

Confidential

SEE 1250 SAME DATE, 12/10

OCT 9 1971

10/9/71

Dear Cyril, *Went*

It was my intent to get an early start this morning, so I could write you without interruption all at some length, but yesterday I slipped out whatever it is that has caused my 1000-hour trouble since 1970 and at 4 and 5 a.m. I felt I'd best stay in bed because a rough day lies ahead. You do not know it, but we have established one of the basic principles of ecological law relating to spies, from what our enemies and such stout-hearted and loyal friends as Mark Lane have written, you'd not know it. A second suit, with the principle already established in the first, has been stalled for years. For the past two years the government has been stalling an agreed-to promise of good-faith, out-of-court negotiation leading to a sensible settlement. I have had to keep pressure on them. I think the judge is now, too, and they have finally promised to begin. The assistant A.A. Attorney in New York has written early this morning, to spend the day here working on this.

From this explanation, you should be able to understand the thought of mind and by this means at this moment, with a to have my own selfish interest, be on time, but this letter; and the word sent to be of the word I to be the as explanation.

There would be another explanation at the outset. I do not know being "critic" as a term undeniably explaining on delicate subjects. This is a legitimate criticism. Sometimes it is someone - loose my cool, but more of an it is deliberate, but sometimes I & his directness and forcefulness is required, not subtleties.

The main group of us who say we need the truth about the assassination have some, including it, really have something else up except in their mind; are in some respects strong to good people. In varying degrees, most of us have some good characteristics, and, which vary, with the individual, none are manifested in different ways. Some of us are outright nuts. Others, rational as everything else, are on their subject irrational. A few are genuine paranormals. There are the 3 and are honest or inner unstable in every other aspect of their lives but on this are as straight as a bullet cock. I was this figure not by accident, but I have in mind also the usual consequences of the disorientation and breaches of trust I have in mind. Without giving you any more, for my purpose is illumination, not deception, I'll give you two illustrations.

With the benefit of sage counsel from one of the more quiet of us I was able to obtain absolute proof of the destruction of some of the most delicate evidence. Another of us, who I trusted and to whom I told this, said he could do certain things that might advance my knowledge. I told him that, as I was in profile, I wanted this information to go no further, but it was to his alone in at latest confidence. He agreed, when he was sure, having asked to copy some of my pictures. I had agreed we buried six boxes in my office, showing him where the things he wanted are. It wasn't too long before he was showing signs of what he had copied had to some of the most irresponsible of us, including one certified nut and - including this thing he had promised to keep confidential. Do you think there is now any prospect of carrying this further?

Several of us had been working, very quietly, on another extremely delicate aspect of suppressed evidence having to do with a possible Oswald intelligence connection prior to the assassination. There is one of us who has connections in a distant city, and I was to find for travel, as you know. I asked this "critic" if he could keep something in closest secrecy and if he could help me carry this forward, would he promise to send me any, mention of distribution of what I would tell him. He agreed. All I asked of him, and I was quite explicit in this, is that he use his connection in that city to get for me the contents of the newspaper morgues on a certain date. He had no little intention of keeping his word that he did I own remember giving it, and now this later he showed me a copy of a report sent to him by the incompetent and uninformed man he had actually sent to interview the man in question. His agent hadn't the slightest idea of what he was into, naturally, he got no information from the suspect, and another of the more promising and important elements of a full investigation is blown forever. There are not too many cases I can cite.

While in each of these cases a lack of personal integrity is flagrant, I assure you the intent was not evil if the results were, that in each case the intention was to develop truth. But in neither case could it have, as an intelligent child should have known, and what dominated, what caused the foolish decisions, was personal ambition, that insatiable taste we can have to get the great credit of being the one who solved the crime. This, of course, is something we all want, even the nuts, and it is a worthwhile thing. For is there anything wrong in desiring credit for it. I resent what is so often stolen from me simply because it is stolen, not because it hurts me. Sometimes it is hurtful to me and to the work, but even when it is not, I tell you quite frankly I resent it. On the other hand, there are few things I ever developed that I would not give a dime were they to ask for it, there is no single thing I have that I have replicated in other hands, and there is nothing I love that I do not show where I trust. You will know that I have been after you for three years for you to come here and see what I have in the field of your expertise.

Some of us have criticized me for using the open this way, and I fear that in at least some cases they are right. Because I really can't afford to have copies, the more I find files on people and do not return them, it's too easy to take the time to have a board of what I have, too busy to remember all of it, and the last time someone comes and a file is not here, usually I can't remember who got it or how long ago. At you one time told me as a measure of my foolishness, you can also get a reading on the integrity of many of us.

