

GAR HOOVER

The Man
and
the Secrets

MORTON & COMPANY

York London

CURT GENTRY

J. EDGAR

W · W · NORTON & COMPANY

New York London

After the FBI director met secretly with the president for lunch on March 22, 1962, Judith Campbell lost that privilege. The bug in the Armory Lounge had gradually led him to a discovery that even the old cynic must have found stunning. Campbell, mistress of the president, was also romantically involved with Sinatra, Giancana, and Johnny Roselli, who was the Las Vegas and Hollywood representative of the Chicago mob boss.

Hoover's education about the power and influence of the nationwide organization he had belatedly discovered at Apalachin had been a crash course.

Less than a month before the election, on October 18, he was informing the CIA and military security agencies that Giancana had met three times with a hit man who intended to assassinate the Cuban dictator Fidel Castro in November. Actually, according to the mob leader, the "assassin" intended to pass a "pill" to a "girl," who would slip it into the revolutionary's food or drink.⁴⁹

That same day Hoover exhorted his agents in New York, Chicago, and Miami to get more information and keep close tabs on Giancana, noting that he himself was disseminating the story in a "carefully paraphrased version." To hide his use of a MISUR from other intelligence chiefs, he had cited "a source whose reliability has not been tested but who is in a position to obtain information."⁵⁰

But the hated CIA was hiding even more.

Deputy Director Richard Bissell had had a brainstorm in August. Would not certain members of the gambling syndicates, deprived of hefty casino profits by Castro's rigorously socialist state, have a sound business motive for getting rid of him? Robert Maheu, a favored Hoover aide during World War II, had gone into the private security business. According to an internal CIA memo, Maheu was asked "to make his approach to the syndicate as appearing to represent big business organizations which wished to protect their interests in Cuba."⁵¹

Undeceived as to who their real employer was, Roselli and Giancana took warmly to the idea, with one exception. They told Maheu they wanted "no part of" the \$150,000 payment approved by the agency. Clearly, the man who knew the real value of a few thousand votes beside the Chicago River could shrewdly estimate the nonfinancial rewards that might come to a friend of the nation's international intelligence-gathering arm.

Unknown to the CIA, Giancana had asked Maheu to arrange a bug on the comedian Dan Rowan, who seemed much too friendly with the mobster's girlfriend, Phyllis McGuire of the famous and beloved McGuire Sisters trio. Caught in the act of attaching a tap to the phone in Rowan's Las Vegas hotel room, a man hired by a Maheu associate was arrested* by the local sheriff and bailed out by Roselli.

*The bungler was Arthur Balletti, an employee of Maheu's friend the Florida investigator Edward DuBois. Apparently, Balletti had reason to believe that Rowan would be out for the whole afternoon. He forgot maid service. When he left the wiretap equipment out in plain view, the maid on duty spied it and called the sheriff's office.

ident for lunch on March 18 in the Armory Lounge. The cynical must have found it so romantically involved as the Las Vegas and Hol-

of the nationwide organization been a crash course.

On March 18, he was informing the press that he had met three times with the dictator Fidel Castro in the "assassin" intended to overthrow the revolutionary's food or

New York, Chicago, and Miami. Giancana, noting that he had paraphrased version." He said, "The chiefs, he had cited 'a man in a position to obtain

reform in August. Would it be of hefty casino profits and business motive for the aide during World War II? The CIA was wading to an internal CIA syndicate as appearing to protect their interests

Roselli and Giancana took what they wanted "no part of it," the man who knew the 30 River could shrewdly use a friend of the nation's

to arrange a bug on the floor with the mobster's and McGuire Sisters trio. The woman's Las Vegas hotel by the local sheriff and

Florida investigator Edward would be out for the whole afternoon in plain view, the maid on

This farcical episode—Giancana laughed so hard he almost swallowed his cigar, according to Roselli—irked the director of the FBI. Determined to have the luckless wiretapper prosecuted, he gradually began to realize that more was at stake than the flouting of right-to-privacy laws. Seismic rumbles were heard from the direction of enemy headquarters in Langley.

On April 18, 1961, Hoover lost all affection for Maheu, who would tell the FBI only that the aborted incident had been connected to a project "on behalf of the CIA relative to anti-Castro activities."³² He suggested that his former colleagues contact the spy agency directly.

According to a summary memo sent to RFK on May 22, Hoover learned from the CIA that Maheu and Giancana had indeed been engaged to conspire against the Cuban leader, although agency officials did not want to know the details of the "dirty business" the pair came up with.³³

He did not mention to the attorney general that Giancana had once discussed the very dirty business of murder as an "anti-Castro activity." Had he neglected to make the connection? Or was he holding his cards close to his chest, suspecting that he could learn more if he didn't alarm the CIA—or perhaps his immediate superior—by admitting how much he already knew?

The CIA let Hoover know that the Las Vegas comedy somehow involved national security, the Justice Department did not pursue the prosecution of the wiretapping charges, and the director of the FBI watched and wondered.

And heard. By November, he knew that Judith Campbell had placed calls to the White House on at least two occasions,* once from the FBI-tapped telephone in Sam Giancana's house.†

On December 11 he had a different kind of bombshell to place on Robert Kennedy's desk. The ongoing Chicago surveillance had revealed a disturbing confidence in Giancana's attitude. He seemed certain that he could get the president of the United States to call off the heat. There was the Sinatra con-

*In September, agents who were shadowing Campbell because of her connection with Roselli learned from a Los Angeles private investigator "of questionable reputation" that Campbell was allegedly sleeping with JFK. On September 9, while on stakeout, the agents watched two men burglarize Campbell's unoccupied apartment, and did nothing, except record the incident in their report.

†The previous year, Giancana had been rendered livid by FBI harassment at Chicago's O'Hare Airport. McGuire had been led off separately for questioning, for the agency was constantly trying to "turn" her and other Giancana acquaintances. Agent Bill Roemer, an imposing figure who sensed he could anger the mobster into assaulting him—and thus make a nuisance arrest—began to shout, "Ladies and gentlemen, here he is! Chicago's number one hoodlum, the city's biggest form of low life. Responsible for more scum, more crime, more misery than anyone alive." Giancana controlled his notoriously short temper, gritting his teeth, but finally hissed, "Hey, we're supposed to be on the same side, aren't we?"³⁴ Roemer was dumbfounded.

But while the FBI was hounding the gangster, the CIA was still helping him with domestic matters. In December, however, he did have a small bone to pick. The bug at the Armory caught him saying to Roselli, "It's no good. It's not the kind I was looking for. I was looking for the kind for the room, that would fit anywhere, a little disc, that you could lay anywhere."³⁵ The conversation continued at some length, reflecting Giancana's obsession with finding out just what his lover was doing and saying. Hoover was bugging a gangster who was being helped by the CIA to bug a girlfriend.

duit, which he meant to use to contact both Jack and Robert. And there was Joe Kennedy, Sr.

no source
Giancana had channeled an undetermined amount of cash through the Kennedy dynast to help his son win the essential West Virginia primary.* He had also pumped up Teamsters Union muscle, undoubtedly leading to the twisting of arms and the conversion of hearts and minds. But this earnest effort had not been rewarded, Giancana felt, and he had been overheard shrieking that he would never donate another penny to a Kennedy campaign.

Hoover's deadpan paraphrase of the conversation was subtly malicious. To his boss, the president's brother, he would write, "He made a donation to the campaign of President Kennedy but was not getting his money's worth."⁵⁷ The insult was palpable.

no source
What happened between the three Kennedys during the next few days can only be surmised. Robert would obviously warn John that Hoover believed the story (that is, had yet another arrow in his quiver), whether it was true or not. Typically, the attorney general would have confronted Joe, certainly to ask about the tale and probably to rant and rave. He'd had occasion to snap feistily at his father more than once during the campaign, when clumsy missteps threatened to undercut the mint-new Kennedy image of uncorrupted, idealistic youthfulness. And Robert would surely be writhing furiously at this latest twist of Hoover's thumbscrew.

On December 18 the head of the clan, who was vacationing in the sun and balmy beach air at the family estate in Palm Beach, suffered a massive stroke. He was never able to speak again, though he stayed alive for almost eight years—during which two sons were killed and the third disgraced.

Hoover found out about a third telephone call.

On February 27, as the Kennedys still reeled from the shock of losing, for all practical purposes, the advice and encouragement of their father, possibly as the result of a telephone call Robert Kennedy may have made, another old man eased into a fatherly role. In identical memos to Robert and to O'Donnell, the FBI director expressed his concern that Campbell, who had called the White House at least three times to his knowledge, was an associate of Roselli and of Sam Giancana, whom he described as "a prominent Chicago underworld figure."⁵⁸

JFK presumably saw this new indication of Hoover's spidery watchfulness and knew that a copy was tucked into his files.

On March 22 the president and his FBI chief met privately for lunch in the White House living quarters. "What actually transpired at that luncheon may never be known," said a Senate report thirteen years later, "as both participants are dead and the FBI files contain no records relating to it."⁵⁹

*Compounding his sins, Sinatra had been involved in the money transfer, too. Judith Campbell later claimed that Giancana had said to her, "Listen, honey, if it wasn't for me, your boyfriend wouldn't even be in the White House."⁶⁰

nd Robert. And there was

ount of cash through the
est Virginia primary.* He
ndoubtedly leading to the
inds. But this earnest effort
been overheard shrieking
nedy campaign.

1 was subtly malicious. To
He made a donation to the
his money's worth."⁵⁷ The

ring the next few days can
n that Hoover believed the
whether it was true or not.
nted Joe, certainly to ask
ad occasion to snap feistily
n, when clumsy missteps
e of uncorrupted, idealistic
ng furiously at this latest

vacationing in the sun and
suffered a massive stroke.
yed alive for almost eight
hird disgraced.

the shock of losing, for all
of their father, possibly as
y have made, another old
Robert and to O'Donnell,
pbell, who had called the
was an associate of Roselli
rominent Chicago under-

ver's spidery watchfulness

t privately for lunch in the
ired at that luncheon may
ars later, "as both partici-
relating to it."⁵⁹

y transfer, too. Judith Campbell
it wasn't for me, your boyfriend

Perhaps for the first time Jack Kennedy had no doubts that Hoover now possessed information that, if leaked, could destroy his presidency. And Jack had to handle this problem on his own.

This could hurt you very badly, Mr. President, is the likely approach Hoover took, imputing a patriotic motive to his violation of White House privacy. It would have been his style to emphasize the connection to the boss of the Chicago Mafia and let the other matter of Mrs. Campbell materialize, unexpressed, on its own.

I'll do everything I can to protect you, but if a reporter got hold of this story . . . , Hoover may have warned. Always eager to nail down the particulars, he must have astonished Kennedy with the amount of information he had in hand on Giancana, Roselli, Sinatra, and Mrs. Campbell. It would have been strange if the sanctimonious bachelor had not lectured the younger man a bit on the sacred responsibility of high office.

He did not have to mention Inga, who would have been on both their minds. Compared with this, Jack's unknowing involvement with an older woman who may or may not have been a Nazi spy was a youthful escapade.

Many speculate that Hoover used this climactic luncheon to unveil another surprise—his discovery that the CIA was behind Giancana's plot to assassinate Castro.*

But Kennedy was innocent of that foolishness. That was not true of the liaison with Mrs. Campbell, who had actually, according to White House logs, telephoned him seventy times since his inauguration.

Both men knew, though from very different perspectives, how much power J. Edgar Hoover now wielded over his commander in chief.

And perhaps John Kennedy matured somewhat that day. Now head of the family clan, now faced with the increasingly seamy realities of bureaucratic infighting and his own vulnerabilities, he apparently took steps to protect himself and his job. He made the last recorded call to Judith from the White House line.

The following day, as Hoover knew from the Los Angeles SAC, the president intended to spend the weekend with Sinatra. Hopeful of establishing a kind of West Coast White House, the singer had added two guest houses to his estate in Palm Springs, put in a helipad, and wired the place for serious communications: five private telephone lines, equipment for teletype facilities, and, according to the FBI report, "enough cable available to handle a switchboard

*Hoover apparently had no personal qualms about murdering the Communist leader Fidel Castro, only that the CIA and organized crime were involved. When it appeared that the CIA plots had failed, Hoover offered the services of the FBI. On October 29, 1962, the director sent the attorney general a memorandum about an FBI informant who had stated that he could arrange Castro's assassination: "The informant was told that his offer was outside our jurisdiction, which he acknowledged. No commitments were made to him. At this time, we do not plan to further pursue the matter. Our relationship with him has been most carefully guarded and we would feel obligated to handle any recontact of him concerning this matter if such is desired."⁶⁰

*One hears
that with
others this
is what the
FBI did*

if necessary."⁶¹ Arrangements also covered the special amenities for which the host was famous and which the president had greatly enjoyed on past occasions.

But Kennedy canceled. Not willing to make the break himself, he'd called Peter Lawford and told him, "I can't stay there. You know as much as I like Frank, I can't go there, not while Bobby is handling this [Giancana] investigation."⁶²

To compound the insult, the president chose instead to stay in Palm Desert, an adjacent community, with another crooner, and a Republican at that: Bing Crosby.*

Sinatra was bitter. He later complained to the actress Angie Dickinson, a sometime (and always discreet) intimate of the president, "If he would only pick up the telephone and call me and say that it was politically difficult to have me around, I would understand. I don't want to hurt him. But he has never called."⁶³

The singer could hardly have guessed that any contact might be picked up by Hoover and, no matter how innocent the conversation, become another item for the files.

Wounded, Sinatra retaliated by dropping Lawford and the rest of the Kennedy relatives and hangers-on. Guests who dropped by his desert hideaway now saw a note prominently attached to the wall, visible from the threshold. Dated 1959, it read, "Frank—what can we count on the boys from Vegas for? Jack."⁶⁴ Possibly forged, the note nonetheless had its effect upon the Hollywood, Vegas, and Washington gossip circuits.†

Sam Giancana was even more bitter. The Chicago agents were even *lockstepping* him, for Christ's sake, following him right onto the golf course and playing behind him, ridiculing his swing. He'd had to go to court to get a restraining order, calling them off. The federal judge ordered his harassers to play no less than two foursomes behind him. It was impossible for the Chicago syndicate to do business, he'd complained to his mob associates Gus Alex and Edward Vogel. From now on, Giancana was overheard saying, "Everyone is on his own."⁶⁵

He blamed Sinatra. The singer had made promises and never kept them. On one of the FBI's MISURs, Giancana discussed Sinatra's double-cross with his Las Vegas frontman, Johnny Formosa.

*Had the FBI director chosen to, he could have provided the president with some equally juicy gossip regarding his new host. Although nowhere near as voluminous as Frank Sinatra's FBI file, Bing Crosby's contained allegations that he patronized prostitutes, paid a blackmailing procurer \$10,000, and consorted with known criminals, in particular Moe Dalitz of the old Detroit Purple Gang, who had become one of Las Vegas's most prominent citizens.

†Sinatra's thirst for revenge was not yet slaked. After the president's murder, the singer courted a prominent member of the Camelot circle, and the pair were photographed on dates. Eventually the two decided to announce their engagement at a party of socialites and celebrities, who were primed for the news. The woman was humiliated in front of this company as the hours ticked by and her suitor failed to show—or ever to make contact again.

covered the special amenities for which the president had greatly enjoyed on past occa-

lling to make the break himself, he'd called an't stay there. You know as much as I like Bobby is handling this [Giancana] investiga-

sident chose instead to stay in Palm Desert, her crooner, and a Republican at that: Bing

nplained to the actress Angie Dickinson, a intimate of the president, "If he would only nd say that it was politically difficult to have I don't want to hurt him. But he has never

essed that any contact might be picked up nnoeent the conversation, become another

y dropping Lawford and the rest of the i. Guests who dropped by his desert hide- attached to the wall, visible from the thresh- what can we count on the boys from Vegas te nonetheless had its effect upon the Holly- ip circuits.†

ter. The Chicago agents were even *lockstep-* ng him right onto the golf course and play- g. He'd had to go to court to get a restrain- eral judge ordered his harassers to play no 1. It was impossible for the Chicago syndi- ned to his mob associates Gus Alex and ncana was overheard saying, "Everyone is

id made promises and never kept them. On a discussed Sinatra's double-cross with his o'sa.

have provided the president with some equally juicy here near as voluminous as Frank Sinatra's FBI file, patronized prostitutes, paid a blackmailing procurer s, in particular Moe Dalitz of the old Detroit Purple ost prominent citizens.

d. After the president's murder, the singer courted a the pair were photographed on dates. Eventually the at a party of socialities and celebrities, who were ated in front of this company as the hours ticked by e contact again.

Formosa wanted to take out the whole Rat Pack. "Let's show 'em. Let's show those fuckin' Hollywood fruitcakes they can't get away with it as if nothing happened. . . . I could whack out a couple a those guys. Lawford, that Martin prick, and I could take the nigger and put his other eye out." As for Sinatra, Formosa suggested, "Let's hit him," offering to do it himself.

"No," Giancana responded, "I've got other plans for him."⁶⁶

Every wilful child and disgruntled employee knows the best way to drive an authority figure up the wall. In artfully selected cases, do exactly what he says, to the letter.

Hoover complied promptly with a request from the attorney general on April 11. As he could predict, this unusual alacrity tarnished RFK's reputation with the liberal journalists he and his brother had so successfully charmed in recent years.

When the CEO of U.S. Steel announced a price rise, five other steel manufacturers fell in line behind him, including the president of Bethlehem Steel. Not long before, however, the Bethlehem executive had told stockholders that no increase was necessary and could in fact be dangerous to the market survival of the company.

On its face, his turnabout suggested the possibility that the manufacturers could be fixing prices. Routinely, such suspected violations of the antitrust laws are investigated by the FBI. Never before, however, had FBI agents been so imbued with zeal that they had knocked on reporters' doors in the dead of night and roused them from sound sleep, official badges glinting.*

Reporters in Wilmington and Philadelphia—three in all—had covered the Bethlehem stockholders' meeting and could not corroborate the alleged comment by the company president, which had been carried in the *New York Times*. But they could, and did, let their colleagues know about the "police-state tactics" now in practice under Robert Kennedy.

The attorney general, who had indeed asked that they be interviewed, had no choice but to take responsibility for the timing of the actions of his employees. Offstage, he told friends that Hoover had intended to embarrass him. And had succeeded.

Hoover believed the "liberal press" had defeated Nixon. He had now sown a seed of suspicion about the Kennedys.

"If you have seen Mr. Kennedy's eyes get steely and his voice get low and precise, you get a definite feeling of unhappiness."⁶⁷ Thus, Lawrence Houston.

The CIA general counsel had finally gone directly to the attorney general to

*Hoover could afford to be more subtle once Kennedy had been exposed. In July, after the attorney general orally requested a tap on the *New York Times* reporter Hanson Baldwin, who had written an article on Soviet missile systems that was thought to be based upon classified information, the director instituted the wire surveillance of Baldwin and, on his own initiative, also tapped the journalist's secretary. On July 31—three days after the Baldwin tap began, four days after the secretary was put on line—the AG gave formal written approval of the "technical coverage."

explain an embarrassing situation. Kennedy, unimpressed by previous representations from the superspies, had urged Courtney Evans to follow up "vigorously" the case involving Giancana and the attempted wiretap on Dan Rowan. Now Houston had to lay his cards on the table.

Giancana's peccadillo had to be forgiven in the interest of national security, Houston explained. Then, perhaps for the only time, a Kennedy was told by a CIA official that the mobster and the agency had planned to kill the inconvenient leader of Cuba. He was also told that the peculiar initiative had been ended for good.*

"I trust," said Kennedy with obvious sarcasm, "that if you ever try to do business with organized crime again—with gangsters—you will let the Attorney General know."⁶⁸

The crime-busting crusader had been forced, by Hoover's hated rivals, to ease off on Giancana, though the mobster remained high on Kennedy's hit list.

