
THE FOURTH DECADE

1963

1973

1983

1993

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top officers of the CIA (p. 14), how he barely escaped being shot down over Cuba (pp. 48-61), how he was almost murdered by Cuban agents in Florida (pp. 108-112), and so on. Naturally, his adventures featured David Ferrie, Clay Shaw, and Mannlicher-Carcano rifles, so he must be reliable, right?

10) The Source is Inconsistent: In the course of revealing what she saw on the Grassy Knoll, Jean Hill gave one version to the Warren Commission (WC VI, pp. 206-251), a second version to Anthony Summers (*Conspiracy*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980, pp. 61, 81-82), and a third to readers of her autobiography (*JFK: The Last Dissenting Witness*, Gretna: Pelican, 1992, pp. 22-27, 46-47).

11) The Source Defies Corroboration: Sam Giancana was not around to comment on what was said about him by his brother Chuck and godson Sam in the horrible *Double Cross* (New York: Warner, 1992). Herman Kimsey was similarly in no position to discuss the way he figured in the unspeakable *Appointment in Dallas*, (New York: Zebra, 1975). Dead men like Mario Garcia Kohly and Tracy Barnes are at the center of Robert D. Morrow's alleged escapades.

12) The Source is in Conflict with Other Sources: Although conflicts are inevitable, some are ridiculous. Michael Eddowes, in *The Oswald File* (New York: Ace, 1978), argues that it was entirely conceivable that the Soviet Union was behind the Kennedy assassination. Among other things, he states (pp. 3-4) that Moscow had earlier considered killing Richard Nixon. Alas, the ultimate source for that claim was KGB defector Anatoli Golitsin, a tremendous paranoid who saw Soviet plots everywhere and helped worsen Cold War hysteria. Golitsin reacted to the 1964 defection of another KGB officer, Yuri Nosenko, by proclaiming Nosenko to be a KGB plant. Thanks in part to that, Nosenko was persecuted for years to come. (For a summary of this travesty, see Gordon Brook-Shepherd's *The Storm Birds*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1992, Chapters 11 and 12.) Since Nosenko was the one who insisted that the KGB had nothing to do with Dallas, his fate caused much confusion in the JFK field—all of it unwarranted. Recent years have seen the defunct USSR cleared of guilt in the Kennedy assassination so many times that it is hardly worth mentioning that poor Nosenko was right all along.

13) The Source is Like a Surreal Salesperson: Some people can almost convince you that the Earth is flat. In the Garrison debacle, Perry Russo's story made no sense

right from the start—a bearded Oswald?—but Russo was able to keep it going for years through a deadly combination of glibness, evasion, and persistence. Jame Kirkwood (in *American Grotesque*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970, p. 270) marveled that, "Perry Russo was not one to give a yes or no answer when a few hundred words would suffice." In the end, however, the Earth was still round, and Russo finally crumbled on the stand (p. 295): "No, I never said anything about a conspiracy; I didn't sit in on any conspiracies." Notice what a little succinctness will do for you.

14) The Source is Trailed by Nagging Details: Beyond fudging so much, Russo admitted in court (Kirkwood, p. 104) that he had dealt in porno films with David Ferrie, and he later told Kirkwood (p. 629) about receiving some "beautiful sixteen millimeter" from Ferrie. Although rather seedy, this fact did not discredit Russo by itself, but it did fit in with a curious, sexual subtext that ran throughout Clay Shaw's ordeal. As recounted by James Phelan in *Scandals, Scams, and Scoundrels*, (New York: Random House, 1982, p. 150), Garrison originally speculated that the assassination was "a homosexual thrill-killing." Was the whole Garrison mess, then, just some sort of vice case that ran out of control? Even if this really does not lead anywhere, it does nag—and that is the whole point of a nagging detail.

15) The Source Demands Faith: In the July 1993 issue of *The Third Decade*, Beverly Oliver denounced those who do not believe in her. She did it again in the January 1994 issue of *The Fourth Decade*. While nobody likes to be disbelieved, vehemence can be inversely related to credibility.

Fifteen points is enough for now. Individually, the points do not constitute knock-out blows—for instance, even a mentally unstable person can witness an actual crime—but they are increasingly lethal in combination. Offhand, I would say a combination of at least four is the danger zone. Think about it: would you trust an unidentified, intelligence-linked source who is both extravagant and inconsistent? How about a Dallas cop who has become an activist, is dogged by nagging details, and tends to demand your faith? And what of a fellow who did not wait to be discovered, likes to control information, defies corroboration, and is in conflict with other sources? As you can see, the points really do exact a toll on credibility as they build up, and I believe a danger zone of at least four is, if anything, generous. At four, the source finally becomes worthy of disbelief, and

the disbelief should harden in correspondence with the number as it exceeds four. The next step is to apply the list to Holt.

1) No problem. Holt is identified (although he has mentioned using aliases in the past, which could complicate matters).

2) No problem. So far, nobody has shown that he was ever institutionalized or that he appears irrational in person. In that sense, it turns out, he is no Robert Easterling.

3) Possible problem. By his own admission, Holt has been a forger, a convicted felon, and an associate of top mobsters like Meyer Lansky. The catch is that he has provided little or no evidence for any of this.

4) Possible problem. Holt says he worked for the CIA, but he has produced no evidence for this. Incidentally, it is not impossible to win recognition as a contact of the CIA. To cite one example, does anyone doubt that Frank Sturgis was mixed up with the CIA? Yes, Watergate made certain that his past was exposed, but there was so much to expose that it would have come out in one form or another anyway. Consult *The Fish is Red* by Warren Hinckle and William Turner (New York: Harper and Row, 1981).

5) No problem. Holt is not an interested party.

6) Problem. According to William E. Kelley's profile of Holt in the November 1992 issue of *The Third Decade* (p. 30), Holt entered the JFK scene when he introduced himself at the Assassination Information Center in Dallas in the fall of 1991.

7) Problem. Within weeks of introducing himself, Holt attended his first convention, where he managed to attract the attention of *Newsweek* (23 December 1991). Then he appeared in the book by John R. Craig and Philip A. Rogers, *The Man on the Grassy Knoll* (New York: Avon, 1992). By 1994, he was working on a book of his own, as noted by Alan Houston in the September 1994 issue of *The Fourth Decade* (p. 36). Holt follows JFK literature, and at least two publications (this one and *JFK Today*) received peevish letters from him in 1992 alone. Holt sent me copies of those letters, plus two other letters specifically addressed to me. By any measure, this is the performance of a JFK activist.

8) Possible problem. As noted earlier, Holt claimed in his letter to the editor that he had been a source for Lansky biographer Hank Messick. Indeed, Messick supposedly "wrote me every week and kept me informed as to what was happening in South Florida, especially

with Lansky...." Is it fair to call that a reversal of information? Was Holt getting more than he was giving? Consider, too, Holt's claim to have assisted the defense in the libel action against *Penthouse* over that magazine's coverage of the La Costa Country Club. In a 25 May 1992 letter to me, Holt elaborated on this: "My minor role in this case was to study the depositions of Moe Dalitz and Jimmy Fratianno for any inaccuracies. I also studied the tapes of telephone conversations between Moe and his lawyers." If true, this means that Holt had access to a large amount of information on organized crime. What he gave in return for that access is less clear.

9) Problem. Meyer Lansky, Bugsy Siegel, the CIA, Dallas—and those are just the juiciest highlights. Not many sources claim an itinerary like that.

10) No Problem. Judging from those of Holt's writings that I have seen—his various letters—he seems to be consistent whenever he turns to a subject covered previously. I stress, however, that this is not a very large sample from which to judge.

11) Problem. No reader should need me to point out that Holt's letter to the editor was jammed with unsubstantiated assertions. His basis style is to throw out a remarkable number of names and anecdotes and then leave it all dangling. Some of the material may well check out, but much of it centers on people like Meyer Lansky. Lansky, of course, has been dead for years.

12) Problem. Holt claims he was one of the three tramps, but this conflicts with Dallas Police Department records and the surviving individual listed therein as a tramp, Harold Doyle. As pointed out in the Kelley profile of Holt (p. 36), Holt's identification of an individual in a photograph of Oswald in New Orleans contradicts another identification of that person.

13) Problem. That Holt is glib is manifest in his writings. That he is evasive is implicit in his continuing reluctance to go much beyond rousing, under-documented stories to support his credibility. (And I again offer the contrasting example of Frank Sturgis: he managed to win acknowledgement as a true, shadowy operator.) That Holt is extremely persistent has been evident from his first days in this field. With such attributes, Perry Russo dug his own grave.

14) Problem. As Holt revealed to William Kelley (p. 35), he comes from a circus family, and one of his uncles was a clown. I think even Holt would agree that no circus ever succeeded through understatement. Other nagging details abound. Even though Holt knew about

my May 1992 article in *The Third Decade* almost immediately—his first letter to me arrived that same month—it has taken him well over four years to lodge a public complaint about it. Likewise, there is the mystery of the 25 July 1992 letter I sent to Holt. This letter constituted a test, as it featured a list of twenty names, which I wanted Holt to study to see if he recognized any of them from his alleged time in the Detroit underworld. He insists he never received the letter. Then there was the odd letter of 25 May 1992 that Holt sent me. It arrived in an envelope that originated from something called *Misioneros de la Amistad, A.C.* (P.O. Box 4584, San Ysidro, CA, 92073). Holt had recycled the envelope by placing over the original return address a sticker for his International Artists' Workshop (P.O. Box 1773, Lemon Grove, CA 91945). As for the letter, the first page—but only the first page—was on stationery from Southwest Advisors Group, Inc., self-styled "specialists in crisis management" (420 South Beverly Drive, Suite 207, Beverly Hills, CA 90212). The rest of the letter was on plain, unmarked paper that was not even the same color as the first page. I have no idea what impression Holt intended to give with all this—it went without explanation—but I can assure him that the one I received was of the nagging variety.

15) Problem. Given the extent of Holt's displeasure with me, one would think that my offending May 1992 article was one long tirade against him. In fact, the passage that he quotes (in two parts) constitutes the only reference to him in the entire piece. By my standards, Holt got off lightly. By his standards, it was intolerable, which brings us to the core of this particular problem. The last well-known source to display such indignation in these pages was...Beverly Oliver.

The final score, then, is eight points (or twice the arbitrarily set danger rate), plus three more possible. Given such a score, I do not see how anybody could be justified in spending more time on Holt. Life is too short. Needless to say, there always will be someone willing to spend more time on him, because that is the depressing nature of this field. If you have talent, energy, and money to squander, this is the place to do it, because the "truth" about Dallas, as some would have it, is just around the corner—exactly where it was decades ago.

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THE NEW ORLEANS COUNCIL FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES: ANOTHER LOOK

by
Hugh Murray

After my article on the New Orleans Council for Peaceful Alternatives appeared in the *Fourth Decade*, (July 1996), Jeffrey Caufield sent me photos of a demonstration conducted by the organization. They were originally printed in *The Councillor*, from Shreveport, a publication of the White Citizens Council organization. Caufield had wondered if one of the demonstrators might have been Lee Harvey Oswald, had the photos enlarged, but the suspect figure was clearly not Oswald. Caufield kindly sent me copies of the enlarged photos, whereupon I was shocked for two reasons - 1) by the size of the group assembled at the entrance to Audubon Park prior to the peace group's march along the sidewalk of St. Charles Ave., and 2) by my unfamiliarity with most of those pictured.

There were some 43-50 different people pictured, at least four of whom were blacks. As six backs were turned, I could not be certain of the race, much less the identity, of some of the participants. Two pictured were taking photographs, and were probably members of Americans on Guard, the crew that sent the pictures to the Citizens Council paper. That left 35 to identify.

When I sent copies of these pictures to Georg and Wilma Iggers, Ruth Kloefer Peters, and Robert Reinders, I was also surprised by their reactions. Georg and Wilma were only able to identify themselves. Reinders recognized the Iggerses. Ruth was certain only of her former boyfriend, Mel Jones, but knew the young woman beside him had to be her. I recognized Georg and Wilma Iggers, Ruth and Mel, and Connie Bradford, a native of Birmingham, Alabama, who had joined New Orleans CORE in 1960 while she was a student at Newcomb College. She had remained a CORE activist until the New Orleans organization expelled whites in early 1962. Another person who may be in the pictures is Ed Clark, another white, former CORE activist and native of Tennessee. Unfortunately, such a small portion of his head is visible I cannot be certain. He was marching beside Connie,

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and, as they were married at the time, it was probably he. I suspect another demonstrator was probably Al Pecararo, a friend of Brian Ampolsk (who had hung up on me when I telephoned his home in Pennsylvania when conducting earlier research on this topic. Lanny Goldfinch, another CORE activist from the early 1960s recently informed me that Al is now dead.) Yet, none of us were able to place names on the other 28 in the pictures!

Moreover, the demonstration had included more than the people pictured. Each of my sources was certain that others had partaken in the march who were not visible in the photographs. Georg and Wilma were sure that their son Danny was there; Ruth, that her father H. Warner Kloefer was there; and Reinders knew that he had marched. Iggers, who recently celebrated his 70th birthday and was born the same day as an old friend and fellow New Orleans NAACP activist, Llewelyn Soniat, had asked the black leader to view the pictures. Soniat, too, was unable to add to the names of those in the pictures.

I decided to investigate more on this march of spring 1963. Ruth had stated that she believed that she and Mel had been pictured on page 1 of a newspaper, and I vaguely recall such a picture. I requested on interlibrary loan 3 months of the major New Orleans newspapers at that time, the Times-Picayune and its smaller, afternoon daily, the States-Item. I viewed April through June 1963 of those papers. My main interest was the NOCPA, but I found other stories that might be of interest to researchers. First, a cartoon may still startle us today. The T-P reprinted it from the Minneapolis Tribune showing Congress with a shotgun preparing to shoot an apple off the head of a standing President Kennedy. The apple represented excess foreign aid. In the caption the President asks, "Do you have to use a shotgun?" After November 1963 this type of cartoon has disappeared from the major media and now seems in bad taste.

A note on memory. Going through the old newspapers for the first time since I had read them in 1963, there were three occasions where I viewed photos on the microfilm, recognized no one in them, and then read the caption. "Wow! That's Steve Whitfield!" I thought. We had been close friends in the mid-60s, and remained friends for decades until I reviewed, harshly, one of his books in American Scholar in 1990. But I failed to recognize his photo when both the T-P and the S-I announced he was among the Tulane students inducted into an honor fraternity. Similarly, Lissa D'Orlando! My minister's

daughter; yet, I failed to recognize her in the picture of four teens socializing, until I read the caption. And I had had coffee with Prof. Eric Albrecht of Newcomb's German Department on several occasions, but I failed to recognize him, clearly pictured in the newspaper photo, as the leader of an academic procession at Tulane-Newcomb. Only once did I see a photograph and note, "I think I know him." He was one of 4 Loyola ROTC cadets. The caption confirmed my eyes, for Tom Gallagher would later become a graduate student in history at Tulane, where I did know him. The point is, we do forget. And perhaps we forget faces of acquaintances faster than names. But psychologists can research this topic. Of those 35 figures whose faces were visible in the Councillor pictures, I remain certain of only 5, believe I have identified two others, and 3-4 looked somewhat familiar.

Here I recount some stories in the two major New Orleans dailies during that spring, as some names known to the research community will appear. The NO SI, 3 April, p. 2 headlined, "Exiles to Push Fight Despite U.S.-Cuba." The story noted "Carlos Bringuier, New Orleans delegate to the Cuban Student Directorate in Miami, said that his group will continue efforts to liberate Cuba despite action by the United States to stop raids originating from U.S. soil." Bringuier deemed Kennedy's policy "a mobilization for the defense of the Castro regime." The next day's TP printed a similar story. (p. 15)

The SI of 4 April p. 10 reported "YMBC Honors INCA Director" beside a photograph of Edward Scannell Butler, staff director of the Information Council of the Americas. Butler was recipient of the Young Men's Business Club's third annual Americanism Award. Three days later, the TP printed the shotgun cartoon. (7 April, Sec. II, p. 12) The following day the TP (8 April, p. 12) published a letter by Prof. Stephen Ambrose of LSUNO and a leader of the NOCPA. The topic was how best to combat communism. And on the 11th the SI printed an Associated Press story (p. 2), "Ex-Gen. Walker Shot at Home - Bullet Barely Misses." In the same paper (p. 19) another AP story noted "Castro Sees Threat Despite Ban on Raids."

A page 1 SI story on 15 April presented a different view: "Cuban Exile Policy Hit By Visiting Ex-Envoy." With his picture also printed on page one, "Former Latin American Ambassador Robert C. Hill strongly criticized...what he termed a complete reversal of the United States policy toward Cuban exiles and he called upon President

...Kennedy to let the public know if he has made any deals with Russia or Cuba. Hill, who has served as envoy to Mexico, Costa Rica and El Salvador...[is] now vice president of United Fruit..." That morning's TP had reported on the ban the bomb Easter march in England.

On 16 April both newspapers announced that public television WYES-TV, channel 8, would telecast an eight-week series on Communism. This, in essence, would be the response by liberals to the right wing anti-communist series that had been telecast in March and shown throughout the public school system. Some of the speakers during the conservative program in March had been Dr. Clifton Ganus Jr., vice president of Harding College, Searcy, Ark.; W. P. Struve, vice-president of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade; Dr. Bella Dodd, a former member of the Communist Party; and W. Cleon Skousen, an ex-FBI agent and author. The liberals demanded and received air-time for their own series. At least two of these liberal professors, Stephen Ambrose and Leonard Krimmerman, both of LSUNO, were also members of the NOCPA. Moreover, the liberal series would include discussion from professors teaching at four local universities, including Dr. John Furey, political scientist at Dillard U. Though Furey was white, Dillard was overwhelmingly black, so the liberals were seeming to push integration into their series. Furthermore, two of Loyola's representatives, Father Thomas Clancy and Rev. Louis Twomey, S.J. were known for promoting integration in their sociological institutes.

On 17 April, p. 2, the SI printed a combination national AP story with a local inset. "Cuba Exile Unit Collapse Feared / Mark Attack Anniversary." The insert - "Special N.O. Mass" to be held to remember the dead of the Bay of Pigs invasion. Two days later Ben Funk's story for the AP was headlined in the SI, "Exile Says JFK Shielding Fidel / Dr. Miro Cardona Resigns." On 20 April, p. 3, the SI carried another AP story, "Invasion Planned, Castro Charges / Backs Miro; Claims Proof...Castro says he armed his island with Soviet missiles because of new plans for a second invasion and now has proof he was right."

Not everything in the local papers concerned Castro, however. The lead editorial of the SI on Friday 19 April, p. 8, was an attack on the NOCPA. "Misdirected Peace Demonstrations," it read in part, "...the New Orleans Council for Peaceful Alternatives has scheduled a peace march Sunday morning stressing the theme 'Human Race Before the Arms Race.' It has always seemed to us

that there is something misdirected and futile about peace demonstrations in the United States, which...displayed its adherence to the principle of peace among nations...On the basis of these facts, peace crusades which choose the United States as their targets appear somewhat ridiculous." This hostile editorial undoubtedly gave the proposed NOCPA demonstration more publicity, and may have brought it to the attention of Carlos Bringuier.

Both the SI, 22 April, and the TP, 23 April, ran similar stories on the NOCPA event. Read the Picayune's story: "Pacifist Council Plans New Walk...The NOCPA says it will apply this week for a permit to stage a 'peace march' Sunday from Jackson Square to Audubon Park. The council, a pacifist organization headed by Bruce Walzer, had scheduled a march Sunday, April 21, but the council's request for a parade permit was refused. Leonard Krimmerman, 28, said the council failed to apply the required five days in advance of the scheduled march. Despite the cancelled parade, 30 council members appeared in Jackson Square Sunday morning to discuss plans." (p. 10) Not all in Jackson Square that morning were council members. As Carlos Bringuier informed the FBI in November, "Another individual that might be an associate of Oswald because he is connected with the NOCPA is Donald Savery, who lives on Alta Street in Metairie. He stated he met this individual when pro-Castroites were having a rally in Jackson Square, but he did not see Oswald at this rally. Bringuier stated that Bruce Walzer, New Orleans attorney, who was recently arrested by local police in connection with a raid on the Southern Conference Education Fund, is the New Orleans organizer for the Council for Peaceful Alternatives." [Bringuier's statement to FBI SA' Regis Kennedy and Claude Schlager, 25 Nov. 1963; I thank J. Caufield for sending me this document.]

On Monday 22 April the SI reported on page one Sen. Barry Goldwater's call to "Arm Exiles" for "new attacks on the Castro government instead of hindering them." Goldwater also "Hits JFK 'Wishful Thinking'" regarding Cuba. On 26 April the SI reported on page one an AP story that four men flew over and dropped 5 homemade bombs on oil refineries in Cuba. The same day Elden Arnoult, Jr.'s letter was printed (p. 8) criticizing the liberal professors who had denounced the earlier, right-wing, anti-communist program. Another letter, by Mrs. W. J. W. attacked misguided professors who "are self-appointed authorities on every subject from cabbages to

communism" and who "seek to impose their beliefs" on others. She concluded, "the ivory tower must have gone to their heads."