We all do things we shouldn't do, and not necessarily from bad intentions. I say one one of my more serious sins is trusting too many people. Another is the thing that I could use for productive purposes helps, others who would not or trying to avoid potential disasters, as with "the miracle". I spent some time trying to straighten him out after he filed his first suit that it would have taken me to write one of the books I have planned and I'm ready for the writing. There are quite a few of these, loose little commercial projects and can not serve to read and leave a record. Others have got at process, but - an of serious purpose and have to accept my own priorities. Ted Suprenant told me in 1967 when I described one of these to him that if I did it immediately in his opinion it would sell 40,000 copies in paperback. Now this is a fantastic sum, and his field before Congress was political law, but I did not write that book, despite my urgent need for money for living and to have the work under to accomplish simply because at that time I thought other things were important.

and this I write you instead of the thing in which I should so obviously be engaged, because I think writing you is more important than money. When you stay as broke as I have to a for so many years, when you once adjust to poverty and come to realize that it will probably be a permanent state, it is like the melting of expensive gold, and money, despite the urgent need for it, doesn't have the value it has to those who have an ample supply of it. At this point, and this is the truth, not dramatic effect, - was reasonable to place the vice-president of my bank to see him tonight about the payment on the principle on my indebtedness see today, as I don't have it. To those of you who enjoy a good life, that may seem incomprehensible, but I have adjusted to it, by the end of that week, unless some of those people as money, who are a goodly number and the sum is of considerable (for me) size, say so, we will, quite literally, be penniless. Of course, this louses up a life. It has been reduced to my wife, whose limited health has been deteriorating for for about two months now. I don't have to tell you the inevitable consequences of such narrow torment as she suffers from the kind of life we lead on such an affliction. But I have adjusted to this kind of existence, and I am aware that psychiatrists might consider this an abnormality.

The things I have not adjusted to are things I'll never be able to in the way of so many more to a single will by those of the best intention who do not realize what they are or may be doing. The one laid down by the government was an - too easy. We should not be paying more of them, but we are, and from the beginning, at almost all times some of us have been.

As you know, because of the regard and trust I have for you and because of your re-eminent qualifications in your specialty, I have tried to keep you informed of what I have developed that should interest you. I have had no secrets from you and have, in fact, regularly encouraged you to come here so you could study all of it. In some cases I have sent you samples. You have never had time. When I asked that you be an expert witness for me in court, you also had no time for that. This I could understand, for I know you are busy and I recognize that one who spends the hours working each day that I do certainly, at the very least, shortens his life, and that each thing he does is at the cost of something he does not do. But what has perplexed me for some time is that you have not kept the one promise you have made me, one so easy for you to keep. You agreed to have your criminalist assess for me five standard test dependable descriptions of the capabilities and limitations of spectrographic and neutron-activation tests. And each time I remind you I get a letter telling me as great and dedicated I am as how fortunate the criminal community is that I have been willing to go by myself to this work. I have an hour ago as the last, but I have not been finding for complaints. I get enough of them without validation from strangers who write to tell me I am not without some appreciation, but your unqualified replies did not fill my need to have a dependable reflection of this technical knowledge I lacked. I have just checked the file. It is four weeks ago today that I reminded you of this. I have had no reply. And I have completed that part of my writing. If there is error in what can be the most significant work to date, I'll share it with you. The tragedy is that I can't share credit for anything good with you, for you have remained unhelpful and unwilling to learn. And what I think you do not know is what at this moment trouble me most.

Almost everyone I know has told me that when the anniversary of the Kennedy Foundation will not come, when the fifth year has expired, you are proceeding to get access to the pictures and X-rays. I can understand this. I began the effort the first of November, 1966, officially, and much earlier unofficially. I am the first person turned down, both officially and, I think, unofficially. What I can't understand is that you would not keep this secret from me alone. At least I can't understand in any way I'd like to. I have heard it from those not really worthy of trust. So, how much to learn about this. I hope it doesn't come to you with the unpleasantness it has to me.

When I sought to have copies of pictures and the clothing made for me, I had Burke Marshall's assent. But the government want to court to refuse it. You can take that as a reading of Marshall, or the government's intent, or both. But it tells you one thing that the government does what serves its interests, not that of the Kennedy family or ours or that of truth, which it does not want established.

