

Harold -

This gives only
a sample of the
problem w/ minor
look.

-L. S. Ste

SCHLESINGER, RFK

The Cuban Connection: I

487

details" — don't, don't lie to them to the extent to say there is no involvement, but just say "... the President believes that it is going to open the whole Bay of Pigs thing up again."

And later that same day, again to Haldeman:

If it gets out that this is all involved, the Cuba thing, it would be a fiasco. . . . It is likely to blow the whole Bay of Pigs thing, which we think would be very unfortunate — both for the CIA, and for the country.

The same day, later still, this time Haldeman speaking:

The problem is it tracks back to the Bay of Pigs . . . The leads run out to people who had no involvement in this, except by contracts and connection, but it gets into areas that are likely to be raised.*

Whether or not it had been so commanded by someone in the

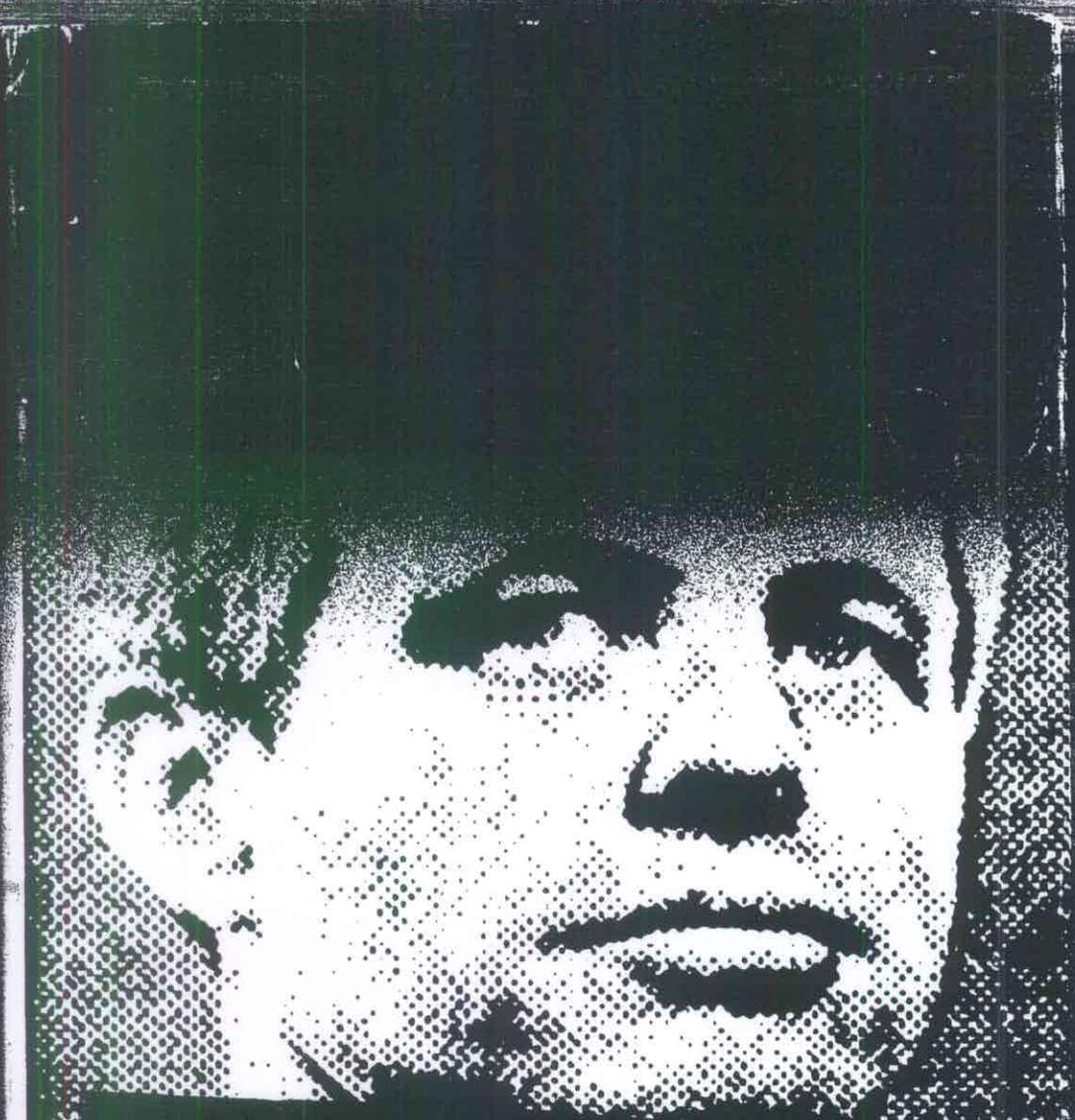
* Staff of the *New York Times*, *The End of a Presidency* (New York, 1974), 330, 335-336, 347-349.

