

Second Thoughts on the Second Oswald: The JFK Conspiracy

By RICHARD H. POPKIN

In the summer of 1966, I ended my book, *The Second Oswald*, saying: "The assassination of (President John F.) Kennedy was a momentous event in our history. We cannot hide from it by clinging to a hope that one lonely, alienated nut (Lee Harvey Oswald) did it all by himself, and that nobody else was involved."

"And we cannot hide from the fact that some of our most serious and well-meaning citizens have catered to our childish needs for security, and have given us an inadequate explanation of the event. Many of us in this country are afraid to face reality, and part of our reality is living with our history. Can we continue to live a lie about what happened in Dallas on Nov. 22, 1963, or has the time come to face what it means and what it involves for all of us? The public must cry out for a real examination and understanding of the events of that day."

My book was written as one of the early criticisms of the 1964 Warren Commission Report, to show how inadequate, confusing and contradictory the investigation the Commission made actually was, and to show that even with the data the Commission offered, there was good reason to suspect that the killing of President John F. Kennedy was the work of a conspiracy.

Certain strange facts included in the Warren Commission data suggest that an element of the conspiracy was the use of two Lee Harvey Oswald characters who planted incompatible clues, but who would make Oswald the prime suspect after the event.

Now that the effect of the criticisms of so many from Leo Sauvage, Mark Lane, Harold Weisberg, Penn Jones, Edwin R. Patterson, Paul Hoch, Mary Farrell, Peter Dale Scott, Don Freed and Bernard Fensterwald, and many others has raised public concerns, the original attempt to dismiss all criticisms as silly, unpatriotic, or paranoid, etc., has demonstrably failed. Various parts of the investigation have been restudied. Many more pages of Warren Commission data have become public. New investigations have occurred as a result of subsequent assassinations, government scandals, the Watergate and the illegality of CIA and FBI activities.

Recently, Congress set up its own investigation and declared at the beginning of 1977 that Kennedy's death was the result of bullets fired from two directions. The congressional committee refused to offer a theory as to who was ultimately responsible. Full after poll, from the time of the assassination to the present, has shown that the public has not found the Warren Commission conclusion—that Lee Harvey Oswald was the lone assassin—credible.

In the last decade we have been treated to one investigation after another that has jaded our image of our leaders and our institutions. We have learned on good authority that our government, under John F. Kennedy and subsequent leaders, plotted to assassinate heads of other states, even going so far as to hire Mafia hit



Richard H. Popkin

men. A Cuban plotter was given a poison-filled fountain pen by a CIA agent in Paris on Nov. 22, 1963 to kill Castro, just a few hours before Kennedy's murder. We learned, perhaps the most bizarre fact of all, that Kennedy and a Mafia leader shared the same mistress. (The Mafia leader was, of course, killed by a lone nut, the day before he was to testify about his role in attempting to assassinate Fidel Castro.)

We learned that the FBI, the CIA and other intelligence agencies destroyed data, led to other governmental leaders and agencies, and fabricated evidence. The FBI agent in Dallas on November 22, 1963, James Hosty, testified to then Sen. Frank Church's committee that he destroyed all the evidence he had about Oswald a few hours after the assassination on orders from his superior.

By the time the Watergate investigation had run its course we had been treated to a completely demoralizing picture of how the government was corrupted from within, how the highest leaders could conspire to commit felonies, obstruct justice, misuse the FBI and CIA. Later investigations showed top leaders in the military and governmental side carried on secret wars in Vietnam lying systematically to all concerned about what was going on.

Richard Nixon kept saying, as he was accused of lying and conspiring, that other presidents had done the same. He, of course, turned out to be telling the truth, as secrets from past administrations were revealed, including the fact that presidents from Franklin Roosevelt on down had secretly taped conversations in the Oval Office.

Today, when we are witnessing the flagrant violation of our laws, international laws, treaties, etc., by the CIA, in its overt-cover operations against Nicaragua, unimposed by Congress, the President, or anyone else except the victim, what do we think of the possibility offered by the critics of the Warren Commission that conspiracies go on all the time in this country, that they go on at the highest levels of the government, that they have been and are being directed to assassinate political figures, and that conspiratorial activity is a central part of the way our America operates just as it is a central part of the way the Soviet Union conducts its affairs? Is it naive or paranoid

to look for evidence of a conspiracy when so complex an event as the assassination of a president, guaranteed of assassination by the Secret Service, takes place? Is it naive or paranoid to look for evidence of a conspiracy when the alleged assassin has had such a bizarre career in the Marine Corps, the Communist Party and the USSR, in his brief life? For a so-called lone nut, he seemed to be involved with too many active and often dangerous people.

What We Know

After all of the revelations of behind the scenes activities in our government, and all the investigations and reinvestigations of Kennedy's assassination, what do we know about what happened in Dealey Plaza on Nov. 22, 1963? I think we have to divide the question into two parts —

(1) What do we know about the sequence of events in Dealey Plaza?

(2) What do we know about possible explanations of these events?