The NOCPA April had its march, assembling at Audubon Park, and going down the sidewalks of St. Charles Ave. toward Lee Circle, some Sunday between 28 April and 21 May. The pictures that appeared in the Councillor were taken by "Americans on Guard, a patriotic organization." I could find no reports on the march in either major newspaper. But like Ruth, I seem to recall a picture of her and Mel on page 1 of some paper, perhaps the Tulane Hullabaloo.

On 30 April, p. 8., I. R. W.'s letter appeared in the SI defending liberal professors and peace marchers. I quote: "Are the Cuban people or the Latin Americans convinced of U.S. peaceful intentions after our support of the Bay of Pigs invasion? Does any thinking person really believe we would not invade Cuba if it were not for the rocket and atomic firepower of the Soviet Union that holds us back? After all, it would not be the first time U.S. Marines have invaded Latin America."

SI, on 5 May, p. 12) noted in a column devoted to club meetings, "David McReynolds, national field secretary of the War Resisters League, will speak today at Hillel House, 912 Broadway, before the New Orleans Council for Peaceful Alternatives. His talk will be on American foreign policy." Hillel House was located a few blocks off Tulane campus and was the religious center for the Jewish students at Tulane-Newcomb. A few blocks away, on Freret St., was the Baptist Student Union, which permitted the small New Orleans Quaker group to hold its services there on Sunday mornings.

The other side made news in the SI on 21 May p. 3 with the headline, "Cubans to Free Own Nation, Says Speaker." At "a meeting held here in commemoration of the 61st anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Cuba. The prediction was made by Frank Bartes, a delegate of the Cuban Revolutionary Council. He addressed an assembly sponsored at Gallier Hall [quite near Guy Banister's office] last night by the Cuban Student Directorate, Alpha 66,...Bartes said Cubans have the feeling that they have been let down both by the American people and the American government...Other speakers were Carlos Bringuier..."

On 22 May "Peace Walker" had much the same letter published in both the TP and the SI. His address was the suburb of Metairie, thus eliminating Reinders, Iggers, and Kloefer as possible writers. Don Savery and Bruce

Walzer both resided in Metairie, but the style is similar to Savery's. I quote from the letter as printed in the TP: "The New Orleans' primary peaceful patriot paraders patiently plodded along St. Charles at church time, trying to implement and emulate the preachings of the Prince of Peace. Police protected us and probably outnumbered the peacewalkers, marchers is not the word,...The bomb isn't going away; we both have it and will not give it up. The radioactive fallout isn't going away and we can't get away from it...."

Two days later Guy Banister made news as a kind of early Ralph Nader: "Banister Sues For Today Show Fund Recovery." (SI, 24 May, p. 11) The story: "A suit to recover \$5,000 the city aviation board spent to help bring the 'Today' television show to New Orleans for Mardi Gras this year has been filed in civil district court...Banister charges the appropriation was illegal in that aviation funds should be used exclusively for airport development."

On 25 May the SI printed (p. 7) an AP story carried in the TP the next morning (p. 22) What is most interesting in the story is the absence of the New Orleans connection. The general tale was a common one at the time about civil rights demonstrations, "Racial Protests in 4 States as RFK Talks." The story added, "In New York, the attorney general [Robert Kennedy] met with a group of Negroes headed by novelist James Baldwin." This was a famous meeting for the civil rights movement, not because of Baldwin or Lena Horne, but because of New Orleans CORE activist Jerome Smith. He had joined New Orleans CORE at its formation in 1960 and he had been arrested in the second sit-in, the one for which the U.S. Supreme Court had just voided the convictions on 20 May 1963. Smith then had worked for CORE in Mississippi and had been severely beaten in McComb. He had experienced too much liberal hypocrisy, and told the Attorney General that he had no intention of fighting against Castro. Why could the federal government send troops around the globe to defend democracy but never send them to Mississippi? The anti-Communist Kennedy was quite upset upon hearing such a radical critique of American foreign and domestic policy by the New Orleanian Smith. A number of biographies and books on the civil rights movement describe the meeting. Yet, at the time, the newspapers glossed over the dispute.

On 1 June Helen Thayer, a frequent letter writer to the New Orleans papers, expressed her view of the peace

movement under the heading "Duped." She compared the peace movement to an epidemic "seeking to deceive the American people into thinking that the Communists are really the ones seeking world peace - not the Americans. Many sincere Americans are being pulled into this movement and they are given complete support by the Communists,..." With an allusion to the peace walk, she added, "Some are slipping on their walking shoes before finding out what is back of it all."

While Thayer attacked the peaceniks, Elden Arnoult, Jr., fired another blast at the liberal professors' seminar on Communism. On 7 June, p. 8, the SI printed his letter: "Probably most of us can remember a certain group of 29 university professors who, in March of this year, criticized the Americanism seminar that was held on WYES-TV. They,...deplored the seminar's speaker program and its alleged one-sidedness." After viewing the professor's alternative seminar against communism, Arnoult concluded, "One can, by merely viewing their programs, detect the ironic, one-sidedness and radical nature of their views...one must not forget that these are some of the same individuals who, during class and outside it, criticize and mock the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Citizens Council of Greater New Orleans, the validity of the film 'Operation Abolition,' the American Legion, the John Birch Society, and the whole right wing of the political spectrum in general."

On 11 June the NO SI reported an item involving at least one member of the NOCPA - "Professors Sue Citizen Council for \$455,000. The professors claim George L. Singlemann, council secretary, defamed them in a statement that followed their public criticism of speakers on an Americanism television seminar presented to high school students in March. The Professors claimed in the petition that Singlemann implied that they betrayed their teaching profession, that they are unpatriotic, disloyal traitors; that they should be investigated by the FBI; that they fail students who disagree with them and that they are sympathetic to Communist approaches." Among those suing was Leonard J. Krimmerman, who was also active in the NOCPA.

On 15 June the SI printed a letter by Kent Courtney, leader of the Americans for Conservative Action, with a heading summarizing his view - "Produces Warning About Coexistence."

There was one more story that researchers may find interesting. This was printed in the SI of 25 June, p. 2. A compromise had been proposed to the New Orleans city

attorney, Alvin J. Liska, whereby he would drop charges against the manager and an employee of the Doubleday Bookstore on Canal. The two had been arrested by the vice squad for selling pornography - the novel "Another Country" by James Baldwin. Doubleday attorneys proposed a compromise; drop the charges and the store would cease selling the book. Interestingly, Orleans Parish [in contrast to the city of N.O.] "District Attorney Jim Garrison refused to accept charges against them on grounds that the arrests were a form of censorship and disregarded the fundamental concepts of freedom of expression and freedom of the press."

Of course, Garrison had been constantly in the news during these months, involved especially in disputes with judges and in vice raids against bars in the French Quarter.

Conclusion. The NOCPA had grown beyond Tulane and Dillard professors by the spring of 1963. It had mobilized about 30 for a demonstration in Jackson Square on 21 April, and perhaps 50 for the parade on St. Charles Avenue soon thereafter. Various liberal professors were engaged in a high-profile dispute with the right-wing concerning rival anti-Communist Americanism seminars on WYES-TV. The liberals so objected to the initial seminar that they used clout to produce their own 8-week series on public television, and they filed a costly suit against a leader of the White Citizens Council. One of the professors who sued, and two who participated in the liberal seminar, were also members of the NOCPA.

The NOCPA planned a peace walk for 21 April, but had failed to obtain a police permit, and so restricted their activities that morning to Jackson Square. There, some of them encountered Carlos Bringuier. Soon thereafter, the NOCPA demonstrators assembled at Audubon Park another Sunday morning, but the police allowed them only to parade on the sidewalk of St. Charles Ave. Nevertheless, they marched. Though the SI had editorialized against the group, and Helen Thayer deemed them "dupes," nevertheless, Donald Savery and others defended the peace paraders. David Mc Reynolds of the WRL spoke to the NOCPA at the Tulane Hillel House. Clearly, the NOCPA was larger than I had thought when I wrote the previous article for the July 1996 issue. Nevertheless, and here is the important point, there is still nothing to link Tulane professors Forrest La Violette, Leonard Reissman, or the youthful Lee Harvey Oswald to the NOCPA. Thus, on the crucial

point, I maintain that the assertions about the NOCPA, Oswald, Reisman, and La Violette contained in the Warren Commission's volumes of evidence and hearings are essentially wrong.

INCA DINKA DO*

by
Jerry D. Rose

Oh, what a tune!—in the words of an old Jimmy Durante song. The Information Council of the Americas played an interesting “tune” in both the foreground and the aftermath of the JFK assassination. This article explores the exploits of INCA at three critical times: during the “communizing” of Lee Harvey Oswald in New Orleans in the summer of 1963; in helping to create, immediately after the assassination, a climate of fear that the murder was a “communist conspiracy”; and its continuing effort to promote that scenario of the assassination, especially at the time of the Garrison investigation circa 1967-69.

A bit of historical background on INCA will bring us up to speed on this interesting organization. A useful source for this historical thumbnail is an article on INCA by Arthur Carpenter in the magazine *Louisiana History*. (1) As Carpenter describes it, INCA was created to protect the interests of the New Orleans economic elite, including the fruit companies and the shipping and other industries that were highly dependent on a stable situation in Latin America and were, of course, aghast at the economic instability introduced by the Castro regime in Cuba. The founding lights of INCA were Alton Ochsner, the legendary physician/surgeon founder of the Ochsner Clinic, which catered particularly to an elitist Latin American medical clientele; and a youthful Edward Scannell Butler, a professional public relations man. After a rather abortive attempt in 1961 to promote Latin American anti-communism through a Free Voice of Latin America (with headquarters in the International Trade Mart), (2) Butler later that year teamed with Ochsner to

form INCA. Butler claims to have conceived of INCA while he was still in Army, “in the quiet little town of Alexandria, Virginia.” (3) When INCA was formed, Butler did not, of course, emphasize the organization’s role in protecting the economic interest of the city’s elite. Rather, INCA’s aims were couched in patriotic anti-communism. INCA’s “truth tapes” (30 minute broadcasts produced and furnished to Latin American radio stations), said Butler, “will be one of the best ways of staving off communism until the Alliance For Progress [the Kennedy administration’s Latin American policy] gets underway.” (4)

A glorious opportunity for an INCA “truth tape” presented itself in August of 1963 when Lee Harvey Oswald, the former Soviet defector and the one member of the New Orleans branch of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, became embroiled in a highly publicized series of involvements with INCA operatives. I refer, of course, to Oswald’s pro-Castro leafletting activities on New Orleans streets, during one of which episodes he was arrested after a scuffle with the anti-Castro activist Carlos Bringuier, after which he engaged in a WDSU radio “debate” with Bringuier and Butler—which resulted in a vivid public identification of Oswald as a Soviet defector and pro-Castro disloyalist.

The role of INCA in arranging both the leafletting activity and the debate—the transcript of which furnished the basis of a famous “truth tape”—is well known in the research community, but is perhaps more profound than has been generally recognized. The degree of WDSU interest in such seemingly mundane demonstrations has been suggested as problematical by Melanson and others. (5) As Carpenter notes, (6) Edgar Stern who (with his wife Edith) was a co-owner of WDSU, was an active member of INCA. Also relatively little known, I think, are Bringuier’s connections to INCA. He was a member of INCA, at least in 1967, (7) and his sympathy and support for the organization go back to pre-assassination times. After their “debate” in August 1963, when Bringuier was calling for a “congressional investigation” of Oswald and the FPCC, he also, in a press release, urged people to “help those organizations such as ‘INCA’ directed by Mr. Edward Butler, whose lives are dedicated to fight communism all over the world and especially in Latin America.” (8) Apparently Butler and INCA reciprocated the admiration because Bringuier was the guest speaker at INCA’s Second Truth Forum on November 19, 1963 (9). During his speech, he provided a scenario of

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communist propaganda techniques in Argentina that seems remarkably similar to the way Oswald was manipulated by anti-communists in the summer of 1963. He describes a pattern of "two communists starting a street corner debate...One will defend capitalism and the other communism. When a large enough crowd congregates, the one defending democracy will concede that the pro-Communist speaker is right." (10) This suggests that Bringuier and his collaborators learned from the enemy, and that the "disaster" for the FPCC in New Orleans (and Dallas) was fully planned for and done with the connivance of Oswald.

The next spate of INCA/Oswald propaganda activism occurred in the few hours and days following the assassination. Butler and Bringuier were again among the principal actors. Near the beginning of the Garrison investigation (on February 21, 1967), Butler issued a press release in which he said he "debated Oswald 93 days before the assassination and was called to Washington within 48 hours after the tragedy to testify to the [Senate Internal Security Subcommittee]." (11) Actually he misrepresents somewhat both the time frame of his visit to D.C. and the claim that he was "called" there, as opposed to having gone there on his own initiative. As I have indicated in an "updates" section of *The Fourth Decade* (12), Butler was in the Washington office of Congressman Hale Boggs on the very day of the "tragedy," and presented Boggs (later to be a Warren Commissioner) with enough Oswald-as-communist material that Boggs came out as a believer in the Butler scenario. It was, however, on November 24 that Butler made an extraordinary visit to the red-hunting lair of Senator Thomas Dodd, chairman of the SISS. (13)

Widening the audience for its propaganda to the general public, INCA operatives like Bringuier were feeding the press its first stories about Oswald's "communist" activities in New Orleans in the summer of 1963. Apparently the chosen instrument of this propaganda was the Directorio Revolucionario Estudiantil (DRE), of which Bringuier was the New Orleans delegate. The House Select Committee on Assassinations (HSCA), in investigating a story told by Clare Booth Luce about having been contacted by Cuban exiles the night of the assassination with the "information" that Castro was behind the assassination, interviewed Jose Antonio Lanusa, a Miami DRE leader and reported the following result:

"Jose Antonio Lanusa was interviewed by the committee on April 22, 1978. Lanusa said that on

November 22, 1963, he and a small group of DRE members were at a Miami Beach hotel when they heard the news of the assassination of the President. When Oswald's name was broadcast, Lanusa recalled the name as that of someone who had something to do with one of the DRE delegates, so Lanusa and those who were with him went to the Miami DRE office to search the files to determine if Lanusa's suspicion was right. By late afternoon, they had found delegate Bringuier's report from New Orleans detailing his encounter with Oswald. Along with it was a sample Fair Play for Cuba (FPCC) leaflet and a tape recording of the radio debate. With this discovery, someone immediately called a CIA contact. This person told them not to do anything or contact anyone else for at least an hour. He said he needed time to contact Washington headquarters for instructions. Nevertheless, Lanusa said, he was so anxious to release the information that Oswald was associated with a pro-Castro group that he contacted the major news organizations before the hour was up. (14)

That delegate Bringuier's "report" contained a recording of the Bringuier/Butler/Oswald debate was fortunate indeed for the propaganda purposes of INCA's ally, the DRE.

Finally, I come to the intensive activity of INCA in the era of 1967-1969 as related to the investigations of District Attorney Jim Garrison. Apparently INCA had hoped at an early stage to co-opt the investigation. Shortly after the first publicity surfaced in the Garrison case, on February 21, 1967, Butler wrote Garrison to "offer INCA's facilities, contacts and know-how in the area of communist psycho-warfare." (15) Apparently Garrison did not accept the offer since, by June of 1967, Butler had moved INCA files from New Orleans to Los Angeles and Ochsner, at first having questioned the move, finally granted its wisdom. In a letter to Butler dated June 29, 1967, Ochsner reported that William Curvich had just resigned from Garrison's staff and had provided the information that Garrison planned to arrest "a doctor," possibly himself, and accuse INCA of assassination involvement. (16) This INCA paranoia had mellowed by November of 1967 to a form in which Butler was claiming, in a letter to California supporter Patrick Frawley, that "INCA will be attacked by Garrison, with distortion, innuendo and 'evidence' during the Shaw trial, when the eyes and ears of the world will be

debacle from Garrison, it was ready to counter-attack. When Ochsner became a "little suspicious" of one of Garrison's investigators, Tom Bethel, he wrote Congressman Hebert of Louisiana to find out if the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) had any "subversive" information on Bethel (it didn't). (18) The cause of Ochsner's "suspicion?" Bethel "is an Englishman, who apparently went to Washington to see if the CIA had anything on Oswald." When Mark Lane began making speeches in the New Orleans area, Ochsner complained to the President of the Young Businessmen's Club at the Roosevelt Hotel (owned by INCA member Seymour Weiss) that Lane was "affiliated with communistic front organizations" and that his writings indicated that "he apparently had concluded that because Oswald was a communist, he did not do it." (19) He also wrote Tulane University President Herbert Longenecker (also an INCA member) with the same complaint, saying that he had hoped that "Tulane is one place that there would be some control" of people the likes of Garrison and Lane. (20). When he went again to HUAC, the result was more productive than in the case of Bethel, as HUAC sent along a lengthy resume of Lane's "communist front" memberships, including the National Lawyers Guild and (of course!) the New York Council to Abolish HUAC. (21)

For all these and other instances of Garrison-bashing by INCA, there is nothing in the published record (that I know of) to indicate that Garrison ever did contemplate prosecution and/or public villification of INCA. In neither of Garrison's two books on the assassination is there any mention of INCA, Butler or Ochsner (and even the name Bringuier does not appear in the index to the second book). (22) Are we dealing, then, with a case of severe paranoia (or a guilty conscience) on the part of INCA; or, perhaps, with an actual co-optation of the Garrison investigation by INCA? Let us explore for a bit this second possibility.

My comments in this direction revolve largely around the unusual composition of the group of New Orleans "citizens" who, in early 1967, formed a group called Truth and Consequences (T&C) which would provide private funding for Garrison in his investigation. (23) Peter Dale Scott long ago pointed out the anomaly that two of the three leaders of T&C, Willard Robertson and Cecil Shilstone, were in fact founding members of INCA. (24) Robertson was an especially active member. When INCA opened its "truth tapes" operation in 1961, Robertson was prominent in the dedication ceremonies

and had donated, for INCA's use in local fund-raising, a "bright red, sound-equipped station wagon." (25) (presumably a Volkswagen, since Robertson had the VW dealership in the New Orleans area). For this generosity (and, no doubt for other services rendered), he was given an INCA Fighter for Freedom Award at an INCA ceremony on December 11, 1963. (26) Actually, the INCA ties to T&C (and to Jim Garrison) go considerably beyond the Robertson/Shilstone connection noted by Scott. The third (and usually considered the leading) founder of T&C, oil tycoon Joseph Rault, Jr., arguably had ties to INCA as well...he certainly was close to Ochsner. Although I have not found that Rault was an INCA member, there is a letter in the Ochsner papers soliciting Rault for a contribution. (27) In 1965, when Ochsner was chairman of the New Orleans Inter-American Municipal Organization, he brought in Rault as a temporary director. (28) The man who ultimately replaced Rault was a Bay of Pigs veteran, Cuban exile Alberto Fowler, has been described as a sometime investigator for Jim Garrison. (29) Finally, Rault was, in one account, (30) present with Senator Russell Long when the idea was planted in Garrison's mind that the Warren Commission had done a faulty investigation. The Long connection to Garrison and Ochsner is an interesting one. A biography of Ochsner shows a surprising friendship between Ochsner and Long—surprising considering that, early in Ochsner's career in the Tulane Medical School (around 1930), Ochsner had a bitter confrontation with Long's father Huey Long over questions of leadership at the Charity Hospital in New Orleans. (31) Surprising, then, that Russell Long once praised Ochsner in noting a controversy about Huey's medical treatment at the time of his assassination, saying to Ochsner "You know, if my father had had you to take care of him, he would be alive today." To this, Ochsner "modestly" replied "I didn't know Russell realized this." (32)

Beyond the T&C connections to INCA represented by Robertson, Shilstone and Rault, there is at least one other likely connection. In reporting the formation of T&C, James and Wardlaw mention a few additional members, namely Eberhard Deutsch, John Mmahat, Edmond G. Miranne, Harold Cook and Lawrence Merrigan. (33) The name of Deutsch jumps out of that list, since he is an attorney whose name appears on the letterhead of Directors of INCA. (34) Deutsch has been described by Scott (who was probably unaware of his T&C connection) as the General Counsel of Standard Fruit and as "Jim

Garrison's former law partner and political mentor." (35)

Do we start to get the picture? INCA, which was supposedly in mortal combat with the Garrison investigation, has at least 4 of its associates among the leaders of Truth and Consequences, the money bag outfit for the Garrison investigation. Did T&C "get" what it may have been "paying" for?—i.e., immunity for INCA from Garrison prosecution? Certainly those INCA people who were T&C involved were not ostracized by INCA for "sleeping with the enemy." In fact, two of them—Robertson and Shilstone—were re-elected as INCA directors in September, 1968, after T&C had been operating for a year and a half. (36) Certainly I haven't proven that the Garrison investigation was INCA-co-opted, but there seems to be quite a bit pointing in that direction.

