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A HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM
RELEASE IN FULL 1998

THE WASHINGTON TIMES, 08 August 1990

Man says his father helped assassinate JFK

AUSTIN, Texas — An unemployed oil equipment salesman claims that his late father, a former Dallas police officer, was one of three men who assassinated President John F. Kennedy in 1963.

Ricky White scheduled a meeting with reporters today in Dallas to offer evidence he believes implicates his father, Roscoe White, in President Kennedy's assassination, the Austin American-Statesman reported yesterday.

Mr. White, 29, says he "had no conception of ever, ever giving this story out," but decided to do so after the FBI began questioning him in May 1988 in relation to his claims.

He said he can prove that his father fired two of the three bullets that killed the president and that his father, not Lee Harvey Oswald, also killed Dallas police officer J.D. Tippit.

Mr. White said Oswald was involved in the plot, but did not fire any shots. The two other shooters were referred to in his father's diary only by code names, Mr. White said.

The Warren Commission concluded that Oswald, acting alone, fired the shots that killed President Kennedy and wounded Texas Gov. John Connally.

Roscoe White died in a fire in 1971.

CIA HAS NO OBJECTION TO DECLASSIFICATION AND/OR RELEASE OF CIA INFORMATION IN THIS DOCUMENT

JFK ACT 9-18-98 RELEASE

Washington Post.

Out and About

There probably never will be an explanation that will satisfy all the conspiracy theorists who don't believe that **Lee Harvey Oswald** acted alone in the assassination of **John F. Kennedy.** Filmmaker **Oliver Stone** is heading to Texas in April to begin filming "JFK," a drama that will present several scenarios relating to the 1963 assassination, and add his interpretation of the lingering mystery. **Kevin Costner** will star as former New Orleans prosecutor **James Garrison,** whose investigation maintained that Kennedy was the victim of a CIA and FBI conspiracy and that Oswald was set up as their fall guy. "John Kennedy was the godfather of my generation and a lot of us believe he was murdered for political reasons," Stone said. "And like Hamlet, we have to try and look back and correct the inaccuracies." In the film, Garrison, now an appeals court judge, will portray U.S. Chief Justice **Earl Warren,** whose Warren Commission Report declared that Oswald was the lone assassin. The report came out 10 months after the Nov. 22 assassination . . .

It you are making Oscar bets, Las Vegas oddsmaker **Lenny Del Genio** says "Dances With Wolves" and **Kevin Costner** are the favorites for Best Picture and Best Director. No one is going to give anything better than even money on those selections. He picks **Robert De Niro** of "Awakenings" for Best Actor . . .

Oswald

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10)

an anti-communist program "that stressed the supposedly clandestine and subversive nature of Party work." Remarkably, she concludes, "This kind of life—being an outsider and secretly fighting the authorities—would likely have appealed to him."

An outsider secretly fighting the authorities? The program was about Herbert Philbrick, who spied on communists for the FBI.

Another lapse. "Like his fellow radar operators, Oswald," we are told, "had a low security clearance." The main authority for this statement is given as former Marine Corps lieutenant John Donovan, Oswald's ~~onetime crew~~ chief, and Davison partially sums up his Warren Commission testimony about "the confidential information Oswald had access to."

She entirely overlooks Donovan's testimony —from the very same page she cites as her authority—that Oswald must have had at least a secret clearance "to work in the radar center because that was a minimum requirement for all of us." It may have been higher. According to Donovan, Oswald's defection also required the changing of various "codes."

Davison assures us at the end that "the assassination of John Kennedy was neither an act of random violence nor a conspiracy" but rather "a result of Oswald's character and background interacting with circumstance." It is Oswald who commands her attention, and the book amounts to a sort of psychohistory of the man and his motives.

Unfortunately, her conclusions about him are



Lee Harvey Oswald

flawed by her failure to give sufficient attention to the crime itself—as though it did not matter. She appears to take the view that the Warren Commission is right because it said it was right. She accepts what is congenial and flies past that which is not. Was there a shot from the grassy knoll, to the right of Kennedy's motorcade, while Oswald fired from the Texas School Book Depository? Davison simply shrugs off the question in two quick sentences, then adds:

"In any event, the bulk of the evidence about Oswald clearly suggests that if there had been a conspiracy, Oswald would not have been a patsy, but the ringleader."

In his foreword, Norman Mailer tells how he encouraged Davison to write her own book, in response to a letter she sent him, and then professes his disagreement with the result. Mailer suggests that the best way to look on *Oswald's Game* is to think of it in terms of field artillery, wherein forward observers are told to bracket a target. If the first shots, the conspiracy books, fall short, then the next shot should be targeted to land on the far side. That way, Mailer reasons, "by comparing the near and the long, they can approach a direct hit."

Mailer, it may be presumed, will get a free copy of the book. The reader may conclude that $17.95 is too much to pay for a shot that falls wide of the mark. □

Oswald Offered Soviets Data for Trip

Star Associated Press 26 NOV 1976

A retired CIA agent says he recalls that several weeks before President John F. Kennedy's assassination in 1963, Lee Harvey Oswald offered to give the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City information in exchange for a trip to Russia.

David A. Phillips, a former CIA officer in Mexico who now heads the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers, said in a telephone interview last night:

"My general recollection is that he (Oswald) wanted to go to the Soviet Union via Cuba, and as part of that he said he might have some information useful to them."

Phillips, who recently retired from the agency in order to defend the agency against its critics, declined to say where he had obtained that information, other than to say "I was aware what was going on."