The congressional conclusion about the first question was that shots came from two directions, hence there were two gunmen. The evidence Congress relied on has turned out to be inconclusive. But, considering the enormous amount of data from the hundreds of eyewitnesses, ballistics materials, medical and photographic, I believe that it is just about impossible to explain the sequence of events as the result of three shots from Oswald's rifle fired from the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository.

The original problems remain. The release of the Zapruder films, the character of bullet 399, the reactions of Kennedy and then Texas Gov. John B. Connally to being hit the time interval, the condition of Oswald's rifle, the discrepancies in eyewitness accounts, the anomalies like the man with an umbrella at just the point where Kennedy was shot, and on and on make reading of the events as due to a single lone assassin almost impossible.

Bullet 399 was claimed by the Warren Commission to have traversed by Kennedy's and Connally's bodies, fractured one of the governor's ribs, and smashed his wrist. It had practically no weight loss, and had no biological material on it. Connally reacted to it in less than two seconds after Kennedy was first shot. However it took 2.3 seconds to reach Oswald's rifle. The total time of the three shots, according to the Warren Commission was 5.8 seconds. To aim and fire Oswald's rifle that fast would be nearly impossible, proved beyond the best rifle champions. Also the sight on Oswald's rifle was quite dislodged and off course. A man shows in photographs holding up an umbrella on a sunny day, and he is the only one doing so. After the shooting he is seen sitting on the curb approximately where Kennedy was killed with the umbrella folded up.

I think most people who have gone over the original evidence, plus the additional evidence of the later autopsy studies, further testing, re-examination of the eyewitnesses, etc., would agree that two or more gunmen had to have been involved. Once this is accepted, the names and characters of the gunmen may become easier to identify. If the story, if they were hired professionals, their life histories may just be that of characters from *Godfather II*, or *III* or *IV*. They may have disappeared from the planet the way the alleged killer of Philippine opposition leader Benigno Aquino did, or the way the Mafia hit who were to arrange Castro's demise for the U.S. government did. What would be of interest, per-

haps of critical interest, is who planned the assassination and arranged for it and its aftermath.

The Warren Commission sought to simplify the second answer to Lee Harvey Oswald, for motives that were unknown. (Only Commissioner Gerald Ford sought to find a motive in Oswald's supposed Communist beliefs, but made no clear case for why such beliefs should lead to such actions.) The attempt to isolate Oswald immediately led to examination of his world, his relationships with the FBI, CIA, the anti-Castro Cubans, the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, and the Communists, domestic and foreign.

I suggested long ago that Oswald may have been a bit player, whose relevance to the whole scenario was slight. If such is the case, Oswald's life may have less significance in explaining or understanding what happened than we have been led to believe. However, in the absence of other possibilities, I think any explanation of the conspiracy to assassinate John F. Kennedy has to include Oswald, and any investigation has to start from what we know about him.

Research since the Warren Commission (true or bogus files given over by the KGB, material turned up in Jim Garrison's New Orleans investigation, plus lots of leads and details turned up by the waves of investigators seeking to solve the case, has given us far more material to work with. I don't want to survey it here, but just to indicate some of what we may now consider reasonable speculation.

I will limit myself primarily to items connected with the theory I outlined in the *Second Oswald*, that two Oswald personalities were making themselves known in Dallas from late September 1963 until Nov. 22, 1963, and making themselves known in memorable ways, that would constitute critical clues after the event. I still find this theory to hold up, and it or some variant has been adopted by many of the critics as at least part of the explanation of what occurred.

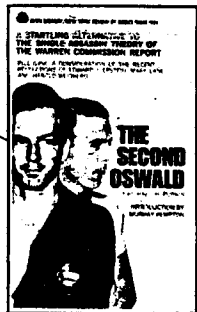
Some have tried to make Lee Harvey Oswald the author of all these events, in my opinion this weakens the case, by if he had rich and skilled accomplices to help him move around Texas so rapidly. The Warren Commission tried to denigrate the evidence for these conflicting sightings of Oswald, by questioning the reliability of the witnesses who, for better or worse, have turned out to be highly reliable, and in some cases have ample corroboration.

When I listed the instances of Oswald's being in two places at the same time in my book, I began with the events that occurred the day Oswald is supposed to have traveled to Mexico on a bus. Someone named Harvey Oswald went into the Selective Service office in Austin and spoke to the assistant chief of the administrative division for 30 minutes about the dishonorable discharge he had from the Marine Corps. Harvey Oswald looked just like Lee Harvey Oswald, and the assistant chief immediately identified the alleged assailant as the person she talked to. Oswald was also seen that day by two people in an Austin cafe. That evening a Mrs. Twiford in Houston received a phone call from a Lee Harvey Oswald. He said he was in Houston (which would have been impossible given any of the known forms of surface transportation he could have used). He said he wanted to discuss the Socialist Labor Party program with Mr. Twiford that evening before flying to Mexico. On Sept. 20 when Oswald was arrested he was gabbling away on the bus to Mexico City, a Mrs. Sylvia Odie, in Dal-

las, a Cuban refugee leader, was visited by two Latins and "Leon Oswald." She was told Oswald was a former Marine, an excellent shot, who was willing to assassinate Kennedy or Castro. After the episode in Dealey Plaza, Mrs. Odie immediately recognized Oswald as the person she had met. The Warren Commission tried very hard to weaken her testimony or to discredit her, but only made her story, confirmed by her sister and others, more credible.