*Revision of a paper delivered at the First Research Conference of the Fourth Decade at Fredonia, New York, June, 1996.

Notes

1. Arthur E. Carpenter, "Social Origins of Anti-Communism: The Information Council of the Americas," Louisiana History Spring, 1989, pp. 117-143. In writing this article Carpenter, an archivist at Loyola University in New Orleans, made extensive use of the Alton Ochsner papers in the Historic New Orleans Collection, 533 Royal St. in New Orleans. I have examined many of the same papers and, at every point of intersection of my interests with those of Carpenter, I have found his interpretation of these papers to be quite reliable. In this paper, all references to the material in this collection are cited in the format: Ochsner Papers, Box __ Folder __.
2. New Orleans Times-Picayune, January 5, 1961. All references to Times-Picayune articles in this paper were furnished courtesy J.P. Shinley.
3. Peter Dale Scott, Crime and Cover-Up (Santa Barbara: Open Archive Press, 1993) (originally published in 1977), p. 14.
4. New Orleans Times-Picayune June 8, 1961.
5. Philip Melanson, Spy Saga (New York: Praeger, 1990), p. 66.
6. Carpenter, "Social Origins of Anti-Communism," p. 129.
7. Ochsner Papers, Box 105 Folder 1.
8. Warren Commission Hearings and Exhibits, vol. 19, p. 175, Bringuier Exhibit no. 3.
9. New Orleans Times Picayune, November 20, 1963, p. 17.
10. New Orleans Times Picayune, November 20, 1963, p. 17.
11. Ochsner Papers, Box 105, Folder 2.
12. The Fourth Decade 1#6 September, 1994, p. 19.
13. FBI #105-82555-209, Wannall to Sullivan, 11/29/63.
14. House Select Committee on Assassinations, Hearings, vol. X, p. 85. It is not clear whether one of these "major news organizations" may have included the Miami News, one of whose reporters, Hal Hendrix, was feeding New Orleans summer of 63 material as early as 6 P.M. to Seth Kantor of the Scripps-Howard newspaper syndicate. Seth Kantor, The Ruby Cover-Up (New York: Kensington Publishing Company, 1978), p. 378.
15. Ochsner Papers, Box 105, Folder 2.
16. Ochsner Papers, Box 105, Folder 4.
17. Ochsner Papers, Box 105, Folder 2.
18. Ochsner Papers, Box 105, Folder 2.
19. Ochsner Papers, Box 105, Folder 1.
20. Ochsner Papers, Box 105, Folder 1.
21. Ochsner Papers, Box 105, Folder 3.
22. Jim Garrison, A Heritage of Stone (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1970, p. 7); Jim Garrison, On the Trail of the Assassins (New York: Warner Books, 1988).
23. Rosemary James and Jack Wardlaw, Plot or Politics? (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing House, 1967), pp. 38, 39.
24. Scott, Crime and Cover-Up, p. 54.
25. New Orleans Times-Picayune June 8, 1961, p. 11.
26. New Orleans Times-Picayune, December 12, 1963, p. 6.
27. Ochsner Papers, Box 105A, Folder 6.
28. New Orleans Times-Picayune, April 6, 1965, p. 6.
29. Anthony and Robbyn Summers, "The Ghosts of November," Vanity Fair, December 1994, p. 110.
30. James DiEugenio, Destiny Betrayed (New York: Sheridan Square Press, 1992, p. 124).
31. John Wilds and Ira Harkey, Alton Ochsner: Surgeon of the South (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1990).
32. Wilds and Harkey, Alton Ochsner.
33. James and Wardlaw, Plot or Politics? p. 38.
34. For example, see the letterhead of the Butler-to-Frawley letter cited in fn 17.
35. Scott, Crime and Cover-Up, p. 16.
36. New Orleans Times-Picayune, September 10, 1968, sec 3 p 4.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
American Embassy
Paris 8, France

Date: October 12, 1960
To: Director, FBI (105-8355)
From: Legat, Paris (105-1067)
Subject: LEE HARVEY OSWALD
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Re Paris letter 9/27/60.

SECRET

Classified by 9803 *ML/12*
Declassify on: OADR
RE: JAL

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OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
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Date: October 12, 1960
To: Director, FBI (105-8355)
From: Legat, Paris (105-1067)
Subject: LEE HARVEY OSWALD
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Re Paris letter 9/27/60.

The Swiss Federal Police furnished the following
report on October 1, 1960 *(X)(u)*

The investigation at the "Albert Schweitzer College" located at Churwalden, Switzerland, revealed that OSWALD actually had announced his planned attendance at this school for the course beginning in the Fall of 1959. Inquiry at the college revealed that he has not arrived there up to the present time. He had originally written a letter from Moscow indicating his intention to attend there. A letter which was addressed to him at this address by his mother was returned to her since his whereabouts are unknown to the college. The Swiss Federal Police advised that it is unlikely that he would have attended the course under a different name. The Swiss Federal Police advised that courses for the Fall of 1960 commence on October 2, 1960, and that it is possible that the school may now receive further correspondence from OSWALD. At the present time, there is no record of a person possibly identical with the subject who is registered for the courses beginning October 2, *(X)(u)*

The Swiss Federal Police advised that if further information comes to the attention of the Albert Schweitzer College, they will be advised and they in turn will advise us. *(X)(u)*

RUC
2 - Bureau
1 - Paris
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59 OCT 22 1960

Classified by 9803 *ML/12*
Declassify on: OADR
RE: JAL

SECRET

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

RUC
2 - Bureau
1 - Paris
NWP:mas
(3)

59 OCT 22 1960

Classified by 9803 *ML/12*
Declassify on: OADR
RE: JAL

SECRET

top officers of the CIA (p. 14), how he barely escaped being shot down over Cuba (pp. 48-61), how he was almost murdered by Cuban agents in Florida (pp. 108-112), and so on. Naturally, his adventures featured David Ferrie, Clay Shaw, and Mannlicher-Carcano rifles, so he must be reliable, right?

10) The Source is Inconsistent: In the course of revealing what she saw on the Grassy Knoll, Jean Hill gave one version to the Warren Commission (WC VI, pp. 206-251), a second version to Anthony Summers (*Conspiracy*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980, pp. 61, 81-82), and a third to readers of her autobiography (*JFK: The Last Dissenting Witness*, Gretna: Pelican, 1992, pp. 22-27, 46-47).

11) The Source Defies Corroboration: Sam Giancana was not around to comment on what was said about him by his brother Chuck and godson Sam in the horrible *Double Cross* (New York: Warner, 1992). Herman Kimsey was similarly in no position to discuss the way he figured in the unspeakable *Appointment in Dallas*, (New York: Zebra, 1975). Dead men like Mario Garcia Kohly and Tracy Barnes are at the center of Robert D. Morrow's alleged escapades.

12) The Source is in Conflict with Other Sources: Although conflicts are inevitable, some are ridiculous. Michael Eddowes, in *The Oswald File* (New York: Ace, 1978), argues that it was entirely conceivable that the Soviet Union was behind the Kennedy assassination. Among other things, he states (pp. 3-4) that Moscow had earlier considered killing Richard Nixon. Alas, the ultimate source for that claim was KGB defector Anatoli Golitsin, a tremendous paranoid who saw Soviet plots everywhere and helped worsen Cold War hysteria. Golitsin reacted to the 1964 defection of another KGB officer, Yuri Nosenko, by proclaiming Nosenko to be a KGB plant. Thanks in part to that, Nosenko was persecuted for years to come. (For a summary of this travesty, see Gordon Brook-Shepherd's *The Storm Birds*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1992, Chapters 11 and 12.) Since Nosenko was the one who insisted that the KGB had nothing to do with Dallas, his fate caused much confusion in the JFK field—all of it unwarranted. Recent years have seen the defunct USSR cleared of guilt in the Kennedy assassination so many times that it is hardly worth mentioning that poor Nosenko was right all along.

13) The Source is Like a Surreal Salesperson: Some people can almost convince you that the Earth is flat. In the Garrison debacle, Perry Russo's story made no sense

right from the start—a bearded Oswald?—but Russo was able to keep it going for years through a deadly combination of glibness, evasion, and persistence. Jame Kirkwood (in *American Grotesque*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970, p. 270) marveled that, "Perry Russo was not one to give a yes or no answer when a few hundred words would suffice." In the end, however, the Earth was still round, and Russo finally crumbled on the stand (p. 295): "No, I never said anything about a conspiracy; I didn't sit in on any conspiracies." Notice what a little succinctness will do for you.

14) The Source is Trailed by Nagging Details: Beyond fudging so much, Russo admitted in court (Kirkwood, p. 104) that he had dealt in porno films with David Ferrie, and he later told Kirkwood (p. 629) about receiving some "beautiful sixteen millimeter" from Ferrie. Although rather seedy, this fact did not discredit Russo by itself, but it did fit in with a curious, sexual subtext that ran throughout Clay Shaw's ordeal. As recounted by James Phelan in *Scandals, Scams, and Scoundrels*, (New York: Random House, 1982, p. 150), Garrison originally speculated that the assassination was "a homosexual thrill-killing." Was the whole Garrison mess, then, just some sort of vice case that ran out of control? Even if this really does not lead anywhere, it does nag—and that is the whole point of a nagging detail.

15) The Source Demands Faith: In the July 1993 issue of *The Third Decade*, Beverly Oliver denounced those who do not believe in her. She did it again in the January 1994 issue of *The Fourth Decade*. While nobody likes to be disbelieved, vehemence can be inversely related to credibility.

Fifteen points is enough for now. Individually, the points do not constitute knock-out blows—for instance, even a mentally unstable person can witness an actual crime—but they are increasingly lethal in combination. Offhand, I would say a combination of at least four is the danger zone. Think about it: would you trust an unidentified, intelligence-linked source who is both extravagant and inconsistent? How about a Dallas cop who has become an activist, is dogged by nagging details, and tends to demand your faith? And what of a fellow who did not wait to be discovered, likes to control information, defies corroboration, and is in conflict with other sources? As you can see, the points really do exact a toll on credibility as they build up, and I believe a danger zone of at least four is, if anything, generous. At four, the source finally becomes worthy of disbelief, and

the disbelief should harden in correspondence with the number as it exceeds four. The next step is to apply the list to Holt.

1) No problem. Holt is identified (although he has mentioned using aliases in the past, which could complicate matters).

2) No problem. So far, nobody has shown that he was ever institutionalized or that he appears irrational in person. In that sense, it turns out, he is no Robert Easterling.

3) Possible problem. By his own admission, Holt has been a forger, a convicted felon, and an associate of top mobsters like Meyer Lansky. The catch is that he has provided little or no evidence for any of this.

4) Possible problem. Holt says he worked for the CIA, but he has produced no evidence for this. Incidentally, it is not impossible to win recognition as a contact of the CIA. To cite one example, does anyone doubt that Frank Sturgis was mixed up with the CIA? Yes, Watergate made certain that his past was exposed, but there was so much to expose that it would have come out in one form or another anyway. Consult *The Fish is Red* by Warren Hinckle and William Turner (New York: Harper and Row, 1981).

5) No problem. Holt is not an interested party.

6) Problem. According to William E. Kelley's profile of Holt in the November 1992 issue of *The Third Decade* (p. 30), Holt entered the JFK scene when he introduced himself at the Assassination Information Center in Dallas in the fall of 1991.

7) Problem. Within weeks of introducing himself, Holt attended his first convention, where he managed to attract the attention of *Newsweek* (23 December 1991). Then he appeared in the book by John R. Craig and Philip A. Rogers, *The Man on the Grassy Knoll* (New York: Avon, 1992). By 1994, he was working on a book of his own, as noted by Alan Houston in the September 1994 issue of *The Fourth Decade* (p. 36). Holt follows JFK literature, and at least two publications (this one and *JFK Today*) received peevish letters from him in 1992 alone. Holt sent me copies of those letters, plus two other letters specifically addressed to me. By any measure, this is the performance of a JFK activist.

8) Possible problem. As noted earlier, Holt claimed in his letter to the editor that he had been a source for Lansky biographer Hank Messick. Indeed, Messick supposedly "wrote me every week and kept me informed as to what was happening in South Florida, especially

with Lansky...." Is it fair to call that a reversal of information? Was Holt getting more than he was giving? Consider, too, Holt's claim to have assisted the defense in the libel action against *Penthouse* over that magazine's coverage of the La Costa Country Club. In a 25 May 1992 letter to me, Holt elaborated on this: "My minor role in this case was to study the depositions of Moe Dalitz and Jimmy Fratianno for any inaccuracies. I also studied the tapes of telephone conversations between Moe and his lawyers." If true, this means that Holt had access to a large amount of information on organized crime. What he gave in return for that access is less clear.

9) Problem. Meyer Lansky, Bugsy Siegel, the CIA, Dallas—and those are just the juiciest highlights. Not many sources claim an itinerary like that.

10) No Problem. Judging from those of Holt's writings that I have seen—his various letters—he seems to be consistent whenever he turns to a subject covered previously. I stress, however, that this is not a very large sample from which to judge.

11) Problem. No reader should need me to point out that Holt's letter to the editor was jammed with unsubstantiated assertions. His basis style is to throw out a remarkable number of names and anecdotes and then leave it all dangling. Some of the material may well check out, but much of it centers on people like Meyer Lansky. Lansky, of course, has been dead for years.

12) Problem. Holt claims he was one of the three tramps, but this conflicts with Dallas Police Department records and the surviving individual listed therein as a tramp, Harold Doyle. As pointed out in the Kelley profile of Holt (p. 36), Holt's identification of an individual in a photograph of Oswald in New Orleans contradicts another identification of that person.

13) Problem. That Holt is glib is manifest in his writings. That he is evasive is implicit in his continuing reluctance to go much beyond rousing, under-documented stories to support his credibility. (And I again offer the contrasting example of Frank Sturgis: he managed to win acknowledgement as a true, shadowy operator.) That Holt is extremely persistent has been evident from his first days in this field. With such attributes, Perry Russo dug his own grave.

14) Problem. As Holt revealed to William Kelley (p. 35), he comes from a circus family, and one of his uncles was a clown. I think even Holt would agree that no circus ever succeeded through understatement. Other nagging details abound. Even though Holt knew about

my May 1992 article in *The Third Decade* almost immediately—his first letter to me arrived that same month—it has taken him well over four years to lodge a public complaint about it. Likewise, there is the mystery of the 25 July 1992 letter I sent to Holt. This letter constituted a test, as it featured a list of twenty names, which I wanted Holt to study to see if he recognized any of them from his alleged time in the Detroit underworld. He insists he never received the letter. Then there was the odd letter of 25 May 1992 that Holt sent me. It arrived in an envelope that originated from something called *Misioneros de la Amistad, A.C.* (P.O. Box 4584, San Ysidro, CA, 92073). Holt had recycled the envelope by placing over the original return address a sticker for his International Artists' Workshop (P.O. Box 1773, Lemon Grove, CA 91945). As for the letter, the first page—but only the first page—was on stationery from Southwest Advisors Group, Inc., self-styled "specialists in crisis management" (420 South Beverly Drive, Suite 207, Beverly Hills, CA 90212). The rest of the letter was on plain, unmarked paper that was not even the same color as the first page. I have no idea what impression Holt intended to give with all this—it went without explanation—but I can assure him that the one I received was of the nagging variety.

15) Problem. Given the extent of Holt's displeasure with me, one would think that my offending May 1992 article was one long tirade against him. In fact, the passage that he quotes (in two parts) constitutes the only reference to him in the entire piece. By my standards, Holt got off lightly. By his standards, it was intolerable, which brings us to the core of this particular problem. The last well-known source to display such indignation in these pages was...Beverly Oliver.

The final score, then, is eight points (or twice the arbitrarily set danger rate), plus three more possible. Given such a score, I do not see how anybody could be justified in spending more time on Holt. Life is too short. Needless to say, there always will be someone willing to spend more time on him, because that is the depressing nature of this field. If you have talent, energy, and money to squander, this is the place to do it, because the "truth" about Dallas, as some would have it, is just around the corner—exactly where it was decades ago.

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THE NEW ORLEANS COUNCIL FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES: ANOTHER LOOK

by
Hugh Murray

After my article on the New Orleans Council for Peaceful Alternatives appeared in the *Fourth Decade*, (July 1996), Jeffrey Caufield sent me photos of a demonstration conducted by the organization. They were originally printed in *The Councillor*, from Shreveport, a publication of the White Citizens Council organization. Caufield had wondered if one of the demonstrators might have been Lee Harvey Oswald, had the photos enlarged, but the suspect figure was clearly not Oswald. Caufield kindly sent me copies of the enlarged photos, whereupon I was shocked for two reasons - 1) by the size of the group assembled at the entrance to Audubon Park prior to the peace group's march along the sidewalk of St. Charles Ave., and 2) by my unfamiliarity with most of those pictured.

There were some 43-50 different people pictured, at least four of whom were blacks. As six backs were turned, I could not be certain of the race, much less the identity, of some of the participants. Two pictured were taking photographs, and were probably members of Americans on Guard, the crew that sent the pictures to the Citizens Council paper. That left 35 to identify.

When I sent copies of these pictures to Georg and Wilma Iggers, Ruth Kloefer Peters, and Robert Reinders, I was also surprised by their reactions. Georg and Wilma were only able to identify themselves. Reinders recognized the Iggerses. Ruth was certain only of her former boyfriend, Mel Jones, but knew the young woman beside him had to be her. I recognized Georg and Wilma Iggers, Ruth and Mel, and Connie Bradford, a native of Birmingham, Alabama, who had joined New Orleans CORE in 1960 while she was a student at Newcomb College. She had remained a CORE activist until the New Orleans organization expelled whites in early 1962. Another person who may be in the pictures is Ed Clark, another white, former CORE activist and native of Tennessee. Unfortunately, such a small portion of his head is visible I cannot be certain. He was marching beside Connie,

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and, as they were married at the time, it was probably he. I suspect another demonstrator was probably Al Pecararo, a friend of Brian Ampolsk (who had hung up on me when I telephoned his home in Pennsylvania when conducting earlier research on this topic. Lanny Goldfinch, another CORE activist from the early 1960s recently informed me that Al is now dead.) Yet, none of us were able to place names on the other 28 in the pictures!

Moreover, the demonstration had included more than the people pictured. Each of my sources was certain that others had partaken in the march who were not visible in the photographs. Georg and Wilma were sure that their son Danny was there; Ruth, that her father H. Warner Kloefer was there; and Reinders knew that he had marched. Iggers, who recently celebrated his 70th birthday and was born the same day as an old friend and fellow New Orleans NAACP activist, Llewelyn Soniat, had asked the black leader to view the pictures. Soniat, too, was unable to add to the names of those in the pictures.

I decided to investigate more on this march of spring 1963. Ruth had stated that she believed that she and Mel had been pictured on page 1 of a newspaper, and I vaguely recall such a picture. I requested on interlibrary loan 3 months of the major New Orleans newspapers at that time, the Times-Picayune and its smaller, afternoon daily, the States-Item. I viewed April through June 1963 of those papers. My main interest was the NOCPA, but I found other stories that might be of interest to researchers. First, a cartoon may still startle us today. The T-P reprinted it from the Minneapolis Tribune showing Congress with a shotgun preparing to shoot an apple off the head of a standing President Kennedy. The apple represented excess foreign aid. In the caption the President asks, "Do you have to use a shotgun?" After November 1963 this type of cartoon has disappeared from the major media and now seems in bad taste.

A note on memory. Going through the old newspapers for the first time since I had read them in 1963, there were three occasions where I viewed photos on the microfilm, recognized no one in them, and then read the caption. "Wow! That's Steve Whitfield!" I thought. We had been close friends in the mid-60s, and remained friends for decades until I reviewed, harshly, one of his books in American Scholar in 1990. But I failed to recognize his photo when both the T-P and the S-I announced he was among the Tulane students inducted into an honor fraternity. Similarly, Lissa D'Orlando! My minister's

daughter; yet, I failed to recognize her in the picture of four teens socializing, until I read the caption. And I had had coffee with Prof. Eric Albrecht of Newcomb's German Department on several occasions, but I failed to recognize him, clearly pictured in the newspaper photo, as the leader of an academic procession at Tulane-Newcomb. Only once did I see a photograph and note, "I think I know him." He was one of 4 Loyola ROTC cadets. The caption confirmed my eyes, for Tom Gallagher would later become a graduate student in history at Tulane, where I did know him. The point is, we do forget. And perhaps we forget faces of acquaintances faster than names. But psychologists can research this topic. Of those 35 figures whose faces were visible in the Councillor pictures, I remain certain of only 5, believe I have identified two others, and 3-4 looked somewhat familiar.

