

Dear Gunnar,

11/28/90

Thank you very much for taking the time to give me an understanding of the deficiencies in the official investigation of the Palme assassination. Because there appears to be nothing confidential in it I will make copies for three college-professor friends who teach courses in political assassinations - but not as mystery stories.

This is not one of my better days. I'm tired and feel weak. But I'll begin in the short time before we go out for supper and will possibly resume a long response when I have time or do not feel like doing other things. I may well send this and perhaps some copies of records by surface mail if I enclose enough records.

In reading your letter I was struck, as was my wife, to whom I gave it for her opinion, by the remarkable similarities in the deficiencies of the investigations there and here and with the appropriateness of some of your comments and opinions if they were to be applied to more than the JFK assassination - that of his brother and that of Dr. King. Where there is no direct parallel, there is one that is close. I'm beginning from recollection but I'll go through your letter from the beginning later. Take dominating and freezing out the prosecutor over there and substitute in the JFK assassination doing this with the Warren commission in Washington and the police in Texas. They also did this with the Dallas prosecutor, with whom I had a friendly relationship. Before he retired, years ago - and I interject that he began his professional career not only as an FBI agent but assigned to the territory in which I live - he let me go through his Ruby case files. The FBI gave him nothing except what it wanted to, much less than I got, and only what it considered related to his prosecution. Of course not all of that. Pardon my jumping around but I interject so I won't forget. Take the Ray prosecution. The FBI had to be clobbered to let the prosecution have 25 sections as they call them, really volumes of its case file which it called "Murkin." They withheld much from me but I got at least five full file cabinets, at least 20 file drawers of its records. By this means it dominated that prosecution. Not because that prosecutor wanted the truth but because the FBI wanted to take no chances of losing any element of control. Control is the ~~game~~ <sup>key</sup> of the FBI's game. If I remember correctly, I suggested that you first read the executive session transcript beginning on about page 475 of Post Mortem so you would see that the Warren Commission began, before it held any hearings, with the understanding I give you above. The FBI impressed on the Commission that the FBI had already solved the case and there was nothing for the Commission to do but fold its tents and go home. Into the setting sun.

I hope it is possible <sup>for</sup> you to come to the United States and I'm sorry we cannot offer you accommodations such as we'd like to. Our spare bedroom is my wife's office. But I'll see if I can arrange some low-cost quarters. I've been interrupted and before I stop, a reminder for when I resume, you can waste an enormous amount of time when you are in this country, and I want to remember to give you some specifics.

11/29 Assuming you do get to come here the best single source on FOIA and the suits under it for assassination records is James H. Lesar. He handled most of my <sup>cases</sup> ~~cases~~, almost all, and when continuing the litigation became impossible for me he represented a mutual friend, Mark Allen. I am not privy to what he got for Allen, although at the beginning Lesar kept me informed and sometimes provided copies. The end of copies may be related to <sup>Allen's</sup> ~~Allen's~~ affiliation with Bernard Fensterwald's Assassinations Archive and Research <sup>Center</sup> ~~Committee~~, AARC. Lesar and Allen are directors, Lesar's office is next to <sup>his</sup> ~~his~~, etc., and Fensterwald has his own ambitions, as I'll explain.

He first <sup>had</sup> a different group which he called the Committee to Investigate Assassinations. He was born wealthy, is a bright and nice guy, a better-than-average lawyer with wide experience and an incorrigible adopter of all the nutty theories on the assassination. For example, he adopted Ricky White via his other group, the Dallas assassination information center. (These people, other than Allen and Lesar, don't really know what information is.) (I have to leave soon and expect to return with a new ribbon. Sorry this is so pale. Have to go into town to get one.) I think Fensterwald, and as he is known, has an ambition to solve the case and that it dominates him. If not this, something else does. It drives him to the irrational and he not only can't see how nutty it is, when it is laid out for him he won't see. I tried on White,

and I can't begin to remember how many other such insanities I tried to rescue him from. His AARC collects anything it can get, without discrimination, and to the best of my knowledge, unless some donor has requested confidentiality, makes it all available. So, if you are interested in nutty theories, that is the best archive.

What they have by way of copies of official records I cannot tell you. I know they have what Allen has gotten and is still getting and they have the 90,000 pages of FBI HQ records it disclosed in an unsuccessful effort to avoid litigation but a successful effort to have complete control over what it would disclose and what it would withhold of the FBIHQ JFK assassination records. I have them and much, much more.