Oswald next made himself known in Mexico City where he visited the Cuban and Russian embassies, made an unforgettable scene in the Cuban embassy when they would not give him a transit visa to Cuba to travel on to Russia. Outside of Oswald's embassy visits nothing much is known about his week in Mexico City. How he got back to the U.S. has not been definitely ascertained. Someone reported having a 25 minute visit with Oswald, his wife and a child in Alice, Tex., on Oct. 4. When Oswald got to Dallas a second group of "second Oswald" incidents occurred from early November until after the assassination, connected with guns and Oswald's Russian activities.

And, on Nov. 9, Oswald wrote a letter to the Russian Embassy, strongly implying he was a Russian agent. He left the letter lying around so his wife's landlady read it and made a copy for the FBI, which duly intercepted it, and made nothing out of it except that Oswald wanted to go to Russia. (The letter is full of suggestions of conspiratorial pro-Russian activities, as well as false information and vilification of the FBI.) At the



Cover of Richard H. Popkin's 1966 book, *The Second Oswald*, one of the earliest criticisms of the Warren Commission Report.

same time Oswald (who was known not to drive) went into a Ford-Lincoln agency in Dallas, told the salesman he was coming into town in a couple of weeks, and wanted credit. They zoomed up and down the freeways at 70 miles per hour with Oswald at the wheel. When the salesman indicated that they could not give him credit, Oswald turned the car in Russia!

When I tried to make sense of the various "second Oswald" cases, and there were many of them, it did not occur to me that they might be related to two separate incidents: the assassination of Kennedy, one related to Oswald's Mexico trip, and one about his activities in Dallas. A former U.S. intelligence agent, Richard C. Nagell, who knew Oswald in Japan, has said that in the course of intelligence work in the September 1963, he encountered Oswald in New Orleans in a group conspiring to kill Kennedy. The assassination was planned for Sept. 26, 27, 28 or 29. Nagell claimed he made strong efforts to notify the FBI of this plot. He himself deliberately arranged to be arrested on Sept. 29, himself by firing bullets into the ceiling of a bank in El Paso, but has said he knew

nothing about what happened to the plot thereafter.

On Sept. 26, 1963, the day Oswald was on a bus going to Mexico City, showing his passport to two Australian women, making sure they knew he had been in Russia, and advising them to stay in the Hotel Cuba in Mexico City, was also a significant day in both Kennedy's life and in world affairs. Kennedy, traveling on a "Conservation" speaking tour from Sept. 24-28, gave at least 16 public speeches between Washington, D.C. and Richmond, Wash. He was in public all across the country, offering many opportunities for assassins. (There is some indication that "second Oswald" that day in Wisconsin, where Kennedy spoke.) Dr. Juan Bosch, leader of the Dominican Republic was overthrown on Sept. 25. Bosch had been hauled over and over again by Kennedy as the democratic answer to Fidel Castro. Kennedy had shaped his hopes for a progressive solution to Latin America's problems in terms of the leadership of Bosch, a democratic socialist.

What we have learned about Latin American affairs is that rulers don't get overthrown at random, but usually with the complicity of U.S. agents or officials. Perhaps those in the CIA who blamed Kennedy for the failure of the Bay of Pigs, and did not want a socialist solution for Latin America, may have felt that Bosch could easily be overthrown if the President of the U.S. was to be assassinated immediately afterwards. And he was overthrown with the announcement of his opponents that he was corrupt and pro-Communist. (Bosch, however, returned to power by coup on April 24, 1965. Four days later the U.S. Marines landed to protect American citizens and within a month such eminences as McGeorge Bundy and Cyrus Vance were negotiating the setting up of a non-Bosch government again. Since then the Dominican Republic has not been a source of new hope for Latin America.)

With Kennedy's days of exposure to possible assassins and the overthrow of Bosch Oswald and second Oswald's movements might provide an easy solution to the planned assassination. Second Oswald could have taken part in the plot by letting it be known to a responsible party in Austin that Oswald had been dishonorably discharged from the Marine Corps and was disgruntled about it, by letting Mrs. Twiford know he was going to Mexico, by making sure Mrs. Odie knew he was ready to assassinate either Kennedy or Castro and that he was a former Marine who was an excellent shot.

If by Sept. 27 a clue was found, perhaps Oswald's gun so that he became the suspect the FBI would soon have heard from the three women in Austin, Houston and Dallas and would be looking for Oswald in Mexico. (Why knew these clues on Sept. 25 and 26 unless they were supposed to be relevant to an event in the near future. Like the near day? The Australian girls on the bus and others he talked to about Cuba and Russia, who they saw Oswald's picture would give their report. And finally Oswald's last appearance would be at the Cuban Embassy, with the information that he was trying to go to Russia via Cuba (as in passport application also said). Then, Cuba would have to be invaded to capture the assassin, and a new Bay of Pigs would have been given good chance to succeed, the time to capture the cowardly killer of a beloved President.

