in North Dakota. Clearly, someone named "Harvey Oswald" was in North Dakota in the summer of 1953. But don't bother to look for a reference to Timmer, or to Oswald in North Dakota, in the Warren Commission. You won't find any. Oswald in North Dakota would have been impossible for the Warren Commission to explain.

In the fall of 1953, Warren Commission records tell us Oswald entered the 8th grade at Public School #44 in New York. That September, Marguerite Oswald again met with Lee's probation officer, John Carro. When Carro reminded her that Lee was still under court supervision, she told Carro that he no longer needed court supervision. He was doing much better and had been elected President of his 9th grade class. We have two references to Oswald in the 9th grade: one by Marguerite Oswald, the other by Assistant FBI Director John Malone who obtained his information from Judge Kelley's court file. But according to the Warren Commission, Oswald was not in the 9th grade — he was in the 8th grade. How Oswald was able to advance from the 7th to the 8th grade while attending only 24 days of school has never been explained. Also unexplained are the continual references to Oswald being in the 9th grade.

It should be easy to find out what grade Lee Oswald was in during 1953. The Warren Commission volumes contain a complete record of his schooling in Fort Worth. It contains his grammar school report cards, student lists, enrollment forms, interviews of teachers, students

and neighbors. We have photographs of Lee Oswald in grammar school from the 1st through the 6th grade. There are dozens of photos of Oswald in his youth in Fort Worth. Yet when we try to locate photographs and records of his junior high school attendance in New York, we find almost nothing. Not one report card, not one student list, no enrollment forms, no interviews nor even the names of his teachers, students or neighbors, and only one photograph — a photograph which his brother, John Pic, says is not Lee Oswald. The principal of Junior High #44 in New York, Nicolas Cicchetti said that in 1963, the FBI had taken down the names of every student who shared Oswald's home room, and were going to track them down. Yet not a single New York student was interviewed or mentioned in the *Warren Report*. Oswald's life in New York as told by witnesses, photographs and school records seems quite confusing; unless one realizes these records are for two different people — Harvey Oswald (New York and North Dakota) and Lee Oswald (Fort Worth) — both attending junior high school in New York at the same time.

Two Oswalds?

In the fall of 1953, five foot four inch "Lee Oswald" was attending Public School #44 in New York. "Harvey" was attending Beauregard Junior High School in New Orleans.

There are two starkly contradictory exhibits from the records of the Warren Commission. One shows "Lee Harvey Oswald" attending Beauregard for 89 days during the fall term in 1953 in New Orleans. The other shows Oswald attending 62 days of school during the fall term of 1953 in New York. If both Warren Commission documents are correct, you have two Oswalds — "Lee" in New York, "Harvey" in New Orleans — in the fall of 1953.

How do we know which Oswald was in New York and which Oswald was in New Orleans? *Lee Oswald*, the tall southern boy, moved to New York in 1952 and was teased by his classmates for his southern accent and for wearing blue jeans. *Harvey*, who lived in New York, was the 4'6" kid interviewed by Dr. Kurian, photographed at the Bronx Zoo, and unrecognized by John Pic. "Harvey" moved to North Dakota and then to New Orleans. He enrolled in Beauregard and was assigned to Myra DaRouse's homeroom. On his first day at school, he told Myra he wanted to be called "Harvey." She saw him every day before and after school. Myra's memory of "Harvey" as a physically small boy is consistent with Dr. Kurian's observation of Oswald. Marguerite Oswald had gone to New York with "Lee Oswald," the tallest kid in his 6th grade class. A year and a half later, 4'6" "Harvey Oswald" was in New Orleans. It was "Harvey" who was teased by his New Orleans classmates for his New York accent. It was "Harvey" who was ridiculed and attacked by fellow students for sitting in the back of a bus with "niggers." "Lee Oswald," the boy who had grown up in the South, would have known better than to sit in the back of the bus; and certainly would not have a New York accent. When we understand there are two teenagers using the name Oswald, we realize each of these boys had a parent or guardian. Perhaps this is the reason we see Oswald's mother identified sometimes as Marguerite and other times as Margaret. Marguerite Oswald must be viewed with a great deal of skepticism.

While attending Beauregard during the 1954-55 school year, Edward Voebel witnessed Robin Reilly punch Lee Oswald in the mouth. Voebel got some ice for Oswald, attempted to patch him up, and became friendly with him. Voebel told the Warren Commission that Oswald's lip was cut and his tooth was knocked out (Vol. 8, p. 3).

Oswald and Voebel became good friends. Voebel visited Oswald's apartment at 126 Exchange Place on many occasions. Voebel took a photograph of Oswald in English class at Beauregard (*Life* 2/21/64, p. 70). Oswald clearly appears to have a missing front tooth in this photo. In 1981, Oswald's body was exhumed, photographed and X-rayed. Dr. Linda Norton showed that Oswald's Marine dental records matched the teeth of the exhumed body. The report on Oswald's exhumation was given to Marina Oswald Porter. Marina personally handed me the file and allowed me to make copies — including the X-rays and photographs. Neither the dental records, photographs nor X-rays show any broken, chipped, capped or missing teeth. If Oswald had a front tooth knocked out in 1954, as shown in *Life*, there is only one way to explain the exhumed body of Lee Harvey Oswald having unbroken natural teeth in 1981: the exhumed body was a different Oswald.

Who was at Stripling?

While one Oswald was attending Beauregard Junior High in New Orleans, the other Oswald moved from New York to attend Stripling Junior High in Fort Worth. Yet, according to the Warren Commission all of his junior high school years were in New York or New Orleans. From 1952 through 1962 the only time Oswald resided in Fort Worth was four months in 1956, at which time he briefly attended Arlington Heights High School. Oswald was never supposed to have attended Junior High School in Fort Worth.

But in a 1959 interview in Moscow, Oswald himself said, "we moved from New York to Ft. Worth." In a handwritten chronology, Oswald wrote that he had lived in Fort Worth from 1954-1956. Stanley Nyberg, who was Mrs. Oswald's supervisor at the King Candy Company in Fort Worth in 1958, said "she came here with her children from New York and had good references." While discussing her activities in 1954-1956, Marguerite almost confirmed moving from New York to Fort Worth. She told the Warren Commission (Vol. 1, p. 234): "When we came to New Orleans [allegedly from New York], I worked at Washer Brothers, in New Orleans — transferred from — Goldrings in New Orleans is Washer Brothers in Fort Worth, Tex. So I worked at Washer Brothers." But Washer Brothers is in Fort Worth and Goldrings is in New Orleans. If Marguerite worked for Washer Brothers after she left New York, then Marguerite moved from New York to Fort Worth, not from New York to New Orleans. (In my detailed analysis of Marguerite's life, there is no indication that she ever worked at Washer Brothers. The name Washer Brothers is not mentioned anywhere — except this one time in her Warren Commission testimony. Yearly W-2 tax statements would tell us where she worked. But Marguerite's tax returns remain classified.)

In October of 1959, when Oswald defected to Russia, Robert Oswald was interviewed by the *Fort Worth Star Telegram*. Robert said his brother, Lee, had attended Stripling Junior High in Fort Worth. In June of 1962, when Oswald returned from Russia, Robert Oswald was again interviewed by the *Fort Worth Star Telegram*. Robert again said his brother had attended Stripling Junior High in Fort Worth. Two years later Robert Oswald told the Warren Commission that Lee attended Stripling Junior High School in Fort Worth (Vol. 1, p. 299). When Marguerite was interviewed by Mr. Pierre Berton in 1964, she also said that Lee had gone to junior high in Fort Worth. So we have four statements over a 5-year period that Oswald attended Stripling Junior High.

The FBI and Stripling

The evidence indicates that one Oswald attended junior high in Fort Worth while at the same time the other Oswald attended Beaure-

gard junior high in New Orleans. The FBI was aware of this conflict. They had Oswald's junior high school records and his 1955 graduation photo from Beauregard. They also knew Oswald's attendance at Stripling was unexplainable. Six hours after Oswald's arrest the FBI was at Monnig Junior High School in Fort Worth looking for Oswald's junior high school records. They were met by the principal, Mr. Ree Bostick. The next day, at 8 o'clock on Saturday morning, the FBI was at Stripling looking for Oswald's junior high school records. Mr. Frank Kudlaty, assistant principal of Stripling, met with two FBI agents and gave them Oswald's Stripling records. Kudlaty looked through Oswald's file and noted Oswald had attended "not quite a semester" in the 9th grade. When "Lee Oswald" left New York and moved to Fort Worth, he attended Stripling, and created the 9th grade record that Mr. Kudlaty gave to the FBI. The FBI's expediency in obtaining those records and hiding them from both the public and the Warren Commission indicates that someone knew there was a problem. Someone in a high position at the FBI moved quickly to gather and conceal the evidence that could prove the existence of two Oswalds. Who knew — besides Hoover? We can't be sure, but we do have a clue.

From 1952 through 1963 an FBI agent lived at 1727 Thomas Place in Fort Worth, five blocks from the Oswalds while Lee attended Stripling. His name was John W. Fain. It was Fain's April, 1960 interview with Marguerite Oswald that prompted Hoover to notify the State Department that "an imposter may be using Oswald's birth certificate." So Hoover was aware of the possibility of two Oswalds in 1960 and was again made aware of it in 1961 when a "Lee Oswald" tried to buy trucks to send to Cuba from Bolton Ford in New Orleans. ("Harvey Oswald" was in Russia at this time.) Frank Kudlaty retired last year as Superintendent of Schools in Waco, Texas. His encounter with the FBI raised

several questions: How did the FBI know Oswald attended Stripling and Monnig? Who directed two agents to pick up the Stripling records within hours of the assassination? What happened to these records? Don't bother to look for Oswald's Stripling Junior High School records in the Warren Commission. And don't waste your time filing a Freedom of Information request with the FBI. They deny any knowledge of Stripling.

Oswald's Stripling records have disappeared, but the memories of Oswald's classmates have not. Francetta Schubert was in the 8th grade in the 1954 — 1955 school year. Fran remembers Oswald being a grade ahead of her. She watched Oswald walk home during lunch periods and discussed him with her girlfriends. She said Oswald lived at 2220 Thomas Place, across the street from the school. This is the same house Marguerite Oswald lived in at the time of the assassination. This house was owned by Mary McCarthy, a good friend of Fred Korth, former Secretary of the Navy (Korth represented Edwin Ekdahl, Marguerite's 3rd husband, in their 1948 divorce). Doug Gann of Ft. Worth remembered Oswald in his homeroom and living in a house across the street from the school. Roy Parkin used to play touch football in Oswald's front yard and saw him in the halls of Stripling. In 1955, Bobby and Jackie Pitts lived at 2224 Thomas Place, next door to Oswald. Interestingly, Paul Gregory — an Oswald acquaintance — also attended Stripling Junior High in 1954 and was in the same grade as Oswald. His father, Peter Paul Gregory, was a prominent member of the Russian community in Dallas and ended up being Marina's interpreter after the assassination. Meanwhile, "Harvey Oswald's" 1954 attendance at Beauregard in New Orleans was well documented by the Warren Commission. "Lee Oswald's" attendance at Stripling Jun-

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ior High in 1954 is remembered by many former Stripling students even though the records have disappeared.

