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Link of Kennedy Friend To Mafia Is Still a Puzzle

By NICHOLAS GAGE

The disclosure last December that President Kennedy and two major Mafia figures maintained close friendships with the same woman — Judith Campbell — has puzzled many private citizens, disturbed some law enforcement officials and aroused extensive speculation in and out of Government.

The speculation has been stimulated because the two

First of three articles.

Mafia figures, John Roselli and Sam Giancana, maintained the relationships with Mrs. Campbell at the very time she said she was having an affair with the President. And both men had been involved in the Central Intelligence Agency's abortive plots to assassinate Prime Minister Fidel Castro of Cuba.

But the Senate Select Com-

Floyd Wins Masters

Raymond Floyd shot a 70 yesterday at the Augusta National Golf Club to win the 40th Masters tournament with a 72-hole total of 271, 17 under par and matching the record for the event set by Jack Nicklaus in 1965. Details and Floyd profile are on pages 39 and 42.

mittee on Intelligence, which investigated the C.I.A. plots, referred only briefly to Mrs. Campbell's relationships, devoting slightly more than a page to them in its 349-page report last December. The report did not identify Mrs. Campbell (now Mrs. Judith Exner) by name or sex, and left a number of questions unanswered.

Among them were whether Mrs. Campbell used her relationship with Mr. Kennedy to benefit the Mafia, and whether the President learned as a result of the Campbell friendship that the C.I.A. was working with the Mafia on a plot to kill Mr. Castro.

Interviews and Findings

During the last two months, The New York Times, in interviews with current and former Justice Department officials, participants in the C.I.A. plots and underworld figures, has examined these questions and found the following:

Several recommendations were made within the Justice Department in 1962 for a thorough investigation of Mrs. Campbell's Mafia ties, but no inquiry was ever conducted. When high Justice officials learned about her friendship

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with President Kennedy in early 1962, they looked upon it as a "domestic matter," as one of them put it, and merely passed information on her to the White House.

Sam Giancana—who was slain last June — and John Roselli boasted to fellow gangsters about sharing the affections of a woman who was seeing the President, but they do not appear to have benefited further from their knowledge of Mrs. Campbell's friendship with Mr. Kennedy.

While the Senate committee found no evidence that President Kennedy knew about the C.I.A.-Mafia plots to kill Mr. Castro, the possibility appears high to some former Justice officials that Robert F. Kennedy, then the Attorney General, told his brother about the plots in view of what he learned about the relationships of Mr. Giancana, Mr. Roselli and Mrs. Campbell in 1962 and early 1963.

When the Senate committee investigated Mrs. Campbell's friendships, not only did the committee not call Frank Sinatra, who introduced Mrs. Campbell both to President Kennedy and to Mr. Giancana, but other key individuals were merely interviewed rather than questioned under oath, even though a deeper inquiry might have produced information affecting the committee's conclusion that President Kennedy did not know about the C.I.A.-Mafia plots against Mr. Castro.

Staying Out of Sight

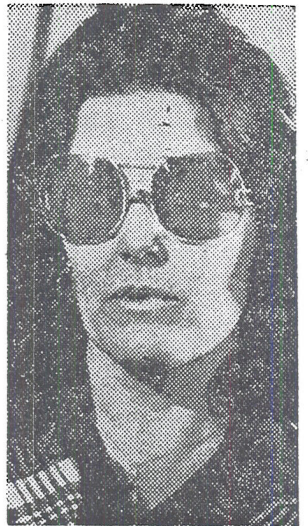
A spokesman for the committee, Spencer Davis, said that the panel's mandate was to determine whether Mrs. Campbell was involved in an intelligence operation and not to conduct a broad investigation of her Mafia ties.

"We found that she was not engaged in intelligence and that was that," he said.

A close friend of the two Mafia figures said that Mrs. Campbell's initial contact with the Mafia was with Mr. Roselli, who was born in Italy, immigrated to Boston as a child, joined the Mafia in Chicago and later became involved in labor racketeering in Los Angeles.

Mr. Roselli, who has been staying out of sight since Mr. Giancana was slain last year, has told friends that he first met Mrs. Campbell in 1951—she was then Judith Immoor—when she was 17 years old and "hanging around the studios" in Hollywood. Mr. Roselli, who had served three years in Federal prison for extorting money from the studios, was then associated with an independent production company. Miss Immoor had ambitions of becoming an actress.