Castro seems to have believed this was the scenario when Kennedy was actually killed. He gave a long speech couple of days after the assassination.

Editor's Note: Richard H. Popkin, professor of philosophy and Jewish studies at Washington University, was one of the earliest critics of the Warren Commission Report on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy. In 1966, he published his book, *The Second Oswald* (Avon), which cast serious doubt on the Warren Commission's finding that Lee Harvey Oswald "acted alone" in the JFK killing. He also wrote the introduction to the book *Executive Action* (Dell, 1973).

by Donald Freed and Mark Lane, which was later made into a controversial movie. In our Nov. 16 and 23 issues, we reprinted an article on Prof. Popkin's theories which had originally appeared in 1975. The above is an article by Prof. Popkin which brings his original theories on the JFK assassination up to date. Article is copyright (c) 1983 by Richard H. Popkin and the St. Louis Jewish Light. Reprinting without permission is prohibited. All rights reserved.

JFK

Continued From Page 3

sination mainly aimed at preventing a U.S. invasion. He claimed he knew (or knew about?) Oswald, and what he was up to. He also claimed that Oswald's fake pro-Castro activities and his visit(s) to the Cuban Embassy were all part of a plan to justify the invasion of Cuba. Castro may well have heard of the plot of Sept. 26, and perceived what happened on Nov. 22 as the same plot with the same purpose in mind.

There is also evidence that two of the Warren Commission lawyers, in 1964, conceived of Oswald's Cuban activities as part of a scenario that could lead to a second Bay of Pigs. The lawyers, William T. Coleman Jr. and W. David Slawson, in a "Top Secret" report (since declassified) to the Warren Commission, gave some reasons for believing Mrs. Odio's account. They then said: "The evidence here could lead to an anti-Castro Cuban involvement in the assassination on some sort of basis as this: Oswald could have become known to the Cubans as being strongly pro-Castro. He made no secret of his sympathies, and so the anti-Castro Cubans must have realized that the law-enforcement authorities were also aware of Oswald's feelings, and that therefore, if he got into trouble, the public would also learn of them. The anti-Castro group may even have believed the fiction Oswald tried to create that he had organized some sort of large active Fair Play for Cuba Group in New Orleans.

Second, someone in the anti-Castro organization might have been keen enough to sense that Oswald had a penchant for violence that might easily be aroused. This was evident, for example, when he laughed at the Cubans and told them it would be easy to kill Kennedy after the Bay of Pigs. On these facts, it is possible that some sort of deception was used to encourage Oswald to kill the President when he came to Dallas. Perhaps "double agents" were even used to persuade Oswald that pro-Castro Cubans would help in the assassination or in the getaway afterwards.

The motive on this would of course be the expectation that after the President was killed Oswald would be caught or at least his identity ascertained, and the law-enforcement authorities and the public would then blame the assassination on the Castro government, and the call for its forceful overthrow would be irresistible. A "second Bay of Pigs invasion" would begin, this time, hopefully, and successfully. The foregoing is probably only a wild speculation, but the facts that we already know are certainly sufficient to warrant additional investigation.

What further investigation that was carried on did not lead the Warren Commission to abandon or modify its claims that Oswald and Oswald alone assassinated John F. Kennedy. The Coleman-Slawson speculations however may have been close to the mark.

A strange aspect of the Mexican-Cuban side of the story is that immediately after the assassination, the CIA flew an agent from Mexico City to Dallas to show Marina Oswald a photograph to see if it was of her husband. The photo is of a crew-cut, 40-50-year-old, 200-pound, 6-foot male. The photo has been cropped to conceal where it was taken. When he showed her the picture, she had no idea who it might be.

Lots of work went into ferreting out the information that the photo had been taken in front of the Cuban Embassy in Mexico City, where the CIA had a secret camera photographing everyone entering or exiting. They also had a spy inside to identify who the peo-

ple were. The CIA has refused to tell who the photograph is of. Yet it has been established they have a set of photographs of this person. A former Los Angeles County chief of detectives, Hugh McDonald, has written a book, *Appointment in Dallas*, claiming this man is the real assassin. But we do not yet have an official identification of him nor have we been shown an actual photo of Oswald entering or leaving the Cuban Embassy or the Russian Embassy which was also under surveillance. (It has been suggested he entered the Russian Embassy by a secret door, which would indicate he was more than a lone nut.) As long as the CIA refuses all requests to explain this matter, all sorts of speculations will go on. Perhaps this man used the name "Lee Harvey Oswald"?

Maybe he did have a role? Oswald arrived in Mexico City apparently expecting to find Kennedy had been killed, and himself soon to become the chief suspect; he then played his role, making his visits to the embassies. Nothing happened. The next day he repeated his visits, and after that, nobody remembered seeing him in Mexico City. He left under mysterious circumstances around Oct. 2. By then he may have learned the scenario had been canceled, and he was to go to Dallas. His movements on his return trip are mysterious. Nobody knows if he took a bus. He apparently did not make his presence known to fellow passengers, as he had on the trip down.