However, it was first reported more than a year ago, and later confirmed by Senate intelligence committee chairman Frank Church, that the CIA wiretapped and recorded a Sept. 28, 1963, conversation that Oswald had with the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City from a telephone in the Cuban Embassy there.

Kennedy was shot to death in Dallas on Nov. 22, 1963, and the Warren Commission determined that Oswald was the sole assassin.

It has been known that Oswald went to the Mexico City embassies in an attempt to obtain a travel visa that would permit him to enter the Soviet Union by way of Cuba.

The Washington Post reported in today's editions that a CIA interpreter and a stenographer who worked on the transcript of Oswald's telephone conversation also recalled that Oswald had offered unspecified information in exchange for a paid trip to the Soviet Union.

But the Post said the Warren Commission, for undetermined reasons, was not given that segment of the transcript. And it said the FBI, which is responsible for espionage investigations, also was told only in a general way that Oswald had made contact with the Soviet Embassy.

28 NOV 1976

Oswald Probers in Mexico

Investigators for the House Select Committee on Assassinations flew to Mexico yesterday to interview a Central Intelligence Agency translator and a typist who prepared a transcript of a telephone call made by Lee Harvey Oswald to the Soviet embassy in Mexico City eight weeks before the assassination of John F. Kennedy

The action followed four hours of closed-session testimony given yesterday to the committee's unit investigating the Nov. 22, 1963, Kennedy assassination. The testimony was given by David A. Phillips, a retired CIA officer, who saw a transcript of the conversation before the assassination.

The Washington Post reported Friday that Phillips, the translator, and a typist each said Oswald was offering to give the Soviets information and requesting free passage to Russia. A transcript of this conversation given to the CIA contained no such exchange or intimations.

There is no evidence Oswald's offer of information was accepted by the Soviets.

The Post also reported that Phillips, the translator, and the typist said Oswald identified himself. The CIA has claimed agency officials were not aware of the Oswald call in question or other calls at the time because they did not know who had made them.

It was learned that Phillips, who heads a CIA defense group formed by retired intelligence officers, was reminded by the CIA Friday of the secrecy oath he was required to sign when he joined the agency. However, it is understood he testified anyway.

Oswald-Cuban Envoy Contacts Cited

MIAMI — A prominent Cuban exile said yesterday that Lee Harvey Oswald met repeatedly with Fidel Castro's diplomats in Mexico before the assassination of President John F. Kennedy and that Mexico's secret police must have extensive files on the meetings.

Dr. Alberto Garcia Menocal, a prominent attorney in pre-Castro Cuba who is now a furniture dealer in suburban Coral Gables, was interviewed on WRAC, a Spanish-language radio station. Garcia was living in Mexico at the time of the Kennedy assassination.

9 DEC 1976 Star

Daniel Schorr

Oswald as Avenger

The basic conclusions of the Warren Commission have stood up against a spate of conspiracy theories that seemed to respond to an American need to make the assassination of President Kennedy seem less random, less senseless. But the commission might have been less mystified about the probable motive had it not been for the CIA, which feared that a link might be established between the assassination and the agency's plots to kill Castro.

Since the commisssion filed its report, evidence has emerged—some of it still officially secret—suggesting a chain of circumstance that led Lee Harvey Oswald to become the self-appointed avenger of persistent efforts by the CIA to assassinate Fidel Castro.

Castro's agents penetrated many of the assassination plots. His informants circulated in the Cuban community in Miami, the main staging point. In 1978 Castro told a visiting House investigating committee, "We were constantly arresting people trained by the CIA . . . with explosives . . . with telescopic rifles."

On Sept. 7, 1963, Castro showed up unexpectedly at a Brazilian Embassy reception in Havana and launched into a tirade against President Kennedy and the CIA, accusing them of plotting his death. "Let Kennedy and his brother, Robert, watch out," he said. "They, too, could become targets of assassination."

After his impromptu speech at the Brazilian Embassy, Castro expanded his warning of retaliation in a long interview with an Associated Press correspondent, Daniel Harker.

In New Orleans, where Oswald was living, Harker's story appeared at the top of Page 7 of the Times-Picayune of Sept. 9. It started this way:

HAVANA (AP)—Prime Minister Fidel Castro said Saturday night "United States leaders" would be in danger if they helped in any attempt to do away with leaders of Cuba.

Bitterly denouncing what he called recent U.S.-prompted raids on Cuban territory, Castro said, "We are prepared to fight them and answer in kind. United States leaders should think that if they are aiding terrorist plans to eliminate Cuban leaders . . . they themselves will not be safe."

It is not established that Oswald read the story, but his wife, Marina, later said that he was an avid reader of newspapers, including the Times-Picayune.

The story came at a time when Oswald, an admirer of Castro, was in a state of agitation and frustration. He had lost his job. He had been arrested in a scuffle while distributing pro-Castro leaflets. He had engaged in an angry debate on the radio, saying, "Cuba is the only revolutionary country in the world today."

In the days after the publication of the Castro interview, events in Oswald's life appeared to take a decisive turn. On Sept. 23 he sent his wife and child to stay with their friend, Ruth Payne, in Irving, Texas. On Sept. 26 he traveled by bus to Mexico City, telling a passenger he wanted to go to Cuba and see Castro.

On Sept. 27 arriving in Mexico City, he went directly to the Cuban consulate to apply for a visa. Told that he could only get a transit visa—he first needed a Soviet visa—he went to the Soviet Embassy, where he was turned down.