All of those I know who espouse what I regard as nutty theories, with few exceptions, are rather nice people. But they all want to be James Bonds and are economical with their contacts with realities. Those who are exceptions are not archivists and they have little or nothing that would interest you. They've not sued under FOIA to get any records. You will not find a finer human being than Jim Lesar and you will find Bud gracious, friendly, helpful, etc. In Dallas you'll find little but the scene of the crime and an overabundance of theories, none established as fact and most fanciful.

To give you an idea of how childishly incompetent most inquiries are and to show one of the reasons they accomplish nothing substantial, several weeks ago two of the anti-Castro soldiers of fortune came to see me on Bud's behalf - about the Ricky White nonsense! I'd written him several times, without response, in an effort to dissuade him from this project that can wind up getting him sued for fraud and he'd not responded. He'd phoned me and I tried again. He knows he is welcome to anything I have, but he wants what does not and cannot exist. So of all the people in the world he sends, for reasons not apparent, he sends two criminals both jailed for violence. I'd know one, Gerald Patrick Hemming, and he'd actually planned an invasion of Cuba via Haiti in my presence! The other, and you may encounter these names, Roy Hargraves, served time for bombing a southern California Students for a Democratic Society office and was suspect, I think falsely, of having killed another of the anti-Castro soldiers of fortune. Any association with men of this kind is potentially hurtful and it can't produce anything of value. Yet he did this and spent money on it that could have been used constructively elsewhere.

Another reason it was a futility, and this has general and wider application and may have been duplicated in Sweden, is that the crime itself was never investigated officially. I don't know the reasons but I have explanations that satisfy me if you are interested. So all these people start with nothing and get nowhere and wind up with little that can be called solid evidence. Lsear and Allen at least have some knowledge of the content of the disclosed records but almost without exception the others are indifferent to this. As an example, two friends who have made a great financial success of a bad book that amounts to a disinformation, here often, have never once gone through my files for what has been officially disclosed in the area of their interest. Their book is High Reason.

What I am saying is that if you come you should not ignore AARC in Washington but that aside from the Allen records I have all the official records they have that have any meaning and ever so much more. And Dallas would be sight-seeing. The few other repositories are trivial and like just about all, amount to disinformation, as do all the better-known books and all the newsletters.

In the few minutes I have before we have to leave for the shopping, a few words about phone tapping and bugging as practised by the FBI. Although I can't prove it I do believe that it does ~~more~~ get, at least has gotten, others, particularly local police, to do some of these jobs for it. They also have done and probably still do what they call "black bag jobs," sometimes just bag job. These are surreptitious entries for records, etc. Tapping also sometimes requires this and bugging always does. They are known to have conducted tapping and kept no records until they got something of value and then they got official permission. Which some attorneys general denied. I'll give you an example. They requested permission to tap the phones of the members of James Earl Ray's family. As you may recall, he was accused of killing Dr King. Ramsey Clark refused this permission so the FBI did it anyway.

I do have the proof - finding myself in as - now recall nine FBI bank-robbery files! There are, I'm sure, more. How did this happen? They had a silly notion - they were desperate to come up with anything at all - that James Ray's two brothers engaged in bank robberies to finance him. They had a tap on the phone Jerry "ay used and thus they eavesdropped on his conversations with me. There is no other possible source for that information. We'd never had any other contact. The information in those reports came only from our phone conversations.

Under Hoover at least the FBI believed it required no permission to bug and it asked for none. Unless, perhaps, it had a purpose in asking for permission. Right after the assassination, it had Marina Oswald's new home bugged before she moved in. And never told anyone. But they asked permission to tap her phone, having talked Earl Warren into the silly notion that she might try to flee the country. They got nothing but details of her private life, her nocturnal sexual fancies as she discussed them with her older woman friends, her conversations with her lawyer, but nothing connected with the assassination because, as they had to know, she knew nothing about it. For this electronic surveillance they used a van and shifts of agents around the clock. For three weeks and got nothing at all.

They hid all of this in their records under the phony file classification for such operations, a classification they refuse to search as irrelevant under FOIA, "Administrative Matters." The rationale is that they have administrative permission for the tap so they file it all under that permission. (The slang for this file and others like it is "admats". They do the same in the field offices by using a file classification for which the field offices have no use, "Laboratory Research Matters". In the field the lab records are filed under the appropriate cases, where they belong.

