

DRAFT

LONG & KENNEDY - PART II

~~Chapter~~ by Donald Gibson

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

Ochsner and Butler: From Long to Shaw

One of Huey Long's opponents was a prominent physician by the name of Alton Ochsner. Reportedly, Ochsner was bitterly anti-Long. At one time Ochsner's attacks on Long caused Long to use his influence to have the Doctor's visiting privileges withdrawn at New Orleans's Charity Hospital.¹ In 1929 Governor Long went after another of his opponents. He discovered that the New Orleans Dock Board (Board of Commissioners of the Port of New Orleans) had engaged in deception in the issuance of bonds and he also charged that the Board was setting tariff rates so as to benefit the Texas investments of its chairman, Edward S. Butler.² Long launched a successful effort to replace Butler as Chairman and to gain a loyal majority on the five member Board. Ochsner and Butler's grandson and namesake would turn up later as part of a network of people associated with Clay Shaw and Lee Oswald. Both also had numerous

connections to people opposed to Kennedy.

Butler and Ochsner: Establishment Right-Wingers

About thirty years after Long had broken Edward Butler's control of the Dock Board, Butler's grandson, also Edward S., appeared on a talk show with Lee Harvey Oswald. Butler presented himself as a staunch anti-communist, proclaiming his great admiration for Joe McCarthy. This presentation was partially authentic. There is no doubt that Butler was anti-communist, but he was more the elitist or East Coast Establishment type of anti-communist than the mid-west, populist, McCarthy type.

Both of Butler's grandfathers had belonged to the most exclusive social club in New Orleans, the Boston Club, and the paternal grandfather, Long's enemy, had also been president of the Cotton Exchange, another target of Long's policies. Much of the later Butler's political work would be supported by the Establishment types who were often accused of communist sympathies or tendencies by McCarthy or his supporters. That political work came to be centered in an organization, the Information Council of the Americas (INCA), founded by Butler in May of 1961, one month after the Bay of Pigs operation failed. Butler started INCA as an anti-communist, psychological warfare operation. Interestingly, INCA would claim after November, 1963, that Oswald was inspired by communist ideology but that the assassination was not the result of a communist conspiracy.³ This supported the most important part of the lone nut theory, the "lone" part, that was sprung on the country by the New York Herald Tribune and by Mayor Earle Cabell of

Dallas within hours of the assassination. The INCA version would point anyone doubting that Oswald acted alone in the direction of a left-wing conspiracy. The lone-commie theory of INCA was essentially the same as the Belmont-Hoover-FBI view, and neither INCA nor the FBI challenged the rendition put forward by the Establishment media immediately after the assassination, i.e., Oswald did it alone.

Butler's partner in the creation of INCA was the rabidly anti-Long Alton Ochsner. When Garrison reopened his investigation of the Kennedy assassination both Ochsner and Butler attacked Garrison and both reportedly felt threatened by that investigation. There were rumors that Garrison was considering the possibility of bringing indictments against Ochsner, a member of the Riley family (Oswald's onetime employer), and Seymour Weiss, who had done very well indeed after his "friend" Huey Long was murdered.⁴

Like Butler, Ochsner at times identified himself with views that could be thought of as anti-Establishment (e.g., he praised the ostensibly anti-Establishment Birch Society book, None Dare Call It Treason⁵). But as with Butler, any image of Ochsner as a red-neck, anti-Establishment, right-wing, populist would be very misleading. He was racist, anti-union, and anti-welfare but he was associated with and committed to upper-class conservatism.⁶

Ochsner was part of the local aristocracy and he was thoroughly plugged into the national power structure, particularly the "internationalist" parts of it. Any right-wing yahoo looking to Ochsner for leadership would have been shocked to learn that

Ochsner was thoroughly connected to the very same old, big moneyed interests that non-upper-class right wingers love to hate, or love to pretend to hate. Ochsner was a leader in the 1960s of both the International House (IH) and the International Trade Mart (ITM), where he worked with Clay Shaw. He was a member of the exclusive Boston Club and was a guest in 1965 at the Bohemian Grove in California, a place where big East Coast money mingles with the wealth of the West and South. Ochsner served as a director of National Airlines and of Florida National Banks of Florida, Inc., the latter position achieved through a friendship with Edward W. Ball of the DuPont interests.⁷ The DuPonts had investments in a number of Latin American countries, giving them an interest in common with Ochsner.⁸ Everything considered, Ochsner's social world had little in common with small-business and middle-class right wingers.

