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Dear Jim,

Not long ago you told me I should read Fonzi's book, which I'd been ignoring. Along with many others I regard as time-wasters. I asked you why and you gave me no real answer, just indicating that it had information in it that I should know. When you said that after I'd indicated my opinion of him and his work I assumed that you saw something really worthwhile in it. So, I got it and read it, not skipping until toward the end. Having finished it, I'm not all that sorry and I'm not complaining about your referring me to a book that is very bad in almost all ways. I've done some annotating on it.

The one way in which it is not as bad as it could be tells me nothing new, that the ~~H~~ HSCA was terrible. However, it might be of some use to the people for them to know that. Fonzi fell far ~~ashor~~ and he is dope enough not to perceive what was happening at the hearings, which were aimed at debunking all the criticism ~~all~~ except mine. Blakey never mentioned me in any of his narrations.

Those incompetents never did look into the assassination itself and Fonzi, for all his demands, from his own account made no such recommendation of demand. Not even after it was all over, in his book. The reason is simple: he did not believe that was the way to investigate the assassination. Like all you young fogies, he actually believed he had solved it with his Veciana diversion, *and irrelevantly.*

All of you, too, have childish notions about intelligence agencies, like coming from novels. What was from the first obvious in the Veciana story is so gross a violation of what I think is called tradecraft that no intelligence agent of any kind would permit it, leave alone arrange it. He would never bring two of his people together, least of all in daylight and in a place where many people could see it. Philips would never have done that or anything like it.

Moreover, Fonzi et al merely presumed that Veciana worked for the CIA. There is no proof of that and no indication any real effort was made to learn.

Well, he didn't. I'm surprised that Hoch did not remember that because I told him and he reminded me of it. I cannot find what I believe was my first record of it but my file does hold a copy of a letter I believe was to a Post reporter referring to the actuality. I'll enclose it. I'll explain how I learned.

Lil and I had a dear friend, ^{Ernie} Ernie ~~Herger~~, who in ~~that~~ ^{those} days had the only bookstore in Frederick. Like me, Ernie was a transplanted Philadelphian, a ~~just~~ jazz (traditional)

buff like me and unlike me, an excellent pianist. I think he'd first come here with a band during the Great Depression. He ~~got~~ ^{got} married, married a local woman who died young, re-married, and when ^{one of} his two sons by the first marriage was working on a thesis, doctoral, at Madison, Ernie ~~asked~~ ^{asked} me if I could help that son, Henry.

First I suggested to Henry that he reformulate his topic. It was on the United States union movement and foreign policy, I've forgotten the exact formulation. I suggested the labor movement as part of US foreign policy. He like that. I was able to open some doors in Washington to him. One was at the AFL-CIO, right up ^{at} the top. As a result Henry had access to all he wanted from the records of their International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. It was started in opposition to an international grouping in Europe was was to the left of center, ^{In the ICFTU} Irvin^s Brown handled Europe and Africa. (Aside: once when I was trying to get fertile eggs of a famous French chicken, ~~Ex~~ poulet de Bresse, Brown was going to send them in the diplomatic punch!) Serafino ^{ow} R^{ow}mal^{di} handled the western hemisphere. ^{ow} R^{ow}mal^{di} and I had met ^{ow} socially several times, at the home of our friends who were his friends.

The ICFTU worked with the CIA, very closely, but was not part of it. Forexample, they led the overthrow of the freely elected Guyana government of Cheddi Jagan. I think they were less than happy in the end because their Forbes Burnham turned the Jagan way on them last I remember.

Veciana worked for the ICFTU. Not the CIA itself as of the only knowledge I have. I learned that much earlier than the enclosed record of 1970. Henry Berger had his doctorate ^{and} was teaching at Vermont, Burlington, the early winter of 1966 when he had me got there to speak. He then ^switched to Washington, St. Louis where as of my last knowledge he still was. He worked in the ^{ow} R^{ow}mal^{di} files in the early 1960s.

As you can see, my typing was not always this terrible! I then had my old upright and could face it when typing.

I'll ask Hoch if he can retrieve the short memo I wrote him some years before this one.