A new series of "second Oswald" cases appears after the beginning of November. No longer is Oswald a Castroite, or an anti-Castro. This time the common elements are his Russian connections, his desire to go back to Russia, his shooting ability, his unknown source of funds. His letter to the FBI of Nov. 9, 1963, should have set off all sorts of alarms, unless, as now appears to be the case, the FBI knew somebody was involved in this. This letter addressed to the Consular Division of the Soviet Embassy in Washington begins, "Dear Sirs, This is to inform you of recent events since my meetings with comrade Kostin in the Embassy of the Soviet Union, Mexico City, Mexico. [Kostin is a misspelling of Kostikov, a leading KGB agent for violent activities in the Western hemisphere.]

"I was unable to remain in Mexico indefinitely because of my Mexican visa restrictions which was for 15 days only. I could not take a chance on requesting a new visa, unless I used my real name, so I returned to the United States."

"I had not planned to contact the Soviet Embassy in Mexico so they were unprepared to entertain me. I was able to reach the Soviet Embassy in Havana as planned, the embassy there would have had time to complete our business."

"Of course the Soviet Embassy was not at fault, there were, as I say unprepared, the Cuban consulate was guilty of a gross breach of regulations. I am glad he has since been replaced." Oswald then went on to complain about FBI harassment, and reported a conversation with agent Hosty that probably never took place. Oswald had wrote and then typed the letter. It was intercepted and also given by Marina's attorney, Ruth Egan, to the FBI. Nothing happened.

(The FBI also intercepted his mail to the Communist Party, U.S.A. and held it until his arrest. It was only after Oswald had been killed that Agent Hosty made trivial efforts to keep track of Oswald, even though he was assigned to do so. The FBI in Dallas did not bother to report that Oswald had come in in mid-November threatening to blow up the office and to shoot their agents. They probably knew he had gone. Anyone in Dallas could have.

The trail of two Oswalds operating in the Dallas area

had a mixed effect. Castro seems to have thought it was the original one and tried to avoid an invasion of Cuba. The three women presented their Cuban-connected stories, and the November episode also came to light. If the scenario was intended to make it appear the nasty Communist Russians had committed the assassination it worked on Lyndon Johnson, who in his *Point of View* indicated he was terrified that it was the Russians and World War III would begin. Earl Warren's last interview with Abraham Sachar indicates that this is how Warren was cajoled into getting up the Warren Commission totally against his will and better judgment. Almost immediately after the assassination, J. Edgar Hoover, the lifelong enemy of Communism, had the FBI eliminate Oswald's files on Oswald in New Orleans, Dallas and elsewhere that showed Oswald in any connection with the KGB or the Communist Party (The Russian official mentioned in Oswald's letter of Nov. 9, 1963,



Moments before he was struck with an assassin's bullet, President John F. Kennedy waves to crowds on the streets of Dallas, Tex., on Nov. 22, 1963.

intercepted by the FBI was the head of the sabotage division of the KGB for North America.) Edward J. Epstein claims Hoover did this to hide the incompetence of his agency in keeping tabs on Oswald, or even regarding him as a threat. Other suggest Hoover had to hide Oswald's connections with the FBI, that he was in some way a functionary in some of its activities. The Russians bent over backwards to be helpful, soon presenting the U.S. with their Oswald files, showing him to be an innocuous nuisance.

If one wasn't going to follow the scenario from Dealey Plaza to Red Square, then the Russian connection had to be dropped. The effort to construct the one lone nut theory seems to have begun even while Oswald was alive, and escalated into Revealed Truth once he was dead, and his wife was in protective custody. He had no friends, no connections, no life, no sex, no politics. (Actually the Russian diary is very anti-Russians; his wife Oswald was alive, and George Orwell, and he had long political talks with all sorts of people in Dallas, Fort Worth and New Orleans. He gave a lecture on Russia at a Jesuit college in Alabama, where the audience thought he was a professor. He debated and defeated the anti-Castro leader in New Orleans on the radio.)

If the government could not risk getting involved in the Russian scenario, they then found themselves trapped in the one lone nut theory. They gave that up, they would find trails leading to all sorts of strange places. So, the Warren Commission bravely did its duty trying to bury part of the evidence. Three of its members, Senators Russell, Cooper and Congressman Roggs, eventually indicated they did not believe the one lone nut theory, and felt the investigation into the conspiracy possibilities was inadequate. Everyone else has been constructing conspiracy theories from the plausible to the fantastic.

I don't know what actually happened. But I can envisage several possibilities that seem to fit the facts. Let's start with the possibility that we have misread the conspiracy because of what happened. Sup-

pose it was a conspiracy to kill Gov. Connally (who came very close to death) and Kennedy was an innocent bystander. Then all the Castro, anti-Castro, Russia, anti-Russia, FBI, CIA stuff is beside the point. There is genuine evidence for the Connally assassination theory. A letter was sent to Gov. Connally on Aug. 12, 1963 saying: "Dear Mr. Governor, A plot is under way to assassinate you. As a former Sec. of Navy you are well aware of the Submarine Thresher disaster, and how the Bendix Corp. used FRAUDULENT pressure/depth curves on equipment designed and built by Bendix for submarines of the Thresher class.

