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Madrid, Plaza de la Villa.

Judith Exner was President Kennedy's lover from 1960 to 1962. She knows things about him that nobody could have believed while he lived, and nobody wants to believe now he's dead. For her new testimony confirms Kennedy's Mafia links, and may even hold the key to the mystery of his death, which she still mourns. Ignored and belittled by the press and the president's old retainers, she wants to set the record straight. Report by Anthony Summers. Portrait by Harry Benson

THE UNMAKING OF A MYTH

Early evening, April 28, 1961, in a room at Chicago's Ambassador East Hotel. For 15 minutes, two men sat quietly talking. One, a handsome 44-year-old, was familiar to millions. The face of his companion, a decade older, was thinner and more lined, virtually unknown to the general public. Both wielded immense power and, together, they were planning a murder.

According to the history books, this meeting never took place. For the younger man in this scenario was allegedly President John F. Kennedy, a man who dazzled the world as champion of all that was best in America. The older man, the co-conspirator, was Salvatore "Sam" Giancana, one of the three most powerful Mafia chieftains in the United States, a man whose criminal enterprises ranged from Las Vegas to Mexico to pre-revolutionary Cuba, believed responsible for hundreds of murders. On this occasion the man he and Kennedy were allegedly planning to murder was Cuba's Communist leader, Fidel Castro.

That there were American plans to assassinate Castro - and other foreign leaders - has been known since US Senate revelations in 1975. The Senate's Intelligence Committee discovered that CIA officials had plotted the murder with Giancana and other mobsters - and

condemned the operation as "incompatible with American principles, international order, and morality". The senators suspected President Kennedy had knowledge of the plots, but had no proof, found no witnesses who would testify to the president's involvement. Now, in a year that has seen several scholarly books raising fresh controversy about Kennedy's womanising and his moral fitness for high office, a key witness offers devastating revelations.

She is Judith Exner, one of the president's few surviving lovers, herself no stranger to controversy. She says she was present when John Kennedy met the mobster at the Chicago hotel - she sat on the edge of the tub in the bathroom while they talked business in the bedroom. She claims she helped arrange other secret meetings, and acted as courier between the two men "on at least 20 occasions".

Initially, she says, she carried huge sums of cash, designed to subvert the elections that put Kennedy into the White House. Later, after he had become president, Kennedy used her as a go-between to deliver intelligence data about Fidel Castro to Giancana.

In 1960 Judith Exner was 26 years old, a striking beauty and a familiar face on the California social scene. She did not,

however, fit the profile of either bimbo-on-the-make or gangster's moll - the roles in which the press enjoy casting her. Raised as a God-fearing Catholic girl, the daughter of a German architect and an Irish mother, Exner enjoyed an affluent childhood in the Hollywood area. After a brief marriage, at 18, to a small-time actor, she had continued to circulate in a milieu peopled by some of Hollywood's most famous names.

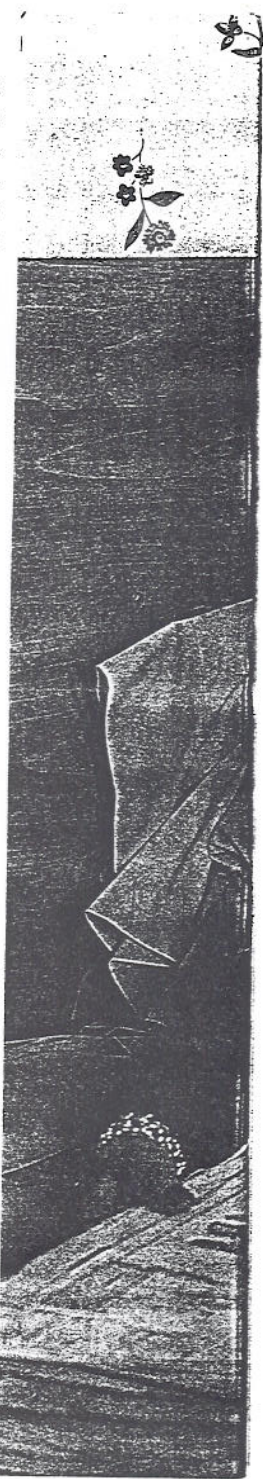
It was at Puccini's restaurant, in 1959, that Exner was approached by Frank Sinatra. It was a fateful meeting, one that led first to a brief affair with the singer and then - through him - to her role in a high stakes game involving John Kennedy, Sam Giancana, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover and the CIA.

Exner never sought publicity. She kept silent for 15 years, and her name only surfaced - in 1975 - because Senate investigators broke their promise of confidentiality and leaked her name to the press. White House telephone logs showed at least 70 contacts between Exner - using her then married name Campbell - and the president's office. These, combined with interviews and FBI records, led the senators to report that she had been a "close friend" to both Kennedy and Giancana.