Mr. Roselli stopped seeing



Associated Press

Judith Campbell Exner

her when she married William Campbell, an actor, a short time later, according to the friend of the two Mafia leaders.

The couple was divorced in 1958, and a year later she began to date Mr. Sinatra, she said in the outline for a book she plans to write. Mrs. Campbell said that she ended her affair with the singer because their tastes in sex differed, but continued to travel with the Sinatra crowd.

Sinatra's Reply

In reply to this assertion, Mr. Sinatra issued this statement: "Hell hath no fury like a hustler with a literary agent."

Mrs. Campbell said in the outline that Mr. Sinatra introduced her to John F. Kennedy on Feb. 7, 1960, in Las Vegas, Nev., and they made plans to meet in early March in New York, where they began to have an affair.

After her New York meeting with Mr. Kennedy, according to the outline, she accepted an invitation to meet Mr. Sinatra in Miami Beach, where he was performing at the Fontainebleau Hotel, and the entertainer introduced her there to Mr. Giancana.

Five months later Mr. Giancana and Mr. Roselli became involved with the C.I.A. in plots to kill Fidel Castro—recruiting Cuban agents who might be persuaded to poison Mr. Castro's food—but apparently they did not tell Mrs. Campbell about them. Mafia members traditionally do not confide in their women and Mr. Giancana and Mr. Roselli made no exception with Mrs. Campbell, according to the close friend of both men.

His contention is supported by participants in the plots, including Robert Maheu, who has acknowledged bringing together the Mafia and the C.I.A. Mrs. Campbell said in her book outline that she had "no knowledge of C.I.A. involvement with the Mafia."

The close friend of Mr. Giancana and Mr. Roselli said that, at that time, Mrs. Campbell was one of about 20 women,

some of them well-known actresses, who were in the Sinatra crowd and were introduced to the entertainer's friends in public life and in the underworld.

"The difference with Judy was that she was pushy and reckless," the friend said. "She'd go to Johnny's place and call everyone she knew from his phone, or she'd call Sam at his home and at the Army Lounge in Chicago, where he hung out. So the Feds picked up her tracks.

"The other girls were careful. They didn't call Sam or Johnny because they knew their phones were tapped. And they didn't call the White House, for God's sake!"

The Federal Bureau of Investigation first picked up Judith Campbell through electronic surveillance of Mr. Roselli in early 1961, according to Justice Department sources.

The F.B.I. checked out her long-distance calls over the next two years and found that she was in frequent contact with Mr. Roselli, Mr. Giancana and Mr. Sinatra.

For example, Government records show that during one four-week period, from June 8 to July 5, 1962, Mrs. Campbell called Mr. Giancana 23 times at his Chicago home and 37 times at the Army Lounge from her Los Angeles residence at 8401 Fountain Avenue. During the same period, she called Mr. Sinatra 16 times at the Cal-Neva Lodge in Lake Tahoe, Nev., which he then owned.

70 Telephone Calls

Seven months before these calls, in November 1961, the F.B.I. found out that Mrs. Campbell had made two phone calls to the White House. They were followed by a third call early the following February. (The Senate committee found White House records showing that Mrs. Campbell had called a total of 70 times, but initially the F.B.I. knew of only three calls.)

On Feb. 27, 1962, J. Edgar Hoover, then director of the

F.B.I., sent a memorandum to Attorney General Kennedy and Kenneth O'Donnell, then special assistant to President Kennedy, saying that an investigation of Mr. Roselli disclosed that he had been in touch with a Judith Campbell. The memo also said that Mrs. Campbell was maintaining a relationship with Sam Giancana, "a prominent Chicago underworld figure," and that Mrs. Campbell had made calls to the White House from her home in Los Angeles.

It is not known how Robert Kennedy reacted to the memorandum, but a high official in the Justice Department at that time said that his staff did not take it very seriously.

"By that time a lot of stories were coming out of the Secret Service about the President's interest in women," one former official said. "We looked on it as a domestic matter and, as I recall, the whole thing was referred to Carmine Bellino, who handled personal stuff for the President."

Kennedy-Hoover Lunch

Another former Justice Department official also said that the matter was referred to Mr. Bellino, who was then a special consultant to the President. But Mr. Bellino said in an interview that he never heard of Mrs. Campbell until the recent articles in the press about her.