After shuttling between embassies—his telephone calls from the Soviet mission monitored by the CIA—he returned to the Cuban consulate on Oct. 1 with an insistent demand for permission to go to Cuba. The consul, Eusebio Azque, finally threw him out, saying, "Instead of helping the [illegible] you are really harming it."

tion was not known for some time. The CIA succeeded in getting Chief Justice Earl Warren to reject staff proposals to go to Mexico City and look into the Cuban connection. The Senate Intelligence Committee in 1976 thoroughly documented the agency's desperate fear that the assassination might turn out to have been an act of Castro retaliation for its attempts to kill him.

Then, on June 17, 1964, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, who was conducting his own cover-up of bureau contacts with Oswald, sent a top-secret letter to J. Lee Rankin, chief counsel of the Warren Commission. As far as is known, the letter was never brought to the commission's attention, though it ended up in its voluminous files. The letter cited statements made by Castro relating to the Kennedy assassination that the bureau had learned of "through a confidential source which has furnished reliable information in the past."

The substance of the letter remains classified to this day. But it has been learned that the informant was an American communist, working with the FBI, who had returned from a visit to Havana. As summarized in Hoover's letter, Castro said that



"Oswald had vowed, in the presence of Cuban consulate officials, to assassinate the president."

Subsequently, a British correspondent, Comer Clark, quoted Castro as saying that Oswald had stated, "Someone ought to shoot that President Kennedy. Maybe I'll try to do it."

The Cuban consul clearly considered the threat a provocation. There is no reason to believe that he encouraged Oswald to act on it. But why didn't Castro warn the United States Government about the homicidal young man?

In 1964 Castro gave various explanations—that he didn't take the reports from his embassy seriously, that he had no diplomatic relations with the United States, and that he suspected Oswald was part of some conspiracy to embroil him in an assassination attempt that might be used as a pretext for an invasion of Cuba.

But in 1978, interviewed in Havana by the House investigating committee headed by Rep. Louis Stokes, Castro denied prior knowledge of Oswald's plan. He said, "If Oswald would have done something like that, it would have been our duty to inform the United States."

One can understand why Castro would now disclaim knowledge of Oswald's intentions. It would be embarrassing to acknowledge that his warning to the Kennedys might, however unintentionally, have triggered Oswald's violent fantasies and that he had then sat on the information that might conceivably have saved Kennedy's life.

Thus, after two decades it appears that the Kennedy assassination may have involved a tragic and historic irony, a convergence of circumstances in which an arrow launched to kill a troublesome foreign leader fell back [illegible]

The writer [illegible]

Friday, November 25, 1983

JFK Death Investigators Move to Open Hill Files

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

Although 20 years have passed since President Kennedy's assassination, secrecy still is the rule for the files of the House Select Committee on Assassinations, which conducted the last major inquiry into the murder.

All but one of the members of that committee who still are serving in the House introduced a resolution last April 13 gradually to open the records, which also involve the inquiry into the death of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., under guidelines established years ago for the Warren Commission.

But this measure has been stalled in the House Administration Committee because of objections from Rep. Louis Stokes (D-Ohio), the former chairman of the assassinations committee, apparently acting on the advice of the committee's former chief counsel, G. Robert Blakey.

As a result, no hearings have been held on the resolution, although it has picked up almost 40 other cosponsors and support of the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History, a consortium of 29 historical organizations.

"Time has just run out," House Administration Committee Chairman Augustus F. Hawkins (D-Calif.) said last week of the failure to hold a hearing before adjournment. "I know there are some who are opposed to the resolution. I think Mr. Stokes has some problems with respect to the confidentiality by which some of the information was obtained."

The Warren Commission's voluminous records on the Kennedy assassination also originally were scheduled to be kept sealed for 75 years, but about 95 percent of them have been made public. Experts at the National Archives have sifted them under rules prohibiting disclosures that might be detrimental to law enforcement, might reveal the identities of confidential sources, jeoparidize future investigations, or embarrass innocent individuals.

The House resolution also would prohibit the release of proceedings that the committee voted to keep secret, or where confidentiality had been promised to a witness in closed session.

Stokes could not be reached for comment. But Rep. Robert W. Edgar (D-Pa.), a sponsor of the resolution, said that he spoke to Stokes about his reservations several weeks ago. Edgar said Stokes told him: "I'm doing this because of Blakey."

The final report, completed by Blakey and other staff aides in 1979 after the committee had disbanded, stated that "public disclosure of all the facts" surrounding the investigations of the Kennedy and King murders was essential.

But it turned out later that Blakey and Stokes had arranged to lock up all of the backup records and transcripts that the committee did not publish. And they also asked the Justice Department, the CIA and other executive branch agencies to treat the records they compiled for the House investigation in the same fashion as "congressional material," not to be released to the public.

Blakey, now a professor at Notre Dame Law School, said he believes organized crime figures were responsible for Kennedy's murder. He said in a telephone interview that releasing the files, even under the Warren Commission safeguards, would be a waste of time. Blakey also said that he saw no reason why the assassinations committee's records should be treated differently from those of other committees of Congress.

Blakey said that promises of confidentiality to witnesses interviewed by committee investigators and lawyers were "the exception rather than the rule" and were more frequent in the King investigation than the Kennedy inquiry. But he said that "those promises unfortunately are not expressed" in the committee's records and reports of those interviews.

Blakey said that he is not flatly opposed to the resolution, but thinks it would be unproductive.

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27 NOV 1976

Hill Panel Probing Oswald Call

By Ronald Kessler
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House Select Committee on Assassinations last night subpoenaed retired Central Intelligence Agency officer David A. Phillips to question him about a telephone call made by Lee Harvey Oswald to the Soviet embassy in Mexico City eight weeks before President Kennedy's assassination.