And yourself too. For it has published so many pictures, the government, even with Marshall having no objection, would not give me pictures of the clothing I had for.

With but a single exception I can recall, I have been refused everything that to the government could have significant evidentiary value that was sincere and that I asked for. I have exhausted my administrative resources on every thing for which I can see, including the pictures and X-rays. Unless you have done that of which I do not know, I think also that I have done all the basic new work on them. As in Lewis, who has been privy to what I have shown, told a reporter here two days ago, in each case where I had been partial, for suppressed evidence, where the government could, it included relevant crap in the LYC classification. Even when they were refusing as they were declassifying what they were releasing. In most cases it seems that the declassification preceded the rejection. Fortunately, some of the bureaucrats lack understanding, and I did get some significant new information even after being refused.

I began asking you to represent me in a suit for the pictures and X-rays before he left the Senate, but last year. There came a time when he agreed. I spent most of two months merely making copies of my correspondence and related materials so we could file. Then he changed his mind, wanting all this time for me and what for me is a great cost in a going paper for my X machine. Then he changed his mind again and said he would and encouraged me to. He went further, and said the formula I had worked out for the suit is by far the best and one for which there is ample legal precedent, which I know. For that and the reasons I had stated

Approach. I could also at anytime have filed for myself. But I didn't do either. With cause.

I would encourage you to ponder the philosophy of Koolhaas, that there is a time and a place for everything, as my knowledge and understanding grew, I came to realize that one of the worst things we can do at this juncture is to press for the pictures and X-rays. This is one of the reasons I filed, for example, for the pictures of the clothing and not for those you seek to see and not for the secretiveness of the matter. I could never very much not to help our enemies, and where I see the possibility, I do avoid it. I could have filed for the pictures and X-rays to say the Freedom of Information Law because effective, but it would be possible for me without acting as my own lawyer, I then would have. But as I have developed and accumulated more evidence and with it more understanding, it became increasingly clear to me that of all the things we can today do, this may well be the most counter-productive, since it has some a political understanding I think you lack. As a boy I worked in a political environment, where I cast my first vote I held a responsible position with the United States Senate, as a reporter and correspondent I also acquired some political understanding. This was augmented by many other experiences, including my service in intelligence, both for our government and, before we entered World War II, as an unpaid agent for a friendly power, England. This is a part of my past life now, although I was not registered, it also was not official, for a part of the Department of Justice, composed of people not of the kind we today deal with, asked me to do it, to do what they could not and dared not.

With the law and decisions as they now are, I have an idea to an open-and-shut case as they can be, yet I refuse to file. It is so simple that although ordinarily I would fear it, I am not afraid of being put on in this action. Depending on the corruption of the judge, there would be little doubt of the outcome, at least on the lower level.

With all things as they are today, I simply dare not file for either those pictures and X-rays or for the name of transfer, as you realize, were there any considerations, I could do this before the end of the month. But I do not and I will not. I can best you to it as I could have at any time, for you say to rely on the provision of the contract that we try permit you to see those of everybody involved -not just Marshall - agrees.

Have you taken yourself what could persuade the government to let you see them? And you convince that they will do this unless they can see a benefit for themselves? Do you think they signed this whole deal, the illegality of which I established, not you or any other psychologist or lawyer? Are you aware that no representative of the family or the estate drafted or participated in the drafting of the contract? Are you aware that during the long period of time it was alleged the family had possession of the evidence it didn't, and that I never at any time, from exposure to this matter, ever did? I have, among other things, developed a complete chain of your omission that you will not find in the Archives. I have it officially kept entirely outside the Archives. In fact, I have it despite the Archives and despite the Department of Justice.

So suppose they do decide to give you access to this evidence, and suppose it is inconsistent with the protocol and the report? What then? First of all you will know nothing I do not have from what can better stand examination than the pictures and X-rays, incredible as this may seem to you, for they are tainted, as perhaps you do not understand, and suppose you then held a press conference or something similar, and you get great attention and you change a name, have you considered what will then follow? What I think most likely is what I am confident has not occurred to you, for I do not believe what I think is inevitable is what you would want. It is why I have not filed for them for so long and what you do not understand. You like the name it says like for you to do the work by which this understanding could come to you. The consequences could be terrible.

Ask yourself further, do you really know enough to know whether you could see all of them? Do you also know enough of what was done? Even from what I have shown you from my work you cannot, for I have learned much since I did that work.