And he was forced to go to Hoover. On May 9 he visited his FBI director to confirm Hoover's earlier suspicions about CIA shenanigans. In a memo written the next day, Hoover expressed "great astonishment" that the plotters had hired Maheu "in view of [his] bad reputation."⁶⁹ To the continuing surprise of FBI agents, the director's former fair-haired boy still refused to spill the beans to anyone in the Bureau.†

Kennedy told Hoover in no uncertain terms, as the director's memo records, that the CIA officials admitted that the plot had never been cleared with the Department of Justice. The two men shared a sense of outrage and astonishment at the CIA's impudence.

Of course, Hoover had reason to be amused, seeing how ineptly the spy agency had earned the distrust and contempt of the attorney general, while thwarting his cherished campaign against the Mafia. By contrast, the FBI had followed the young man's orders and had been especially inventive in protecting his brother's reputation from harmful gossip.

He was surprised and galled—all things considered—when JFK's note in honor of his thirty-eighth anniversary as director was coolly formal boilerplate: "Yours is one of the most unusual and distinguished records in the history of government service."⁷¹

*Unknown to Houston, the CIA had revived the Castro assassination plot, supplying Rosselli with a vial of their lethal pills. Also in this meeting was the CIA director of security, Sheffield Edwards, who told RFK that the operation had been conducted from August 1960 to May 1961. According to CIA investigators themselves, however, Edwards was undoubtedly being less than forthcoming and must have known that the scheme with Rosselli had been reactivated.

†Once Hoover had learned of Maheu's involvement, he presumed he could capitalize on his former aide's loyalty to the Bureau, and, following the last Miami meeting between Maheu and Giancana, he had two of his senior agents talk to him. The director expected the ex-FBI man to tell everything he had learned about the activities of Giancana and Roselli, the agents told him. But Maheu had reached a "gentleman's agreement" with the mobsters: "They promised me they wouldn't discuss the assassination plot with their associates, and I promised them I wouldn't repeat anything I might overhear while with them." Nor would he betray the CIA. Hence the angry slander the director heaped on the man he'd once praised as one of his ablest aides.⁷⁰

*The note was to
cause Maheu to
be "useful" on
Bellefleur to keep
him from becoming
the next "hot" in
the CIA on the
Maheu "punch"*

d by previous repre-
to follow up "vigor-
etap on Dan Rowan.

of national security,
nnedy was told by a
l to kill the inconve-
initiative had been

f you ever try to do
ou will let the Attor-

er's hated rivals, to
n Kennedy's hit list.
d his FBI director to
ns. In a memo writ-
that the plotters had
ntinuing surprise of
sed to spill the beans

stor's memo records,
een cleared with the
atrage and astonish-

ow ineptly the spy
orney general, while
ontrast, the FBI had
inventive in protect-

when JFK's note in
oolly formal boiler-
shed records in the

t, supplying Rosselli with
urity, Sheffield Edwards,
to May 1961. According
ing less than forthcoming
d.

d capitalize on his former
en Maheu and Giancana,
'BI man to tell everything
old him. But Maheu had
me they wouldn't discuss
ouldn't repeat anything I
ce the angry slander the

The occasion was May 10, and the attorney general announced a cake-cutting ceremony. But the miffed Hoover could not accept. He intended to be at his post all day, he explained. Among his tasks was crafting the memorandum that explained for the files what RFK had learned from the CIA.

She dumbfounded the professional photographers who worked with her. Surprisingly plain in the flesh, much too substantial in the derriere, she nevertheless glowed in photographs and in the movies.

Hoover had been deeply involved, as she well knew, in the blacklisting of her second husband, the left-leaning playwright Arthur Miller. And the FBI, as well as associates of the Teamsters president, Jimmy Hoffa, were keeping tabs on her in the early 1960s.

Marilyn Monroe indiscreetly told numerous friends that she had fallen deeply in love with John Kennedy while he was still a senator—the pair supposedly meeting in the secret "love nest" he maintained at the very tony Carlyle Hotel in Manhattan, as well as in Palm Springs and in Los Angeles during the 1960 Democratic convention—but that he had ended the affair sometime after becoming president. Some of the same friends were also convinced that, by mid-1962, the attorney general had taken his place in the arms of the legendary sex goddess.

If Frederick Vanderbilt Fields, a longtime friend of the actress, is to be believed, it began with a stimulating discussion of J. Edgar Hoover.

Both Robert Kennedy and Monroe were guests at a dinner party at Peter Lawford's house. According to Fields, who heard the story from Marilyn, the pair went off by themselves to the den, where "they had a very long talk, a very political talk." Marilyn told Fields that "she had asked Kennedy whether they were going to fire J. Edgar Hoover—she was very outspoken against him—and Kennedy replied that he and the President didn't feel strong enough to do so, though they wanted to."⁷²

This encounter had occurred on February 1, 1962, and the dinner, if not the content of their talk, was reported in the press. Apparently the pair exchanged their private telephone numbers because before long Marilyn was calling him so frequently that the Justice Department operators, obviously acting on the attorney general's instructions, refused to put her through.

How much did the FBI know about her affairs, first with Jack, and then with Bobby? William Sullivan would maintain that the Bureau knew about the former but missed the latter, if it ever really got off the ground. (He had his doubts.) It is possible, however, that the FBI stumbled upon the RFK affair but didn't realize just what it had discovered.

On August 1, 1962, the mobster Meyer Lansky was overheard on a MISUR telling his wife, Teddy, that Bobby was carrying on an affair with a girl in El Paso. Mrs. Lansky griped that it was all Sinatra's fault, since he was "nothing but a procurer of women for those guys. Sinatra is the guy that gets them all together." Meyer stood up for his friend, saying it was not Frank's fault, that "it starts with the President and goes right down the line."⁷³

*John F. Kennedy
was with him
then, she told me*

*Did Kennedy
not "sinister"*

*not known
no source*

Paul Wurtzel, my friend, who was with me. Interviewed by Summers, that he knew & 4 others who were in a business when people knew that Monroe was from in what was the hotel industry. That he paid to get help to order the apartment. I do not know if he helped anyone else. I do not know if my summer is a dependable source.

J. EDGAR HOOVER

The recording was indistinct, however. As Anthony Summers has noted, Lansky could have said "Lake Tahoe." Monroe was visiting the California mountain resort the last weekend in July. The attorney general was in the Los Angeles area the Friday before, but his whereabouts on Saturday and Sunday are not known.

Despite rumors that he was with her the following weekend in her Brentwood home, perhaps beside her when she died on Saturday, August 4—that Lawford helped him flee, and Hoover helped cover up his presence by having Monroe's telephone records seized—the evidence would suggest that the FBI director, like everyone else, had no proof of Kennedy's involvement and was not called in. Had he been, Hoover would almost certainly have used this information against Kennedy at a later date, when he ransacked his files for every bit of derogatory material he could find.*

Monroe's name did come up on August 20, sixteen days after her death, when Hoover sent Courtney Evans to inform the AG about the mention of the unidentified woman in the Lansky tap. Kennedy snorted, saying he had never been in El Paso. He thanked Evans for the tip, though, and was moved to discourse upon the subject of gossip mongers in general. According to Evans's report, the attorney general, on his own, noted that "he was aware there had been several allegations concerning his possibly being involved with Marilyn Monroe. He said he had at least met Marilyn Monroe since she was a good friend of his sister, Pat Lawford, but these allegations just had a way of growing beyond any semblance of the truth."⁷⁴

Obviously, the attorney general was speaking directly to his suspicious FBI director, responding to the unspoken accusation that hovered in the air.

His oblique denial was not, however, believed. As late as 1964, some eight months after President Kennedy's death, Hoover was reminding RFK of the Monroe rumors—and of the unexploited resources of the director's personal files.

In a memorandum, Hoover felt he should warn Kennedy that an author planned to reveal the affair with the late actress in a new book.

For a man who enjoyed betting on the ponies, and had once been addicted to the glamour of the Stork Club, J. Edgar Hoover seemed strangely uninterested in the exotica of Las Vegas. On October 9, on his first and last visit to the gambling mecca, he spoke to the annual convention of the American Legion. Observers noted that he made a beeline through the lobby of his hotel, eyes glaring straight ahead, ignoring the noisy hullabaloo and blinking lights of the craps tables and slot machines as if they did not exist.

But by this time he knew, from over a hundred wiretaps and bugs, some of

*To date, the FBI has released only eighty, heavily censored pages from the Marilyn Monroe file. While it is possible that the actress was bugged or tapped, or both, and that these transcriptions have been destroyed or are being suppressed, the available material contains no indication that Hoover knew of or suspected her involvement with RFK prior to the August 20 meeting, when the attorney general himself brought up the subject.

Anthony Summers has noted, was visiting the California attorney general was in the Los Angeles area on Saturday and Sunday

the weekend in her Brentwood home on Saturday, August 4—that he picked up his presence by having a car that would suggest that the FBI investigation of Kennedy's involvement and was not certainly have used this as he ransacked his files for

thirteen days after her death, about the mention of the aborted, saying he had never thought, and was moved to tears. According to Evans's account, "he was aware there had been involvement with Marilyn Monroe since she was a good person just had a way of grow-

ing directly to his suspicious FBI agent that hovered in the air.

As late as 1964, some eight years after the assassination, was reminding RFK of the contents of the director's personal

file that Kennedy that an author of a new book.

He had once been addicted to gambling, seemed strangely uninterested in his first and last visit to the lobby of the American Legion. He looked at the lobby of his hotel, eyes down and blinking lights of the street.

Wiretaps and bugs, some of

were taken from the Marilyn Monroe file. He said, and that these transcriptions of the serial contain no indication that the August 20 meeting, when the

they were planted in plush bedrooms, more about the innards of this multimillion-dollar empire in the Nevada desert than did any of the blackjack dealers, pit bosses, or cocktail waitresses.

He knew who was skimming from the casino profits—and how much they were taking in. He knew where the money went and how it made its way to the top bosses.*

He also knew that some people, well connected with this place, were very unhappy with the Kennedys, John and Robert, unhappy to the point where they were talking about killing them.

In July and August of 1962 the teamsters boss James Riddle Hoffa told a close associate, Edward Grady Partin, who headed Teamsters Local No. 5 in Baton Rouge, "I've got to do something about that son of a bitch Bobby Kennedy. He's got to go."⁷³

Hoffa then discussed the layout and exposed position of Robert Kennedy's home at Hickory Hill; noted that the attorney general often rode in an open convertible and would be an easy target for a lone assassin positioned in a high building with a .270 rifle with a high-powered scope; and discussed the advisability of having the assassination committed somewhere in the South, where rabid segregationists would be blamed. It was important, Hoffa said, that the assassin be someone without any identifiable connection to the Teamsters or Hoffa himself.

But Hoffa said he'd prefer to bomb Bobby and asked Partin if he could get some plastic explosives.

In September, Partin became an FBI informant. Learning of Hoffa's plan, Hoover informed both the president and the intended victim. Under orders from Robert Kennedy, the FBI director had Partin polygraphed. "The FBI does not often give definite conclusions in a polygraph test," the RFK aide and former FBI agent Walter Sheridan observed. "This time they did. . . . The memorandum from the Bureau concluded that from all indications, Partin was telling the truth."⁷⁴

That same month, the Florida Mafia boss Santos Trafficante, Jr., one of the principals in the CIA-Mafia plots against Fidel Castro, was meeting with Jose Aleman, Jr., a wealthy Cuban exile and a friend from Trafficante's Havana days, when the subject turned to the Kennedys. "Have you seen how his brother is hitting Hoffa," Trafficante bitterly complained, "a man who is a

*Eventually, the FBI discovered that most of the "skim" loot went to Meyer Lansky in Miami. In a typical month in 1963, the skim from one casino amounted to \$123,500, of which Lansky kept \$71,000, then transmitted the rest to the New Jersey mobster Gerardo Catena. Catena distributed the money in the north and Lansky in Florida. Each recipient would have a small percentage of his share deducted for casino employees who kept mum about the operation. There were also couriers, \$300,000 to a Swiss bank, \$100,000 to the Bahamas. In a mob discussion of the possible sale of the Horseshoe Club for \$5 million, the price was considered reasonable because the annual skim was about \$700,000. Pieces of the Horseshoe, the Fremont, and the Sands were owned by Catena, Richie Boiardi, Angelo "Gyp" DeCarlo, Vincent Alo, and Sam Giancana, according to the electronic surveillances.

*unsubstantiated
Partin in not
a dependable
source*

Aleman also
is not a defensible
role source but I do not
remember why
496

J. EDGAR HOOVER

worker, who is not a millionaire, a friend of the blue collars? He doesn't know that kind of encounter is very delicate. Mark my words, this man Kennedy is in trouble, and he will get what is coming to him." When Aleman suggested Kennedy probably wouldn't get reelected, Trafficante replied, "No, Jose, he is going to be hit."⁷⁷

It was his impression, Aleman later stated, that Hoffa was involved in the plan and that Trafficante, although he knew of it, wasn't its principal architect.

Aleman later claimed, in a 1976 interview with the *Washington Post* reporter George Crile III, that he passed on this information to the FBI on at least two occasions, in 1962 and 1963. Crile tracked down the two agents Aleman claimed had interviewed him, George Davis and Paul Scranton, but they declined to confirm or deny Aleman's account without headquarters approval, Scranton adding, "I wouldn't want to do anything to embarrass the FBI."⁷⁸ If Hoover was aware of Aleman's allegations, he did not report them to the president or the attorney general.*

Also that month, Carlos Marcello met with two associates, Edward Becker and Carl Roppolo, at Churchill Farms, the Louisiana Mafia boss's 3,000-acre plantation outside New Orleans.

It is likely that no one hated the Kennedys more than Marcello. Robert Kennedy had gone to extreme lengths to nail Marcello, even arranging for him to be kidnapped and deported to Guatemala. When he'd slipped back into the country, the attorney general had hit him with indictments for fraud, perjury, and illegal reentry.

All three men had been drinking heavily when Becker sympathetically remarked, "Bobby Kennedy is really giving you a rough time."

"*Livarsi na petra di la scarpa!*" Marcello exploded. "Take the stone out of my shoe!" Marcello followed this old Sicilian curse with "Don't worry about that little Bobby son of a bitch. He's going to be taken care of."

Becker realized that Marcello was quite serious, that to him this was an affair of honor. He also realized that the assassination was already in the planning stage when Marcello said he was thinking of using "a nut," an outsider who could be used or manipulated to carry out the hit, rather than one of his own lieutenants.

But Marcello wasn't talking about assassinating Robert Kennedy: the target was to be his brother, the president. "The dog will keep biting if you only cut off its tail," Marcello explained. If they hit Bobby, Jack would retaliate with the Army and the Marines. But if the dog's head were cut off, he added, the whole dog would die.⁸⁰

*Aleman repeated essentially the same story to investigators for the House Select Committee on Assassinations in 1978. However, when Aleman testified before the committee he said that Trafficante may have meant only that the president was going to be hit by "a lot of votes from the Republican Party or something like that."⁷⁹ The switch from bullets to ballots came after Aleman admitted to committee investigators that he feared possible reprisal from the Trafficante organization. Trafficante also testified before the committee. Although he admitted having met with Aleman, he denied having made any such statements.

not a Post
reporter

This interview
is not the
only source
and is not likely
what the agents
had in mind
firstly, it's
just say that
Becker was an
FBI informant &
again he got
killed as a result
of a source who is
not dependable
Becker saw the
FBI after this
meeting & from
the FBI report saw
not a word
about any
threat. See
pg 496

collars? He doesn't know
ls, this man Kennedy is in
When Aleman suggested
e replied, "No, Jose, he is

Hoffa was involved in the
n't its principal architect.
the *Washington Post* re-
mation to the FBI on at
ed down the two agents
s and Paul Scranton, but
without headquarters ap-
nything to embarrass the
he did not report them to

ssociates, Edward Becker
ia Mafia boss's 3,000-acre

re than Marcello. Robert
lo, even arranging for him
he'd slipped back into the
tments for fraud, perjury,

becker sympathetically re-
gh time."

ed. "Take the stone out of
with "Don't worry about
en care of."

, that to him this was an
iation was already in the
of using "a nut," an out-
the hit, rather than one of

Robert Kennedy: the target
keep biting if you only cut
Jack would retaliate with
were cut off, he added, the

the House Select Committee on
the committee he said that Traf-
e hit by "a lot of votes from the
lets to ballots came after Aleman
sal from the Trafficante organiza-
e admitted having met with Ale-

Carlos Marcello had on the inside of his office door a framed motto that
visitors saw just before departing. It read, "Three can keep a secret if two are
dead."***

It's possible the FBI director discussed the Hoffa plot with the president when
he met with him on October 3—Jack worried about his younger brother—but
if so, it goes unmentioned in the memorandum of their conversation which
Hoover sent to Tolson the following day.

The president had asked a favor, Hoover related. He was going to speak at
the graduating exercises of the FBI National Academy later that month, and
he wanted "a page and a half of ideas." He specifically wanted the director to
set down "concrete accomplishments," and Hoover replied that the Bureau's
accomplishments "in the civil rights field, and in the campaign against the
underworld" seemed just the right ticket.⁴³

In his October 31 NA speech, the president spoke effusively about both
Hoover and the Bureau, noting that he had the "greatest respect" for the
director and his "extraordinary men." Although pleased with the president's
comments, Hoover could hardly have been surprised, since most of them had
been written by Crime Records. But Kennedy added his own touches. One
comment sticks out. To the future law enforcement officers seated before him,
Kennedy said, "We have the greatest debt to all of you. You make it possible
for all of us to carry out our private lives."

Bobby handed out the diplomas. Hoover presented his president with a
special badge that made him "a member of the FBI family."⁴⁴ Evidently, to all
present and assembled, the three men were united in their commitment to
enforcement of the law and protection of the public weal.

"Dr. King Critical of FBI in South." In the *New York Times* story of Novem-
ber 18, the civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., was quoted as charging
that FBI agents in a small Georgia town were siding with segregationists.

"Every time I saw FBI men in Albany, they were with the local police
force," the thirty-three-year-old minister declared. In response to the Albany
Movement, an integrated effort in support of desegregation of public facilities
in the town, authorities had jailed hundreds of protesters, black and white.
Many of the black participants had been beaten or otherwise intimidated.

"One of the great problems we face with the FBI in the South is that the

*Hoover apparently did not learn of Becker's allegations until 1967, when Becker related the
incident to Ed Reid, a former *Las Vegas Sun* reporter and the coauthor, with Ovid Demaris, of *The
Green Felt Jungle*. Reid, who wanted to use the story in his new book *The Grim Reapers*, contacted
the FBI. But the Bureau not only didn't interview Becker, or investigate the allegations; the agents
tried "to discredit Becker to Reid in order that the Carlos Marcello incident would be deleted from
the book by Reid," as they reported to the director in a June 5, 1967, memorandum.⁴⁵

Marcello, who was later sentenced to prison for seventeen years on two separate convictions,
also testified before the House Select Committee on Assassinations and denied any involvement in
a plot to kill President Kennedy. He also claimed he'd never met with Becker, although the
meeting has been independently confirmed.

September 27, 1962. ELSUR on home of a Miami, Florida, relative of Angelo Bruno. Unknown male: "The hearing is all political, instigated by Robert Kennedy. They're murdering the Italian name!"⁵⁹

The attorney general had preceded Valachi to the stand, with great feeling asking Congress to pass a number of new bills, including one which would authorize electronic surveillance in organized crime cases.

ELSUR on John Masiello, New York City, and a close associate, Anthony "Hickey" DiLorenzo. DiLorenzo: "They are going to harass people and are definitely going to try to pass that wiretapping law. If they ever get that law passed, forget about it. They probably have miles of tape that they put together. They'll say well, this is what we got, then they'll start indicting guys."

