

The Pennsylvania Gazette

Alumni Magazine of the University of Pennsylvania

November 1993

Investigating the Kennedy Assassination

By Gaeton Fonzi

It was 13 years after the Cuban missile crisis that I received a call from U.S. Senator Richard Schweiker's office, asking me to join his investigation into the assassination of President Kennedy. My initial reaction was elation. It was an incredible opportunity, to be given the time and resources to do something I long wanted to do. Finally, years after the deception foisted on the American people by the Warren Commission, the Government was going to make an effort to pursue the truth. Now I was going to be a part of that Government and that effort, and I'd be damned if I was going to be involved in another betrayal of trust.

...continued on page 18

How
Clare
Boothe
Luce
led those
investigating
the
assassina-
tion of
President
Kennedy
on a
wild-goose
chase.

Sed by the Web

CONTINUED FROM THE COVER...



The doyenne of high intrigue, Clare Boothe Luce pulled a punch or two in the assassination investigation.

Yet, my talk with an attorney who was an early critic of the Warren Commission had dulled my enthusiasm. He had muttered dire warnings that I was getting involved in a world of intrigue that was beyond any gnatlike efforts I might muster. He ventured that I would get lured into a quagmire of inconsequential details. "They'll keep you very, very busy and eventually wear you down," he had said.

Who are "they"? I wondered. And, after all these years, could "they" still be around and would "they" even care about what one individual in Miami might be doing? I had to admit that a bit of paranoia seemed to have slipped into the lawyer's thinking. Nevertheless, his words dimly echoed in my mind when I started my job with Schweiker. I suddenly realized, as I began restudying all the old documents and evidence, and analyzing all the new, that I was journeying into a maze

Used Weavers

By Gaeton Fonzi

that had, over the years, grown larger and more complicated, plotted with elaborate culs de sac. And yet, in retrospect, I can see that even then certain similar images were emerging along many of the pathways—indications, often almost imperceptible, of gossamer threads weaving through so many of the areas I investigated. Eventually, it dawned on me that those strands of untraceable rumors and misinformation appeared to emanate from a common spool.

For instance, one of the first leads Schweiker asked me to check came from a source he considered impeccable: Clare Boothe Luce. One of the wealthiest women in the world, widow of the founder of the Time, Inc. publishing empire, former member of the U.S. House of Representatives, former

Ambassador to Italy, successful Broadway playwright, international socialite, and longtime civic activist, Clare Boothe Luce was the last person in the world Schweiker would have suspected of leading him on a wild-goose chase.

Yet the chase began almost immediately. Right after Schweiker announced the formation of his Kennedy assassination subcommittee, he was visited by Vera Glaser, a syndicated Washington columnist. Glaser told him she had just interviewed Clare Boothe Luce and that Luce had given her some information relating to the assassination. Schweiker immediately called Luce, and she, quite cooperatively and in detail, confirmed the story she had told Glaser.

Luce said that some time after the Bay of Pigs, she received a call from her "great friend" William Pawley, who lived in Miami. A man of immense wealth—he had made his millions in oil—during World War II, Pawley had gained fame setting up the Flying Tigers with General Claire Chennault. Pawley had also owned major sugar interests in Cuba, as well as Havana's bus, trolley, and gas systems, and he was close to both pre-Castro

Cuban rulers, President Carlos Prío and General Fulgencio Batista. (Pawley was one of the dispossessed American investors in Cuba who early tried to convince Eisenhower that Castro was a Communist and urged him to arm the exiles in Miami.)

Luce said that Pawley had gotten the idea of putting together a fleet of speedboats—sea-going "Flying Tigers," as it were—which would be used by the exiles to dart in and out of Cuba on "intelligence gathering" missions. He asked her to sponsor one of these boats, and she agreed. As a result of her sponsorship, Luce got to know the three-man crew of the boat "fairly well," as she said. She called them "my boys" and said they visited her a few times in her New York townhouse. It was one of these boat crews, Luce said, that originally brought back the news of Russian missiles in Cuba. Because Kennedy didn't react to it, she said she helped feed it to Senator Kenneth Keating, who made it public. She then wrote an article for *Life* magazine predicting the missile crisis. "Well, then came the nuclear showdown and the President made his deal with Khrushchev and I

GAETON FONZI, '57 C, served on a special Senate subcommittee investigating the Kennedy assassination and on the House Select Committee on Assassinations. He is a free-lance writer in Miami. This piece is excerpted with permission from "The Last Investigation," published this month by Thunder's Mouth Press.

never saw my young Cubans again," she said. The boat operations were stopped, she said, shortly afterward when Pawley was notified that the United States was invoking the Neutrality Act and would prevent any further exile missions into Cuba.