One thing from one part might be a way I wanted that for you. I asked for a copy of the finally-odd contact the day after it was a success, the day it appeared in the morning papers, a new recall. I was refused. But when the government saw a chance of having it used the way it wanted it used, it did two things: it gave them an exclusive basis to Fred Warren, who, like or within their guidance, used it in exactly the way they wanted and will be that for any other use at that time while getting the most enormous attention for a corrupt and incomplete and inadequate story. He is a lawyer and a prominent and experienced reporter, and the reason given for refusing to produce any release of that contact, ever, the same thing has been said with the executive sessions and with edited-out portions of the testimony. I had asked for certain of the executive sessions at this point - out testimony. I was, naturally, refused. But when the executive sessions - meeting those to government wanted released only (some are still withheld for spurious reasons and I have those reasons in writing after long and persistent effort extending over the years) were released they were fed to one of the best investigative reporters in the country, the man who has done the best single job of exposing the case, not even he was not astute enough to see through how he was being used and again the result was a net propaganda victory for the government in a case which had been read by something like 10,000,000 or more people and in the amazingly extensive newspaper, radio, and TV coverage of it, in its secondary case even more helpful to those who would hide the truth.

A case which led into this evening digression of a diary incident. There was an hour after the fact that the federal attorney seemed to say he cannot come today.

In the field Fred Warren is as competent as you are in yours. The same is true of David Wise, the two men implicated by the government. They were bad. If you get to see those pictures and -days or if you are refused and do the manual, make a stick over it, or you can get almost everyone would at least try, you say will be in the same position and accomplish the same counter-productive end.

Cyril, you say, is an opportunist. The wrong people, and you are taking what Stalin calls a "revisionist" approach. "On reports, it is natural for one from your discipline, this essential evidence as a being into itself. It is not, it cannot be. And I don't think you have a glimmer of the harm you can do if you "succumb". I am not now going to take the time to spell this out. You can believe or not. I am taking the time to warn you. And now that my day will not be occupied by the business, I will try to promote my book to publishers and get this in the mail to you today.

There is an aspect of this that may surprise you. If you do what you plan, and if I take a narrow, restrictive view of it, a selfish view, you may do so a great deal. I have completed a book on this, I have not time to place it. Instead, a friend is about to begin its dissemination and popularization, which has a better commercial prospect. You will have as work a lot literary property, and yet I discourage you, or try.

At the time of my reputation as a prophet, I had been persuaded to say you will learn little or nothing from an examination of this evidence that I do not already have in the most protective possible form. With the most important of it now protective than one file itself. This may seem impossible to you, but I tell you now that some of the film was so arranged to mislead, and it does.

Since I have come to a personal question, I say as before closing, for I have such need to do also, raise a special kind of personal point, one I think you and others might well do some soul-searching on it. I alone mean; the critics are and have been without means. I borrowed \$100 as a down payment to get \$1000 and printed and sent into debt for the rest. I alone have gone into debt to do this work. Recently, in preparing to file an oath in forma pauperis in connection with an appeal, I stopped computing the extent of this debt when it exceeded the assessed value of all of my property, and that is over \$30,000. When I began dredging the archives, I was without the cash to buy paper at 25¢ each. Then, later, when I decided that I had to do this, that nobody else really was (and from almost nobody was). I

Could it find the notes I made of the pages I want to buy. Some of these may now be permanently