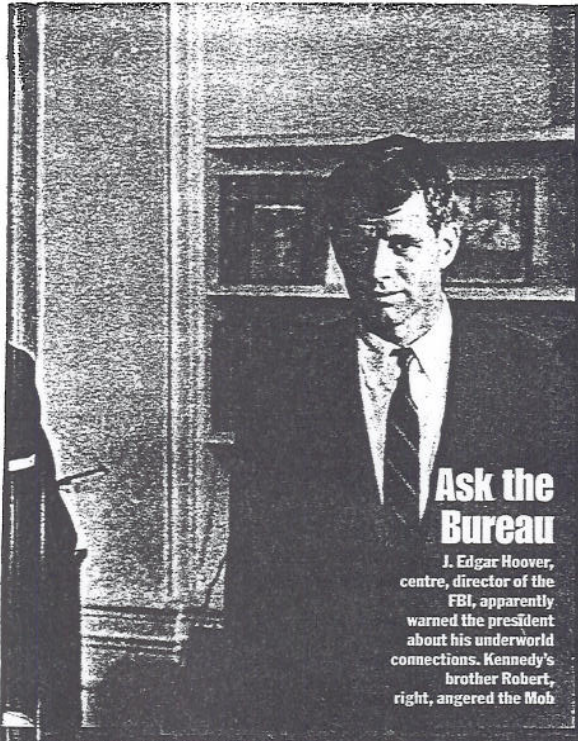
By her own admission, Exner has →



18 Kennedy, Exner and the mobster Sam Giancana. Today Exner (right, at home in California) joins up the triangle

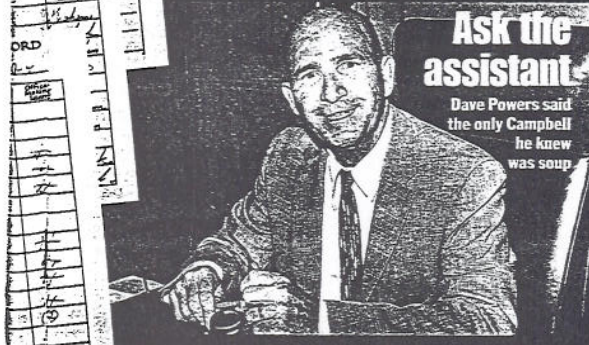


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Ask the Bureau

J. Edgar Hoover, centre, director of the FBI, apparently warned the president about his underworld connections. Kennedy's brother Robert, right, angered the Mob



Ask the assistant

Dave Powers said the only Campbell he knew was soup

been slow to tell the full story. In the Seventies, in the face of an onslaught from the press and denials from the president's former aides, she admitted only to affairs - at different times - with Kennedy and the mobster. Then, in a 1988 interview with the writer Kitty Kelley, Exner caused a sensation with her claim that Kennedy and Giancana had prolonged contacts with each other, using her as a go-between. But she told Kelley that she never knew what was in the packages she carried, that Kennedy did not explain to her what was going on.

Now, in a series of interviews at her home in California, Exner has gone a vital step further. "Fairly early on," she said, "Jack told me outright. He said the envelopes contained 'intelligence material', and that it involved the elimination of Fidel Castro. I think it came out because I was curious why Sam - being who he was - was working for the CIA.

"I think Jack told me because he was concerned that I would be comfortable with it. I was right in the middle of my relationship with him, and I loved him. He was also the president, and I don't think I felt qualified to question it. I was a young woman in my twenties, and I was not deeply into politics. But I knew what was going on, and Jack knew. Jack fully participated in the CIA involvement with the underworld."

There is more, says Exner. In 1960, when he was campaigning for the presidency, Kennedy twice asked her to carry money to Giancana. The first request came soon after her introduction to the mobster by Frank Sinatra - who had earlier introduced her to Kennedy during a trip to Las Vegas. Kennedy sent her red roses, and soon the mobster was showering her with yellow ones - though her interest then, and for more than two years to come, would be only in Kennedy.

"I was in contact with Jack on the phone all the time," Exner says. "He was always asking me, 'What have you been doing? Who did you meet?' I told him I had met Sam, and he laughed and said 'You have to watch out for these guys', or something like that. I only knew Sam as 'Sam Flood' then, the name he had been using when I met him, but Jack appeared to know who I was talking about."

The next time Exner saw Kennedy was on April 6 when - with characteristic audacity - he invited her to his town house in Georgetown, Washington, while his wife Jacqueline, then pregnant with John Jr, was away. That evening, though, the emphasis was not on romance.

"There was another man there," Exner says, "a railroad lobbyist called Bill - I don't remember his second name. He was a very big man, and you could tell they were close, very good friends. I didn't listen to much of the discussion. I was in another woman's home, with her husband. And I was concerned about how it looked. Jack's request to me overshadowed everything else. He asked me, in front of Bill, if I would set up a meeting with Sam.