Ochsner was comfortable with a more sophisticated type of conservative. At Tulane University, where he became Chairman of the medical school's surgery department, Ochsner was involved in efforts to orient the school's programs toward support for the growing U.S. upper class involvement in Latin America. Ochsner had become a supporter of the Somoza regime in Nicaragua. Due in part to the efforts of Ochsner, Tulane became a major center for Latin American study. The University was aided by grants from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation, where C. D. Jackson, another expert on right-wing propaganda, was a trustee. Two of Huey Long's United Fruit enemies, Samuel Zemurray and Joseph

Montgomery, were trustees of Tulane at that time. Ochsner became president in 1956 of the Cordell Hull Foundation which was established to promote "free enterprise" by providing scholarships to Latin American students for study in the U.S.⁹ In this context "free enterprise" means that neither the U.S. government nor the host country's government will interfere with the operations of organized, powerful, private interests.

Ochsner was personally close to the leaders of the New Orleans elite and he was directly connected to many in the national power structure. Among the New Orleans associates was Theodore Brent, who also was personally close to Clay Shaw. Brent was president of the Mississippi Shipping Company and a director of the Hibernia National Bank. He was a founding trustee of the Alton Ochsner Medical Foundation and he helped to finance the Ochsner Foundation Hospital, opened in 1954.¹⁰ Brent was also a director of the ITM affiliated International House.¹¹ IH was a New Orleans based but nationally connected promoter of "free trade" with Latin America. Brent's Mississippi Shipping apparently subsidized the Latin American Report, published in the 1940s and 1950s by William G. Gaudet.¹² Gaudet, who also recieved support from Ochsner and was associated with Edward Bernays of United Fruit,¹³ claimed that he worked for the Central Intelligence Agency. Whatever his true employer, Gaudet turned up as the man who accompanied Lee Oswald (or an Oswald imposter) on the famous trip to Mexico.¹⁴

Another of the local elite who Ochsner was close to was Brent's friend Rudolph Hecht,¹⁵ Chairman of the Hibernia National

Bank of New Orleans. In Long's time Hecht was willing to cooperate with Huey if the situation dictated, i.e., Long held office and his decisions could affect Hecht's bank. Hecht's association with Long appears to have been one of convenience. In the years following Long's death, Hecht became an even more important local figure and, like Brent, he became closely associated with out-of-state powers. For example, Hecht had close ties to National City Bank in New York,¹⁶ linking him to the Stillman-Rockefeller interests.

Hecht provided a non-collateralized loan to Alton Ochsner and four other doctors to establish the Ochsner Clinic, opened in 1941. Brent and New Orleans attorney J. Blanc Monroe also were involved in the creation of the clinic.¹⁷ Hecht and Brent were, with Clay Shaw, members of the governing board of the ITM at the time of its incorporation in 1945. Also on that board was Seymour Weiss, the Long supporter who seems to have been bought off around the time of Long's assassination. The involvement of Ochsner's associates with the ITM was one of his many connections to higher levels of power.

The Higher Powers

Among Ochsner's friends and supporters were people associated with America's great fortunes and most powerful private institutions. Ochsner had a friendship with Turner Catledge, managing editor of the New York Times.¹⁸ Ochsner was personally close to Samuel Zemurray of United Fruit and to Edgar B. and Edith Rosenwald Stern of the Sears Roebuck fortune. United Fruit's southern headquarters was in New Orleans and Sears opened an export office in New Orleans in 1948.¹⁹ Ochsner's foundation and hospital

received financial support in the 1950s from Crawford Ellis of United Fruit, from the Ford Foundation, and from three of the wealthiest Texas-based families -Murchison, Richardson, and Bass.²⁰ The chairman of the Ford Foundation from 1953 to 1965 was John J. McCloy,²¹ who spent part of the summer of 1963 with Clint Murchison.²² McCloy also served as honorary chairman of International House in New York City and he was a director of United Fruit. In the early 1960s, David Rockefeller, a close associate of McCloy and, like McCloy, Kennedy's opponent on many issues,²³ was a trustee and chairman of the executive committee of IH.²⁴