"The only personal matter I ever handled for the President was once when Jackie was spending too much money and he asked me to find out where it was all going," Mr. Bellino said.

The contradiction between the former Justice Department officials' recollections and Mr. Bellino's statement was never confronted by the Senate committee. The Justice officials who recall the matter being turned over to Mr. Bellino were not questioned under oath by the committee, but merely interviewed by staff members, whom they did not tell about Mr. Bellino.

Mr. Bellino, too, was never

questioned under oath, but was merely interviewed at the committee's offices.

On March 22, less than a month after the Hoover memo was sent, President Kennedy and Mr. Hoover had lunch together. The Senate committee's report said, "According to White House logs," the report added, "the last telephone contact between the White House and the President's friend [Mrs. Campbell] occurred a few hours after the luncheon."

However, Mrs. Campbell said in her book outline that her relationship with the President continued for several months after that.

In the months following Mr. Hoover's memorandum of Feb. 27, the Justice Department received further information from the F.B.I. about Mrs. Campbell's close relationships with Mr. Giancana, Mr. Roselli and Mr. Sinatra.

The information was included in a series of reports prepared by Douglas McMillan, a Justice Department attorney studying the involvement of Mr. Sinatra with Mafia figures.

Mr. McMillan is still with the department and refused to discuss the matter, but former Justice officials who saw the reports said that they strongly recommended that Mrs. Campbell's relationships with the Mafia and with Mr. Sinatra be investigated.

Testimony Urged

They said that one of the reports urged that Mrs. Campbell be brought before a Federal grand jury, given immunity from prosecution and compelled to testify under oath about her Mafia contacts.

No action was taken on any of the recommendations by the Justice Department. Several officials who were asked about her reports said they did not remember reports specifically mentioning Mrs. Campbell.

But they said they did remember that several reports on Mr. Sinatra were prepared at the time, and it was in

some of those reports that the recommendations about Mrs. Campbell were included.

The Sinatra reports apparently were seen by Attorney General Kennedy, because everything about Mr. Sinatra developed by the department was sent up to him at his request, according to William G. Hundley, former chief of the department's Organized Crime Section. Thus, Attorney General Kennedy presumably saw everything included in the reports about Mrs. Campbell.

Robert Kennedy learned on Feb. 27, 1962, in the memorandum from Mr. Hoover, that a woman was calling the White House who had a relationship with Mr. Giancana, one of the top Mafia bosses in the country and a main target of his department.

Involved in Plots

Just 10 weeks later, on May 7, 1962, according to the Senate committee's report, he was informed in a conference with C.I.A. officials that their agency had been involved with Mr. Giancana in plots to assassinate Prime Minister Castro.

In view of these two discoveries and what Robert Kennedy later learned about Mrs. Campbell in the Sinatra reports, some of Mr. Kennedy's former associates at the Justice Department believe that he told the President what he knew about Mr. Giancana, the C.I.A. plots and Mrs. Campbell.

"He had to; he told Jack everything," one of the former associates said.

But others feel that he did not inform President Kennedy. "Any man would tell his brother, one would suppose," said Herbert J. Miller, who was head of the Justice Department's Criminal Division under Attorney General Kennedy. "But you must remember that the C.I.A. lied to Bobby and told him the plots against Cas-

tro had been terminated. So there was no compelling need to tell the President."

That the C.I.A. lied to Robert Kennedy about ending the assassination plots against Mr. Castro was confirmed in the committee's report through testimony from former C.I.A. officials.

Even if President Kennedy learned everything his brother knew about Mrs. Campbell and her Mafia friends, however, there is no evidence available to indicate that his relationship with her benefited them.

Wretnaps on Mr. Giancana and Mr. Roselli, as well as underworld informants who were close to them, confirm that they boasted about their relationship with Mrs. Campbell. But neither of these sources offer any indication that the two Mafia figures received any benefits from the Government as a result of what they knew about her, as they did for their involvement with the C.I.A., which once intervened to block their indictment on wiretap charges.

The Times investigation found no law-enforcement official who investigated Mr. Giancana and Mr. Roselli who could offer any evidence that they used the knowledge of Mrs. Campbell's friendship with President Kennedy to their advantage.

Tomorrow: Generous treatment for a Mafia boss.