Masiello: "It isn't a free country anymore."⁶⁰

On February 8, 1962, FBI agents listening to the ELSUR of a conversation between the Philadelphia capo Angelo Bruno and Willie Weisberg, an associate, had heard the following conversation:

Weisberg: "With Kennedy, a guy should take a knife, like all them other guys, and stab and kill the [obscurity], where he is now. Somebody should kill the [obscurity]. I mean it. This is true. Honest to God. It's about time to go. But I'll tell you something. I hope I get a week's notice, I'll kill. Right in the [obscurity] in the White House. Somebody's got to get rid of this [obscurity]."

Bruno then related an old Italian folk tale. There was a king, and his people said he was a bad king. On hearing this, the king went to a very old and very wise woman and asked if it was true, was he bad? And she said no, he wasn't a bad king. Asked why she said this when everyone else said the opposite, she replied, "Well, I knew your great grandfather. He was a bad king. I knew your grandfather. He was worse. I knew your father. He was worse than them. You, you are worse than them, but your son, if you die, your son is going to be worse than you. So it's better to be with you."

The moral of the story, Bruno pointed out, was that Brownell was a bad attorney general, and Kennedy was worse. But "if something happens to this guy . . ." (both laugh).⁶²

But by the start of 1963 the laughter had stopped. Because of the ELSURs, the FBI agents were able to chart the moods of the leaders of organized crime in the United States. Early in 1963 they noticed a not so subtle change, nervousness and apprehension giving way to frustrated, barely contained anger, which by the fall of that year erupted into an explosive rage against both Kennedys, Robert and John.

January 15, 1963. Airtel from SAC Chicago to Director FBI:

"Chuck English bemoans the fact that the Federal government is closing in

⁵⁹Only a few of the Kennedy-sponsored crime bills were passed. The wiretapping bill wasn't among them. The FBI ELSURs later overheard Roland Libonati, Sam Giancana's congressman, brag, "I killed six of his bills. That wiretapping bill, the intimidating informers bill."⁶⁰

on the organization and ap
ous and sundry inflammat

January 31, 1963. La Cc

"Permission is being so
Federal investigators, new
tra."⁶⁴

May 2, 1963. ELSUR, N
Michelino Clemente.

Clemente: "Bob Kenne
country. Until the Commis
standstill."⁶⁵

June 11, 1963. ELSUR,
Stefano, an underling from

Magaddino: "We are in
everything under the sun."
name. They know who's be
ing 'Our Friend']. They kr

Magaddino expresses a
September 17, 1963. EL

Valachi (prior to his appe
Magaddino: "We passer

October 1, 1963. ELSU
Palmisano, alias Jimmy C
on TV.

Dee: "There's going to
October 14, 1963. EL

Charles "Chuck" English
present:

They discuss golf. Som
John Kennedy does. Some

October 15, 1963. ELSU
cal front men for Sam Gie

"Jacobson states that I
Chicago at this time. Jac

Chicago syndicate, pardo
that the organization mus

October 16, 1963. ELSI
"Sam Giancana has iss

tinue their practice of atte
October 31, 1963. ELS

ing President Kennedy.
Peter Magaddino: "He

Stefano Magaddino: "He
father too!"⁷²

on the organization and apparently nothing can be done about it. Makes various and sundry inflammatory remarks about the Kennedy administration."⁶³

January 31, 1963. La Cosa Nostra Summary:

"Permission is being sought [from the Commission] for retaliation against Federal investigators, newsmen and politicians who expose La Cosa Nostra."⁶⁴

May 2, 1963. ELSUR, New York City. Two LCN members, Sal Profaci and Michelino Clemente.

Clemente: "Bob Kennedy won't stop until he puts us all in jail all over the country. Until the Commission meets and puts its foot down, things will be at a standstill."⁶⁵

June 11, 1963. ELSUR, Buffalo. Capo Stefano Magaddino and Anthony de Stefano, an underling from Syracuse.

Magaddino: "We are in a bad situation in Cosa Nostra. . . . They know everything under the sun. They know who's back of it. They know everybody's name. They know who's boss. They know Amico Nostra [the password, meaning 'Our Friend']. They know there is a Commission."

Magaddino expresses a bitter hatred for Robert Kennedy.⁶⁶

September 17, 1963. ELSUR, Buffalo. Magaddino and others discuss Joseph Valachi (prior to his appearance before the McClellan committee).

Magaddino: "We passed laws that this guy has got to die."⁶⁷

October 1, 1963. ELSUR, Florida restaurant operated by Vincent James Palmisano, alias Jimmy Dee. Dee and others are watching Valachi testimony on TV.

Dee: "There's going to be a lot of killings as a result of this hearing."⁶⁸

October 14, 1963. ELSUR, Chicago. The tailor shop. Sam Giancana, Charles "Chuck" English, Tony Accardo, and Dominick "Butch" Blasi are present:

They discuss golf. Someone asks if Bobby Kennedy plays golf; they know John Kennedy does. Someone suggests putting a bomb in his golf bag.⁶⁹

October 15, 1963. ELSUR, Chicago. Buddy Jacobson and Pat Marcy, political front men for Sam Giancana:

"Jacobson states that he has never seen conditions so bad as they are in Chicago at this time. Jacobson states that Paul Ricca [former head of the Chicago syndicate, pardoned by Attorney General Tom Clark] advised him that the organization must be patient and wait for the pressure to lift."⁷⁰

October 16, 1963. ELSUR, Chicago. Summary:

"Sam Giancana has issued instructions to all political associates to discontinue their practice of attending weddings and funerals of hoodlum families."⁷¹

October 31, 1963. ELSUR, Buffalo. Stefano and Peter Magaddino, discussing President Kennedy.

Peter Magaddino: "He should drop dead."

Stefano Magaddino: "They should kill the whole family, the mother and father too!"⁷²

30

Seriously Flawed

From the start, the FBI investigation of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy was seriously flawed. It was based on a faulty premise, the presumption that the director was never wrong.

Hoover had learned of the shooting of the president just minutes after it happened, from Gordon L. Shanklin, special agent in charge of the Dallas field office, who'd had two men monitoring the progress of the presidential motorcade on the police radio frequency.

Presuming there was a federal law covering the killing of the president, which gave the FBI jurisdiction, Hoover informed Shanklin that as senior agent on the scene he would be in charge of the investigation. But, as the director soon learned, there was no such law—Texas had claim to the crime, which was classed as a felony murder, no different from a killing that resulted from a barroom brawl—and the jurisdictional nightmare this caused would complicate the whole investigation.*

During that day, and the ones that followed, Shanklin was rarely off the phone, the Dallas agents interrupting him to report their latest findings, which Shanklin immediately passed on to FBIHQ. Many of these calls were to and from the director. Shortly after 3 P.M.,† Shanklin informed Hoover of the arrest of Lee Harvey Oswald, who was believed to have killed both the president and a Dallas police officer. The Dallas office had an open security file on

*False,
He knew
the FBI
had no
jurisdiction
in + told
both
men -
checked
the watch
man -
in the
same*

*Hoover himself had lobbied through a law making the slaying of an FBI agent a federal offense, in 1934, but no one had thought to enact an applicable law for the president.

†Eastern Standard Time is used throughout this section. Dallas was on Central Standard Time, which was an hour earlier.

Oswald, the SAC told the director, well aware that he was waving a red flag, and he summarized its contents. Minutes later, Hoover called back, not to ask about this but to inquire about the president's condition. The query perplexed Shanklin, who had already informed the director of Kennedy's death—by now the whole world knew—and he repeated the Parkland Hospital announcement. No, *the president*, Hoover emphasized, *President Johnson*. Watching TV, Hoover had noticed that Johnson was clutching his coat to his chest in a strange way and wondered if he'd had a heart attack. Although days would pass before most Americans adjusted to the transition, J. Edgar Hoover had instantly adapted to the change in chief executives.

Air Force One, bearing the new president, the body of the slain president, and his grieving widow, landed at Andrews Air Force Base at 6:05 P.M. Most of official Washington was in attendance, but not the FBI director, who had already gone home, after leaving instructions with the FBI switchboard that when the president called, as he was sure he would, he was to be put right through. At 6:26 the presidential helicopter set down on the White House lawn. By 7:00 P.M. the president had already talked to most of Kennedy's Cabinet and the congressional leadership. At 7:05 he called former President Harry S. Truman and at 7:10 former President Dwight David Eisenhower. At 7:20 he dictated two brief, but very touching, letters to John John and Carolyn Kennedy. And then, at 7:26 P.M., he called J. Edgar Hoover. He wanted a complete report on the assassination, the president told the director. And Hoover, who had been waiting for presidential authorization, informed him that the FBI was already on the case, that he had thirty agents on standby, ready to fly to Dallas to join the seventy already there, and more would be available if needed. He also offered to send additional agents to the White House, to beef up the president's Secret Service protection, and LBJ, unsure whether there was a plot to wipe out the whole government, and all too aware that the Secret Service had failed to protect his predecessor, gratefully accepted. Although the detail was withdrawn the next day, thereafter FBI agents were assigned to Johnson whenever he traveled or was in a motorcade. But Hoover never again suggested the FBI's taking over the Secret Service's protective functions, not after what had happened that day in Dallas.

Although Lee Harvey Oswald would not be charged with the president's murder until 2:30 the following morning, J. Edgar Hoover had already decided that Oswald was guilty. Late that afternoon former Vice-President Richard Nixon had called the FBI director and, getting right through, had asked, "What happened? Was it one of the right-wing nuts?"

"No," Hoover replied, "it was a Communist."¹

¹Nixon recalled, "Months later Hoover told me that Oswald's wife had disclosed that Oswald had been planning to kill me when I visited Dallas and that only with great difficulty had she managed to keep him in the house to prevent him from doing so."

On November 23, the day after the assassination, Hoover sent the White House the FBI's "preliminary inquiry" into the death of President Kennedy, together with a summary memorandum containing *some* of the information the Bureau had on Oswald.

Officially the FBI was now on record as stating that it appeared that Lee Harvey Oswald, acting alone, was the assassin of the late president. Having made up his mind on this point—solving the case, in effect, in less than twenty-four hours—Hoover never changed it, no matter how much the evidence might indicate otherwise.

At 3:15 A.M. on November 24, Shanklin awakened Hoover—the FBI switchboard had been instructed to put any emergency calls through—informing him that someone had called the Dallas field office and said that Oswald was going to be shot when he was moved from the Dallas Police Department to a secret jail later that day.

The FBI director instructed the SAC to call the Dallas police chief, Jesse Curry—wake him up, if necessary, Hoover probably added—and inform him of the threat, at the same time urging him not to announce the time of the transfer. Shanklin called Curry, who was still at his desk, only to learn that the Dallas police had received the same call. He needn't worry about Oswald's safety, the chief said, since they were using two armored cars, one to transport the prisoner, the other as a decoy. As for the press, well, Curry had to be accommodating, figuring Dallas had already had more than its share of bad publicity.

At 12:21 P.M. the Dallas nightclub operator Jack Ruby gunned down Lee Harvey Oswald in the basement of the Dallas Police Department. Live, on NBC. Like the former president he was charged with slaying, Oswald died at Parkland Hospital, at 2:07 P.M.

Later that same afternoon, Shanklin called in one of his special agents, James P. Hosty, Jr., and gave him certain instructions. The FBI's cover-up of its role in the Oswald case had begun. Actually it had commenced the previous day, when FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover had decided not to inform the president, in his preliminary report, of all the information the Bureau had on Lee Harvey Oswald.

SA James P. Hosty, Jr., was Lee Harvey Oswald's case officer. On his return from Russia, Oswald had been interviewed by agents from the Fort Worth office. They found him arrogant and uncooperative. Arrested following a scuffle while passing out "Fair Play for Cuba" leaflets in New Orleans, Oswald had asked to see the FBI, but he told the local agents only that he was a Marxist rather than a Communist. On learning that Oswald had moved to the Dallas area, the New Orleans office had transferred his case file, and on November 1, 1963, SA Hosty had gone to the Irving, Texas, address of Mrs. Ruth Paine, looking for Oswald. Mrs. Paine informed him that although Mrs. Oswald was living with her, Lee had a job in Dallas, at the Texas Schoolbook

Depository, and was staying in a rooming house there. She didn't have his address but promised to get it. On November 5 Hosty was on the freeway and, spotting the Irving turnoff, decided to see if Mrs. Paine had obtained the address. She hadn't.

On his November 1 visit, Hosty had been introduced to Marina Oswald but hadn't interviewed her. He did give Mrs. Paine his name and the address and telephone number of the Dallas FBI office, and, as he was driving off, Marina Oswald copied down his license plate number. Following the assassination, Dallas police found an entry with this information in Oswald's address book.

Shortly after Hosty's second visit—no one can recall the exact date, but it was apparently November 6, 7, or 8—Oswald unexpectedly appeared in the Dallas field office.

Nanny Lee Fenner was the receptionist. She noticed the man when he got off the elevator. "From my desk I could see him clearly," she recalled. "My desk was right in the aisleway. He came to my desk and he said 'S.A. Hosty, please.' And he had a wild look in his eye, and he was awfully figgety, and he had a 3X5 envelope in his hand." There was a piece of paper in the envelope, folded like a letter, and "during this time he kept taking the letter in and out of the envelope."

Mrs. Fenner called downstairs and learned Hosty was out. When she informed the man of this, he took the paper out of the envelope "and threw it like that [indicating] on my desk, and said, 'well, get this to him' and turned and walked back to the elevator."

Mrs. Fenner read the note. It wasn't long, just two paragraphs, handwritten, in a rather childish scrawl. Later she was unable to recall exactly how it started, but it was to the effect that if Hosty didn't stop bothering his wife the writer would "either blow up the Dallas Police Department or the FBI office."

Mrs. Fenner had been working for the FBI since 1942. "Oh, I have seen people come in and lay down pistols and knives and stuff on my desk and it didn't bother me," she recalled. But she knew a threat when she saw one, and she took the note to ASAC Kyle Clark. Scanning its contents, Clark said, "Forget it, give it to Hosty." After Mrs. Fenner had returned to her desk, one of the girls from the steno pool, Helen May, walked by and "wanted to know who the creep was in the hall," and Mrs. Fenner said, "Well, according to this, it is Lee Harvey Oswald," because his name was signed on the letter. The name meant nothing to me." She handed the letter to May, who also read it. "Shortly thereafter," she remembered, "Mr. Hosty came to my desk and got the letter, and I have not seen it since."

Hosty read the letter, deciding "it didn't appear to be of any serious import." He later elaborated, "It appeared to be an innocuous type of complaint. . . . I looked at it. It didn't seem to have any need for action at that time, so I put it in my workbox."*

*Hosty's recollection of the note's contents was less explicit than Mrs. Fenner's. He recalled, "The first part of it stated I had been interviewing his wife without his permission and I should not do

*Old he gives me
Source. I have the
FBI's Inspector general's
report & the Edwards
(House) committee
held public hearing*

*I believe not a
fully accurate
description of the
source*

On November 22 Hosty was having lunch near the parade route when he heard that the president had been shot. Directed first to Parkland Hospital, then back to the field office, he was going through the files on local right-wing groups—Hosty was the resident expert on the Klan—when word came through that the Dallas police had captured President Kennedy's killer and that his name was Lee Harvey Oswald. Shocked, Hosty ran over to the Dallas police station to sit in on Oswald's interrogation. Running up the stairs with the Dallas police lieutenant Jack Revill, and briefing Revill on Oswald as they hurried to the interrogation room, Hosty made a comment that he would long regret: "We knew that Lee Harvey Oswald was capable of assassinating the president of the United States, but we didn't dream he would do it." Lieutenant Revill, who headed the police criminal intelligence squad, later reported the remark to Chief Curry.

Returning to the field office after Oswald's interrogation, Hosty was called into the office of SAC Shanklin. Both Shanklin and Kenneth Howe, Hosty's supervisor, were there, and they had the Oswald note, which Howe had retrieved from Hosty's workbox. According to Hosty, Shanklin was "quite agitated and upset" and he ordered Hosty to prepare a memorandum of his visit to the Paine residence, when and how he received the note, and so on. Hosty dictated the memorandum and give it to Shanklin later that same day. As Hosty was leaving the SAC's office, Shanklin picked up the telephone.

*no
source*

*no
source*

The panic at FBIHQ can only be imagined. One page, two short paragraphs, but the note proved conclusively that the FBI had known, two weeks before the president's trip, that Lee Harvey Oswald was potentially dangerous and should have been reported to the Secret Service for inclusion on its "risk list," the roster of those persons who are watched or detained whenever the chief executive is in the area.

Moreover, the note suggested the very real possibility that the FBI itself might have triggered Oswald's rage, and therefore was at least partially responsible for the assassination of the president of the United States.

Everybody worked that Sunday, November 24. Some two to four hours after Oswald's death was announced, Shanklin called Hosty back into his office—Howe was also there—and, reaching into a file, took out the Oswald note and Hosty's memorandum, and handed them to Hosty. According to Hosty, he then said, in effect, "Oswald's dead now; there can be no trial; here get rid of it."

Hosty then proceeded to tear the documents up, but Shanklin said, "No, get it out of here. I don't even want it in this office; get rid of it." Although he had access to a shredder, Hosty took the note and memo into the men's room and, after tearing them in small pieces, flushed them down the toilet.⁴

Several days later Shanklin asked Hosty if he had destroyed the note, and he

⁴ this; he was upset about this. And the second part at the end he said that if I did not stop talking to his wife, he would take action against the FBI."

said he had. When Mrs. Fenner asked him, "What happened to the Oswald letter?" Hosty replied, "What letter?" Hosty's response didn't surprise her, since she'd already been instructed by ASAC Clark, on Sunday, the twenty-fourth, to "forget about the Oswald note."³

When Hosty interviewed Mrs. Paine a few days after the assassination, she gave him the rough draft of a letter Oswald had written to the Soviet consulate, which she'd retrieved from a wastepaper basket. (Thanks to the Bureau's mail-opening program, the FBI had read the original, before the Soviets saw it.) In writing up his report of the Paine interview, Hosty wasn't sure whether the letter should be part of the text or handled separately, and asked Shanklin. Apparently confusing this with the Oswald note, Shanklin, according to Hosty, "became highly upset and highly incensed and appeared to be almost on the verge of a nervous breakdown, and said 'I thought I told you to get rid of that, get rid of it.'"⁴

The fact that Oswald had written a threatening letter to the FBI two weeks before the assassination was suppressed for twelve years.

On May 14, 1964, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover testified before the Warren Commission, "There was nothing up to the time of the assassination that gave any indication that this man was a dangerous character who might do harm to the president or to the vice president."⁵

Days earlier, under extreme pressure by the Bureau, Hosty told the commis-

1.6 report indicates he did know. He should have

* Knowledge of the Oswald note was closely held. Probably less than half a dozen people at FBIHQ knew about it, including Hoover, Tolson, and, possibly, John Mohr, although Mohr later denied such knowledge. Apparently Alan Belmont, who headed the FBI's investigation of the Kennedy assassination, was never told of it. At least he seemed genuinely shocked when the author questioned him about it. "I didn't know anything about the letter," Belmont said, "was never told of it." Shanklin told William Sullivan—who was in charge of the Bureau's probe of Oswald's background and associations and who was on the phone with Shanklin several times a day—only that he had an "internal personnel problem," that one of his agents had received "a threatening letter from Oswald." Sullivan: "I raised a question as to details but Mr. Shanklin seemed disinclined to discuss it other than to say he was handling it as a personnel problem with J. P. Mohr." Shanklin made no mention of the letter's having been destroyed.

Shanklin was one of Mohr's protégés; before being assigned to Dallas, he'd served four years in one of the Bureau's cushiest postings, SAC of Honolulu. Those who knew Shanklin well—he died in 1988—state that he was a man who followed orders and that he would never have ordered the destruction of the note without prior instructions from FBIHQ. He was also loyal: in 1975 he denied, under oath, any knowledge of the Oswald note.