"I said, 'Why do you want me to fix the

meeting, or should I ask?' And he said something like, 'I think he can help me with the campaign.' I knew Frank Sinatra was helping him with the campaign. Sam was a friend of Frank's. It just all made sense to me. And I was very flattered.

"And then Jack asked if I would mind taking something to Sam for him. I said 'What is it?' And he said, 'It'll be cash, money. A lot of money.' I must admit I was startled, and I asked, 'Will I be safe? I'm a woman alone.' He said I wouldn't be alone, that someone would be with me, and that I'd be better off not knowing who, that they could watch over me easier that way.

"I agreed to what he asked. I was proud that he had that trust in me. I felt that he was entrusting me with something that was very important to him, that had to do with his campaign. I didn't know where the money was going to go when I left Sam, but I knew it had to do with the campaign. But I wasn't stupid, and I read the papers. And I probably deduced someone was being paid off, something was being bought with this money.

"He gave me a sort of briefcase, made of very soft leather. It felt very firm, very packed, and it was on the heavy side. Sometime after midnight, between 12 and two, Jack called a cab and I went back to my hotel, the Sheraton, with the bag."

Exner says she travelled to Chicago by train, and Giancana met her there at Union Station at 8.30am on April 8. She did not try to look into the suitcase, any more than she would try to open the envelopes she later carried in connection with the Castro murder plots. "The bag never left my hands," she said, "I gave it to Sam right there at the station. I just handed it to him without any comment, and he took it without comment. To anyone else it would have looked like a man helping a woman with her luggage.

"I think Sam was expecting the money. That was kind of obvious from the fact that Jack asked me to take it to him. I didn't just show up with a basketful of money and Sam not know what this was all about. There were forces at work that I didn't know anything about."

After Kennedy won the Democratic nomination in July 1960, says Exner, Giancana received more Kennedy money. In the late summer and early autumn she rented an apartment in New York City's Navarro Hotel, which she and Kennedy used several times for their lovers' trysts. In August, it served another purpose: Giancana came to the apartment for another brief meeting with Kennedy, and on another occasion stopped by to pick up a second packed leather briefcase, which Kennedy had delivered to Exner.

"After Jack was elected," Exner said, "Sam used to tease me all the time. He'd say, 'Your boyfriend wouldn't be president if it wasn't for me.' He'd say this in a serious way, too. My impression was that Sam bought the influence, that he had a direct effect on the result of the election."

With her new statements, Exner becomes the first primary source to offer apparent confirmation that →

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Kennedy cheated his way towards election, and plotted the murder of a foreign leader in peacetime. If Exner's account is accepted, the president's reputation will be damaged beyond recovery.

Exner knows she will face disbelief and criticism. If this new story is the full truth, why did she withhold key facts when she first spoke out in 1975? Why did she do so again, when interviewed by Kitty Kelley in 1988? "Back in the Seventies," Exner says, "I was afraid - afraid I would be killed. I was also protecting Jack. I talked with my husband and we decided I should tell just enough to get the press off my back, harmless things about my affair with Jack that had nothing to do with what really placed me in danger, the business about the murder plots."

Exner says the same "deep-seated fear" made her pull her punches even in 1988 - that and the fact that she did not trust her interviewer, Kitty Kelley. The fear was justified. Sam Giancana was shot dead in his basement before the Senate Intelligence Committee could question him. Some of the bullets that killed him had been stitched around his mouth - a warning to others not to talk. Giancana's close friend Johnny Roselli, whom Exner also knew, did testify to Senate committees - three times. He vanished soon after, and his body was later found dismembered, floating in an oil drum in Miami's Dumbofounding Bay. Neither murder has yet been solved.

Why, then, is Exner telling her story now? In part, she says, she is moved by anger, anger that she has been branded repeatedly as a scarlet woman, as a "mistress" - or worse. "I think any woman caught up in scandal should fight back. The men are never put in the same position as the women. When a politician like Jack Kennedy's philandering comes out he's just a 'naughty boy'. But the woman comes over as a tramp, a slut. I was never anybody's kept woman. Jack once gave me \$2000. But that was because he wanted to pay for a mink coat that I had already bought. I had my own funds - my grandfather had made money in real estate. My main interest was in painting, but I did not need a career as such. Money had nothing to do with what I did.

"I've always been reluctant to implicate Jack. He trusted me as a go-between. But I think he put me in too much danger. I don't think he should have used me that way. He was clever. I was the instrument that would keep anyone one step away from proving Jack's connection to the assassination plots. If I'd said anything about this at the time, or even later, who would have believed me? They would have buried me..."