Many years have passed since I was able to keep some little track on these kinds of operations and what they now do I don't know. But I have no reason to believe they have abandoned this or eliminated the files accumulated that way. Of course I have no way of knowing whether your agencies have similar practises.

Another tricky filing that may be of interest to you is the HQ misuse of its "Crime Records" classification. It had a division with this name and that division handled the leaking, a subject on which I can help you, the lobbying, the blackmailing, etc. It then was under Associate Director Cartha DeLoach, then the "o. 3 man. They have their files on the media filed under this classification and they never search it (as irrelevant) too. I discovered this because of the FBI's practise of posting the number of duplicating files, then mostly on the right-hand margin. I'm sorry I was so late tumbling to this but once I did I made duplicate copies and filed them by subject. One that may be of interest to you in understanding how they can exercise control (and control is the name of the FBI's game) is filed under The Washington Star and its then city editor, Sid Epstein. If I think of it I'll include a couple of Washington Post records to go along with what I sent you, the Katze nbach memo to President Johnson via Bill Moyers. They, the FBI, did not want any presidential commission appointed.

Although the new ribbon won't keep me from being interrupted again, I now respond from your letter. Page 1. Your publisher and offering the book in the US. Perhaps your publisher keeps up to date but if he doesn't the bad books on the JFK assassination are selling incredibly well. While I do not believe that a foreign assassination can expect to do as well, there is a market for anything that alleges a conspiracy, and I mean this broadly, and Palme did have a not inconsiderable following here. I did not suggest having an American audience in mind and I think you should not. An American edition can always insert any necessary explanations.

You refer to the defense of the six police chiefs on trial and that this includes the claim that what they did was authorized secretly. That is precisely the line taken by former CIA Director Richard Helms before the House Select Committee on Assassination and by others in and defending the CIA on its planned assassinations. They just "understood" what the White House wanted. But later I got records proving this is a lie. I don't think the CIA realized this meaning in those records or they'd not have been disclosed.

Indeed these defendants are "not just anybody"!

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You think they will not get jail sentences. None of their kind did here. Helms was let off easily, as was the former Attorney General Kleindienst and the three top FBI officials also charged with such offenses. And here, too, the state paid the bill where victims were able to collect, as some few were.

On page 2 you talk about "politically destroying a wing of the SAPO" and that also did not happen here. There were some gestures in the CIA and the FBI and nothing really changed, except for the titles given to the things that were done under a different description, not discontinued.

"Olof Palme was strongly disliked by large sections of the police and military and leaders of private business." This would be true if you said it of JFK. And as you find with Palme, we had no real JFK assassination investigation. And here also the investigation had "odd ways" about it. A key thing to look for, based on what was true here, is what the investigation did not do that it should have done.

Page 3, "Holmer came to the police headquarters and immediately took control." Substitute Hoover and there is another parallel. One of the places where he admits taking the case before Johnson asked him to and without jurisdiction is recorded in a DeLoach memo of the interview Hoover granted William Manchester.

I've come to where you say he avoided putting experienced investigators on the case. In a way that happened here. First the FBI did not have to be told that Hoover had had an instant vision and thus knew immediately, as he says in the Manchester memo, that he knew right away there was a love nut assassin. Its agents know what is expected and not expected in political cases and I can enclose a couple of very early records bearing on this. What was avoided was the kind of lab work, for example, that was required. And I do not think that Hoover ordered it. I am suggesting that this can be another area in which just about all police agencies anywhere act in much the same way in political cases in which they are caught by surprise and haven't the slightest idea what really did happen.

The people also were in shock here and here they expected much of the FBI and the Warren Commission. "This does not excuse the media" you say. Ditto here. Only here some of it was manipulated by leaks, some was influenced by those columnists and reporters who enjoyed good relations with the FBI and were often favored by it, and before long the media here was quite unfriendly to those who raised questions. *But must follow the official line.*

Holmer: "Never led any murder investigations before." Well, that is the opposite of here because those involved in the investigations had had such experiences. But what may amuse you is that as a district attorney general Earl Warren was not able to solve the killing of his own father.