"Hoover ordered the destruction of the note," William Sullivan told the author; "I can't prove this, but I have no doubts about it." Sullivan also stated, in a deposition concerning the Hosty note, "During the course of this long difficult investigation I did hear that some document had been destroyed relating to Oswald and that some others were missing, the nature of which, if told, I do not recall. I cannot remember who gave me this information or whether it was from one or more sources."

It is possible that Sullivan might have refreshed his recollections of the missing documents when he testified before the House Select Committee on Assassinations in 1977, but we'll never know, since Sullivan was shot and killed a few days before his scheduled appearance.⁶

† Hosty, however, didn't destroy this letter, which he felt was material to the case (it concerned Oswald's desire to return to Russia and his recent visits to the Russian and Cuban embassies in Mexico City), but worked it into the body of one of his reports.

apparently Gentry had no knowledge of FBI HQ. Shanklin, which says the note matter was handled at FBIHQ 11/24/63.

sion, "Prior to the assassination of the president of the United States, I had no information indicating violence on the part of Lee Harvey Oswald. I wish for the record to so read."⁹

*Records of the
such events
were not
destroyed. In
source on ab-
sented destruction*

Nor were these the only documents destroyed in the hours after Kennedy was assassinated. Estimates vary from a few to dozens, perhaps even over a hundred. It is possible, even probable, that included among them were the Jose Aleman interview reports, in which the Cuban exile told the special agents Davis and Scranton that the Mafia boss Santos Trafficante, Jr., had predicted, "No, Jose, he is going to be hit." If so, they were just one of a number of threats which the FBI had failed to report to either the Secret Service or the Kennedys—and certainly would never mention to the Warren Commission.

In the absence of Robert Kennedy—grief-stricken, he did not return to his duties for months—Deputy Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach had taken charge of the Justice Department. Both Hoover and Katzenbach were anxious to cut off, as quickly as possible, any conspiracy talk. On November 24, just two days after the assassination and just hours before Ruby shot Oswald, Katzenbach sent a memo to President Johnson's press secretary, Bill Moyers. "It is important that all of the facts surrounding President Kennedy's assassination be made public in a way that will satisfy people in the United States and abroad that all the facts have been told and that a statement to this effect be made now. . . . The public must be satisfied that Oswald was the assassin; that he did not have confederates who are still at large; and that the evidence was such that he would have been convicted at trial. Speculations about Oswald's motivation ought to be cut off." In order to accomplish this, Katzenbach suggested "making public as soon as possible a complete and thorough FBI report on Oswald and the assassination."¹⁰

AFTER!

Jack Ruby's sudden involvement changed nothing, at least as far as Hoover was concerned. In a telephone call with the White House aide Walter Jenkins immediately following Oswald's murder, Hoover stated, "The thing I am most concerned about, and so is Mr. Katzenbach, is having something issued so we can convince the public that Oswald is the real assassin."¹¹

The pressure to issue a report that would establish that Oswald was the lone assassin was reflected in internal Bureau memoranda. That same day Belmont memored Tolson that he was sending two headquarters supervisors to Dallas to review the "investigative findings of our agents on the Oswald matter, so that we can prepare a memorandum to the Attorney General [setting] out the evidence showing that Oswald is responsible for the shooting that killed the President."¹²

The agents couldn't fail to get the message: the director has decided that Oswald acted alone and any evidence to the contrary will be most unwelcome. A dozen years later, the House Select Committee on Assassinations concluded, "Hoover's personal predisposition that Oswald had been a lone assassin affected the course of the investigation, adding to the momentum to conclude the

investigation after limited consideration of possible conspiratorial areas."¹³

Although everyone in Washington and in the field knew where the director stood, the public didn't. This was remedied on November 25, three days after the assassination.

"WASHINGTON NOVEMBER 25 (AP): FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover said today all available information indicates that Lee Harvey Oswald acted alone in the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

"'Not one shred of evidence has been developed to link any other person in a conspiracy with Oswald to assassinate President Kennedy,' Hoover said in a statement."

Hoover was still pushing, hard, for the immediate release of an FBI report on the assassination. On November 26 he discussed this with Katzenbach, who felt that the FBI report "should include everything which may raise a question in the mind of the public or press regarding this matter. In other words, this report is to settle the dust, in so far as Oswald and his activities are concerned, both from the standpoint that he is the man who assassinated the president, and relative to Oswald himself and his activities and background."¹⁴

Courtney Evans, who was still acting as liaison between the FBI and the Justice Department, although with greatly reduced influence, interjected a note of caution. There is "no doubt" Oswald had fired the gun, Evans memoed the director. "The problem is to show motive. A matter of this magnitude cannot be investigated in a week's time."

Hoover, who was not about to take any advice from Courtney Evans, felt otherwise, scribbling across the bottom of the memo, "Just how long do you estimate it will take? It seems to me we have the basic facts now."¹⁵

But Hoover's plan to wrap up the case with a single report, thus avoiding the risks of exposing the FBI's deficiencies and cover-ups in the case, ran into a major obstacle: the president. On November 29 Hoover received a telephone call from Johnson. All the wiles of the Texas wheeler-dealer came out in the FBI director's brief memorandum of their talk. First Johnson buttered him up, told him what he wanted to hear. "The President said he wanted to get by with my file and my report." Anticipating what was coming—there had already been talk of an independent investigation, while both the House and the Senate wanted to conduct their own probes—and still hoping to forestall it, Hoover interjected: "I told him it would be very bad to have a rash of investigations." But Johnson, while not necessarily smarter, was, after all, the president: "He then indicated the only way to stop it [the conspiracy talk] is to appoint a high-level committee to evaluate my report and tell the House and Senate not to go ahead with the investigation." Temporarily defeated, and not at all happy about it, Hoover stated that "that would be a three-ring circus."¹⁶

That afternoon President Johnson signed Executive Order 11130, establishing what would become known as the Warren Commission.*

*Johnson named a bipartisan commission of seven members. There was one Democrat and one Republican from the Senate—Richard B. Russell, Democrat of Georgia, and John Sherman

Hoover knew all about the informant. Went to the commission begining early 11/25/63 and opposed it in every way he could.

True but not sourced

Hoover knew what was important: he ordered an immediate file check on each of the commission members; and, having solved the Kennedy case to his satisfaction, he now turned his attention to a matter of graver import, the search for scapegoats.

James Gale, chief of the Inspection Division, conducted the probe. In mid-December the director secretly censured seventeen agents for their "failures" and "deficiencies" in the pre-assassination investigation of Oswald. Most of the agents—eight at headquarters, nine in the field—were cited for having failed to place Oswald on the Security Index or for "inadequate reporting" or "insufficient investigations" of his activities since his return from Russia. The penalties ranged from letters of censure to transfers and suspensions without pay. This way if the Warren Commission criticized the FBI, for failing to alert the Secret Service to Oswald's presence in the Dallas area, for example, Hoover could reveal the disciplinary actions and say, I've already determined who the guilty people were and punished them.

Assistant Director William Sullivan, the most senior official censured, strongly objected to the censures, not because he'd been cited—he wadded up and threw his own letter in the wastepaper basket, in the presence of one of Tolson's spies—but because of the effect on the morale of his men. In his frantic attempt to cover his own behind, Hoover was "in effect saying that you must share a measured guilt for the assassination of the president of the United States . . . a terrible charge . . . a terrible thing to do to those men."¹⁷

As usual, the punishments increased in severity as they moved down the chain of command, with the most serious being reserved for SA James P. Hosty, Jr.*

Hoover used the Chinese water torture to discipline Hosty. On December 13, 1963, he placed him on ninety days' probation; on September 28, 1964, one day after the Warren Commission issued its final report, he ordered him transferred to Kansas City, Missouri; on October 5 he suspended him without pay for thirty days and again placed him on probation; on October 8 he denied Hosty's hardship-exemption request (Hosty and his wife had seven children, two of whom had respiratory problems, and had requested reassignment to a

But Hosty was actually praised for his former work by the FBI/HQ. He punished himself

no source. Russell also declined appointment

also not sourced, not a critical with previous "direct quote"

While essentially correct, going missing, important out in water at my door because there is much more that he did

Cooper, Republican of Kentucky; one each from the House—Hale Boggs, Democrat of Louisiana, and Gerald Ford, Republican of Michigan; the former CIA director Allen W. Dulles; John J. McCloy, a New York investment banker with a long history of government service; and, as chairman, Earl S. Warren, chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Warren first declined the appointment, but LBJ, using his legendary powers of persuasion, argued that if rumors of a foreign conspiracy were not quelled, they could conceivably lead the country into a nuclear war which could cost forty million lives, and Warren reluctantly accepted.

*Hosty's remark to the Dallas police lieutenant Revill ("We knew he was capable of assassinating the president, but we didn't dream he would do it"), which Revill reported to Chief Curry, eventually reached Hoover and the press. Enraged, the FBI director instructed his aides to "tell Dallas to tell Hosty to keep his big mouth shut. He has already done irreparable harm."¹⁸

In his Warren Commission testimony, Hosty denied having made the remark. Lieutenant Revill testified otherwise.

because there is much more that he did

warmer climate); and on October 9 he refused Hosty's offer to work while suspended. Tolson also placed a "stop" on Hosty's personnel file: he would receive no further promotions so long as Hoover and Tolson ran the FBI.*

It was the FBI's biggest investigation. All of the major field offices participated. Over eighty Bureau personnel were sent to Dallas, over 25,000 interviews were conducted, and 2,300 reports, consisting of 25,400 pages were prepared. The House Select Committee on Assassinations later found that in many ways the FBI did an admirable job. "Given the FBI's justifiable reputation as one of the most professional and respected criminal investigative agencies in the world," the committee wrote in its final report, "its effort in the Kennedy investigation was expected to be one of the highest degree of thoroughness and integrity. Indeed, it was an effort of unparalleled magnitude in keeping with the gravity of the crime, resulting in the assignments of more Bureau resources than for any criminal case in its history."¹⁹

But there were problems. Hoover's predisposition to proving Oswald acted alone was one; haste was another. And there were the jurisdictional disputes: the FBI versus the Dallas PD and, particularly, the FBI versus the Dallas district attorney's office, which was prosecuting the Ruby case.† And there was the structure of the FBI itself. Many things simply fell between the cracks.

Assistant to the Director Alan Belmont had overall supervision of the case, but the investigation itself was handled by two divisions. The Domestic Intelligence Division, headed by Assistant Director William Sullivan, was charged with investigating Oswald's background, activities, associations, and motivations, and any questions regarding a possible foreign conspiracy. But Sullivan himself later characterized that effort as rushed, chaotic, and shallow, despite the enormous amount of paperwork generated. The investigation of a possible foreign conspiracy was assigned to the Soviet Section, because of Oswald's Russian links.‡ Although there were specialists on Cuban affairs and exile

*Obtaining his personnel file some years later, Hosty discovered that his answers to Inspector's Gale's questions had been falsified.

Although three SACs were censured, Gordon Shanklin wasn't one of them. The Inspection Division was under the overall supervision of John Mohr.

†Both District Attorney Henry Wade and Assistant District Attorney William Alexander were ex-FBI agents. When someone leaked the contents of Oswald's diary to the *Dallas Morning News*, two FBI agents asked Alexander if he was the source of the leak. Alexander heatedly responded that Lyndon B. Johnson, J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI, and the Warren Commission could "Kiss my ass." In reporting this shocking comment to the director—complete with double dots—the special agents, Robert M. Barrett and Ivan D. Lee, at least got their priorities straight: "Alexander was strongly admonished by interviewing agents concerning his making such remarks about Director J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI and President Johnson."²⁰

‡Even the investigation of the Russian connection failed to satisfy Sullivan, who told the author in 1976 that there were three things, three gaps in the investigation, that still bothered him: "1. We don't know what happened while Oswald was in Russia; 2. Why was Marina permitted to marry Oswald and why were they allowed to leave Russia when others were not permitted to do the same? And 3. We know next to nothing about Oswald and the Cubans." Sullivan found "thought-provocate" the fact that Marina was obviously much more intelligent than her husband.

The HSCA did not get all the FBI's relevant records because among other reasons the manner of the FBI's filing.

more than two. Alex. Division, gave last summary of case in it

alexander did leak it to the FBI agents who only it to LIFE

My know what they knew about them & they did not like

activities assigned to domestic intelligence, they were rarely consulted. Thus the whole fertile area of pro- and anti-Castro Cubans, which suggested myriad conspiratorial possibilities, was barely touched. The General Investigative Division, headed by Assistant Director Alex Rosen, handled the criminal aspects of the case, how many shots were fired, their trajectory, and so forth. But Rosep would observe that determining whether persons other than Oswald were involved was an "ancillary matter" that was not part of his division's responsibility. Characterizing his portion of the investigation, Rosen later stated, "We were in the position of standing on the corner with our pocket open, waiting for someone to drop information into it, and we utilized what was fed to us and disseminated it . . . to the Warren Commission."²¹

The gaps extended down the chain of command. The probe of Jack Ruby was assigned to the Civil Rights Division, which was a part of the General Investigative Division, on the theory that Ruby had violated Oswald's civil rights by killing him. But all of the experts on the Mafia and organized crime were in the Special Investigative Division, which was headed by Assistant Director Courtney Evans. With Kennedy's death, Evans had become persona non grata in the Bureau, and organized crime had immediately ceased to be a priority. The director wasn't even speaking to Evans. As a result, the agents best qualified to look into Ruby's underworld connections were simply cut out of the investigation. As Evans would put it, "They sure didn't come to me. . . . We had no part in that that I can recall."²² Ruby had been an underling of the old Capone mob in Chicago and had been sent to Dallas to help set up a syndicate gambling operation. The FBI never discovered this, though an enterprising reporter, Seth Kantor, White House correspondent for Scripps Howard, did.* Ruby had run casino money from Havana to Miami for Santos Trafficante, Jr., but it was the House Select Committee on Assassinations, not the FBI, which uncovered this, sixteen years later, after following a seemingly cold trail. Ruby also had close ties with the Carlos Marcello outfit. Again, the FBI drew a blank, in part because the New Orleans portion of the investigation was handled by the FBI supervisor Regis Kennedy, who still professed to believe that Marcello was a "tomato salesman." Perhaps this is also why the FBI, though aware that Oswald had an uncle in New Orleans, Charles F. "Dutz" Murret, who was like a surrogate father to him, and with whom he frequently stayed and from whom he obtained money, dismissed evidence that Murret was a bookmaker and gambling-joint operator who subscribed to the Marcello-controlled racing wire, or why it minimized the fact that Oswald's mother, Marguerite, had for many years been "a close friend" of the mobster Sam Termine, who, though on the payroll of the Louisiana State Police, acted

*Seth Kantor's book *Who Was Jack Ruby?* (1978) remains the best account of Ruby's background and associations, although it needs to be updated with more recent findings, such as those of the House Select Committee on Assassinations, and reissued. For two excellent books on the probable involvement of organized crime in the assassination, see David E. Scheim, *Contract on America: The Mafia Murder of President John F. Kennedy* (1988), and John H. Davis, *Mafia Kingfish: Carlos Marcello and the Assassination of John F. Kennedy* (1989).

Both are terrible books

*doubtful
invest*

*false
the rest
probably
lying here
rid*

as a chauffeur and bodyguard for the man who'd told his associates they were going to use a "nut" to take the rock out of his shoe. The FBI did obtain Ruby's telephone records, but again it was the House Select Committee on Assassinations, not the FBI or the Warren Commission, which spotted a pattern in the timing of these calls and identified many of their recipients as Teamsters officials and mobsters. Relying on FBI-supplied data, the Warren Commission reported that virtually all of Ruby's Chicago friends stated that he had no close connections with organized crime. And who were these character references? Among them were Lenny Patrick (twenty-eight arrests, on charges ranging from extortion to murder, but only one conviction, for bank robbery), a close associate of Sam Giancana; and Dave Yaras (fourteen arrests but no convictions), another close associate, whom Ovid Demaris described in *Captive City* as "a prime suspect in several gangland slayings" and one of "more than a score of men who worked on contract for the board of directors."²³ The FBI could hardly deny knowing their backgrounds. The Bureau had files on each, and in 1962 Yaras had been picked up on an FBI bug discussing in gory detail a Mafia hit he was planning to make in Miami, which the Bureau was able to prevent. Even J. Edgar Hoover knew Patrick and Yaras. The two men—who were also suspects in the slaying of Benjamin "Bugsy" Siegel—had been indicted, along with another of Ruby's friends, William Block, for the 1946 murder of James Ragen, whom FBI Director Hoover had declined to protect.*

The House Select Committee on Assassinations, after reviewing all the still-extant files and obtaining testimony from many of the still-surviving witnesses, concluded in 1979 that "the FBI's investigation into a conspiracy was deficient in the areas that the committee decided were most worthy of suspicion—organized crime, pro- and anti-Castro Cubans, and the possible associations of individuals from these areas with Lee Harvey Oswald and Jack Ruby. In those areas in particular, the committee found that the FBI's investigation was in all likelihood insufficient to have uncovered a conspiracy."²⁴

That J. Edgar Hoover didn't want to find one helped.

From its inception, Hoover treated the Warren Commission as an adversary. He publicly offered it his full cooperation—after all, it was a creation of the president—but instructed his agents to volunteer nothing beyond what was requested, and then only after prior approval of FBIHQ. He delayed responding to its requests, until the committee was under tremendous pressure to issue its report, then inundated it with materials he knew its staff wouldn't have time to examine carefully.

The commission was totally dependent on him—as Chairman Warren ob-

*Perhaps out of habit, the FBI did investigate one aspect of Ruby's activities: his sex life. Carefully choosing their language so as not to offend the prudish director—or Miss Gandy, who opened and read all such materials—the agents reported that Ruby's sexual habits were "peculiar" and "other than normal." Obviously repulsed by such a degenerate act, the agents noted that Ruby liked to engage in oral sex with women "with him being the active, rather than the passive, participant."²⁵

correct!
Just the
man
right and
not men
they were
"like"
never
would have
killed him

served in their first session, not one of its seven members had any investigative experience—and yet, increasingly, came to distrust him.

It also feared him.

The first session was on December 5. And the commission members had nothing to work with. The promised FBI report hadn't yet arrived. But for a dime they could read it, in the *Chicago Tribune* or *Washington Star*. Crime Records having two days earlier leaked it to those papers, causing Senator Russell to ask caustically, "How much of their findings does the FBI propose to release to the press before we present the findings of this Commission?"²⁶

and
Secret
papers

Warren was quite content to read the FBI report, when and if it arrived, discuss it, then issue a report on the commission's findings. But others, and they were in the majority, thought a more comprehensive investigation was mandated, complete with subpoena powers and their own independent investigators. Otherwise the FBI would be investigating itself. McCloy: "There is a potential culpability here on the part of the Secret Service and even the FBI, and these reports, after all, human nature being what it is, may have some self-serving aspects in them."²⁷

Hoover's informant on the commission promptly reported back its deliberations, via DeLoach. *Why does he not name Gerald Ford?*

The last thing Hoover wanted was a group of private snoops conducting their own investigation, and perhaps finding things the FBI hadn't. The committee "should be discouraged from having an investigative staff,"²⁸ Alan Belmont noted, and it was. Although the commission did obtain subpoena power from Congress, the FBI would continue to investigate itself.

By December 9 the commission had received the Bureau's five-page report on the assassination.

volume not
page. Did
wonder how
much getting
really found
primarily

WARREN: "Well, gentlemen, to be very frank about it, I have read the FBI report two or three times and I have not seen anything in there yet that has not been in the press."

BOGGS: "... reading the FBI report leaves a million questions."²⁹

By December 16 the committee had received the Bureau's initial, five-volume report of its investigative findings, but no one was happy with it.

MCCLOY: "Why did the FBI report come out with something that was inconsistent with the autopsy? ... The bullet business has me confused."