A committee source said Phillips, who heads the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers, which is a leading defender of the CIA, was subpoenaed to testify within a few days before a closed session of the committee's unit investigating the Kennedy assassination.

Phillips was questioned informally last night by committee investigators in the committee's offices. He may testify as early as today, according to a source.

Richard A. Sprague, chief counsel of the full committee, said yesterday that it has launched an investigation of the circumstances surrounding the telephone call as reported in yesterday's editions of The Washington Post.

The Post story said that the CIA intercepted and tape-recorded Oswald's call to the Soviet embassy in late September, 1963, but did not turn it over to the FBI, which has responsibility for investigating possible spies. It also did not turn it over to the Warren Commission during its investigation of the Kennedy assassination, The Post said.

Instead, the CIA gave the FBI a brief report that did not mention Oswald's offer of information, but said only that Oswald had contacted the Soviet embassy, The Post said. The CIA later provided the Warren Commission and the Senate intelligence committee, which investigated the Kennedy assassination earlier this year, with transcripts of Oswald's call that omitted his offer of information in exchange for a trip to the Soviet Union.

There is no evidence that Oswald's offer of information was accepted by the Soviets. Oswald later did refer in a letter, first made public by the Warren Commission, to "meetings" in the Soviet embassy.

After the assassination on Nov. 22, 1963, the CIA claimed that it was not aware of most of Oswald's activities in Mexico City before the assassination because Oswald had not mentioned his name in this and other conversations with the Soviet and Cuban embassies there.

However, Phillips, who saw the CIA transcripts of Oswald's conversations before the assassination, the CIA translator in charge of preparing the transcripts and the typist who prepared them each told The Post that Oswald had mentioned his name in the conversations.

They also said Oswald was offering information to the Soviets and requesting a free trip to Russia.

Since the CIA claims that the tapes of Oswald's calls were destroyed about a week after the conversations took place, few individuals have personal knowledge of what was said.

The CIA has declined to comment.

In addition to obtaining Phillips' testimony, a House assassination committee source said the panel intends to identify and interview the CIA translator and typist, who were interviewed by The Post in Mexico.

Panel Asked to Investigate Killing of Panther Leader

United Press International

The House Select Committee on Assassinations yesterday was asked to investigate the 1969 killing of Chicago Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton on grounds he was set up by the FBI through an informer and "murdered" in a raid carried out by a special force of the Chicago police.

Morton H. Halperin, a former staff member of the National Security Council and now director of projects in conjunction with the American Civil Liberties Union, requested action in a letter to Richard A. Sprague, chief counsel and staff director of the newly formed House panel.

Halperin said FBI complicity was established by documents and information that came to light during the $47.5 million civil damage suit against federal, state and local authorities now underway in Chicago. The suit was filed by relatives of Hampton and Mark Clark, another Black Panther member killed in the raid on their apartment.

Chicago police have said the raid was carried out to confiscate weapons held by the Panthers and that police fired their guns in response to shots from the apartment's occupants.

Halperin said that a resolution setting up the House panel to investigate the assassinations of President Kennedy and civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. also authorized the committee to probe the deaths "of any others the select committee shall determine."



DAVID A. PHILLIPS
... CIA ex-officer subpoenaed to testify

Oswald Offered Soviets Data for Trip

Star Associated Press 26 NOV 1976

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9 DEC 1976 Star

TELMSGS...
will go on
final keymail
to Bangkok
HQS version

DCI

PAGE 1 OF 1 PAGES

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TO: IMMEDIATE TEHRAN. Y

WNINTEL RYBAT

1. AP WIRE STORY IN WASHINGTON STAR ON FOIA RELEASE OF OSWALD'S MATERIAL MAKES FOLLOWING STATEMENT OF WHICH YOU SHOULD BE AWARE, [redacted] 45

[redacted]

QUOTE: IN SWORN TESTIMONY BEFORE THE WARREN COMMISSION, RICHARD HELMS, THEN A BRANCH CHIEF AND LATER CIA'S DIRECTOR, SAID THE AGENCY NEVER HAD OR EVEN CONTEMPLATED ANY CONTACTS WITH OSWALD... NEWLY RELEASED DOCUMENT, SAYS WE SHOWED INTELLIGENCE INTEREST IN OSWALD AND DISCUSSES... THE LAYING ON OF INTERVIEWS. END QUOTE. Y

2. ABOVE MISCONSTRUED FROM SANITIZED [redacted] MATERIAL RELEASED UNDER FOIA, WRITTEN BY FORMER OFFICER WHO WAS INTERESTED IN POSSIBLE USEFUL INFORMATION OSWALD MIGHT HAVE IN CONTEXT OF SOVIET REALITIES. IN RESPONSE TO DCI CALL TO ALL HANDS TO RECORD WHATEVER THEY THOUGHT MIGHT BE RELEVANT TO WARREN COMMISSION INTERESTS, OFFICER WROTE THIS [redacted] MEMO. THE [redacted] MEMO DOES RECORD BRANCH LEVEL DISCUSSION BUT STATES THAT WRITER DOES NOT KNOW WHAT ACTION WAS TAKEN. E-2, IMPDET.H

DATE: 1 OCT 76
ORIG: CHAS.BRIGGS:DCM
UNIT: C/ISS
EXT: 1596

DDO W. W. Wells
DCI
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THEODORE G. SHACKLEY, ADDO
AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

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JFK 11, F 13

Document Contradicts Testimony

CIA Viewed Oswald As Information Source

Associated Press

Contrary to sworn testimony, the CIA once considered using presidential assassin Lee Harvey Oswald as a source of intelligence information about the Soviet Union, according to a newly released CIA document.