"An organization, known as THE JUSTICE FOR THE CREW OF THE THRESHER, is being formed. Former servicemen with a grudge against the military are being recruited. There are 2 groups of the organization, one in Dallas, Texas and the other in Columbus, Ohio (where Connally's successor as Secretary



of the Navy lived) "Sir, I BEG of you, if you do visit Dallas and ride in an open car, PLEASE do not allow any of your loved ones to ride in an open car with you. If a sniper's bullet, meant for you, is fired from a high power rifle by one of these disgruntled former service men struck one of your loved ones, STOP AND ASK YOURSELF THIS QUESTION, WOULD I BE ABLE TO CARRY THIS TRAGEDY WITH ME THE BALANCE OF MY LIFE?"

"Respectfully yours, Edward F. Bray" Bray had been field engineer in charge of Navy Mark 46 Torpedo Target Naval Sea Acceptance Tests. He was a whistle-blower, who started sending word to naval officials informing them about the fraudulent methods being used on the Navy Mark 46 project. He sent a certified letter to Navy Secretary Korth at the beginning of March 1963. It ends urging inspection on the problem before telegrams are sent saying "WE REGRET TO INFORM YOU THAT YOUR SON IS MISSING ON THE U S SUBMARINE." On April 10, 1963 Admiral Hines wrote an answer indicating Bray was "under the guardianship of item of his wife" and that no evidence has been found to support his complaints. Admiral Hines' letter is dated the same day the Thresher sank with 129 people aboard.

Before the disaster Bray had been trying to get some of the data he had. After the disaster he was offering government officials his documents, and getting no response. He wrote to both Gov. Connally and Sec. of the Navy Korth on Aug. 12, 1963, sending them the letter cited above. This produced some results. A naval intelligence officer and a U.S. postal inspector came to see him, but only wanted to know about what kind of groups had contacted Mr. Bray, as Mrs. Bray put it, they wanted to know that groups of "ism" people had contacted her husband. The naval intelligence officer told Bray that some of his letters and documents had fallen into the hands of the next of

kin of victims on the Thresher, and "it is causing them untold grief." He asked Bray to keep away from any organization that might be trying to cause the Navy trouble. Then on Nov. 22 the same navy officials came again, to be followed two days later by an FBI agent. Bray then sent his letter to Gov. Connally, and his evidence about the faulty work on the submarine to various groups around the U.S. I found it was sent on to the Warren Commission a few times in their enormous file of unanswered mail. Bray said, "Studied the enclosed copy of my letter to the former Secretary of Navy, Gov. Connally of Texas. Could I have been more explicit?"

There is no evidence in Warren Commission files that they investigate this striking possibility. However, much to my surprise a story appeared in *The National Enquirer* Aug. 23, 1964, headlined "Kennedy Assassination Probe says Connally May Have Been Real Target." The story reports that the Warren Commission decided to delay its report because they had come across Bray's material. It notes that the naval intelligence investigation of Bray in August 1963 was never turned over to the FBI. The *Enquirer* story would indicate that at least for a moment the Warren Commission considered a non-Kennedy theory, in which Oswald might have had no role at all, or just be a bit player, whose rifle was left at the scene of the crime.

There are indications that various Mafia characters in Dallas, Oswald left for New Orleans. This supposedly is connected with the alleged a temp by Oswald to kill Gen Edwin Walker. In New Orleans, Oswald became the leading local Castroite creating a pro-Castro organization that had only 12 members, Marina and Herb. On his literature he gave the address of one of the leading anti-Castro group Anthony Summers, in his recent book, *Conspiracy*, claimed to have talked to the secretary at this office who explained that Oswald and anti-Castro people were part of the same U.S. intelligence officer. If true, Oswald was fake Castroite, involving himself in the activities of the anti-Castro people. Various reports indicate Oswald was in a company of many of the anti-Castro figures in New Orleans. Nobody has ever reported seeing him at either Communist Party meeting a Fair Play for Cuba meeting though he belonged to both groups, as well as some incompatible ones like "Socialist Workers Party. Sent Oswald to get a report, on full of false or misleading information.

All of this may have been part of creating his persona for the assassination scene directed against Castro. Tied when he returns to Dallas in October 1963, and his attention is directed to Russia a the U.S. Communist Party. did not play the part of public Communist, but when meetings of the American Civil Liberties Union, and John Birch Society meeting which Gen. Walker spoke, enunciated a liberal Democratic view, sometimes praise Kennedy for his views on race question. When arrested Oswald apparently something. He was interrogated for 13 hours, insisted he was innocent, had an alibi, would prove it when he had lawyer, and only wanted lawyer for the Warren Party, John Abt, who he did not see him until Nov. 25. day after he was killed, would keep up a Communist lawyer. It set amazing even now that Dallas Police, the FBI, the Secret Service insist no tape recording or photographic record was kept of 13 hours of interrogat which would have been

See JFK, Page 31

eliminate Kennedy, i.e., his drive against them, and the dramatic activities of his brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, against Jimmy Hoffa, Carlos Marcello and others. But then he came again, to be followed two days later by an FBI agent. Bray then sent his letter to Gov. Connally, and his evidence about the faulty work on the submarine to various groups around the U.S. I found it was sent on to the Warren Commission a few times in their enormous file of unanswered mail. Bray said, "Studied the enclosed copy of my letter to the former Secretary of Navy, Gov. Connally of Texas. Could I have been more explicit?"