WARREN: "It's totally inconclusive."

BOGGS: "Well, the FBI report doesn't clear it up."

WARREN: "It doesn't do anything."

²⁶"No Oswald-Ruby Link, FBI Believes. Each Acted Strictly on His Own during Violent Dallas Days, Evidence Indicates," ran the *Chicago Tribune* headline of December 4, 1963.

Hoover followed a standard practice for leaks. He would first have the material disseminated to three or four other departments or agencies and then leak it, blaming one or more of its recipients. In this case, he decided in advance that the guilty party would be Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach, who hadn't pushed hard enough, he felt, to release the report.

9th

BOGGS: "It raised a lot of new questions in my mind. . . . There is still little on this fellow Ruby, including his movements . . . what he was doing, how he got in [the Dallas jail], it's fantastic."³⁰

There was much criticism of the FBI report, the members finding that it "lacked depth," was "hard to decipher," and had "so many loopholes in it." As Rankin put it, "Anybody can look at it and see that it just doesn't seem like they're looking for things that this Commission has to look for in order to get the answers that it wants and it's entitled to."³¹

The inadequacies of the FBI's fabled investigative efforts shocked the commission members, some of whom showed an abysmal ignorance about the intelligence agencies. Chief among them was Chairman Warren. Asked by McCloy whether he had contacted the CIA, Warren responded, "No, I have not, for the simple reason that I had never been informed that the CIA had any knowledge about this."

McCloy: "They have."

Warren: "I'm sure they have, but I did not want to put the CIA into this thing unless they put themselves in."³² The former CIA director Allen Dulles volunteered to expedite the CIA reports.

Senator Russell, who distrusted both the FBI and the CIA, suggested that a staff member "with a more skeptical nature, sort of a devil's advocate," should analyze the FBI and CIA reports for "every contradiction and every soft spot . . . just as if we were prosecuting them or planning to prosecute them. . . . Maybe the other fellow could do it, go through here and take these reports as if we were going to prosecute J. Edgar Hoover."³³

It is surprising that Russell's remarks, when reported back to Hoover, did not cause the FBI director to have a second heart attack.

On January 22 Chairman Warren called a secret session to discuss a startling new development. He said, "I called this meeting of the commission because of something that developed today that I thought every member of the commission should have knowledge of, something you shouldn't hear from the public before you had an opportunity to think about it. I will just have Mr. Rankin tell you the story from the beginning."

The sensational development, Rankin explained, was the claim of Attorney General Waggoner Carr of Texas that Lee Harvey Oswald had been a paid FBI informant.

The committee was stunned. "If that was true and it ever came out and could be established," Rankin said, "then you would have people think that there was a conspiracy to accomplish this assassination that nothing the Commission did or anybody could dissipate."

BOGGS: "You are so right."

DULLES: "Oh, terrible."

BOGGS: "The implications of this are fantastic, don't you think so."

*Does he
never let
anybody
know what
he is doing
any more
as the
President
assesses
the
situation?*

*When did he
have the
first one?*

WARREN: "Terrific."

RANKIN: "Now it is something that would be very difficult to prove out. . . . I am confident that the FBI will never admit it, and I presume their records will never show it."⁴ *Not published in Post Western*

Dulles admitted that if he were still CIA director, and a similar situation arose, he would deny the whole thing. He would even lie under oath, he said. Although, of course, he added, he would never lie to the president.

All the accumulated frustrations of the committee came out at this session, all its suspicions that the FBI was hiding something. Why was Hoover, who so often maintained that the FBI did not evaluate or reach conclusions, so anxious to declare the dead Oswald the lone assassin and close the case? Ranklin asked. Was this what Hoover was hiding, that Oswald had been working for the FBI?

RANKIN: "They would like for us to fold up and quit."

BOGGS: "This closes the case, you see. Don't you see?"

DULLES: "Yes, I see that."

RANKIN: "They found the man. There is nothing more to do. The commission supports their conclusions and we can go on home and that is the end of it."

Boggs, obviously worried about Hoover's reaction if this discussion reached him, nervously remarked, "I don't even like to see this being taken down."

Dulles: "Yes, I think this record ought to be destroyed."⁵

Boggs: "I would hope that none of these records are circulated to anybody."⁶

It was a vain hope. When the committee again met on January 27, a letter was waiting for them. So angered was Hoover that he risked exposing his own informant on the committee. "Lee Harvey Oswald was never used by this Bureau in an informant capacity," the FBI director wrote. "He was never paid any money for furnishing information and he most certainly never was an informant of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In the event you have any further questions concerning the activities of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in this case, we would appreciate being contacted directly."⁷

But Hoover's letter didn't resolve the matter. It only exacerbated it. The committee needed something more than Hoover's word. The problem was how to obtain it without so offending him that he would withdraw his cooperation. The committee was totally dependent on the FBI for its investigative data, the chairman noted. The January 27 meeting lasted for three and a half hours. More than two of them were spent on the Hoover problem. To question him

⁴It wasn't destroyed but it was suppressed, for eleven years. Even the fact that there was such a meeting on that date was excised from the Warren Commission indexes. *He did not say that I filed under FOIA to get the transcript. He times it. I don't know what he means by "indexes" but the commission's records get it done — graphic review that I published in a late week. I'll do that this session*

He also told not say that I got this with FBI's published it in a minute

now, after receiving the letter, would be to impugn his veracity. No, Rankin argued, no one was calling him a liar; all they were asking for was some documentary proof that he was telling the truth—a subtle distinction that almost certainly would have been lost on the FBI director. Rankin: "I don't see how the country is ever going to be willing to accept it [the commission report], if we don't satisfy them on this particular issue."⁷⁷ But how do you prove a negative? Dulles: "I don't think it can [be proved] unless you believe Mr. Hoover, and so forth and so on, which probably most of the people will."⁷⁸ Russell said that he was willing to believe Hoover but that you couldn't base the committee's conclusions on that. But that was exactly what the committee did. Since no one had the nerve to confront the FBI director—for months the members debated ways to approach him—the committee finally simply accepted his assurances that neither Oswald nor Ruby had been an FBI informant.

Then, on February 24, the committee discovered that the FBI had excised the Hosty entry from the typed copy of Oswald's address book which had been supplied to the committee. It wasn't even a very good job: the page number was misplaced and the margins weren't the same. The FBI's explanation—that only investigative leads had been copied and that since this wasn't an investigative lead (they knew who Hosty was), it hadn't been necessary to copy it—didn't convince anyone, but by now the commission was beyond complaining.

*Not
sourced*

The testimony of the witnesses took up the summer months—Hoover testified, as did Alan Belmont and a carefully rehearsed James Hosty—after which the committee hurriedly wrote its final report, even though some of its members and staff privately admitted that a lot of questions remained unanswered. The commission member Ford opposed criticizing the FBI for having failed to inform the Secret Service that Oswald was in Dallas and working in a building located on the parade route, but Chairman Warren insisted it go in, and so the final report, which Warren presented to President Johnson on September 27, 1964, contained a muted, almost apologetic censure that was buried in the middle of the volume. Hoover retaliated by having Earl Warren's name stricken from his Special Correspondents list.

*separate
volume
appendix*

The complete report of the Warren Commission, including testimony and exhibits, ran to twenty-six volumes. Probably an equal number could have been devoted to what the commission was never told. Even though a member of the commission, the former CIA director Allen Dulles never saw fit to mention the plots to assassinate Castro, which continued up to the very day Kennedy was shot; a CIA contact passed a Cuban exile code-named AM-LASH a poison device just minutes before the president was assassinated. Nor did the commission learn that the agency had been conspiring with the Mafiosi Johnny Roselli, Sam Giancana, and Santos Trafficante, Jr., and thus had a vested interest in covering up any role they may have played in the Kennedy

assassination.* The committee learned next to nothing about Jack Ruby, little more about certain of Lee Harvey Oswald's associations, and nothing at all about the growing escalation of mob threats against the president and attorney general, as picked up by FBI bugs, taps, and informants. They were never informed of the Hosty note, or the Trafficante threat, or Marcello's "*Livarsi na petra di la scarpal*" or of any other assassination talk the FBI may have overheard and suppressed. Nor were they told that Hoover's informant on the commission was Representative Gerald Ford.

The Warren Commission concluded, as Hoover had maintained from the start, that the assassination of President Kennedy was the work of one man, Lee Harvey Oswald, and that there was no conspiracy, foreign or domestic. The commission further found that Jack Ruby had acted on his own in killing Oswald and that there was no other connection between the two men.

All this may be true. Or, as the volumes of the House Select Committee on Assassinations indicate, there may have been a far different scenario. Thanks to the efforts of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, probably no one will ever know.

Johnson, according to his biographer Robert Caro, "exercised more power in the Senate than any other man in the nation's history."⁴⁰ In the 1950s, as he wove together the complex web of favors and threats that became his mantle of power, one minor strand was his chairmanship of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee that dealt with State, Justice, and the judiciary. And therefore "oversaw" the work of J. Edgar Hoover.

The senator's committee work did nothing to weaken the FBI director's affinity for citizens of the Lone Star State. "They are a separate breed of man," he said once to some newspaper editors. "I admire the intelligence and fearlessness of a man of that kind."⁴¹ To the examples provided by Murchison and Richardson, fate had provided a neighbor on his block. The Johnson family had moved into a house on Thirtieth Place in 1945.

Hoover's recollections of the ensuing years could have been a paean to the virtues of small-town America in a time of postwar innocence.

On occasional Sunday mornings, like a favorite uncle, Hoover would be invited over for breakfast with the family. The two Johnson girls, Lynda Bird and Luci Baines, considered the country's number one G-man a protector. When their pet dog ran off somewhere in the well-tended shrubbery of the neighborhood, the congressman would ring the director's doorbell. "Edgar,

on Bul LBJ
*Although Hoover never deviated publicly from his insistence that Oswald was the lone assassin, the FBI director privately suspected, at least for a time, that the CIA itself was implicated. So did Robert Kennedy. In what must have been an incredibly dramatic confrontation, within hours after the assassination Kennedy asked John McCone, director of the CIA, "Did you kill my brother?" Kennedy later related the incident to Walter Sheridan as follows: "You know at the time I asked McCone . . . if they had killed my brother, and I asked him in a way that he couldn't lie to me, and they hadn't."⁴²

Little Beagle Johnson's gone again. Let's go find him." Or the girls would race over by themselves, certain that their avuncular friend would interrupt one of his cowboy TV shows and help them out.

Two decades later President Johnson, strolling across the White House lawn with the FBI director, suddenly snapped, "Edgar, come here!"

Dumbfounded, Hoover measuredly replied, "I am here, Mr. President."

Johnson had been calling for Little Beagle's successor, a beagle given the girls by their Thirtieth Place uncle when their first pet died. The gift bore the name of the giver.

"I'm not calling you, I'm calling the dog," said the Texan known for a sidwinding sense of humor.⁴²

More than most men in public life, Johnson was unsuccessful in merging his private and official personalities. Grave and statesmanlike for an Oval Office interview with newspaper reporters, he paused thoughtfully when asked to name the "greatest living American."

"J. Edgar Hoover," he finally replied. "Without Hoover, this country would have gone Communist 30 years ago."

To cronies who feared that the old man was abusing his police powers, LBJ responded in a different key.

"I would rather have him inside the tent pissing out than outside the tent pissing in."⁴³

In fact, President Johnson, despite his image, was never squeamish about the FBI director's output.

"Who went out with who, and who was doing what to who," as the Kennedy factotum O'Donnell would put it, came directly from Hoover to LBJ.⁴⁴ The material included such "garbage," according to one aide, that it was returned as unfit for a president's eyes. Perhaps. But more made its way through, including transcripts of the amorous interludes of Martin Luther King, Jr., and the tapes as well, punctuated with the creaking of bedsprings.

The president was not offended.

"He sometimes found gossip about other men's weaknesses a delicious hiatus from work," said Johnson's aide Bill Moyers, hinting that this interest may have inspired "constitutional violations" in pursuit of more of the same.

But LBJ recognized the two-edged nature of this type of weapon. At his request, tapes and memoranda documenting some of his own questionable activities—sexual and financial—were lifted from the raw files of the FBI and sent over to the White House. They have not been seen since.

Even so, it was clear to Moyers that the president "personally feared J. Edgar Hoover."⁴⁵

⁴²"Gossip is certainly an instrument of power," commented Lance Morrow in an October 26, 1981, *Time* essay. "Lyndon Johnson understood the magic leverage to be gained from intimate personal details, artfully dispensed. He made it a point to know the predilections of friends, the predicaments of enemies."

It was reasonable to assume that the fabled FBI director would have gathered more information than, say, the jackals of the press.

"The damn press always accused me of things I didn't do," LBJ told a former aide when he was in retirement. "They never once found out about the things I did do."⁴⁶

Texas scuttlebutt about Johnson's electoral shenanigans, including faked results in his 1948 Senate win and the enormous financial support he received from rich contractors and oil men, must have passed the rounds in the cabanas at La Jolla, where Hoover and Tolson vacationed each year. Specifically, in 1956 the director discovered a vote-buying scheme that worked out of Laredo County. His agents were thwarted, however, because, in the words of a FBI informant, Johnson "considers Laredo his private county." If the agency started asking questions, "Mr. Johnson would be advised of this matter within six hours and would have the investigation stopped."⁴⁷

But Hoover made a note for his files, as he did when Attorney General Brownell asked whether the FBI had investigated the Johnson's purchase of an Austin radio station. The director found that the IRS had not become interested, in part because discreet inquiry was unlikely "in view of the close political ties of all employees of the local Internal Revenue Service with persons of local political prominence."⁴⁸

This wasn't proof that Johnson had cheated on his income taxes. It was a pretty good indication that he could have, if he'd wanted to.

Rumor and innuendo stuck easily to LBJ. In 1962 Vice-President Johnson was described in a Bureau report as consorting with "hoodlum interests,"⁴⁹ perhaps joining them in immoral activities.* Johnson's name was also raised in an FBI inquiry into the peculiar demise of a man whose own inquiries had led to the indictment of Billie Sol Estes, a con artist who was close to LBJ.

What did Hoover discover about these allegations, and scores of others? No one living is likely to find out. Citing privacy rights, the FBI has withheld some reports and censored the sense out of others. Then too, the huge collection of LBJ materials that Hoover amassed over the whole of Johnson's political career has apparently dwindled.

Many would have been as damaging to Hoover as to his president, for LBJ had made use of the FBI in rather surprising ways. In the 1950s he had asked John Henry Faulk, a radio humorist, to join the Texas Broadcasting Company as head of its public affairs division. Then the offer was suddenly withdrawn. A call to Hoover had revealed that Faulk's political views had aroused the Bureau's suspicions.†

*The report, Athan G. Theoharis and John Stuart Cox have inferred, concerned Johnson's visits to the Carousel Motel, in North Ocean City, Maryland. One of LBJ's more notorious associates, Bobby Baker, was known to provide call girls to important politicians and businessmen at this address. After Johnson became president, the FBI stopped sending the Justice Department reports on the Bobby Baker case.

†John Henry Faulk was one of the more fortunate blacklisted. Not because he won a \$3.5 million judgment against Aware, Inc. (later reduced to \$725,000), but because he managed to survive the

In fact, the FBI director often supplied Senator Johnson with background checks on potential employees, both at the growing radio-television empire in Texas and in his Senate office. Arguably, the agency was keeping subversives out of influential positions.

But what was the government's interest in setting up a liaison for the purpose of expediting FBI intimidation of anyone who attacked Johnson and hit too close to home? When Vice-President Johnson was annoyed with an editorial, the FBI's DeLoach would see to it that agents descended upon the writer "to ascertain if (he) had any basis for making such false allegations." The arrangement was simplicity itself. The offended Johnson would have Walter Jenkins, an assistant, contact DeLoach for help—an action that Director Hoover had described as "the thing to do."³⁰

When Johnson assumed the presidency, DeLoach replaced Courtney Evans. LBJ's need for FBI aid was apparently so unremitting that a private White House line was installed to DeLoach's bedside. Eventually rumors developed that DeLoach would soon succeed Hoover, who had begun to fret about his underling's intimacy with Johnson.

And DeLoach seemed to have a powerful ally in federal law itself. Hoover's seventieth birthday—and day of mandatory retirement from government service—was rapidly approaching. January 1, 1965.

First, Tolson put DeLoach in the unpleasant position of suggesting to Johnson that the requirement be waived—and his own chances of becoming director thereby diminished. "Deke," said Johnson, "I hope you know what you're getting into."³¹

To a senator, he had said, "I don't want to be the one that has to pick his successor."³²

Press speculation was only adding confusion to the situation. Hoover would sulk when DeLoach was mentioned as a good choice to succeed him. LBJ, typically, became furious when reporters seemed able to predict his next move.

In early May of 1964, the *Newsweek* editor Ben Bradlee learned, from Johnson's press secretary, Bill Moyers, that the president intended to replace J. Edgar Hoover. "We finally got the bastard," Moyers told Bradlee. "Lyndon told me to find his replacement." The leak was so momentous that Bradlee prepared a cover story on LBJ's search for Hoover's successor.

On May 8 the president summoned reporters to the Rose Garden for a special announcement, the reading of an executive order. Standing next to the president, Hoover beamed as LBJ read from that directive. "J. Edgar Hoover is a hero to millions of decent citizens, and an anathema to evil men," he intoned. For that reason, Johnson had determined to exempt his FBI director "from compulsory retirement for an indefinite period of time."³³

Hoover, the consummate bureaucrat, understood the whiplash in the last little phrase. The "indefinite period of time" was the short leash in Johnson's

blacklisting era. Many others didn't. A humorist whom some compared to Will Rogers, he told his story in *Fear on Trial* (1964).

hand. Theoretically it could be yanked any time he damn well pleased.

On the fortieth anniversary of his assumption of the directorship, Hoover did not have a contract.*

Moments before appearing before the TV cameras, Johnson had turned to Moyers and whispered, "You call up Ben Bradlee and tell him, 'Fuck you.'" For years afterward, Bradlee would recall, people said, "You did it, Bradlee. You did it, you got him appointed for life."⁴

Hoover had never been inspired with the notion that covering the entrance to the Soviet embassy might yield useful information in the Cold War against communism.

This brainstorm, according to Sullivan, was Johnson's. In particular, since "Johnson was almost as paranoid about the Communist threat as Hoover was,"⁵ he wanted to know whenever a senator or congressman visited the embassy. As criticism of his policies in Vietnam began to heat up, he was apparently sincere in his belief that opponents had fallen under the spell of Moscow.

The FBI was the place to go for this kind of thing. And for special protection, as well.

"The President was obsessed with fear concerning possible assassination,"⁶ DeLoach told the Church committee in 1975. For the first time in its crime-busting history, Hoover's Bureau was supplying agents to ride shotgun on *Air Force One*. Or stand duty on street corners as the presidential motorcade raced by. Hoover's investigators were therefore used as bodyguards, and the FBI director did not complain.

Johnson was also learning just how far he could push the Bureau when it came to intimidating or punishing anyone who disagreed with him. The limits were few.

"Those people don't work for us any more."

The attorney general was quite correct. His direct phone to Hoover had been put back on Gandy's desk. Communications between SOG and the Oval Office were brisk. Dossiers on Jack Kennedy's appointees were conveyed to Johnson with dispatch. RFK called this turn of events the "revolt of the FBI."⁷

Like Hoover, Lyndon Johnson was deeply suspicious of "the Harvards." Both had been forced by circumstances to keep their true feelings toward the Kennedys bottled up for almost three years. Now each fueled the other's hate. Johnson would avidly read whatever Hoover dished up, and encourage his

*FBI scribes were less restrained than the president in praise of their boss. One biographical booklet handed out to the taxpayers called him "fearless fighter and implacable foe of the godless tyranny of cancerous communism . . . inspirational leader, champion of the people, outstanding American." From another work, *J. Edgar Hoover's 40 Years as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation*, the Bureau's perspective on national history can be inferred: "On April 12, 1945, J. Edgar Hoover lost a great supporter and admirer when Franklin Roosevelt died of a cerebral hemorrhage in Georgia."⁸

But the work in Washington
in the 1930's was that he
had agents with cameras
across 16th St and the 2d
floor of the New National
Geographic Building

onetime neighbor to produce even more. According to one former FBI agent, the new president's first request was for confidential material on upwards of twelve hundred actual and presumed adversaries.