I'm not going to take the time for all the many criticisms I can make of Fonzi's foolishness, like treating third-hand hearsay and the given word in his writing, over and over again. I never sought to have anything to do with him after he and that political dod ^{Salandria} ~~Salandria~~ decided that Conally could not have been hit before Z frame 292 and Salandria insisted on dominating the first 3 1/2 hours of a 4 hour talk show I had, with that stupidity. (Vince used to keep Garrison enthralled holding forth on how the JFK assassination is like Trotsky's. It was because he could do that that I had him with me so I could break up the horror Garrison planned to commemorate the fifth anniversary, one part of which would have been to charge Robert Lee Perrin as a Grassy Anoll assassin-one of the shooters when Perrin had killed himself the year before.) It worked but you wont see this In Garrison's book! It has poor Boxley the villain.)

There is one thing that Fonzi was too dopey, too grossly ignorant, too deeply mired in his Veciana nonsense to be ~~xxx~~ able to understand its importance- IF TRUE. I enclose his page 360: "Ted) Shacklety said if he had known what (JF) Kennedy meant by 'hard intelligence' he would have gotten him a U-2 photograph (of the missiles) much earlier."

+ ^{KN} ~~KN~~ ^{ow} from another source this he could have done, but the official story is that

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a long-lasting cloud cover prevented any U-2 filming of Cuba until the CIA gave JFK those ^{pictures} he used in that famous speech announcing their discovery and what we's do.

The significant^{ly} should be apparent: they had the proof and delayed it to bring us to the brink of a holocaust. And all the intervening time Senator Keating et al were beating the war drums with vigor.

Henry, for some reason I suspect had to do with his career, refused several offers to publish his thesis as a ^{book}. His father could not understand it. I remember clearly who did me the favor of opening those files to Henry but see no point in using the name. It was in Henry's office, is I remember the name of the AFL/CIO president correctly first name ^{George}. I think I remember who the John on the Post was. He got fired during a labor dispute.

And if he forwarded my letter to Dan Kurzman, Dan never answered. The Post fired him when he was to ~~do~~ do its story on Whitewash. I think it was over something he'd written about the Dominican Republic. I think they gave him a good severance and he started writing books. Fine fellow.

If as I believe is not possible the assassination itself is ever solved, it will not be the likes of any who have written these books of theories they regard as fact and treat that way.

And an enormous amount of harm ^{continues} to be done by them. They confuse the people even more and turn all ^{off} ~~others~~ in a position to perhaps get interested ^{off}. They cover the official asses as officidom cannot do for itself. And ^{they} ~~try~~ given the media its justification for what cannot be justified.

Do you realize that in Fonzi's book he never once makes any mention of the fact of the assassination? He is indifferent to it, ^{he} would be Hercule Poirot/ Perry ^{Mason}/ Sherlock Holmes ^{as} he imagines himself to be.

It is all so stupid, so sick, so ego-centered, so self ^{defeating} and so hurtful to truth and to the country. And, naturally, that crap always finds a publisher home.

I am anxious to get the Conyer hearings and to be told the name of the one Posner interrupted.

Do you know Anna Marie ~~Ma~~
Kuhns Walko? She sent Gary

Old Fogie

Aguilar some fine stuff from the disclosed HSCA records and he gave me copies. I'd like to thank her and ask her if she gets more like it to please send me copies. Is she by chance married to a man ^{At} Andrews? A woman who is phoned me shortly after the new stuff was opened. I was to hear from her again but haven't.

6/19/70

Dear John,

If any of this is unclear to you when I give it to you tonight, ask for explanations. I think it better not to tell you why or in what context, the reasons including getting an untainted response.

Please ask Dan Kurzman who his files or notes may show and what his recollections may hold on:

Gonzalez, Reynold and various other spellings approximating this), former Manolo Ray - MRP associate, captured by Castro, former Cuban trade-union leader, whose arrest was protested by International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (from Brussels, 10/24/61). They spelled it "Reinol". He was allegedly anti-Batista, had been with Bank Workers' Union. Paul Bethel (who spells it "Reynol" says he was tortured and forced to talk.

Antonio Veciana, organizer Alpha 66, former Cuban Treasury official.

Plots against Castro immediately following Bay Pigs, esp. for balance of 1961. Raul Ros talked of such plots at UMI, including one against Raul Castro.

ICFTU-CIA connections, if any.