In a notarized statement received by the Church committee on March 9, 1976, Nixon, while asserting that there were "circumstances in which presidents may lawfully authorize actions in the interests of the security of this country, which if undertaken by other persons, or even by the president himself under different circumstances, would be illegal," claimed (for what it is worth) that "assassination of a foreign leader" was "an act I never had cause to consider and which under most circumstances would be abhorrent to any president" (Church committee, *Final Report*, bk. IV, 157-158; see n. 55). The committee did not submit specific interrogatories about the Bay of Pigs.

In August 1976, Congressman Thomas Downing of Virginia released affidavits from Robert D. Morrow, who said he was a CIA contract agent in 1960, and Mario Kohly, Jr., the son of a right-wing Cuban exile, now deceased. The affidavits claimed that the elder Kohly had told them of an agreement between himself and Nixon (in the words of Morrow's affidavit) "for the elimination of Miro Cardona and all the leftist Cuban Revolutionary Front leaders in order that Kohly could immediately take over the reins of power in Cuba, once a successful invasion of exiles being trained by the CIA had been accomplished. . . . [Manuel] Artime [commander of the Cuban Brigade] and his followers were to be assassinated by [Kohly's] force once a successful landing had been accomplished."

In October 1963, Robert Morgenthau procured the indictment of the elder Kohly on charges of conspiracy to counterfeit Cuban pesos. Kohly was convicted and sentenced to a year in prison. On March 9, 1965, Nixon wrote Judge Edward Weinfeld asking for a suspension or reduction of Kohly's sentence on the ground that "the patriotism, courage and energy of the exiles in attempting to mount a counterrevolution have been in the past, and may in the future again be regarded as advantageous to the interests of the United States." (See *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, August 1, 3, 1976; *Newport News [Virginia] Daily Press*, August 1, 1976. I am indebted to Eston Melton of the *Times-Dispatch* for assembling the documents on this interesting but inconclusive matter.)

In a weird book entitled *Betrayal* (New York: Warner reprint, 1976), Morrow claimed that he had discovered nuclear missile sites in Cuba in 1961 and that the Kennedys deliberately suppressed the evidence. He described the CIA leadership as bitterly antagonistic toward the Kennedys. Robert Kennedy was depicted as the nemesis of Kohly and his anti-Castro counterfeiting scheme. The book's accuracy may be judged by its account of Owen Brewster, who had retired in 1952, as sitting senator from Maine in 1962 (*ibid.*, 95).



THE MURDER OF ROBERT F. KENNEDY

Exhibit 6
Downing Letter to Morrow on *Betrayal*

STAFF
ADMINISTRATIVE
 CHARLES DUFF
 LARRY
 THOMAS
 JAMES COFF
 KIM BARNES
 DONALD GIBSON
 KING WILLIAMS
 LINDSEY
OFFICE
 FRANCIS
 DEBORAH BROWN
 E. H. THY FRYSON
 Administrative Assistant

THOMAS N. DOWNING
 1ST DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
 Washington, D.C. 20515
 November 4, 1976

COMMITTEE
MERCHANT MARINE AND
FISHERIES
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
OFFICE
 1 COURT STREET
 CHARLESTON, VA. 23025
 222-2000
 3125 RAYMOND BUILDING
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20540
 (202) 633-4261

For some time I have been concerned, as have many Americans, about the unanswered questions regarding the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Along with other individuals and groups I have pressed for the reopening of the investigation.