Exner is 57 now, and suffers from a cancer that has been diagnosed as terminal. She has already survived longer than her doctors expected. "When you find you're in the position I'm in, healthwise," says Exner, "you think about things differently. Now, a very important part of my telling the truth is for the sake of my son. This story will never go away, and he's going to

FROM: C. A. Evans *Epert* DATE: 8/17/83

SUBJECT: JOHN ROSELLI
ANTI-RACKETEERING
John F. Kennedy

John Roselli is the subject of intensified investigation in California in connection with the Criminal Intelligence Program. During our investigation we have determined that information connecting John Roselli with Judith Campbell Chicago gangster and with other underworld figures. In addition, she is the individual who has been in telephonic contact with Sam Giancana, Secretary at the White House. The nature of the relationship between Campbell and Mrs. Lincoln is not known. However, one ~~source~~ a private investigator of questionable reputation in Los Angeles, has alleged that Judith Campbell one time had an affair with President Kennedy. The information concerning Campbell's contacts with the President's secretary has been furnished previously to the White House and the Attorney General.

In connection with the investigation of Roselli and Campbell, our Los Angeles office has been maintaining an observation post on the apartment of Judith Campbell. On 8/17/83 one of our Los Angeles agents observed two men on the balcony of Judith Campbell's apartment. According to our Los Angeles office, Campbell resides in a second floor apartment at the front of the building and access to her balcony is through a public corridor on the second floor of the apartment building, which corridor leads to a door opening out on the balcony. One of these men was observed to knock on the door of Campbell's apartment and then enter the apartment. It could not be determined whether the man who went into the apartment took anything from the apartment with him when he departed. According to Los Angeles, Campbell was not in her apartment at the time of the entry. Subsequently, a man answering the description of the individual who entered Campbell's apartment was observed leaving the area in an automobile registered to ~~911-27324~~ *911-27324*

Our Dallas Office has advised that ~~is employed by~~ *911-27324*

1 - Administrative Division



Unsolved

Johnny Roselli, left, Giancana's henchman, was murdered after he testified to Senate investigators. A censored FBI report links him with Exner; its agents stood by as her apartment was searched

have to live with it. And I really believe that the cover-up should be exposed. Even if it sounds corny, it should be exposed for the sake of history, for historians to be able to evaluate Jack Kennedy as a man, and Jack Kennedy's presidency."

But can Exner's account be believed? Newly released documents, obtained this summer under the Freedom of Information Act, force a sobering conclusion. Far from showing Exner up as a liar, they prove that - in basic areas - it is the former Kennedy staff who lied.

The president's former close aides, Dave Powers and Kenneth O'Donnell, denied all knowledge of Judith Campbell - Exner's name at the time of her affair with Kennedy. "The only Campbell I know," Powers scoffed in 1975, "is chunky vegetable soup." Evelyn Lincoln, the president's secretary, claimed Exner had been just "a campaign worker."

Lincoln's denial was initially shaken when Exner proved she had home numbers for the secretary and the president covering Washington, Hyannis Port and Palm Beach before and during the presidency. As late as 1988, however, Lincoln was still shrugging off the phone logs showing dozens of calls to her by Exner. "She was just one of hundreds that called constantly saying, 'May I speak to the president?'" the former secretary claimed

recently. "I never even asked him if he wanted to talk to her. She was just one of those women."

The issue now seems to be settled - in Exner's favour - in the light of another batch of documents obtained during preparation for this article. These are Secret Service logs recording the names of all those who entered the White House through the West Gate - logs that Dave Powers claimed made no mention of Exner. In fact, they show that "Judy Campbell" was registered in the logs, and was admitted to the White House on May 5, and August 8 and 10, 1961. Evelyn Lincoln personally authorised one of the visits.

There were other occasions, Exner says, when she was brought to see Kennedy in a White House car. When she arrived that way, through the East Gate, there was no written check-in procedure. Research suggests many visits to the Oval Office did indeed go unrecorded.

Not all, however. The May 5 entry shows Exner arrived at the Secret Service post in the late afternoon. Exner long ago spoke of such a visit and still has her 1961 calendar with the entry:

4:30 White House
See Jack Kennedy

New research also firmly identifies the "railroad lobbyist called Bill" who, Exner

claims, was present at dinner the night Kennedy set up her first courier mission to Giancana. One of Kennedy's friends, the former senator George Smathers, recalls seeing Kennedy and Exner in the company of railroad lobbyist Bill Thompson. Thompson, who died in 1970, is notable by his absence from the myriad Kennedy biographies. He was a friend who did service by remaining invisible.

Thompson's family reveals that he had been friends with Kennedy since the war, that Kennedy was best man at his wedding, that he was active with the Democratic Advisory Committee as a "behind the scenes kind of guy", and that he had CIA links. When Kennedy was president, Thompson had access to the White House around the clock. "They had a very special relationship," says Thompson's daughter Gail Laird. "I think it was somewhat on the sleazy side. My father was a terrible womaniser."

