

too to entertain them as they waited. The chief clown told Patrick Anderson of the Juvenile Delinquency Committee that they weren't going anywhere until they had a smoke. Anderson: "Kennedy returned and spoke to me: 'The clowns should be where the children are.' Our eyes met for a long moment and it seemed, incredibly, as if he wanted my agreement. 'Yes, sir,' I said, 'they should be,' and I herded the reluctant clowns downstairs."⁴³

It went on and on. He went skiing with Charles Spalding. "You almost prolong the pain not to lose the person," Spalding thought. "... It just hurts so bad. Then you figure, if it doesn't hurt I'll be further away from what I've lost. So it just seemed that those nights would go on forever."⁴⁴

HE DIDN'T
KNOW MR
MADE JFK
PRESIDENT
EMER.
CONVENTION

LIE! VI

He refused to involve himself in the problem of who had murdered his brother. He "never really wanted any investigation," Nicholas Katzenbach thought.⁴⁵ Nothing would bring John Kennedy back to life. Investigation would only protract the unbearable pain. Almost better, Robert Kennedy seemed at times to feel, to close the book. He left to Katzenbach all dealings with the Warren Commission, appointed by the new President on November 29 to ascertain the truth about Dallas.

The Chief Justice and his colleagues had perforce to depend greatly on the intelligence agencies. They did not know that the agencies had their own secret reasons to fear a thorough inquiry. If it came out that the putative killer might have had intelligence connections, domestic or foreign, that FBI agents should have had him under close surveillance, that CIA assassins might have provoked him, to the terrible deed, the agencies would be in the deepest trouble. But if Lee Harvey Oswald could be portrayed as a crazed loner acting on some solitary impulse of his own, they would be in the clear.

In CIA, James J. Angleton, the counterespionage chief and CIA liaison with the Warren Commission, compiled a dragnet of names and called for information from all branches of the Agency. One name on his list was Rolando Cubela Secades. Desmond FitzGerald decided to withhold from Angleton the story of CIA's role in Cubela's plot to murder Castro. He even ordered any mention of the poison pen deleted from the report of the November 22 meeting.* Nor did

* My source is the informative book by Edward Jay Epstein, *Legend: The Secret World of Lee Harvey Oswald* (New York, 1968), 253-254. Epstein's source was evidently Angleton. I know no reason to doubt this particular story. But, since Angleton in his quest, necessary but maniacal, for Soviet 'moles' (penetration agents burrowing their

RFX'S FRIEND "

ings period.

Foreman in regard to the which are interrogations 1969. Hanes was asked cannot agree that James are too many unanswered me: "I still believe that Ray I thought says two things. tracy.

re this last sentence, that his ver said that Ray was the

r and been paid \$1,000 each luic, the latter \$11,000. y than most men do of out what they got from along on this business of a orte Press wanted it, and which Look alone paid him rst that Ray was the

lit the articles in Look 'Mr. Percy Foreman?' His ed them. I am not an editor nce from the article bearing artin Luther King, Jr.?' 'Mr. Hanes, Mr. Hanes wrote s had often and widely : again, for the question was itaking small changes in what

buted to James Earl Ray, it the beginning of a concoction e connivings of "federal als of racist murderers in the e" can be arranged. If one is racists, such a plot witha ation they regard as brilliant.

I story, he could accurately ation, it was thought the re into another part of town - rote that "several police cars nced toward the scene of the es per hour"- to which chanc re was no official reference.

This is as good a place as any to add a recent item on Leifermann. His reporting of the assassination was diligent, professional, and not congenial to the official position. It is interesting that in 1970, although he was then 28 years old, he was ordered to active duty by the Army, which was not happy about some of his other reporting, especially about Green Beret murders and military justice. Leifermann had been in the reserve since 1964 and was scheduled for discharge in November of 1970. The reason given for calling him up is his alleged missing of reserve meetings. Leifermann went to court, charged his writing was the reason for assignment to active duty, and blamed officials for disposing of the statements of doctors accounting for his absences. U.S. District Court Judge Howard F. Corcoran, in Washington, heard Leifermann's appeal on September 21 and 22, 1970.

[2] A funny thing happened to the real Galt on the long way to the minitrial. After his name appeared in the papers as one that had been used by Ray, a truck driver pulled into the Union Carbide plant where Galt works. As Galt told Richard Bernabei, the truck driver approached Galt with what appeared to be a newspaper picture of better than usual quality. It was one of a series of pictures taken in Dallas after the assassination of John Kennedy. This one was not known to have been published and showed tramps in custody. Pointing to one of them, who was a dead-ringer for the man in the FBI sketch of the person wanted for killing King, the truck driver told Galt, "There's your pal," meaning Ray. The picture was unknown to the real Galt. The trucker's explanation is hard to credit. He said he found the picture on the seat of his truck after a stop somewhere in the United States. This means he was a rather extraordinary "truckdriver" with rather exceptional knowledge, to know of the possible significance of a picture he claims was merely left on the seat of his truck by persons and means and for reasons unknown to him.