But the FBI director did not entirely neglect his superior at Justice. In July 1964 he warned RFK that a new booklet was about to be published. The author intended to "make reference to your alleged friendship with the late Miss Marilyn Monroe. . . . He will indicate in his book that you and Miss Monroe were intimate, and that you were in Miss Monroe's home at the time of her death."⁵⁹

This alert was in writing. Hoover and Kennedy no longer spoke to each other, and Hoover would brag about snubbing him at official functions.

Despite the backbiting and mutual suspicion, however, the three men could cooperate when their aims were not in conflict.

As violence escalated in the South and the Ku Klux Klan threatened to grow more powerful, abetted by officers of the law at the local level, Kennedy wrote Johnson to suggest that the FBI employ "the techniques followed in the use of specially trained, special assignment agents in the infiltration of Communist groups." In effect, he was advising a COINTELPRO for the Klan. And he reminded the president of what they both apparently believed: "the information gathering techniques used by the Bureau on Communist or Communist related organizations have of course been spectacularly efficient."⁶⁰

Johnson, too, wanted the FBI to take some of the heat in the frightening convulsions down South. But he didn't come down on Hoover until after June 22, when three young civil rights workers disappeared near Philadelphia, Mississippi. The area was already notorious for arson and physical assault against blacks and whites involved in the movement.

The president sent Allen Dulles down to the state to see what the federal government should be doing. Kennedy announced that the case would be treated like a kidnapping, guaranteeing a federal presence. On June 27 Johnson's special emissary had two recommendations. The power of the Klan had to be broken, and Hoover had to send down more agents.

The Bureau's MIBURN, an investigation code-named for "Mississippi Burning," began after local authorities had failed to develop any leads. About two hundred sailors from the U.S. Navy were also called in to help in the search, but, to the president's growing consternation, nothing had been found—except one fairly persuasive indication that the three young men were dead. In a nearby swamp their car was discovered. It had been stripped and torched.

The weeks dragged on, and Johnson and Hoover were both attacked for not

⁵⁹The booklet did not make the splash the FBI director might have anticipated. *The Strange Death of Marilyn Monroe*, by the right-wing author Frank Capell, was an attack upon Robert Kennedy as an agent of international communism. In Capell's interpretation, the attorney general's Communist friends agreed to kill the actress in order to protect him from revelations about the alleged love affair. Presumably, the scandal would have retarded the progress of the overthrow of the U.S. government.

pursuing the investigation vigorously enough. In a dramatic public relations move, the president forced his reluctant FBI director, who had been stung by Dulles's suggestion, to open a Bureau office in Mississippi. Hoover, veteran of many a staged news photo, had no choice but to appear on the scene in Jackson,* symbolically acting out a total FBI commitment to catching the murderers of the civil rights activists. This pose contrasted with his earlier refusals to get involved. "We're investigators," he had said. "Not policemen."

Still, the mystery yielded no useful clues.

And still there were those in the nation who wondered whether Hoover was the victim of his own overblown reputation. If his agency was so infallibly professional, why couldn't his crack agents solve a triple murder in a small town in dinky little Neshoba County, Mississippi? This was the FBI famed for tracking down the most vicious of killers, the most ingenious of embezzlers, the most dangerous of subversives, so there must be some reason why it couldn't solve this one. Or wouldn't.

Truth was, the FBI, harried by Hoover, who was being hounded by Johnson, turned the county upside down for forty-four days and couldn't get anywhere. Until agents found out, or figured out, that someone they knew pretty well would blow the whistle on the killers for a payment of \$30,000. He knew exactly what they'd done. He was one of them.

Nineteen men were indicted, eight convicted, for conspiring to violate the civil rights of the three young men by kidnapping and shooting them. Everyone charged belonged to the KKK, including the informant, a law officer who had worked with the FBI on the case—and known all along that the bodies had been dumped into a thirty-foot-deep hole at a dam construction site and buried under hundreds of tons of dirt by a bulldozer.

So here was the situation: the despised Robert Kennedy, the detestable Allen Dulles, and many others felt that FBI resources should be concentrated on the problem of disorder in the South. So did Lyndon Johnson, presumed author of the phrase "for an indefinite period of time," who also wrote that he wanted his FBI director "to put people after the Klan and study it from one county to the next."⁶¹

On August 27, responding to Hoover's request for a feasibility study, the Domestic Intelligence Division recommended a program to "expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize the KKK." By September 2 the director was advising SACs that "consideration should be given to disrupting the organized activity of these groups and no opportunity should be missed to capitalize upon organizational and personal conflicts of their leadership." This COINTELPRO was

*Johnson went so far as to order up a presidential plane to convey Hoover to the much publicized opening ceremony. Pressured to get things photo ready within five days, the new SAC dummied up a fake office with flimsy walls and borrowed furniture on the top floor of a vacant, unfinished new bank building. Hoover made no comment about the makeshift surroundings, which were unaccountably described by some reporters as "plush." Jeremiah O'Leary of the *Washington Star* knew better. He'd leaned on one of the temporary walls and almost brought the whole stage set crashing down.

to be handled in strictest secrecy, he warned his agents.

As the "sensitive operation" went into effect, Hoover sent his characteristically long-winded memos to a succession of attorneys general. They seemed to describe the FBI's southern operation in numbingly complete detail. They did not. The illegal COINTELPRO-White Hate activities were mentioned rarely, briefly, and vaguely. As one of the recipients of these reports, Nicholas Katzenbach, would say, Hoover "used terms of art, or euphemisms, without informing the Attorney General that they were terms of art."⁶²

In the field, agents resented the restrictions of the FBI Manual and lobbied for greater freedom to act—or they simply disregarded the Bureau's few weak prohibitions about reporting on the lawful political activities of U.S. citizens. The unlawful or improper acts of the secret anti-Klan program continued to 1971, averaging about forty "actions" annually.* Seventeen KKK groups and nine others, such as the American Nazi and National States Rights parties, were targeted.

Hoover's stamp was evident on it all. For the purpose of "discrediting and embarrassing"⁶³ leaders of the Klan, the FBI used illegal means to procure personal tax returns and related materials. Without informing the IRS Disclosure Branch, as required by law, agents had surreptitiously gained the documents from employees of the IRS Intelligence Division. "Notional" organizations were set up by FBI informants in order to splinter the United Klans of America. One such counterfeit group attained a peak membership of 250 deluded adherents.

But the spirit of J. Edgar Hoover shone most brightly in the anonymous letters crafted to split up marriages or sunder old friendships, all in the name of "disruption" of a hate group. In at least one sense, the FBI director assumed that, beneath their sheets, Klan members were the same as American Communists: they couldn't concentrate totally on party work with an enraged wife in the house.

And so the grand dragons and their mates were bedeviled with such crude inventions as this anonymous letter: "Yes, Mrs. A, he has been committing adultery. My menfolk say they don't believe this but I think they do. I feel like crying. I saw her with my own eyes. They call her Ruby. . . . I know this. I saw her strut around at a rally with her lustfilled eyes and smart aleck figure."[†] The

*During the same period, by contrast, the average number of "actions" initiated against the moribund Communist party each year was one hundred.

†Such letters generally reveal the influence of Sullivan's notions of human frailty, if not the work of his own hand. The director might think sex was always the lever, but a married man knew that lies about money could be more "disruptive." In this note, the "God-fearing Klanswoman" took care to report, "They [her "menfolk."] never believed the "stories that he stole money from the klans in [deleted] or that he is now making over \$25,000 a year. They never believed the stories that your house in [deleted] has a new refrigerator, washer, dryer and yet one year ago, was threadbare. They refuse to believe that your husband now owns three cars and a truck, including the new white car. But I believe all these things and I can forgive them for a man wants to do for his family in the best way he can." This invidious touch suggests that the recipient had never seen the house, appliances,

correspondent, identified as "a God-fearing klanswoman," was in fact an FBI agent who had been advised to type the note "on plain paper in an amateurish fashion."⁶⁵

To the Bureau's surprise, not every American citizen crumbled before this kind of onslaught. In North Carolina, Klan members received an FBI creation, supposedly from the group's shadowy "National Intelligence Committee," that fired the state's grand dragon and suspended Robert Shelton, the imperial wizard. Shelton immediately complained to his local postal inspector and, apparently in good faith, to his nearest FBI office as well. Spooked, the Bureau held back a second letter until it could learn the intentions of the Post Office, whose investigators decided not to recommend any action to the Justice Department. To postal authorities the letter looked like KKK internecine warfare rather than actual mail fraud. The FBI listened without comment, or confession, and prepared to put the second letter in the mail, but someone came up with the more exciting concept of the "notional" Klaverns.

As these activities expanded under LBJ, Hoover did not feel the need to weary his bosses—Robert Kennedy, Nicholas Katzenbach, Ramsey Clark—with the details. A favorite euphemism in memos was the uninformative verb "neutralize." Yet at least once the director buried a frank admission in a ten-page memo, knowing that it would be overlooked even as it seemed to receive implicit approval from Attorney General Clark: "We have found that by the removal of top Klan officers and provoking scandal within the state Klan organization through our informants, the Klan in a particular area can be rendered ineffective."⁶⁶

There was no reaction from above. Although Clark later testified before a Senate committee that the COINTELPRO-White Hate actions "should be absolutely prohibited and subjected to criminal prosecution,"⁶⁷ he could credibly state, as well, that he either did not read the telltale sentence above or did not read it carefully. In that regard, he was like all other attorneys general who had to deal with the tsunamis of Hoover memos.

Hoover had reason to be proud. One of his memorandums noted, under the subhead "Positive Results Achieved," that an American Nazi had been ousted from the party after the FBI "furnished" information that led to "publicity" that he was of Jewish descent.⁶⁸ On one occasion Ohio Klansmen were discomfited to receive anonymous postcards reading, "KLANSMAN: Trying to hide your identity behind your sheet? You received this—someone KNOWS who you are!" The Cincinnati FBI office allowed as how its people had heard about the mailing, but claimed, "We don't know who's behind it."⁶⁹ In fact, the FBI had dropped the cards in a rural mailbox somewhere along U.S. 40, fully

or fleet of vehicles and might well expect to find the "new white car" somewhere in the vicinity of "Ruby."⁷⁴

*His "neutralization" was complete. He committed suicide.

aware that not only the addressees but gossipy small-town postal workers would pay heed. Officially, every agent taking such actions worked under the rubric spelled out in several memos: "All recommended counterintelligence action against Klan-type and hate organizations will be required to be approved at the Seat of Government."⁷⁰

When the FBI director bragged about his accomplishments against the Klan to the White House in September 1965, he obviously thought he was on top of all COINTELPRO-White Hate activities, though he did not explain the program, of course. He did boast that his men had developed almost two thousands informants on KKK matters, penetrated each one of the fourteen existing Klan groups, and had access to top leaders in half of them. He mentioned one COINTELPRO activity by the by—thwarting a kickback scheme engineered by an insurance salesman who donated premium refunds to the Klan coffers.

Hoover's letter also noted that his informants had helped prevent violence throughout the South by alerting the FBI to weapons caches set aside for racist plots. "I have furnished these examples to illustrate to the President the approach this Bureau is taking to meet the challenge of racial lawlessness."⁷¹

But it cannot have been as the old man thought. Yes, agents were supposed to clear unusual actions with SOG. Yes, agents lived in fear of Washington. Even so, it would not be surprising to learn that there was more than a little creative free-lancing during the COINTELPRO-White Hate years, for the men in the field knew that Hoover wanted results. And they knew that his faith in the FBI could verge upon belief in the miraculous.

Take the Medgar Evers murder on June 12, 1963, more than a year before the COINTEL program. FBI bribes and informants uncovered names of some who had plotted to kill the NAACP's Mississippi field secretary, but not the actual gunman. Pressured by Hoover, FBI agents decided to enlist the aid of a small-time crook arrested in the act of committing armed robbery.

The deal was simple. The robber would be allowed to "walk" if he could terrify someone into revealing the identity of Evers's assassin. The FBI knew their man. With the help of an agent, he kidnapped a TV salesman who was a member of the White Citizens Council in Jackson. Driven through the night deep down into Louisiana bayou country, a gun digging into his ribs the whole way, the quarry was tied to a kitchen chair in a deserted safe house. As several FBI men crouched outside an open window, the hoodlum extracted one version of the killing. It didn't play. The agents knew better. A second version didn't get any takers, either. Finally, the robber, his Sicilian honor in doubt before his very attentive audience of government agents, rammed a .38 in the captive's mouth and explained his intentions. Moved, the quaking salesman fingered Byron De la Beckwith, an ex-Marine who had left his 30.06 rifle at the murder site.⁷²

Elated, Hoover would boast that the FBI Lab had used a partial fingerprint on the rifle sight to find De la Beckwith in Marine records—even though it is impossible to use a partial to identify an unknown suspect. Impossible. Did

Hoover believe that his technicians had been able to overcome the limitations of nature? Did he simply not want to know what had actually happened in the field?

Either way, his agents got away with their scam, and it is not unlikely that the word went forth. The old man wants results. The old man doesn't—or won't—read between the lines. Just as the FBI was becoming ever more vigorously involved in actions against the Klan and civil rights leaders, in other words, the supervisors in Washington seemed farther away.

"So this meeting was called to bring together FBI agents to explore every possibility of spying upon and intimidating Dr. Martin Luther King."⁷³ That was Senator Walter Mondale's summation during the Church committee hearings late in 1975. Approximately twelve years before, on December 23, 1963—a month and a day after John Kennedy was murdered—Hoover's priorities were made clear. While others wrestled with the ambiguities surrounding the assassination, the nation's top cops met for nine hours at SOG on a more important matter. Sullivan's description foreshadowed the senator's, but in the house bureaucratese: Hoover's elite aimed to explore "avenues of approach aimed at neutralizing King as an effective Negro leader."⁷⁴

Two Atlanta agents met with Sullivan and four other SOG personnel, including the chief of the FBI's Internal Security Section, in order to decide "how best to carry on our investigation to produce the desired results without embarrassment to the Bureau." The "conference was of exceptional benefit," according to a Sullivan memorandum.

The results were not unexpected. From the lengthy meeting was conceived a list of twenty-one proposals, which characterize themselves:

NUMBER ONE: Can colored Agents be of any assistance to us in the Atlanta area and, if so, how many will be needed? . . .

NUMBER FIVE: Does the office have contacts among newspaper people aggressive enough to be of assistance to us? . . .

NUMBER SEVEN: What do we know about King's housekeeper? In what manner can we use her? . . .

NUMBER TWELVE: What are the possibilities of placing a good looking female plant in King's office?⁷⁵

Hoover was there in spirit, and everyone in the room knew it. "This is not an isolated phenomenon," Sullivan would testify to the Church panel. "This was a practice of the Bureau down through the years." And no one objected or eased back into the shadows. "Everybody in the Division went right along with Hoover's policy," the director's "third Judas" explained.⁷⁶

Conceivably, Hoover and his people already knew of an upcoming accolade to Dr. King that would be like wormwood and gall in the director's belly. In-house memorandums about editorial meetings still flowed regularly to his desk. Reporters, researchers, and staff writers at *Time* magazine were un-

doubtedly already at work on the major cover story slated for the issue dated January 3: the "unchallenged voice of the Negro people" had been chosen *Time's* "Man of the Year."

A memo quoting the UPI press release about the honor crossed Hoover's desk on December 29. On it he wrote, "They had to dig deep in the garbage to come up with this one."

But if the subject was odoriferous, the article itself was scrutinized with the dedication of medieval monks parsing the Scriptures. And one insight into the youthful despair of the civil rights leader was found especially noteworthy. King, according to *Time*, had twice tried to commit suicide before he was thirteen by jumping out of a second-story window. The FBI pondered, and the fruit of its speculation ripened fully within the year.

"They will destroy the burrhead," commented J. Edgar Hoover, reviewing the transcripts of tape recordings produced by a bug at the Willard Hotel.⁷

Two days after the *Time* cover story, on January 5, 1964, FBI agents in the capital had installed a microphone in the room assigned to the Reverend King. "Trespass is involved," Sullivan had admitted in a departmental memo.⁸ Trespass of another kind would follow.

Fifteen reels of tape were recorded by this special MISUR, but the highlights came the first night. Two women employees of the Philadelphia Naval Yard had joined the Man of the Year and several SCLC friends for an unbuttoned fling. Even as FBI workers were painstakingly transcribing the tomfoolery,^{*} Sullivan was peering into the future, when King would "be revealed to the people of this country and to his Negro followers as being what he actually is—a fraud, demagogue and moral scoundrel." He decided that the Bureau should somehow help raise Samuel R. Pierce, Jr.,[†] a Manhattan attorney then working with the former attorney general William Rogers, to "be in the position to assume the role of the leadership of the Negro people when King has been completely discredited."

^{*}More than once, FBI agents found King MISURs unsatisfactory because his TV would usually be "blasting away." Perhaps this was the least precaution a man could take after a personal warning from the president of the United States that he was being watched all the time.

[†]"Pure unadulterated arrogance," Representative Louis Stokes would call Sullivan's plan to remove "a leader for a whole race of people, destroying that man,"⁹ and try to choose a replacement. Yet Sullivan wrote that he "had an opportunity to explore this from a philosophical and sociological standpoint" with a former Oxford professor, who had named Pierce. The candidate, Sullivan agreed, "does have all the qualifications of the kind of a Negro I have in mind to advance to positions of national leadership."¹⁰ Sullivan's hopes for Pierce, who apparently knew nothing about them, would be dashed by political realities. Appointed secretary of housing and urban development in Ronald Reagan's Cabinet, Pierce earned for himself with his elusiveness the nickname Silent Sam. He even eluded the direct notice of his president. At a reception for the nation's mayors, Reagan smiled warmly at his Cabinet officer, shook his hand firmly, and said, "Welcome, Mr. Mayor." His stewardship was seriously questioned when investigators discovered that political influence had often determined how housing grants and subsidies were awarded during the two Reagan administrations.

"OK," Hoover wrote on his subordinate's memo describing this cockeyed scheme.⁷⁹

On January 10 he heard the selected passages from the Willard tapes that inspired his "burrhead" comment, and he smelled blood. He picked up the phone to alert Johnson's closest aide, Walter Jenkins, to the nature of the material. It was Friday afternoon, and LBJ had to wait a few days until the FBI's written account was ready.

His impatience can be imagined, but it was abundantly satisfied when DeLoach arrived with eight pages of "Top Secret" analysis of the Willard party only four days later. The FBI agent, the president, and the presidential aide discussed the material. When Jenkins opined that a leak to the press would be a good idea, DeLoach could reply that the director had already thought of that.

Left out of the loop was the attorney general. Hoover's underlings feared that Robert Kennedy might warn King about his extracurricular activities, thereby endangering the continuing operation. The FBI director agreed. "No," Hoover wrote. "A copy need *not* be given A.G."⁸²

Some agents were still pursuing the Bureau's Communist strategy, but the director was no longer interested. Coverage of the SCLC office was terminated. Energies were to be concentrated on collecting more "entertainment," as Sullivan called it. At a minimum, fourteen more hotel bugs would dog King over the next two years, and agents would also take film and still photos of the civil rights leader, his colleagues, and female friends.