In the spring of 1976, Robert Morrow brought me an advance copy of his book, "Betrayal," a fascinating account of events leading up to that assassination, which concludes with a remarkably plausible reconstruction of what could have happened on that dreadful day in Dallas.

It is no exaggeration to say that the information in this book, coupled with additional confidential material supplied to me by Mr. Morrow, helped make the creation of the House Select Committee on Assassinations possible.

Where the committee's investigations will lead, of course, remains to be seen. But I am confident that investigation of the information supplied by Mr. Morrow in "Betrayal" and the additional sources to which it will lead the committee investigators will help to put to rest once and for all many of the questions about the Warren Commission's investigation that have disturbed the nation for many years.

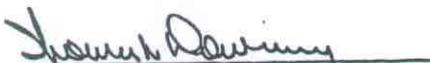

 Thomas N. Downing, Chairman
 Select Committee on Assassinations

Exhibit 22
Press Statement on Watergate for CREEP

ON JUNE 2, 1972, AFTER THE MARYLAND PRIMARY, MARIO GARCIA KOHLY, PRESIDENT DE FACTO OF CUBA IN EXILE, INFORMED ME THAT HE HAD BEEN APPROACHED BY TWO MEN CLAIMING THEY WERE WITH THE COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT.

THESE MEN WISHED TO ENLIST HIS ORGANIZATION'S HELP TO BREAK INTO THE WATERGATE COMPLEX TO UNCOVER WHAT THEY CLAIMED WAS A CASTRO / DEMOCRATIC PLOT TO EMBARRASS THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION BEFORE THE ELECTIONS.

KOHLI CAREFULLY CHECKED WITH HIS UNDERGROUND SOURCES IN CUBA AND DISCOVERED THAT THERE WAS NO DEAL MADE BETWEEN THE DEMOCRATS AND CASTRO BUT DID DISCOVER SUBSEQUENTLY THAT A LARGE SUM OF MONEY WAS IN A MEXICAN BANK FOR THE ALLEGED PURPOSE OF FUNDING THE WATERGATE BREAK-IN AND REPUTEDLY CONTROLLED BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

BECAUSE THE STORY DID NOT MAKE ANY SENSE THAT THE DEMOCRATS WOULD WANT TO BUG THEIR OWN HEADQUARTERS, HE DISMISSED THE MATTER UNTIL AFTER THE ACTUAL WATERGATE INCIDENT, WHEN HE DISCOVERED THAT AN OLD FRIEND, MR. FRANK STURGIS, WAS INVOLVED.

KOHLI HAS BEEN UNABLE UPON REPEATED ATTEMPTS TO REACH
STURGIS TO INFORM HIM OF THIS POSSIBLE DEMOCRATIC INVOLVEMENT.

I HAVE SENT COPIES OF A LENGTHY STATEMENT OUTLINING MORE
DETAILS TO THE F. B. I. AND MAILED COPIES TO U. S. ATTORNEY
BEALL FOR TRANSMITTING TO THE FEDERAL GRAND JURY IN
WASHINGTON.

IN MEMORIAM

This book is dedicated to the memory of two persons, without whose encouragement and cooperation it could not have been completed:

Allard K. Lowenstein,

Former U.S. Representative from the Fifth District of New York, and

"Tiny" Hutton,

Former Deputy Director of the House Select Committee on Assassinations.

any
tion
the

A

7

One year later, as a result of the showing I had in the city council race, I was urged by friends to go for a congressional seat in the newly gerrymandered Baltimore third district. Because of it, I wound up in the strange position of being on the same side as Richard Nixon in the 1972 campaign. Then, as luck would have it, I got involved in the Watergate fiasco.

I had kept in touch with Mario after the city council race. He was still trying to get recognition for his Cuban government in exile and, as would be expected, was interested in my obtaining a congressional seat, so I didn't think twice when he called me just two weeks before the election with an urgent message.