At the 1959 dedication of a new building for the Ochsner hospital, Ochsner introduced as guest speaker Monroe J. Rathbone, President of Standard Oil of New Jersey (Exxon).²⁵ Rathbone had been an executive of Standard Oil in Louisiana during the time that Standard clashed with Huey Long.²⁶ In 1962 Ochsner was president of IH; his tenure there probably overlapped with Shaw's time as Managing Director of IH. Shaw's predecessor and one of the creators of IH in New Orleans was an anti-Long journalist who rose to be New Orleans bureau chief of Associated Press, Charles P. Nutter.²⁷ Nutter was close to Shaw.²⁸ Around the time of JFK's assassination, the board of Ochsner's hospital featured the son, Ashton Phelps, of one of Huey Long's enemies, Boston Club president Esmond Phelps,²⁹ and it included Joseph W. Montgomery of United Fruit.³⁰

When Ochsner and Butler created the Information Council of the

Americas (INCA) a month after the Bay of Pigs failure, they acted not as local right wingers, but as Establishment right wingers. When Butler formed INCA in May of 1961 he was forming his second right-wing group in a year. He had created Free Voice of Latin America in 1960; it was headquartered at the ITM. According to historian Arthur Carpenter, INCA developed from three sources: Edward Butler, Alton Ochsner, and elite anti-communism. In Carpenter's view, the organization was intended to stimulate anti-communist fears and then to exploit those fears to discredit opponents of the elite and to justify elite policies. Butler had longstanding interests in these kinds of psychological warfare efforts.³¹

A few months after he and Ochsner created INCA, Butler was bragging about his relationship with CIA Deputy Director Charles P. Cabell,³² who would soon be fired by President Kennedy. As noted earlier, his brother, Dallas Mayor Earle Cabell, would be the first public figure to offer the lone assassin theory, a view also promoted by INCA. The newly formed INCA had interesting members and supporters.

William B. Reily and H. Eustis Reily of William B. Reily & Company, onetime employers of Lee Oswald, were members of INCA. Apparently, two of Oswalds's cousins also worked for Reily.³³ Percival and Edgar B. Stern of the Sears Roebuck family were also members; they owned the local NBC station WDSU on which Butler and Oswald appeared together.³⁴ According to James DiEugenio, people at WDSU cooperated with NBC in smearing Garrison in 1967. Other

members of INCA included William Zetzmann, president of ITM, George Dinwiddie, president of IH in 1960, Aston Phelps, son of a Boston Club president, and Joseph Montgomery of United Fruit. Montgomery and Crawford Ellis of United Fruit were, with Ochsner, members of the Boston Club. INCA received financial support from Standard Oil, the Reilly Foundation, Mississippi Shipping Company, the Hibernia Bank, and ITM.³⁵ INCA was a creature of the upper class.

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

The first managing director of IH in New Orleans was Herman C. Brock of the Morgan controlled Guaranty Trust Company. During the early-1930s Shaw had worked for Western Union. According to Lewis Corey, a J. P. Morgan biographer, Western Union came under the control of Morgan around 1910.³⁶ In the late-1930s Shaw worked for the Lee Keedick Lecture Bureau. Lee Keedick would be a member in the 1950s of the Morgan-Rockefeller linked Foreign Policy Association.³⁷

Brock was replaced at IH by J. Stanton Robbins, Nelson Rockefeller's special assistant in the 1940s at the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. In January of 1944, Rockefeller had helped IH President Zetzmann, who was close to Montgomery, Brent, and Hecht, to announce the formation of IH on the radio.³⁸ Three years later, the Rockefeller controlled

Venezuela Basic Economy Corporation opened its New Orleans office.³⁹

People related to United Fruit and Associated Press were also involved with IH. Crawford Ellis was a founding member, vice-president, and director of IH. Zemurray supported IH. Reportedly the idea for IH in New Orleans originated with Shaw's friend, Charles Nutter, ex-Associated Press bureau chief for New Orleans.⁴⁰ Nutter, who covered the important Moscow purge trials in the late-1930s, became the first managing director of IH, as Shaw was of ITM.⁴¹

Clay Shaw, Alton Ochsner, and Edward Butler were thoroughly entrenched in this Establishment network connected to ITM and IH. That network included people associated with the Freeport Sulphur Company. Those complimentary relationships were discussed in several previous Probe articles.⁴² What has been conclusively demonstrated is that the local activities of Shaw, Ochsner, and Butler were related to the programs, policies, and institutions of a series of interconnected upper-class interests based in Boston and New York.