The prosecuting attorney here also should have been in charge of the investigation but the federal authority pre-empted local authority, beginning with the kidnapping of the corpse, which prevented the local doctors from performing the autopsy. With Oswald killed ~~at~~ two days later and with no search for any other suspect or co-conspirator, there was no local case other than the Ruby case. It happens that I developed a friendly relationship with the local prosecutor and while he knew only what the police had told him, he was an experience hunter and was certain the shooting, even as recounted by the police, was impossible for one man. He did believe they had a case against Oswald but he was also certain there had been a conspiracy. Which is what on every level national authority was determined to insist there had not been.

Just as Holmer was "able to take command" so also did Hoover, immediately. And he, too, ignored the wishes of others.

Page 4 "Holmer's building up of the PKK lead is central to understanding what <sup>has</sup> happened with the Palme investigation...." Substitute JFK for Palme and Oswald for the PKK and it is an identical situation. If you are here I suggest that you take a look at the index to the definitive report LBJ ordered of the FBI before he appointed the commission. You may not have time to read it but it is actually a ~~fid~~ <sup>diatribe</sup> against Oswald and in five volumes

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doesn't mention all the known shooting and wounds from the shots. See last chapter of White Wash

You say of the PKK "it was propaganda: repeat that....many times" and everybody believes it. Another exact description of here.

Page 6 you go into the desire~~of~~ of the police to do something to those it did not like. Exactly that here, with the left in general, the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and the Communist Party in particular. The FBI's JFK records given to the Commission were captioned as a Communist investigation. Communist, Cuba and in some instances national security. I think also internal security.

Page 7 you go into the buggings. I can't add to what I said about this above.

Page 9, "I think all this illustrates how the murder investigation has been used for everything except to investigate the murder." Here, too. Again, read that index. The document in the Commission's files is CD1 I have it in an FBI file.

At the bottom of this page you express your interest in how the media was controlled. Partly by leaks and being spoken to and to a large degree by secrecy. In those few 94 classification files to which I gave the wrong title before, "Crime records" when it is "Research Matters," those DeLoach files, there are probably some illustrations. But the Commission's executive session transcripts also reflect this, beginning with the very first, of December 5, 1963 and the first major FBI leak. I have a file on that plus that transcript, which I did not publish. Then also the media did not want the country to believe that there was other than a lone nut assassin and when books refuting that came out they were for the most part ignored or treated baldy.

I've made a list of the records you told me I sent you and I'll add what I include with this so I'll know for the future.

I'm sorry I was not able to sit down and make notes based on which I'd <sup>reply</sup> ~~reply~~ but I did not want to let this wait, particularly if the weight of the records leads me to use surface mail.

Thanks for paying for the <sup>other</sup> ~~other~~ records. I'm <sup>glad</sup> ~~glad~~ you could get US money because exchange from in the country is costly.

I've not heard from your colleagues in some time. I hope they have not lost their interest in the Palme killing. On which I add a thought that may have occurred to you.

Whatever the intent, the assassination of any head of state is a de facto coup d'etat. So once an irate husband or father or brother or lover and a lone nut can be ruled out, the likeliest source of the assassination is those who wanted a change in national policy. Perhaps a list of those who would qualify in Sweden would not be as long as such a list here, but it would undoubtedly include quite a few candidates. There may not be there but here there are some established facts that can make possible the elimination of some candidates.

I'll soon read and correct this in the hope of getting the copies made and being able to mail tomorrow because we have no outgoing mail on weekends. But when I read and correct so soon there often is confabulation, so if anything is unclear please ask me. And as soon as you learn, if you are, that you are coming, let me know so I can see what I can do about accommodations. There is bus service between Washington and here and I'd be surprised, if you go there first, if one of the people associated with AARC did not drive you up here.

Thanks again for the insight into the Palme case.

Best wishes,

*Harold Weisberg*  
Harold Weisberg

Uppsala, November 22, 1990

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Dear Harold,  
thank you for your letter and the copies of the FBI material on Oswald from CD1.

The work with my book proceeds, but of course there is a constant fight against time. You must know what I am talking about.

I was very happy to note your information that an American publisher might be interested. In Sweden we don't have the system with literary agents - authors deal directly with publishers. But I will talk to my publisher about possibilities of getting the book out in the States.

However I will try to resist the temptation to write with an American audience in mind. The book has to be written for Swedish readers, with their knowledge - and prejudices. Possibly it could be slightly edited for an audience in other countries. First it has to be written, though.

#### **The Swedish bugging trial**

Since you have showed interest in my investigations I will try to brief you a little about the trial and the background to it. It helps me to think clearer and it might also give you some thoughts that I could benefit from.