Oswald in New Orleans

Let us turn now to Oswald's employment in New Orleans in 1955 and 1956, before he joined the Marines.

As the reader can see, these employment histories are virtually devoid of documentation. There are no employment applications, W-4 forms, canceled payroll checks, monthly or quarterly tax statements, FICA withholdings, year end W-2 forms, etc. Neither the Warren Commission nor the FBI produced any evidence to document the dates of Oswald's employment with these companies. Without verification, we are left with two choices: trust the Warren Commission version, or locate former coworkers of Oswald. Since I have become leery of the former, I pursued the latter. Information from former co-

Warren Commission Records of Oswald's Employment in New Orleans 1955-1956

1955-Dolly Shoe Company

(No beginning or ending dates canceled checks, no employment application, no monthly or quarterly tax information reports)

1955-Warren Easton High

September/October

1955-Gerard Tujague, Inc.

November 10-January 14, 1956 (no canceled checks, no employment application, no monthly or quarterly tax information reports)

1956-J. R. Michels

Two weeks; (no beginning or ending dates of employment, no canceled checks, no employment application, no monthly or quarterly tax information reports)

1956-Pfisterer Dental Labs

"[A] few months" (no beginning or ending dates of employment, no canceled checks, no employment application, no monthly or quarterly tax information reports)

July of 1956

Moved to Fort Worth, Texas

October 24, 1956

Joined the Marines

workers tell us that *both* Oswalds worked for these companies, but not during the months and years stated by the Warren Commission.

Oswald's first job in this time period was at Dolly Shoe Company. The Warren Commission tells us he worked part-time while attending school. But Louis Marziale, the store manager, remembered Oswald working during the day, i.e. full-time employment. Louis and the store owner, Maury Goodman, remembered Oswald as being a very quiet and physically small youth. Louis observed Oswald and was unsatisfied with his work. In April of 1955, Louis fired Oswald after he returned from lunch. During those weekdays Oswald should have been in school at Beauregard.

Oswald's next employment, according to the Warren Commission, was Tujague's, a freight forwarding company. His Tujague employment history is extremely suspect. The Warren Commission tells us he worked at Tujague's for two months (without verifiable documentation). But former Tujague employees say he worked there much longer, nearly a year. Robert Oswald was discharged from the Marines in July of 1955 and visited Marguerite and Lee for a week in New Orleans before returning to Fort Worth. When Lee joined the Civil Air Patrol on July 27th, Robert helped buy him a uniform from the Army-Navy Surplus store. Robert told the Warren Commission (Vol. 1, p. 311) that during his one week stay, "Lee was working I believe for an export firm there in New Orleans." In Robert Oswald's book (p. 75), he quotes Lee as saying things like, "We're sending an order to Portugal this week ... or I received an order from Hong Kong just this morning." The export firm was Gerard F. Tujague, Inc., and the time was July, 1955. Frank DiBenedetto, Oswald's supervisor remembered him as a model employee who was very dependable and about 5'11 inches tall, a little taller than himself. This was "Lee Oswald" — quite a bit taller than "Harvey Oswald." Frank DiBenedetto told the House Select Committee on Assassinations that Oswald had worked for Tujague's "a year to a year and a half." Gloria Callaghan, a secretary at Tujague's, remembered Oswald worked at Tujague's all the way up until April of 1956, when she took a leave of absence to have her first child. Frank did not remember the month Oswald quit, but did remember he quit to join the Marines. "Lee Oswald" left New Orleans in July, 1956; moved to Fort Worth, Texas; and joined the Marines in October. From Robert Oswald, Gloria Callaghan and Frank DiBenedetto we learn that "Lee Oswald" worked at Tujague's from July, 1955 until at least April and probably until July, 1956. The day after the assassination, former Tujague employee Jimmy Hudnell gathered up Oswald's payroll records, time cards, and canceled checks and gave them to Mr. Tujague. Those records have disappeared. The Warren Commission's only record of his Tujague employment consists of two pages of handwritten records furnished by Gerard Tujague. Tujague did not provide verifiable records such as canceled checks, payroll tax or social security records; only his *handwritten* payroll records. These are only as reliable as the person who created them: Mr. Tujague. What do we know about Gerard Tujague? When former FBI agent Guy Banister (reputedly former head of the Chicago office), incorporated the FBI-CIA affiliated Friends of Democratic Cuba, Tujague was listed as Vice President. Banister was on the Board of Directors. If anyone wanted to manufacture dates of employment for Oswald, they could hardly have picked a better place than the Gerard F. Tujague Company.

Let us analyze the importance of the Tujague employment. The Warren Commission tells us Oswald entered high school in the fall of 1955, then worked at Tujague's, J. R. Michels and Pfisterer's before leaving New Orleans in July of 1956. But if the above witnesses are correct and Oswald worked at Tujague's from July of 1955 up to July of 1956 how could he have attended Warren Easton High School, or worked at J. R. Michels, or worked at Pfisterer's in the spring of 1956?

New Orleans school records have Oswald attending Warren Easton High School for two months in the fall of 1955. On October 17, 1955, he wrote a note in his mother's name saying, "we are moving to San Diego in the middle of this month ... Also, please send by him any papers such as his birth certificate that you may have." It was "Harvey" who attended Warren Easton. After Harvey quit school, he worked briefly for J. R. Michels, and then left New Orleans for California. We know about the California trip because of Texas Employment Commission employee Laurel Kittrell. She interviewed two different people named Oswald in 1963 in Dallas. She remembered they looked remarkably similar. One Oswald told her he had been a motorcycle delivery person for ETI Realty Company in California in 1956, before joining the Marines. We shall return to Laurel Kittrell's interview in part two of this article.

The last company Oswald allegedly worked for prior to joining the Marines was the Pfisterer Dental Labs. The *Warren Report* states that after quitting J. R. Michels Oswald worked "for several months thereafter ... for the Pfisterer Dental Laboratory" in 1956 (emphasis added). They conspicuously avoided identifying the months and years during which Oswald worked at Pfisterer's. Let me explain why.

The day after the assassination, Airman Second Class Palmer E. McBride told the FBI (W. C. Exhibit 1386) that he had worked with Oswald from the fall of 1957 to the summer of 1958 at the Pfisterer Dental Laboratory in New Orleans. They worked together every day and discussed a recent Russian space success. The first Russian space success was Sputnik on October 4, 1957. Therefore, Oswald and McBride could only have discussed Russian space successes after October 4, 1957. McBride and Oswald also listened to classical music at each others' homes, and debated the merits of communism. In early 1958 McBride took Oswald to a meeting of the New Orleans Amateur Astronomy Association at the home of William Wulf. Oswald became involved in a discussion about communism which was overheard by Wulf's father, "Harvey Oswald," who again was promoting communism, was asked to leave. McBride and Oswald also attended the Boris Gudenov Opera. For Palmer McBride, attending the Boris Gudenov Opera was a memorable event. For our purposes it is a way of placing a date on Oswald's presence in New Orleans. I obtained a brochure from the New Orleans Historical Collection. Boris Gudenov played only two days in New Orleans during the entire decade of the fifties: October 10th and 12th of 1957. McBride worked with Oswald from the fall of 1957 until July of 1958. Then McBride quit to join the Air Force Reserves. Oswald left Pfisterer's a month earlier. A year later, in 1959 at El Toro, Nelson Delgado would remember that Oswald enjoyed classical music and would often talk at length concerning the opera.

Further confirmation of Oswald in New Orleans in 1958 comes from one Walter Gehrke. McBride took Oswald to an Amateur Astronomy Association meeting at Gehrke's home. Gehrke told the FBI that none of these meetings were held in his home until 1958. Therefore, McBride and Oswald could only have attended a meeting at Gehrke's home in January of 1958 or later. According to the *Warren Report*, Oswald was in the Marine Corps at this time.

Additional confirmation of Oswald's employment in New Orleans in 1957 and 1958 comes from Linda Faircloth, the current president of Pfisterer Dental Laboratory. The former owners of the company told her Oswald had worked there in 1957. The day after the assassination the FBI had taken all employment records, payroll records, quarterly tax forms, canceled checks, employment applications, W-2 forms i.e. all documentary evidence pertaining to Oswald's employment. Oswald's employment records at Pfisterer's, like the Tujague employment records, have disappeared. The owners were told by the FBI not to discuss the case among themselves or with anyone. The FBI discontinued the investigation of Oswald in New Orleans in 1957 and 1958 by stating that the information provided by McBride "is unfounded and no further in-

vestigation is needed." Not a single Pfisterer employee or partner testified before the Warren Commission. Not a single Pfisterer document relating to Oswald's employment has been found.

Did Liebeler Know?

John Hart Ely, a staff attorney for the Warren Commission was responsible for gathering background information on Marguerite and Lee Oswald. He forwarded Palmer McBride and William Wulf's FBI interviews to Albert Jenner and Wesley Liebeler on March 30, 1964. From the FBI interview of McBride, Liebeler would have known of Oswald's employment at Pfisterer's in 1957 and 1958. From Oswald's Marine records he knew Oswald was supposed to have been in Japan at the same time. Oswald in New Orleans and Japan at the same time for nearly a year posed a serious problem. It was unexplainable, and therefore had to be neutralized.

On April 10, 1964 Albert Jenner wrote a memorandum to J. Lee Rankin, General Counsel for the Warren Commission. He said "[O]ur depositions and examination of records and other data disclose there are details in Mr. Ely's memoranda which will require material alteration and, in some cases, omission." McBride's FBI statement was ignored and neither he nor the owners or employees of Pfisterer's were interviewed by the Warren Commission. No efforts were made to verify Oswald's dates of employment through payroll tax information, IRS, Social Security records or his employment file. His dates of employment were altered from 1957 — 1958 to the "spring of 1956," before he entered the Marines. To support this allegation the Warren Commission interviewed William Wulf Jr., McBride's friend and fellow astronomy club member. In Wulf's testimony all references to the years 1957 or 1958 were avoided by Wesley Liebeler.

When he opened his direct questioning (Vol. 8, p. 16), Liebeler said, "We want to inquire of you concerning possible knowledge that you have of Lee Harvey Oswald during the time that he lived in New Orleans during the period 1954-1955" (emphasis added). This is a clever and misleading statement by an attorney who had to have known what he was doing. By misdirecting Wulf's attention to 1954 and 1955, references to 1957 or 1958 were avoided. Liebeler obtained testimony that allowed the Warren Commission to circumvent the problem of Oswald's working at Pfisterer's in 1957 and 1958. When you read the *Warren Report*, you can now understand why they state Oswald worked "several months thereafter" for the Pfisterer Dental Laboratory in 1956 without giving any dates.