In sworn testimony before the Warren Commission, Richard Helms, then a branch chief and later the CIA's director, said the agency never had "or even contemplated" any contacts with Oswald.

The newly released document, written by an unidentified CIA officer three days after President John F. Kennedy was killed in Dallas on Nov. 22, 1963, says that "we showed intelligence interest" in Oswald and "discussed . . . the laying on of interviews."

The unidentified officer added that, "I do not know what action developed thereafter."

THE MEMO WAS AMONG hundreds of pages of documents from the CIA's file on Lee Harvey Oswald. The material was released to The Associated Press yesterday under the Freedom of Information Act.

A second document reveals that former CIA Director Allen Dulles, while serving as a member of the Warren Commission, privately counseled CIA officials on the best way to answer questions from the commission about allegations that Oswald was a CIA agent.

Dulles "thought language which made it clear that Lee Harvey Oswald was never an employe or agent of CIA would suffice," an unidentified CIA officer wrote Helms in April 1964.

"I agree with him that a carefully phrased denial of the charges of involvement with Oswald seemed most appropriate," the unidentified officer added.

When he appeared before the commission in May 1964, Helms, then head of the agency's clandestine services, testified under oath that "there's no material in the Central Intelligence Agency, either in the records or in the mind of any of the individuals that there was any contact had or even comtemplated with" Oswald.

THE NOV. 25, 1963, memo explains that the agency's interest in Oswald as a potential intelligence source was due to his "unusual behavior in the USSR," to which he had defected in 1959.

"We were particularly interested in the (deleted) Oswald might provide on the Minsk factory in which he had been employed, on certain sections of the city itself, and of course we thought the usual (deleted) that might help develop (deleted) personality dossiers," the memo states.

The memo indicates that Oswald was also of interest to the CIA because of concern that his Russian-born wife, Marina, might have been part of a trend for Soviet women to marry foreigners, leave the country and settle overseas where they could serve as spies.

THE MEMO ABOUT the agency's interest in Oswald said the discussions about Oswald occurred "sometime in summer 1960." The author continued: "I don't recall if this was discussed while Oswald and his family were en route to our country or if it was after their arrival."

CIA Link To Oswald Unproven

Associated Press

Senate investigators were unable to confirm reports from two CIA officers that the agency may have contacted Lee Harvey Oswald prior to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, it was learned yesterday.

However, Sen. Richard Schweiker, R-Pa., who headed the Kennedy assassination investigation, said through a spokesman that "I don't think we know the whole story."

The CIA released a document Thursday showing that the agency once considered using Oswald as a source of intelligence information about the Soviet Union. The document appeared to conflict with sworn testimony before the Warren Commission by Richard Helms, then a branch chief and later the CIA's director, that the agency never had "or even contemplated" any contacts with Oswald.

SCHWEIKER SAID he was unaware of the Oswald document, but a well informed source said it had been turned over to the Senate intelligence subcommittee that investigated the Kennedy assassination.

"We followed it up," the source said, but "we found no indication that Oswald was in fact contacted."

The same source said investigators also were unable to confirm the sworn testimony before the subcommittee by a former CIA officer who claimed to have seen a CIA report concerning a contact with a man closely resembling Oswald's description.

Schweiker confirmed that his subcommittee had been unable to corroborate "several reports" of CIA contacts with Oswald in connection with his travels in Russia between 1959 and 1962.

NATION

MORE NATIONAL NEWS ON PAGE B6

Texan claims his father fired shots that killed JFK

By Hugh Aynesworth
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

DALLAS — A 29-year-old Midland, Texas, man charged here yesterday that his father, a former Dallas policeman, was a CIA hit man who actually fired the shots that killed President John F. Kennedy in 1963.

Ricky White, an unemployed oil equipment salesman who has been trying to peddle the story for at least a year through several unnamed Texas businessmen, told a packed news conference here that his father, Roscoe White — who died in a 1971 fire — joined the Dallas Police Department shortly before the assassination just to handle the job.

Mr. White said yesterday that his father fired two of three shots from the infamous "grassy knoll" area that hit Kennedy on Nov. 22, 1963. He said his father also killed Dallas policeman J.D. Tippit as he and Lee Harvey Oswald were rushing to Red Bird Airport in Mr. Tippit's car to leave town.

He claimed that Oswald fired no shots at all and that Oswald and Officer Tippit were "patsies."

Ricky White also named two other "shooters," code-named "Saul" and "Lebanon," who, he said, had fired at Kennedy. Roscoe White's code was "Mandarin," he said. "Saul" and "Lebanon" were CIA operatives stationed in the Texas School Book Depository building and County Records Building overlooking Dealey Plaza, he said.

He added that his mother, Geneva White, overheard a plot to kill Kennedy while working as a barmaid at Jack Ruby's nightclub a few weeks before the assassination. She told nobody, he said, because Ruby threatened to kill her if she did.

Ricky White said his mother "has had four shock treatments and cannot be questioned."

The Rev. Jack Shaw of suburban Richardson also was at the press conference, held in the JFK Assassination Information Bureau, which sells conspiracy materials about the tragedy, and said Mrs. White had told him what she overheard.

"These allegations — that this was done on CIA orders, that this guy worked for us and that CIA had any role in the assassination of President Kennedy — are ludicrous," CIA spokesman Mark Mansfield said in Washington.