We met at my office, where he told me a wild story. Kohly said that he had been approached by two men who identified themselves as working for the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP). They told him that the National Democratic Committee had some damaging information about Nixon and the Bay of Pigs, which they were going to release just prior to the election. Kohly went on to say that, if he could arrange for some of his people to recover the data, it would earn the undying gratitude of Mr. Nixon.

They wouldn't identify what the information was. However, Kohly, putting two and two together, figured it had to be about Nixon agreeing to the slaughter of the leftist exile leaders once they had been deposited on the beach after the Bay of Pigs invasion.

Kohly said he declined the offer after discovering, several weeks later, that the men who had approached him were instead working for the Democratic party. By that time the Watergate break-in had occurred. After thinking about it, he decided to come to me in order that I might be able to make some use of it.

Stunned by what he had told me, I called Senator Charles Mac Mathias. Mac said wait, don't do anything until you are contacted. The following day, I received a phone call asking if I could attend a meeting in Washington with Paul O'Brien, the attorney for CREEP. I said yes, and the meeting was set for Saturday, one week before the election.

Then, less than one hour after our conversation, I received a phone call from a man representing Resorts International.³ They claimed they were interested in funding a last-minute push on my campaign, and asked if I would be interested. We met in my office the following day. Unfortunately, we could not arrive at an agreement. The contribution would have been in the form of a substantial loan. I was glad I had turned it down. I

discovered years later that Nixon, as well as the Mafia and CIA, were tied to Resorts as early as 1961.

Resorts began with organized crime's beachhead in the Bahamas, following their large losses after the Castro revolution. By 1966, the syndicate had control of three casinos through a front company known as the Bahamas Amusement Company, figureheaded by two of Meyer Lansky's associates, Lou Chesler and Wallace Groves. Meyer Lansky being the silent partner and spokesman for the syndicate.

Two of the casinos involved the Mary Carter Paint Company, in conjunction with Bahamas Amusement, to purchase the highly desirable Paradise Island, just off of Nassau. A Justice Department memo of January 1966 stated that the "Mary Carter Paint Company will be in control of Paradise Island casinos with the exception of the one which Groves will control. The atmosphere seems ripe for a Lansky skim." The details were handled by a consultant named Seymour Alter, a man who had known his way around the Bahamas for a long time. Alter had been the man responsible for hosting Richard Nixon on the first of his many visits to the islands.⁴

Alter was also reported as being investigated for allegedly "skimming" funds from the Paradise Island Casino through Nixon friend Bebe Rebozo's Key Biscayne Bank.⁵

As late as 1970, there was solid evidence of Lansky's presence in the Bahamas—and specifically the Paradise Island Casino. A June 1972 federal indictment in Miami of Lansky and an associate, Dino Cellini, alleged that in 1968 Lansky maintained some control over running junkets to the island casino.

In 1969 the Mary Carter Paint Company—by then known as Resorts International—released Dino Cellini's brother Eddie from his post at the casino. After his dismissal, the Dade County sheriff's office placed both Cellinis in the Miami office of Resorts, checking credits and booking junkets.

As late as 1970, newspapers were quoting government investigators as believing that "Lansky is still managing to get his cut out of the Bahamas."

However, the damning part about Nixon's connection to Resorts International is that James Crosby, the head of Resorts, had donated \$100,000 to Nixon's 1968 campaign and had raised again that much from friends.⁶

While much more can be added to support Nixon's connection to the syndicate network, such as Lou Chesler's \$14,000 contribution to his 1960

campaign, we will never know for sure. All avenues to his murky past were closed with his pardon by Gerald Ford. At any rate, my having no commitment to Resorts, I naively prepared for my meeting with Paul O'Brien that Saturday, a week before the election.

We met at the Columbia Country Club in Chevy Chase, Maryland, at eleven o'clock. With me, I took my campaign manager, Mr. Brent Kansler.

Paul O'Brien listened to my story without comment. When I asked him if I should hold a press conference regarding the story, he replied, "Let me see what kind of statement you'll be making. I'll let you know then."

The following Tuesday, I sent O'Brien, by messenger, a copy of the proposed statement.⁷ When we talked later, O'Brien told me, "Do what you think best." Meaning, CREEP had no objection.