In 1996 Robert Groden and I interviewed and videotaped Frank Kudlary, Linda Faircloth, Fran Schubert, Myra DaRouse and Louis Marziale. We also spent nearly a day with Mr. William Wulf. I wanted Mr. Wulf to pinpoint the year and month he met with Oswald. He reconstructed his school years from 1952 through 1959. He was sick and did not attend school the entire 1956-1957 school year. In the fall of 1957 he returned to DeLaSalle High School, where the meetings of the New Orleans Amateur Astronomy Association were held. He said he was certain he met Oswald that winter, in either January or February, 1958. This, of course, jibes with what McBride told the FBI in 1963.

Burying McBride

The Warren Commission chose to avoid the problem of Oswald in New Orleans in 1957 and 1958. The FBI dealt with the problem in two ways. First, they too avoided evidence that placed Oswald in New Orleans at that time. McBride had visited Oswald's room at the Hotel Senator, which was across the street from the dental lab, in early 1958. But when the FBI visited the Hotel Senator, after the assassination, they interviewed only those employees who had worked at the Hotel

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"prior to 1956." They avoided employees who had worked at the hotel in 1957 and 1958 who could have remembered Oswald and his mother. They reviewed hotel registration cards for the year 1956 and avoided 1957 and 1958. McBride's statement that he was introduced to Marguerite Oswald in 1958 is significant. Marguerite allegedly left New Orleans in July of 1956, then lived and worked in and around Fort Worth until her death. She never again resided or worked in New Orleans. But McBride insists he was introduced to Marguerite Oswald at the Hotel Senator in early 1958. McBride is not alone in his observation of Marguerite in New Orleans at this time. There were several other witnesses. Marguerite Oswald's story is another matter altogether and was dealt with in the July/August 1996 issue of *Probe*.

The second way in which the FBI dealt with Oswald's presence in New Orleans in 1957 and 1958 concerned their handling of the physical evidence. I dealt with this matter at length in the March/April 1997 issue of *Probe*. But for the purposes of this discussion it is important to remind the reader that one of Oswald's possessions allegedly found by the Dallas Police at Ruth Paine's was a W-2 form from the Pfisterer Dental Lab. That original W-2 form would have given the correct years Oswald worked at Pfisterer's. But that item has disappeared. It was replaced with a 1956 W-2 form. This form purports to show that Oswald worked at Pfisterer's in 1956 instead of 1957 and 1958 as reported by McBride and the owners of Pfisterer's. However, a letter from the Internal Revenue Service informs us that the federal tax ID number appearing on this 1956 W-2 form was issued in January of 1964 (see aforementioned issue p. 26). I believe this 1956 W-2 form is a fake, created in January of 1964 under the auspices of the FBI. Its purpose is to show that Oswald was employed at Pfisterer's in 1956, before he entered the Marines, and not in 1957 and 1958.

Four W-2 forms were found at the Paine's pertaining to Oswald's employment in 1955 and 1956. In itself, this seems odd. Why would anyone carry around W-2 forms that were 7-8 years old, from employment as a teenager? Yet these documents were allegedly found in Ruth Paine's garage. And when these W-2 forms turned up at the National Archives, they had federal employer identification numbers listed on them which were issued by the IRS in January of 1964, when they were in custody of the FBI. As we continue to study Oswald's possessions we find that the majority of incriminating and fabricated evidence among those effects, came from the Paine's garage. Much of the incriminating evidence was not found by the Dallas Police. It was provided to the FBI, weeks or months after the assassination, by either Ruth Paine, Robert or Marina Oswald.

Another W-2 form at the Paine's was from the Dolly Shoe Company. That original W-2 form also disappeared. The Dolly Shoe form would have given the years and earnings for Oswald at the Dolly Shoe Company. It was replaced with another 1955 W-2 form (see *Probe* Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 25). The IRS states that the federal tax ID number for Dolly Shoe appearing on this 1955 W-2 form was issued in January, 1964. Dolly Shoe was founded in January, 1955 and discontinued business in October, 1957. The federal tax ID number on this 1955 W-2 form was issued seven years after the company went out of business. This W-2 form was created to show that Oswald's earnings at Dolly Shoe Company reflected part-time employment, not full-time employment as remembered by Louis Marziale. Full-time employment would conflict with Oswald's having attended Beauregard Junior High during the day.

The tax ID on the Tujague W-2 forms for 1955 and 1956 was also issued by the IRS in January, 1964, after Oswald's death. These W-2 forms were created to show Oswald worked at Tujague's for two months — part of November, December, 1955 and part of January, 1956 — in-

stead of one year — July, 1955 through July, 1956 — as remembered by Oswald's boss Frank DiBenedetto and secretary Gloria Callaghan.

The 50-50 Solution

What did the Warren Commission do with all the falsified evidence, structured witness testimony, and fabricated Oswald background? Let's see. "Harvey Oswald" attended Warren Easton High School in New Orleans in September and October, 1955. At the same time "Lee Oswald" was working at Tujague's, which created a conflict. The school records could not be changed, but changing Oswald's dates of employment at Tujague's was easy. Instead of "Lee Oswald" working at Tujague's from August, 1955 through July, 1956, his employment records were changed to show he worked at Tujague's for two months — from November, 1955 until January, 1956. These two months fit so neatly between "Harvey Oswald's" Warren Easton attendance and his two week employment at J. R. Michels in January, 1956. Then, without identifying Oswald's dates of employment, the Warren Commission tells us he was employed for "several months thereafter" at the Pfisterer Dental labs in the spring of 1956.

The creation of the W-2 forms helped create an ersatz background for Oswald as told by the Warren Commission. The schooling and employment records of "Lee Oswald" and "Harvey Oswald" were merged into a false history for one person. The "new record" showed school attendance and employment at four New Orleans companies from 1955 through July, 1956 for one person: Lee Harvey Oswald.

Had the public or the media been able to see the original 1955-1958 W-2 forms, someone would have noticed the overlapping records. Especially those indicating Oswald working in New Orleans and being stationed in Japan at the same time. Attention would have been focused directly on the problem of two Oswalds being in different places simultaneously. That had to be avoided. Until now, it was.

The Military Record

In the fall of 1956, right before Oswald joined the military, "Harvey Oswald" was in Fort Worth, Texas, where he briefly attended Arlington Heights High School. There a crucial witness surfaced. Former elementary school friend Richard Garrett ran into Oswald. In a *Life* magazine interview Garrett said:

[H]e walked up to me in the hall at school. I remember I had to look down to talk to him and it seemed strange, because he had been the tallest, the dominant member of our group in grammar school. He looked like he was lost. He was very different from the way I remember him.

This strongly suggests that the shorter, skinnier "Harvey" had temporarily replaced "Lee." Garrett further recalled that Oswald tried to sell him on communism. Oswald's photograph appeared in the 1956/57 school year book with Janet Bowlin. The photo appears to be of "Harvey," the leftist Oswald from New York, and William Henry Timmer's North Dakota.

"Lee Oswald" joined the Marines in October, 1956. So did "Harvey Oswald." Two weeks later, someone was writing to the Red Cross, asking for help in obtaining emergency leave for Lee Oswald. The first inquiry was received by the Red Cross on November 9th — only two weeks after Oswald joined the Marines! From the Red Cross records, we see that Marguerite's address is 3830 W. 6th. Yet she lived at 4936 Collinwood until July, 1957. Lee Oswald's birth date was given as October 19, instead of October 18. His military branch was first listed as "Army," then scratched out and changed to Marines. Finally, we see that the original inquiry came from Oswald's father, not his mother. All references to "him" have been scratched out and changed to "her." Why would someone inquire about emergency leave for their son only two weeks after he joined the Marines? Or did this inquiry come from the father of one of the Oswalds, and later, when someone realized

Oswald's father died before he was born, the references on the form were changed from "his" to "her." The 112th Military Intelligence Group at Fort Sam Houston maintained a file on Harvey Lee Oswald, according to Lt. Col. Robert E. Jones. Oswald was described as a procommunist who had been in Russia, involved in pro-Castro activities in New Orleans, and used the alias Alik Hidell. In 1963, they listed his address as 605 Elsbeth, Dallas, Texas. The Warren Commission specifically asked to see any military files regarding Oswald but were never shown the Army file mentioned by Lt. Col. Jones. In 1978, when the House Select Committee on Assassinations learned of the file, and requested it from the Army, they were told the file had been "routinely destroyed" in 1973.

After boot camp and ITR (Infantry Training Regiment), "Lee Oswald" left for Jacksonville, Florida. According to the Warren Commission, Lee attended Aviation Fundamentals School. But Allen Felde (W. C. Exhibit 1962) said he and Oswald attended an A & P School in Jacksonville, which is a mechanics school, quite different from a beginning course in Aviation Fundamentals. Again, two different Oswalds: "Lee" attended Aviation Fundamentals School; "Harvey" attended A & P School with Allen Felde in the spring of 1957. Oswald's Marine records show his attendance at Aviation Fundamentals School but fail to note anything about A & P School.

"Lee Oswald" attended Radar School in Biloxi, Mississippi in June, 1957, transferred to El Toro, California in July and left for Japan in August. During this time — June and July, 1957 — Alan Felde and "Harvey Oswald" attended an Aviation Electronics School in Memphis, Tennessee. Felde remembered Oswald constantly discussing politics and communism (once again, "Harvey" is promoting communism). Marine records show "Lee Oswald's" attendance at Radar School in Biloxi, but contain no reference to Aviation Electronics school or any assignment in Memphis. "Harvey" was last seen by Felde in September, 1957, a time when "Lee Oswald" was already in Japan.

From Memphis, "Harvey" Oswald may have traveled to Columbus, Ohio. On November 29, 1963, Sgt. Donald Swartz of the Columbus, Ohio Police Department Intelligence Division filed a report stating that Lee Harvey Oswald attended Antioch College, in Yellow Springs, Ohio using his true name for a short period of time in 1957. Oswald had been dismissed from Antioch because he was unable to prove his graduation from high school. Ruth Paine had attended Antioch College from October, 1949 until June, 1955. Ruth Paine's attendance and Oswald's alleged attendance at Antioch was reported by the local newspaper. Additional allegations of Oswald's presence in Yellow Springs, Ohio came from an unidentified counterintelligence agent from the Office of Special Investigations at Wright Patterson Air Force Base in Ohio. The agent said Oswald received money, on a regular basis, through the use of money orders issued by the Miami Deposit Bank of Yellow Springs, Ohio. Oswald's alleged presence in Yellow Springs, Ohio in 1957 is unresolved.

"Harvey" next showed up in New Orleans where he worked at the Pfisterer Dental Labs with Palmer McBride — from October, 1957 until July, 1958 — while "Lee" was in Japan.

