

mind of the CIA's Phoenix assassination program, were recalled to the U.S. at the start of the seventies.

After Mao Tse-tung's rise to power in China, OSS veterans formed a number of firms that would be linked both to the CIA and to its reactionary client regimes in the Far East. With financial assistance from his friends in Asia, OSS China hand C.V. Starr gained control of several U.S. insurance companies. As brought to light during the McClellan hearings, Jimmy Hoffa awarded one of them, U.S. Life, and a smaller company, Union Casualty - whose agents Paul and Allen Dorfman were among Hoffa's links to the underworld - a Teamsters Union contract despite a lower bid from a larger, more reputable insurance firm.⁴

Starr's attorney was the powerful Washington-based Tommy "The Cork" Corcoran. Corcoran's law partner, William Youngman, was a director of U.S. Life. Corcoran's other clients included the United Fruit Company, Chiang-Kai-shek's influential brother-in-law F.Y. Soong, and the mysterious airline, Civil Air Transport (CAT), of which 60 percent was owned by the Taiwan regime and 40 percent by the CIA.⁵ On behalf of United Fruit, Corcoran triggered a CIA plot - in which E. Howard Hunt was the agency's chief political action officer - to overthrow Guatemala's President Jacobo Arbenz in 1954.⁶ OSS China hand Willis Bird settled in Bangkok, Thailand to head an office of Sea Supply, Inc., a CIA proprietary headquartered in Miami, which furnished weapons to opium-smuggling Nationalist Chinese (KMT) troops in Burma. One William Bird, representing CAT in Bangkok coordinated CAT airdrops to KMT troops and ran an engineering firm that constructed short airstrips used for the collection of Laotian opium.⁷

Sea Supply also provided arms and aid to Phao Sriyanonda, the head of Thailand's 45,000-man paramilitary police force and reputedly one of the most corrupt men in the history of that corruption-ridden nation. For years his troops protected KMT opium smugglers and directed the drug trade from Thailand.⁸

When President John F. Kennedy in 1962 attempted a crackdown on the most hawkish CIA elements in Indochina, he sought the prosecution of Willis Bird, who had been charged with the bribery of an aid official in Vientiane. But Bird never returned to the U.S. to stand trial.

Upon returning to Miami, the OSS Chief of Special Intelligence and head of Detachment 202 in Kunming, Colonel Paul Helliwell, was a busy man. In Miami offices of the American Bankers Insurance Co.

Handwritten notes in the left margin: 'HE TOLD ME ALL WASHINGTON', 'SHOW STARR', 'CORCORAN', 'NO GUINAN', 'PROBABLE', 'FBI', 'THIS IS 2 DAYS', 'NOV 24', '62'.

he functioned simultaneously as the Thai consul, and the court Sea Supply as well as for insurance companies run by his formidate C.V. Starr.⁹ American Bankers Insurance was itself unusual firm; one of its directors, James L. King, was also a director of the Miami National Bank through which the Lansky syndicate reportedly passed millions en route to Geneva's Swiss Exchange Investment Bank. One of the Swiss bank's directors, Lou Pollesat on the board of King's Miami National Bank.¹⁰

Moreover, in the fifties and sixties, Thai and Nationalist Chinese capital was invested in Florida's explosive development, much in the way of the General Development Corporation controlled by James Meyer Lansky.¹¹ It's important to note the dubious activities of Meyer Lansky.¹¹ It's important to note the dubious activities of Meyer Lansky.¹¹ Southeast Asian power groups with those concerned with Florida Cuba. This early mutuality of business interests is the key to follows, and Miami is the nerve center to which we will continue to return.

The alliance was comprised of the China Lobby, OSS hands, Cuban exiles, the Lansky syndicate, and CIA hawks prepared for all-out involvement in Indochina and against Castro's Cuba. leased between 1961 and 1963, and its members had three things in common: a right wing political outlook, an interest in Asian affairs, and a thirst for political might. The last factor led to another common denominator in which the alliance invested heavily: Richard Nixon.

Some people effectively overlap the entire spectrum of influence. Among them are Howard Hunt and Tommy Corcoran, the behind United Fruit's thirty-year work. United Fruit was a client Miami-based Double-Chek Corp., a CIA front that supplied planes the Bay of Pigs invasion.¹² Corcoran was the Washington es General Chennault's widow Anna Chen Chennault, erstwhile the China Lobby, the key to Southeast Asian opium.¹³

Another key figure in the China Lobby was weapons dealer Peter William Pawley, the American cofounder of Chennault's Tigers.¹⁴ Pawley's name was the password to intrigue: OSS Tommy Corcoran,¹⁵ CIA cover firms,¹⁶ and arms shipments to Chinese on Taiwan in defiance of a State Department refusal authorization.¹⁷ All were either directly or indirectly connected with Pawley. He also rubbed elbows with the U.S. heroin Mafia in 1963, he Santo Trafficante, Jr. and Cuban exiles took part in the countless boat raids on Cuba.¹⁸

The China Lobby's Southeast Asian connection naturally

proper conduct was at long last being bared, the *Washington Post* continued fighting and deleting disclosures related to the assassinations.

CIA document number 1035-960 proposed a plan of action against the Warren Commission critics. It reads,

Action. We do *not* recommend that discussion of the assassination question be initiated where it is not already taking place. Where discussion is active however addressees are requested:

To discuss the publicity problem with liaison and friendly elite contacts (especially politicians and editors), pointing out that the Warren Commission made as thorough an investigation as humanly possible, that the charges of the critics are without serious foundation, and that further speculative discussion only plays into the hands of the opposition. Point out also that parts of the conspiracy talk appear to be deliberately generated by Communist propagandists. Urge them to use their influence to discourage unfounded and irresponsible speculation.

To employ propaganda assets to answer and refute the attacks of the critics. Book reviews and feature articles are particularly appropriate for this purpose. The unclassified attachments to this guidance should provide useful background material for passage to assets. Our play should point out, as applicable, that the critics are (i) wedded to theories adopted before the evidence was in, (ii) politically interested, (iii) financially interested.