Here I recount some stories in the two major New Orleans dailies during that spring, as some names known to the research community will appear. The NO SI, 3 April, p. 2 headlined, "Exiles to Push Fight Despite U.S.-Cuba." The story noted "Carlos Bringuier, New Orleans delegate to the Cuban Student Directorate in Miami, said that his group will continue efforts to liberate Cuba despite action by the United States to stop raids originating from U.S. soil." Bringuier deemed Kennedy's policy "a mobilization for the defense of the Castro regime." The next day's TP printed a similar story. (p. 15)

The SI of 4 April p. 10 reported "YMBC Honors INCA Director" beside a photograph of Edward Scannell Butler, staff director of the Information Council of the Americas. Butler was recipient of the Young Men's Business Club's third annual Americanism Award. Three days later, the TP printed the shotgun cartoon. (7 April, Sec. II, p. 12) The following day the TP (8 April, p. 12) published a letter by Prof. Stephen Ambrose of LSUNO and a leader of the NOCPA. The topic was how best to combat communism. And on the 11th the SI printed an Associated Press story (p. 2), "Ex-Gen. Walker Shot at Home - Bullet Barely Misses." In the same paper (p. 19) another AP story noted "Castro Sees Threat Despite Ban on Raids."

A page 1 SI story on 15 April presented a different view: "Cuban Exile Policy Hit By Visiting Ex-Envoy." With his picture also printed on page one, "Former Latin American Ambassador Robert C. Hill strongly criticized...what he termed a complete reversal of the United States policy toward Cuban exiles and he called upon President

...Kennedy to let the public know if he has made any deals with Russia or Cuba. Hill, who has served as envoy to Mexico, Costa Rica and El Salvador...[is] now vice president of United Fruit..." That morning's TP had reported on the ban the bomb Easter march in England.

On 16 April both newspapers announced that public television WYES-TV, channel 8, would telecast an eight-week series on Communism. This, in essence, would be the response by liberals to the right wing anti-communist series that had been telecast in March and shown throughout the public school system. Some of the speakers during the conservative program in March had been Dr. Clifton Ganus Jr., vice president of Harding College, Searcy, Ark.; W. P. Struve, vice-president of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade; Dr. Bella Dodd, a former member of the Communist Party; and W. Cleon Skousen, an ex-FBI agent and author. The liberals demanded and received air-time for their own series. At least two of these liberal professors, Stephen Ambrose and Leonard Krimmerman, both of LSUNO, were also members of the NOCPA. Moreover, the liberal series would include discussion from professors teaching at four local universities, including Dr. John Furey, political scientist at Dillard U. Though Furey was white, Dillard was overwhelmingly black, so the liberals were seeming to push integration into their series. Furthermore, two of Loyola's representatives, Father Thomas Clancy and Rev. Louis Twomey, S.J. were known for promoting integration in their sociological institutes.

On 17 April, p. 2, the SI printed a combination national AP story with a local inset. "Cuba Exile Unit Collapse Feared / Mark Attack Anniversary." The insert - "Special N.O. Mass" to be held to remember the dead of the Bay of Pigs invasion. Two days later Ben Funk's story for the AP was headlined in the SI, "Exile Says JFK Shielding Fidel / Dr. Miro Cardona Resigns." On 20 April, p. 3, the SI carried another AP story, "Invasion Planned, Castro Charges / Backs Miro; Claims Proof...Castro says he armed his island with Soviet missiles because of new plans for a second invasion and now has proof he was right."

Not everything in the local papers concerned Castro, however. The lead editorial of the SI on Friday 19 April, p. 8, was an attack on the NOCPA. "Misdirected Peace Demonstrations," it read in part, "...the New Orleans Council for Peaceful Alternatives has scheduled a peace march Sunday morning stressing the theme 'Human Race Before the Arms Race.' It has always seemed to us

that there is something misdirected and futile about peace demonstrations in the United States, which...displayed its adherence to the principle of peace among nations...On the basis of these facts, peace crusades which choose the United States as their targets appear somewhat ridiculous." This hostile editorial undoubtedly gave the proposed NOCPA demonstration more publicity, and may have brought it to the attention of Carlos Bringuier.

Both the SI, 22 April, and the TP, 23 April, ran similar stories on the NOCPA event. Read the Picayune's story: "Pacifist Council Plans New Walk...The NOCPA says it will apply this week for a permit to stage a 'peace march' Sunday from Jackson Square to Audubon Park. The council, a pacifist organization headed by Bruce Walzer, had scheduled a march Sunday, April 21, but the council's request for a parade permit was refused. Leonard Krimmerman, 28, said the council failed to apply the required five days in advance of the scheduled march. Despite the cancelled parade, 30 council members appeared in Jackson Square Sunday morning to discuss plans." (p. 10) Not all in Jackson Square that morning were council members. As Carlos Bringuier informed the FBI in November, "Another individual that might be an associate of Oswald because he is connected with the NOCPA is Donald Savery, who lives on Alta Street in Metairie. He stated he met this individual when pro-Castroites were having a rally in Jackson Square, but he did not see Oswald at this rally. Bringuier stated that Bruce Walzer, New Orleans attorney, who was recently arrested by local police in connection with a raid on the Southern Conference Education Fund, is the New Orleans organizer for the Council for Peaceful Alternatives." [Bringuier's statement to FBI SA' Regis Kennedy and Claude Schlager, 25 Nov. 1963; I thank J. Caufield for sending me this document.]

On Monday 22 April the SI reported on page one Sen. Barry Goldwater's call to "Arm Exiles" for "new attacks on the Castro government instead of hindering them." Goldwater also "Hits JFK 'Wishful Thinking'" regarding Cuba. On 26 April the SI reported on page one an AP story that four men flew over and dropped 5 homemade bombs on oil refineries in Cuba. The same day Elden Arnoult, Jr.'s letter was printed (p. 8) criticizing the liberal professors who had denounced the earlier, right-wing, anti-communist program. Another letter, by Mrs. W. J. W. attacked misguided professors who "are self-appointed authorities on every subject from cabbages to

communism" and who "seek to impose their beliefs" on others. She concluded, "the ivory tower must have gone to their heads."

The NOCPA April had its march, assembling at Audubon Park, and going down the sidewalks of St. Charles Ave. toward Lee Circle, some Sunday between 28 April and 21 May. The pictures that appeared in the Councillor were taken by "Americans on Guard, a patriotic organization." I could find no reports on the march in either major newspaper. But like Ruth, I seem to recall a picture of her and Mel on page 1 of some paper, perhaps the Tulane Hullabaloo.

On 30 April, p. 8., I. R. W.'s letter appeared in the SI defending liberal professors and peace marchers. I quote: "Are the Cuban people or the Latin Americans convinced of U.S. peaceful intentions after our support of the Bay of Pigs invasion? Does any thinking person really believe we would not invade Cuba if it were not for the rocket and atomic firepower of the Soviet Union that holds us back? After all, it would not be the first time U.S. Marines have invaded Latin America."

SI, on 5 May, p. 12) noted in a column devoted to club meetings, "David McReynolds, national field secretary of the War Resisters League, will speak today at Hillel House, 912 Broadway, before the New Orleans Council for Peaceful Alternatives. His talk will be on American foreign policy." Hillel House was located a few blocks off Tulane campus and was the religious center for the Jewish students at Tulane-Newcomb. A few blocks away, on Freret St., was the Baptist Student Union, which permitted the small New Orleans Quaker group to hold its services there on Sunday mornings.

The other side made news in the SI on 21 May p. 3 with the headline, "Cubans to Free Own Nation, Says Speaker." At "a meeting held here in commemoration of the 61st anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Cuba. The prediction was made by Frank Bartes, a delegate of the Cuban Revolutionary Council. He addressed an assembly sponsored at Gallier Hall [quite near Guy Banister's office] last night by the Cuban Student Directorate, Alpha 66,...Bartes said Cubans have the feeling that they have been let down both by the American people and the American government...Other speakers were Carlos Bringuier..."

On 22 May "Peace Walker" had much the same letter published in both the TP and the SI. His address was the suburb of Metairie, thus eliminating Reinders, Iggers, and Kloefer as possible writers. Don Savery and Bruce

Walzer both resided in Metairie, but the style is similar to Savery's. I quote from the letter as printed in the TP: "The New Orleans' primary peaceful patriot paraders patiently plodded along St. Charles at church time, trying to implement and emulate the preachings of the Prince of Peace. Police protected us and probably outnumbered the peacewalkers, marchers is not the word,...The bomb isn't going away; we both have it and will not give it up. The radioactive fallout isn't going away and we can't get away from it...."

Two days later Guy Banister made news as a kind of early Ralph Nader: "Banister Sues For Today Show Fund Recovery." (SI, 24 May, p. 11) The story: "A suit to recover \$5,000 the city aviation board spent to help bring the 'Today' television show to New Orleans for Mardi Gras this year has been filed in civil district court...Banister charges the appropriation was illegal in that aviation funds should be used exclusively for airport development."

On 25 May the SI printed (p. 7) an AP story carried in the TP the next morning (p. 22) What is most interesting in the story is the absence of the New Orleans connection. The general tale was a common one at the time about civil rights demonstrations, "Racial Protests in 4 States as RFK Talks." The story added, "In New York, the attorney general [Robert Kennedy] met with a group of Negroes headed by novelist James Baldwin." This was a famous meeting for the civil rights movement, not because of Baldwin or Lena Horne, but because of New Orleans CORE activist Jerome Smith. He had joined New Orleans CORE at its formation in 1960 and he had been arrested in the second sit-in, the one for which the U.S. Supreme Court had just voided the convictions on 20 May 1963. Smith then had worked for CORE in Mississippi and had been severely beaten in McComb. He had experienced too much liberal hypocrisy, and told the Attorney General that he had no intention of fighting against Castro. Why could the federal government send troops around the globe to defend democracy but never send them to Mississippi? The anti-Communist Kennedy was quite upset upon hearing such a radical critique of American foreign and domestic policy by the New Orleanian Smith. A number of biographies and books on the civil rights movement describe the meeting. Yet, at the time, the newspapers glossed over the dispute.

On 1 June Helen Thayer, a frequent letter writer to the New Orleans papers, expressed her view of the peace

movement under the heading "Duped." She compared the peace movement to an epidemic "seeking to deceive the American people into thinking that the Communists are really the ones seeking world peace - not the Americans. Many sincere Americans are being pulled into this movement and they are given complete support by the Communists,..." With an allusion to the peace walk, she added, "Some are slipping on their walking shoes before finding out what is back of it all."

While Thayer attacked the peaceniks, Elden Arnoult, Jr., fired another blast at the liberal professors' seminar on Communism. On 7 June, p. 8, the SI printed his letter: "Probably most of us can remember a certain group of 29 university professors who, in March of this year, criticized the Americanism seminar that was held on WYES-TV. They,...deplored the seminar's speaker program and its alleged one-sidedness." After viewing the professor's alternative seminar against communism, Arnoult concluded, "One can, by merely viewing their programs, detect the ironic, one-sidedness and radical nature of their views...one must not forget that these are some of the same individuals who, during class and outside it, criticize and mock the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Citizens Council of Greater New Orleans, the validity of the film 'Operation Abolition,' the American Legion, the John Birch Society, and the whole right wing of the political spectrum in general."

On 11 June the NO SI reported an item involving at least one member of the NOCPA - "Professors Sue Citizen Council for \$455,000. The professors claim George L. Singlemann, council secretary, defamed them in a statement that followed their public criticism of speakers on an Americanism television seminar presented to high school students in March. The Professors claimed in the petition that Singlemann implied that they betrayed their teaching profession, that they are unpatriotic, disloyal traitors; that they should be investigated by the FBI; that they fail students who disagree with them and that they are sympathetic to Communist approaches." Among those suing was Leonard J. Krimmerman, who was also active in the NOCPA.

On 15 June the SI printed a letter by Kent Courtney, leader of the Americans for Conservative Action, with a heading summarizing his view - "Produces Warning About Coexistence."

There was one more story that researchers may find interesting. This was printed in the SI of 25 June, p. 2. A compromise had been proposed to the New Orleans city

attorney, Alvin J. Liska, whereby he would drop charges against the manager and an employee of the Doubleday Bookstore on Canal. The two had been arrested by the vice squad for selling pornography - the novel "Another Country" by James Baldwin. Doubleday attorneys proposed a compromise; drop the charges and the store would cease selling the book. Interestingly, Orleans Parish [in contrast to the city of N.O.] "District Attorney Jim Garrison refused to accept charges against them on grounds that the arrests were a form of censorship and disregarded the fundamental concepts of freedom of expression and freedom of the press."

Of course, Garrison had been constantly in the news during these months, involved especially in disputes with judges and in vice raids against bars in the French Quarter.

Conclusion. The NOCPA had grown beyond Tulane and Dillard professors by the spring of 1963. It had mobilized about 30 for a demonstration in Jackson Square on 21 April, and perhaps 50 for the parade on St. Charles Avenue soon thereafter. Various liberal professors were engaged in a high-profile dispute with the right-wing concerning rival anti-Communist Americanism seminars on WYES-TV. The liberals so objected to the initial seminar that they used clout to produce their own 8-week series on public television, and they filed a costly suit against a leader of the White Citizens Council. One of the professors who sued, and two who participated in the liberal seminar, were also members of the NOCPA.

The NOCPA planned a peace walk for 21 April, but had failed to obtain a police permit, and so restricted their activities that morning to Jackson Square. There, some of them encountered Carlos Bringuier. Soon thereafter, the NOCPA demonstrators assembled at Audubon Park another Sunday morning, but the police allowed them only to parade on the sidewalk of St. Charles Ave. Nevertheless, they marched. Though the SI had editorialized against the group, and Helen Thayer deemed them "dupes," nevertheless, Donald Savery and others defended the peace paraders. David Mc Reynolds of the WRL spoke to the NOCPA at the Tulane Hillel House. Clearly, the NOCPA was larger than I had thought when I wrote the previous article for the July 1996 issue. Nevertheless, and here is the important point, there is still nothing to link Tulane professors Forrest La Violette, Leonard Reissman, or the youthful Lee Harvey Oswald to the NOCPA. Thus, on the crucial

point, I maintain that the assertions about the NOCPA, Oswald, Reisman, and La Violette contained in the Warren Commission's volumes of evidence and hearings are essentially wrong.

INCA DINKA DO*

by
Jerry D. Rose

Oh, what a tune!—in the words of an old Jimmy Durante song. The Information Council of the Americas played an interesting “tune” in both the foreground and the aftermath of the JFK assassination. This article explores the exploits of INCA at three critical times: during the “communizing” of Lee Harvey Oswald in New Orleans in the summer of 1963; in helping to create, immediately after the assassination, a climate of fear that the murder was a “communist conspiracy”; and its continuing effort to promote that scenario of the assassination, especially at the time of the Garrison investigation circa 1967-69.

A bit of historical background on INCA will bring us up to speed on this interesting organization. A useful source for this historical thumbnail is an article on INCA by Arthur Carpenter in the magazine *Louisiana History*. (1) As Carpenter describes it, INCA was created to protect the interests of the New Orleans economic elite, including the fruit companies and the shipping and other industries that were highly dependent on a stable situation in Latin America and were, of course, aghast at the economic instability introduced by the Castro regime in Cuba. The founding lights of INCA were Alton Ochsner, the legendary physician/surgeon founder of the Ochsner Clinic, which catered particularly to an elitist Latin American medical clientele; and a youthful Edward Scannell Butler, a professional public relations man. After a rather abortive attempt in 1961 to promote Latin American anti-communism through a Free Voice of Latin America (with headquarters in the International Trade Mart), (2) Butler later that year teamed with Ochsner to

form INCA. Butler claims to have conceived of INCA while he was still in Army, “in the quiet little town of Alexandria, Virginia.” (3) When INCA was formed, Butler did not, of course, emphasize the organization’s role in protecting the economic interest of the city’s elite. Rather, INCA’s aims were couched in patriotic anti-communism. INCA’s “truth tapes” (30 minute broadcasts produced and furnished to Latin American radio stations), said Butler, “will be one of the best ways of staving off communism until the Alliance For Progress [the Kennedy administration’s Latin American policy] gets underway.” (4)

A glorious opportunity for an INCA “truth tape” presented itself in August of 1963 when Lee Harvey Oswald, the former Soviet defector and the one member of the New Orleans branch of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, became embroiled in a highly publicized series of involvements with INCA operatives. I refer, of course, to Oswald’s pro-Castro leafletting activities on New Orleans streets, during one of which episodes he was arrested after a scuffle with the anti-Castro activist Carlos Bringuier, after which he engaged in a WDSU radio “debate” with Bringuier and Butler—which resulted in a vivid public identification of Oswald as a Soviet defector and pro-Castro disloyalist.

The role of INCA in arranging both the leafletting activity and the debate—the transcript of which furnished the basis of a famous “truth tape”—is well known in the research community, but is perhaps more profound than has been generally recognized. The degree of WDSU interest in such seemingly mundane demonstrations has been suggested as problematical by Melanson and others. (5) As Carpenter notes, (6) Edgar Stern who (with his wife Edith) was a co-owner of WDSU, was an active member of INCA. Also relatively little known, I think, are Bringuier’s connections to INCA. He was a member of INCA, at least in 1967, (7) and his sympathy and support for the organization go back to pre-assassination times. After their “debate” in August 1963, when Bringuier was calling for a “congressional investigation” of Oswald and the FPCC, he also, in a press release, urged people to “help those organizations such as ‘INCA’ directed by Mr. Edward Butler, whose lives are dedicated to fight communism all over the world and especially in Latin America.” (8) Apparently Butler and INCA reciprocated the admiration because Bringuier was the guest speaker at INCA’s Second Truth Forum on November 19, 1963 (9). During his speech, he provided a scenario of

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communist propaganda techniques in Argentina that seems remarkably similar to the way Oswald was manipulated by anti-communists in the summer of 1963. He describes a pattern of "two communists starting a street corner debate...One will defend capitalism and the other communism. When a large enough crowd congregates, the one defending democracy will concede that the pro-Communist speaker is right." (10) This suggests that Bringuier and his collaborators learned from the enemy, and that the "disaster" for the FPCC in New Orleans (and Dallas) was fully planned for and done with the connivance of Oswald.

The next spate of INCA/Oswald propaganda activism occurred in the few hours and days following the assassination. Butler and Bringuier were again among the principal actors. Near the beginning of the Garrison investigation (on February 21, 1967), Butler issued a press release in which he said he "debated Oswald 93 days before the assassination and was called to Washington within 48 hours after the tragedy to testify to the [Senate Internal Security Subcommittee]." (11) Actually he misrepresents somewhat both the time frame of his visit to D.C. and the claim that he was "called" there, as opposed to having gone there on his own initiative. As I have indicated in an "updates" section of *The Fourth Decade* (12), Butler was in the Washington office of Congressman Hale Boggs on the very day of the "tragedy," and presented Boggs (later to be a Warren Commissioner) with enough Oswald-as-communist material that Boggs came out as a believer in the Butler scenario. It was, however, on November 24 that Butler made an extraordinary visit to the red-hunting lair of Senator Thomas Dodd, chairman of the SISS. (13)

Widening the audience for its propaganda to the general public, INCA operatives like Bringuier were feeding the press its first stories about Oswald's "communist" activities in New Orleans in the summer of 1963. Apparently the chosen instrument of this propaganda was the Directorio Revolucionario Estudiantil (DRE), of which Bringuier was the New Orleans delegate. The House Select Committee on Assassinations (HSCA), in investigating a story told by Clare Booth Luce about having been contacted by Cuban exiles the night of the assassination with the "information" that Castro was behind the assassination, interviewed Jose Antonio Lanusa, a Miami DRE leader and reported the following result:

"Jose Antonio Lanusa was interviewed by the committee on April 22, 1978. Lanusa said that on

November 22, 1963, he and a small group of DRE members were at a Miami Beach hotel when they heard the news of the assassination of the President. When Oswald's name was broadcast, Lanusa recalled the name as that of someone who had something to do with one of the DRE delegates, so Lanusa and those who were with him went to the Miami DRE office to search the files to determine if Lanusa's suspicion was right. By late afternoon, they had found delegate Bringuier's report from New Orleans detailing his encounter with Oswald. Along with it was a sample Fair Play for Cuba (FPCC) leaflet and a tape recording of the radio debate. With this discovery, someone immediately called a CIA contact. This person told them not to do anything or contact anyone else for at least an hour. He said he needed time to contact Washington headquarters for instructions. Nevertheless, Lanusa said, he was so anxious to release the information that Oswald was associated with a pro-Castro group that he contacted the major news organizations before the hour was up. (14)

That delegate Bringuier's "report" contained a recording of the Bringuier/Butler/Oswald debate was fortunate indeed for the propaganda purposes of INCA's ally, the DRE.