I do not think I have told you very much. So here is a summary of it all:

Six present and former chiefs of police are on trial for illegal electronic surveillance.

None of them has confessed to being responsible for criminal actions. To some extent they have confessed responsibility for the surveillance but have either stated that it was secretly permitted by the government or that it was a situation of emergency in which case Swedish law permits actions which are normally forbidden.

Electronic surveillance is forbidden in the Swedish constitution, while it is permitted for the police to listen to telephones after permission from court.

The victims of the alleged crimes are in all instances except one political refugees from the Turkish part of Kurdistan. In the last instance the surveillance concerns a Palestinian couple who were

suspected of planning sabotage actions. It has later showed that the suspicions were unfounded. The surveillance of the Palestinians does not have anything to do with the surveillance of the Kurds in any other way that in both instances the operation was performed by the Swedish security police, SÄPO. The Kurds are, according to the police, members of the terrorist-labeled organization PKK.

There are many signs that SÄPO and other police bodies have performed numerous other bugging operations. Possibly the ones on trial are chosen because they are considered much less controversial than other operations - illegal police practices regarding Kurds and Palestinians are seen as less serious than if similar things are made against Swedes or foreign diplomats.

The prosecuted are not just anybody. They are:

- the former director of the National Police Board (=the highest police official in the country) Holger Romander;
- former chief of security police, SÄPO, former chief for the murder investigation of Olof Palme and also former police commissioner of greater Stockholm Hans Holmér;
- former chief of security police and present police commissioner of greater Stockholm Sven-Åke Hjälmroth;
- and three other former top level chiefs in the SÄPO hierarchy, among them P-G Näss who between 1978 and 1988 was the center of real power in the SÄPO. Näss is the main figure in the trial. He alone has, according the prosecutors, had a role in all of the surveillances.

It looks like a great purge action and indeed it is. With 99 percent certainty none of them will go to jail though - which the law allows for. They will either be declared innocent or get fines to pay. Possibly they will also have to pay damages to the victims of the surveillance. In that case the state will almost certainly take over the bill. So there are no big punishments on the agenda. It really is a question of politically destroying a wing of the SÄPO which used to have power over the organization and at the same time getting the heat off the government. This central aspect of the case has been clouded because one of the suspects, Hans Holmér, is known as a close associate of the Social Democratic government. Long before the murder Holmér was chief of SÄPO but failed to get control over the organization. He resigned and became police commissioner of greater Stockholm which he still was when Palme was killed.

The leader of the Social Democrats, Olof Palme was strongly disliked by large sections of the police and military and leaders of private business. On the other hand, the Social Democrats have always had a tremendously strong political apparatus. There have been a lot of clashes between the Social Democratic wing and the more conservative wing in Swedish state bureaucracy.

This has possibly something to do with the Palme murder. It has certainly a lot to do with the odd ways of the investigation.

What happened after the murder was this: Holmér came to the police headquarters and immediately took control. He continued during the whole of 1986 to perform the double role of police commissioner and investigation leader. He avoided to put experienced murder investigators into the case. He showed a remarkable lack of interest in witness reports from the scene of the crime and available technical evidence. He sorted out things which did not suit his positions. He put a strong effort in TV performances and succeeded for some time to act the role of the the lonely Swedish hero who more or less singlehandedly should solve the crime. You must understand that many people were in a great shock and Holmér gave them the hopes that they wanted. This does not excuse the media, though.

He was, without competition, presented as "Swede of the Year" by a national TV channel.

There was of course no special reason why Holmér should lead the murder investigation. He had never led any murder investigations before. There was of course even less reason why Holmér should be in total control of what happened, with all critical voices silenced. That is what happened, though.

The prosecution attorneys in Sweden lead the investigations of crimes when one of two conditions is present:

- either if there is a suspect
- or if the case is big in itself.

There should be no debate that the Palme murder investigation should be led by prosecutors and not by the police. But with the direct support of the government Holmér was repeatedly and systematically able to take command and ignore the wishes of the prosecutors.

In the early days of the investigation Holmér and representatives of the government also discussed his problems with controlling the SÄPO. The National Chief of Police - who also was the highest chief for SÄPO - Holger Romander, got the ultimatum that either the SÄPO completely collaborated with Holmér including putting the people he wished at his service or would Holmér by government decision get the power to take over the SÄPO.