What did this group, led by the Morgan-Rockefeller-Boston Brahmin network, want? We get some idea from a New Orleans conference organized in 1955 by ITM, IH, and Time Inc., featuring speakers such as millionaire J. Peter Grace, Time co-founder Henry Luce, and Milton Eisenhower. The conference was intended to promote private enterprise and global "free trade", to discourage government intervention in trade (such as the policies of JFK), and

to criticize nationalism and communism.⁴³ What this group, which opposed Long's and Kennedy's policies, wanted was for the United States to pursue an imperialist or neo-colonialist policy toward Latin America. This would include the need to maintain or create an alliance between big U.S. banking and raw materials interests and the landed oligarchy of Latin America.⁴⁴ What would the people of the United States get from that? Nothing. If anything they would lose by not having the benefit of a growing and prosperous hemisphere. What would the majority of people in Latin America get from that? Perpetual backwardness and poverty. Time, Inc. openly attacked President Kennedy because he was pushing a program of economic development that threatened these neo-colonial interests.⁴⁵

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

Boston South

The Boston Club connects the pre-Civil War aristocracy to the New Orleans of Huey Long's time and to the 1960s New Orleans of

Clay Shaw, Alton Ochsner, and Edward Butler. The Club also reflects and perpetuates a link between the upper class of Louisiana and that of Boston and New York, relationships evident a century after the Club's founding.

The author of the official history of the Boston Club says that the club was named after a card game called "boston," but he offers no proof that the club's namesake was the game rather than the city. In any event, the game was named after the city. Why would anyone name a club formed in New Orleans after a city that was two thousand miles away? The answer of course is that the elites of the two cities were tied together. For example, there was a New England Society in New Orleans before the Civil War; some of its members belonged to the Boston Club. The Daily Picayune referred to Club members as "Bostonians."⁴⁶ This apparently was not a reference to their choice of card games.

The Boston Club, organized in 1841, is one of the three oldest upper-class clubs in the United States and it had connections to one of the other two, the Union Club of New York. Both clubs were modeled after the English elite club, for which the model is White's of London, and both clubs had Englishmen as members at the time they were founded. Boston and Union had "ties of mutuality" due to numerous individuals belonging to both clubs. In its first two decades the Boston Club, which had two hundred or fewer members, had at least nine members, and probably six additional members, who were also members of the Union Club.⁴⁷ Two of these are relevant to our interests - Judah P. Benjamin and John Slidell.

Racists and Aristocrats

Slidell was very close to President James Buchanan, was a U.S. Senator from 1853 to 1861, and was an ambassador to England and France for the Confederacy. His three daughters married European aristocrats and his son was part of the Louisiana elite and was a member of the Boston Club. Slidell's niece, the daughter of his sister and Commodore Perry, married August Belmont, Sr. The famous financier was an agent for the Rothschilds and worked at times with J. P. Morgan.⁴⁸

One of the young men who studied law in Slidell's office was Judah Benjamin, fresh from several years at Yale University. Benjamin would go on to serve as U.S. Senator and then Secretary of War and Secretary of State for the Confederate President Jefferson Davis. Benjamin, who was an honorary member of the Boston Club and a member of the Union Club, escaped to England at the end of the Civil War and became a major figure in English jurisprudence.⁴⁹ The Boston Club linked together the Anglo-Saxons of Boston, New York, and England with the Southern aristocracy.