Finally, I come to the intensive activity of INCA in the era of 1967-1969 as related to the investigations of District Attorney Jim Garrison. Apparently INCA had hoped at an early stage to co-opt the investigation. Shortly after the first publicity surfaced in the Garrison case, on February 21, 1967, Butler wrote Garrison to "offer INCA's facilities, contacts and know-how in the area of communist psycho-warfare." (15) Apparently Garrison did not accept the offer since, by June of 1967, Butler had moved INCA files from New Orleans to Los Angeles and Ochsner, at first having questioned the move, finally granted its wisdom. In a letter to Butler dated June 29, 1967, Ochsner reported that William Curvich had just resigned from Garrison's staff and had provided the information that Garrison planned to arrest "a doctor," possibly himself, and accuse INCA of assassination involvement. (16) This INCA paranoia had mellowed by November of 1967 to a form in which Butler was claiming, in a letter to California supporter Patrick Frawley, that "INCA will be attacked by Garrison, with distortion, innuendo and 'evidence' during the Shaw trial, when the eyes and ears of the world will be

debacle from Garrison, it was ready to counter-attack. When Ochsner became a "little suspicious" of one of Garrison's investigators, Tom Bethel, he wrote Congressman Hebert of Louisiana to find out if the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) had any "subversive" information on Bethel (it didn't). (18) The cause of Ochsner's "suspicion?" Bethel "is an Englishman, who apparently went to Washington to see if the CIA had anything on Oswald." When Mark Lane began making speeches in the New Orleans area, Ochsner complained to the President of the Young Businessmen's Club at the Roosevelt Hotel (owned by INCA member Seymour Weiss) that Lane was "affiliated with communistic front organizations" and that his writings indicated that "he apparently had concluded that because Oswald was a communist, he did not do it." (19) He also wrote Tulane University President Herbert Longenecker (also an INCA member) with the same complaint, saying that he had hoped that "Tulane is one place that there would be some control" of people the likes of Garrison and Lane. (20) When he went again to HUAC, the result was more productive than in the case of Bethel, as HUAC sent along a lengthy resume of Lane's "communist front" memberships, including the National Lawyers Guild and (of course!) the New York Council to Abolish HUAC. (21)

For all these and other instances of Garrison-bashing by INCA, there is nothing in the published record (that I know of) to indicate that Garrison ever did contemplate prosecution and/or public villification of INCA. In neither of Garrison's two books on the assassination is there any mention of INCA, Butler or Ochsner (and even the name Bringuier does not appear in the index to the second book). (22) Are we dealing, then, with a case of severe paranoia (or a guilty conscience) on the part of INCA; or, perhaps, with an actual co-optation of the Garrison investigation by INCA? Let us explore for a bit this second possibility.

My comments in this direction revolve largely around the unusual composition of the group of New Orleans "citizens" who, in early 1967, formed a group called Truth and Consequences (T&C) which would provide private funding for Garrison in his investigation. (23) Peter Dale Scott long ago pointed out the anomaly that two of the three leaders of T&C, Willard Robertson and Cecil Shilstone, were in fact founding members of INCA. (24) Robertson was an especially active member. When INCA opened its "truth tapes" operation in 1961, Robertson was prominent in the dedication ceremonies

and had donated, for INCA's use in local fund-raising, a "bright red, sound-equipped station wagon." (25) (presumably a Volkswagen, since Robertson had the VW dealership in the New Orleans area). For this generosity (and, no doubt for other services rendered), he was given an INCA Fighter for Freedom Award at an INCA ceremony on December 11, 1963. (26) Actually, the INCA ties to T&C (and to Jim Garrison) go considerably beyond the Robertson/Shilstone connection noted by Scott. The third (and usually considered the leading) founder of T&C, oil tycoon Joseph Rault, Jr., arguably had ties to INCA as well...he certainly was close to Ochsner. Although I have not found that Rault was an INCA member, there is a letter in the Ochsner papers soliciting Rault for a contribution. (27) In 1965, when Ochsner was chairman of the New Orleans Inter-American Municipal Organization, he brought in Rault as a temporary director. (28) The man who ultimately replaced Rault was a Bay of Pigs veteran, Cuban exile Alberto Fowler, has been described as a sometime investigator for Jim Garrison. (29) Finally, Rault was, in one account, (30) present with Senator Russell Long when the idea was planted in Garrison's mind that the Warren Commission had done a faulty investigation. The Long connection to Garrison and Ochsner is an interesting one. A biography of Ochsner shows a surprising friendship between Ochsner and Long—surprising considering that, early in Ochsner's career in the Tulane Medical School (around 1930), Ochsner had a bitter confrontation with Long's father Huey Long over questions of leadership at the Charity Hospital in New Orleans. (31) Surprising, then, that Russell Long once praised Ochsner in noting a controversy about Huey's medical treatment at the time of his assassination, saying to Ochsner "You know, if my father had had you to take care of him, he would be alive today." To this, Ochsner "modestly" replied "I didn't know Russell realized this." (32)

Beyond the T&C connections to INCA represented by Robertson, Shilstone and Rault, there is at least one other likely connection. In reporting the formation of T&C, James and Wardlaw mention a few additional members, namely Eberhard Deutsch, John Mmahat, Edmond G. Miranne, Harold Cook and Lawrence Merrigan. (33) The name of Deutsch jumps out of that list, since he is an attorney whose name appears on the letterhead of Directors of INCA. (34) Deutsch has been described by Scott (who was probably unaware of his T&C connection) as the General Counsel of Standard Fruit and as "Jim

Garrison's former law partner and political mentor." (35)

Do we start to get the picture? INCA, which was supposedly in mortal combat with the Garrison investigation, has at least 4 of its associates among the leaders of Truth and Consequences, the money bag outfit for the Garrison investigation. Did T&C "get" what it may have been "paying" for?—i.e., immunity for INCA from Garrison prosecution? Certainly those INCA people who were T&C involved were not ostracized by INCA for "sleeping with the enemy." In fact, two of them—Robertson and Shilstone—were re-elected as INCA directors in September, 1968, after T&C had been operating for a year and a half. (36) Certainly I haven't proven that the Garrison investigation was INCA-co-opted, but there seems to be quite a bit pointing in that direction.

*Revision of a paper delivered at the First Research Conference of the Fourth Decade at Fredonia, New York, June, 1996.

Notes

1. Arthur E. Carpenter, "Social Origins of Anti-Communism: The Information Council of the Americas," Louisiana History Spring, 1989, pp. 117-143. In writing this article Carpenter, an archivist at Loyola University in New Orleans, made extensive use of the Alton Ochsner papers in the Historic New Orleans Collection, 533 Royal St. in New Orleans. I have examined many of the same papers and, at every point of intersection of my interests with those of Carpenter, I have found his interpretation of these papers to be quite reliable. In this paper, all references to the material in this collection are cited in the format: Ochsner Papers, Box __ Folder __.
2. New Orleans Times-Picayune, January 5, 1961. All references to Times-Picayune articles in this paper were furnished courtesy J.P. Shinley.
3. Peter Dale Scott, Crime and Cover-Up (Santa Barbara: Open Archive Press, 1993) (originally published in 1977), p. 14.
4. New Orleans Times-Picayune June 8, 1961.
5. Philip Melanson, Spy Saga (New York: Praeger, 1990), p. 66.
6. Carpenter, "Social Origins of Anti-Communism," p. 129.
7. Ochsner Papers, Box 105 Folder 1.
8. Warren Commission Hearings and Exhibits, vol. 19, p. 175, Bringuier Exhibit no. 3.
9. New Orleans Times Picayune, November 20, 1963, p. 17.
10. New Orleans Times Picayune, November 20, 1963, p. 17.
11. Ochsner Papers, Box 105, Folder 2.
12. The Fourth Decade 1#6 September, 1994, p. 19.
13. FBI #105-82555-209, Wannall to Sullivan, 11/29/63.
14. House Select Committee on Assassinations, Hearings, vol. X, p. 85. It is not clear whether one of these "major news organizations" may have included the Miami News, one of whose reporters, Hal Hendrix, was feeding New Orleans summer of 63 material as early as 6 P.M. to Seth Kantor of the Scripps-Howard newspaper syndicate. Seth Kantor, The Ruby Cover-Up (New York: Kensington Publishing Company, 1978), p. 378.
15. Ochsner Papers, Box 105, Folder 2.
16. Ochsner Papers, Box 105, Folder 4.
17. Ochsner Papers, Box 105, Folder 2.
18. Ochsner Papers, Box 105, Folder 2.
19. Ochsner Papers, Box 105, Folder 1.
20. Ochsner Papers, Box 105, Folder 1.
21. Ochsner Papers, Box 105, Folder 3.
22. Jim Garrison, A Heritage of Stone (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1970, p. 7); Jim Garrison, On the Trail of the Assassins (New York: Warner Books, 1988).
23. Rosemary James and Jack Wardlaw, Plot or Politics? (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing House, 1967), pp. 38, 39.
24. Scott, Crime and Cover-Up, p. 54.
25. New Orleans Times-Picayune June 8, 1961, p. 11.
26. New Orleans Times-Picayune, December 12, 1963, p. 6.
27. Ochsner Papers, Box 105A, Folder 6.
28. New Orleans Times-Picayune, April 6, 1965, p. 6.
29. Anthony and Robbyn Summers, "The Ghosts of November," Vanity Fair, December 1994, p. 110.
30. James DiEugenio, Destiny Betrayed (New York: Sheridan Square Press, 1992, p. 124).
31. John Wilds and Ira Harkey, Alton Ochsner: Surgeon of the South (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1990).
32. Wilds and Harkey, Alton Ochsner.
33. James and Wardlaw, Plot or Politics? p. 38.
34. For example, see the letterhead of the Butler-to-Frawley letter cited in fn 17.
35. Scott, Crime and Cover-Up, p. 16.
36. New Orleans Times-Picayune, September 10, 1968, sec 3 p 4.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
American Embassy
Paris 8, France

Date: October 12, 1960
To: Director, FBI (105-8355)
From: Legat, Paris (105-1067)
Subject: LEE HARVEY OSWALD
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Re Paris letter 9/27/60.

SECRET

Classified by 9803 *ML/12*
Declassify on: OADR
RE: *7/12*

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
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Paris 8, France

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From: Legat, Paris (105-1067)
Subject: LEE HARVEY OSWALD
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Re Paris letter 9/27/60.

The Swiss Federal Police furnished the following
report on October 1, 1960 *(X)(u)*

The investigation at the "Albert Schweitzer College" located at Churwalden, Switzerland, revealed that OSWALD actually had announced his planned attendance at this school for the course beginning in the Fall of 1959. Inquiry at the college revealed that he has not arrived there up to the present time. He had originally written a letter from Moscow indicating his intention to attend there. A letter which was addressed to him at this address by his mother was returned to her since his whereabouts are unknown to the college. The Swiss Federal Police advised that it is unlikely that he would have attended the course under a different name. The Swiss Federal Police advised that courses for the Fall of 1960 commence on October 2, 1960, and that it is possible that the school may now receive further correspondence from OSWALD. At the present time, there is no record of a person possibly identical with the subject who is registered for the courses beginning October 2, *(X)(u)*

The Swiss Federal Police advised that if further information comes to the attention of the Albert Schweitzer College, they will be advised and they in turn will advise us. *(X)(u)*

RUC
2 - Bureau
1 - Paris
NWP:mas
(3)

59 OCT 22 1960

Classified by 9803 *ML/12*
Declassify on: OADR
RE: *7/12*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

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SECRET

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Notice to Contributors: **THE FOURTH DECADE** encourages submission of articles and Letters to the Editor from all interested parties. Articles should be confined to no more than 5,000 words, letters to no more than 1,000 words. If a letter criticizes material in an article or another letter in a previous issue, the author of the original material will be allowed to respond to the letter in the same issue in which the letter is printed. Manuscripts should be submitted in hard copy and preferably with a 3.5 inch PC disc. Any author wishing copyright of his/her material should arrange that copyright upon submitting that material. All publication is at the discretion of the editor and subject to editorial revision.

Back cover illustration: Before and After the ARRB. Shown are two versions of the same document, a memorandum from the American Embassy in Paris to the FBI dated October 12, 1960. The censored or "redacted" version was released many years ago, the complete version only in 1995, when the Assassination Records Review Board forced the FBI to release the document "in full." As noted in the article, "LHO on Campus," this issue, the document contradicts several "known" facts about Oswald's contacts with the Albert Schweitzer College in Switzerland. Is this why the document was suppressed?

why did FBI/WC not get all these original records?

LHO ON CAMPUS

by

Dennis Bartholomew

One of the many strange incidents occurring in the life of Lee Harvey Oswald was his brief, aborted venture into academia. On his 1959 passport, Oswald stated he would be touring several countries and would also "attend the Albert Schweitzer College" located in Churwalden, Switzerland. [1] Despite his academic yearnings, Oswald bypassed Switzerland, traveled through Europe to Finland and from there crossed over to the Soviet Union. He apparently never set foot on the campus of Albert Schweitzer College (ASC).

What the Warren Commission Concluded About Albert Schweitzer College. Oswald's involvement with ASC was investigated by the Warren Commission (WC) and is described within various documents of the 26 volumes of WC exhibits. According to the WC materials, Oswald first applied to ASC in the spring of 1959 to attend the school's spring semester of 1960. Marguerite Oswald testified that she first learned of her son's college plans in a letter he sent her in May or June. In September, 1959, Lee departed for Europe, eventually defecting to the Soviet Union in October. In March of 1960, Marguerite received and opened a letter sent from ASC to Lee. Hoping to learn where Lee might be, she then wrote to ASC herself. The ASC officials told her that Lee never arrived at the college and they did not know where he was. Oswald's passport, his application to ASC, and much of the correspondence between ASC and the Oswalds is included among the WC exhibits. [2]

Lee Harvey Oswald's brief flirtation with ASC left some puzzling questions unanswered. Why did Oswald apply to this college in the first place? Why would he apply for the spring semester then travel to Europe in September? Why did he not attend after being accepted? And why would this institution accept a high school dropout with few academic credentials? Even more puzzling is how Oswald even knew of the existence of this institution. ASC was found to be a tiny, unaccredited school in a remote village in Switzerland. These are interesting questions, although seemingly of little relevance to the JFK investigation. But the possible significance of ASC

was elevated considerably with the uncovering of new information in 1995.

A Contradictory Report from the FBI. In 1995, a federal agency, the Assassination Records Review Board (ARRB), was in the midst of reviewing FBI documents related to the JFK assassination. Among these were five documents from the FBI's 1960 investigation of Albert Schweitzer College. These documents had been released to the public many years ago, but with significant portions blacked out, or redacted. The Review Board decided these documents could now be released in full. Incredibly, despite the passage of thirty-five years and a careful review by a specially appointed Board, the FBI still believed those documents should not be disclosed to the public. The FBI appealed to President Clinton to override the Board's decision. However, after more negotiation, the FBI eventually agreed to release the documents with no redactions other than to black out names of Swiss nationals contained in those memos. [3]

The newly released documents contained some very surprising information. In particular, an Oct. 12 memorandum from the American Embassy in Paris to the FBI [4] was found to contain three statements that were completely contrary to everything previously believed about Oswald's involvement with ASC (see back cover illustration, this issue, for redacted and unredacted versions of this memo). Contained within this memo was the following information:

- Oswald had originally registered for the Fall semester of 1959,
- Oswald had originally written to ASC from Moscow, and
- Marguerite had written directly to Oswald at the ASC address.

This was followed by a Nov. 3 memo to Director (reproduced here) [5], which told a completely different story. This memo said that Oswald had applied to ASC from Santa Ana, for the spring trimester, and that Marguerite had written, not to Lee, but to college personnel, to inquire of the whereabouts of her son. The Nov. 3 memo did not explain the deviations from the Oct. 12 memo, saying only that it was "supplementing previously supplied information." The newly released Oct. 12 memo raises more unanswered questions. Why were the findings of the 1960 investigation significantly changed in the space of a few weeks? The Nov. 3 memo provides no information on why it differs so widely from the earlier report. Rather than explain the changed

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To: Director, FBI (105-82555)
From: Legat, Paris (105-1067)
Subject: LEE HARVEY OSWALD
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Re Paris letter 10/12/60.

The Swiss Federal Police furnished the following additional information on 10/21/60 (NY 4):

"Subject enrolled for the 3rd (1) trimestre (20 April - 2 July 1960) by letter dated 19 March 1959; his address was then indicated as: MCAP, MACS - 9, Santa Ana, California, USA. He exchanged further correspondence with the College and sent in the requested papers. His last letter to the College dated 19 June 1959, it contained the deposit of \$25 towards the annual fees and he expressed his satisfaction at being accepted at the college and anticipated joy for the coming sojourn at Churwalden. The college authorities have not heard from OSWALD since, and he has not turned up for the course.

"Through subject's mother, Mrs. Marguerite OSWALD, 1410 Hurley, Fort Worth, Texas, who by letters dated 6 April and 6 June 1960 inquired about the whereabouts of her son, the college learned that OSWALD had gone to Moscow in November 1959 and lived there at the Hotel Metropole.

"If any news should be received by the Albert Schweitzer College in Churwalden about Lee Harvey OSWALD, you will be duly informed."

Any further information received from the Swiss Federal Police will be furnished to the Bureau.

RUC
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1 - Paris
RUP:mas
(17)

conclusions, the FBI chose to keep them hidden. If the Oct. 12 information was incorrect and was replaced by more reliable information, why not explain, or at least acknowledge, the significant changes? Did the reference to Moscow suggest some national security problem, or perhaps an intelligence role for Lee Oswald?

The implications of the Oct. 12 memo are enormous. If this memo is correct, or even partially correct, then many of the documents printed in the WC exhibits would have to be false, intentionally manufactured to support an incorrect description of Oswald's ASC activities. Improbable though that may seem, many JFK researchers believe there are other instances of hidden or altered evidence related to the JFK assassination. This newly released information deserves a thorough investigation to learn, if possible, what is the truth of Oswald's involvement with ASC.

Search for More ASC Information. Having received copies of the five FBI documents, I decided to make some inquiries to see if I could ascertain the accuracy of the surprising Oct. 12 memo. My search eventually led me to contact the Unitarian Universalist Association (UUA) in Boston. The UUA, also known as the Unitarian

Church, had been the primary sponsor of ASC. The UUA representatives that I talked to had no personal knowledge of ASC, but they allowed me to review ASC records retained in their historical files. Many of these records came from an organization called the Friends of Albert Schweitzer College (FASC), whose purpose was to assist ASC in recruiting and fund-raising in the United States.

Although the UUA files are incomplete and fragmentary, they provide useful background information about the college, and offered some hints into Oswald's contacts with the college. Albert Schweitzer College was not a traditional degree-granting four-year college. [6] It was an experimental school formed to allow students from all nations to meet and study together in the interests of promoting world peace and good will. The primary founder of this school was Prof. Hans Casparis, a professor of theology in Chur, Switzerland. ASC was located in the mountains several miles outside the city of Chur, in the relatively isolated village of Churwalden. The "college" was very small, having roughly 20 to 40 students and a small staff. The school had three trimesters during the October to June school year and one summer session. Students were permitted to attend one trimester or to stay for an entire year. The student body included persons of all ages, both graduates and undergraduates. There were approximately equal numbers of American students and students from western Europe.

In the late 1960's, ASC developed internal operational difficulties and funding problems. At that time the FASC and the American UUA ended their association with the college. It appears that ASC may have ceased operation shortly after that.

The UUA files give some indication of how ASC recruited its students. Because of its small size and limited funds, the college seemed to do little or no advertising in the United States. ASC recruited American students primarily through personal contacts of the Friends of Albert Schweitzer. The ASC student lists show that there were a few American colleges from which ASC would often draw students. Likely these were schools in which the FASC had personal contacts. It is almost certain that Oswald must have had personal contacts who informed him of ASC and perhaps caused him to apply to it. It's highly unlikely that there would be any advertising or recruiting by ASC at the El Toro Marine base in 1959.

Interestingly, a frequent source of ASC students was Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio. Researchers

had previously found links between Antioch and Lee Oswald, such as an Oswald "sighting" at a demonstration in Yellow Springs in the early 60's, and the fact that Ruth Paine had attended Antioch from 1949 to 1955. An FBI report from 1963 contained an "unverified" statement that Oswald had been reported as having attended Antioch briefly in 1957. [7]

I found few references to Lee Oswald in the UUA files, and all but one of them were written after the assassination. Since these files are relatively small, at best a few thousand pages, it is not too surprising that there is little pertaining to Oswald. However, it should be noted that the files contain some odd gaps during the critical time period. For example, a correspondence file dated 1956 through 1964 is completely devoid of correspondence during the years 1958 through 1962, when the contacts with Lee Oswald took place. [8]

Do Other Documents Support the October 12 Memo?