I held the press conference that Friday. Only one TV station, Channel 13, ABC, showed up.

Evidently, by not accepting a substantial *loan* from Resorts, I was *persona non grata* with the powers that be. I lost the election.

From that point, things started to deteriorate rapidly. I lost my company, my personal fortune, and eventually my wife and family. At that point, I decided to write *Betrayal*. If nothing else, it would help explain the counterfeiting operation.

After it was published, I became very much aware of the hornets nest I had created and decided to follow it up by providing the evidence necessary to prove the allegations set forth in the manuscript. I started by looking for the ties I knew existed between the Mafia and the Cuban movement, which also meant in part the CIA.

After the HSCA came to the inane conclusion that no one, or group, or government, or government agency was involved in the conspiracy, which they say existed, I felt cheated. Somehow the CIA had pulled it off again—another cover-up.⁸

I had been looking forward to being of help to the committee and was politely told that I wasn't wanted. A blow certainly, but from what I learned after the cover-up of Bobby Kennedy's assassination by the "Company," I'm certainly glad I didn't participate. I would never have been able to publish this manuscript. For, as I suspected, the CIA, in a brilliant ploy, took control of the HSCA in early 1977.

It happened this way. In the fall of 1976, with Tom Downing as chairman, the HSCA selected Richard A. Sprague, from the Philadelphia District Attorney's office, to be chief counsel. Sprague hired four

professional independent investigators and criminal lawyers from New York—ones who had no affiliations with the Federal government, i.e., the CIA or FBI. With this team, headed by Bob Tanenbaum as chief attorney and Cliff Fenton as chief detective, Sprague was going after the real assassins and their bosses, no matter where it led. Upon joining the committee, Sprague, who politically was irascible, unwisely made it clear that he would investigate the CIA and FBI, and in the process, subpoena CIA and FBI records, documents both classified and unclassified, and people.

To get an immediate start, he contacted Jim Garrison in New Orleans and informed him he would like to follow up on all of the data Garrison felt had been pertinent in his investigation. Sprague and Tanenbaum were cognizant that individuals with CIA connections were, in all probability, involved in the JFK assassination from New Orleans and the Florida Keys. They had, in November 1966, shown photographs to the entire HSCA staff of some of these people in Dealey Plaza and elsewhere.

They initiated searches for the real assassins.

To accomplish this in the most efficient and propitious manner, Cliff Fenton had been appointed head of a team of investigators to follow up on the New Orleans part of the conspiracy, which he felt included CIA agents and people such as Clay Shaw, David Ferrie, Guy Banister, Sergio Arcacha Smith, and others—ironically, all people mentioned in this book. They were also going to contact others they felt had attended assassination planning meetings in New Orleans.

From the photographic evidence surrounding the sixth-floor window, as well as the grassy knoll, Sprague, Tanenbaum, and most of the staff suspected Oswald had not fired any shots.⁸

Using common sense, they concluded that the single-bullet theory was not feasible, and there had been a crossfire in Dealey Plaza, the same kind used by Oscar del Valle Garcia against Rafael Trujillo.

In effect, they were not planning to waste time covering the same old ground reviewing the Dealey Plaza evidence, unless it might give them a lead to the real assassins. Accordingly, they set up a Florida investigation, especially looking at the No Name Key group, from evidence and leads developed by Garrison in 1967. Gaeton Fonzi, whom I had consulted with prior to his joining the committee, was in charge of that team. They were going to check out the CIA people who had been running and funding the No Name Key and other anti-Castro groups. Jerry Patrick Hemming, Loren Hall, Lawrence Howard, Rolando Masferrer, and Carlos Prio

Socarras were to be found and interrogated.

Tanenbaum and his research team had seen the photo collection of Dick Billings, from *Life* magazine, which by 1976, was part of the JFK assassination collection in the Georgetown University Library. No Name Key personnel, along with others from the Garrison investigation, appeared in those photos along with high level CIA agents. Then came the disaster. In 1976, Tom Downing did not run for re-election and was retiring. At that point, Henry Gonzalez, a Representative from the state of Texas, took over the chairmanship. Fortunately, Gonzalez and Sprague could work together, and both believed that, if challenged by the CIA, they could expose the Agency's involvement in the JFK cover-up.