To show the reader how bizarre this episode was, I reprint here the relevant photographs.



Sketch of man wanted for King slaying, from New York Times of 4/11/68 (not repudiated by FBI) compared with picture of man in police custody at scene of JFK assassination in Dallas, 11/22/63, shortly after that assassination. (See p. 254.)

465 HIS WIFE WILMA, A DRUNK WAS GIVEN A BIG JOB AT QUEEN'S. CISES/ RAMP KILLED BEON ABEI. HE WAS MY FRIEND. HIS AUTOPSY REPORT WAS CRAP!

RFK TOLD SEBERG,
I WON'T TEAR AMERICA APART.

900 SHE SANG; ROBERT KENNEDY AND HIS TIMES
LET IT BLEED,
A STONES SONG.

XI

The Kennedy campaign, Charles Quinn said later, became a "huge, joyous adventure."¹¹⁷ Even reporters found themselves caught up in the enterprise against all the rules of professionalism. "Quite frankly," said Tom Wicker, head of the *New York Times* Washington bureau, "Bobby Kennedy was an easy man to fall in love with," and he warned his own people against it.¹¹⁸ Jules Witcover, who later wrote an excellent book about the campaign, spoke of Kennedy's "way of pulling individuals around him into his orbit, a strange disarming quality about him that somehow evoked sympathy."¹¹⁹ By the time of Oregon, as Richard Harwood, initially the most hostile of all, said later, "We were getting partisan. We hadn't quite become cheerleaders but we were in danger of it." One reporter asked to be taken off the campaign after California because he felt he could no longer be objective.¹²⁰

Underneath the fun lay foreboding. A shadow had fallen across the happy day of the Wabash Cannonball when the train stopped at Logansport, and someone saw on top of a building, etched against the sky, a man with a gun. He turned out to be a policeman, but Thomas Congdon long remembered the "agonized" look on the face of Jerry Bruno, the advance man.¹²¹ One evening a group of reporters sat around over drinks. Someone asked whether Kennedy had the stuff to go all the way. "Of course, he has the stuff to go all the way," replied John J. Lindsay of *Newsweek*, "but he's not going to go all the way. . . . Somebody is going to shoot him." There was "stunned silence" around the table. One by one, each journalist agreed. Lindsay said, "He's out there now waiting for him."¹²²

Romain Gary, the French novelist, came to America that spring with his wife, the actress Jean Seberg. They lunched with Pierre Salinger after King's murder. "You know, of course," Gary said; "that your guy will be killed." Salinger froze, stared at Gary for a long moment, then said, "I live with that fear. We do what can be done, and that isn't much. He runs around like quicksilver." A month later, Gary met Kennedy himself. The novelist found Ken-

orial from Senator George McGovern)," (n.p., n.d. [1968]). See also George McGovern, in recorded interview by L. J. Hackman, July 16, 1970, 57-62. RFK Oral History Program.

* Richard Harwood, in recorded interview by Jean Stein, September 6, 1968, 2. Stein Papers. Ben Bradlee, Harwood's editor, had originally given Harwood this assignment because he had been so "outspokenly skeptical of Bobby" (Benjamin C. Bradlee, *Conversations with Kennedy* [New York, 1975], 22).

SEBERG, AT THE CARLYLE, TOLD
RFK. YOU'RE GUTLESS! SHE THREW DOWN
OSWALD IN NEW ORLEANS. APPOINT WEISBERG
TO THE IN JUSTICE DEPT / OR REPOR GARRISON. RFK SMILED.

HE KNEW, AS YOU DOG UP,
FROM THE NPIC, 3 BUNMAN
SHOT JFK!

616

ROBERT KENNEDY AND HIS TIMES

The FBI thought he had done it by himself, but McCone thought there were two people involved in the shooting."⁴⁹

At about the same time, Kennedy asked Walter Sheridan how Jimmy Hoffa had taken the news. "I didn't want to tell him," Sheridan said later, "but he made me tell him." Hoffa in Miami, hearing that Harold Gibbons and top Teamsters in Washington had lowered the flag over the marble palace to half-mast, "flew into a rage." He yelled at his secretary for crying. A reporter asked him about the Attorney General. Hoffa spat out: "Bobby Kennedy is just another lawyer now." A Teamster leader in Puerto Rico soon wrote Robert Kennedy that he planned to solicit donations from union brothers to "clean, beautify and supply with flowers the grave of Lee Harvey Oswald. You can rest assured contributions will be unanimous."⁵⁰