I next began a chronological review of the relevant documents from the UUA files as well as the ASC related WC exhibits. My objective was to learn if there was anything that might explain the information found in the Oct. 12 memo to the FBI.

Proceeding chronologically, the first record of Lee's contact with ASC is his 1959 application and correspondence with the college. [9] These consist of a series of letters between Lee and Erika Weibel, secretary of ASC, ranging in date from March 28, 1959 to July 10, 1959. These documents seem authentic on their face, but it is unusual that Lee is corresponding directly with ASC. The normal procedure would be for the applicant to apply through the U.S. admissions committee. In her letter of March 28, Ms. Weibel asks Oswald to send his application to her and copy the chairman of the American admissions committee, Dr. Robert Schacht. [10] Despite the admonition to copy Dr. Schacht, Lee's acceptance is apparently already assured as she said, "We hope to have you with us for during the coming Year Course and are looking forward to receiving your definite application." Lee apparently then submitted his application, although it is dated 3/4/59. [11] This date appears incorrect; perhaps 4/3/59 was intended, or perhaps Lee was using the European convention of the day, month, year. In any event, Oswald's acceptance by ASC was noted in his June 19, 1959 letter to Ms. Weibel, in which he expressed gratitude for his acceptance by the college. [12] I could find no letter informing Oswald of his acceptance, nor is there any indication that Lee

ever communicated with Dr. Schacht.

Shortly after the assassination, the FBI recorded Dr. Schacht's recollection of Lee's application to ASC. Dr. Schacht seems to suggest a more significant role for the American admissions committee. In a statement to the press shortly after the assassination, Dr. Schacht said "Oswald's application was 'cleared' by the American committee and sent to Switzerland where the final decisions on applications are made." [13] Dr. Schacht told the FBI on Dec. 5, 1963 that he "recalled Oswald had filled out an application...in the spring of 1959 while still in the Marine Corps." He never met or spoke with Oswald, and said the only record he had in his files related to Oswald was a mimeograph sheet dated May 27, 1959, containing a list of the names of the 1959 applicants which included Oswald. [14] In his statement to the press, Dr. Schacht said that an application is never accepted unless it is accompanied by three references including a clergyman. The references are asked to report their views on the applicant's background and qualifications. "Because the Oswald application was approved," Dr. Schacht said, "I am sure that he must have given three references and their reports must have appeared satisfactory. But I cannot recall now who they were." [15]

Dr. Schacht's description of Lee Oswald's application implies considerable input from the American admissions committee. However, the Oswald-Weibel correspondence allow for little or no time for input from Dr. Schacht and seem to imply that the acceptance process took place without his input. Is it possible Dr. Schacht's memory of Oswald's application was hazy because he did not process that application? Of course, if the Oct. 12 FBI memo is correct, and Oswald's application came from Moscow, then there would be no involvement by Dr. Schacht.

Dr. Schacht's mimeographed May 27th list of applicants would provide some corroboration of Schacht's involvement in the application process, but I have been unable to locate that document. What I did find did not corroborate Dr. Schacht's recollection.

ASC Student List Does Not Include Lee Oswald. In the UUA files, I found two lists (shown here) of ASC students that included the school year 1960, but neither fits Dr. Schacht's May 27, 1959 date. [16] The first list is entitled "Status of Student Applications for ASC." This list is not dated, but a subcaption says that it lists students accepted for the 2nd and 3rd terms of 1960 and those

STATUS OF STUDENT APPLICATIONS FOR A.S.C.		
(Students accepted for 2nd and 3rd terms '60, and those accepted for academic year - 1960-1961)		
Name	Period of study	Educational background
Hoffman, Frederic C. 3804 Park Avenue Minneapolis, Minn.	Apparently entered after Fall opening	Univ. of Minnesota 1 quarter
Haddock, Ruth 429 Park Avenue DeKalb, Ill.	3rd term '60	Penn. Coll. for Women; Univ. of Pittsburgh '55; Syracuse Univ. '52
(Polansky, Leona A. (Peckville, Penn.	Will attend 3rd term '61	State Teachers' Coll. E. Stroudsburg, Penn. '51-Jan. '61
Fisher, Nancy L. 2 Amburst Dr. Yonkers, N.Y.	3rd term '60	Marietta College 9/56-2/60
Baker, Deborah Ann Bay Rd., So. Danbury, Conn.	'60-'61	Endicott Jr. Coll. '58-'60
Hubbard, Edward Kim Elo St., Canton, Mass.	'60-'61	5 yrs. High school-interrupted schooling - health problems - rec'd excellent references - in- cluding one from his doctor
Dauner, Lois 1308 Penny Lane Grants Pass, Oregon	'60-'61	U.C.L.A. Extension Course '59 grad. from High School '51
Kelly, Gary E. 114 Red Mesa Heights Grand Junction, Colorado	'60-'61	Univ. of Utah '51-'59 - New Mexico State U. '59-'60
Machado, Adeline 1825 N. Wilcox Ave. Apt. 15 Hollywood 28, Calif.	'60-'61	Univ. Arizona June '58-Aug. '58 College of St. Joseph on the Rio Grande '58-'59
Mitchell, Mary Box 28-W, Harwich, Mass.	'60-'61	Grinnell College '58-'60
Richardson, Robert J.	'60-'61	Wm. Jewell College '55-'59 Liberty, Mo.
Stephens, Jane Elms 710 Union St.-Marshfield Mass.	'60-'61	Skidmore College '58-'60
Thomas, Patricia A. 121 Rose Lane Haverford, Pa.	'60-'61	Branksome Hall, Toronto '45-'56 Lower Merion & Harrison High School '57-'59

STATUS OF STUDENT APPLICATIONS FOR A. S. C. as of February 9, 1960		
Name	Period of Study	Remarks
Richardson, Robert J. (William Jewell College '55-'59)	1960-'61	Accepted and ltr forwarded to ASC
Fisher, Nancy L. (Marietta College student)	3rd Tri., '60	Accepted and ltr forwarded to ASC
Oswald, Lee H.	3rd Tri., '60	Accepted and ltr forwarded to ASC
Polansky, Leona (Teachers Coll. student)	Apr - July of '61	Application now being processed
Hubbard, Edward E. (N. S. graduate in June '60)	1960-'61	Accepted and letters are being forwarded to ASC
Arobambeau, Carole R. (N. S.) June '60	1960-'61	Waiting for 1 more reference ltr Acceptance doubtful - should be placed on "waiting list"
Winkler, Beatrice		Notified of interest by Erika - has not applied to Chairman of the American Committee
Mitchell, Mary M. (Grinnell Coll.)	1960-'61	Accepted and ltr forwarded to ASC is trying to obtain scholarship loan to enable her to go to ASC
Dauner, Lois A. (Secretary - N. S. and Extension courses at U.C.L.A.)	1960-'61	Accepted and ltr forwarded to ASC 12/17/59
Thomas, Patricia H. (N. S. graduate)	1960-'61	Accepted and ltr forwarded to ASC June 25, 1959
Haddock, Miss Ruth (Penn. Coll. for Women '51 Syracuse Univ. '52)	Spring term '60	Already accepted by ASC - reference ltr being forwarded
Stephens, Jane E. (Skidmore Coll. student '58-'60)	First 2 terms 1960-'61	Letters being forwarded to ASC
Hoffman, Frederic C.	Yr course '60	Attending ASC - reference ltr being forwarded for College files

accepted for the year 60-61. This list had to have been printed in the fall of 1960 because it states that one student, Frederick Hoffman, "apparently entered after Fall opening." This list does not include the name of Lee Oswald! This is strong evidence that, as of the Fall of 1959, Oswald was not scheduled to attend the 1960 spring semester.

Could Lee have really been accepted for the fall semester as the Oct. 12 memo states? I could find no student list that included that fall semester, but I did find a second list entitled "Status of Student Applicants for ASC as of February 9, 1960" which was attached to a February 10, 1960 letter from Dr. Schacht. This list includes the third trimester students for 1960 and the full-term 1960-62 students. Most of the names in the first student list appear here along with a few additions including the name Lee H. Oswald. Does this mean Oswald's application and acceptance occurred in the fall of 1959, between the time the first and second lists were printed? If so, that implies that Oswald's contact with the college came after his defection to the Soviet Union. Is that why the Oct. 12 memo said Oswald first contacted ASC from Moscow? Could the letters from Ms. Weibel have been altered to support the claim that Oswald had applied in the spring of 1959 for the spring trimester of 1960? If so, what would be the purpose for such a change?

Turning back to the WC materials, an examination of the matter of references raises some more questions. Dr. Schacht had said that Lee "must have given three references" but remembered nothing more about them. [17] I have been unable to find any confirmation that Dr. Schacht actually communicated with any of Oswald's references. Oswald's correspondence with Ms. Weibel of ASC makes no mention of checking references by anyone in the relatively brief period between April application and June acceptance. Further, Oswald did not make the task of checking references easy. In his application to ASC, he identified his references only by last name and first initial as follows: Mr. A. Botelho at MCAF, MACS-9, Santa Ana, Calif.; Mr. R. Calore at MCAF, MACS-9, Santa Ana, Calif.; and in response for a request for "a Minister who knows you," Chaplain W. Waters. No first name or phone number was provided for any of these. The WC's reproduction of Oswald's hand-written application is accompanied by a typed version. Oddly, the typed version neglects to include the name of Chaplain Waters. [18] Was this an oversight or

did someone prefer that Chaplain Waters' name not be noticeable? If Lee's application had been altered to show a third trimester application, then its creator would not want anyone to find and talk to those references.

Marguerite's Correspondence with ASC Raises More Questions. The next event in the ASC story involves Lee's mother Marguerite. One of the WC exhibits is a March, 1960 letter from Dr. Casparis of ASC to Lee Oswald, notifying him that the start date for the third trimester had changed. [19] Marguerite Oswald received that letter and wrote back to Dr. Casparis to inquire if he knew where Lee was. [20] In her letter to Dr. Casparis, dated April 6, Marguerite said:

I am writing in regards to my son Lee H. Oswald. A few months ago he wrote me that he was accepted by your college and looked forward to going and had sent a registration fee...Please let me know if you have had and (sic) further word from him.

Note that Marguerite says Lee wrote to her a few months ago that he was accepted by the college. In April, a few months ago would have been the winter of '59-'60 when Lee was already in the Soviet Union. Does this support the Oct. 12, 1960 report that Lee contacted ASC from Moscow? Or is it possible that Marguerite mistakenly wrote a few months ago for an event that occurred almost a year earlier?

Marguerite does not mention that she was responding to Casparis' letter to Oswald. Does this imply that it was Marguerite who initiated the communication with ASC? Or does it simply mean that Marguerite wanted to hide the fact that she opened Lee's mail? In his statement to the press on Dec. 5, 1963, Dr. Schacht mentioned Marguerite's communications with ASC. Dr. Schacht said that he was contacted by the college in the spring of 1960 to ask if he knew what had happened to Lee. "They said his mother had written them asking about him." [21] Here again, there is no indication that ASC had initiated the communications and that Marguerite was responding to its letter to Lee.

Dr. Casparis' response to Mrs. Oswald said that ASC had no word from Lee "since his application for the third term of a few months ago." [22] Casparis is thereby confirming that the application was a few months ago, just as Marguerite had said. If Lee's application was a few months earlier, in the winter of 1959-60, that would explain the omission of Lee's name on the fall 1959 student list, and support the idea that Oswald's spring

1959 application is fiction. One theory that may account for all these inconsistencies is that Oswald's original application may have been for the fall of 1959, as the Oct. 12 memo states, but that he instead went to the Soviet Union and from there reapplied for the spring trimester.

Mrs. Oswald's final letter to Dr. Casparis, dated June 6, 1960, was a request for any further information he might have of Lee. Somewhat oddly, she inquired "what date he applied for application." [23] In her later statement to the WC, Marguerite said that Lee had written to her in May or June of 1959, and had informed her about his application and acceptance to ASC. [24] If that were the case, why is she asking Dr. Casparis for information concerning the date of Lee's application? When Dr. Casparis answered this letter, he told Marguerite that "the date of his application was March 4th, 1959 and "he applied for attendance of the third term." [25] Inexplicably, Casparis did not respond until Sept. 3rd, almost three months later.

While Mrs. Oswald was waiting for an answer to her final letter to Dr. Casparis, the FBI began its own inquiry into ASC. The inquiry resulted in a series of four reports being sent from "the American Embassy in Paris to The Director, FBI. These reports were based on investigation by the Swiss Federal Police. The second of these reports, dated Sept. 27, 1960, says "considerable investigation has been conducted to locate the Albert Schweitzer College in Switzerland, since this college was previously unknown, and there was no official record of its existence in the Federal Government records in Bern." [26] How could it take three months to locate this college, if Marguerite had been in direct correspondence with its director? The third and fourth of these memos were the contradictory memos of Oct. 12 and Nov. 3, which have been described above. [27]

In taking a closer look at the Nov. 3, 1960 memo we find it contains a serious inconsistency with Marguerite Oswald's letters. In the Nov. 3 memo, the Swiss Federal Police reported that through Marguerite Oswald's letters of April 6 and June 6 1960 "the college learned that OSWALD had gone to Moscow in November 1959 and lived there at the Hotel Metropole." [28] Marguerite's letter of June 6, reprinted in the Warren Report, says only that Lee "left for Moscow, Russia in November and I have had only one letter from him." It says nothing about the Metropole Hotel [29]. Marguerite's letter of June 6, 1960 makes no reference to either Moscow or the Metropole.

[30] How could the Swiss Police have learned about the Hotel Metropole? Marguerite had never mentioned it in her letters. Does this imply that the Oct. 12 memo is correct and Oswald had written to the college from the Metropole? Does this further imply that the Nov. 3 memo was intended to hide evidence of Oswald's contact from Moscow and attribute the Moscow reference to Marguerite? This reference to the Hotel Metropole strongly indicates that there is a story behind these two memos that has not yet been revealed.

A fascinating possible facet to this story appears from my most recent research on the matter. I have learned from the Marguerite Oswald papers at TCU that Marguerite had apparently written two versions of the April 6, 1960 letter to Dr. Casparis. [31]. The two letters were hand-written separately and not identical copies. The words in the two letters are the same except one includes a P.S. saying that Lee was staying at the Metropole Hotel. This raises more questions: why are there two letters, which one was sent to Dr. Casparis, and why was the letter without the P.S. printed as a Warren Commission exhibit?

How Did the Warren Commission Obtain the ASC Exhibits? In evaluating the accuracy or authenticity of the ASC documents, it would be helpful to know how they were obtained. In her testimony to the WC, Marguerite said that Congressman James Wright had contacted ASC and had obtained their records related to Lee Oswald, including his application. Marguerite read these documents in her testimony and, at one point, bluntly told them them "this is something new for you gentlemen," something "that you cannot possibly have had." [32] This implies that the ASC exhibits, CE 228 to 236 of WC Vol. XVI, were obtained from Marguerite. In any event, I have not been able to find any other source for them.

But it appears that the WC did not print all of Marguerite's documents. For example, there should have been a letter of acceptance sent to Oswald, but that was not included with the other ASC documents. Also missing is an ASC brochure that Marguerite found puzzling:

Now, I have a brochure. This I cannot understand from the college, dated 1960. I have this for you, Mr. Rankin-dated 1960.

Lee is in Russia.

And the men in the State Department told me he went to Finland before Russia. But this is dated

1960. I have it for you.

But I don't understand that.

There was apparently no follow-up by Mr. Rankin to Marguerite's concern about the date. [33] The implication is that, among the records sent to Marguerite, was a document with a 1960 date, created at a time when Lee was thought to be in Russia. Is this simply some mixup of documents that Marguerite misinterpreted? Or is this another indication that Lee's contacts with ASC were much later than the spring of 1959?

Marguerite's testimony also contains a contradiction concerning the time at which she obtained the ASC documents. Marguerite related that, after her trip to Washington in early 1961, she went to Jim Wright's office. At that time Mr. Wright's secretary offered to write to ASC to get some information from them. This resulted in ASC sending "the application and everything back to Jim Wright's office." [34] That seems clear. But in discussing her January 1961 meeting with State Department officials, Marguerite says:

I showed them this letter from the-the application from Albert Schweitzer College, and Lee's mail had been coming to my home. I didn't know whether he was living or dead. I did not want to mail these papers. So I made a personal trip to Washington." [35]

Marguerite cannot have had the ASC records in January if Jim Wright's office did not obtain them until March. One or the other of Marguerite's statements must be incorrect.

Contradiction Concerning What Documents Remain with ASC. If ASC sent its Oswald records to Jim Wright what, if anything, did it retain for itself? The minutes of ASC's Jan. 14, 1964 Board Meeting suggest that all its records were forwarded to Mr. Wright. The President's Report, contained within the minutes, states that in March of 1961, after receipt of a letter from Congressman Wright, "We handed our material over to the Congressman." [36] I discussed this issue in a telephone conversation with Dr. Ernest Cassara, who had been Director of ASC in the fall of 1963. Dr. Cassara told me that he arrived at the college in 1963 and had not been present during the events of 1959 through 1961. But he was certain that all of the Oswald materials had been turned over to Jim Wright in 1961 and there were no materials at the college at the time of the JFK assassination. [37]

Yet Dr. Schacht said in his 12/5/63 statement to the FBI

that Ms. Weibel told him "the Police Department had been at the school again in recent months and had reviewed the school records regarding Oswald." [38] Clearly some Oswald records remained with Ms. Weibel as late as 1963. When I asked Dr. Cassara if Ms. Weibel may have retained some documents and failed to inform him of them, he told me that he thought that highly unlikely. He had no explanation for Ms. Weibel's reference to Oswald materials. [39] Ms. Weibel, in response to my request for information pertaining to the FBI's investigations, had no recollection of the pre-assassination investigations at ASC. [40]

Erika Weibel's Reminder to Dr. Schacht. The final investigation into Lee Oswald's contact with ASC occurred shortly after the assassination of President Kennedy. At that time, Dr. Schacht was interviewed by the FBI and the media. Many of his comments have already been discussed above. However, before making his statement to the FBI, Dr. Schacht himself received some information from the ASC.

In his Dec. 5 interview with the FBI, Dr. Schacht mentioned that he had recently received a letter from Erika Weibel, who "reminded" him of Oswald's acceptance by the college in the spring of 1959 for the spring term of 1960. She also reminded him that Oswald never arrived at the college and that Oswald's mother had written the college inquiring about his whereabouts. [41] On 12/6/63, Dr. Schacht wrote to Erika Weibel and Dr. Ernest Cassara, then Director of ASC. Dr. Schacht began that letter as follows:

Dear Erika and Ernie:

Bless you for your important letter regarding L.H.O. which arrived last Monday evening before circumstances broke which, just three hours afterwards, involved me. It has not been too unpleasant because, of course, there was nothing to hide. However, without your accurate reminders my weak memory would have been lost....[42]

Dr. Schacht is saying his memory would have been "lost" without Erika "reminding" him about what happened. What was his memory of those events without the reminder? Why would Dr. Schacht have to be reminded at all? Does this letter indicate that persons associated with ASC were requested to conform their testimony to agree with the conclusions of the Nov. 3 memo? The comment that "there was nothing to hide" is rather curious, as is the reference to L.H.O. The newspapers at that time were not commonly referring to

Oswald as LHO. Was Lee Oswald so familiar to Ms. Weibel and Dr. Schacht that they would be using that abbreviation?

Conclusion. Having reviewed documents related to ASC, we have seen some subtle inconsistencies that offer some support to the truth of the memo to FBI of Oct. 12, 1960. Because this support is slight, one might conclude that the likely explanation is that the Oct. 12 memo was simply an example of bureaucratic incompetence. Yet, if that were the real explanation, why would the FBI resist releasing this document even as late as 1995? Persons knowledgeable of the history of Lee Harvey Oswald have found many, many of these inconsistencies throughout his adult life. The ASC incident is just another example of the questions that still surround Lee Oswald.

If there is any truth to the Oct. 12 memo to the FBI, then the full story of Oswald's involvement with ASC has been withheld from the public. Perhaps Oswald's contacts with the Soviet Union created a national security concern to justify withholding some of the ASC story from the public. But the AARB decided in December 1995, after the passage of over thirty years, that the FBI's ASC documents should be released to the public. To fully understand these documents, the FBI needs to explain why the Oct. 12 and Nov. 3 memos came to different conclusions and why the Oct. 12 memo was withheld for so long. Perhaps the AARB can serve as a conduit for releasing this information to the National Archives and the public.

In all likelihood, additional information related to ASC will surface in the coming months, just as new information continues to be found concerning other aspects of Oswald's life or of the JFK assassination. Perhaps additional relevant ASC information has already been released to the AARB. Of perhaps readers of this article are aware of information that may clarify the unanswered questions surrounding ASC. I welcome any additional information that anyone can offer on this fascinating subject.