"Lee Oswald," while in Japan, did not speak Russian, did not read Russian newspapers, or talk about Communism. "Lee Oswald" did not "defect" to Russia (it was Harvey who "defected"). According to his Marine buddies in Japan he wanted to be called "Lee." He hated being called "Harvey" and would fight anyone calling him "Harvey" or "Harv." Peter Cassisi, John Heindel and other marines who served with Oswald in Atsugi, remembered "Lee Oswald" returning to the base drunk on numerous occasions. But the person killed by Jack Ruby did not drink and did not smoke. Cassisi *did not recognize* Oswald as a former Marine associate when his pictures were published after the assassination. Curiously, neither Marguerite nor Robert Oswald produced letters from Oswald while he was in Japan. They did, however,

receive many letters from him while he was in Russia. It would have been interesting to compare letters in Oswald's handwriting while he was in Japan and letters sent by him from Russia.

In 1957 military records show "Lee Harvey Oswald" was treated for tonsillitis. He was treated again for tonsillitis in 1958 and given injections of penicillin. But according to an FBI report, Dr. Philben, of Dallas, Texas had removed Oswald's tonsils twelve years earlier — in January, 1945.

When "Lee Oswald" left Japan in November, 1958, he transferred to the Lake Meade Naval Air Station in Nevada. Gerald Hansen was stationed at Lake Meade and remembered Oswald. In July, 1958, "Harvey Oswald" left Pfisterer's, resided briefly in Fort Worth, and next arrived at the Marine base in El Toro, California. It is January, 1959 — nine months before "Harvey Oswald" defected to Russia. A photo of Oswald wearing a Marine helmet was taken at that time. When the Warren Commission showed John Pic this photo, he said "I would never guess that that would be Lee." Pic was correct; the photo was not Lee. It was Harvey. Harvey was substituted for Lee at El Toro. Lee had transferred from Japan to the Lake Meade Naval Air Station.

At El Toro, Harvey Oswald took a Russian proficiency test in February, 1959. On March 23, Harvey obtained a GED, equivalent to a high school degree. But when Marguerite Oswald was questioned by Warren Commission counsel Rankin about Lee's high school degree she said that she had the diploma, and from her correspondence, he attained it in January of 1958. This would leave us with two high school GED degrees — one obtained by Lee in January, 1958 and one obtained by Harvey in March, 1959 — both obtained while in the Marines. In June, at El Toro, California, Harvey Oswald had a date with Roslyn Quinn who had been studying Russian intensely for a year. They conversed for several hours in Russian and she was very impressed with his conversational Russian. It was at El Toro in 1959, that Oswald's Marine buddies remembered him reading Russian newspapers, listening to Russian records, and speaking Russian. Kerry Thornley, from New Orleans, knew Oswald at this time. He said Oswald spoke with no southern dialect whatsoever. If anything, he spoke with a New York accent. Kerry Thornley was probably correct. The Oswald he knew, Harvey, was raised in New York in the late 1940's and early 1950's by his father and uncle who lived at 77th and 2nd Avenue.

In December, 1958, Marguerite Oswald claimed injury when a candy box fell from a shelf onto her nose at work. Because of Marguerite's injury, Harvey applied for and was granted a dependency discharge from the Marines. This alleged injury was probably a ruse. Dr. Milton Goldberg, who had first treated Marguerite for her "injuries" said he could find nothing wrong with her. Dr. Goldberg told the FBI that in January, 1959, Marguerite said "that her son wanted to defect to Russia." This was 10 months before Harvey went to Russia. It seems that someone knew the future plans of Harvey long before he defected, including Marguerite. On August 7, 1959 a Parents Dependency Affidavit was completed and signed by Marguerite Oswald to obtain an early discharge for Oswald. Her son's name was listed as *Harvey Lee Oswald*.

Before Oswald was discharged from the Marines, he applied for admission to the Albert Schweitzer College in Churwalden, Switzerland. Applicants were asked to give their reasons for wishing to attend this college. Oswald gave as one of his reasons "in order to broaden my knowledge of German." In the *Warren Report* there is no indication that Oswald was ever exposed to or spoke the German language. However, this may be a reference to the anonymous woman who telephoned Mrs. Tippit after the assassination and said Oswald's father and uncle lived at 77th and 2nd Avenue in New York. The area she is describing is Yorkville — Manhattan's German community — where Harvey Oswald lived prior to 1952. ⇨

Part II of this article will appear in the next issue of *Probe*. -Eds.



The World According to Ron

When Ron Rosenbaum penned his attack on the Warren Commission critics in 1983 for *Texas Monthly*, there wasn't much to go on to measure who he was or where he was coming from. Today there is. For, like Gary Wills, Rosenbaum has become one of that cadre of journalists who no matter how vacuous their writing, how faulty their conclusions, are never at a loss for work in the big-time 'zine world. In 1991, Rosenbaum collected some of his choice assignments into an anthology called *Travels with Dr. Death*. It affords us an opportunity to see the world, at least a large part of it, through Ron's eyes.

One of the most arresting pieces in the book is the long essay on former CIA counterintelligence chief James Angleton. Since it was published in 1983, Rosenbaum had an opportunity to examine many of the blunders and tragedies, both epic and personal, that the weird and dangerous Angleton had caused or been part of. You'll find almost none of that here. (For a book-length treatment see Tom Mangold's *Cold Warrior*; for a shorter version look for Lisa Pease's upcoming two-partter in *Probe*.) Rosenbaum concentrates instead on Angleton's relationship with British intelligence officer Kim Philby. Philby had been one of four or five high level double agents that the Russians had turned but persuaded to stay in place in order to relay British, and in Philby's case, American secrets (Philby was a British liaison to the CIA in Washington). Angleton was a Philby friend and colleague who failed to see through him as fellow CIA officer Bill Harvey did. Many commentators blame Angleton's failure in this case as a cause of his growing paranoia and endless search for a high level plant in the Agency. Surprisingly, Rosenbaum's essay is an attempt to rehabilitate Angleton. He actually postulates that Angleton may not have been fooled by Philby after all. That Angleton's obtuseness may have been a ruse so that Philby could escape to Moscow and relay Angleton KGB secrets. Two of his sources for this elaborate theory are Edward Epstein and Howard Hunt. Rosenbaum can hardly restrain himself on Epstein whom he calls "perhaps the premier journalist in the mole-war field" and whose book about Oswald, *Legend* (done with Angleton's help), is called "groundbreaking "

The essay on Watergate is similar to his "Oswald's Ghost" piece. The first, published in *The New Republic* in 1982 on the tenth anniversary of the scandal, is an elaborate, slickly done attack on revisionist versions that had surfaced in the interim. Rosenbaum has two prime targets in the piece: H. R. Haldeman and Richard Nixon. He singles them out because they persist in their malingering about there being more to that series of crimes than the *Washington Post* told us. Although he dances and teases around, as he will in his *Texas Monthly* attack in 1983, Ron really doesn't see any viable alternative theory to that two year scandal. It's Bob and Dick. Even though Rosenbaum covers several different aspects of that labyrinth case, there is one segment he ignores, namely how the burglars got caught in the hotel on June 17, 1972. Two years after Ron's article appeared, Jim Hougan did minutely examine that aspect in his book *Secret Agenda*. It was the key to constructing what really did happen in that case.

The article on Iran/contra focuses on General Richard Secord and former JM/WAVE station chief Ted Shackley. Rosenbaum seems to focus on these two characters because he can indulge in his penchant to insinuate that so much that is evil in today's world came out of Kennedy's presidency. Paraphrasing Kitty Kelley, he characterizes the duo as progeny that "grew out of the dark side of JFK's Camelot."

As is his wont, Ron does not see Iran/contra as a large conspiracy and cover-up. Secord's complaint, that he was victimized because Reagan decided to pull the plug on the operation is wrong according to Ron. Secord just got caught in a scandal and is using the "authorized covert operation" phrase as an excuse to cover his tracks. Unfortunately for Rosenbaum, Lawrence Walsh's new book *Firewall* demonstrates that Secord is a lot closer to the truth than the writer in question. Not only was Reagan aware of Secord's transactions, he and his major advisers had planned a way to bail out of them and leave the technicians like Secord twisting in the wind.

The above prepares us for Rosenbaum's treatment of Ted Shackley. Ron's introduction of the man should be quoted: "Indeed you could look upon him...as one of the last surviving knights of JFK's Camelot." Later on he contin-

ues: "[W]ith the idealism gone, the hopes dashed, Kennedy dead, Shackley is called upon once again to defend Camelot's twisted legacy." Talk about inflating a heel. I had to recover myself, remembering this was the same Shackley complicit in Golden Triangle heroin running, the Vietnam Phoenix assassination program, and the unauthorized CIA-Mafia plots to kill Castro. Somehow though, I think Rosenbaum would find a way to implicate Kennedy in all the above so that Shackley could stay one of his knights.

This white horse image would probably surprise Brad Ayers and Gaeton Fonzi. Those two men have done a lot of valuable work researching the links between JM/WAVE and the Kennedy murder. They have both focused on Shackley's Chief of Operations, David Morales. Fonzi tracked down an acquaintance of Morales who recalled an illuminating story about Shackley's covert ops chief. They were drinking one night when the pal mentioned that he had done some work for Kennedy's senatorial campaign. The friend recalled that at the drop of Kennedy's name, Morales:

[M]e jumped up screaming, 'That no good son of a bitch motherfucker!'... Morales' went on for minutes while he stomped around the room. Suddenly he stopped, sat back down on the bed and... as if saying it only to himself added: 'Well, we took care of that son of a bitch, didn't we?'

I don't think that was what Jackie had in mind when she coined the word Camelot after Kennedy's murder.

The article on Shackley was revealing in an inadvertent way. Shackley is nicknamed Blond Ghost because he has managed to keep a very low profile in spite of the many nefarious operations he has overseen. He has almost never gone on the record with any writer. Even when David Corn wrote his all too kind biography of him, Shackley, on advice from CIA, refused to answer many, many questions. Such was not the case with Rosenbaum. In the story, he calls Shackley at Secord's request and the Ghost says he will get back to him later. He then checks him out. The Ghost calls Ron back the next day to tell him everything is fine. He can come down to the office and Shackley will go on the record. Although he doesn't want to be tape-recorded, Ron can take notes.

Considering the shining armor imagery, the rehab of Angleton, and Rosenbaum's cover-ups of the CIA's role in Watergate and the Kennedy assassination, whoever checked out Ron for Shackley knew what he was doing. We wonder if the Ghost would sit for a similar on the record session for *Probe*? ♣

JFK & Meyer

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day can say what happened to it, or what it actually contained. To begin to explain why, let me summarize the account about the matter given by Bradlee in his 1995 autobiography *A Good Life*.

The night of the Meyer murder, at his home, Bradlee got a call from Anne Truitt, Mary's artist friend and then the wife of Jim Truitt, *Newsweek's* Tokyo correspondent. Mary had told Anne to retrieve the diary in case anything happened to her. The next morning, Ben and Tony went to Mary's house. Once inside they discovered James Angleton there (Bradlee provides no explanation as to why he was there). No diary is found. But later in the day the Bradlees decide to go to Mary's art studio which is down the alley in their garage. They again discover Angleton there in the process of picking the lock. Embarrassed, the super spook walks off. The Bradlees make a pass through the studio and don't find the diary. But an hour later, Tony secured it. In Bradlee's telling, there is only a diary. Bradlee writes that, although Kennedy's name was not in it, it was clear that he was the person having an affair with her. Bradlee decides not to make the diary public and a day or so later, gives it to Angleton because he felt he would be able to ensure that it would be permanently destroyed. Years later, when Tony Bradlee asked Angleton how he had destroyed the diary, he admitted he hadn't. She demands it back. He gives it to her and she burns it with a friend (not named) as a witness.