In that situation Romander capitulated, though angrily. Romander told the SÄPO chief Hjälmroth (Holmér's successor on that post) how things stood.

SÄPO had already before the murder talked about a possible danger that the PKK might murder Olof Palme. They did not take their own warnings very seriously though. It is a fact that they left the Prime Minister without body guards in the streets of central Stockholm on that February night.

Holmér was forced to resign in early 1987 because he had directed all resources towards one lead, the Kurdish organization PKK which is claimed to be terrorist. The opinion of the prosecution attorneys was that he did single out the PKK without serious basis in evidence.



(The prosecutors were completely right as far as I can judge.) Holmér's building up of the PKK lead is central to the understanding of what has happened with the Palme investigation and also to a large extent what has happened to Swedish politics.

In the summer of 1988 - long after the departure of Holmér from the investigation - the social democratic government was drawn into a big scandal when it was discovered that Holmér's personal friend Ebbe Carlsson, a book publisher, had started an operation with the aid of the minister of Justice to renew the PKK lead again. Ebbe Carlsson organized operations inside the SÄPO, operations which were directed against P-G Näss. Ebbe Carlsson also spread the message that the SÄPO had been systematically irresponsible in not protecting Olof Palme from the PKK.

One way of understanding this is of course that the Social Democrats have real reasons to be discontented with the role of the SÄPO in relation to the protection of Olof Palme or maybe even with possible SÄPO complicity in the crime at some level - but that the real circumstances are of such a nature that neither the Social Democrats or the SÄPO wish to reveal them. Another way of understanding it is that even though the Social Democrats do not suspect any special faults from SÄPO regarding the Palme murder, they do have grievances because of other things and that was why they used the opportunities related to the murder investigation to strike against the SÄPO.

What seems to be proved beyond doubt is that immediately after the murder the government told the SÄPO that they either should obey Holmér in everything when he asked SÄPO for resources or he would be put as head of the SÄPO through an emergency decision from government. There was even a draft decision written which was never used because the SÄPO gave in.

Back to Holmér's "main lead" and the victims of the bugging operation. The Kurds in question are according to the police members of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party). The PKK was in the fall of 1986, half a year after the murder of Olof Palme, described as the "main lead" in the investigation. Accusations against the PKK for involvement in the murder have surfaced now and then since then - and before that too - with the exception of the period December 1988 to October 1989 when a Swedish drug addict and small-time criminal, Christer Pettersson, was the main suspect. I personally consider both the PKK supporters and Pettersson as highly unlikely suspects. There is much to say about the work of the police and the attorneys in both cases, however. In the case of the PKK it was propaganda: repeat that someone is suspected many times and loudly until everybody believes it. The lack of any sort of substantial evidence is almost unbelievable before you actually study things closely.

(In the case of Pettersson there are signs of a more conventional frame-up with the aid of criminals under pressure from the police.

When Pettersson was on trial two prosecution witnesses under oath testified that the police had tried to bribe them. Pettersson was judged guilty in district court and judged innocent in appellations court. I followed the proceedings in district court. The whole thing is quite a story. Nobody has yet written a book about the Pettersson case though. I will put something about that too in my book.)

### **Background on the PKK**

The PKK wages a war against the Turkish army in the countryside of eastern Turkey, in the areas which by Kurds are considered part of Kurdistan.

The PKK has been accused of murdering dissidents from its own ranks. Recently the general secretary of the PKK, Abdullah Öcalan, in a Swedish TV interview made in the Mideast took responsibility for two murders performed in Sweden in 1984 and 1985. According to the PKK the victims were collaborators of the Turkish authorities. (I do not know if that is true. Needless to say: that does not excuse the murders and has only done harm to the Kurdish national cause for which I really feel deep sympathy. Amnesty International, for example, has convincingly reported on the monstrosities performed by the Turkish regime against opponents and especially Kurdish nationalists.)

Both the killers were taken by the Swedish police immediately after the murders and were subsequently sentenced for the crimes. They stated that they had acted alone. Circumstances and the recent TV statements from the PKK leader indicate that they were sent in to Sweden to perform the killings. According to Öcalan the murders were concretely planned by the PKK Chief for Europe at that time, Ali Cetiner, also known as "Source A", a PKK leader who later became police informer and who now is a key witness against the PKK in a trial in Germany.