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Notes

1. Sept 10, 1959 passport application of Lee Harvey Oswald, Warren Commission Exhibit No. 1114. Hereafter, references to this source cited in format: CE 1114.
2. See CE 1114; CE 228 to CE 236; CE 270.
3. See December 28, 1995 News Release of the Assassination Records Review Board (AARB). The five

- documents are identified as record numbers 124-10023-10234, 124-10023-10235, 124-10023-10236, 124-10023-10237 and 124-10023-10238.
4. Record No. 124-10023-10236.
 5. Record No. 124-10023-10237.
 6. These files are identified as the Records of the Albert Schweitzer College and the Records of the Friends of Albert Schweitzer College: Correspondence files, 1953-1972. These files are located at Andover-Harvard Theological Library of the Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
 7. 12/2/63 report of SA Thomas B. Estep, file #CI 105-25-5 of the Cincinnati office.
 8. See Records of the Friends of Albert Schweitzer, 1956-1964 Correspondence file.
 9. CE 228, 230, 234 and 235.
 10. CE 230.
 11. CE 228.
 12. CE 234.
 13. See 12/5/63 report of SAs Joseph A. Oxley and Walter M. Brady, file #105-10911, Boston, Massachusetts office, cited hereafter as 12/5/63 report.
 14. 12/5/63 report.
 15. 12/5/63 report.
 16. See Records of the Friends of Albert Schweitzer College.
 17. 12/5/6e report.
 18. See Year Course Application Form to Albert Schweitzer College, CE 228.
 19. CE 229.
 20. CE 231.
 21. 12/5/63 report.
 22. CE 232.
 23. CE 233.
 24. Testimony of Marguerite Oswald, Warren Commission Hearings and Exhibits, vol. 1 p. 212. Hereafter, references to this source cited in format: 1H212.
 25. CE 233.
 26. Record No. 124-10023-10235.
 27. Records No. 124-10023-10036 and 124-10023-10237. The final document of this set of five, No. 124-10023-10238, was a routing slip on which was typed the following comment: Re Dallas rep 7/3/61, transmitted by BU 0-7 7/13/61. The Swiss Police were advised as to the subject's present status in view of their previous investigation to locate him.
 28. Record #124-10023-100237.
 29. CE 231.
 30. CE 233.
 31. The Marguerite Oswald Collection, Special Collections, Mary Couts Burnett Library, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth Texas.
 32. Testimony of Marguerite Oswald, 1H213.
 33. Testimony of Marguerite Oswald, 1H214.
 34. Testimony of Marguerite Oswald, 1H205.
 35. Minutes of Board Meeting of Albert Schweitzer College, January 15, 1964, from the Records of the Friends of Albert Schweitzer College.
 37. 8/20/96 telephone interview with Dr. Cassara.
 38. 12/5/63 report.
 39. 9/19/96 telephone interview with Dr. Cassara.
 40. 2/25/97 letter from Erika Weibel to author.
 41. 12/5/63 report.
 42. Letter 12/6/63 from Dr. Schacht to Dr. Ernest Cassara and Ms. Erika Weibel.

THE AUSTRALIAN CONNECTION*

by
Enid Gray

Lee Harvey Oswald's journey to Mexico City has always been a contentious issue amongst researchers investigating the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Was it Oswald or was it an impostor who visited the Cuban and Russian embassies in an attempt to get a transit visa to Russia via Cuba—two countries that were out of bounds to Americans back in 1963.

To add to the controversy, surveillance photographs of Oswald visiting an embassy were allegedly taken but the ones produced by the CIA and printed in the Warren Report depicted a man, who at six feet two inches tall and balding, was obviously not the Lee Harvey Oswald we're all familiar with. His name had also been changed to Lee Henry Oswald. Which by sheer coincidence happened to be the name (though not known by researchers at the time) that Lee Harvey Oswald was known by in his CIA 201 file.

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So the mystery deepened, thanks mainly to the antics of the CIA who, when asked to explain by the commission investigating the crime, ran for cover, suppressing all evidence and slapping security seals on everything relating to this matter. As a result, questions of who indeed travelled to Mexico and visited two communist embassies using the name Oswald has never been satisfactorily resolved.

Answers to these important questions seemed impossible. Then, Chris Mills, the editor of the British research magazine "Dealey Plaza Echo" wrote me a letter. He was wondering if I could help him find the two Australian girls who had travelled to Mexico City on the same bus as Oswald, as he wished to interview them. Thrilled at the prospect that at last I could be of use to the research community, I agreed to his request and set off determined I would find them regardless of where in Australia they lived.

BACKGROUND BRIEFING.

Pamela Mumford and Patricia Winston were two Australian girls on a working holiday in America in 1963. They travelled around on a Trailways bus, which allowed them to get on and off for three months. They crossed the border at Laredo on September 25 where they bought a ticket to Mexico on Bus Transporte del Norte. They had one day and one night in Monterey, leaving at 7:30 pm on September 26th for the seven hour journey to Mexico City.

They have no knowledge of when Oswald boarded the bus, it was he who told them he got on in Laredo. He was thin and going bald. He laughed and joked a lot with an English couple and an elderly gentleman. On discovering they were Australian and that they spoke English, he became a bit of a pest. He told them he was from Fort Worth so they nicknamed him "Texas" because of his accent. He mentioned he had been stationed in Japan, before telling them that he'd lived in Russia for two years studying and had a Russian wife. In an effort to impress them, he showed them his passport with Russian stamps. His passport photograph astonished them, for he had changed from a thick set man with a full head of hair, to a thin weedy individual with receding hair. When they arrived in Mexico City, he recommended they stay at the Hotel Cuba, saying it was cheap. This gave them the impression that he'd stayed there before. The last they saw of him was at the bus depot, standing with a duffel bag between his feet and wearing a scruffy charcoal grey colored wool sweater.

On November 22, 1963 they were living in Los Angeles when news of the assassination was broadcast. Some hours later when watching the television, a picture of Oswald was shown. "God that's Texas", they cried. They were still glued to the set when Oswald was shot dead by Jack Ruby. They recognized him straight away because of his crinkly hair. He was also wearing the same scruffy jumper that he wore when they last saw him at the bus depot in Mexico City.

Both girls were interviewed by the FBI, but only Pamela Mumford gave a detailed deposition to the Warren Commission. She is of the opinion that Oswald was set up, as he seemed to be a man easily manipulated.

PRESENT DAY.

Tracing someone's whereabouts after thirty two years is not an easy task, especially in a country as large as Australia. With only their single surnames to go on, I telephoned everyone listed under those names in the Sydney directory before trying my luck interstate. I even involved the staff at my local library, who were delighted to help even though they thought I was slightly mad. Every avenue I tried brought negative results. Then I enlisted the help of Philip Hopley, an avid assassination buff, who works as fraud investigator for a very large insurance company. Thankfully, he remembered that they were interviewed back in the 80's, and yes, he did have the article somewhere. When the 1988 article arrived it contained several clues. Although Pam Mumford was married, Pat Winston remained single. The article mentioned that she worked at a hospital not too far from where I lived. Was she still there? Taking pot luck, I telephoned the hospital and asked to be put through to the department where I hoped she still worked. It must have been my lucky day for I was told by the person who answered the phone that Pat Winston still worked there but was on holiday.

Oh joy, oh joy! I'd found her. My next step was to write her a letter containing a few personal details about myself and outlining Chris's request for an interview. I also enclosed my telephone number and prayed fervently that she would contact me. My prayers were answered by a phone call one week later.

THE PHONE CALL.

On November 16th, Pat Winston rang and introduced herself. Her voice was warm and friendly but very determined that they were not interested in doing interviews now or in the future.

"For they had nothing new to tell and what we've said

in the past stands today. It's over 30 years", she kept repeating. "Over the years we have given interviews—Anthony Summers was the last." Before I could utter a word she inquired if I knew who he was. I told her I was familiar with his books on the assassination as well as corresponding with him on the subject. The lady continued: "Well, it took a lot of his charm and persuasion for us to agree. We went to a lot of trouble to accommodate him, then when it was shown on the television, we only appeared for seconds."

Pat Winston sounded quite miffed. She also sounded bored by the whole subject. I had not seen the program she was referring to, neither had I known that Anthony Summers had spoken to them. My persuading her to be interviewed for the research magazine only raised more of her objections. "Besides, we don't want our name published anywhere. We have deliberately kept a low profile due to what seems to be happening to other witnesses." I tried to explain that all the deaths were not sinister but she was not convinced, saying "That doctor in England refuses to be interviewed because of that." (Presumably Dr. McFarlane, who was also on the bus) Her fear was understandable. I suggested her place in history was important and was told this is what they all say. When I asked her if it was Oswald they met she answered, "Yes, it certainly was." There was no hesitancy. I believed that lady. Ms. Winston then inquired how I had found her. I gave her the details and thanked her for her time. We parted on friendly terms. I also promised to respect her privacy and am therefore unable to reveal her current address or telephone number.

So there you have it. Details from a very important eyewitness who actually met and spoke to the real Lee Harvey Oswald. Her story certainly convinced me.

So what was Oswald up to? One unavoidable assessment comes from Oleg Nechiporenko, a KGB agent who interviewed him at the Russian embassy whilst trying to obtain a visa to return to the USSR. The agent described him as a neurotic individual who waved a gun and became extremely agitated about being followed by the FBI. Nevertheless, a lot of researchers, including myself, believe he acted as if he was on an undercover mission and was possibly used by David Atlee Phillips, an agent for the CIA, to infiltrate the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Phillips, the former chief of the Western Hemisphere Division who operated out of the Mexico City station, is a familiar name to all conspiracy theorists. He is suspected by many to be the CIA's case officer Maurice

Bishop who was sighted by Antonio Veciana, a Cuban exile leader, in Oswald's company in Dallas shortly before the Mexican episode. Duping Oswald into believing his importance as an agent for Uncle Sam would have been easy for a man with Phillips' experience. During the last investigation into Kennedy's death, it was Phillips who stepped forward to defend the agency's woeful performance in solving the crime. In addition to committing perjury by denying he ever used the name Maurice Bishop, his lame excuses only proved to assassination theorists that a CIA cover up was still in operation.

Is there any explanation for the dramatic change between Lee Oswald's appearance which the Australian girls described and the passport photo which he displayed to them, for the disparity is profound? Well the most logical reason in my opinion would be one of malnutrition brought about by food shortages which are still prevalent in Russia today. After spending one month visiting that country and eating food of such poor quality that we in the west would only throw in the garbage, I can confidently attest to that.

Although Oswald's lack of nutrition would not be severe enough to manifest itself like we see in some pot bellied waifs, it would be bad enough that symptoms of muscle wasting along with thinning crinkly hair would be apparent to a medical doctor. Incidentally, the incredible shrinking man syndrome is not unique to Lee Harvey Oswald. It also happens to people who, in an effort to lose weight, place themselves on such a stringent low calorie diet that along with losing pounds in weight they also lose inches in height. There may also be an answer to the identity of the man photographed visiting an embassy and calling himself Oswald. On reading "Open Secrets", Vol. 1, No. 3 printed in April 1995, I came across this very intriguing report: "Mary Ferrell directed the review board to CIA documents concerning SVATAPLK OSVALD, a Czech national reported on in Oct. 1963 by the Mexico City station to other CIA divisions, and who Ferrell believes is the Oswald photographed at the Soviet Embassy."

With the name Oswald spelt with a V, in the European style, it also fits the person who visited the embassy speaking broken Russian. If there are documents identifying him lets hope the review board will make the CIA release them very soon.

Information used in this article came from Warren Commission Vol. 11, pp. 215-224: and Sydney Sunday

Telegraph, Oct. 30, 1988, "Aussie Girls Bus Ride Into History With Kennedy's Killer" by Michael Robotham. Pat Winston's telephone conversation came from notes I scribbled at the time. To be perfectly fair, I have not included information that she did add, which due to the speed of her conversation, I was unable to write down. My thanks must go to Chris Mills who instigated the idea and to my fellow Australian researcher Philip Hopley, who helped find her, then urged me on. Copyright. Enid Gray

*Revision of an article published in the British publication, Dealey Plaza Echo, November 1996.

POSNER - THE EIGHTH COMMISSIONER

by
R.F. Gallagher

All Hail Gerald Posner!

He has done the impossible—what had not been done in thirty years! He solved the JFK assassination case; what the Warren Commission, the FBI and CIA and all those other government agencies—and all the others who have written on the subject (which for almost all means more or less on the subject)—those Posner criticizes and condemns throughout, were not able to do. Thus, with his characteristic modesty, his title: Case Closed.

Harold Weisberg, CASE OPEN

Gerald Posner, author of Case Closed, tells his readers that "Due to the bedlam at Dealey Plaza, many contradictory statements were produced from scores of witnesses resulting in conflicting accounts of what happened." Posner says that resolving every conflicting account is impossible. The author says, "Testimony closer to the event must be given greater weight than changes or additions made years later, when the witnesses' own memory is often muddled or influenced by television programs, films, books, and discussions with others." (p. 235)

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This is good advice, especially for those who write for posterity. Does Posner follow his own advice? Not always. In trying to solidify the concept that three shots were fired on November 22, 1963, we read from Case Closed: "Beyond the eyewitnesses already discussed, the author has discovered several people who saw the assassination and have never before testified or told their stories....most are now retired, some deceased, and their memories nearly three decades after the event are not what they would have been within days of the shooting. But their revelations are still pertinent. The six interviewed for this book each remembered hearing three distinct shots, and more important, three of them watched the assassination with a pair of binoculars." (pp. 261-262)

Posner tells us that six were interviewed for the book and three watched the event with binoculars, but leaves us in the dark as to who they were; except for one of them, Francine Burrows, who said she remembered three shots. Francine told Posner, "I was very close to him when he got shot. And I looked up at that window immediately [the southeast corner of the sixth floor of the Depository]. I knew instinctively 'that's where the shots came from'. She ran back to her office after the third shot, and she said she 'was in shock, just in shock—I didn't want to discuss it, I just wanted to forget it'." (p. 262)

And that's exactly what Francine did for thirty years; she didn't discuss it and she just forgot it. Thanks to Posner and Random House, Francine has come forward at last to help us close the case.

Even more interesting than Francine is another tardy witness, Travis Linn, once a reporter and now a professor of journalism. Posner says of Linn, "Despite his reluctance, he finally agreed to tell, for the first time publicly, the story of the only sound recording known to have made of the assassination." (p. 243)

It turns out that Linn had planted a tape recorded on one of the columns near the reflective pool at the corner of Houston and Elm Streets. He wanted to capture the sounds of the motorcade going by.

All went well until Linn transferred the recording to a reel-to-reel tape machine and don't you know, it erased itself. [Shades of Mission Impossible]. Not to worry; when asked if he heard the sounds of the shots on the tape when he played it back, Linn told Posner, "When I was dubbing it, I did hear three shots and they were rifle shots. I know rifles and pistols. There is no question about those sounds. They were huge over the crowd

noise...the first two, my recollection is, were close together and there was a slightly longer pause until the third one, as the guy hurried his shots, and then said, 'No, I am going to aim this time.'" (p. 244)

We are fortunate that Posner found Travis Linn before Oliver Stone discovered him. Here we have not only a witness to the tragic event, but someone who writes dialogue as well. Also, Linn was able to correct witnesses who reported that it was the last two shots that were close together with a longer pause after the first shot.

If Linn would have come forward at the time, he could have saved Secret Service Agent, Forest Sorrels, from giving false testimony to the Commission. Sorrels was in the lead car of the motorcade and when asked if he could testify to the spacing of the shots, Sorrels said, "Yes. There was to me about twice as much time between the first and second shots as there was between the second and third shots."

MR. STERN. *Can you estimate the overall time from the first shot to the third shot?*

MR. SORRELS. *Yes, I have called it out to myself. I have timed it, and I would say it was very, very close to six seconds.*

MR. STERN. *It sounds like you can still hear the shots.*

MR. SORRELS. *I will hear them forever. Vol VII, p. 345*

Posner criticizes testimony of witnesses who made statements within hours of the assassination, and uses Travis Linn thirty years later to describe the shots from a self-destructed tape and with the sequence of the shots in the wrong order.

What happened to the author's advise about testimony closer to the event being given greater weight than testimony made years later?

Case Closed? Maybe not.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

To the editor: As one interested in the history and interpretation of photographic materials relating to the President Kennedy assassination, my attention was drawn to the article in January's issue of "The Fourth Decade" by Martha Moyer and R.F. Gallagher. Titled, "Where was Jack Ruby on November 21 and November 22," one major thrust of the article was to indicate that Ruby, contrary to his later assertions, was not at the Dallas Morning News building at the time of the assassination of President Kennedy. The authors noted that all the people who saw him in the building before and after the assassination did not explicitly state that he was there at the critical minutes around 12:30. Not having researched this aspect of the Ruby story, I will let others more familiar with the documentation debate this question.

My interest was piqued, however, when the two authors wrote, "We would argue that Jack Ruby was in the area of the Texas School Book Depository and not in the Dallas Morning News building at 12:30 p.m., the time of the shooting." According to the authors, Ruby apparently had something to do with the assassination conspiracy. And their proof of Ruby's being present at Dealey Plaza? The authors reproduced a transparency taken by amateur photographer Phil Willis which shows the front entrance of the Texas School Book Depository shortly after the assassination. In the right background of this slide is pictured a man who looks suspiciously like Jack Ruby. To bolster their speculation that it is Ruby, the authors give the reader the impression that two of Ruby's friends identified him in this picture, as well as in three others reproduced in their article which show Ruby at the Police Department later that Friday night. The authors offer no other photos or testimony of anyone else at the Book Depository who also saw Ruby—just this photo and the seeming corroboration of photo identification by Ruby associates.

Though the authors reproduced three of these Warren Commission photo exhibits (2441, 2442, and 2423) which Andrew Armstrong and George Senator were asked to examine to identify Ruby, the authors failed to illustrate exhibit 2424 which was the other photo the two men were shown for identification purposes. This photo exhibit shows a close, full frontal view of Ruby at the Police Department show-up room that Friday night. Contrary to the implication of the authors' statement, neither Senator nor Armstrong were shown the Willis slide taken at

Dealey Plaza, and, therefore, their identification of Ruby at police headquarters, for whatever value it would be, did not relate to the suspicious Dealey Plaza picture at all! Such sloppy if not underhanded reasoning and use of evidence on the part of the two authors does not bode well for the integrity of their research.

But even if two Ruby friends did see the Willis photograph and did say the man was Ruby, it does not necessarily make it so. The image is extremely small and taken from at least 30 feet away. On first blush, the subject does look a bit like Ruby, especially with his receding hair line. Upon closer magnification, the subject looks less bulky than Ruby and wears a shirt with no tie and an open collar. A number of years ago while doing research for a book, I located several photographs made by freelance photographer, Jim Murray, who also had this man in his pictures. Taken at the same general time as the Willis slide, except closer to the subject and from a different angle, the Murray photos conclusively show the man to be younger and physically quite different from Ruby. Photographic interpretation is only as good as the quality of information provided for the interpretation, and at times can be quite imprecise. In 1994 I published my book, Pictures of the Pain: Photography and the Assassination of President Kennedy. I reproduced both the Willis and one of the Murray photographs on pages 177 and 178, and hoped that this discovery would lay to rest the question of the identity of this particular man. Researchers who subsequently contacted me were pleased to get to the bottom of this little controversy, and several reviews congratulated the settling of this question. Obviously its solution is still not universally known or recognized by researchers.

Since the publication of my book, I have found this same man again in two other photographic sources. Last May I was requested by C.B.S. News to review the so-called Cooper film containing preserved film clips originally shot by cameramen from Fort Worth's KTVT television station. While reviewing the film with Dan Rather, I noted a brief clip showing this same man at the northeast corner of the Book Depository at a time when 15-year-old eyewitness Amos Euins was being escorted by Sergeant Harkness. When asked on camera to comment upon the identity of this man, I stated that, along with the evidence of the other two pictures, "I think it's safe to say that this is the man in the other two pictures, who is not Jack Ruby." More recently while reviewing tape of film shot by Dallas television station WFAA cameramen, I located this same

"non-Ruby" man in a film clip taken in front of the Book Depository at the time when eyewitness Howard Brennan was being escorted from the front door area. This clip is quite clear and longer than that of the KTVT clip.

What most disturbs me is not the fact that some researchers have not taken the trouble to fully research the available evidence or information as regards a question before making broad statements, but rather that based on such soft evidence of a Ruby look-alike in one photo, researchers would take such large leaps of faith to find something to hang their conspiratorial beliefs upon. This information I have uncovered obviously does not prove that Ruby was not there. I can't at this point prove that Bill Clinton was not there. What it does prove, however, is that the man identified by many researchers as Ruby in the Willis slide is not Jack Ruby. Lets finally bury this misidentification and move on.