The irrelevant and insulting questions that had followed me for a decade had been formulated and promulgated at CIA headquarters.

The document suggests that "a useful strategy may be to single out Epstein's story for attack." Edward J. Epstein had written a book that tentatively raised the questions about the Warren Report. The CIA document explained that Mark Lane's book is "more difficult to answer as a whole." The three-page comment urged that "reviewers" of books critical of the Warren Commission might be encouraged to add to their account the idea that, checking back with Report itself, they found it far superior to the work of its critics. "Absurd arguments that have been put forth in the last decade in support of the Warren report can be traced to the CIA document."

The CIA suggested that "in private or media discussion" various arguments would be useful. "Among those the CIA offered as most effective to destroy impact of *Rush to Judgment* and other books critical of the Warren Report are:

- a. "No significant new evidence has emerged which the commission did not consider."
- b. "Critics usually overvalue particular items and ignore others."
- c. "Conspiracy on the large scale often suggested would be impossible to reveal in the United States."

conspirator. He was a 'loner,' mixed-up, of questionable reliability and an unknown quantity to any professional intelligence service."

Reviewers and apologists for the Warren Commission offering themselves as freethinking iconoclasts have slavishly adopted the CIA's proposals and developed newspaper columns, major reviews and, on occasion, entire magazine articles around them. This has been so even though a wealth of newly-discovered significant evidence reveals that the Warren Commission did not secure the facts. The Select Committee on Intelligence of the United States Senate discovered that the CIA itself had withheld significant evidence from the Warren Commission. Conspiracies on a large scale, have of course, occurred within the United States. The Watergate episode and its cover-up involved a President, an Attorney General and many others. The evidence now available discloses that Oswald worked for the FBI and with the CIA, perhaps that does call into question the professionalism of those services as the CIA document might suggest.

For those reviewers and publications not perceptive enough to understand the CIA line, the agency was kind enough to furnish more assistance. Regarding one long magazine article defending the Warren Commission and attacking the critics the CIA boasted: "This was pulled together by [name deleted] in close conjunction with [name deleted]. We furnished most of the source material, proposed many of the themes and provided general 'Expertise' on the case."

In addition the CIA prepared a book review of *Rush to Judgment* on August 2, 1966, before the book was published. It began, "I reviewed the attached proof copy of the above book per your request." The name of the CIA official who requested the review was deleted. Another memorandum dated August 25, 1966, addressed to the "Director of Central Intelligence" carried this heading: "Subject: New Book: *Rush to Judgment* by Mark Lane." That seven page review was dispatched by the CIA to eleven different CIA departments including its Plans Department, known as the "Department of Dirty Tricks" within the agency.

Another CIA report dated January 4, 1967, stressed the income that I had reportedly earned from the book. Although William Manchester had earned more than ten times the amount I did for his defense of the Warren Report, the CIA, taking note of his income, indicated that he should be exempt from criticism and said that he should not "be classed with critics of the Commission." A CIA letter dated October 1, 1964, was sent to J. Lee Rankin, then the General Counsel of the Warren Commission. It too dealt with a critic, Joachim Joesten. A copy of the letter was sent by the CIA to the FBI, Department of State, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Attached to the letter was a document dated, "Berlin, 8 November, 1937." The letterhead read "Secret State Police (Gestapo), Gestapo Headquarters." It was addressed to "The Chief of the SS and of the German Police in the Ministry of Interior." The document said that Joesten "has seriously transgressed against his duty to remain faithful to his (the German) people and State by his anti-German conduct in foreign countries." It seems that Joesten had fled from Hitler's Germany to warn the

TKNOWS TO CIA SOY
SMEAR ALMM WITH GESTAPO FILES

lished in separate volumes that supplement this report, as are reports by the Committee staff and our scientific panels. In all, the committee's published materials, in addition to this report, fill 27 volumes.

THE REPORT

The committee's last official act, in December 1978, was to approve its findings and recommendations, which were published in January 1979. This report is a commentary on those findings and recommendations; it summarizes the evidence on which they were based and presents the committee's analysis of that evidence.

The final line in both assassinations is conspiracy. It is ironic in light of the suspicions that caused the committee to be created that we did not find government agency complicity, not even a coverup by the favorite targets of the critics, the CIA and FBI. What we did find was not so much "coverup" as a "failure to uncover" by those agencies and others in government that conspiracies were responsible for the deaths of President Kennedy and Dr. King. To put it bluntly, the official findings on the conspiracy question in both cases were wrong.

In stating its conclusions about the assassinations in this report, the committee, for good reason, speaks with muted tongue. As I have noted, we were deeply concerned about the inherent risk of a legislative investigation into criminal conduct. We decided, therefore, that our language ought to be moderate and that we ought not state a finding beyond what is absolutely indicated by the evidence.

The committee realized further that ultimately individual responsibility in the conspiracies had to be determined, under our system of government, in a court of law. When it became apparent that follow-up investigation was necessary, we became more aware than ever that we must make our findings with moderation and limit them to the crucial facts in each case. It was a sobering experience for me to discover failures by our government to the degree that we set out in this report. The failures were so sobering that some members of the committee were not willing to carry the conclusions out to the full force of the evidence. Realizing that there would be an opportunity for others to fill in the details—that there might be indictments and trials as a result of future investigation—we decided to present an understated case. We chose a cautious approach.

Yes, there are still unanswered questions. It would have

been neat and tidy if we simply could have put our stamp of approval on the official findings of 1964 and 1968. But they turn out to be inadequate and wrong, and we were left to ask, but not able to answer with assurance, questions like these:

Why did Yuri Nosenko, the KGB defector, lie about his knowledge of Oswald?
Was Fidel Castro told in 1963 that Oswald had threatened the president when he visited the Cuban consulate in September 1963?
Did anti-Castro Cuban exiles put Oswald up to killing the president?
Was the Kennedy assassination a sophisticated organized crime "hit"?
Was "Raoul" in reality a brother of James Earl Ray?
Did the St. Louis contract supply the motive for Dr. King's murder?