The connections between the national elite and Louisiana were a continuous part of the history of the Boston Club. It was noted earlier that Alton Ochsner was a 1965 guest at the elitist Bohemian Grove in California. The Grove is part of the San Francisco Bohemian Club which was started in the late-1800s by Horace Fletcher, an early globe trotting business agent who was a member of the Boston Club from 1890 to 1898.⁵⁰ In 1916 both Frank A. Vanderlip and James A. Stillman of National City Bank were guests

at the Boston Club.⁵¹ Stillman and Vanderlip served on the board of City Bank (Citicorp) with J. P. Morgan, Jr., William Rockefeller, and Robert S. Lovett.⁵² These interests were all later connected to the Freeport Sulphur Company which was linked to Clay Shaw through at least a couple of its officers. (For more on these connections see the articles appearing in Probe by Lisa Pease and by the author, all in 1996.⁵³)

In Huey Long's time Alton Ochsner and Edward Butler could rub shoulders at the Boston Club with Crawford Ellis of United Fruit and with a host of local notables who had ties to the higher circles, virtually all of whom were Long's enemies. Among those were Edwin S. Broussard, T. Semmes Walmsley, Esmond Phelps, Joseph Montgomery, and John Parker. Many of the Boston Club members would be directors of the Trade Mart and of the International House in the 1940s and 1950s. That included Times Picayune president Leonard Nicholson, businessman Kemper Williams, United Fruit executive Montgomery, and banker Dale Graham.⁵⁴ Graham came to New Orleans in the early-1930s with George Champion and Oliver Lucas in the Chase Bank's takeover of Canal Bank & Trust, renamed the National Bank of Commerce.⁵⁵ Champion would go on to be Chairman of the Chase Manhattan, holding that position inbetween John J. McCloy and David Rockefeller.

During the twentieth century the local power structure of Louisiana became a junior partner in the neo-colonialist efforts of the East Coast Establishment. Clay Shaw, Alton Ochsner, and Edward Butler played significant roles in the Louisiana part of those

operations. In the 1980s Alton Ochsner, Jr., appeared to be continuing that tradition. He was involved with the Nicaraguan Contras, an extension of the Establishment's neo-colonial policy who were also involved with drug trafficking, and he appeared at a press conference with a Contra leader known to be a part of the drug trade.⁵⁶ This is actually not surprising. The Boston-New Orleans connection has been important in what is a longstanding involvement of the Establishment in the drug trade.

United Fruit and the Drug Trade

United Fruit was incorporated in 1899 in New Jersey but its real base was in Boston. At its formation United Fruit combined a number of existing companies and it would later absorb others, including the Cuyamel Company founded by Samuel Zemurray. One of the companies merged to create United Fruit was owned by the New Orleans based Macheca crime family.⁵⁷ The first officers and directors of United Fruit included Andrew Preston, Minor Keith, Lamont Burnham, and T. Jefferson Coolidge, Jr.

There are several clear links to the opium trade. The Coolidge family played an important role in the trade in the mid-1800s.⁵⁸ T(homas) Jefferson Coolidge's grandfather, Joseph, was involved with the two most important American firms active in the opium trade at that time. He was a member of Russell & Co. and then was a founder of Augustine Heard and Company.⁵⁹ Another Coolidge, Archibald, was the first editor of the Council on Foreign Relations's mouth piece Foreign Affairs.⁶⁰ The Coolidges were descendents of Thomas Jefferson. Their involvement in the

development of the New York-Boston dominated Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) is but one of many instances in which the East Coast Establishment intersects with openly right-wing and racist interests. For example, Laurence Shoup and William Minter make the following comments on the CFR's image and its first president, John W. Davis:

"As the Council on Foreign Relations is identified with the 'liberal' establishment, it is interesting to note that Davis was instrumental in forming the right-wing American Liberty League to oppose the New Deal, and represented South Carolina in defending segregation before the United States Supreme Court."⁶¹

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

In the 1930s, W. Cameron Forbes, the grandson of Ralph Waldo Emerson and a descendent of another opium trading family was a director of United Fruit.⁶² Also involved in the opium trade in the 1800s and with United Fruit in the 1900s was the Cabot family.⁶³ In 1954 when the CIA engineered the coup against the Arbenz government in Guatemala, John Moors Cabot was Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. He had served earlier as President of United Fruit. Henry Cabot Lodge (the

Lodges were also United Fruit stockholders) used his influence in the Senate on behalf of United Fruit.⁶⁴ Michael Paine, husband of the Oswalds's hostess in Dallas, was related to both the Forbes and Cabot families. Even though she and Michael were separated at the time, Ruth Paine was close to the Forbes family. Marina Oswald lived with Ruth and Ruth helped Lee to get the job at the Book Depository.⁶⁵