Luce said she hadn't thought about her boat crew until the day that President Kennedy was killed. That evening, she received a telephone call from one of the crew members. She told Schweiker his name was "something like" Julio Fernandez, and he said he was calling her from New Orleans. Julio Fernandez told her that he and the other crew members had been forced out of Miami after the Cuban missile crisis and that they had

started a "Free Cuba" cell in New Orleans. Luce said that Fernandez told her that Oswald had approached his group and offered his services as a potential Castro assassin. He said his group didn't believe Oswald, suspected he was really a Communist, and decided to keep tabs on him. Fernandez said they found that Oswald was, indeed, a Communist, and they eventually penetrated his "cell" and tape-recorded his talks, including his bragging that he could shoot anyone because he was "the greatest shot in the world with a telescopic lens." Fernandez said that Oswald then suddenly came into money and went to Mexico City and then Dallas. According to Luce, Fernandez also told her that his group had pho-

tographs of Oswald and copies of handbills Oswald had been distributing on the streets of New Orleans. Fernandez asked Luce what he should do with this information and material.

"I said what you do is call the F.B.I. at once," Luce recalled. "Don't waste a minute. Go right in and call up the F.B.I."

Luce said she did not think about the story again until Jim Garrison's investigation hit the headlines in 1967. She said she called the New Orleans district attorney and told him of the incident but, after talking to him for 10 minutes, she decided he was a "phony" and not serious. Through Pawley, however, she did locate and call her "young Cuban," and

David Atlee Phillips and the Conspiracy

Who killed President Kennedy?
Of course, I don't know. I don't know the names of the individuals who held the weapons or synchronized the shooting. But, based on my experiences and knowledge of what I feel is the most valid evidence, I certainly have firm opinions about the character of the conspiracy—and some of the characters in the conspiracy.

And, yes, one of the opinions I've come to is that the issue of conspiracy is not contestable. It never was. Long before the House Assassinations Committee received confirmation from the acoustics tests in Dealey Plaza, the evidence of a conspiracy was overwhelming. And, in the narrow perspective of my personal quest for substantiation, I've come to conclude that, for me, two pieces of evidence provide irrefutable verification of conspiracy. One demolishes the single-bullet theory: The locations of the bullet holes in the back of Kennedy's jacket and shirt—hard, tangible, measurable evidence—obliterate the possibility of a bullet emerging from Kennedy's throat and striking Governor Connally. Single-bullet-theory author Arlen Specter conceded that was a worrisome contradiction. The other substantiation came from validating [the Cuban] Silvia Odio's report that Oswald, or someone who resembled him (it matters not), appeared at her door in Dallas with two associates, one of whom would link Oswald to the notion of killing the President. That was a deliberate act connect-

ing Oswald to the assassination before the assassination. Beyond all the other evidence indicating conspiracy, all the acoustic tests, the autopsy evidence, the bullet-trajectory theories and what have you, even beyond all the other evidence of Oswald's associations, the Odio incident absolutely cries conspiracy. In fact, I have no hesitation in declaring the Kennedy assassina-

(For instance, the word *microdots* was in his notes at a time most Americans weren't even aware of the term.) But, again, I draw on my personal knowledge as the foundation for my opinions—and that includes Alpha 66 leader Antonio Veciana's testimony that he saw intelligence operative "Maurice Bishop" with Oswald in Dallas prior to the assassination.



The sketch on the left of 'Maurice Bishop' was released by the House Assassinations Committee in 1975; the picture on the right is of David Atlee Phillips.

tion a conspiracy based strictly on Silvia Odio's consistently credible testimony and, more important, the fact that our investigation proved it true.

There is also a preponderance of evidence that indicates Lee Harvey Oswald had an association with a U.S. Government agency, perhaps more than one, but undoubtedly with the Central Intelligence Agency. Books have been written dealing with the data indicating Oswald's C.I.A. connections. Some of it simply raises questions, but some of it provides strong indications that Oswald was deep into the intelligence cosmos.

"Maurice Bishop" was David Atlee Phillips. I state that unequivocally, although Veciana cannot officially identify him publicly as such. In addition to the abundance of evidence detailed in my book which unerringly points to Phillips being Bishop, believe me, I know that he was. And Bob Blakey and the House Assassinations Committee knew that he was, although its report did not admit that.