Robert Kennedy perceived so much hatred about, so many enemies: the Teamsters; the gangsters; the pro-Castro Cubans; the anti-Castro Cubans; the racists; the right-wing fanatics; the lonely deluded nuts mumbling to themselves in the night. I do not know whether he suspected how much vital information both the FBI and the CIA deliberately denied the Warren Commission or whether he ever read its report. But on October 30, 1966, as we talked till two-thirty in the morning in P. J. Clarke's saloon in New York City, "RFK wondered how long he could continue to avoid comment on the report. It is evident that he believes that it was a poor job and will not endorse it, but that he is unwilling to criticize it and thereby reopen the whole tragic business."⁵¹

The next year Jim Garrison, the New Orleans district attorney, started making sensational charges about a conspiracy. I asked Kennedy what he made of them. He thought Garrison might be onto something; NBC, he added, had sent Walter Sheridan to New Orleans to find out what Garrison had. Garrison's villain turned out to be the CIA. Kennedy said to Sheridan something like: "You know, at the time I asked McCone . . . if they had killed my brother, and I asked him in a way that he couldn't lie to me, and they hadn't"

Kennedy asked Frank Mankiewicz of his Senate staff whether he thought Garrison had anything. "And I started to tell him, and he said, 'Well, I don't think I want to know.'"⁵² Kennedy told me later: "Walter Sheridan is satisfied that Garrison is a fraud."

I cannot say what his essential feeling was. He came to believe the Warren Commission had done an inadequate job; but he had no

* Walter Sheridan, in recorded interview by Roberta Greene, June 12, 1970. RFK Oral History Program. In 1967 Marvin Watson of Lyndon Johnson's White House staff told Cartha DeLoach of the FBI that Johnson "was now convinced there was a plot in connection with the assassination. Watson stated the President felt that CIA had had something to do with this plot" (*Washington Post*, December 13, 1977).

WORK ED FOR
NOR

NOTICE THE STYLE OF MALRAUX,
PERHAPS, THE GREATEST WRITER OF
THE 20TH CENTURY, AND THE STYLE

OFF FAREWELL
AMERICA.
AMERICA BURNS!

was a profoundly irrational country which only discovers her destiny when that destiny is also valid for others.

What irritated Malraux, he told de Gaulle, was that Kennedy instinctively wanted to settle European and Asian issues with American solutions. De Gaulle observed that Kennedy obviously wanted to maintain America's domination of the Western alliance, then continued:

"I am not so sure that despite his exceptional gifts he didn't accept the naive comparison—United States of Europe and United States of America, when in effect the latter was created *ex nihilo* by successive waves of uprooted colons in a kind of green Siberia. Should the United States consciously become the master of the world, you will see how far American imperialism will go."

I remembered President Eisenhower's anxious phrase, "I will not appear before God with blood on my hands."
"Blood dries fast."

I WAS PROUD

TO CONTRIBUTE

WITH MALRAUX,

JO JOESTEN -

I KNEW JO, A KCB

ABOUT 30 YEARS

SEPARATELY AN

EDUCATED

ARAB

INTEL HIGHER

TO FAREWELL

AMERICA

WE RIPPED

OFF YOUR

STUFF BUT

FOR A CAUSE

TWO DEATHS

REFUSED TO SIGN

DEATH, MAL

CAUSE HIS

NATIONAL

NAME

PREDICTED

IT AS

HANDS ON THE

LIGHT TOWER

SHOW.

I told Kennedy, with an apparent absence of mind: "You are now compelled to have a world policy as Rome was forced to have a Mediterranean policy, but what has been America's policy since the Marshall Plan?" I had the impression that he really wanted to carry on his shoulder both the burden of History and America's enormous responsibility which he felt very vividly. No doubt, he would have done it . . .

"I imagine that it was in telling him he was carrying it all on his shoulders that you established the deep relationship which nothing could destroy. When reasons of state prevailed, this clever politician was separated from politicians by a sudden and blunt anger. You remember him on TV: 'My father always told me that when it came to putting national interests ahead of its own, business always behaves like a son of a bitch.' Maybe the danger was already there, but in any case he had decided not to pay attention.

"You know," the general continued, "that to be courageous is to pay no attention to danger. And anyway, we should die assassinated or struck by lightning." He shrugged. "Did his murder destroy a grand design? It is possible, when Caesar was murdered, he held in his hand a list of the conspirators, but he hadn't read it yet. This poor president talked to me about Lincoln in a way that struck me. He wanted to be a president like Lincoln, and, in death, did become like him. Maybe history was bent by an obligingly absent-minded police chief in Dallas."

In January 1963, Malraux was back in Washington—with Mona Lisa. Leonardo da Vinci's masterpiece traveled to America in its own stateroom aboard the S.S. *France*, flanked by curators in a cabin on one side and guards in a cabin on the other, and was trucked from New York to Washington under police escort. At the National Gallery unveiling, attended by Kennedy, his vice-president Lyndon Johnson, their wives, the entire cabinet and Supreme Court, Malraux opened the ceremony with a speech on Leonardo only to have the public address system go dead

THE KCB PUT IT IN ZEBRA BOOKS.

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Farewell America, 1968, with Malraux, The KGB, SPECE, The DGI, Loyalist
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