"They were asshole buddies," said his son Mack. "My father brought the women in all the time."

What, then, of Exner's claim that, during the election campaign, Kennedy met the mobster Giancana, and sent him bags full of cash designed to buy votes? Is it conceivable that John Kennedy would thus compromise himself with the Mafia? Again the answer must be yes.

The Mob connection ran in the family. Prominent underworld sources have said it began during the Prohibition era, when - like the mobsters - Kennedy's father Joseph made a fortune in the whisky business. He reportedly played golf, in the Thirties, with Giancana's associate Johnny Roselli. Years later, during his son's election campaign, an FBI report noted that Joseph was "visited by many mobsters" while staying at the Cal-Neva Lodge in California. The hotel was partially owned by Giancana.

Far from shying away from gangsters, John Kennedy apparently cultivated them much as his father did. The widow of Meyer Lansky, the Mob's financial wizard, says Kennedy met Lansky when he visited Cuba, and took the mobster's advice on where to find women. (Kennedy did visit Cuba, in 1957, with his crony Bill Thompson.) Three months later, in February 1958, Kennedy attracted the attention of the FBI when - during a speechmaking trip to Arizona - he attended mass in the company of August "Gus" Bataglia, best friend of crime boss Joe Bonanno. Bonanno has said he himself met Kennedy at Bataglia's ranch.

A connection between Kennedy, the privileged Easterner, and Giancana, the Mafia graduate of a Chicago streetgang, is not as improbable as it might seem. They shared a number of mutual friends, including Frank Sinatra, Kennedy's brother-in-law Peter Lawford and Porfirio Rubirosa, the playboy diplomat from the Dominican Republic.

In February 1960, when Frank Sinatra introduced Kennedy to Exner in ~~1960~~ 23

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Las Vegas, the presidential campaign was going into high gear. Sammy Davis Jr, who was in Sinatra's show at the Sands Hotel, later recalled an odd incident. The candidate's brother-in-law, Peter Lawford, took him aside and whispered, "If you want to see what a million dollars in cash looks like, go into the next room; there's a brown leather satchel in the closet; open it. It's a gift from the hotel owners for Jack's campaign."

One of the criminal hotel owners in Las Vegas was Sam Giancana. The next month, just two weeks after Kennedy began his affair with Judith Exner, an informant told the FBI that Joe Fischetti and "other unidentified hoodlums" were "financially supporting and actively trying to secure Kennedy's election at the behest of the senator's friend Frank Sinatra." Fischetti, whom Exner also met that month, was one of Giancana's close associates.

If the Mob was providing finance for the Kennedy campaign, why, then, would the candidate - as Exner asserts - have twice sent huge sums in cash in the other direction, for covert delivery to Giancana? The answer may lie in the timing.

Kennedy sent Exner off with the first batch of money on the night of April 6, 1960, after a dinner dominated by discussion of the impending primary election in West Virginia. It was a contest Kennedy regarded as crucial, one he was afraid he might lose. Some of the vast Kennedy fortune was indeed distributed in West Virginia - some of it in legal donations to local politicians. Kennedy campaign manager Larry O'Brien recalled that his secretary toted around thousands of dollars, in cash, in a suitcase she kept under her hotel bed.

Other forms of inducement were apparently arranged by Sam Giancana. Skinny d'Amato, one of the mobster's key money minders, said Giancana sent him to West Virginia "to get votes for Jack Kennedy." Kennedy duly won the election as a result, Exner's new testimony suggests, of a collaborative effort: mob muscle and money, and a liberal injection of cash provided by Kennedy to Giancana for distribution by his henchmen.

Heavily censored FBI documents confirm that Giancana was in the northeast in August 1960, when - according to Exner - he again met the candidate and picked up a bag of money in New York. In November, when a razor-thin majority gave Kennedy victory over Richard Nixon in the state of Illinois, there were serious charges of vote fraud in the area of Chicago where Giancana ruled the roost.

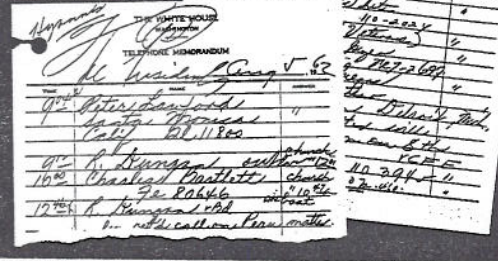
The mobster's intervention alone was not, as he boasted to Exner, responsible for putting Kennedy into the White House. But the new revelations suggest he contributed mightily - with Kennedy's full collaboration.