FUTURE ACTION

Down Pennsylvania Avenue, not far from the Capitol, there is a department of government, called in Washington simply, "Justice." The Attorney General and his deputies may feel there are matters of greater urgency than knowing the truth about the deaths of President Kennedy and Dr. King, that their limited time and resources might well be better spent on "current cases," or that if these two cases were actively reopened, the department might fall in its efforts to solve them. If they do, they are overlooking something that has always seemed clear to me. The American people are willing to accept failure when there has been an honest effort to succeed. What they will not accept from our government—or anyone else—is a refusal to make that effort.

The committee, I believe, has done its job. By that I mean, it has fully answered the questions posed in its mandate for its legislative purposes. It has assessed the performance of government agencies and found it to have been flawed. It has made recommendations for administrative and legislative reform.

As for issue one, the committee was satisfied with the identification of the killers of President Kennedy and Dr. King. But, on the issue of conspiracy, we have, I believe, drastically altered the verdict of history.

For reasons I have listed, we stopped short of that climactic point in mystery novels when the murderer is

man did. Weiner gave Spilitro \$33,000 of the com-
- \$16,000 of it in cash in a briefcase that Laurie was
liver—to open his gift shop at Circus Circus and get
/eggs. And he gave a friend of Spilitro's another
re day the friend was released from prison. Weiner
veral thousands of dollars in cash payments to Spi-

Angeles. De Angeles was the man Weiner picked to
lur factory. He was more than a plant foreman. He
nown as the mob's electronics wizard. In 1970 the
was operating on Lake Michigan just off the Chicago
d by Chicago police, who found it full of sensitive
equipment. When they decided that they couldn't
believed—that De Angeles was intercepting radio
ted with the police surveillance of organized-crime
ve him a summons for water pollution.

id also been suspected of masterminding the killing
ormer with a radio bomb a few years before.

' file reported that for moving to New Mexico to set
Angeles had been given—all by the Gaylur Com-
home, a \$35,000 private plane, \$1,700 in "personal
\$500-a-week salary. In addition, De Angeles was
n conduit for funneling the big money from the per-
organized-crime bosses back in Chicago. Company
that he had received a \$150,000 contract for "ser-
rmed." De Angeles reportedly also used company
2,000 worth of wiretapping equipment (which was
to tap the phones of Weiner's children, whom Weiner
otics involvement.) He used another \$7,000 to pay
r himself and mobster Sam Battaglia and to com-
1 a new car for Battaglia's son.

e Clown" Lombardo: Lombardo, an alleged loan-
drew \$19,000 from Gaylur. He was involved in a
ny in Chicago that helped launder money for the
l that company, Daniel Seifert, would later agree to
ition witness against Lombardo and the other al-
ition fund fraud conspirators.

74 the operatives of IRS, FBI, Postal Service and
nt were sure they had put together a solid case.

CALLS

RUBY

CALLS

WEINER

WEINER

WEINER

TO AUSTIN

FBI

DEFEATED

RE

RUBY

They staged a long series of grand jury hearings—including one in
which a tongue-tied Fitzsimmons testified that he knew very little
about what went on at the pension fund even though he was a trustee.
Finally, on February 19, they got the grand jury to indict Alderisio,
Weiner, Dorfman, Spilitro, De Angeles, and Lombardo on twelve
counts of embezzlement and mail fraud for milking the pension fund
of the \$1,400,000 in loans that had gone to the now-bankrupt Gaylur
Products Company. Also indicted were two Fund trustees who, the
government charged, had made trips to the Gaylur plant and had
known about the fraudulent nature of the loans.

On the day of the indictment, the prosecution team got a good taste
of what they were up against. Normally defendants on the day they
are indicted are arrested or at least ordered to appear in court to be
booked and post bail. But that was the day on which federal agents
watched Dorfman play golf all day at La Costa with Fitzsimmons and
mobster Lou Rosanova. While the other defendants flew in from
around the country to plead innocent and post bail, Dorfman stayed
yet, Jerris Leonard, a former assistant attorney general in the Nixon
administration, had made the arrangement for Dorfman to appear two
weeks later. The press reported that Leonard asked the U.S. Attor-
ney in Chicago for the delay as "a courtesy" to himself, because he
was involved in another case. However, Dorfman told me in a 1977
interview that he had asked Leonard to get the delay explaining, "I
wanted to stay out on the coast because I was working on a prison
reform program with Jimmy Hoffa."

The prosecution's top witnesses in the case were two insiders-
turned-informants, Harold Laurie and Daniel Seifert (who had been
involved in the Chicago fiber-glass business with Lombardo.) By the
time the trial began nearly a year later only one witness was available.
On September 27, 1974, at about 8 A.M., Daniel Seifert, age
twenty-nine, arrived at the small plastic-products company just out-
side of Chicago that he had taken over a few weeks before. His wife
and his two-year-old son were with him. As they entered the office
the Seiferts were confronted by two ski-masked gunmen. As his wife
and son watched, the men pistol-whipped Seifert. Then one fired a
shotgun at his head. Somehow, it only grazed his cheek. Seifert ran
out the door and over into a small, nearby factory, shouting for some-
one to call the police. The gunmen followed him. One pointed a
shotgun at Seifert from about ten feet across the factory floor. Ac-
cording to the autopsy, the blast ripped away the back of Seifert's

WHO PROSECUTED
WHO DEFENDED WEINER

Penny." The security man wouldn't take it. Malcolm flung it to the floor. Moments later, he was bundled into a car, sped across the apron to a London-bound Air France Caravelle and officially de-ported as a threat to the peace of Paris. The rally at the Mutualite went on without him, the speakers denouncing not only the involvement of white mercenaries in the Congo and the U.S. inter-vention in Vietnam, which had been the main agenda items for the evening, but the detention and forced departure of their guest star.