There is no evidence in Warren Commission files that they investigate this striking possibility. However, much to my surprise a story appeared in *The National Enquirer* Aug. 23, 1964, headlined "Kennedy Assassination Probe says Connally May Have Been Real Target." The story reports that the Warren Commission decided to delay its report because they had come across Bray's material. It notes that the naval intelligence investigation of Bray in August 1963 was never turned over to the FBI. The *Enquirer* story would indicate that at least for a moment the Warren Commission considered a non-Kennedy theory, in which Oswald might have had no role at all, or just be a bit player, whose rifle was left at the scene of the crime.

There are indications that various Mafia characters in Dallas, Oswald left for New Orleans. This supposedly is connected with the alleged a temp by Oswald to kill Gen Edwin Walker. In New Orleans, Oswald became the leading local Castroite creating a pro-Castro organization that had only 12 members, Marina and Herb. On his literature he gave the address of one of the leading anti-Castro group Anthony Summers, in his recent book, *Conspiracy*, claimed to have talked to the secretary at this office who explained that Oswald and anti-Castro people were part of the same U.S. intelligence officer. If true, Oswald was fake Castroite, involving himself in the activities of the anti-Castro people. Various reports indicate Oswald was in a company of many of the anti-Castro figures in New Orleans. Nobody has ever reported seeing him at either Communist Party meeting a Fair Play for Cuba meeting though he belonged to both groups, as well as some incompatible ones like "Socialist Workers Party. Sent Oswald to get a report, on full of false or misleading information.

All of this may have been part of creating his persona for the assassination scene directed against Castro. Tied when he returns to Dallas in October 1963, and his attention is directed to Russia a the U.S. Communist Party. did not play the part of public Communist, but when meetings of the American Civil Liberties Union, and John Birch Society meeting which Gen. Walker spoke, enunciated a liberal Democratic view, sometimes praise Kennedy for his views on race question. When arrested Oswald apparently something. He was interrogated for 13 hours, insisted he was innocent, had an alibi, would prove it when he had lawyer, and only wanted lawyer for the Warren Party, John Abt, who he did not see him until Nov. 25. day after he was killed, would keep up a Communist lawyer. It set amazing even now that Dallas Police, the FBI, the Secret Service insist no tape recording or photographic record was kept of 13 hours of interrogat which would have been

JFK

continued From Page 7

important if a trial was to occur, or a conspiracy unravel.

Oswald went to his death looking like a disgruntled pro-Communist. Obviously he was more than that, just from the evidence of his defection to Russia and his return. Could it be Russian involvement? Or was it a Communist conspiracy? Lyndon Johnson shared the Communist conspiracy theory was the case, and really expected World War III any second. However, after the initial shock it is a range that with so many professional anti-Communist cold warriors put on the case, such as Allan Dulles, the retired CIA chief, J. Edgar Hoover, John J. McCloy, and lots of others, the Communist conspiracy was treated like a bad joke in the Warren Commission documents. A John Birner, Professor Revilo Oliver, and the same forwards and backwards, a classicist from the University of Illinois, tried to interest the Warren Commission in the Communist conspiracy starting them in the case, and they refused to take it seriously. One of the New Orleans anti-Castro leaders, Carlos Bringier, went around the country trying to interest people in Oswald as a Communist killer.

We are taught from birth that the Communists are trying to destroy us. Why is this story so untenable in this case? The consequences apparently were too much to contemplate. If the Communists could kill the President of the United States, they could do anything. So, everyone drew back from this possibility. The Russians helped by poisoning Oswald. A very serious development took place a couple of months later when a Russian agent "defected" with the files on Oswald.

The Yuri Nosenko, a KGB agent then in Switzerland, contacted the CIA in early February 1964 saying he wanted to defect, and that he had all of the Russian information on Oswald. He flew to the U.S., escorted by the FBI, which vouches for his bona fides, and indeed the Warren Commission that Nosenko had assured them that the Russians had no contact or contact with Oswald while he was in Russia, since beyond his letters to Hoover's assistance, led the Commission to drop their investigation into, or consideration of, Oswald as a Russian agent.

The CIA however had its own jobs. For three-and-a-half years they kept Nosenko in solitary confinement under constant interrogation by James Jesus Angleton and his lieutenants. They riddled his story, caught him in contradictions, and saw him as a disinformation agent sent to convince the U.S. of false views, over insisted on Nosenko's inability because the FBI had an informant "Fedora" at U.N. who gave Nosenko a bill of health. Angleton's plan kept trying to figure out depths of deception involved in Nosenko's case. By the *majeure* the CIA was determined to accept the FBI view, please Nosenko, give him a pardon and a new identity. Angleton was unceremoniously dumped as the CIA's sting cold warrior, and his Russian bureau cleaned out, to make it all end like a scene in *Wonderland*. "Fedora" was revealed to be a double agent, who probably lied about Nosenko's ac-

curacy. So, as of the moment, except for those in the Russian or American puzzle factory, we do not know if Oswald was a Russian agent when in Russia, and under Russian supervision after his return. His unobserved meeting with a chief KGB man in Mexico City in September 1963 raises a real possibility of a Russian scenario.