Scholars will long debate Exner's claim that, as president, Kennedy was in cahoots with Giancana in the Castro murder plots. Some of her documentation, certainly, is impressive. There is her calendar entry - supported by the official

24 White House log - indicating that she saw

The last phone-call

The night Marilyn Monroe died, Kennedy's brother-in-law Peter Lawford was at her house. He called the president the next morning, and Exner called Kennedy when the news was out.



the president on May 5, 1961. Her entry for the next day, supported by airline tickets and hotel bills, reads:

- 1.15 Lunch at White House with Jack Kennedy and Dave Powers
- 6.00 White House car to airport
- 6.40 Chicago dinner with Sam.
- Leave 7.40
- 8.40 Las Vegas

And the next day, May 6:

- 9.30 Vegas with [Joe and] Johnny R

This sequence, Exner says, records her delivery to the president of an envelope from Giancana and his henchman Roselli, a second meeting at which Kennedy gave her an envelope to carry to the mobsters, and a hectic journey first to Chicago, where Giancana perused its contents, then to Las Vegas, where Roselli took final delivery. Exner says she performed such missions repeatedly throughout 1961. She says Kennedy met Giancana in Washington on August 8, and heavily censored FBI records indicate the mobster was in nearby Baltimore that week. Again, while there is only Exner's word that the exchanges involved Cuban plots, the timing seems significant.

On April 15, just two weeks before Kennedy and Giancana's first alleged meeting on Cuba, the president had suffered a major political and military humiliation. This was the disastrous Bay of Pigs operation, the botched invasion of Cuba by a contingent of anti-Castro exiles trained and financed by the CIA. According to the former senator George Smathers, a distraught Kennedy said he had been "given to believe" by the CIA that Castro would be dead before the attack went in. "Someone," Smathers recalled, "was supposed to have knocked him off."

It was the CIA who had first conceived

the idea of murdering Castro. They enlisted Giancana's help months before Kennedy became president - and Richard Nixon, then Eisenhower's vice-president, was probably in the know.

Before the Bay of Pigs Kennedy, who should have been similarly briefed, discussed the possibility of assassinating Castro with his friend Smathers. Smathers advised the president against the idea and - according to the former senator - he appeared to agree.

After the Bay of Pigs debacle - and the very evident survival of Castro - Kennedy was deeply depressed. "More upset," said his brother Robert, "than he was any other time." Discussing Cuba over dinner with Smathers, the president crashed a plate down so hard that it cracked. Kennedy loyalists claim the president would have had nothing to do with assassination plots. CIA officials of the time, for their part, have neither pointed the finger at Kennedy nor cleared him. "Kennedy," said Richard Helms, then deputy director of plans, "wanted to get rid of Castro, and the agency was not about to undertake anything like that on its own."

Even if Kennedy did sanction the murder, why would he take the extraordinary risk of dealing direct with the Mafia? Was it perhaps because, as is well known, he was disenchanted with the agency after the Bay of Pigs? Did he think that, with his own connection to Giancana, he could best stay on top of the matter by getting involved himself? Would that have been typical of the president's love for intrigue, or uncharacteristically hot-headed?

Kennedy may have paid the ultimate price for his dalliance with Giancana. The Mafia, which does nothing for nothing, takes vicious revenge when it considers a pact has been broken.

According to Skinny d'Amato, the

Giancana lieutenant sent into West Virginia to fix the primary election, the price for a Kennedy victory was permission - should Kennedy go on to win the presidency - for the return of the deported Mafia boss Joe Adonis. If there was such a deal it fell through, reportedly because Attorney General Robert Kennedy would have none of it. It was Robert Kennedy's crusade against organized crime that infuriated the Mob most of all. Giancana, one of its prime targets, made ominous noises as early as July 1961 when - according to Exner - he was still liaising with Kennedy on the Castro operation. "I know all about the Kennedys," he shouted at an FBI agent, "... and one of these days we are going to tell all..."

By early 1962, ever more harried by Kennedy law enforcement, the Mob felt cheated. "He'll get what he wants out of you," an FBI bug overheard Giancana say of the president, "but you won't get anything out of him." Around that time, Exner says, the flow of envelopes between Kennedy and Giancana ceased. By autumn, when her affair with the president had dwindled and died, she sought solace in a brief affair with Giancana. She recalls him speaking of Robert Kennedy "with hatred", of the president "without respect".

That same autumn the Florida Mafia boss Santos Trafficante, an accomplice of Giancana in the Castro murder plots - and a man with close links to the exiled Joe Adonis - made an ominous comment. The Kennedys, he told an associate, were "not honest. They took graft and they did not keep a bargain... this man Kennedy is in trouble, and he will get what is coming to him... he is going to be hit."

By 1963, at home in California, Judith Exner was a troubled woman, constantly harassed and spied on by J. Edgar Hoover's FBI, which had long since discovered her simultaneous association with the president and top mafiosi. Giancana was now behaving oddly towards Exner, once staring straight through her at a chance encounter, at other times affable. His West Coast henchman Roselli remained attentive. "It was almost," Exner reflects today, "as if they were keeping an eye on me."