David Atlee Phillips played a key role in the conspiracy to assassinate President Kennedy. I don't embrace the assumption that Phillips's relationship to Oswald

may have been extraneous to any conspiratorial role. If there was one most meaningful revelation that emerged from further digging into Phillips's background after the Assassinations Committee probe, it was the fact that David Phillips, the consummate actor, maintained a personal and even familial façade that was in direct contrast to the political realities of his professional life. (His likely prior knowledge of the Letelier assassination, his role in disseminating misinformation afterward, and his association with the Chilean and anti-Castro terrorists who planned and carried out the murder was but a glimpse of his chameleon-like character.)

That Phillips eventually rose to the top echelon of the agency as chief of the Western Hemisphere Division is, I think, significant when we talk about "elements" of the C.I.A. being involved in the Kennedy assassination. (Can those who control the ideological soul and operational body of the agency be considered simply "elements" within it?) Whatever additional factors may have been involved in the motivation to assassinate Kennedy—from his plans to diminish United States involvement in Vietnam to his moves toward a permanent detente with the Soviet Union—the triggering impetus, I believe, came with the Cuban missile crisis and Kennedy's "deal" with Khrushchev. The President's promise to abandon efforts to overthrow Castro was a watershed change in United States

she reminded him of his conversation with her the evening Kennedy was killed. By then, Luce recalled, Julio Fernandez no longer wanted to get involved: "He said, 'Mrs. Luce, we did just what you said. We got it all to the F.B.I. They came, took our tape recordings, took our photographs, and told us to keep our mouths shut until the F.B.I. sent for us.' He said, 'Mrs. Luce, I am married, I have two children, I am a lawyer with a very successful practice in Miami. I don't want any part of the Kennedy assassination. You couldn't torture it out of me.'" Luce added that Fernandez also told her about the other two members of her boat crew: One had been deported and the other had been stabbed to death in Miami.

Her impression, Luce told Schweiker, based on what she was told by Fernandez, was that Oswald was hired by Castro to assassinate Kennedy in retaliation for the assassination attempts against him. Luce also said she did not remember the names of the other two crew members, nor did she know how to get in touch with Julio Fernandez now. But, she said, Bill Pawley would know all about it.

Schweiker called Pawley, and Pawley said he didn't remember a thing. Schweiker took it as an indication that Pawley just didn't want to get involved, but he still thought that Luce's story, if confirmed, could lead

to a significant break. It had to have some foundation; after all, it had come from Clare Boothe Luce. Schweiker asked me to try to find the Julio Fernandez who had called her.

I discovered that there are a lot of Cubans named Julio Fernandez in Miami. And in New Orleans. I spent weeks talking with scores of Cubans named Julio Fernandez. Schweiker was particularly interested in the Julio Fernandez whose name turned up in an F.B.I. document buried in one of the Warren Commission's volumes of evidence. The document dealt with a rumor reported by a neighbor of a Julio Fernandez, something about finding train tickets to Dallas in his trash. I finally tracked down that Julio

to Assassinate President Kennedy

**Phillips
committed
perjury
before the
committee.
It could
have been
proven; he
would
have been
convicted.**

policy toward Cuba. And judging from the furious reaction among the C.I.A.'s field operatives who had absorbed and adopted the passions and dedication of their anti-Castro warriors, it was a treasonous act. That fury was palpable in the local radio broadcasts and in the handbills and "war bulletins" flying through Miami's Little Havana. And Kennedy's perfidy was confirmed when the President, realizing his orders were being scorned, forcibly shut down

the C.I.A.-sponsored operational bases and, in a few instances, even had recalcitrant anti-Castro Cubans, as well as agency operatives, arrested. What more proof did anyone need that Kennedy was, indeed, a "traitor"?

David Atlee Phillips was deeply immersed in this world of all-consuming anti-Castroism. His professional life had been dedicated to it and to battling what he considered the expansionist tentacles of communism throughout Latin America. It is no coincidence that the man who emerges as the Maurice Bishop who planned Alpha 66 attempts to sink Russian ships in Havana harbor with the aim of embarrassing Kennedy and sabotaging his negotiations with Khrushchev was the same man responsible for staging the entire Mexico City scenario designed to link Lee Harvey Oswald to Fidel Castro. (Castro recalled his immediate recognition of the consequences of that when he told his Assassinations Committee visitors: "I said to myself, what would have happened had by any chance that man come to Cuba... gone back to the States, and then appeared involved in Kennedy's death? That would have been a provocation—a gigantic provocation.")