Roscoe White never worked for the CIA, Mr. Mansfield said. "Normally, we never confirm nor deny employment, but these allegations are so outrageous that we felt it necessary and appropriate to respond."

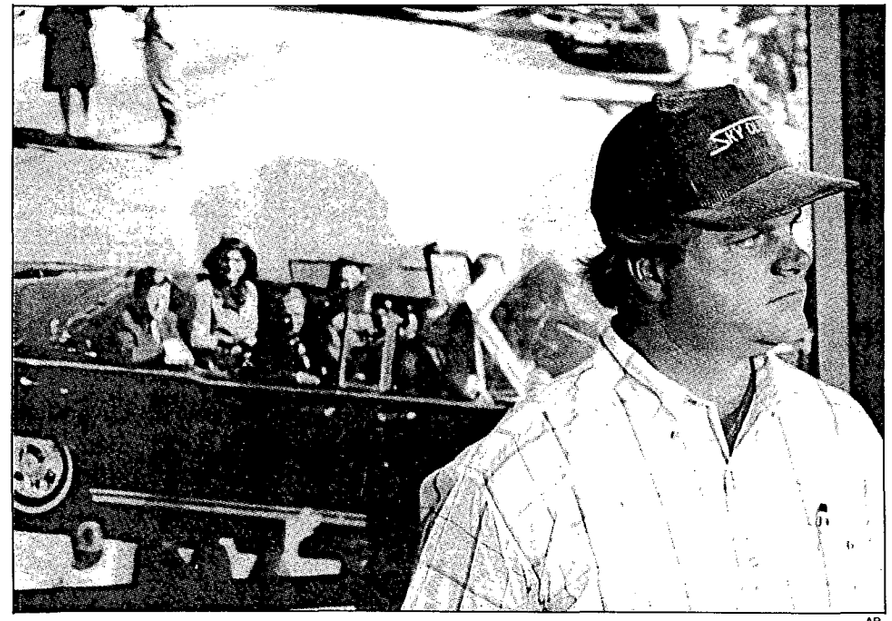
The FBI said in a brief statement that it had received the same information in 1988 but "determined that this information is not credible."

The Warren Commission concluded that Oswald, acting alone, fired the shots that killed Kennedy and wounded John Connally, then Texas governor. Despite the findings, conspiracy theories have abounded since the assassination.

Ricky White showed reporters documents that he said would buttress his claims. Among those items were embarcation slips showing that both Roscoe White and Oswald had left on the same ship for Marine duty in Japan on Aug. 22, 1957. He submitted three faded messages he claimed were sent by U.S. intelligence officials ordering the killing of Kennedy.

But Bobby Ray Inman, former CIA deputy director, after examining the "messages," said they were not legitimate. "My reaction is that it's a forgery of some kind, or invalid," he told the Austin American-Statesman last week.

Ricky White said he discovered his father's role in the killing 12 years ago and had difficulty accepting it — particularly, he explained, because Officer Tippit and his father were close friends.



AP

Ricky White with a photo of the presidential motorcade before claiming yesterday that his father killed John Kennedy.



AP

The late Roscoe White in a 1963 photo. His son says he was a CIA agent when he shot President Kennedy.

Earlier this year, Ricky White and his agent, Chuck Neighbors of San Antonio, met with The Washington Times for several hours at the behest of a New York publishing house, which had been contacted by Mr. Neighbors.

The New York editor urged a writer for The Times to "examine the validity of what Mr. White claims" and determine if he wanted to write a book with Ricky White about the situation.

This Times reporter — who has written about the Kennedy assassination since the day he witnessed it — investigated several of the White claims and then told the New York editor that he was not interested — that he did not believe the story.

Since the discussions with The Times, Ricky White has come up with further documentation and allegations, including:

- That he had read his father's diary and understood what it meant, but that an FBI agent had taken it and he has not seen it since. Previously, the only reference to the FBI having any materials of his was when he said an agent had read some notes and he could not find them later. Nothing was ever mentioned about a diary, nothing remotely touching on admissions about killing Officer Tippit, or Oswald not even firing a shot.
- That Mrs. White heard a plot with Ruby saying, "I will take care of Oswald," and her husband replying, "I will take care of the president and I will take care of Tippit."
- That he had additional information linking his father to the CIA. The Times reporter was told by Ricky White the only thing that caused belief his father was a CIA agent was a friend living like a "barricaded hermit" in a West Texas town, who is no longer mentioned.

There appear to be many holes in the latest scenario, including:

- Officer Tippit was known to have been farther away from the city and was pulled in closer by his dispatcher as police searched for the assassin. He could not have been downtown, hurrying Oswald and Roscoe White out to an airport.
- When Ricky White said his father fired two telling shots, including one to Kennedy's throat, he was parroting several conspiracy theorists, but most forensic experts say there was no shot from the front.

Woody Specht, an FBI spokesman in Dallas who has dealt with the Kennedy case for nearly a decade, said simply: "You really need to evaluate the source on these types of things."

- *This article is based in part on wire service reports.*

that bears his name 18 years after his death.

Lacouture portrays de Gaulle as practicing isometric diplomacy on the United States: "The permanent theme of de Gaulle was that resisting a superpower, friend or adversary, was to do the superpower a favor." The bitter dispute that erupted between Washington and Paris over the French determination to build its own nuclear arsenal outside American control is the best example of this cited by Lacouture.