Precisely a month after the nine-hour strategy meeting at SOG, Hoover was secretly slandering King in a closed-door session of the House Appropriations Committee. The fallout suggests that he ritually brought up the Communist line. But when a sympathetic congressman offered to go public, he was brought up short. Other reactions show that the FBI director had switched gears and, at the very least, showered the panel with broad hints about Dr. King's personal life.

And he kept calling for more ammunition like the Willard tapes. When agents in Milwaukee suggested that coverage of King would probably be useless, since his police bodyguards would be staying in an adjacent room, Hoover disagreed.

"I don't share the conjecture," he wrote to Sullivan. "King is a 'tom cat' with obsessive degenerate sexual urges."⁸³

Then came the forty-eight hours in Los Angeles. On February 22 the King party checked into the Hyatt House Motel and loosened up for some rambunctious socializing. The reverend tossed off religious jokes that had sexual double

⁷⁹In *The FBI Pyramid*, Mark Felt, formerly deputy associate director of the Bureau, observed, "When the puritanical Director read the transcripts of the tapes disclosing what went on behind Dr. King's closed hotel doors, he was outraged by the drunken sexual orgies, including acts of perversion often involving several persons. Hoover referred to these episodes with repugnance as 'those sexual things.'""⁸⁰ According to other FBI officials, the director was even more exercised by the minister's penchant for consorting with white women.

meanings and made up explicitly sexual nicknames for his friends. It was a high-spirited time, and King certainly shocked and outraged the sanctimonious Presbyterian listening in. But there would be more. Exuberant, King recalled TV coverage of the late president's funeral, during which his widow leaned over and kissed the middle of his casket. "That's what she's going to miss the most," he cracked.⁸⁵ Now Hoover had a reason to put Attorney General Robert Kennedy back in the loop.

Along with other materials, a report on the Los Angeles tapes was sent to Jenkins and to Kennedy. In the latter case, the Bureau aimed to "remove all doubt from the Attorney General's mind as to the type of person King is."⁸⁶ Attention was to be directed upon, in Sullivan's characterization, "King's vilification of the late President and his wife."⁸⁷

A month before, Kennedy had tried to warn the White House that the FBI had volatile information on King and was likely to use it. Now he must have been flabbergasted to discover how little he'd known. Whether for pragmatic political reasons, or because of the personal insult, Kennedy quietly backed away from Martin Luther King, Jr. His eyes had been opened to the danger—and the way to keep on top of it. Hoover let him consider all these things before asking for permission to instigate more taps.

But there was no need to hold back with LBJ. On March 9 Hoover joined his liaison, DeLoach, for a chat with the president at the White House. The trio spent the entire afternoon discussing the King affair.

It was the longest period of time the FBI director had held a president's attention since his secret meeting with JFK about the Judith Campbell matter.

Apparently the pair left a gift, since not long after their visit the president of the United States began entertaining selected White House guests by playing portions of the King tapes.

Beset and bewildered, Hoover flailed about in the 1960s trying to prevent the bestowal of academic honors and other awards on the Reverend King.

Horrified in March 1964 that Marquette University might give the civil rights leader an honorary degree, the FBI pressured an official of the institution. No degree was awarded.* Attempts to prevent Springfield College from awarding a degree were thwarted, however. The FBI's contact at the college reported that its governing board had too many "liberals."⁸⁹

Far more disturbing was the rumor picked up by August 31, 1964. King planned to visit Pope Paul VI in Rome. Cardinal Spellman, duly alerted, telephoned the Vatican and, at the Ecumenical Council a week later, personally warned the secretary of state that Saint Peter's successor should have nothing to do with King.

*This degree would have been an especially unkind cut, in the view of the FBI official whose memo noted, "It is shocking indeed that the possibility exists that King may receive an Honorary Degree from the same institution which honored the Director with such a degree in 1950."⁸⁸ The upper levels concurred. The agent who apparently persuaded the university official to reconsider was rewarded with a letter of commendation from Hoover as well as a monetary award.

When the pope received the Baptist minister anyway, Hoover wrote "astounding" on the press release announcing the audience. FBI officials wondered "if there possibly could have been a slip-up."⁹⁰ Surely, Paul VI would have heeded Spellman, if the message actually got through.

But he would be given no chance to ignore a direct communication from the director of the FBI, according to a joke that began passing the rounds in the Bureau. "The Pope's been put on the no-contact list," agents snickered.

There was worse to come, in the eyes of J. Edgar Hoover, who had always coveted the "foremost of earthly honors." As he spurred his Bureau on, eager to add to the compromising tapes and reported gossip about King, a committee in Sweden was poring over other kinds of material, the minister's speeches and writings in support of the concepts of nonviolence and international peace.

On October 14 it was officially announced that King had been given the Nobel Peace Prize.

Hoover was enraged and the Bureau energized. A revised version of the scabrous monograph RFK had suppressed was sent to the White House. Should not copies of this important document be sent to "responsible officials in the Executive Branch"?⁹¹ Presidential Special Assistant Bill Moyers thought so. The thirteen-page *printed* booklet went out.*

The Bureau also did what it could to make Dr. King's upcoming European reception as "unwelcome" as possible. Anticipating that they "might consider entertaining King while he is in Europe to receive the Nobel Prize," the U.S. ambassadors in London, Oslo, Stockholm, and Copenhagen were briefed on the minister's personal life and alleged Communist connections. When it was learned that the Nobel laureate might be received by Prime Minister Harold Wilson, the legat in London was instructed to brief high British officials in the same manner, and so he did.

Nor was the prospect of King's return home overlooked. Numerous receptions were scheduled in New York and Washington. To discourage their participation, the UN representatives Adlai Stevenson and Ralph Bunche were given information on the civil rights leader's private life; Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York was thoroughly briefed; and Vice-President Hubert Humphrey was given not only the updated King monograph but a separate memorandum entitled "Martin Luther King Jr.: His Personal Conduct."

It was during this frenzy that a very sick mind, in the highest echelons of the FBI, considered a plan that would be likely to plunge King into a very deep depression on the eve of his great acclamation, as the world watched. Far worse, far more devious, someone at SOG—or perhaps more than one person, for even the repentant Sullivan never admitted to this in his confessional years to come—decided that King should remove himself from the national scene.

*According to the Church committee report, the recipients included the secretary of state, the secretary of defense, the CIA director, Acting Attorney General Katzenbach, and the heads of all military intelligence agencies and the USIA.

What would trigger the kind of despair that had caused a twelve-year-old boy to leap from an upstairs window of his father's house?

"King, look into your heart. You know you are a complete fraud and a greater liability to all of us Negroes . . . You are no clergyman and you know it. I repeat you are a colossal fraud and an evil, vicious one at that. . . . But you are done. Your 'honorary' degrees, your Nobel Prize (what a grim farce) and other awards will not save you, King, I repeat you are done. . . .

"King, there is only one thing left for you to do. You know what it is. You have just 34 days in which to do (this exact number has been selected for a specific reason, it has definite practical significance). You are done. There is but one way out for you. You better take it before your filthy, abnormal fraudulent self is bared to the nation."

Sometime in mid-November the long, vile letter from which these passages have been excerpted was enclosed with a tape and mailed to King at the SCLC office in Atlanta. The reel was a medley from the surveillances in Washington and Los Angeles, as well as in a San Francisco hotel.

Why this peculiar initiative? The usual methods had failed Hoover in this case. He had been shopping the stuff around all over Washington for months, but no newspaper reporter would touch it. Nobody in government had leaked it. Hoover and his top men could not understand why.

"Once it became apparent that King, who held himself up publicly and to his associates as a 'man of God' and as a minister, once it became clear through the coverage of his activities that he was *not*, at least his sexual conduct was such that he was breaking down his picture as a 'man of God,' the question came up whether Coretta King should be advised. . . . It seemed proper to advise her of what was going on." So Belmont stated to the author, shortly before he died. Sullivan put it much more simply. Asked, "What possible justification could you have had for sending a man's wife that kind of material?" Sullivan told the author, "He was breaking his marriage vows."⁹²

The plan was to mail the package to the SCLC office in King's name, because the FBI coverage had revealed that Mrs. King opened his mail for him when he was on the road.*

"Mail it from a southern state," Hoover advised.⁹³ An unwitting agent whom Sullivan trusted dropped it into a mailbox in Tampa.

They wanted her to hear it, and they knew they were in the right—even though Sullivan and Belmont both feared that the scheme would reveal just how closely the FBI had been following the minister, and by what illegal methods.

Let us not shy away from the obvious here. The head of the nation's police

*Some accounts of this incident have missed the point, taking the apologists' line that the FBI intended that only King see the contents of the package. On the contrary, it knew that he would be out of the office and that Coretta would be at her post. It doesn't take a Jesuit to see that, in such circumstances, a package addressed to Martin Luther King, Jr., is in effect and intent a package intended for Coretta Scott King.

*Lish Whitson, a retired
FBI st flew to Tampa
with it & there mailed
it*

force was protecting the national interest by using intimate tapes to wreak havoc in a man's marriage. As the Bureau had done before, though with amateurish lies, with the marriages of left-wing activists and right-wing racists. But this was not only a highly bizarre and obscene initiative; it was plainly illegal. Under federal law, government agencies may not disclose taped or bugged conversations to a third party. Nor may government property—in this instance, the "entertainment" tapes—be converted to other than official use. And there was the matter of sending allegedly "obscene" materials through the mails.

None of this bothered Hoover, not even the fact that the sharing of the tapes violated the Bureau's own regulations, as approved by its director.

Some have argued that Hoover was driven to this extremity by King's arrogance. Consider. On November 18 the director suddenly invited eighteen women reporters over to his office for coffee. The rambling three-hour "press conference," one of very few in his last years, was grimly fascinating. On the one hand, he condemned the violence down in Mississippi, noting that "in the southern part of the state, in the swamp country, the only inhabitants seem to be rattlesnakes, water moccasins, and redneck sheriffs." On the other hand, he grumbled that the FBI "can't wet nurse everybody who goes down to try to reform or re-educate the Negro population of the South." When he recalled Dr. King's remarks about the Albany agents, the sutures burst. "I asked [for an appointment] with Dr. King, but he would not make the appointment, so I have characterized him as the most notorious liar in the country. That is on the record. . . ."⁹⁴

Off the record, during this performance, he added, "He is one of the lowest characters in the country."⁹⁵

Many in the civil rights movement trembled, others came up with a reply that was pure name-calling, but Dr. King approved a temperate, if suggestive, public statement: "I cannot conceive of Mr. Hoover making a statement like this without being under extreme pressure. He has apparently faltered under the awesome burden, complexities and responsibilities of his office." In a telegram to the director, also made public, he said he would be happy to meet with him and "sought in vain" for any record of his request for an appointment.⁹⁶

Hoover thought the telegram was full of lies. Within a day or two, the package of tapes was mailed to Mrs. King. On November 24 the director was fulminating again, departing from a prepared speech to denounce "moral degenerates" in "pressure groups"—a slap at the civil rights movement.⁹⁷

⁹⁴FBI insiders felt that Nichols would never have allowed Hoover to expose his true feelings to this extent, and they even suspected that DeLoach was setting the old man up. Perhaps, but DeLoach did pass three notes in succession to the director after the "liar" remark, urging him to take it off the record. But Hoover had taken his stand: "DeLoach tells me that I should keep these statements concerning King off the record but that's none of his business. I made it for the record and you can use it for the record."⁹⁵ Nonetheless, when he later saw that the whole episode had tarnished his image in the press, he was not above attaching blame to his subordinate.

⁹⁷"Everyone knows he can't stand spontaneous exposure," said one anonymous FBI source years later. "He either has to have a text in his hand or he's going to say what he thinks and then there's

According to some reports, the president was becoming concerned and was actively seeking a replacement for his unpredictable FBI chief. In a White House meeting with civil rights leaders, he listened to criticism of the FBI in silence. At a press conference late in November his praise for Hoover's efforts to protect civil rights workers was lukewarm: "He has been diligent and rather effective."¹⁰¹

Meanwhile, on November 27, the NAACP's Roy Wilkins met with DeLoach, apparently because of rumors about the King tapes. "I told him . . . that if King wanted war we certainly would give it to him," DeLoach wrote in a memo to John Mohr. Wilkins remembered a different kind of meeting, in which he warned gravely that revelations about King would split black and white America. To his colleague, however, DeLoach boasted that Wilkins had promised to "tell King that he can't win in a battle with the FBI and that the best thing for him to do is retire from public life."¹⁰²

There were other skirmishes. President Johnson was warned that his liaison, DeLoach, was offering the King tapes to journalists. His source was Ben Bradlee. Since LBJ had played the tapes himself, to selected White House guests, he could hardly criticize DeLoach. Instead, to show whose side he was on, he cautioned DeLoach, through Moyers, that Bradlee, who he said "lacked integrity,"¹⁰³ was spreading tales. * Still, he had to be worried about what Hoover might do or say next.

Sometime in late November, according to Sullivan, Johnson "ordered Hoover to meet with King and patch things up."¹⁰⁵ The FBI director had no choice but to obey, and on December 1 the pair held a "summit" meeting in the director's office.

Although there have been many different versions of the encounter,[†] most

hell to pay."¹⁰⁴ Or was there? "Hoover Steals the Show" was the headline when Hoover made a rare appearance at a society cocktail party in Washington two days after his meeting with the lady journalists. He reported then that he had already received four hundred telegrams in response to his remarks, "all favorable except for two or three who were critical or hostile," and these, he said, "were probably from racist groups associated with Martin Luther King." He did say he had held his last press conference, however. "I'm going to get writer's cramp from answering all those messages."¹⁰⁶

*Bradlee had been much too personally close to John Kennedy for Johnson's comfort. The newsman, according to Moyers, had made a comment that could certainly have a bipartisan moral, however: "If the FBI will do this to Martin Luther King, they will undoubtedly do it to anyone for personal reasons."¹⁰⁸ It was in Johnson's interest to let Hoover know that the tactics of his Bureau were becoming all too obvious, at least in some capital circles.

†DeLoach called it a "love feast."¹⁰⁹ *Newsweek* reported on December 14, 1964, that King was "awed" by the director's information about corrupt law officers throughout the old South. By 1970 Hoover had created a wholly fictional account: "He sat right there where you're sitting," he told a *Time* reporter, "and said, he never criticized the FBI. I said, Mr. King—I never called him reverend—stop right there, you're lying. He then pulled out a press release that he said he intended to give to the press. I said, don't show it to me or read it to me. I couldn't understand how he could have prepared a press release even before we met. Then he asked if I would go out and have a photograph taken with him, and I said I certainly would mind. And I said, if you ever say anything that is a lie again, I will brand you a liar again. Strange to say, he never attacked the Bureau again."

agree that the director and the reverend were polite, even complimentary, to each other. ("This was not the same man that called Martin a notorious liar," King's aide Andrew Young would recall.)¹⁰⁸ Most likely, the tapes and other derogatory materials were not discussed, not even by indirection. "Quite amicable,"¹⁰⁹ King would say, for public consumption. It was a comment made on the fly, because the director's long-windedness had almost caused the reverend to miss a plane.

Hoover was pleased with himself, according to Sullivan, thinking that "he had captivated King, really charmed him," with his fifty-five-minute monologue about the accomplishments of the FBI.* All was well, perhaps, until a wiretap picked up King's review. "The old man talks too much." According to Sullivan, "there was no hope for [King] after that."¹¹¹

In short order, three very significant dates occurred in the director's life.

On December 10 Dr. King was awarded the Nobel Prize in Stockholm. Exhausted, depressed by the rumors that the FBI still intended to publicize the information on the tapes, he said the following day, in his acceptance speech, "Those who pioneer in the struggle for peace and freedom will still be battered by the storms of persecution, leading them to nagging feelings that they can no longer bear such a heavy burden."¹¹²

Hoover was much more interested in an incident involving some of King's supporters. One night, as the partying got wildly out of hand, two "stark naked" civil rights workers ran down the halls of their hotel after some prostitutes who had just rolled them. The incident was hushed up, thanks to the intervention of Bayard Rustin,[†] but the FBI heard about it. And quickly spread the rumor that King himself was involved. He was not. But the director of the FBI, who held the laureate "in complete contempt," could claim that here was yet more evidence that "he was the last one in the world who should ever have received [the Nobel Prize]."¹¹³

Then there was Christmas, thirty-four days after the tape and letter were mailed to the SCLC office, the date by which King was to have taken the "one way out." He had not yet received the FBI's message, however. It was early January before Mrs. King opened the thin box and called her husband, giving the Bureau a great deal of pleasure with the tone and tenor of her reactions.

for as long as he lived." Unless the other participants all lied—King, DeLoach, Young, Ralph Abernathy, and Walter Fauntroy—Hoover's version was only wishful thinking.¹⁰⁷

*Immediately afterward, DeLoach was attempting to work his own brand of charm on CORE's James Farmer, who had come over at King's behest because of a rumor that the FBI was planning to "expose" the civil rights leader the following day. "I told him that our files were sacred to us and that it would be unheard of for the FBI to leak such information to newsmen," DeLoach reported in his official memo. "I told him I was completely appalled at the very thought of the FBI engaging in such endeavors."¹¹⁰

†The Bureau learned of these pleasingly salacious events, and many others, from its wiretap on Rustin. The highlights were passed along to President Johnson.

King asked some of his closest advisers to read the letter and listen to the tape. As Hoover's men had feared, they immediately assumed that it was all the work of the FBI. So depressed that he could not sleep, King was overheard on a tap saying, "They are out to break me."¹⁴

But that, in a sense, only further vindicated the events of a third red-letter day—January 1, 1965. Vacationing in Miami, dining with Tolson as his enemy fell ever deeper into despair, Hoover became three score and ten. Lesser mortals would have celebrated the day with a retirement party, but not the director. He and his cronies now served at the pleasure of Lyndon Johnson, who had learned how much he needed them earlier in the year.

Hoover could recall how he had given his commander in chief unusual help during the summer and fall. He could smile as the wiretaps revealed King's spiraling descent into deeper depression, exacerbated by his fear and feeling of guilt that somehow God was punishing him for not being worthy of his historic mission. He might laugh at the major news stories that had predicted the selection of a new FBI chief only weeks before. But it had been a close call.

knew that the FBI was leaking potentially embarrassing stories about him to the press. When he pursued those leaks, Hoover's men "invariably" denied any involvement. During the 1975 Church committee hearings the astounded Katzenbach was shown three documents bearing his initials. Avoiding the term "forgery," he testified that he did not remember reading the documents and certainly would have. Each reported on an unauthorized bug on Martin Luther King, Jr. The FBI Laboratory declared Katzenbach had indeed initialed the memorandums. *he was not a stranger to lying*

On one occasion the attorney general made specifically clear that a bug in the bedroom of a Mafia leader was not in line with department policy, and he took care to reaffirm ~~this~~ position later.

Eventually there was a blowup. For weeks Hoover and Katzenbach warred over the exact language to be used in a Justice Department admission in a Supreme Court case that a defendant had been bugged. Lying to the former attorney general Rogers, playing upon LBJ's contempt for Robert Kennedy, pressuring Senator Russell Long, and attempting to intimidate Deputy AG Ramsey Clark, the Bureau wanted nothing written down that might suggest that Hoover had exceeded his authority. Hanging over Justice was the threat to reveal that Kennedy had known about the surveillances and others, a charge that could not (as Katzenbach suspected) be proved.

Over Hoover's furious objections, the solicitor general's response to the Supreme Court declared, "There is . . . no specific statute or executive order expressly authorizing the installation of a listening device such as that involved in this case." That statement and others were unforgivable. "My correspondence with Mr. Hoover . . . unavoidably became a bitter one," Katzenbach recalled, "and it persuaded me that I could no longer effectively serve as Attorney General because of Mr. Hoover's obvious resentment toward me."²⁸

Katzenbach, having fallen afoul of what he called "the historical accident of J. Edgar Hoover,"²⁹ resigned from the Cabinet. Taking a cut in pay, he moved in September to the State Department, where he would be under secretary to Dean Rusk. He had chosen to lend his talents to the growing crisis in Vietnam.