Nor is Phillips's tight working association with the agency's most lethal operatives insignificant. His was a cabal of associates whose careers were entwined with the history of C.I.A. assassination plots, top-echelon officers that ranged from Richard Helms to E. Howard Hunt and from Ted Shackley to the agency's Mob liai-

son, William Harvey. And then, of course, there was David Phillips's faithful operative, the C.I.A.'s action legend, David Sanchez Morales, whose inebriated admission of involvement in the Kennedy assassination—"We took care of that son of a bitch, didn't we?"—closed the circle.

I believe David Phillips's key role was affirmed when he lied under oath. The very fact that he had to lie—both about his manipulation of Oswald in Mexico City and his covert operations as Maurice Bishop—was the definitive statement of his guilt.

If there was one point in the House Assassinations Committee investigation which showed without a doubt that the committee did not want to confront the C.I.A. or open doors that would force it to face facts that it did not want to face, it was this: David Atlee Phillips committed perjury before the committee. It could have been proven; he would have been convicted. The chief counsel and the committee refused to pursue that option. That would have negated the committee's final report declaring that it found no evidence the C.I.A. was involved in the Kennedy assassination.

So, again, our Government slapped the American people in the face. We have been slapped in the face over and over again, and we still deny it is happening to us. Why?

I am privileged to have access to the round-robin correspondence of a small group of friends who believe that an ongoing intel-

lectual exchange on major issues—the Kennedy assassination being a primary one—might foster fresh insights. Among them is Dr. Martin Schortz, a psychiatrist in Brookline, Mass. In one of his recent letters, I thought Dr. Schortz made a particularly incisive observation, relevant to what we're talking about here.

He wrote: "It is so important to understand that one of the primary means of immobilizing the American people politically today is to hold them in a state of confusion in which anything can be believed but nothing can be known, nothing of significance that is."

"And the American people are more than willing to be held in this state because to KNOW the truth—as opposed to only BELIEVE the truth—is to face an awful terror and to be no longer able to evade responsibility. It is precisely in moving from belief to knowledge that the citizen moves from irresponsibility to responsibility, from helplessness and hopelessness to action, with the ultimate aim of being empowered and confident in one's rational powers."

Dr. Schortz is absolutely right. Today, most Americans BELIEVE there was a conspiracy to kill President Kennedy, but they don't KNOW it. They don't want to KNOW it—and our Government doesn't want to KNOW it and our elected representatives don't want to KNOW it because KNOWING it would mean having to do something about it. That's an awesome thought. G.F.

Fernandez in upstate New York. He was now a college professor and, when I checked him out, I knew he wasn't the Julio Fernandez who had called Clare Boothe Luce.

What is interesting in retrospect about the Luce story is that it had characteristics common to so many of the other leads which would be fed to the

Schweiker Subcommittee and, later, to the House Assassinations Committee. They were difficult, time-consuming, and, ultimately, impossible to confirm but could not be dismissed outright because they always contained at least one hard kernel of truth.

For instance, in the case of Luce's lead, it was known that Oswald did approach an anti-Castro group in New Orleans and say he was interested in helping their cause. The fellow he talked to, Carlos Bringuier, was the chief New Orleans delegate of the *Directorio Revolucionario Estudiantil*, known simply as the D.R.E. or the *Directorio*. The *Directorio* was headquartered in Miami and, I would later learn, was

under the wing of the JM/WAVE station there (JM/WAVE was the code name for the largest C.I.A. installation in the world, outside agency headquarters in Langley, Va.). A few days after Oswald had walked into Bringuier's small storefront in New Orleans, Bringuier saw him passing out pro-Castro leaflets on Canal Street. They got in a scuffle and both were arrested. Bringuier later debated Oswald on a local radio program where, led on by the right-wing talk show host, Oswald admitted he had lived in Russia and declared he was a Marxist. A recording of that program was nationally disseminated immediately after the Kennedy assassination.

Independent researchers have been looking into Oswald's encounter with Bringuier for years and have discovered some curious things about it. One was that a newspaper photographer had been alerted to Oswald's leafletting on Canal Street before Bringuier even showed up.

Oswald seemed bent on getting publicity as a pro-Castro demonstrator and even encouraged Bringuier to attack him. At one point, Oswald was overheard calmly saying, "Hit me, Carlos."