Bradlee's version was sharply criticized in a letter to the *Los Angeles Times* published on November 12, 1995. The letter was from Anne Truitt and Angleton's widow Cicely. They write that Mary's instructions to Anne had been that the diary should be entrusted to James Angleton himself and that Anne Truitt called for Angleton that night and found him at Bradlee's house (it's not specified how she found out he was there). Angleton and Cicely were there because the Bradlees had asked them to come over after Mary's death. Once Truitt got Angleton on the phone, she told him for the first time about Mary's wishes. At this point, the Angletons, Tony Bradlee, and another (unnamed) person make a search at Mary's home. Again, the diary is not there. The search continued in the garage-studio (time not specified). In this version, several papers and the diary are discovered. Tony Bradlee gives it all to Angleton and asks him to burn it. Angleton burns the papers only. He "safeguarded" the diary. Years later, Tony asked for the diary. Angleton gave it to her.

She burned it, and the witness was Anne Truitt.

Ron Rosenbaum

The longest treatment of this whole affair was one of the earliest. Ron Rosenbaum did a story for *New Times* in 1976. In his version, the Angletons went to Mary's the day she died. When no one answered, they entered the house. From her answering service(!), they found out she was dead. They proceeded to the Bradlees' home to make funeral arrangements. Later that night, Jim Angleton returned to Mary's, but only to retrieve her kittens. The Truitts then called the Angletons (the time is not mentioned). In Rosenbaum's version, it is the Truitts who are entrusted with the diary. In an even more serious difference, the search for the diary occurs *five days* after the

But the point is clear that someone — perhaps more than one — is lying. The versions are not reconcilable. And they can't be chalked up to memory lapses, not for such an unusual, even singular event. It is striking that even the time frame and principals involved change between versions.

murder. This time the search party includes the Angletons, Tony Bradlee and — making their first appearances — Mary's ex-husband Cord Meyer, and Mary's old college roomie Ann Chamberlain. The search goes on for hours amid drinking and even dishwashing by Angleton. The diary is not found. Later (at an unspecified time) Tony Bradlee finds it in the studio, this time in a locked steel box. And this time, there are "hundreds" of letters, not just several. In the Rosenbaum version, Angleton says that he burned the whole package. Yet Rosenbaum also writes that other unnamed sources say the contents were sent to the Pinchot estate in Milford, Pennsylvania.

I could also quote other versions of the diary search e.g. the sketchy one in the book *Katherine the Great*. But the point is clear that someone — perhaps more than one — is lying. The versions are not reconcilable. And they can't be chalked up to memory lapses, not for such an unusual, even singular event. It is striking that even the time frame and principals involved change between versions. Concerning the former, if the call from the Truitts came in the night of Mary's death, why wait five days to search for the diary? About the latter, either all the people who say they were

there were not, or are lying about the presence of others. Rosenbaum got interviews with some of the principals, Angleton, Bradlee, and others who gave him bits of information (Cord Meyer would seem to be a source). Yet in his detailed account he can, with a straight face, write that the bonds among those involved in the search were so strong that years later, some of them attended a seance to attempt to establish contact with Mary's departed spirit. Can anyone imagine Angleton or Bradlee sitting through a seance? (I could imagine Angleton arranging a fake one.)

That Rosenbaum can unabashedly write such a thing tells us a good deal about him (for more on Rosenbaum see the sidebar at left). The fact that he never notes any of the discrepancies in the story that he himself presents, tells us even more. For example, he relates that Tony Bradlee found the diary. Yet in the article, in the presented notes of an interview with her, she seems to refer to more than one person being with her at that time. Also, in those notes, Tony states that they were all honor bound not to look at the diary. Yet Rosenbaum says that Angleton read, indexed, and took notes on everything she found.

As is his bent, Rosenbaum seems intent on not probing key parts of the story. The man who thinks Oswald shot at Kennedy (and believes John Davis' *Mafia Kingfish* is as close as we will get to a conspiracy alternative to Oswald), does not ask the question as to why the Truitts seem to be siding with Angleton. That is, unlike Bradlee's version, there are no hints of Angleton breaking into places unexpectedly. Also indicative of this is that Angleton, a source for Rosenbaum in 1976, said the diary was to be entrusted to the Truitts. Yet Anne Truitt signed off on the 1995 *L. A. Times* letter saying it was meant to be handled by Angleton himself. Both cannot be true. This is interesting because it implies a relationship between the two couples. And his wife's loyalty to Angleton is proven.

Truitt and Leary add Drugs

As noted earlier, Jim Truitt gave this curious tale its first public airing in 1976, on the heels of the Church Committee. From there, the *Washington Post* (under Bradlee) picked it up. There had been an apparent falling out between Truitt and Bradlee and Truitt said that he wanted to show that Bradlee was not the crusader for truth that Watergate or his book on Kennedy had made him out to be. In the *National Enquirer*, Truitt stated that Mary had revealed her affair with Kennedy while she was alive to he and his wife. He then went further. In one of their romps in the White House,

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Ben & Jack: Not a Love Story

Like Kennedy, Ben Bradlee was always interested in the newspaper and magazine business. After a short stint as a reporter in New Hampshire. He went to Washington to work for the *Washington Post* under then editor Phil Graham. He later went over to *Newsweek*. In the fifties he worked for the State Department in Paris. He returned to *Newsweek* to cover Kennedy's presidency. He had previously known him when he was a senator and they had lived in proximity to each other.

After the death of Phil Graham, Bradlee was asked by Kay Graham to take over the editorship of the *Post*, which he did in 1965. It was there where he gained great fame as the editor who oversaw the Woodward-Bernstein coverage of Watergate. Bradlee was also editor of the *Post* at the time of the Church investigation. It is interesting to note that, as Kate Olmsted details, the *Post* did as much as it could to deflect attention from the CIA and to the FBI during that probe. Bradlee ensured endorsement of Exner's story by sending his live-in girlfriend, Sally Quinn (a *Style* section reporter known for her breezy, gossipy writing) to interview her.

There is another notable point about Bradlee, Kennedy, and the Church Committee. Much has been made of Bradlee's book about his relationship with JFK, *Conversations With Kennedy*. Some in the journalistic community think it showed Bradlee in a compromised light, that is reporters should not be close to their subjects. This observation could only be made by someone who has not read the book closely, and has not done their homework on Bradlee.

In the book, Bradlee says that he had an oral agreement with the president not to publish anything until he was out of office for five years, which would mean he could publish in 1968. But the book was not published until 1975, the year of the Church Committee hearings.

Bradlee's introduction to the book is interesting. Very early (p. 12), he informs us that he believes there was more flash and dash to JFK's presidency than real substance. He also opines that Kennedy was the recipient of a good press while in office. I won't go into detail on the faults in this, but Don Gibson's book *Battling Wall Street* details how Henry Luce's media empire — to name just one —

had a dagger out for Kennedy. In his prefatory comments Bradlee explains that he will not shy away from Kennedy's use of profanity in this book and he again adds that the press protected Kennedy "as they protected all candidates, from his excesses of language and his sometimes outspokenly deprecatory characterizations of other politicians" (p. 18).

But there is a striking imbalance in Bradlee's candor in dialogue. It only applies to Kennedy. Never to Bradlee. Is Bradlee an altar boy? Not according to David Halberstam's *The Powers That Be*, in which the old sailor shows vigor and imagination in his colorful language and his characterizations of politicians, e.g. Lyndon Johnson. Most reporters leave this out for precisely that reason — everybody does it. So they don't want to be accused of singling any one person out. Bradlee chose to do the reverse and presented it as groundbreaking frankness.

This is symptomatic of the book's design. After seeing a James Bond film at the White House, Bradlee writes "Kennedy seemed to enjoy the cool and the sex and the brutality." Never mind that millions of others like that kind of genre, including Bradlee, who, Halberstam says, "liked straight and simple stories, crime stories, stories with a measure of sex appeal to them." Bradlee adds toward the end (p. 235) that before leaving one night, he and Jack "reminded about the night of the West Virginia primary, the dirty movie we had seen, whose plot the president seemed to recall remarkably well." (As if there was a plot to recall in the stag films of the fifties.)

This belittlement extends to matters of policy. In characterizing the Kennedys' reaction to the steel crisis of 1962, Bradlee has Bobby explain the tough measures he took against the powerful business executives with the puerile "They were mean to my brother." In a shocking statement, Bradlee writes that foreign affairs was not Kennedy's "particular field of expertise." But at the same time he deflates Kennedy, he inflates himself. Bradlee writes that he suggested to Kennedy that, as one of his first acts as president, he should fire CIA director Allen Dulles. Later, after Kennedy supposedly gave the go-ahead to a CIA-related student convention in the fascist dictatorship of the Dominican Republic, Bradlee inveighs against such things with: "I asked him about how he would

feel if the Soviet Union staged demonstrations in America... to further their objectives..."

One has to admire both Bradlee's chutzpah and his disregard for the education of his readers. This is the same Bradlee who, on orders from Allen Dulles, examined the trial record of the Rosenberg case and prepared an Operations Memorandum for CIA propaganda distribution while he was in the State Department. This is the same man who, hearing from Richard Helms that *Newsweek* was for sale, carried a check from Phil Graham to Helms' grandfather as a down payment for the magazine. And it is the same man, who upon hearing that Oswald (the man who the *Post* tells us shot Bradlee's friend Kennedy) was meeting in Dallas on the eve of the assassination with CIA officer Dave Phillips, told a reporter to do all he could to knock down the story. To say the least, the devotion of Bradlee to his murdered "friend," was less than enduring.

Halberstam pinpoints Bradlee's character and deceptive nature: "Bradlee was an almost apolitical person... he was interested in politics tactically, as he might be in a football game — who was ahead, who was behind, who was gaining." Halberstam adds that "Politics did not interest him much in the... sense that they reflected different values and attitudes." So it is not surprising that Bradlee's book exists in a political vacuum. Very few, if any, of the strongly ideological issues Kennedy was pushing, are mentioned e.g. civil rights. Again, this reveals more about Bradlee than it does Kennedy. For in explaining the change that took over the *Post* when Bradlee replaced Phil Graham, Halberstam writes: "He [Bradlee] disliked the liberal do-goodism of the paper, and he told his reporters and editors to take the liberal spin out of their stories." In fact, some of Graham's best reporters and editors, like Ben Bagdikian, left the paper when they could not fathom "what Bradlee really believed in."