On November 20, when she was between apartments, Exner moved into the Beverly Crest Hotel. She was sleeping late in her room there, two days later, when her mother rang. "She just said 'Switch on the television,'" Exner recalls, "and weeps at the memory even today. John Kennedy, her lover of a year earlier, had been assassinated in Dallas."

Exner stayed in her hotel room for days, trying to drink away the shock and the sorrow, refusing to answer the telephone. It was Johnny Roselli who persuaded her to come out of seclusion five days later.

In Texas, Lee Harvey Oswald had been arrested on suspicion of killing the president, then gunned down in his turn by Jack Ruby, a shadowy figure with Mafia connections going back to his youth in Chicago. The Mafia link was not revealed at the time, and - in the mind of the

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KENNEDY AND THE MOB continued

young Judith Exner - there was nothing to link the assassination with the covert relationship she had witnessed between Kennedy and Giancana.

Congress's Assassinations Committee concluded in 1978 that President Kennedy was "probably" assassinated as the result of a conspiracy. Staff were divided as to whether the murderers were mobsters or US intelligence operatives, or elements of both. In a book soon to be published, Giancana's nephew and godson - also named Sam - will say the committee was right about the conspiracy, and that his uncle was involved. The book will also corroborate Exner's claim that she acted as courier between Kennedy and Giancana, and will say that two other people - known public figures - were used in the same way.

Exner, like many independent observers, was appalled by the Senate Intelligence Committee's handling of her case in 1975. None of the senators was present when she testified. The attorney picked for her by the committee, she later discovered, worked for the law firm of Sargent Shriver, the late president's brother-in-law. He advised her to answer all questions with a yes or no, and volunteer nothing. "It was absurd," she recalls. "The staff asked none of the questions that would have taken them closer to the truth. It was as if they'd lifted a stone, discovered something they preferred not to see, and hastily dropped it." (Today Exner keeps no Kennedy memorabilia in her apartment.

The picture she is holding on our cover belongs to the photographer Harry Benson.)

The Intelligence Committee failed to tell the truth in its official report. It stated that the "last telephone contact" between the White House and Exner occurred on March 22, 1962, a few hours after a meeting between Kennedy and FBI director J. Edgar Hoover - at which, according to his aide Cartha DeLoach, Hoover revealed that he knew a great deal about the Exner affair. Kennedy reacted to Hoover's warning, Exner says, by calling her at once. "He told me to go to my mother's house, and call him from there. When I did, he said the phone in my apartment wasn't safe. He was furious. You could feel his anger. He said Hoover had told him I was a friend of two men in the underworld and that he knew I had been at the White House. My impression was that Hoover had intimated to him that he knew I had been passing material from Jack to Sam."

The March 22, 1962, call from Exner to the White House, made at 7.30pm, duly appears in the official log. Contrary to the Intelligence Committee's claim, however, it was not the last call. The logs show at least three more Exner contacts, in June, July and August. The last call occurred at a time heavy with significance - on August 6.

A short drive away from Exner, in another part of Los Angeles, lived another of the president's lovers, Marilyn Monroe. At some time during the night of August 4-5, Monroe died - in circumstances that

have never been satisfactorily explained. One of the last people to see her alive, Kennedy's brother-in-law Peter Lawford, visited a private detective at 5am Los Angeles time to ask for help in clearing Monroe's house of anything that might lead to the Kennedys. The detective, Fred Otash, proved unable to help.

The White House phone log, revealed here for the first time, shows that an hour later - at 9.04am Washington time - Lawford called the president at Hyannis Port. Soon afterwards, in Los Angeles, chief of detectives Thad Brown was summoned to headquarters because of "a problem". The problem, he told a colleague, was that a piece of crumpled paper had been found in Monroe's bedclothes. It bore a White House phone number. A thorough cover-up ensued.

Monroe and Exner had both had affairs with John Kennedy and Frank Sinatra. They both attended the same gynaecologist, Sinatra's friend Red Krohn. Both knew Peter Lawford. Monroe, like Exner, reportedly knew Johnny Roselli. The week before she died she visited the Cal-Neva Lodge, which Giancana partially owned. By some accounts, he met and talked with Monroe that weekend.

The logs show Judith Exner called the White House twice the day after Monroe's death, once at 3.07pm, and again at 7.10pm. A note, probably Evelyn Lincoln's, indicates the president was in conference, with the scrawled addition "No".

FBI reports reveal that the next day,

August 7, agents watching Exner's apartment sat by as a man burgled the place. Exner recalls that, while her jewellery and valuables were left untouched, her current telephone records went missing.