The French had their reasons, though not the ones they announced publicly—or the more sinister ones Malcolm and his fol-lowers suspected. The official government explanation was that Malcolm's speech could have "provoked demonstrations that would trouble the public order." This access of caution was not very convincing, given that Malcolm had spoken in the same hall without incident a scant three months before, and the lack of official candor gave rise to the widespread and enduring suspicion that the United States government was involved—perhaps crimi-nally so. Malcolm himself blamed the State Department, though it surely occurred to him that State would have intervened to keep him out of England as well if silencing him abroad were American policy. Since his death, a considerable folklore has grown up around a far uglier rumor—that French intelligence had learned that the CIA planned his murder and that France didn't want his blood spilled on its soil. There is even a published quotation to this effect from an unnamed North African diplomat, declaring—"in elegantly modulated French"—that his country had been quietly alerted by Paris in case Malcolm flew in from there. * A more legible version was that the French acted on the representation of two of their lately liberated colonies, Senegal and the Ivory

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WHO DEFENDED KILLERS
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WHO DEFENDED KILLERS
NE COUSIN ED BOND ET WILLIAMS

Coast, that Malcolm—aided and abetted by Nasser and Nkrumah—might try to incite African students to overthrow moderate pro-Western governments like their own. They naturally pre-ferred that he not be allowed in Paris, where there was a large African student colony and a small but active OAAU chapter o two dozen or so Afro-American and Latin-American blacks. Mal-corn had been scissored once again in the power politics of Africa; and its continuing liaison with the white West, the medium o exchange being francs this time instead of dollars. The tact th- forbade anyone's saying so at the time has nourished the con-spiracy theory of Malcolm's assassination ever since, and conspira-cies, in the popular culture of the Left, are the monopoly propert- of America and the CIA.

Malcolm went back to England, for a speech at the London School of Economics and a controversial side trip to Smethwick, a working-class satellite of Birmingham then much troubled by a swelling non-white immigrant population. A camera crew from the BBC *Tonight* show had got him there, hoping for an on-scene debate with Smethwick's Tory MP, Peter Griffiths. When Griffiths didn't show up, the BBC people were uncertain what to do with Malcolm except walk him around town, pose him in front of a "for sale" sign and interview him on the town hall steps, where he likened the treatment of black people locally to that of the Jews in Nazi Germany. "I would not wait," he said, "for the fascist element in Smethwick to erect gas ovens." The visit created a great furor, the mayor calling it "deplorable," the papers viewing it with alarm, Griffiths proposing that Malcolm be barred from England forever and the BBC nervously shelving its film unshown.

It was the kind of controversy Malcolm loved; seeing the pic-tures of him walking down Marshall Street in Smethwick in his topcoat, astrakhan and a yard-wide grin, one guesses that he en-joyed himself—quite possibly for the last time in his life. He ran out his stay abroad for a week and liked it all; liked being a states-man and a celebrity and an object of high debate in the press and in Commons; liked feeling safe, as it was no longer possible for him to feel at home. While he was away, he wrote a painful letter to

after

WHO DEFENDED KILLERS
NE COUSIN ED BOND ET WILLIAMS

THE ENDS OF POWER

THIS IS HOW S MEADS
GO!

... I don't want excuses. I want results. I want it done; whatever the cost."

Colson was off and running. Shortly thereafter he wrote me a memo for the attention of the President. He said that the prosecution of Ellsberg would present a great opportunity.

He is a natural villain to the extent that he can be painted evil. . . . We can discredit the peace movement and have the Democrats on a marvelous hook because thus far most of them have defended the release of the documents. . . . I have not yet thought through all the subtle ways in which we can keep the Democratic Party in a constant state of civil warfare, but I am convinced that with some imaginative and creative thought it can be done.

Expanding his thesis in a telephone call to a friend, Colson said, "We might be able to put this bastard into a hell of a position and discredit the New Left."

Colson wasn't content with the White House amateurs like Krogh and Young. He found an ex-CIA agent named Howard Hunt to assist them. He called Hunt.

COLSON: Let me ask you, Howard, this question: Do you think with the right resources employed, that this thing could be turned into a major public case against Ellsberg and co-conspirators?
HUNT: Yes, I do, but you've established a qualification here that I don't know whether it can be met.

COLSON: What's that?

HUNT: Well, with the proper resources.

COLSON: Well, I think the resources are there.

HUNT: Well, I would say so absolutely.

COLSON: Then your answer would be we should go down the line to nail the guy cold?

HUNT: Go down the line to nail the guy cold, yes.

Colson taped this call and sent a transcript to Ehrlichman along with a note: "The more I think about Howard Hunt's

The War—and the

background, politics, disposition, an think it would be worth your time to

So Hunt came aboard and was a And it seemed Hunt had a friend, was head of a public relations agency Company. Colson didn't know that agency, and that Bennett regularly officer. From the time of the Pentagon gate break-in this odd trio, Hunt, thirds CIA controlled, would embark projects which would come to be ca Nixon worried what might be received his blackmail money. And to actions of this trio, one more ingredient The Robert R. Mullen Company but had as its principal client, Nix Hughes. The CIA connection was to years later.

During Hunt's brief career with with Gordon Liddy, who had been by Bud Krogh. Supposedly they were tion of Krogh and Young, who in man's direction. But in the Ellsber receiving orders and financial support somewhere along the way, they were from Bob Bennett, outside of the CIA and the CIA's silent partner Neither Nixon, Ehrlichman, nor ricular affair with an outsider named Bennett was being used by us as so. O'Brien's past relationship with F that a CIA employee was, in effect, team.