Another curious discovery: On some of Oswald's leaflets was stamped an address for the New Orleans Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. That address was certainly strange because the building was a hotbed of anti-Castro activity; at one time, the C.I.A.-backed Cuban Revolutionary Front had its New Orleans office there. The House Assassinations Committee later learned that Oswald had been seen in that building with extreme right-wing and anti-Castro activists. (Much has been written about 544 Camp Street and Oswald's mysterious connections there. When New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison opened his Kennedy assassination probe in 1967, the focus of his investigation was on the anti-Castro activists in that building, including the ultra-right wingers, Guy Banister and David Ferrie.)

A year later, in December of 1976, when I was about to start working for the House Assassinations Committee, I stumbled across some other fascinating facts related to Clare Boothe Luce's tip to Senator Schweiker. That was when I learned, for instance, that her "great friend" in Miami, William Pawley, was a longtime associate of the C.I.A. Never an official spook, Pawley was nonetheless a member of the Old Boys network and was especially close to C.I.A. Director Allen Dulles. He had helped transform his Flying Tigers into one of the first C.I.A. proprietary airlines, Civil Air Transport, and had set up for the agency a front called the Pacific Corporation as an offshoot of the Tigers. He had been involved in the C.I.A.'s overthrow of the Arbenz government in Guatemala, and he had backed more than one Castro assassination attempt. Pawley once told a Miami reporter: "Find me one man, just one man who can go it alone and get Castro, I'll pay anything, almost anything." But Pawley was not just a backer

of exile groups, he wanted to be a participant, and I came across a bizarre story about one of his secret excursions to Cuba.

Early one morning in the summer of 1963, a 65-foot luxury yacht named *The Flying Tiger II* slid away from its dock behind a mansion on Miami Beach's Sunset Island and headed for Cuba. The yacht belonged to Pawley. Aboard were three C.I.A. paramilitary operatives; a cache of heavy firearms and explosives was locked in its stateroom. The yacht was scheduled to rendezvous off the coast of Cuba with an amphibious aircraft, a Catalina PBY, provided by the C.I.A. Aboard the aircraft were Pawley; a fellow named John Martino, who had worked for Mob bosses in Havana's casinos and had been imprisoned by Castro; *Life* magazine's Miami bureau chief Richard Billings (the same fellow who would later become the Assassinations Committee's chief writer); Billings's photographer, Terrence Spence; a daring Alpha 66 veteran Cuban infiltrator named Eduardo ("Eddie Bayo") Perez; and a raiding party of 11 C.I.A.-trained Cuban exiles. The aim of the mission was for Eddie Bayo and his exile party, using a small, high-speed boat provided by the C.I.A., to sneak ashore, capture two Russian military technicians from a Cuban missile site, and bring them back to the United States. Then, using the documentation that *Life* magazine's staffers would provide, a major press conference would proclaim that here was living proof that Soviet missiles were still in Cuba. The mission was a tragic failure. Radio contact with Bayo and his raiding party was lost, and they were never heard from again. *The Flying Tiger II* and Pawley returned to Miami, and *Life* never wrote a story about the mission.

There is here an intriguing link with the goals of the Alpha 66 raiders who were attacking Russian ships in Havana harbor at the height of the missile crisis: To embarrass President Kennedy and rip asunder his traitorous deal with Premier Khrushchev.

The end note to the William Pawley story occurred about the time I was scheduled to begin working for the Assassinations Committee. For weeks, I had been reviewing the notes and background files I had collected during my work with Schweiker's subcommittee and, wanting to hit the ground running, had put together an investigative plan for

**When she
was in
touch with
Senator
Schweiker,
Luce
was also
calling
C.I.A.
Director
William
Colby.**

the committee's Miami station. On my official first day, I sent to Washington a list of witnesses I planned to interview and noted those I thought should testify under oath. William Pawley was near the top of that list. Exactly one week later, William Pawley, in bed in his mansion on Miami Beach with a nervous ailment, put a gun to his chest and committed suicide.

At any rate, as I continued to pursue the Luce story for the Assassinations Committee, I interviewed Carlos Bringuier in New Orleans. He said he had never spoken to Luce and that he had never used the name of Julio Fernandez. I believed him. In Miami, however, I did discover that kernel of truth in Luce's story: A few leaders of the *Directorio* had, in fact, been in touch with her.

