

Paul K. Mackal
7014 W. Mequon Rd
Mequon, Wis 53092

Feb. 1, 1968

Dear Mr. Weisberg,

Thank you for your encouraging letter. I will be glad to discuss my theory further with you. The documentation of what I said is a very touchy matter. By "documentation" you were probably asking me to bring up other empiric examples of what I suspect is an underground neo-fascist movement. Well, any number of examples can be gotten if one is sensitive to such a circumstance not only in point of fact but in terms of correctly imputing the emotional feeling behind it. It is very difficult to differentiate reactionary and conservative tendencies. It requires a sixth sense of sorts. I should say there are three things to look for--large scale surface movements in which it is clear exactly what is happening because a right wing element controls a country through totalitarian mechanisms, a surface movement composed of well defined groups who specifically indicate in word and deed what their purpose is but who are not in a very favorable position to fully implement their desires, and an under-ground movement in which acts of terrorism are perpetrated. I consider the Kennedy assassination an ACT OF RIGHT-WING TERRORISM. There is also the matter of the purity of the movement, how many members really do what the movement purpots to want to do? This is a matter of defining mixed orientations and attitudes of individuals in a spectrum of positions. And last but not least individual men can exhibit by word and deed the functioning of their mind--intellectually and/or emotionally. My examples in my first letter to you were simply individuals; Walker, Lemnitzer, and Rusk; who emotionally fulfill the criterion for an underground movement. WHETHER OR NOT THERE REALLY IS AN UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT IS A MATTER FOR FEDERAL INVESTIGATION... I am in no way prepared to explain how that could be done. It would boil down to such acts as raiding the Pentagon's secret files... Hardly the task for the White House staff, so that I am unable to give you a legal means by which you or anyone else could demand documentation from our government. The underground movement which resulted in W. W. I. is a possibility but over fifty years later the evidence is still inaccessible. It may never be accessible.

My information on L. Lemnitzer comes from A THOUSAND DAYS by A. M. Schlesinger, Jr. P. 338:

...For all their differences, the military left a predominant impression that they did not want ground troops at all unless they could send at least 140,000 men equipped with tactical nuclear weapons. By now the Pentagon was developing what would become its

standard line in Southeast Asia--unrelenting opposition to limited intervention except on the impossible condition that the President agree in advance to every further step they deemed sequential, including, on occasion, NUCLEAR BOMBING OF HANOI AND EVEN PEKING. At one National Security Council Meeting GENERAL LEMNITZER OUTLINED THE PROCESSES BY WHICH EACH AMERICAN ACTION WOULD PROVOKE A CHINESE COUNTERACTION, PROVOKING IN TURN AN EVEN MORE DRASTIC AMERICAN RESPONSE. He concluded: "IF WE ARE GIVEN THE RIGHT TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS, WE CAN GUARANTEE VICTORY." The President sat glumly rubbing his upper molar, saying nothing. After a moment someone said, "Mr. President, perhaps you would have the General explain to us what he means by victory." Kennedy grunted and dismissed the meeting. Later he said, "SINCE HE COULDN'T THINK OF ANY FURTHER ESCALATION, HE WOULD HAVE TO PROMISE US VICTORY."

I would recommend you get hold of any of the minutes of the National Security Council, assuming some of them are not stamped "top secret." The workings of this organization and the C. I. A. are both vital for understanding America's "underground diplomacy" in the underdeveloped world. Our neo-colonial policy or policy of creating protectorates from which to launch an invasion of the agrarian communists and then the industrial communists.

It will be quite awhile before I come across many peices of documentation necessary for me to write America's right wing role in the last fifty years of world history in a book to be called THE DECLINE OF THE RIGHT. If and when I do write that book I shall remember to keep you posted on my progress in coming up with interesting source materials. I think, though, that you are best able to make a selection of this kind...

If we let Veit-Nam run the course, Harold, we may not be around to write a book on "why J. F. Kennedy was killed." There is enough history or consequence to the assassination of Kennedy which may lead one backwards to the probable cause of the killing. Evidence can be peiced together to catch the men who killed him. BUT ONLY BY GETTING HOLD OF TOP SECRET DOCUMENTS AND DOCUMENTS SURROUNDING THE KENNEDY ASSASSINATION IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES CAN THE PROPER GOVERNMENTAL SECTION AND GROUP OF FANATICS IN THAT SECTION BE DISCOVERED.

The emotional possibilities are clear because their consequences are immediately evident. WE WAIT TO ANALYZE HISTORY BECAUSE THERE ARE CONSEQUENCES WHICH MUST RUN THEIR COURSE AND ONLY AFTER THESE CONSEQUENCES HAVE RUN THEIR COURSE CAN WE LIST INTELLECTUALLY THE PROS AND CONS OF

SUCH AND SUCH A COURSE. BECAUSE THINGS HAVE HAPPENED THERE IS NO MORAL REPREHENSIBILITY, NO WITNESSES AND NO CLAIMANTS, BUT ONLY A CASE TO BE MADE ABOUT THE GOODNESS OR BADNESS OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF THIS IN TERMS OF THE PRESENT SO THAT IN THE PRESENT WE MAY RECTIFY THESE PROS AND CONS MORE FAVORABLY TO LIVING BEINGS. THAT IS THE INTELLECTUAL APPROACH TO HISTORY.

The emotional approach is fundamentally exhibited in my last letter which like Mr. Garrison's case [although mine is founded on more general evidence] attempts to sketch preliminarily the whyfore of J. F. K.'s murder. There are other emotional possibilities. AS A PSYCHOLOGIST I THOUGHT YOU SHOULD HAVE MY OPINION AS TO WHICH WAS MOST LIKELY. The Oswald thesis is a psychological theory too BUT MUCH LESS PROBABLE THAN MY THESIS OR MR. GARRISONS. I imagine there are at least several other good theories which have not yet been proposed because not enough facts warrant such a deviation from my general position--a popular movement--ex CIA and ex military men--or Garrison's position--a movement in the government itself.

A book from your pin sizing up all these theories in light of the evidence we do have would fill a gap in the Kennedy assassination literature which would start people in the right direction. We may cast a good theory as the conclusion of such a book which will make the facts we do have show up starkly as if asking for more facts... WE MAY EVEN BE ABLE TO DEMAND AN X NO. OF THE SECRET DOCUMENTS AS VITAL FOR DISPROVING THE THEORY ONE WAY OR THE OTHER! In effect your books are moving in this direction. It is fitting that the one man who has gone as far as you have should try to go to the finish post. But this is not just a matter of documentation, of intellectual history, but of psychology, of emotional history. No event proves that the soul of the actor is X, Y, or Z... BUT ANY TRUE THEORY IN THE PSYCHOLOGICAL SENSE MUST HAVE AVENUES OF ARGUMENT BY WHICH ALL POSSIBILITIES CAN BE CHARTED SO THAT WHEN THE TRUE FACTS ARE OPENED FOR PUBLIC INSPECTION IN 2039 ONE PART OF THE COMPREHENSIVE THEORY HAS TO BE CORRECT OR THE OTHER...

I am glad that you have already begun to think along these lines of the important consequences of the assassination and the fact that maybe some criminal motive, indeed neurotic but partially rational, was at the basis of the why and wherefore. I have therefore taken the extra liberty of suggesting to you the mode by which an industrious gentlemen, like yourself, might complete the masterpiece... Merely accept every potential power play by a reactionary--intelligent reactionaries in the government at the time before the assassination or reactionaries kicked out of government... Veit-Nam may or may not be all important.

Yours, P. K. Mackal

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