The organizers of the coup against Arbenz included United Fruit stockholder Allen Dulles, C. D. Jackson, Tracy Barnes, and David Atlee Philips.⁶⁶ The Dulles's law firm, Sullivan and Cromwell, represented United Fruit.⁶⁷ Dulles, with McCloy, would steer the Warren Commission and C. D. Jackson would be involved in the Time-Life decision to acquire and then suppress the Zapruder film. McCloy was a director of United Fruit.⁶⁸ Tracy Barnes, a close friend of Dulles,⁶⁹ was involved with a far-right group known as the Cuban Revolutionary Council. The Council had links to INCA and it had headquarters at Bannister's 544 Camp Street. David Ferrie knew Council leader Sergio Aracha Smith.⁷⁰ Harold Weisberg noted the possible significance of Butler's INCA and the Council in his 1967 book Oswald in New Orleans.⁷¹ Weisberg also noted that two of the men involved in what looked like an attempt to frame Oswald by having an impersonator display hostility toward JFK were arrested less than a month later on a dangerous drug charge.⁷² David Atlee Philips would be identified by Gaeton Fonzi as Oswald's handler "Maurice Bishop."⁷³ As noted earlier, William Gaudet, a United Fruit propaganda man,⁷⁴ accompanied Oswald or an Oswald

impersonator to Mexico.

One of the other men brought into the coup operation was William Pawley. Pawley had helped to transform the World War Two China-based Flying Tigers into the CIA's Civil Air Transport.⁷⁵ Civil Air Transport became Air America and it was involved in transporting drugs. Thusly, we get from Cabot involvement in the Far East opium trade in 1804⁷⁶ to a Cabot related institution involved in the Southeast Asia opium trade in the 1950s and 1960s.⁷⁷ Perhaps relevant as historical background is the fact that the Louisiana territory was purchased with financial assistance from a group, the Barings of London, that was connected in the 1800s to the opium trade through their involvement with the East India Company and then the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation.⁷⁸

Shaw's Significance

Jim Garrsion said in his 1988 book, On The Trail Of The Assassins, that Clay Shaw was "only a small part of the overall conspiracy."⁷⁹ Shaw's role in the assassination may have been limited to management of Oswald's New Orleans activities. He was involved in that area in a variety of ways. He knew Oswald and was of course involved with Bannister and Ferrie.⁸⁰ He was close to Ochsner who was, in turn, close to the Sterns who owned the station on which Oswald appeared. Ochsner and Butler were active in promoting the lone-commie theory, a variation of the lone-nut theory sponsored by Mayor Earle Cabell, the Whitney family's Herald Tribune, and the Dulles-McCloy led Warren Commission. Butler

appeared on WDSU with Oswald. Butler was close to the Reilly family, Oswald's employer.

Shaw, Ochsner, and Butler were deeply involved with the New Orleans elite which has been for over a century a part of the national and international power structure. The local upper class was long integrated as a social subsidiary of the Boston-New York commercial-financial aristocracy. The interests of that aristocracy clashed with the goals of Huey Long and JFK. That aristocracy wanted to and wants to control economic and social policies through its private organizations and networks and it wants to dictate policy to the government. Kennedy and Long thought that government had a useful and necessary role to play, a role independent of Establishment interests. The aristocracy wanted to maintain Latin America in perpetual backwardness. Kennedy sought ways to spur development. That aristocracy thought and thinks that the United States military exists as a police-extension of institutions such as United Fruit, Exxon, and National City Bank. Long thought the proper role for the military was providing for the defense of the nation and Kennedy opposed its use to support neo-colonial interests. Long and Kennedy thought that the government had an important role to play in stimulating the national economy and in protecting the majority from highly organized centers of wealth and power. The aristocracy believes that the government should perform only the tasks they give it.

It is not surprising then that Long and Kennedy are linked in other ways. Linked through the persons of Christenberry and

Ochsner and the Butler family. Linked because Huey Long's opponents would fill positions at the International Trade Mart and the International House and would be Clay Shaw's associates. Linked because the Louisiana of Huey Long was dominated by the same New York-Boston interests that appear in the time of Kennedy and Shaw. Their lives were linked to each other and it appears that their deaths were as well. The same networks and interests probably killed both of them.