Involvement of Irving Brown and Seraphino Romualdi in such activities. He may have this in his Jay Lovestone material. I'd be interested in knowing if he thinks this reporting had anything to do with his leaving Washington (Dan's, that is, Romualdi is dead).

Please also tell Dan that if he is ever down this way, I'd like to see him again. He may then be interested in what is behind this inquiry and I may then be able to tell him.

And give him my thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul-no copies distributed. The other source is Henry Berger, Department of History, Washington Univ., St. Louis. He interviewed Romualdi and many others and can spell out the connections that interest you. He is also very busy and has been heavily preoccupied salvaging students from the authorities, in addition to his major preoccupations.

At the time of the interview with Shackley, Blakey had not yet worked out the agreement with Admiral Turner, so Shackley wasn't under any compulsion to answer our questions at all—much less truthfully. And Shackley took full advantage of that fact. He was coldly cooperative but not very helpful. A tall, trim man with horn-rimmed glasses, a wide forehead and the pallor of a scholar, Shackley's Teutonic bearing braced an impenetrable wall of restraint. He answered every question without elaboration. He also lied when he thought he had to.

Shackley gave us the Agency's historic line of half truths about the role of the CIA's JM/WAVE station. In its initial phase, he said, its mission was to provide an intelligence assessment of what could be done about "the Cuban problem." Its primary concern, therefore, was organizing its intelligence collection capabilities, such as trying to recruit or place spies into Cuba and debriefing newly arrived exiles. However, said Shackley, JM/WAVE also gave what he called "general assistance" to Cuban exile groups which could infiltrate into Cuba so they could collect information and implant intelligence-gathering communications equipment.

Shackley almost let slip a note of personal bitterness when he spoke of President Kennedy's ignoring the Agency's warnings that Russia was increasing its military presence in Cuba. Kennedy refused to take the Agency's word, saying he needed "hard intelligence." His station knew, Shackley said, that there were missiles in Cuba long before the policymakers would accept that reality. He said Kennedy announced that fact only after receiving a U-2 aerial photograph of the missiles. An edge of cynicism in his tone, Shackley said if he had known what Kennedy meant by "hard intelligence" he would have gotten him a U-2 photograph much earlier.

With the build up of the Russian presence and the tightening of security, Shackley recalled, the JM/WAVE station was forced to support the intelligence gathering groups' infiltration into Cuba and their implantation of communications equipment by paramilitary means. However, Shackley claimed, the station did not support or supervise any anti-Castro operation which had only a military mission in going to Cuba. *TO them it was all justified*

I blinked in disbelief. Shackley kept a straight face.

Blakey asked Shackley about the Miami station's response to the Kennedy assassination. Shackley said he never handled any follow-up on the Oswald investigation because it was in the hands of the FBI. Besides, he added, the Agency at the time had not penetrated Castro's intelligence service and couldn't pursue the possibility of Castro's involvement.

Given that, Shackley said he couldn't adequately respond to any

other questions about the Kennedy nothing more.

I blinked. Shackley kept a straight

What I remember most about that entire chief was the aura of absolute confidence exuded, despite the fact he was a few of who was really in charge of the Agency reached that working agreement with self, the titular boss of the CIA. I complete access to Agency files and researchers would come back from I stonewalled by lower level functions had become expert at deciphering the documents pointing to other relevant produced as part of the "complete" they? Well, said the Agency's bureau perhaps misfiled. Or perchance they? But, as we later learned when we discovered Oswald's 201 file, information was before we knew at the time was that we would display of ultimate control and the After all, what the hell difference did Turner had signed an agreement? He an outsider, the temporary leader of priorities.

Examples abound and one came When investigative reporter Peter [Random House, 1986], a book about Turner what action he had taken Clines. Although he lacked hard evidence the time, Turner said, he was determined removed from the Washington scene "small Caribbean nation." Maas ask couldn't tell him, it was classified. Inside Agency source and told him "Oh, right," the source said, "it went." Never went? Maas was shown had been removed as head of the CIA but he ended up in an equally sensitive liaison. And Turner still didn't know how the 'Company' could run rings part of the club. . . ."

By the time Kevin Mulcahy call

IF this is true it means the CIA kept back this info from the public. It's not an admission of guilt. It's an admission of cover up.