-Richard B. Trask
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Moyer and Gallagher respond: We feel bad that Richard Trask, of all people, responded to our Ruby article (January 1997 issue) with criticism. Researchers owe a great deal to his excellent display of words and pictures illustrating the tragic event in American history.

For the record, we did not say that the Willis photo was identified by Andrew Armstrong and George Senator (see p. 12 in our article). We only asked the readers to compare the Willis photo with Figures 2, 3 and 4. We say "Ruby was positively identified in these photos [2,3 and 4, not the Willis photo] by long time personal acquaintances Andrew Armstrong and George Senator."

We are well aware of Trask's reproduced Willis and Murray photographs on pages 177 and 178 and agree that Trask is correct in stating that the man in the far right of the Willis photo, with the sun-glasses and receding hairline, is not Ruby. We were concerned that "our" Ruby would be mistaken for this "far right" man. The person in the Willis photo that we suspect is Ruby is the man in the right foreground of the photo, the man to the right of the policeman (to the policeman's left), the man with his back to the cameraman (Willis). We knew, thanks to Mr. Trask, that the man in dark glasses, at the extreme right of the picture, was not Jack Ruby.

Trask's photo is not as clear a print as we have seen elsewhere, but we have tested the comparison with numerous people and all agree that "our" Ruby appears to be the same man that we see in Figures 2,3 and 4.

However, we are not as dogmatic in our assertions as Mr. Trask—notice that we, in our article, say “We suspect that Ruby’s picture may have accidentally been taken in front of the TSBD by Phillip L. Willis.”

And don’t be too sure about Bill Clinton; for a young man, he did get around.

Sorry about “disturbing” you “Dick.”

-Martha G. Moyer

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-R.F. Gallagher

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To the editor: I don’t agree with every point Tom DeVries made in his review of Ray and Mary La Fontaine’s Oswald Talked (January issue), but I do agree that this book is an important one that should be read closely by all serious assassination researchers. Thus far, I have been disappointed by the cold shoulder the book has received from the research community. (For example, Probe editor Jim DiEugenio dismissed it as “rather curious.”) I feel that Oswald Talked is far more worthy of scrutiny than Case Closed, which was dissected by researchers ad nauseum.

The La Fontaines based their book on recently discovered documents, original interviews, and brave new interpretations of well-worn assassination standards. While the questions raised by David Perry (in the November 1996 issue of this journal) and Carol Hewett (in the July-August 1996 Probe) certainly need to be answered, the majority of Oswald Talked warrants careful consideration. The La Fontaines managed to reverse my opinions on the veracity of Silvia Odio and William Walter, something I would not have thought possible a year ago.

Although I read Tom’s review with interest, it was actually his letter to the editor (in regards to the work of William Weston and John Armstrong) that spurred me to write. In that letter, Tom wrote that “Most researchers rightfully don’t believe that the historic Lee Harvey Oswald test drove a car at Downtown Lincoln-Mercury on November 9, 1963.” I’d like to respond to this.

Unfortunately, while Tom was observing Peter Dale Scott and John Armstrong as they compared notes during the first Research Conference of the Fourth Decade, he was missing my paper presentation on Downtown Lincoln-Mercury. I don’t know if he has yet read my paper as it appears in the published proceedings, but if he hasn’t, I suggest he do so. In that paper, I came to the

conclusion that the historic Oswald did test drive a car at Downtown Lincoln-Mercury. The precise date of that test drive (whether it be November 2 or 9 of another day altogether) is still open to question, but I am convinced that that it did occur as described by the unlucky salesman, Albert Bogard.

Since presenting that paper, I have learned some additional information that further buttresses my conclusion. What follows is some, but not all, of this supporting evidence. First of all, Buell Frazier testified to the Warren Commission that Oswald told him he planned to buy a car. (2H221) Secondly, Irving barber Clifton M. Shasteen, who knew Ruth Paine, told the Commission that “I understand through one of the men who questioned me out at the shop, said [Oswald] never did drive [Ruth Paine’s] car. Again, I’m going to disagree because I know that he did. He drove it up there and got a haircut.” (10H317) Thirdly, Dallas insurance salesman Edward Brand, whose business was located across the street from Oswald’s rooming house, told the FBI shortly after the assassination that Oswald had visited his office to inquire about insurance for a car that he was considering buying. (Henry Hurt, Reasonable Doubt, pp. 397-398).

Consider the accepted fact that Oswald made two visits to the Texas Drivers’ License Examining Station with the intention of obtaining his driver’s license. Let’s use some common sense here. Why would anyone take the time and trouble to do so if he couldn’t drive? The only reasonable answer is that he could drive, and expected to pass the exam. It is more likely than not that the historic Oswald did test drive a car with Albert Bogard, who spent over an hour with his prospective customer within a few weeks of the assassination, and later passed an FBI-administered lie detector test when questioned about it.

I know of at least three students of the case who have changed their opinion on the matter after reading my paper; perhaps there are others, and perhaps Tom DeVries will join them. From his review of the La Fontaine book, I would judge him to have an open mind. Unfortunately, it seems that most other researchers don’t have open minds, which could explain why they cling to familiar interpretations of episodes like the Oswald test drive, for one example, and the Odio incident, for another.

-Sheldon Inkol

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To the editor: Although I agree with Tom DeVries in his overall assessment of Oswald Talked (what a misleading title), I'm not convinced that James Hosty was using LHO as an informer, since he seemed to be suspicious that Oswald might be assisting the KGB. He even suggested to me in 1989 that the two men overheard in Winnipeg by Richard Giesbrecht were KGB operatives, that "Isaacs" was a veiled reference to Valeri Kostikov and the car (a 1958 Dodge) that was to be taken care of by "Hoffman/Haughtman," once "Isaacs" was located, was a vehicle in which Oswald had been seen in Mexico City. Unfortunately, no reference to the Winnipeg Airport incident is made in his recent book, Assignment: Oswald, despite his obvious interest in Giesbrecht's allegations.

I must say that I was disappointed that the La Fontaines also ignored Mr. Giesbrecht's allegations, having sent them a copy of my unpublished article "The Winnipeg Airport Incident Revisited" through Paul Hoch, after reading their Washington Post article about Elrod in the final (?) issue of Echoes of Conspiracy. (I never received a reply from them.)

Gunrunning seemed to be one of the subjects being discussed by the two men in the Winnipeg Airport restaurant on Feb. 13, 1964 (one of whom was later identified by Giesbrecht as David Ferrie), and they appeared to be particularly concerned about what Oswald might have told Marina, who had just testified before the Warren Commission the week before. During their conversation reference was made to a "good shipment" having been sent to Caracas from Newport (Kentucky? Rhode Island?). As pointed out to me by Larry Haapenen (whom the LaFontanes refer to several times), the word "Caracas" appears inexplicably in Oswald's notebook. (Venezuela was a hotbed of paramilitary activity in 1963-64, involving both the CIA and supporters of Castro.)

The two men overheard by Mr. Giesbrecht were clearly worried about their association with LHO, and wondered how "Isaacs," with such a "good record," would get "mixed up" with a "psycho" like Oswald. One of the men mentioned that he had viewed film footage in which "Isaacs" could be seen near "Kennedy after the landing." (the FBI wrote "TEXAS" in large print in the margin of their six-page report). As I have previously reported, an American Airlines customer service representative named Chuck Isaacs (described to me by a former pilot who had known Isaacs for several years as

a "wheeler dealer") is listed in Jack Ruby's phone book. The FBI interviewed Mr. and Mrs. Isaacs in January 1964, and learned that Mrs. Isaacs had briefly worked for Ruby as a wardrobe designer. Ruby had apparently given her a cheque which bounced, prompting them to approach Ruby about this matter, but the FBI did not explain in their brief report why Chuck Isaacs' name, place of employment and phone number (as of 1961) were in Ruby's notebook. (When I spoke to Isaacs' ex-wife, she seemed to think her name was listed). Nor did the Dallas FBI appear to respond to the Minneapolis office a month later when it was specifically asked to "CHECK INDICES TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE NAME OF ISAACS EVER APPEARED IN THE OSWALD OR KENNEDY INVESTIGATION." Clearly it had, but no such response is listed amongst the thirteen documents related to Giesbrecht provided by Archives II, and recently sent me by Ulric Shannon.

Intriguingly, as described in both the W.P. article and Oswald Talked, a stake-out involving the Dallas Police and the FBI on Nov. 18, 1963 (unfortunately in conflict with the ongoing undercover efforts of the ATF's Frank Ellsworth) resulted in the arrest of two men after a high-speed chase, who had been observed transferring a large quantity of stolen weapons and ammunition to a 1962 Thunderbird convertible from a white DODGE (the year apparently was not listed). In their book, the LaFontanes indicated that the Dodge was not seized, and could very well be the car referred to during the Winnipeg conversation. It's unfortunate that the La Fontaines did not recognize the significance of Mr. Giesbrecht's allegations as related to their overall theme.

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To the editor: A minor but worthwhile clarification of a statement by Tom DeVries in his review of the new book Oswald Talked in the January 1997 issue. Mr. DeVries claimed that the Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter and crime historian Ed Reid was a "Bureau informant" and that the Kennedy assassination was predicted in Mr. Reid's presence. Mr. Reid may well have had contacts in the Bureau, but there are no indications that he ever overheard a threat directed at JFK. Perhaps Mr. DeVries meant to write "Ed Becker" in place of "Ed Reid" in his review? Reid did print Becker's story, about a threat by New Orleans mobster Carlos Marcello to kill President

Kennedy, in his book The Grim Reapers, but this was as close as Mr. Reid came to having "first-hand knowledge" of the JFK assassination and even that, depending on one's view of Mr. Becker's credibility, may not be terribly meaningful.

-Timothy W. Fattig
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To the editor: After reading Oswald Talked (Ray and Mary LaFontaine, Pelican Publishing Company, 1996), I wonder if it is sufficient to blame the DRE for the assassination? After all, the DRE gained nothing from JFK's death. Actually, to the extent that JFK and RFK were willing to continue the secret war against Castro (albeit on their own terms, and not those of the DRE or Alpha 66), then the anti-Castro Cubans actually lost ground: LBJ shut the program down entirely and began to focus on Vietnam.

If LHO was an informant for the FBI and did indeed report on an assassination plot, how in the world did the anti-Castro Cubans get LHO's rifle into the book depository? The La Fontaines presume (on the basis of consecutive dates in March of Hosty's and LHO's actions, which is provocative but not conclusive) that LHO ordered the rifle at Hosty's request. Fair enough. How, then, did that rifle (which Liebler noted could not be placed with any confidence in the Paines' garage) fall into the Cubans' hands?

A couple of years ago I wrote to Professor Phillip Melanson and asked him to explain how (alleged) anti-Castro conspirators could have known in advance that their own actions would have triggered a massive FBI-CIA cover-up of their involvement in the murder. I am still awaiting a reply. I now ask the La Fontaines and the readership of TFD the same question. Any thoughts?

-Paul Joliffe
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To the editor: In a letter to the editor printed in the last issue, Tom DeVries expressed his disagreement over some of the conclusions made in an article I wrote on the Tippit shooting, "Tenth and Patton." Although his points were numerous, I would like to focus my response on what I believe was his main criticism. He said that I should have admitted the possibility that the suspicious man driving the red Falcon near the shooting site was not Oswald himself, but rather he was someone who closely resembled Oswald. The basic assumption behind

DeVries' contention is that a lookalike imposter was used by the conspirators to frame an innocent man for the murders of Kennedy and Tippit.

This theory has had a time-honored place in the literature of the assassination. As early as 1965 Harold Weisburg discussed it in his book Whitewash, and as recently as 1995 Peter Dale Scott mentioned it in Deep Politics II. When I first began to read about the Kennedy assassination, I was among those who believed in the existence of a lookalike imposter. But as I tried to use this theory as my guide in understanding the evidence of the assassination, I found myself devising scenarios of ever-increasing and never-ending complexity. The experience can be compared to chasing somebody in a house of mirrors, where multiple reflections constantly mislead. I finally gave up in frustration and thought that there must be a better way. I asked myself the following questions:

If Oswald truly was an innocent man, then why did he not expose the real assassins? As time was slipping by and as the perpetrators were making their getaways, why was he wasting time playing mind games with the police? Why would he not respond to any questions about the Hidell alias? Or give an alibi for his whereabouts at the time Tippit was killed? Why was he repeatedly and emphatically stating that he was a Marxist, that he had been in Russia, and that he had been engaged in pro-Castro activities? Why did he refrain from stating that his primary associates in New Orleans were rightwing fanatics such as Guy Banister and David Ferrie? Since he had many opportunities to speak on live radio and television newscasts, why did he not give the names of those who were setting him up, or any other information pertinent to the truth of the assassination?

I could find only one way to answer these questions: that he was a fully cooperating patsy, dedicated to giving the conspirators all the assistance he could. His service in this respect was twofold. First, he was stalling for time while the true assassins were clearing out of the area. Second, he was transferring suspicion upon those who had no part in the assassination—Russians, Communists, and leftwing activists.

If then my argument that he was a willing patsy is correct, then we can dispense with the second Oswald theory. If the real Oswald was willing to take on the patsy role after he was brought into custody, then logically he should not have had any objection to performing this role before the assassination. I should add at this point

that I am not saying he was never impersonated. As the story of the Mexico City capers clearly show, a person, not resembling Oswald, had used Oswald's name at the Cuban Embassy. As for John Armstrong's research regarding the existence of an impersonator before Oswald's trip to Russia, I think he has done a superior job turning up interesting pieces of information, yet from what I have read so far, none of this information can be construed to support the idea that the impersonator was a lookalike.

-William Weston
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CHAUNCEY HOLT AND PROBLEMATIC SOURCES

by
Scott Van Wynsberghe

I have seen the light, and it emanates from Chauncey Holt. It is not, however, to be confused with the light that Holt himself would have me see. What actually happened was that Holt foolishly insisted on drawing my none-too-tender attention again, after all these years, through his letter to the editor in the January issue. Although initially disgusted, I soon viewed his griping as an opportunity to explore a basic issue, namely problematic sources. What are, after all, the patterns of such sources, and how do those patterns relate to Holt?

Before proceeding, a definition is in order. For the purposes of this article, a "problematic source" is just that: somebody who has information to give but presents a problem as to credibility. The problem may be more or less tolerable, or it may be so severe that a researcher cannot flee quickly enough.

Also before proceeding, I suppose Holt deserves some response to his letter to the editor. Basically, his criticism of me boiled down to the old observation that absence of proof is not proof of absence. In other words, he argued that the failure of Meyer Lansky biographers

Robert Lacey (in *Little Man*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1991) and Hank Messick (in *Lansky*, New York: Berkley, 1971) to mention Holt or Detroit mobster Peter Licavoli does not necessarily mean that Holt is a humbug. Maybe so, but it sure narrows things down. In fact, there is a third Lansky biography that fails to mention Holt or Licavoli, that being *Meyer Lansky: Mogul of the Mob*, by Dennis Eisenberg, Uri Dan, and Eli Landau (New York: Paddington Press, 1979). Shall we try for the best out of seven?

Holt is just going to have to face the fact that whatever he claims he did in the company of people like Lansky—if he met Lansky at all—was simply too minor or irrelevant to appear on the radar screens of writers. His excuse for not appearing in Messick's *Lansky*—that he provided information for the book but requested anonymity—is unpersuasive without confirmation from Messick himself. Holt's excuse for not appearing in Lacey's *Little Man*—that Lacey missed all sorts of things and did a poorer job than Messick—is mocked by the obvious quality of Lacey's book. *Little Man* is over 500 pages long, with a 13-page bibliography, over 1,500 source notes, and an acknowledgements section that names over 200 people. *Lansky*, by contrast, runs to less than 300 pages, has no bibliography or notes, and is spotty in its acknowledgements. Moreover, Lacey scores heavily against Messick on a number of points. For instance, Messick (p. 15) passes on a preposterous claim that Lansky was once worth \$300 million. Lacey (pp. 311-312) takes that apart and even gets Messick to retreat a bit.

But enough of bickering over Lansky biographies. Concerning the patterns of problematic sources, it says something about the Kennedy assassination field that so many researchers have been exposed to so many questionable claimants without anybody thinking to publish a list of the characteristics of such sources. How the relentless hunters of terrible conspiracies can overlook the basic job of classifying people with uncertain allegations is beyond me. Anyway, here is a proposed list. It is by no means definitive, but neither is it scanty, thanks to the, ah, "colorful" history of this field.

1) The Source is Unidentified: Anonymity causes nothing but frustration and suspicion. Mark Lane told the Warren Commission he had a witness who saw Jack Ruby with J.D. Tippit and Bernard Weissman, but he never identified the witness for the Commission and continued to be coy years later, even when defending

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himself from attacks. (See Lane's Rush to Judgement, New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1966, pp. 248-259, and A Citizen's Dissent, New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968 p. 183.) For what it is worth, the alleged witness is fingered as "Dallas media man" Paul Birdewell by Richard Warren Lewis and Lawrence Schiller in The Scavengers and Critics of the Warren Report (New York: Dell, 1967, p. 48).

2) The Source is Crazy: No joke. In one of the most painful sights of recent JFK history—even worse than Henry Hurt's fiasco with the unhinged Robert Easterling—Dick Russell took a brain-damaged man, Richard Nagell, and used him as the basis for an 824-page book, The Man Who Knew Too Much (New York: Carroll and Graf, 1992). Russell was reduced (p. 166) to trying to figure out what Nagell means when raving about "CHAOS/XYZ" and "HAI/WAI." Very sad.

3) The Source is Criminal: Some subject matter necessitates the use of criminals as sources, but hoods are still hoods. Cyril Wecht, in his memoirs, Cause of Death (New York: Dutton, 1993, pp. 48-50, 66-69), tells the horrific story of Robert Russell, a convicted con man who scammed one hapless JFK buff out of \$100,000.

4) The Source is Spooky: The world of intelligence is so furtive and complex that it tends to undermine everything it touches. If one is to believe Warren Hinckle (If You Have a Lemon, Make Lemonade, New York: Bantam, 1976, pp. 260-286) and William Turner (in The Rebel for 13 February 1984, pp. 26-29), the mysterious book Farewell America was the product of French intelligence, with possible KGB overtones. Since its origins are so murky, however, the book has always been worthless for research purposes, whatever its value as a collector's item. Even when someone from intelligence does come out into the open to participate sincerely in the JFK controversy, the results can be unsettling. One-time CIA computer specialist George O'Toole, in order to research his book The Assassination Tapes (New York: Penthouse Press, 1975, p. 141), deliberately adopted a misleading "cover" so as to obtain taped interviews of Dallas figures who were unaware that he then analyzed the tapes with a contraption called a Psychological Stress Evaluator. (For debunking of the PSE, see The Journal of Forensic Sciences for April 1982.)

5) The Source is an Interested Party: A number of lawyers who represented Jack Ruby or his estate went on to write books that exonerated Ruby of any conspiracy. As far as I am concerned, Melvin M. Belli (Dallas Justice,

New York; David McKay, 1964), Elmer Gertz (Moment of Madness, Chicago: Follette, 1968), and Alan Adelson (The Ruby-Oswald Affair, Seattle: Roman, 1988) were correct to declare Ruby innocent on that score, but what else would they have said? Anybody associated with, say, the Dallas Police Department works under a similar shadow.

6) The Source Does Not Wait to be Discovered: For any researcher, the most reassuring find is someone who does not know or even care that he or she may have important information. Contrast this with the various characters who actively competed for the attention of Jim Garrison. As Garrison himself admitted, one of them was the infamous Charles Spiesel (On the Trail of the Assassins, New York: Sheridan Square Press, 1988, p. 230).

7) The Source Becomes an Activist: Sources who grow enthusiastic threaten the integrity of the information they offer. After keeping up with the literature, attending conventions, hitting the talk shows, and writing books, their zeal may imperil what they have to say. By the time lawsuits are flying—as in the case of Dr. Charles Crenshaw—the source has reached the point where he or she is actually shaping the entire field and determining what can or cannot be discussed. Who wins and who loses in such a situation is an intriguing question, and researchers may well wonder how much control over the field could be taken from them, but one thing is obvious: a source who turns activist can no longer be regarded as just another source.

8) The Source Controls or Even Reverses the Flow of Information: Once again, Richard Nagell is a classic example. He so badly ping-ponged Dick Russell through eccentric behavior that, at an early stage, information was going from Russell to Nagell. "I had sent him," Russell writes (p. 251), "a ten-page outline of what I believed were the essential elements of his story, and he mailed it back with numerous typed corrections." It seems Russell saw nothing unusual in the fact that he was now explaining to his supposed source the source's own story—which the source then continued to modify. Russell would argue that he was only clarifying Nagell's tale, but a journalist should know that, after a point, the incomprehensibility of a story is the story. You have a bum source.

9) The Source is Extravagant: Robert D. Morrow, in the wondrously mistitled First Hand Knowledge (New York: SPI, 1992), tells how he was in contact with one of the