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

1. Williams, 1969, p. 543.
2. Beals, 1935/1971, pp. 171-2.
3. Carpenter, 1989, pp. 120-32.
4. Carpenter, 1987, pp. 255-6; 1989, p. 136; Wilds and Harkey, 1990, p. 202.
5. Carpenter, 1987, pp. 270-1.
6. Wilds and Harkey, 1990, pp. 34, 61, 64, 217.
7. Carpenter, 1987, p. 134; 1989, p. 126; Wilds and Harkey, 1990, p. 204.
8. Zilg, 1974, pp. 405-11.

9. Carpenter, 1987, pp. 133-4, 137-9, 232; 1989, p. 127.
 10. Caldwell, 1965, pp. 21, 39, 69; Carpenter, 1987, pp. 176-7, 188.
 11. Marquis Who's Who, 1947.
 12. Carpenter, 1987, pp. 183-5.
 13. Schlesinger and Kinser, 1982, pp. 79-80.
 14. DiEugenio, 1992, p. 220.
 15. Caldwell, 1965, p. 21.
 16. Carpenter, 1987, p. 191.
 17. Caldwell, 1965, pp. 8, 21; Wilds and Harkey, 1990, pp. 144-5, 152.
 18. DiEugenio, 1992, p. 379.
 19. Carpenter, 1987, pp. 160, 167.
 20. Caldwell, 1965, pp. 62, 74-5, 79, 89, 104; Wilds and Harkey, 1990, pp. 156-61.
 21. Marquis Who's Who, 1978-79.
 22. Bird, 1992, 542.
 23. Gibson, 1994.
 24. Hoffman, 1971, p. 105.
 25. Caldwell, 1965, p. 92.
 26. Marquis Who's Who, 1962-63.
 27. Carpenter, 1987, pp. 64-9.
 28. Files of Jim Garrison, courtesy of James DiEugenio.
 29. Williams, 1969.
 30. Caldwell, 1965, p. 110.
 31. Carpenter, 1987, pp. 233-5; 1989, p. 118.
 32. Carpenter, 1987, p. 235.
 33. Scott, 1971, IV. p. 10.
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34. Carpenter, 1987, pp. 239, 246; DiEugenio, 1992, 157, 206.
35. Carpenter, 1987, pp. 193, 239-40; 1989, pp. 128-9.
36. Corey, 1930, pp. 258, 353.
37. Marquis Who's Who in the South and Southwest, 1959-62; Shoup and Minter, 1977, pp. 31, 70-2.
38. Carpenter, 1987, pp. 79-84.
39. Carpenter, 1987, p. 167.
40. Fortune, 1952, p. 140.
41. Carpenter, 1987, pp. 85-6.
42. Gibson, 1996; Pease, 1996; 1996a.
43. Carpenter, 1987, pp. 127-9.
44. Carpenter, 1987, p. 5
45. Gibson, 1994, p. 59.
46. Landry, 1938, pp. 45, 47, 201.
47. Landry, 1938, pp. xi, 1, 5, 9-12, 19, 205.
48. Chernow, 1990, pp. 5, 40; Landry, 1938, pp. 326-7.
49. Landry, 1938, pp. 276-80.
50. Landry, 1938, p. 294.
51. Landry, 1938, p. 171.
52. Lundberg, 1937, p. 103.
53. Pease, 1996; 1996a; Gibson 1996.
54. Marquis Who's Who, 1957.
55. Carpenter, 1987, p. 60.
56. Carpenter, 1987, pp. 344-5; Scott and Marshall, 1991, pp. 105-17.
57. Chandler, 1975, pp. 73-97.
58. Stelle, 1981, pp. 97-8.

59. Stelle, 1981, 97-8.
60. Shoup and Minter, 1977, pp. 198-9.
61. Shoup and Minter, 1977, p. 105.
62. Marquis Who's Who, 1935; Stelle, 1981, pp. 53, 60, 91.
63. Stelle, 1981, p. 28.
64. Schlesinger and Kinzer, 1982, pp. 76, 82-3, 103, 106.
65. Scott, 1971, IV, pp. 2-4.
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