His deputy, Tom Clark's son Ramsey, succeeded him. Clark became much stronger in the job than his predecessor, acting with such firmness that Hoover, characteristically, would call him a "jellyfish."

Despite the Warren Commission's criticism of the FBI, the director had a vested interest in defending its conclusion that Oswald had acted alone. By the fall of 1966 dozens of books and articles had challenged the commission's findings. Hoping to find derogatory information that could be used to discredit these efforts, Hoover, at the president's request, investigated the authors of seven books critical of the Warren Report, turning up the information that one writer had been discharged from the military for mental problems while several others had belonged to leftist organizations. No proof of foreign involvement was found, but the file on one critic contained information of a highly personal nature. It consisted of a Queens County, New York, police record of

I think the FBI was asked for what it had in files & did not make many, if any, special investigations

This was Mark Lane.
the subject's arrest for committing an unnatural act (the charge was later dropped); the depositions of two prostitutes, attesting to the nature of said act; and photographs of the subject, shown nude, his arms seemingly bound behind his back, his face contorted in a painful grimace, while one of the prostitutes was sticking what appeared to be a pin or needle into his erect penis. *not sourced*

Blind memorandums containing the fruits of these investigations (the photographs were among the eleven enclosures), were sent to President Johnson, via his aide Marvin Watson, on November 8, 1966,* and were shown to several of the Warren Commission members, as well as favored press contacts, who promptly nicknamed the photograph's subject "Pinhead."

Among those shown the materials was the commission member Hale Boggs. A longtime Hoover supporter, the Louisiana congressman was shocked to discover the extremes to which both the president and the FBI director would go in order to destroy their critics.

Boggs had no illusions about LBJ, but he was shaken by Hoover's willing participation. As he remarked to his son, Thomas Hale Boggs, Jr., "If they have all this on some little guy who wrote a book, what about me?"¹¹ In time he'd find out.

Boggs had glimpsed what others dealt with frequently.

When the civil rights activist Viola Liuzzo was shot dead with an FBI informant on the scene—Gary Thomas Rowe was riding in the same vehicle as the killers—Hoover sought to discredit the victim by giving the story a salacious twist. He told LBJ, "She was sitting very, very close to the Negro in the car. . . . It had the appearance of a necking party."

In this phone call to Johnson, he added that "the woman had indications of needle marks in her arms where she had been taking dope." When the president called back a few minutes later, his FBI director reported, "On the woman's body we found numerous needle marks indicating she had been taking dope, although we can't say definitely, because she is dead." Hoover wanted to believe this lie. That is probably why his agents in Mississippi came up with it.

Johnson wanted to telephone condolences to the widower. In the first call, referring to "the husband of the woman in Detroit who had died," as his memo phrased it, Hoover suggested that LBJ have an aide call first, "and, if the man behaves himself, the President could consider talking to him later."

His agents were feverishly looking for derogatory information about the murder victim, her husband, and her coworkers in the movement. With equal address, the FBI was leaking slander to the press and to their KKK informants. A wiretap produced this urgent teletype: "Martin Luther King has

*Hoover noted in his memorandum to Watson, "A copy of this communication has not been sent to the Acting Attorney General" (Ramsey Clark).¹⁰ Even though the FBI's investigation of the Kennedy assassination had been closed, its investigation of the Warren Commission critics was open-ended. Hoover continued to send new material to the White House even after the administration changed.

- 55. Cave Brown, *Last Hero*, 833.
- 56. Mohr deposition, Tolson will dispute.
- 57. *NYP*, July 22, 1975; Kosner interview.

CHAPTER 28: The Kennedys (Pages 467-98)

- 1. OC no. 7.
- 2. Joan Blair and Clay Blair, Jr., *The Search for J.F.K.* (New York: Berkley Medalion Books, 1977), 129.
- 3. *Ibid.*, 143.
- 4. JEH to Ladd, Jan. 24, 1942.
- 5. Blair, *Search*, 145.
- 6. OC no. 7.
- 7. *Ibid.*
- 8. FBI report, Feb. 9, 1942; OC no. 7.
- 9. Sullivan, *Bureau*, 48.
- 10. Blair, *Search*, 144, 133.
- 11. OC no. 7.
- 12. Blair, *Search*, 520.
- 13. J. J. Kelly to JEH, Sept. 23, 1953.
- 14. *NYT*, Aug. 4, 1960.
- 15. Rosen to Boardman, Sept. 23, 1958.
- 16. SAC of New Orleans to JEH, March 23, 1960.
- 17. Benjamin C. Bradlee, *Conversations with Kennedy* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), 33.
- 18. Church, vol. 2, 139.
- 19. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *Robert Kennedy and His Times* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978), 231.
- 20. JEH to RFK, Jan. 10, 1961; Church, vol. 6, 821-26.
- 21. Courtney Evans interview.
- 22. *National Observer*, April 12, 1971.
- 23. JEH to RFK, Feb. 23, 1963.
- 24. Victor S. Navasky, *Kennedy Justice* (New York: Atheneum, 1971) 8.
- 25. *Ibid.*, 14.
- 26. Joseph L. Schott, *No Left Turns* (New York: Praeger, 1975), 192-93.
- 27. Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy*, 257.
- 28. *Ibid.*
- 29. Former SAC.
- 30. JFK Assn., vol. IX, 14.
- 31. Sullivan interview.
- 32. Ungar, *FBI*, 391.
- 33. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 402.
- 34. *National Observer*, April 12, 1971.
- 35. Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy*, 260.
- 36. Former Hoover aide.
- 37. *Newsweek*, May 9, 1988.
- 38. Demaris, *Director*, 190.
- 39. Legat in Rome to JEH, Jan. 30, 1961; JEH to RFK, Feb. 6, 1961.
- 40. JEH to RFK, Feb. 10, 1961.
- 41. Athan G. Theoharis, *Spying on Americans: Political Surveillance from Hoover to the Huston Plan* (Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 1978), 167.
- 42. Powers interview.

43. Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy*, 254.
44. Church, bk. III, 297.
45. *Ibid.*, 328–30.
46. SAC of Birmingham to JEH and SACs of Atlanta and Mobile, May 12, 1961.
47. *NYT*, Feb. 17–18, 1980.
48. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 447.
49. JEH to CIA Director, Oct. 18, 1960.
50. JEH to SACs of New York, Chicago, and Miami, Oct. 18, 1960.
51. CIA memo for the record, May 14, 1962.
52. SAC of Miami to JEH, April 20, 1961.
53. JEH to AG (RFK), May 22, 1961; Church, vol. 1, 127.
54. Brashler, *Don*, 191; "Crime, Inc.," PBS-KQED, May 6, 1989.
55. Page B from undated FBI report (headed LA 92-113-Administrative) quoting from Dec. 6, 1961, bugging summary.
56. Judith (Campbell) Exner as told to Ovid Demaris, *My Story* (New York: Grove Press, 1977), 194.
57. JEH to AG (RFK), Dec. 11, 1961.
58. Church, vol. 1, 129–30.
59. *Ibid.*
60. JEH to AG (RFK), Oct. 29, 1962; Thomas Powers, *The Man Who Kept the Secrets: Richard Helms and the CIA* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 346–47.
61. SAC of LAFO to JEH, March 5, 1962.
62. Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy*, 496.
63. *Ibid.*
64. *Rolling Stone*, March 19, 1981.
65. JFK Assn., vol. V, 437.
66. Brashler, *Don*, 197.
67. Church, vol. 1, 133.
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*
70. Robert Maheu interview.
71. De Toledano, *Hoover*, 294.
72. Anthony Summers, *Goddess: The Secret Lives of Marilyn Monroe* (New York: New American Library, 1986), 280.
73. *Ibid.*, 448.
74. Evans to Belmont, Aug. 20, 1962.
75. Walter Sheridan, *The Rise and Fall of Jimmy Hoffa* (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1972), 217; Sheridan interview.
76. *Ibid.*
77. *WP*, May 16, 1976.
78. *Ibid.*
79. JFK Assn., vol. V, 306.
80. Ed Reid, *The Grim Reapers: The Anatomy of Organized Crime in America* (New York: Bantam, 1970), 160–61; JFK Assn., vol. IX, 82–83; David E. Scheim, *Contract on America: The Mafia Murder of President John F. Kennedy* (New York: Zebra Books, 1989), 79–83.
81. John H. Davis, *Mafia Kingfish: Carlos Marcello and the Assassination of John F. Kennedy* (New York: New American Library, 1989), 76.
82. JFK Assn., vol. IX, 86.
83. JEH to CT, Oct. 4, 1962.
84. *WP*, Nov. 1, 1962.

CHAPTER 29: "We Must Mark Him Now." (Pages 499-537)

1. Demaris, *Director*, 211.
2. Leon Howell, "An Interview with Andrew Young, *Christianity and Crisis*, Feb. 16, 1976.
3. Morton H. Halperin et al., *The Lawless State* (New York: Penguin Books, 1976), 61-63.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., 65.
6. Ramsey Clark interview.
7. MLK Assn., vol. VI, 67.
8. Sullivan, *Bureau*, 136.
9. Rosen to Belmont, May 22, 1961.
10. SAC of Atlanta to JEH, Nov. 21, 1961.
11. MLK Assn., vol. VI, 97.
12. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 564.
13. Ibid.
14. Bland to Sullivan, Feb. 3, 1962.
15. MLK Assn., vol. VI, 101.
16. Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy*, 353.
17. Church, bk. III, 87.
18. Ibid., 95.
19. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 597.
20. Baumgardner to Sullivan, Oct. 22, 1962.
21. JEH to SAC of Atlanta, Feb. 27, 1962.
22. Baumgardner to Sullivan, Oct. 8, 1962.
23. Church, bk. III, 96.
24. Ibid., 97.
25. Rosen to Belmont, Nov. 20, 1962.
26. Belmont to CT, Nov. 26, 1962.
27. DeLoach to Mohr, Jan. 15, 1963.
28. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 791.
29. Ibid., 837-38.
30. JEH to AG (RFK), July 23, 1963.
31. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 903.
32. Ibid., 862.
33. Ibid., 861.
34. Baumgardner to Sullivan, Aug. 23, 1963.
35. Church, bk. III, 106.
36. Baumgardner to Sullivan, Aug. 23, 1963.
37. Donner, *Age*, 143.
38. David Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.: From "Solo" to Memphis* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981), 67.
39. *WP*, Aug. 5, 1963.
40. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 883.
41. Ibid., 882-83.
42. Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy*, 362.
43. Sullivan to Belmont, Aug. 30, 1963.
44. Baumgardner to Sullivan, Sept. 16, 1963.
45. Sullivan to Belmont, Sept. 25, 1963.
46. Belmont to CT, Oct. 17, 1963.
47. Church, bk. III, 133.
48. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 909.

SOURCE NOTES

789

49. Fox, *Blood and Power*, 337.
50. JEH SAC letter, Feb. 15, 1963.
51. JFK Assn., vol IX, 71.
52. Turner, *FBI*, 180.
53. JFK Assn., vol IX, 33.
54. Ungar, *FBI*, 403.
55. JFK Assn., vol V, 445.
56. Navasky, *Kennedy Justice*, 80.
57. Ibid.
58. Edwin Guthman interview.
59. JFK Assn., vol. IX, 39.
60. Ibid., vol. V, 450.
61. Ibid., vol. IX, 24.
62. Ibid., 40.
63. Ibid., vol. V, 438.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid., 446.
66. Ibid., vol V, 439; vol. IX, 26-27.
67. Ibid., vol V, 449.
68. Ibid., 451.
69. Ibid., 447.
70. Ibid., 440.
71. Ibid., 452.
72. Ibid., 448.
73. Evans interview.
74. Demaris, *Director*, 147.
75. Guthman interview.
76. Sullivan interview.
77. William Manchester, *The Death of a President* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), 145-46; Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy*, 607-8.

CHAPTER 30: Seriously Flawed (Pages 541-76)

1. Nixon, *Memoirs*, 252.
2. Ibid.
3. Fenner testimony, FBI Oversight, 36-59.
4. Hosty testimony, FBI Oversight, 124-75.
5. Fenner testimony.
6. Belmont and Sullivan interviews; Sullivan, "Personal and Confidential Statement Given Voluntarily to Inspector Best and Special Agent in Charge Bates," Sept. 16, 1975.
7. Hosty testimony.
8. New York Times, *The Witnesses: Selected and Edited from the Warren Commission's Hearings* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), 599.
9. Ibid., 593.
10. Katzenbach to Moyers, Nov. 24, 1963. *No file # in newspaper source given*
11. Jenkins memo to the files, Nov. 24, 1963.
12. Belmont to CT, Nov. 24, 1963.
13. JFK and MLK Assn. Report, 244.
14. Belmont to Sullivan, Nov. 26, 1963.
15. Evans to JEH, Nov. 26, 1963.
16. JEH to CT, Belmont, DeLoach, Mohr, Sullivan, and Rosen, Nov. 29, 1963.

17. Sullivan interview.
18. Hosty testimony.
19. JFK and MLK Assn. Report, 242.
20. SAC of Dallas to FBIHQ, Dec. 5, 1963.
21. JFK and MLK Assn. Report, 243.
22. *Ibid.*, 242.
23. Demaris, *Captive City*, 354.
24. Warren Commission Document 86, 231, 312.
25. JFK and MLK Assn. Report, 242.
26. JFK Assn., vol. XI, 32.
27. Tad Szulc, "The Warren Commission in Its Own Words," *New Republic*, Sept. 27, 1975.
28. Peter Dale Scott, "Kennedy Assassination Cover-up," *Inquiry*, May 14, 1979.
29. JFK Assn., vol. XI, 33.
30. Szulc, "Warren Commission."
31. JFK Assn., vol. XI, 33.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Szulc, "Warren Commission."
34. JFK Assn. vol. XI, 35; Szulc, "Warren Commission."
35. JFK Assn., vol. XI, 36; Szulc, "Warren Commission."
36. JFK Assn., vol. XI, 41.
37. *Ibid.*, 38.
38. *Ibid.*, 39.
39. Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy*, 616.
40. Robert A. Caro, "The Years of Lyndon Johnson," *Atlantic*, Oct. 1981.
41. Powers, *Secrecy*, 394.
42. Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson, "The Last Days of J. Edgar Hoover," *True*, Jan. 1969.
43. *Time*, Feb. 10, 1975.
44. Demaris, *Director*, 193.
45. *Newsweek*, March 10, 1975.
46. Leo Janos, "The Last Days of the President: LBJ in Retirement," *Atlantic*, July 1973.
47. Theoharis and Cox, *Boss*, 344-45.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.*, 346.
50. *Ibid.*
51. Ungar, *FBI*, 292.
52. *Life*, April 9, 1971.
53. *NYT*, May 9, 1964.
54. Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, *All the President's Men* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1974), 289.
55. *Life*, May 22, 1964.
56. Sullivan, *Bureau*, 64.
57. Church, vol. 6, 175-76.
58. Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy*, 629.
59. JEH to AG (RFK), July 8, 1964.
60. Navasky, *Kennedy Justice*, 106.
61. Don Whitehead, *Attack on Terror: The FBI against the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1970), 91.
62. Church, vol. 6, 202.
63. Church, bk. II, 93.

64. Church, bk. III, 51-52.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid., 68.
67. Ibid., 69.
68. FBI memo, July 20, 1970.
69. *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 24, 1966.
70. Baumgardner to Sullivan, Aug. 27, 1964.
71. JEH to Watson (LBJ), Sept. 2, 1965.
72. Villano and Astor, *Brick Agent*, 90-93.
73. Church, vol. 6, 50.
74. Sullivan to Belmont, Dec. 24, 1963.
75. Ibid.
76. Church, bk. III, 135.
77. Garrow, *FBI and King*, 106.
78. Sullivan to Belmont, Jan. 6, 1964.
79. Sullivan to Belmont, Jan. 8, 1964.
80. MLK Assn., vol. VI, 353.
81. Sullivan to Belmont, Jan. 8, 1964.
82. Sullivan to Belmont, Jan. 13, 1964; Garrow, *FBI and King*, 105-6.
83. Sullivan to Belmont, Jan. 27, 1964.
84. Felt, *FBI Pyramid*, 125.
85. Confidential source.
86. Church, bk. III, 124-26.
87. Sullivan memo, April 9, 1968.
88. Church, bk. III, 141-42.
89. Ibid.
90. Baumgardner to Sullivan, Sept. 8, 1964.
91. JEH to Moyers, Dec. 1, 1964.
92. Belmont and Sullivan interviews.
93. Sullivan interview.
94. *Newsweek*, Nov. 30, 1964.
95. Church, bk. III, 157.
96. Ibid.
97. *NYT*, Nov. 20, 1964.
98. *Newsweek*, Dec. 7, 1964.
99. *WS*, Jan. 2, 1972.
100. Ibid.
101. *Newsweek*, Dec. 7, 1964.
102. DeLoach to Mohr, Nov. 27, 1964.
103. Church, bk. III, 154.
104. Ibid.
105. Sullivan, *Bureau*, 140.
106. Church, vol. 6, 173.
107. Church, bk. III, 166-67.
108. Ibid., 167.
109. *Newsweek*, Dec. 12, 1964.
110. Church, bk. III, 169.
111. Sullivan, *Bureau*, 140; Sullivan interview.
112. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 365.
113. Church, bk. III, 169.
114. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 374.

CHAPTER 31: The Fall of LBJ (Pages 577-609)

1. *Lady Bird Johnson: A White House Diary* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), 227.
2. Church, bk. III, 346.
3. DeLoach to Mohr, Aug. 29, 1964.
4. Church, bk. III, 348.
5. DeLoach to Mohr, Aug. 29, 1964.
6. Victor Lasky, *It Didn't Start with Watergate* (New York: Dial Press, 1977), 191.
7. Ibid.
8. DeLoach to JEH, Oct. 27, 1964.
9. Ibid.
10. DeLoach to JEH, Oct. 19, 1964.
11. Ibid.
12. Lasky, *It Didn't Start*, 192.
13. *Washington Daily News*, Oct. 23, 1964.
14. *NYT*, Oct. 28, 1964.
15. Powers, *G-Men*, 244.
16. Ibid., 241.
17. Demaris, *Director*, 28, 78-79.
18. O'Leary interview.
19. Demaris, *Director*, 71.
20. Powers, *G-Men*, 246.
21. *LAT*, Nov. 8, 1966.
22. Belmont and Evans interviews.
23. Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy*, 658, 661.
24. DeLoach to JEH, Feb. 23, 1965.
25. Church, vol. 6, 200-201.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid., 218.
29. Ibid., 219.
30. JEH to Watson (LBJ), Nov. 22, 1966.
31. Thomas Hale Boggs interview.
32. Johnny Greene, "Did the FBI Kill Viola Liuzzo?" *Playboy*, March 1982.
33. *LAT*, Jan. 19, 1966.
34. Theoharis and Cox, *Boss*, 363-64.
35. Church, bk. III, 308.
36. *Life*, May 26, 1967.
37. Neil J. Welch and David W. Marston, *Inside Hoover's FBI* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1984), 232.
38. Church, bk. III, 308.
39. Ibid., 309.
40. Ibid., 310.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. OC no. 129.
44. *Life*, May 26, 1967.
45. *CR*, House, April 19, 1972.
46. Sheridan, *Hoffa*, 406, 413.
47. Nicholas von Hoffman, *Citizen Cohn* (New York: Doubleday, 1988), 338-39.
48. *CR*, House, April 19, 1972.
49. *Life*, Aug. 9, 1968.

Write Dave re Willie W 534
J. M. M. Pearson

J. Edgar Hoover: The Man & The Secrets by Curt Gentry

Mr. Harold Wheeler
P.O. 12 Old Beehive Rd
Franklin
MB 21702

Chron history
will
Sharon Smith
tel 54481
7100

Chas

57