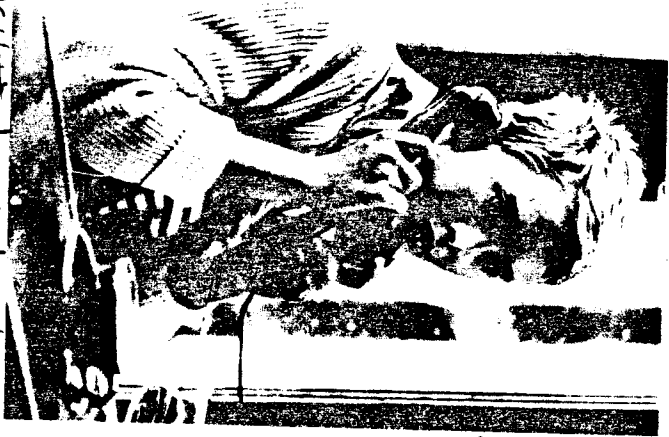
The Plumbers' unit was disbanded break-in in the fall of 1971. Hunt man for Colson as a White House c time went onto the payroll at the went to CRP as legal counsel, with

Early on she asks Michel, when he mentions horoscopes, 'Qu'est-ce que c'est l'horoscope?' Her French isn't too good, but this is hardly a difficult word... the exchange is schematised to set Patricia's blankness against Michel's concern with the future, which he goes on to explain. Her failure of verbal understanding stands for a failure of moral understanding. Her vision doesn't extend beyond the present (she can't respond to his impulse to go to Rome). Likewise her final question, 'Qu'est-ce que c'est déguenasse?', followed by her abrupt turning-away, implies the lack of a whole moral dimension: her betrayal 'means' nothing to her. The challenge to her of Michel's personality resembles the data with which Lemmy confronts Alpha-60; she tries to cope by using logic, and the results are disastrous.

In this sense Michel stands for love and vision (it is clear where Godard's own sympathies lie) but he does so only in a pathetically tenuous and compromised way. This in itself doesn't make the film incoherent—it is the pattern of many gangster films—but it is notable that Godard doesn't use this pattern again: his films since *A Bout de Souffle* have shown intelligent men reacting violently against their environment to seek love and freedom (Bruno, Lemmy, Ferdinand and Pierrat), or, sometimes, brutish heroes (those of *Les Carabiniers*, Arthur in *Bande à Part*) whose conditioning by society is acutely analysed. Michel was an awkward mixture: A hero coming from nowhere; a pattern of questioning, from the POURQUOI spelt out in cigarette packets on a bedroom wall, through all Patricia's questions to the final line; a dead-end. It is the only Godard film which seems at all vulnerable to the charge that his deep concern about civilisation is something read into his films by admirers who, in Raymond Durgnat's words, 'impregnate his blandness with their pain'. The final impression is of a

tentative film, a 'run through' of ideas, characters and styles which Godard is testing in action, fitting together in a slightly makeshift way: his own brief appearance to guide the action can be seen, in retrospect, as a sort of cryptogram admiring this. Clearly Godard learnt a lot simply from the act of making this film, whose relation to his later work is hinted at by the opening words of Bruno's narration in *Le Petit Soldat*: 'The time for action is past. I have grown older. The time for reflection has come.'

Still: Patricia betrays Michel to the police.



LE PETIT SOLDAT

Richard

Bruno Forrester (Michel Subor) is a deserter from the French Army who works in Switzerland for a right-wing terrorist organisation (in effect, the O.A.S.). He is ordered to kill Patrovida, a broadcaster with Arab sympathies. Bruno meets, photographs and falls in love with Veronica Drever (Anna Karina), not knowing that she works for the other side, i.e. the F.L.N. After his first, reluctant and abortive attempts to kill Patrovida, he is captured and tortured by the Arabs. To earn freedom for himself and Veronica in South America he kills Patrovida, only to find that his side has captured Veronica and tortured her to death.

Bruno Forrester is 'un merdeur', a man who refuses to do what is expected of him precisely because it is expected of him. He is a mystery to both sides: suspected by the O.A.S. of being a double agent, he baffles the F.L.N. by refusing to speak under torture. A man without loyalties, without ideals, he is loyal to an ideal of himself. 'What matters is not how others see you but how you see yourself', he tells Veronica and adds, significantly, that the words are his own. He is a deserter, an exile, a fugitive from home, the Napoleonic 'tragedy of our time'. He points out to Jacques the house where Mme de Staël, the most renowned of Napoleonic exiles, lived with Benjamin Constant: a moment later Paul interrupts that they are arriving at the radio station and Bruno is about to see the man he has been ordered to kill.