No known facts support that the assassins confided their plans to Kurds they met in Sweden just before the murders. No presumed collaborators were prosecuted. The SÄPO, however, wished to take the Kurd murders as a starting point for striking against the members or supporters of the PKK living in Sweden. Because of the PKK's prominent place in the Kurdish struggle against the Turkish regime there is a substantial number of PKK supporters not only in Turkey but also in western Europe. This is the case in spite of the organization's reputation for violent methods against other currents in the Kurdish community and the police prosecution against it.

Sweden has friendly diplomatic relations with Turkey and also important business relations. After the first murder in 1984, the SÄPO convinced the Swedish government to treat the PKK as a "terrorist organization" and to withdraw the permission to political asylum in Sweden for nine alleged PKK-members on the ground that they were potential terrorists.

It should be noted though, that the PKK does not act in a way which strictly is associated with the word "terrorist". It has not murdered Turkish or foreign political leaders, it has not performed sabotage actions, hijackings or the like. Its violence seems to be limited to their war in Kurdistan and to inter-Kurdish feuds with obscure background which could include interference from Turkish authorities. All this with the exception - if we are to believe strong forces in the police and government - that they for some reason killed Prime Minister Olof Palme.

The nine "potential terrorists" were to be sent away to Turkey after the murder in 1984 but this was postponed because of the risk that they might be killed. Instead they got what is called "county arrest" which meant that they did not have the right to leave the area where they lived without permission from the police. Note that they had not been sentenced for any crime, the whole thing was based on what they possibly might do in the future. It all stood on the judgment of the SÄPO, a judgment which could not be appealed. The exact basis for the SÄPO's position was hidden for the nine Kurds. Some of them publicly demanded that they should be taken to trial if they had done anything so that they should be able to defend themselves. The "county arrest" was put to a stop this fall, but the terrorist label and the extradition decision are still valid.

### **The buggings**

In 1984 - maybe as a way to investigate possible complicity in the Kurd murder then, maybe for other reasons - the SÄPO bugged a book café known as meeting place for PKK sympathizers. No SÄPO official has taken any responsibility for that bugging.

Immediately after the Palme murder on February 28th, 1986, the SÄPO again immediately started to bug a number of addresses connected to PKK sympathizers, this time peoples' homes. No SÄPO chief has taken any responsibility for those buggings either. They obviously happened, though, exactly as the one in 1984.

Obviously the SÄPO did not inform Holmér. According to P G Näss, the minister of Justice had sent message to Näss that he silently agreed to the buggings on the condition that he did not officially know anything about it. Näss cannot prove that, however, so he chooses not to know about any buggings performed on part of the SÄPO except those ordered by Holmér.

Holmér gave Näss the order to start a bugging operation against the PKK in summer 1986. That is what Holmér says himself so Näss has to admit that. But the early spring buggings were not ordered by Holmér, obviously. Holmér was not interested in the PKK lead until summer 1986 - my hypothesis is that he became interested when he at last got good connections in the SÄPO which made it possible for him to use the PKK lead to even more take control over SÄPO operations.

In the early phase of the investigation a support for the PKK lead would only have meant that he lost control and strengthened the SÄPO.

This hypothesis is supported by many things, not least the fact that until Holmér himself started to support the PKK lead and in fact adopt it as the main lead, until that he had put the National Criminal Investigations Bureau, another police body, in charge of the PKK investigations. Which of course was insulting to the SÄPO who considered themselves PKK experts. Holmér's reason was not mainly to insult, however, but to strengthen his own control. Nonetheless, while Holmér claimed little interest for the PKK lead and while the investigations formally were not on SÄPOs table, the SÄPO did their first bugging operation on the PKK after the murder.

#### **The "main lead"**

It was not the results of these operations which inspired Holmér to invent the main lead. Instead it was a not so impressive story about a Kurdish drug pusher who in the presence of a Croatian fascist and murderer should have asked a Finnish alcoholic in a prison outside Stockholm to buy a revolver. According to the Finnish alcoholic this should have happened before the Palme murder - the story was given to the police after the murder though.

The revolver which was delivered was of the same type as the one which probably was used in the Palme murder, according to the Finn. The Kurdish drug pusher was a relative to one of the Kurds with county arrest.

In other words - not the most relevant and interesting story I have heard. According to Holmér it gave him the reason to study all facts he could find about the PKK. Observe that he did not give the whole thing to a group of seasoned crime investigators. Instead he prepared himself for the dramatic public appearances that were to follow. However, his interest in the PKK coincided with the time when he got contact with Jan-Henrik Barrling, a young and ambitious "PKK-expert" from the SÄPO who after that worked closely with Holmér in open defiance of his bosses in SÄPO.