With this potential threat, the CIA knew it was up against a much more serious opponent than it had ever had before. With the HSCA's present posture, they could not control the investigation or, for that matter, even cover it up.

They had easily discredited the Garrison investigation through a number of moves, which, as the reader saw earlier, was acknowledged by Garrison himself.

Thirteen years earlier, the clandestine Agency had been able to control the Warren Commission. It was a much simpler job; they had several members beholden to them.

But with Sprague, backed by Gonzalez, they faced a crisis. They had to get rid of them. It was relatively easy. Both men had outstanding egos and violent tempers. Over a course of several months, the ensuing battle created by congressional members in the CIA pocket and a vociferous media, caused both Sprague and Gonzales to resign in disgrace. In the wake of their departure, the door was open to suppress any and all evidence of CIA involvement. They managed to do it quite successfully.

By March of 1977, Lewis Stokes, a champion of Martin Luther King, was installed as chairman. He was a good political, if not practical, choice. The next step was to replace Sprague. The man selected was Professor Robert Blakey, a scientifically oriented, academic person, with a background of work against organized crime. To clear the decks of all the previous in-fighting, he asked for and got Bob Tanenbaum, Bob Lehner, and Donovan Gay's resignations. Blakey, unfamiliar with the involvement of the CIA in the JFK assassination, not wishing to perpetrate the bad scene created by the press of the committee, took a piece of bad advice, suggested and drafted by someone who had a proprietary interest in the clandestine agency.

He instituted a personnel "Non Disclosure Agreement."⁹

This agreement was to be signed by all members of the committee, all consultants, and all independent researchers. Signing it was a condition for employment on the committee staff or for consulting on a contract basis.

When Tiny Hutton, the newly appointed Deputy Director of the committee, showed me a copy, I blanched. If I was to be able to continue my own research into areas covered by the committee, I would not be able to publish. I declined, but as described earlier, still provided pertinent information to Tiny to pass on.

The particular non-disclosure agreement adopted by the committee was insidious: First, it bound outside contractors to silence (see paragraph 13). Second, it prevented for perpetuity the signer from revealing or using any information garnered as a result of working for the committee (see paragraphs 2 and 12). Third, it gave the committee and the House, once the committee terminated, the power to take legal action against the signer, *in a court named by the committee or the House*, in the event either body had reason to believe the signer violated the agreement. Fourth, the signer had to agree to pay the court costs for such a suit in the event he lost (see paragraphs 14 and 15).

As if these four parts were not bad enough, to silence any potential malcontent, paragraphs 2, 3, and 7 gave the CIA control over what the committee could and could not do with any information they considered "classified."

The director of the CIA was given the authority to determine what information should remain classified or unavailable to nearly everyone. In effect, the signer, including congressional members, had to agree not to reveal or discuss any information that the CIA decided should not be discussed.

Because of the past disarray during the Gonzales era, Lewis Stokes did not attempt any final decisions. The net result was that Blakey, in a sense of harmony, elected to keep nearly all of the CIA sensitive information, evidence, and witnesses away from the committee members. It was all that was necessary. Stokes never had anything to argue about with the CIA director.

The CIA controlled the HSCA.

Typical of what then happened is how the New Orleans information was handled. As mentioned earlier, an investigating team headed by Cliff Fenton had already been hard at work tracking down leads to conspirators generated by Jim Garrison's investigation in New Orleans.

This team had four professional investigators, and their work led them to believe that CIA people, affiliated with the mob in New Orleans, and a splinter group from No Name Key in Florida had been involved in a conspiracy to assassinate JFK.¹⁰ As Tiny Hutton eventually told me, after reading the first draft of this book, Fenton's team found a CIA man who attended the New Orleans assassination meetings, a man who was willing to testify before the committee.

According to Tiny, the evidence was far more convincing than any of the testimony Garrison presented at the Clay Shaw trial, and Shaw, David Ferrie, the man I flew into Cuba with on the night of the Bay of Pigs, and others were involved.