Bruno does not know 'where to give his heart'. For him Communism and Catholicism

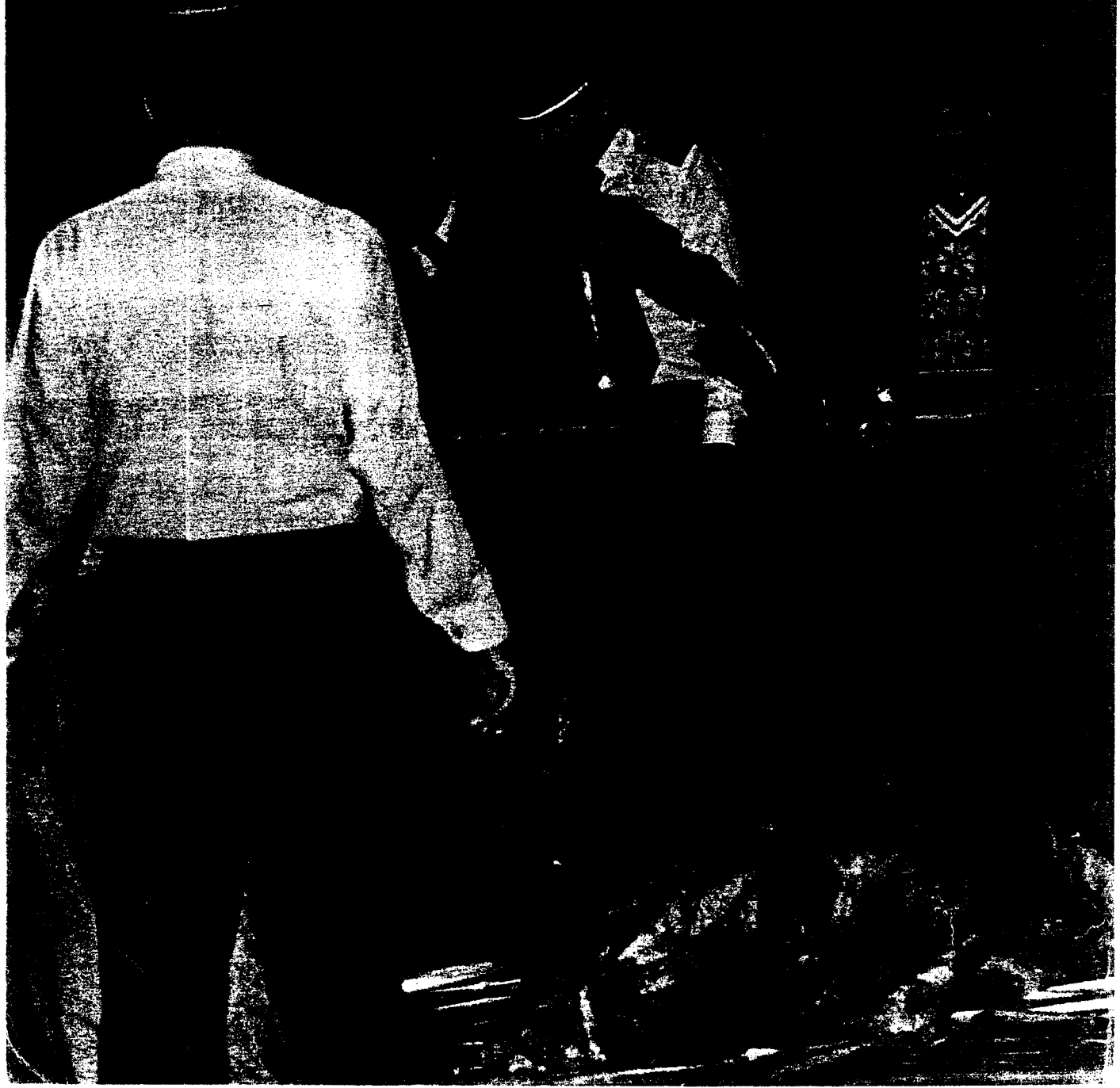
share a common share. Un merdeur, a Pekin tram, the passing of Thirties, but not freedom to c your own voi 'This is Bruno betray him. Bruno roots images, 'hard mirrors and th image caught summer day photograph a the soul beh Photographing her image. It wears her hair truth. Judging But images ar betrayed no. Pierrat le Fou de Souffle. Tr lies can conve to the O.A.S Bruno's voice her love to E telephone. Tl Veronica ider by 'the shape For Bruno reality must c

SHARON STONE & THOUGHTS WOULD

WIDE AS STAIRS FROM WITH SHARON STONE

HOW BODY VANISH! NO BODY BURN IN HEAT AND
NOT HAVE DENTAL RECORDS AS CURILWECH TOLD MS

ce Jean Seberg's body was found
Paris last year, fresh questions
e been raised about the tragic facts
of the actress's death — and life.



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."¹²⁰ 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-

The Long Day Wanes

neddy's boyishness and charm "much more posed ruthlessness" and singularly thought if hair come, he would look a bit like Cordell. Kennedy body is going to try to kill you." Kennedy guarantees against assassination. "You've ju the people and to trust them, and from the with you or it isn't. I am pretty sure there'll sooner or later. Not so much for political ness, that's all."¹²³

This was why Bill Barry was along. "It w job with me," he told Jules Witcover. "I qualified me for. This would be my jiggler's with less cooperation from his principal. B Kennedy through crowds. When the can Kennedy refused protection. Barry tried s such as hiring off-duty policemen to stay dared not risk Kennedy's displeasure by p next to his room. When Kennedy learned arrangements, he canceled them.

His attitude, Barry said later, "was that h and not be constantly fearful of what mi accepted as much protection as he got bec wouldn't have had anybody if really left to l in Lansing, Michigan, a police lieuten man with a rifle had gone into a buildi Gary had Kennedy's car driven into the s and enter it without going out on the s garage, Kennedy was furious. He : ain. Don't ever change whatever we're I don't ever want to change it beca If things happen, they're going to h rifle turned out to be an office wor (end.) Kennedy particularly objected 114. As Lieutenant Jack Eberhardt of i ment put it, Kennedy "in no uncerta for our assistance. He felt that we' ting a close rapport with his followers. There were several alarms — in Cleve California. Kennedy ignored them. Rep sention the danger. He told Charles Q about it, but he wasn't going to change l then his eyes got a faraway look, and I ever elected President, I'm never going to

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, Stein Papers; Ben Bradlee, Harwood's editor, had originally given Harwood the assignment because he had been so "outspokenly skeptical of Bobby" (Benjamin C. Bradlee, *Conversations with Kennedy* [New York, 1975], 22).

he had his room. Malik reminded Abbott to lock the gate as he left the yard; and Chadee saw in that instruction about the gate a direct threat to himself, a further order to stay where he was. Malik, after this, got up and went to the main house. Chadee didn't see what he could do. The boy Parmassar was with him; Steve Yeates was in the second bedroom of the servants' quarters; Kidogo had the back bedroom in the main house, just across the patio from the servants' quarters. Chadee lay down on the cushions next to Parmassar. His mind was "in a mess"; he had never heard "such a conversation" before. He prayed to God and hoped that in the morning the plan would be forgotten. Then his mind went blank and he fell asleep.

Across the road, in the house with Jamal and Benson, Abbott didn't sleep. He was lying down in his clothes, thinking. He thought about his mother and what Malik might do to her. He remembered the looks Malik, Kidogo and Steve Yeates had given him earlier in the evening.

At six in the morning Malik woke Parmassar. Parmassar woke Chadee, sleeping beside him on the cushions. And then Malik sent Parmassar across the road to get Abbott; to tell him that the time had come to start digging the hole for Benson. Parmassar didn't have to wake Abbott: Abbott hadn't slept, and was still in his clothes.