It is also an example of how history winds up supporting de Gaulle's vision of where American interests lie. Today the United States supports France's maintaining and significantly expanding its *force de frappe* (the French nuclear force). The Reagan administration exerts considerable diplomatic energy to thwart efforts by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to ensnare the French nuclear arsenal—along with Britain's—in the superpower arms control negotiations. American strategic planners concede now that the uncertainty the Soviets face in having to deal with an autonomous nuclear force under French control gives the West a significant advantage in the event of war.

Norstad, who cultivated de Gaulle while serving as NATO commander from 1956 to 1963, played an unwitting role in the French leader's final decision to assign an urgent priority to building the French A-bomb and eventually ordering American forces out of France, according to Lacouture's account, which discloses that the American general had made a point of privately keeping de Gaulle informed about alliance strategy while he was out of power.

When he came back to the Elysée palace in 1958, de Gaulle immediately asked Norstad for a formal NATO briefing, which he concluded by asking Norstad how many American nuclear warheads were on French soil and where they were based.

"*Mon général*, I cannot tell you that unless we are alone," Norstad replied. De Gaulle immediately agreed and repeated his question when his staff had left the room. "*Mon général*, I am very sorry but I cannot answer that question," Norstad said. To which de Gaulle responded: "Well, *mon général*, that is the last time, and mark it well, that a French leader will ever hear such an answer."

The bitter divisions between Washington and Paris led to France's pulling out of the alliance's integrated military command in 1966 and cast a shadow across Norstad's tenure as NATO commander. But he struggled to keep his personal relations with de Gaulle unmarked by recrimination and to impress on Washington that his role was, as The New York Times described it, "that of an

George F. Will

Shallow Look at the Mind of an Assassin

DALLAS—Don DeLillo's ninth novel, "Libra," asserts that what happened here in Dealey Plaza a quarter of a century ago became "the seven seconds that broke the back of the American century." If this hyperventilating book were merely what that sentence is—overwrought and unhistorical—it would not matter that "Libra" is a best seller. But the book, one of about 20 pouring forth on the Kennedy assassination, is an act of literary vandalism and bad citizenship.

DeLillo's attempt to "follow the bullets' trajectories" back into the minds of Lee Harvey Oswald and others becomes yet another exercise in blaming America for Oswald's act of derangement. It is valuable only as a reminder of the toll that ideological virulence takes on literary talent.

The story is that a cadre of CIA operatives, furious about the halfheartedness of the Bay of Pigs invasion, plan an "electrifying event" to galvanize the country against Fidel Castro. They decide on a "surgical miss" of President Kennedy by a gunman who would leave a paper trail to Cuba. But one thing leads to another, and to the man in the sixth-floor window of the Texas Book Depository.

DeLillo says he is just filling in "some of the blank spaces in the known record." But there is no blank space large enough to accommodate, and not a particle of evidence for, DeLillo's lunatic conspiracy theory. In the book's weaselly afterword, he says he has made "no attempt to furnish factual answers." But in a New York Times interview he says, "I purposely chose the most obvious theory because I wanted to do justice to historical likelihood."

DeLillo traduces an ethic of literature. Novelists using the raw material of history—real people, important events—should be constrained by concern for truthfulness, by respect for the record and a judicious weighing of probabilities.

History, says a DeLillo character, is "the sum total of all the things they aren't telling us." Of course. "They." That antecedentless pronoun haunts the fevered imaginations of paranoiacs. For conspiracy addicts like DeLillo, the utter absence of evidence, after 25 years of searching, proves not that there was no conspiracy but that the conspiracy was diabolically clever.

He says that because of the seven seconds in Dallas, "we have been educated in skepticism." Skepticism? DeLillo is a study in credulity regarding the crudities of the American left. He says the assassination was "the turning point in consciousness" for Americans, that "we have been suspicious ever since" concerning "the secret manipulation of history." In Dallas we entered "the world of randomness," reminded by Oswald that "nothing is assured."

Spare us such sandbox existentialism. DeLillo rejects randomness. His intimation is that America is a sick society that breeds extremism and conspiracies and that Oswald was a national type, a product of the culture. From the unremarkable fact that recent assassins or would-be assassins (Sirhan, Ray, Bremer, Hinckley) have been marginal men, not social successes, ideologists of the left weave indictments of America.

DeLillo's indictment is interestingly uninteresting. It is the familiar, banal thought that Oswald was a lonely neurotic who tried to shed ordinariness by lunging into the theater of the Kennedys. And guess what? DeLillo has said: "Consumerism is a form of mass anesthesia. . . . It makes people lonely."

DeLillo's lurid imaginings will soothe immature people who want to believe that behind large events there must be large ideas or impersonal forces or conspiracies. It takes a steady adult nerve to stare unblinkingly at the fact that history can be jarred sideways by an act that signifies nothing but an addled individual's inner turmoil.

The mind of an assassin can be a deep and demanding subject. But the more DeLillo explains his work, the shallower it and he seem. In a burst of sophomoric self-dramatization, he says: "The writer is the person who stands outside society, independent of affiliations. . . . The writer is the man or woman who automatically takes a stance against his or her government." Automatically as in unthinkingly. DeLillo's celebration of the writer as unaffiliated "outsider" is hackneyed and unhistorical. (Henry James, Jane Austen, George Eliot and others were hardly outsiders.) DeLillo's celebration stops just a short step from declaring the writer as kin to Oswald, who, as a defector, was the ultimate outsider.

It is well to be reminded by books like this of the virulence of the loathing some intellectuals feel for American society, and of the frivolous thinking that fuels it. DeLillo is a talented writer whose talent is subordinated to, and obviated by, puerile political stances. What was unfairly said of a far greater writer (T. S. Eliot, born in St. Louis 100 years ago this Monday) must be said of DeLillo: he is a good writer and a bad influence.