lost to me. But even in those days, when others asked things of me, I did not feel for them. If any had suggested, but I don't recall anyone repaying me the actual cost voluntarily and only one when I asked it, and then, after months of asking and finally only in part. I think that has I asked, all the others would have. Now we had moving us to California, and from the outset everyone knew how broke I was. Sylvia, for example, is a wonderful person as she is brilliant. She is the first of the critics - not, as she then by condition. She, in her passion and her intense hatred for Garrison, found money to contribute to the racial journey for his "defense" (he actually used it in a campaign against me because he knew I was into things about him - and if you have doubts, the proof of this you can also see), but it never occurred to her to offer me what for her would have been an insignificant sum so that I could buy things from the archives. I do not say this in criticism of Sylvia. My respect for her is boundless. It just didn't occur to her, if it had, I am certain she would have been generous. James Harris, of whom we know so little, asked that I undertake certain work for him, including getting color pictures, which in the terms of my life, costly. I did. It took me months of waiting orders to be returned, to me many, the cost of the pictures only. and he never repaid the cost of getting them, never suggested that he would have a contribution to my work in return for the time it took. These things I tell you about only because you are going to yourself, for my purpose is not personal criticism. I got my at his request. It took me a year. And thought it was important, equating it with getting him on the way round to the same. but I did it, with our own agreements made in advance, and being that I would be the investigator at the same. When then I was flat broke I asked her to repay me only the cost on plane bills of accompanying him, and he said he didn't have the money. He never, to this day, has kept that agreement based on which I did so much. but he has money for facilities, like taking the unrepayable and unaccounted plane to Europe. In 1960, before our children had left for a European vacation and when he was away on the subject of Garrison, he asked two things of me that I go to New Orleans while he was away and that I arrange to return there with him and spend two weeks working there with him regarding the first of December. I did both. He gave me then as there the extra fare to go to New Orleans, but not the rest of my costs. I am still stuck for that as I am for more than \$1,000 of travel money I spent for Garrison, and the December trip after I made all the arrangements he changed his mind. When for other reasons it was then necessary that I go to New Orleans to prevent another disaster (and what that cost me besides money I can't recover), and did not provide the money. He also went on to tell me out to dinner one night and took me to the of Scotch to the man with whom I had a job when he was a dinner guest. This was the extent of his help. Now, he ran out on the dirty deal that fell entirely to me once his own gets got tangled. Alexandra paid my fare that time, and what he then did is perhaps the greatest single humiliation of my life to which critics have, intentionally or otherwise, subjected me. There is no remuneration besides that I don't own as money except that, and that was for other things, like the return of my papers that she agreed would never get into their files (and I've been trying to get them back for two years ever they were publicly given). Keith Hedice fields and others begged me to go to California when Richard was born on the ropes 'intentionally, he really did). I abandoned my current work on publication to do this. They never repaid even my fare. Then in another trip the people who had made the arrangements made none for a place for me to sleep, with that quarter-of-a-million dollar home. They made me offer of a pad. Late that night I found it in the home of a divorced young woman who risked her reputation to let me use her couch. I could go on and on. I don't usually mention these things, but as leading to a different point, not just that various critics and conditions are the cause of about 10% of my debt. The other side is that with so many of the critics in a position to help, who do you think has every thought to voluntarily send me small sums with which to buy things at the archives or has provided them in response to requests the infrequent times I make them? Not those established in life, not those who are without means, of whom you are one, but certainly a few thoughtful people have sent me minor contributions for me to live on. The total sum over the year is insignificant, but because it happened, it was significant as a gesture. In no case that I can recall has any one of the critics all of whom knew my condition ever asked, do you need help?

and by help I do not mean the mere citation of it, but merely paying for copies of documents and pictures from the archives; or, by extension, the money to pay for the gas it takes me to get there and the parking charges. I get these little expenses, for the archives has, to a large degree, only met this into a liability and - have other things to do. Besides, my car runs about 100,000 miles a year, and if anything happens to it I cannot replace it. I can't even have the spots that are running, parked. Let me say a bit, I have always provided copies of these documents, but I can't remember who anyone and a student, for the last part have least sold to, have ever provided any help.

Is this not a fine commentary on the senior members of the critical academy?

Let me say to it: on all sides - have unpublished works. I want you have help in over them. There is no prospect of the private publication of my making a profit for me, but their publication could have made an invaluable record, and one in particular, no more than 10 years old, could have had a considerable impact in the right places. At that time, the cost of printing 5,000 copies would have been less than 5,000. There is all this selfless dedication of the senior critics? Not one even suggested that any should get together or seek other help to bring this out. Again, the younger men thought of it, and some did try, they knew the wrong people are are themselves without means.

So, what I am asking you to do is something else, to please me and see if your persons in your present plans, is really selfless, is really for the sake purpose of bringing essential truth. Frankly, Tyril, regardless of what you say later, I do not think it is in the case. The two small points I have already made do, I think, bear on what you have said almost everywhere except as of your piece (they say not all be blabbering, but some are, as you might consider that I do not think about, that you haven't told me and have long known) and you have persistently failed to give me the simple thing I asked of you, the xeroxing of a couple of pages of texts readily available to you.

All of this is separate from the more serious, the possibility that you say in reality moving on the opposite of what you intend if you do "succeed".

I think you can realize several things. This has taken no time time, and there is no possible gain in it for me. If anything, the opposite. So, believe me or not, my purposes are not other than I represent them to be. I would not want you, with all the intention, winding up another cartridge or what might be worse, in the end so regarding yourself.

My apologies for indicating all these typographical errors on your way by expression of respect and complaint.

Sincerely,

Harold Stebbins