Bradlee's deceptiveness about his conservatism and his CIA ties have, to echo Halberstam, been a tactical ploy, for Bradlee has been one of the shrewdest purveyors of the myth that the *Post* was a "liberal" newspaper. That myth has served Kay Graham and Bradlee (a Boston Brahmin whose family goes back five generations at Harvard) well. It has disguised to the public who they really are, and it has given uninformed rightwing yahoos an excuse to badger the media by pushing it to where both Bradlee and Graham really are and want to be. Bradlee's legacy continues. Today, the *Post* embraces Rush Limbaugh and denigrates a moderate columnist like Carl Rowan. ♦

JFK & Meyer

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Mary had offered Kennedy a couple of marijuana joints, but coke-sniffer Kennedy said, "This isn't like cocaine. I'll get you some of that."

The chemical addition to the story was later picked up by drug guru Tim Leary in his book *Flashbacks*. Exner-like, the angle grew appendages. Leary went beyond grass and cocaine. According to Leary, Mary Meyer was consulting with him about how to conduct acid sessions and how to get psychedelic drugs in 1962. Leary met her on several occasions and she said that she and a small circle of friends had turned on several times. She also had one other friend who was "a very important man" who she also wanted to turn on. After Kennedy's assassination, Mary called Leary and met with him. She was cryptic but she did say, "They couldn't control him any more. He was changing too fast. He was learning too much." The implication being that a "turned on" JFK was behind the moves toward peace in 1963. Leary learned about Meyer's murder in 1965, but did not pull it all together until the 1976 Jim Truitt disclosure. With Leary, the end (for now) of the Meyer story colors in JFK as the total sixties swinger: pot, coke, acid, women, and unbeknownst to Kennedy, Leary has fulfilled his own fantasy by being Kennedy's guide on his magical mystery tour toward peace.

But there is a big problem with Leary, his story, and those who use it (like David Horowitz and Peter Collier). Leary did not mention Mary in any of his books until *Flashbacks* in 1983, more than two decades after he met Mary. It's not like he did not have the opportunity to do so. Leary was one of the most prolific authors I know. He got almost anything he wanted published. Although it is hard to keep track of all his work, he appears to have published over 40 books. Of those, at least 25 were published between 1962, when he says he met Mary, and 1983, when he first mentions her. Some of these books are month to month chronicles e.g. *High Priest*. In none of the books I could find, i.e. most of them, is Mary mentioned or even vaguely described. This is improbable considering the vivid, unforgettable portrait that Leary drew in 1983. This striking looking woman walks in unannounced, mentions her powerful friends in Washington, and later starts dumping out the CIA's secret operations to control American elections to him. Leary, who mentioned many of those he turned on throughout his books, and thanks those who believed in him, deemed this unimportant. That is until the 20th anniversary of JFK's death. (Which is when Rosen-

baum wrote his ugly satire on the Kennedy research community for *Texas Monthly* which in turn got him a guest spot on *Nightline*.) This is also when Leary began hooking up with Gordon Liddy, doing carnival-type debates across college campuses, an act which managed to rehabilitate both of them and put them both back in the public eye.

There is another problem with Leary's book: the Phil Graham anecdote. In his book, Leary has Mary tell him that the cat was out the bag as far as her and JFK were concerned. The reason was that a well-known friend of hers had blabbed about them in public. This is an apparent reference to *Post* owner Phil Graham's outburst at a convention in Phoenix, Arizona in 1963. This famous incident (which preceded his later alleged mental breakdown) included — according to Leary — a reference to Kennedy and Mary Meyer. The story of Graham's attendance at this convention and what he did and said has been described in different ways in different books. Unfortunately for Leary, his dating of the convention does not jibe with any that I have seen. In 1986, Tony Chaitkin tracked down the correct date, time, and place of the meeting. No one had done it correctly up to that time. But Chaitkin and his associates went one step further. They interviewed people who were there. None of the attendees recalled anything said about Mary Meyer.

To me, this apocryphal anecdote and Leary's book seem ways to bolster a tale that needed to be recycled and souped up before its chinks began to show. Leary's reason for being a part of the effort may be through his association with intelligence asset Liddy. Or it may be because he was never enamored of the Kennedys' approach to the drug problem, which was antagonistic to Leary personally and a lot less liberal in its approach. Leary was quite frank about this in his book *High Priest* (p. 67) and later in *Changing My Mind* (pp. 143 ff.). Whatever his motives, Leary's retroactive endorsement is just not credible.

The Split at the Post

In fact, when it comes to Mary Meyer, stories between the same couple are not consistent. As mentioned previously, Bradlee states in his book that Kennedy's name was *not* in the diary. Yet his wife told *The National Enquirer*, that although she only looked at it briefly, Kennedy's name was there. According to an interview with writer Debbie Davis, Ben Bradlee once told television personality David Frost that the diary was not even a diary but in fact a sketchbook.

In this regard, Tony Bradlee made a telling comment to the *National Enquirer* in 1976. In the notes written up from her interview, after she has discussed (with a bit of ambiguity)

whether or not Kennedy's name was in the diary, she is quoted as saying: "But the diary was destroyed. I'll tell you that much is true." The suggestion in the last sentence is that everything else is not. Or, at least, the diary's destruction is all she knows for a fact.

If Mary's own sister is not forthcoming, then who among the rest is? Don't rely on Rosenbaum to find out. He is a friend of both Angleton and the *Post*. Consider the man who helped him write his 1976 Mary Meyer piece, one Philip Nobile. When I interviewed Deborah Davis about the attempted censorship of her book, which exposed the *Post's* ties to the CIA, she told me that her troubles began with a whispering campaign to her publisher. The whisperer was Rosenbaum's partner Nobile. When that wasn't enough, Nobile talked to Alexander Cockburn of the *Village Voice*. Cockburn printed the rumors that her book was unfounded and that she had cried in her publishers' office when challenged on this. Both accounts were untrue. But Cockburn was not an unbiased observer. As Nobile must have known, his live-in girlfriend at the time was Kay Graham's daughter. It is odd that Rosenbaum would choose to write on such a controversial subject with someone who seems to be such a friend to the *Post*. Related to that, in his 1991 reflections on the 1976 article, and in the article itself, he tries to insinuate that these people — Bradlee, the Truitts, the Angletons — are actually friends of Kennedy. In addition, Rosenbaum and others never seemed to ask why those involved all seemed so eager to violate Mary's privacy by reading the diary. In no version I have read was that ever part of Mary's instructions. And Angleton, the man who the Truitts seem to side with against Bradlee, supposedly went through them like an archivist.

The Truitts' trust for and seeming loyalty to the Angletons is particularly interesting. In Rosenbaum's 1976 piece, the following passage appears:

The Truitts were still in Tokyo when they received word of the towpath murder, and the responsibility for the diary was communicated to their mutual friend James Angleton through still uncertain channels.

With the quiet skill of a cardsharp, Rosenbaum avoids an important detail. Namely, how the Truitts found out about Mary's death in the middle of the night halfway around the world. Someone must have either called or wired them. Why is this matter never addressed in any version? The logical choice as contacts would be the Angletons. This is apparently off limits for Ron. If he drew attention to his lack of curiosity on this matter, it would hint that something is being papered over in order to conceal a point.

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Novel & Company: Phillips, Banister, Arcacha and Ferrie

By Lisa Pease

In the last issue of *Probe*, I gave readers a taste of some of the striking information in the *Playboy* deposition of Gordon Novel. For those of you who are new to the case, Gordon Novel was hired by Garrison to provide electronic security for his office during his investigation of the Kennedy assassination. Unbeknownst to Garrison, Gordon had a large cadre of CIA and FBI associates, who were more interested in bugging than protecting Garrison's office. Garrison began to suspect that Gordon was not on his side, and Gordon fled the state and managed, with the help of Ohio Governor James Rhodes, to avoid Garrison's attempts to extradite him back to Louisiana for questioning.

While Gordon was on the lam, he made many statements indicating his involvement with the CIA. In the years since, several critics and more lone nut believers have tried to say that Novel was never CIA, citing a CIA memorandum "for the record" which flatly stated that Novel had never worked for CIA. However, anyone savvy about the CIA knows that, as several CIA officers have said, memorandums for the record are often false.

In 1969, Novel sued *Playboy* for defamation of character, due in large part to Garrison's statements, published in *Playboy*, indicating that Novel did in fact work for/with the CIA. Novel ultimately lost this suit. Reading this excerpt, you will see why.

In the last issue of *Probe*, Gordon's close relationship with former CIA director and prime conspiracy suspect Allen Dulles was revealed. Here, I'd like to give you a taste of more of what is in this startling deposition.

At the beginning of this deposition, Gordon refused to answer questions "on the grounds that answering would "violate the National Security Act of 1947." This was the act that formed the CIA. On May 8, 1969, *Playboy's* lawyer David Krupp decided to press the issue and ask Gordon why he felt he deserved privilege under the National Security act. In the process of answering, Novel's relationship with the CIA and another top Garrison suspect, Cuban exile Sergio Arcacha Smith, is revealed. More important are the revelations about Arcacha's relationship with both Guy Banister and a Mr. Phillips. Mr. Phillips, as you will see from the context, can only be David Atlee Phillips, the notorious

coup plotter and propagandist who was seen with Oswald shortly before the assassination of Kennedy. Krupp is questioning Novel.

Q What gave rise to a claim of privilege?

A Because of the activities that were related in 1961 that I was involved in. We just assumed automatically that we had privilege.

Q What were those activities?

A They related to a Mr. Sergio Arcacha Smith.

Q Who is Sergio Arcacha Smith?

A Mr. Sergio Arcacha Smith at the time in 1961, as I understand it, was the president and director of the Cuban Democratic Revolutionary Front. ...

Gordon relates how his quasi-business associate, Salvador Giangrosso, put him in touch with Arcacha. He met Arcacha in the coffee shop of a famous New Orleans hotel. Arcacha had a file on him, and asked a lot of questions about his political opinions. "I am anti-Communist and I don't like Castro and never did," Novel replied.

Novel was recommended to Arcacha by Ed Butler of INCA. Novel knew Butler through Butler's cousin, who was a good friend of Novel's. Novel admitted to doing some freelance work for INCA.

At this point, Krupp returns to the subject of the meeting with Arcacha, and determines that he wanted Novel to help him set up a telethon in New Orleans, the purpose of which was less to raise money than to broadcast graphic images of atrocities committed in Castro's Cuba. After this first meeting, the next time Novel saw Arcacha, he was in the presence of a new person.

Q Who was there?

A Mr. Banister, Mr. Arcacha Smith and Mr. Phillips.

Q Do you know his first name?

A No.

Q Had you seen him before?

A No.

Q Was he a Latin?

A No.

Q What was his interest in the meeting?

A He seemed to be running the show.

Q Telling Banister and Arcacha Smith what to do?

A His presence was commanding. It wasn't just in an orderly military situation, you know. It was just they seemed to introduce Mr. Phillips.

...

Q Was he identified as to his background? ... Were any hints dropped...?

A Just that he was from Washington, that's all.

Q Did you assume from that that he was with the CIA?

A I didn't assume anything. I never assume anything. ... He seemed to have a very commanding presence at the meeting and that — I just took it that he was — whoever he was, he was the commanding presence. ...