They were all up now. Chadee saw Steve Yeates and Kidogo come out of Kidogo's room. Yeates called Chadee out into the yard, and Chadee sat outside against the kitchen of the main house. Kidogo and Parmassar (reappearing) went "to the back" and began to collect tools: a spade, a fork, two shovels, a cutlass and a file. They asked Chadee to help. He took the two shovels. Parmassar had the fork and the spade; Kidogo had the cutlass and the file. Abbott was waiting outside the gate. They passed the tools

to him, climbed over the gate and walked down the road to the dead end, two hundred feet away from the house, on waste ground above the ravine.

Not long afterward Malik reversed his Humber car to where the four men were—Abbott, Kidogo, Parmassar and Chadee—and showed them where the hole was to be dug. It was beside a manure heap; Chadee saw "a lot of bamboo poles around the manure." Malik asked Kidogo for the time. Kidogo said it was six-twenty, and Malik said again that they had forty-five minutes to dig the hole. Malik himself wasn't going to be present while anything happened. As he had said the previous evening, he was going to take Jamal out for a drive, to keep Jamal out of the way. And it was only now—sitting in his car—that he gave his final orders. Not to all of them, but only to Abbott. He called Abbott over to the car.

Abbott went and said, "Oh, God, Michael, you don't have to do this. Spare the woman." Malik said he didn't want to hear any more of "that old talk from last night."

"He sat behind the wheel pulling his beard and watching me. He told me that Steve Yeates would drive up in the jeep; he will bring the woman Halé out. I was to tell her when she saw the hole, if she got suspicious, that it was for stuff to be decomposed, or words to that effect. He told me I was to grab that woman and take her into the hole. When I had her I was to tell her what the hole was for: to tell her it was for Jamal." As for the killing itself, that was to be done by Kidogo. "He told me Kidogo had his orders. He said that if I did anything to endanger the safety of the men around that hole, or his family or himself, by not obeying, I would die. What he was telling me was I would die that morning with the knowledge that my mother would be dead also, because that was where he was heading with Jamal." Abbott

How Kidogo + Jamal + Abbott + Benson + Steve Yeates

... of this period.

... and Foreman in regard to the
ons which are interrogations
number 1969. Hanes was asked
mply cannot agree that James
There are too many unanswered
this one: "I still believe that Ray
Each thought says two things.

... write this last sentence, that he
he never said that Ray was the

... en for and been paid \$1,000 each
om Huie, the latter \$11,000.
usually than most men do of
ly about what they got from
ent along on this business of a
elacorte Press wanted it, and
(for which *Look* alone paid him
he first that Ray was the

... u edit the articles in *Look*
and Mr. Percy Foreman?" His
edited them. I am not an editor
ntence from the article bearing
r. Martin Luther King, Jr.?"
for Mr. Hanes. Mr. Hanes wrote
anes had often and widely
sive again, for the question was
s making small changes in what

... tributed to James Earl Ray, it
e, the beginning of a concoction
the connivings of "federal
trials of racist murderers in the
nce" can be arranged. If one is
e racists, such a plot within
ication they regard as brilliant,

... 7 story, he could accurately
nation, it was thought the
ce into another part of town."
wrote that "several police cars
raced toward the scene of the
es per hour"—to which chase
re was no official reference.

QUEEN'S
PROFESSOR
WIFE
WILMA
BERNABEI
CIA
AGENTS
WILMA
GOTTBERGER
DOOSTO
SECRET
MOUTH

OHDCIASCAM
OUT WITNESS
PARROLL

AUTOMAT
FALCO

This is as good a place as any to add a recollection 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.



WHIS
GOT
LETTER
OUT THIS
FROM US
COVERED
IT
UP

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.)

466
KILLED IN
PRINCESS TOWERS
AND CRIME COVERED

THE WHIG-STANDARD
CLARAG HAS SAID
ON STORY SO IF

ANYTHING HAPPENS TO ME
OR SUSAN OR TERRY —
GET IT OUT!

TRIAL

THIS IS A STORY
WHICH INDICTS A WHOLE
SOCIETY.

LAWYERS — ^{ESTABLISHMENT} TIMOTHY D. WILKIN
JOHN ECCELSTONE

CHIP O'CONNOR — QUEEN'S
LAW PROJECT — CIA FUNDING
KAISER OF

JOHN BASTOS, A PENETRATION
AGENT IN MY LAWYER'S

OFFICE, THE
SCHOOL OF QUEEN'S —
WHICH GAVE WILMA

BERNABEI A BIG JOB
TO SHUT HER MOUTH

ON DICK BERNABEI'S
MURDER + FAKE AUTOPSY

THE COPS — BARBER +
DUCK — HAVE THREATENED
MY OWN LAWYER, SUSAN E.

CHARLES WORTH + CALL
HER WHORE, DRUG ADDICT,
ETC,

THERE HAVE BEEN 2
BREAK-INS IN THE LAST
2 NIGHTS.

THIS IS AN INDICTMENT
OF SOCIETY - AS BOBBY
SAID, HOW COMFORTABLE
THEY ARE! THEY RAGE
AGAINST MEDICARE + I SAY
I CAN'T BE THERAPY CHAIRIST!

I RECALL BEING
LECTURED BY SEBERG + HE
JUST PUT HIS HAND ON HER
HEAD LIKE A CHILD AND SAID,
LET'S WATCH THE WATER +
HE WITHE A CIGAR + PUT HIS
FEET IN THE WATER. PEACE

HE WAS TOLD BY ROMAN GARDY,
DEAN'S HUSBAND, YOU'RE GOING
TO BE SHOT!

IN PARIS HE TOLD AUDRE
MALRAUX - NOW IT IS MY TURN

THANE EUGENE CAESAR
SHOT HIM. YOU CAN SEE
THE CLIP. WHO INVESTIGATED
2 CIA-EX-OFFICIALS

ETHEL KICKED A
COP ~~AND~~ AND SAID YOU
PROTECTED BOBBY LIKE
DRK STOP CAR AND SEE
IF HE'S DEAD! SECRET
SERVICE - FUCK YOU!

NOGUCHI SHOWED
PARAFIN TEST PUT SIRHAN
WHERE HE NEVER WAS!

ENOUGH BULLETS TO
KILL ARMY!