Another version of this is the theory often offered by Victor Marchetti, who had been a high-ranking CIA official, and then withdrew from government service to write an expose, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*. Marchetti does not claim to have any special knowledge about the Kennedy assassination. But he has told me three times his theory, namely that about one-third of the CIA are also KGB agents, and one-third of the KGB agents are CIA agents. He thinks Kennedy's assassination may have been arranged by the KGB group in the CIA. The official CIA may be unwilling to risk a thorough investigation that would reveal the actual state of affairs within its ranks. Some people have claimed that there is a mole (a KGB agent) high in the ranks of the CIA, and have pointed to the Nosenko affair with its ending in the firing of the hard-line cold warrior, James Jesus Angleton and his close associates. This all may be part of something like the Marchetti hypothesis.

In sum, where are we now? By this stage in history and in the accumulation of evidence I think at least the following theories are supportable by evidence, and are not disprovable:

(1) The events in Dealey Plaza, Nov. 22, 1963, were designed to assassinate Gov. Connally, and Kennedy was an innocent bystander.

(2) That Kennedy's assassination was designed by anti-Castro Cubans, with assistance from U.S. intelligence personnel, to precipitate another invasion of Cuba. Oswald's role was to create the *casus belli* by disappearing into the arms of Fidel Castro.

(3) That Kennedy's assassination was designed and carried through by Mafia elements, because of the actions of JFK and his brother in interfering with their operations. Oswald was a bit player in this scenario, who became the main suspect.

(4) That Kennedy's assassination was the result of Oswald's involvements in Russia. Oswald's activities before, during and after his trip to Russia strongly indicate he was somebody's agent, maybe a double agent. His access to a high KGB figure in Mexico City, and the lack of interest in his activities in Mexico and Dallas on the part of the CIA and FBI again suggest his being somebody's agent. The clues of his Nov. 9, 1963, letter, his aggressive and pro-Russian remarks in Dallas just before the assassination, and his calm after his arrest are all suggestive of some kind of spy plot.

(5) The Kennedy assassination was planned and carried out by Russian agents, and Nosenko was used to disinform the U.S. authorities.

(6) The Kennedy assassination was planned and carried out so that the Russians would be blamed and World War III would commence. Castro's speech and Nosenko's defection were attempts to defuse this.

(7) The Kennedy assassination was Castro's revenge for the many ongoing attempts to

assassinate him. Although Castro had publicly stated he would avenge these plots, there is nothing besides Oswald's "fake" pro-Castro activities to indicate Castro was at all carrying on any of offensive efforts against his American antagonists.

(8) That Kennedy was assassinated by some faction in the CIA-KGB puzzle factory as part of a power struggle between the secret leaders of these two groups. Kennedy had tried to purge the CIA after the Bay of Pigs. Allan Dulles, its fired leader, had written (or had had ghost-written) by Watergate burglar, E. Howard Hunt, *The Craft of Intelligence*, in which in early 1963, he strongly indicated our ability to stop the Communists depended on getting rid of Kennedy. Marchetti's KGB branch of the CIA may have capitalized on the opposition of Dulles, Hunt, Angleton and others to Kennedy, and...

All of these I say are possible scenarios, supported by some evidence and not presently refutable. There are no doubt other scenarios that meet these conditions. Unless more evidence, a confession or two, some secret papers released, somebody's secret memoirs turn up we may be left at this point.

There is a haunting scene in the Warren Commission papers. Deputy Sheriff Roger Craig (one of the many, many witnesses now deceased), who was one of the few efficient police officers at the scene of the crime, reported that about 15 minutes after the shooting, he heard a whistle, and then saw a man run down from the Book Depository to the Stemmons Freeway, where he got into a light-colored Rambler station wagon.

Deputy Sheriff Craig tried to stop the car but was unable to. Later on, about 5 p.m., after "impulsive" search the Book Depository, Craig telephoned in a report of what he had seen. He was asked to come down to police headquarters right away and look at the suspect who was in custody. (Remember, the Warren Commission evidence indicates Oswald left the Book Depository two or three minutes after the shooting, took a bus and a taxi to his residence where he picked up his revolver. Hence the person Craig saw could not have been Oswald, if all the other identifications were correct.) When Craig got to headquarters, he immediately and positively identified Oswald as the man he had seen getting into a station wagon and driving away. Craig identified Oswald as he was interrogated in Capt. Will Fritz's office. Oswald, we are told, said cryptically, "Everyone will know who I am now."

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Russian Emigrants to Go to Israel

NEW YORK (JTA) — Up to 100 Russian emigrants to the United States and Canada will leave for Israel on Dec. 5 to experience living conditions and job opportunities in that country, according to Moshe Shechter, director of the Aliya Center.

The pilot trip, coordinated by the Aliya Center and Tour Va'aleh, would be the largest such tour of Russian Jews to Israel ever organized.



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