Q What was said at the meeting?

A They wanted to organize a telethon, period; that they would give me a complete breakdown on how they wanted the thing presented.

Q By they, do you mean Banister and Smith or Banister and Phillips?

A Banister and Phillips.

Q Phillips and Banister?

A Yes, and Arcacha. ...

Q Were you told either at this meeting or at the meeting you had had with Arcacha Smith a few days previously that what you were discussing was of a confidential nature?

A I got that impression from the start of the meeting. ... The fact that they wanted to close the doors and they checked outside the offices and what have you to make sure that there was no one standing outside the office door. ... I think somebody mentioned something about this conversation isn't taking place. ... There seemed to be a lot of fear but nobody was disclosing why. ...

The telethon never did take place, for reasons unknown to Novel. He admitted seeing Mr. Phillips again "once or twice" after that meeting. Novel relates that after this meeting, he was instructed to attend night karate school, where he was trained in the deadly arts, along with a lot of Cubans using aliases. After this meeting, Banister would call Novel and ask him to find him large empty buildings. Krupp prodded him about Banister:

Q Did Mr. Banister ever indicate to you that he was working for or connected with any govern-

mental agency at this time?

A It was told to me by Mr. Arcacha at the time that he was resident chief of the Office of Naval Intelligence, period. . . Now whether that was true or not — he could have been the resident chief of the CIA and it wouldn't have made a fucking bit of difference, because everything was a lie. . . Obviously something was going on or obviously they were trying to put a cover on it. The idea behind it was cover, cover, cover because, if you tried to look at the thing, all you are going to do — You may find something of reality, but when you got down to the meat of the thing you are going to have a real difficult time, you are going to have a real difficult time of alleging anything.

Q But everything you seem to have talked about seems to be innocent, Gordon.

A It is going to get uninnocent in a little bit, so just keep going. . .

Q While you were in Banister's and Arcacha's office, did you see any stores of ammunition or arms?

A Yes. There was always something, formal military equipment of some style or other around Banister's. He had a background which seemed to be loaded with Daisy Cutters ("small personnel mines") and devices like that. . .

Krupp directs the conversation back to Arcacha and his interests. Novel's response seems especially interesting, in light of the media during the Garrison investigation: "He was more interested in tying together for propaganda purposes the news media around the city. . . There seemed to be some emphasis on the city, that they wanted the city believing in the deal, you know."

Novel then relates how Arcacha sent him looking for certain chemicals, not for explosives, but for conducting chemical warfare against Cuba. "I got the impression they didn't want anybody knowing about the obtaining of the chemicals," Novel said. Novel said Arcacha was looking to obtain these in "a clandestine manner...rather than buying them." Running errands for Banister and Arcacha kept Novel busy most of the time, "It was pretty constant. I mean I had to sandwich it in between anything else I had been doing." Krupp pursued this line of questioning:

Q Do you know whether Arcacha and his group ever obtained chemicals from the places you located for him?

A Most of the stuff of that nature came from Banister. He was the guy that handled all of the technical stuff. Arcacha was primarily interested in propaganda and the growth of the Cuban Democratic Revolutionary Front and its alliance with the Human Democratic Revolutionary Council.

Novel relates that Banister was looking for a chemical along the lines of DDT. He was also looking for crop dusters, presumably to spray the chemicals over Cuban crops. Novel discussed his methods of contacting Banister (from payphones), and how "everything...became explicitly secret as possible and there were even discussions of dead drop message transfers and that kind of stuff."

Arcacha, Novel said, had "continuous contact with Miami. He was continuously referring to the 'New Government,'... the assumption being made that there would be an overthrow of the government — Castro."

Krupp ultimately hones in on the now infamous Houma raid, a raid that involved both Oswald associate David Ferrie and Arcacha in addition to Novel. Garrison said Novel had "stolen" ammunition from the Schlumberger bunkers. Novel claimed this was no "raid," but an arms pickup. For the first time, we have the clearest testimony as to what really happened. Returning to Krupp's questioning:

Q When did you meet David Ferrie [sic]?

A Mr. Banister one night called me and said I would be receiving, very shortly in the mail, a key. That was the end of the conversation, bam. . .

Q Were you ever paid [by Banister/Arcacha for services]?

A When I got the key, yes.

Q Did money come with the key?

A Yes, five-hundred bill.

Q One bill for \$500?

A Yes, torn in half.

Q You got both halves of it?

A I ended up getting the other half later. . . It was a Yale lock key, for, you know, not for a padlock but for a regular internal lock.

Shortly after receiving the key, Novel got a call from Arcacha, who asked him to meet him at a hotel. When Novel got there, Arcacha and Ferrie and an ex-Marine (Andrew Blackmon, whose name Novel didn't know at the time, but whom Novel described as being "well-known" by Walter Sheridan) and "two other Cubans" were there. This was Novel's first meeting with David Ferrie. Novel describes Ferrie as looking "like a freak." After about five minutes, Arcacha ended the meeting and said "he had to run and he would be in touch" and asked Novel and Ferrie if they could find some trucks "that had soft springing systems in them." Krupp asked, "Did you deduce from this that he wanted to transport something delicate?" Novel responded, "Well, I mean that was obvious."

Two or three days later, Arcacha called again, and instructed Gordon to go with his

friend (and Butler's cousin) Ehlinger to Ferrie's house. Novel describes what he saw upon entering Ferrie's house. "I see a big map up on the wall: Cuba. Whole bunch of things." Things in this case included a two-man submarine in the basement, a "whole bunch of white mice" and a "great big box of incendiary fuses to tie to the mice's feet." Asked what Ferrie planned to do with the mice, Novel responds:

The little mice sit in little cages in little compartments. They had little wires that ran to a master box and he'd fly over Cuba, drop the box, the sides would spring open and in a half an hour the whole god-damned island would go up, the whole sugar can fields would go up in smoke. This is the same old gaff they used in World War II.

Novel had brought the key. A black laundry truck was parked out front. Blackmon drove, Ferrie and Layton Martens rode in the truck, and Novel, Ehlinger and Novel's girlfriend at the time followed behind. The group met at a service station and all had been instructed to wear black clothing. Naturally, Novel didn't follow orders, and wore a black sweater with blue jeans. They asked him to come armed, but he chose not to come armed. "You know, you can ask me to do something but it doesn't necessarily mean I will do exactly what you ask me to do," Novel told the lawyers. (He also added, "I am armed now, but that's not the point." Asked what he meant, Novel explained, "Well, I carry like a tear gas pencil at all times, just like anybody else.")

They met at the station about midnight. Arcacha told Novel where to go and the black truck followed Novel through the woods to their destination: an ammunition bunker, with grass on the top and a concrete door. Martens was stationed about a mile away, with a walkie-talkie. "And the walkie-talkie was a very powerful little unit. It appeared not to be the normal run of the mill Japanese walkie-talkie. It appeared to be government issue and it didn't even have the regular antenna on it. It just had a loop. And it was a high frequency device." Ferrie also had a walkie-talkie.

Arcacha next took Gordon's key and opened the door to the bunker. Novel described the contents: hand grenades, mortar shells, bazooka shells, crates of .30 caliber machine gun bullets ("all tracer"), crates of howitzer simulators, and more. The crates were marked "Interarmco," an arms dealer with proven ties to the CIA. Everyone that wasn't monitoring the walkie-talkies carried crates to the truck. The whole operation took no more than 15 minutes.

Asked if Gordon considered this theft, Gordon replied, "It is just an impossibility for

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Gordon Novel

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anybody but Schlumberger to have furnished the key to that bunker and it is an impossibility for those munitions to come from any place else but Uncle Sam."

Clearly, despite what some laggard researchers have claimed over the years, there is no denying that Arcacha, Ferrie, Martens, Banister and Novel were working for the CIA in these efforts. Novel later relates that these weapons were destined for the Bay of Pigs

operation. In the CIA's name traces conducted by Angleton's staff during the Garrison investigation, some mid to lower level operatives are acknowledged as CIA assets. But the CIA worked to distance themselves from people like Banister, Arcacha, and Clay Shaw (whose circle overlaps all of the people mentioned here). Now we begin to understand why. Each one of these people was no more than one degree of separation (or possibly two in Shaw's case) away from David Phillips, not to mention Oswald. Garrison nearly had Phillips by the tail; but he didn't know it. Garrison bashers have tried to imply that not only was

Garrison on the wrong track, but that Arcacha wasn't important, Phillips wasn't involved, and Banister and Novel weren't even CIA. Amazing. And decidedly untrue.

Novel never had any such doubts that he was working for the government:

Obviously this was not a Mafia operation, which is the only other comprehension thing [sic] it could have been. So it had to be something going on relative to top secret.

Gordon wasn't sure who he was working for until the Bay of Pigs. But when Arcacha called him the day after with an urgent request to find some blood, Novel figured it out. ♣

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JFK & Meyer

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If that were so, then a previous occurrence in Jim Truitt's career would bear mentioning, since it quite closely resembles what he did later in 1976. In August of 1961, Truitt had called Bradlee and said he had evidence that Kennedy had been previously married before his wedding to Jackie, and that this fact had been covered up. Both Bradlee and Truitt pursued the story. But before they printed it they asked Kennedy about it. He referred them to Pierre Salinger, his press secretary. Salinger had already heard the charge from rightwing commentator Fulton Lewis. He had all his points lined up and proved the story false. Bradlee's account in *Conversations With Kennedy* (pp. 43-49) seems to suggest that Truitt and Bradlee still worked on the story after they were shown it was wrong.

Also intriguing is a flourish added in Rosenbaum's version, which appears heavily reliant on the Truitts and Angletons as sources. Rosenbaum writes that Mary's diary, although usually laid upon her bedroom bookcase, was found in a locked steel box in her studio. Rosenbaum doesn't probe as to why it was not found in its usual resting place. The locked steel box is not a part of any other version of the story I know, including Tony Bradlee's, and, in all versions, she supposedly found the diary. Of course, a locked box suggests intrigue, but it strains reality. Are we to believe that every time Mary wanted to make an diary entry she would first fumble for her keys? Even in her own bedroom while she's living alone?

Of course, Rosenbaum makes nothing of the two most obvious paradoxes in the entire tale. Almost everyone agrees that, while the Meyers were married, she was knowledgeable about his CIA activities and that Cord Meyer was close to Angleton. Reportedly, the liberal

Mary grew disenchanted with Cord, his cohorts, and the Agency shop talk. She wanted to become her own person, hence her interest in painting. She also admired Kennedy's policies. If the above is true, why would she entrust the secrets of her diary to, of all people, Jim Angleton? This, plus the fact that his wife and Anne Truitt now say that Angleton found out about his "inheritance" of the diary on the transcontinental call, seem to suggest some sort of collusion between the couples. Or else why would Anne Truitt switch the "entrustment" of the diary from her to Angleton, as she did in 1995, as if they were interchangeable? And if Mary had instructed the diary be given to Angleton, why would he then turn it over to Tony Bradlee?