Well, to make a long story short: after a big razzia in January 1987, the "main lead" fell apart. Holmér was forced to resign. And, as I related earlier, his friend Ebbe Carlsson, a book publisher with close connections in the Social Democratic leadership, started in collaboration with Barrling and the Minister of Justice, an attempt to revive the main lead and to gain control over SÄPO for the government. Ebbe Carlsson's intrigues were put to a halt when one of his collaborators got caught in the customs in June 1988 when he tried to take in bugging equipment.

In the wake of the scandal that followed information started to leak out that there already had been a lot of buggings in the Palme investigation. And at last all this led to the trial against the six police chiefs.

Already before the trial the SÄPO has got a new boss who is very close to the government - so in spite of the Ebbe Carlsson scandal which was bad publicity for the government and good publicity for Näss who seemed to be innocent of at least those intrigues, in spite of that the government has got the upper hand and the supporters of Näss are losing.

I refuse to believe that the trial has come to existence because any kind of sympathy on part of the authorities for the crime victims. The prosecutors who before the trial led a gigantic investigation where they questioned more than hundred SÄPO employees never talked to the Kurds or the Palestinians.

So: we have a big fight between different power centers. Sometimes events seem to be caused by the wish to bring clarity into the Palme murder. I think that is not what has happened. I think all this illustrates how the murder investigation has been used to everything except to investigate the murder.

I guess all of this is not too easy to comprehend. I know I have not been very structured in my presentation. But if you have any thoughts about it, please let me know. You know: nobody in Sweden really understands all that is going on concerning this. The summary I have written above includes partly well-known stuff but also new ways to describe things. So I am wrestling with this, day and night and I would really like to get any kind of comments from you.

#### **Hoping to come to the States**

You invited me to come to see you and your archives if the possibility should arise.

I have thought much about that and I have just asked for a scholarship from an organization called the Publicists' Club to study how the Freedom of Information Act functions and especially how it has been used by Kennedy researchers. I doubt if I get a scholarship, but if I do I will travel to the US for two weeks with plans to study relevant archives in Washington, talk to people who might have something to tell and especially visit you. The decision will come in late January, so if they grant me money I will ask you about further information, for example accomodation, people to talk to and so on. However, if you should be ill or tired - or just be short of time - when and if I come, do not feel that you have any special responsibilities. In such a case I either stay in Washington or possibly go to Dallas.

#### **Media and Kennedy murder**

Yes, I am very interested in examples of how authorities could control the media handling of the Kennedy murder. Swedish media mostly willingly accept being fed from the hands of government representatives and other authorities.

When someone in a high position beyond all reasonable doubt is revealed as a crook the media suddenly scorn that person just to put the same old ridiculous trust in the new people in authority. It is obviously too much to ask for just normal critical scepticism in relation to any person in power.

One of the reasons for this is of course that the people who control the media and the people who control administration are to a large extent the same. Or at least they belong to the same circles. In a small country like Sweden this is very obvious. But I understand it is much the same in the US. Anyway, things concerning the media are of interest for my book. If you have documents I will be happy to see them.

I send 10 dollars just to cover your expenses for copying. I suppose you get a lot of correspondence from people wishing that you make copies for them, so please tell me if you spend more money than I pay for.

#### **Comment on CD-1**

I have read through the material on Oswald from CD 1 that you sent me.

It is very interesting in exactly the way you pointed to: how the FBI succeeded in editing a document where the unknowing reader gets the impression that all facts neatly point to Oswald as a single mentally unbalanced murderer. It will be very nice to compare that document to all the facts that contradict it which you have in your books.

#### **Material I have received**

You asked me what material I have received from you. It is until now:

- The report on the JFK murder and Oswald from CD 1
- December 9, 1963, letter to Supreme Court from Katzenbach concerning CD 1
- Katzenbach Memo to Moyers, Nov 25, 1963
- Evans Memo to Belmont, Nov 25, 1963
- 4-page "damage control tickler" from FBI, undated.

And, of course: Whitewash 1-4, Post Mortem and Frame-up.

I also, as I told you, have the Warren Report. So if there is anything in that you would like to bring my attention to, just tell me the page.

Hope I hear from you soon. Best wishes

*Gunmar*

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