DOCUMENTED IN
RTK BY TURNER + CHRISTIAN!

YOU STOOD UP FOR
AMERICA AND WROTE
BOOKS WHICH WERE
AN INDICTMENT OF
CORRUPT SOCIETY. THE
RULERS CHANGE THE
ARCHIPELIGO REMAINS!

WHY DID PRIVATE CITIZENS, YOU, SYLVIA, TINK,
HAVE SAUSAGE, BUCHANAN, DOESTON,
SALANDRIA, ELLEN RAY, STEVE RAFFO. HAVE TO ASSUME
BUT WHATEVER MISTAKES

I MAY HAVE MADE IN
MY PERSONAL LIFE —
WOMEN ETC — LIKE
KING I CAN SAY, I'M
NOT FEARING ANYMAN!

I'M HAVING A GOOD
NIGHT.

THERE HAS BEEN A MURDER
ATTEMPT AGAINST ME BY
PSYCHIATRIST HEATHER PEARSON
& ATTEMPT TO IMPLICATE
SUSAN!

WE'VE GOT THE
TRUTH AND AS VIRGIL
SAID, LET JUSTICE BE
DONE THOUGH THE HEAVENS
FALL. I'M HAUNTED BY
THAT PHRASE OF ROGER
CRAIG — TODAY IS THE
TOMORROW I WORRIED ABOUT
YESTERDAY.

DID ANY GUY ~~DO~~ MORE TO DESERVE
DISBELIEF + SUSPICION?
HAROLD WEISBERG
OLD FRIEND

WHY HAS BETTS
LIKE JIM GARRISON
CALLED TOP COP HOUTS
IVON, SAID PICK UP THIS
BASTARD! HE'S BEATING UP
ON WOMEN - TOUGH GUY -
SO IVON, WARD - NOW
MORNING - FOCK HIM!

A JUDGE - SCIAMBRA -
BOXER - 37 FIGHTS - 33 KOS
GO OUT + SAY, HEY BABY,
COME WITH US! POW!

THEN, WE MAIL HIM, CALL
WITNESSES - FRANCIS, ROBINSON
+ HUTCHISON - PIN HIM

THAT'S WHAT TANNENBUM,
LEIN OR FENTON OR
SA, HIRDA'S I KNOW
WERE ON STARK

SELECTION COMMITTEE
ATIONS -
WE WOULD SAY
STARK -

THE WHIG - STANDARD HAS THIS STORY OF KICKBACKS + FACT THAT I COULDN'T WITHDRAW MY OWN MONEY SUE CIVILLAY FROM BANK OF MONTREAL

QUEENSTON ECCLESTONE CIA-CONTROL
CIA-HIRING KAISER BECAUSE ALL
CONTRAPROPEL O'CONNOR HOW OFFICIALS
WILMA FOREIGN MICHAEL CRYSTAL SAID
AGENTS TOM MAHONEY I

AND ALL MEMBERS OF BOARD OF CANADIAN MENTAL HEALTH ASSOCIATION - NOT LRAHRODICAL
GET FULL HIST FROM LARRY KEFLUR - ADD TO SUIT FOR CONSPIRACY TO VIOLATE THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF MR WILLIAMS BY DEPORTING HIM

DAILING HIM WITHOUT CHARGE BEATING HIM HYPING UP GARILOVE MC NICHOLS FINANCE SHANDERING AND LIBELING MR WILLIAMS BY SENDING SLANDER TO HOSPITAL AND BLACKMAILING VICKIE FRANCIS TO SLANDER + DUPE DR POTOP SINGH TO HOCK MR WILLIAMS UP WHICH YOU DID TWICE

TO DUPE + DEFRAUD SUSAN F. CHARNO SWORTH BY INVOLVING HER IN ASSASSINATION CONSPIRACY RUNDY SUSAN DOUTHWAIT CHRIS MINOR HEATHER PEARSON TO DUPE + DEFRAUD LEAH

ROBICEAU + GARILOVE MC NICHOLS TRY DEPRIVING THEM OF THEIR CIVIL RIGHTS

DUPE + DEFRAUD + CONSPIRE - MR WILLIAMS TO NOT TO ACTIVITY CONTRA TO RETURN TO SOCIAL M M I T T E E

TO DUPE + DEFRAUD GOVT
OF CANADA BY VIOLATING CIVIL
RIGHTS OF LEAH ROBICEAU,
GARILENE MCNICHOLS,
CONNIE HUTCHISON, COLEEN
BEDFORD + WILLIAM CORMIER —
BY HIBELING MR WILLIAMS TO
DESTROY RELATIONSHIPS BECAUSE
ANY RELATIONSHIP COULD
DESTROY CONSPIRACY

TO VIOLATE RELATIONSHIP
OF MR WILLIAMS +
LEAH ROBICEAU

TO VIOLATE RELATIONSHIP
OF MS MCNICHOLS +
MR WILLIAMS

TO VIOLATE RELATIONSHIP
OF MS BEDFORD + MR WILLIAMS

TO BLACKMAIL LEAH
ROBICEAU

TO BLACKMAIL
COERCE VICKIE FRANCIS
IN CONSPIRACY DIRECTED
BY SUSAN DOUTHWAIT WITH CHRIS MINOR
S HATCHETMAN — TO DEFRAUD

KGB TRIED TO WARN JFK
OF PLOT AS DAD SIDOR
WHO PIERCED CONSPIRACY WITH BEANSUETRA
TERRY O'HARA ^{EXPELLED FROM DALLAS}
11/22/63

FULL COPY OF
REPORT

SENT TO LOMOND
PRAVDA

MARKLANE

MAN IN MOON

YURI, JUDY MILLARD
PATIENT ADVOCATE

KINGSTON THIS WEEK

HAL WELSBURG

AUTHOR OF 10
BOOKS ON WTE & WTE
AGENCIES

MS SUSAN
CHARLES WORTH

EDWARD WILKINS
101 PRINCESS ST
TORONTO
ONTARIO



HAROLD WEISBERG
ROUTE 12
FRODOCK
MARYLAND
USA