Fenton's team evidently uncovered a lot of other facts about how the CIA people planned and carried out the assassination. It was, Tiny exclaimed, "almost a replay of your book *Betrayal*."

Their report was clearly solid and convincing. Yet, Robert Blakey buried the Fenton report. Committee members were never informed about the CIA involvement.

Thus, the evidence was not included in the HSCA report, nor was it even referred to in the ten supplementary volumes. The witnesses in New Orleans were never called to testify, including the CIA man who had attended the meetings and was willing to talk. To this day, Fenton and his team refuse to discuss anything with anybody. Of course, they are well aware of the myriad of peripheral assassinations that occurred to persons prior to their testifying before the committee. They included: William Sullivan, the FBI deputy who headed Division V; George deMorenschildt, Oswald's alluded-to CIA contact in Dallas; John Roselli, the Mafia man involved in the CIA plots to assassinate Castro; Regis Kennedy, the FBI agent who called Carlos Marcello a tomato salesman and knew a lot about Clay Shaw, alias Clay Bertrand, and was said to be one of Lee Harvey Oswald's FBI contacts in New Orleans; Rolando Masferrer, Mario Kohly's friend, murdered in Miami; and Carlos Prio Socarras, killed in his garage in Miami.

When the committee finally wound down to its inevitable end, all avenues to the real truth about the CIA involvement had been covered.

As for the inscrutable Khaiber Khan, the LAPD and FBI would collect a raft of background material on him,¹¹ showing he still maintained a pretense of hating the Shah's family, even after receiving a two-and-one-half-million-dollar settlement.¹² Making matters more interesting, Khan was identified by at least three independent people at the Kennedy

campaign headquarters in the company of Sirhan Sirhan. One of them, a Larry David Strick, was interviewed on July 7, 1968. When the statements made by Strick were unsatisfactory, Lieutenant Manny Pena had the young man re-interviewed on August 19. He totally retracted his statement.¹³

In some ways this book is a part of my chagrin over what has been perpetrated on the American public for over four decades. There is no question that we need a CIA, and that it will still continue doing what it has always done—whether right or wrong. However, one has to say sometimes, wait a minute. The people have a right to know.

FOREWORD

by L. Fletcher Prouty
Colonel, USAF (Ret'd)*

The dread theme of this work is established as fact by the grim words to be found in such quasi-governmental publications of the clandestine services of the United States government as *The Clandestine Operations Manual for Central America*. Among other chilling statements appearing in this manual is one that confirms the monumental findings of this book:

If possible, professional criminals will be hired to carry out specific selective "jobs."

Instrumentalities of the U.S. government maintain and hire professional "mechanics or hit men" to carry out assassinations and other "jobs." I know this as a result of my own longtime experience with the clandestine services. President Lyndon B. Johnson, himself, labeled it, "Murder, Incorporated."

There can be no doubt that a team of such "mechanics," with government incentives and Mafia know-how, was used to kill President John F. Kennedy. A similar team, with similar backing, carried out the exquisitely professional "job" of killing Senator Robert F. Kennedy in

*Colonel Prouty was, at the time of his retirement in 1964, Chief of Special Operations in the Office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. As such, he was responsible for the military support of the worldwide clandestine operations of the CIA and the military departments.

the crowded Ambassador Hotel in downtown Los Angeles. Murder is one thing. The ability to carry it out and to use the combined resources of the government and of the Mafia to extricate the "hit" team stealthily—and then to create and maintain the cover-up story that has blanketed the media for decades—is a task of far greater magnitude. This masterful cover-up that has endured unscathed for more than twenty-five years underscores the continuing existence of the terrible strength and vitality of that ultimate power team. It has done its job, and the threat for the future continues.

The fact that such enormous uncontrolled power has existed without challenge for more than one-quarter of a century speaks for itself. This country and perhaps the world are under the control of a High Cabal, unequalled for its magnitude and effectiveness in the history of civilization.

"H
a
S
H
U
F
a
a
v
a
K
I
I
C
a
v
S
F.
a
to
th
Jo
a
F.
k
e
Pro
tio
e
den