Several key survivors of the Kennedy era could throw light on these sinister events, and on Exner's revelations. Secret Service agents and records could clarify the president's precise movements, which are crucial to a final assessment of Exner's claims. The president's aides, Evelyn Lincoln and Dave Powers, could be asked to explain their past denials. Frank Sinatra, who introduced Exner to both Kennedy and Giancana, has never been questioned. Nor have Giancana's associates and family.

"I would be prepared to tell it all under oath," Exner says. "They could find out a lot even now. But do they want to?"

Once, in the rosy afterglow of the Kennedy "Camelot", Exner's story might have been dismissed as black fantasy. After the torrent of disclosures of the Seventies and Eighties, and - now - with the irrefutable evidence of the White House logs, it demands serious attention. For somewhere in this tangle of evidence lie the facts that will resolve how President Kennedy is viewed by history, perhaps even the truth about several mysterious deaths - including his own.

Anthony Summers is the author of "The Kennedy Conspiracy" and "Goddess: The Secret Lives of Marilyn Monroe". His next work, a biography of the FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, is due out next year.

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANTHONY SUMMERS. A.S.L. PHOTOGRAPHY

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FOR MORE DETAILS SEE PAGE 51

JFK and the Mafia, by dying lover Judith

By NORMAN LUCK

RESIDENT Kennedy plotted with the Mafia murder Cuban leader Fidel Castro, an Exner claims.

JFK's links with the Mafia could hold the key to his own mystery assassination.

Judith Exner, who had a 10-year affair with the charismatic young president, has broken her imposed silence after years.

She revealed she was sent when he and top Mafia boss Salvatore "Sam" Giancana planned the murder of Fidel Castro, Cuba's communist leader.

Exner also claimed to have tied suitcases full of money from Kennedy to Giancana to buy votes in the presidential election trial.



PLOTTERS: Exner claims Kennedy and Giancana, right, conspired to murder Fidel Castro

Beauty

Exner claimed the mob used to tease her, saying "Your boyfriend would not be president if he wasn't for me."

At 57, she is dying of cancer and already on oxygen.

She met JFK in 1960, when her father was on the California scene.

She introduced JFK to her father's friend, the mob boss Anthony Summers, author of the book 'Kennedy Conspiracy'.

Exner's interview with Summers gives a penetrating insight into her regular trips to the White House and the phone calls to the office.

She told of the time she sat on the edge of a bathtub in a suite at

Chicago's Ambassador East hotel while President Kennedy and Sam Giancana plotted in hushed tones in the next room to murder Castro.

She delivered CIA intelligence data to Giancana to help with the plot.

And at least 20 times she carried huge sums of cash from Kennedy to Giancana when Mafia help was enlisted to put Kennedy into the White House.

Exner, who at the time was known as Judith Campbell, has never sought publicity.

She kept silent for 15 years and her name surfaced only in 1975, when Senate investigators broke their promise of

confidentiality and leaked it to the Press.

She had come to light when White House telephone logs were examined to reveal at least 70 contacts between her and the president's office.

Fear

These, combined with interviews and FBI records, led the senators to report that she had been a "close friend" to both Kennedy and Giancana.

In an interview which severely damages the "American Dream" image created by Kennedy's apparent dynamism, Exner said she had kept quiet up to now through fear of being harmed.

Much of what she revealed can be substantiated by documentary evidence, including Kennedy's ending of their affair in 1962 after a warning by the FBI.

She also raises the question about the burglary of her apartment in August 1962, while she was under surveillance by the FBI.

Nothing was taken, except her telephone records and address book which linked her to the White House.

The interview, in the Sunday Times magazine, also touched on the death of another of Kennedy's lovers, screen idol Marilyn Monroe.

The circumstances have

never been satisfactorily explained.

Summers claimed several key survivors of the Kennedy era could throw light on these sinister events and on Exner's relations.

Help


Secret Service agents and records could clarify the president's exact movements at this time, and surviving members of his staff at the time could be asked to explain their past denials.

It is claimed that the president's brother-in-law Peter Lawford was deeply involved in the Monroe affair.

He is said to have visited a private detective at Sam on the night of her death to seek help in clearing her house of anything which might point to the Kennedys.

Exner said she is prepared to give her latest evidence on oath.

"Your boyfriend wouldn't be president without me"



JACK: Role model

Marriage makes our men lazy, say wives

MARRIAGE makes men lazy around the house, wives claim.

Women say they do an average 10½ hours housework a week . . . while men manage 1½.


Nearly half complain their idle husbands follow the lead of Coronation Street's Jack Duckworth — played by Bill Tarmey — and give no help at all. Married men become even lazier as they get older.

Six wives in 10 aged 35 to 44 say their husbands do nothing.

"New" men who live with partners rather than marrying don't fare much better.

They do just two hours' housework a week, according to the survey for House Beautiful magazine.

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