The *Directorio* was, along with Alpha 66, the most active of all the Cuban exile groups, on both the military and propaganda fronts. In late August, 1962, the group had received national publicity with a daring raid into Havana harbor, its boats shelling a theater where Castro often spoke. The group's spokesman was a sharp, articulate young fellow named José Antonio Lanusa, who handled the regular reports from D.R.E. delegates in various cities. It was Lanusa who, after the Kennedy assassination, had recalled Bringuier's report from New Orleans about Oswald's visit to the storefront, and it was Lanusa who had originally released the story to the press (after contacting his C.I.A. case officer at the JM/WAVE station).

It was also Lanusa who had turned copies of Bringuier's report over to the F.B.I. and a tape recording of the radio debate with Oswald. Oddly enough, the F.B.I. never told him to keep his mouth shut about it, Lanusa said. He also told me he'd never spoken to Clare Boothe Luce about the incident, either at the time or later, and he knew of no D.R.E. member who was deported or murdered. And no, he said, he wasn't Luce's Fernandez.

Lanusa said he had only a single contact with Luce, arranged by a C.I.A. associate. He was introduced to Luce at her New York apartment because, he was told, she wanted to write an article for *Life* magazine about his group's raid into Cuba. She said she would turn her \$600 fee for the article over to the D.R.E. as a contribution. That, Lanusa said, was the only money Luce ever contributed to the D.R.E.—she never sponsored a boat.

When I told him the story that Luce had given Schweiker, Lanusa shook his head. "I think Clare Boothe Luce shoots from the hip without her brain engaged," he said.

Many times in the course of my experiences investigating the Kennedy assassination, I found it strangely difficult to accept the obvious. It's like getting slapped in the face, feeling the sting, but still finding it hard to believe it really happened: *Did I just get slapped in the face?* It was a question I asked myself often.

Could the famous, sophisticated, respected Clare Boothe Luce have deliberately told Senator Schweiker such an embroidered tale of poppycock simply to mislead him and waste his and his investigator's time? Well, she was an old woman in her seventies, and perhaps her mind wasn't as sharp as it once was.

It was a couple of years after her initial story to Schweiker, and after I had checked her leads as far as they would go, that I tried setting up a meeting with Luce. I had a tough time. Far from slowing down, she was very active and agile, moving between her New York apartment, her home in Hawaii, and her penthouse at the Watergate in Washington.

I couldn't make arrangements to interview her until the last months of the Assassinations Committee's existence, too late to have an executive session hearing or get a sworn deposition.

I finally met her at the Watergate amid her splendid collection of museum-quality Chinese art and artifacts. Mrs. Luce was most pleasant and cooperative. Yes, she said, she had originally told the story to columnist Vera Glaser and confirmed it with Senator Schweiker. She then repeated it, virtually unchanged.

However, she also confirmed something we had only recently discovered. When she was in touch with Senator Schweiker, Luce was also calling C.I.A. director William Colby and telling him what was happening with Schweiker's

Kennedy investigation. According to Colby's notes, she admitted to him that she had concocted the name of Julio Fernandez. Colby apparently was confused by it all. When I asked Luce about it, she simply smiled sweetly.

Then I pointed out to Luce that her story reminded me of the Carlos Bringuier incident with Oswald. She smiled again and said, "Why, yes, that's the same type of thing that happened to my boys."

When I walked out of the Watergate late that afternoon, I knew only one thing for sure: An awful lot of time had been spent checking out Luce's story and, in the end, it led nowhere at all.

Shortly afterward, I saw Luce for the last time, at a luncheon meeting of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers at a country club in Arlington. It was the second time I got to attend a retired spies luncheon, and Luce was the guest speaker that day.

Her speech was a vigorous defense of the intelligence establishment and a historical review of its successes. I also discovered that Clare Boothe Luce was on the board of directors of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers.

Interestingly, that organization was formed in 1975 as an "independent" voice to defend the C.I.A. against its critics. Its founder was the retired intelligence officer who, as the agency's top psych-warfare expert, was instrumental in the C.I.A.-backed 1954 coup in Guatemala; was the C.I.A.'s propaganda chief for the Bay of Pigs operation; and was eventually promoted to chief of the Western Hemisphere Division, a post representing the highest rung on the agency's career chart.

With the charges coming out of the Church Committee, the agency needed experienced talent to deal with the media and give all the newly uncovered information about C.I.A. activity the right spin. And, upon his retirement from the agency, David Atlee Phillips, long the top man in the field, volunteered to do the job. END

**One week
after I
decided to
interview
him,
William
Pawley
put a gun
to his
chest and
committed
suicide.**