Finally, let us assume for a moment that the diary *did* record the Kennedy-Meyer affair and/or the pot smoking. If that were so, does anyone who knows anything about the CIA think that Angleton would not have found a way to get it into the press? Or did I just answer my own question? If no such entries existed, Angleton would do the next best thing. He would call on his friend Jim Truitt to accomplish it for him through *The National Enquirer*, and into the mainstream via Kennedy's false friend Bradlee at the *Post*. For good measure, Truitt poured on the pot angle which does not figure in the Exner story. Need I add that the Meyer story came out right after the Exner story, i. e. on the heels of the Church Committee's report. And Ron Rosenbaum, an unquestioning backer of Exner, was there to unquestioningly accept the package on Meyer.

When Mary Meyer died in 1964, Angleton had just finished — with the help of Richard Helms and Allen Dulles — the CIA's Warren Commission cover-up. As we shall see in part two, Angleton will also figure in another packaged "Kennedy brothers affair," namely Marilyn Monroe. We shall also see that Rosenbaum's favorite conspiracy author, John Davis, will pick up the baton on Mary Meyer. ♣

Notebook

Scott Strikes Back

In the July/August issue of *Tikkun*, Peter Scott made a very good counterattack against the establishment's attempt to smother the Contra/Cocaine drug issue as first exposed by Gary Webb in the *San Jose Mercury News* last year. Up until now, this is the best review in print of the entire controversy we have seen, including those in the *Columbia Journalism Review* and *American Journalism Review*. Very forcefully, Scott takes the major media to task for their biased attacks based upon questionable sources. Very skillfully, he shows the factual mistakes made in the hysterical mad dash to debunk Webb and protect the CIA, the Reagan years, and, by extension, the media itself. As Scott acknowledges, the real mystery now is why Webb's editor, Jerry Ceppos, backed off the story and later transferred Webb. Right now, Ceppos isn't talking. Does he have something to hide?

FBI: The Heat is On

As JFK researchers have said for a long time, the FBI is not what J. Edgar Hoover or the old ABC series made it out to be. Finally, after the tragedies at Waco and Ruby Ridge, everyone else is finding out. On July 30th, Richard Jewell, the Bureau's latest victim (*Probe* Vol. 4 No.3, p. 3) got to blast the Bureau before the House Judiciary Committee. Jewell asked them to launch an investigation into the Bureau based on the "disturbing questions raised by the FBI investigation of me." A few days later, the August 11/18 issue of *The Nation* featured a highly critical ten page report about the Bureau's effectiveness based on statistics out of the Justice Department. According to these, the Bureau has one of the lowest rates of conviction per cases referred of any agency under their umbrella. The Drug Enforcement Agency, Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms, and the Internal Revenue Service all prepare much better cases for prosecution. One of the more glaring areas of weakness is one originated by the Kennedys, namely civil rights. In spite of all this, the Bureau wants to expand its surveillance powers into cellular phones. C'mon.

Spinmasters

In the July 27th issue of the *Boston Globe*, reporter David Nyhan wrote a column about a recent tape release out of the JFK Library. Nyhan wrote about a meeting between Kennedy and Defense secretary Robert McNamara on 10/2/63 outlining a plan to get out of Vietnam. McNamara suggested withdrawing American forces and replacing them with Canadians, "whose job would be to train the South Vietnamese army." McNamara is heard on the tape stating: "We need a way to get out of Vietnam." Having now been forced to grant this, staff reporter Nyhan was quick to dispel any intrigue about why this withdrawal policy was reversed after Kennedy was assassinated. If he did not, it might lead to speculation that, hey, maybe Oliver Stone was right about that and the assassination plot. So he concludes that we can now deduce that Oswald's shooting of Kennedy led to the death of 55,000 Americans in Vietnam. Anything to heap more shame on Lee. Need we add that the *Boston Globe* is now owned by the *Washington Post*.

Probe in the Post

Speaking of the *Post*, you may not believe the following. Back on March 31st, they actually mentioned *Probe*. In the Business section of the paper, Margot Williams surveyed some of the Internet sites dealing with unsolved crimes and conspiracies. Lisa Pease's own Real History Archives got mentioned and so did the site she constructed for *Probe*. And it wasn't all sneering and satirical. In fact, Williams actually wrote that although she found some of the JFK sites "goofy," many of them struck her "as models of the Internet's potential as an educational tool." You can tell Ben Bradlee's not at the *Post* anymore. Margot would not be there today if he was.

Maurice and Jackie

Maurice Tempelman was at Jackie Kennedy Onassis' side when she died in May of 1994. Much of the media noted this at the time. But former *Probe* editor Dennis Effe, and now reader Rich Goad, have sent us materials showing that Tempelman had strong ties to the CIA as long ago as the Agency's major operation against Patrice Lumumba in the Congo in 1960. Tempelman is a multi-millionaire who made his fortune in diamonds and hired Larry Devlin to head the Congo branch of his company. Devlin was the CIA station chief in Leopoldville who received Allen Dulles' cable ordering the assassination of Lumumba in 1960. The overthrow of Lumumba was something that Kennedy opposed in the campaign of 1960. To ensure that Lumumba would be gone before Kennedy took office, Dulles sped up the operation against him. Reportedly, Tempelman also had a close relationship with John Kennedy Jr. Many sources, including John Newman, have stated that Jackie was a real worry to the establishment concerning the Kennedy conspiracy. McNamara revealed in his book, *In Retrospect*, her violent opposition to Johnson's escalation in Vietnam. She also visited Cambodia to look at the evidence that Kissinger and Nixon had extended the war over Vietnam's boundary and into that neutral country. Jackie's explosive Warren Commission testimony, in itself indicating conspiracy, was kept hidden for over a decade. Reportedly she refused to wipe JFK's blood from her dress on 11/22/63 because "I want them to see what they have done." Was Tempelman there to keep "them" informed?

Bibliography Available

A real lack in the Kennedy research community has been a low-priced, yet extensive bibliography of the hundreds of books dealing with the John Kennedy assassination. We now have one that may fit the bill. James Sawa and Glenn Vasbinder have compiled an index of over 600 books on the case. It's called the John F. Kennedy Book Listing. It is sorted by both author and title. You can get one by sending a check for ten dollars (postage and handling included) to Glenn at 433 North Avenue, Pittsburgh PA 15209.

Errata

Lynn Mangan called us about our cover story concerning Robert Kennedy in our last issue. She says that although Sirhan took classes in multiple languages as a young man, she does not believe that he was fluent in any, as was implied on page 7.

Judge Brown

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these: publicity, money, and orneriness." It ended with these comments: "What does Brown want? He may be a bigger mystery than the rifle."

There is little doubt that what Brown is doing is not business as usual in the King case. When prosecutors challenged his actions in court by saying he had stepped over the line from being a judge to becoming an advocate, Brown retorted: "We're trying to get the facts. Dr. King is in his grave, a national hero, a world hero. And I'm ... getting to the facts." Brown was also forceful on getting the original 1968 round of test results:

The federal government has impounded that evidence and sealed it for the next 50 years. The court thinks, among other things, that justice might be served if we were able to examine those bullets and the court feels the state of Tennessee has a claim on evidence that pertains to this case.

Brown seems to have recognized that other investigative bodies, including Ray's first lawyers, have not exactly been vigorous in their pursuit of truth in the case. As a judge, Brown has never been afraid to try new and innovative methods when others have been shown to be ineffective. In regard to alternative sentencing, Brown has said:

What I do see is what's been tried in the past has not worked. Otherwise, if it had of, the situation would not be as it is now. Something new needs to be tried.

We agree. We also find it a bit perverse that because Brown is actually intent on pursuing a fair hearing for Ray, and genuinely trying to get to the bottom of whether or not Ray fired the fatal bullet that killed King, people are getting edgy and uncomfortable.

In his August 11th announcement, Brown also seemed to be leaning toward another round of test firings. Brown suggested finding a way to clean the rifle without damaging the inside of the barrel. Brown signed an order that same day requiring the FBI to produce the bullets for the next hearing.

These new developments have continued to give the King case a high profile in the media. Readers will recall that in our last issue (p. 29) we mentioned a creditable piece written by Jim Lesar for the June 8th *Washington Post*. In an interview with *Probe*, Lesar provided us some insight into how major papers like the *Post* handle high profile cases like this one. Lesar told us the piece finally printed was his third effort. His original, much stronger, piece questioned the original guilty pleas by Ray. It minutely examined the questionable methods and ethics used by his original lawyers — Percy Foreman and Arthur Hanes — and author William Brad-

ford Huie in coercing him into pleading guilty, an action Ray now regrets. Lesar backed this up with evidence discovered in proceedings against Foreman when he was acting as Ray's lawyer in the seventies. All of this was cut out of the piece as run because, the *Post* editors told Lesar, Ray was "presumed guilty." By who? The *Post*?

On the good side, Bob Scheer of the *Los Angeles Times* wrote a vigorous piece (7/15/97) questioning J. Edgar Hoover's role in the death of King. But the real surprise was the *New York Times*. On July 6th, it ran an unsigned editorial titled "The Amnesty Option." This was a response to the King family's wish as expressed by Andrew Young on ABC's *Turning Point* in June. The opening lines of the editorial read:

Crimes that tear the soul of a nation should not be left examined or obscured by mystery. South Africa has shown the healing power of truth as it looks back at the crimes of apartheid ... But it is also true that contemporary American society is still haunted by some unresolved questions that nag at the national conscience. Such questions, if left unresolved, promise to provide fodder for conspiracy theorists for decades to come.

The editorial then noted two traumatic incidents that "have proved especially fertile for conspiracists," namely the JFK and MLK murders. Although the *Times* had reservations

about the process, it did say, "we see enough merit in the idea to recommend a broader national discussion." It then recommended that the Clinton administration consider the concept. We have heard no response yet from the White House.

Significantly, the *Times* noted that the clock is running out on the window of opportunity: "The lifetime of unidentified witnesses and conspirators, if they exist, is fast running out." To dramatize that thought, Frank Holloman, who was police and fire director in Memphis in 1968, died eleven days after the *Times* editorial appeared. Holloman would have been a

prime witness either in a new trial for Ray or before a Truth Commission. Not only did he run those two important departments, but prior to that, he had been an FBI agent for 25 years. In seven of those years, he was in almost daily contact with Hoover as inspector in charge of the director's office.

It seems a bit late in the day for the *New York Times* to change its tune. In fact, for them, it's almost midnight. If the major media would have poured its resources into any of the major assassinations of the sixties when they occurred, time would not be "fast running out." One thing the *Times* and other media could do while waiting for Clinton's answer is push for the declassification of all the files on the King case. This would greatly aid Ray's attorney Bill Pepper if Brown is allowed to reopen that case. It would also decrease the anxiety of conspiracy theorists like us. It may even show that we actually share a lot of the concerns of people like John McCloy and Gerald Ford (see page 3). ♣

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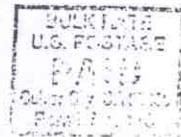
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