Richard Cohen

Another 'Card-Carrying Member of the ACLU'

Comes before me a letter from Sen. Paul Simon (D-Ill.). He says Attorney General Richard Thornburgh "was a director of the Pittsburgh chapter of the ACLU at one time." Simon wonders why this has not been mentioned anywhere. "I think it might be worthwhile for somebody to point that out." Thanks, Senator. It just so happens, "Somebody" is my middle name.

"If the organization is as odious as [Bush] claims, then we cannot have a chief law enforcement officer who was once a board member."

A call to Pittsburgh verifies what Simon says. Marion Damick, associate director of the American Civil Liberties Union chapter there, says that from 1966 to 1969, Thornburgh was one of 38 directors. (A tiny item in the Sept. 16 Post, ignored by millions, says the same.

would choose if he wins in November? Yes, yes. The very same.

What shall we make of this? There is hardly a state, after all, in which Bush has not called Mike Dukakis a "card-carrying member of the ACLU." There is hardly a state in which Bush

and the killing of the born and unborn and insists (as did the early Christians) that no one—neither a child nor a teacher—be compelled to swear an oath of allegiance. In Bush's view, the ACLU has much to account for—so

moral equivocation (not to mention his connections)—fought the draft. Often, as people do when they need help, they turned to the ACLU. Some pretty important legal and constitutional issues were involved, and the ACLU, concerned about constitutional rights and not ideology (it currently sides with Oliver North on a legal issue), offered its help.

Thornburgh's ACLU connection must present Bush with a problem. What's a hypocrite to do? To be consistent, he should demand that President Reagan fire the attorney general. If the organization is as odious as he claims, then we cannot have a chief law enforcement

The Washington Times
TUESDAY, MAY 3, 1988

BOOK REVIEW / Jeremiah O'Leary

Kennedy plot list lengthens



It seems as if the conspiracy books began spewing from the nation's printing presses before there was time to light the eternal flame on the grave of President John F. Kennedy.

The longer these theorists labor, the wilder their twisted logic becomes and the best of them have been those who only propose alternate theories of plots and schemes and interlocking conspiracies.

No one, least of all David E. Scherm, has done much more than muddy these turbid waters. One has only to recall Mark Lane, Edward Jay Epstein, Ovid Demaris and the prolific dairy farmer from western Maryland, plus all the rest, to pray for surcease.

I feel strongly about all this because I was in Dallas on Nov. 22, 1963, when President Kennedy was slain; I stood about 12 feet away two days later when Jack Ruby shot Lee Harvey Oswald to death; I even had custody for a few minutes of the Mannlicher Carcano rifle Oswald fired from a window at Mr. Kennedy and Texas Gov. John Connolly.

Contract on America: The Mafia Murder of President John F. Kennedy
By David E. Scherm
Shapolsky, $19.95, 480 pages

Later, I attended all the hearings of the House Assassinations Committee and read every word of the Warren Commission report. I interviewed many of the principals in Dallas, including Oswald's two landladies, the cops and FBI men on the case and even certain interested CIA personnel.

OK. Maybe there is some shade of doubt about some details as to Oswald and his motives and the motivation of Jack Ruby. But the conspiracy industry will accept no obvious solution. Mr. Scherm has assembled the most impressive list of Mafia members I have ever seen but, in my opinion, "Contract on America: The Mafia Murder of President John F. Kennedy" proves nothing except that Oswald was a screw-loose ex-Marine and that Jack Ruby was a two-bit pimp, thug and hanger-on at the Dallas police station.

I have one major reason of my own why I do not believe Ruby was carrying out a "hit" for the Mafia or anyone else. You see, I was in the police station all night the Friday the president was killed, all the next day and night and all Sunday morning, when Ruby shot Oswald. Ruby gave me and other reporters his card, offered to get us sandwiches, identified local bigwigs for us and generally was an accepted figure. He had several opportunities on Friday and Saturday to kill Oswald much more easily than he was to do Sunday morning, because every time Oswald was trotted out, Ruby was there.

If the Mafia or the Cubans or the right or the left had wanted Oswald silenced, why in the world would they have let him live to be questioned for a day and a half?

On Sunday, at 11:17 a.m., Ruby sent a telegram to a lady stripper in Fort Worth from the Western Union office across the street from the police station. Then he walked over to the ramp into the police garage just as Oswald was being led to a police car to be taken to the Sheriff's Jail. At 11:21 a.m., Ruby pulled out his hammerless pistol, the one he always carried, glided up to Oswald and shot him in the stomach.

Either this timing was a coincidence or Ruby knew to the second when Oswald would enter the garage. To believe he had foreknowledge, one has to believe that the Dallas police wanted Oswald dead and passed the word on the exact time of the transfer. I prefer coincidence. As to Mr. Kennedy's death, Oswald owned the rifle and he read the motorcade route in the newspaper the day before the visit. He realized the motorcade passed beneath his office in the Texas School Book Depository.

What, then, was Oswald's motive? He was certainly a disturbed young man with a bad military history and an unhappy marriage to a Russian wife. He was somewhat like Jack Ruby, in that both these violent men apparently wanted to be "somebody." But there is no evidence that they knew each other and no evidence that the Mafia held Ruby in any great esteem.

Ruby was a small-time labor strong-arm man, a creature of the honky-tonks and race tracks, a man who craved attention. I accept that some of the Mafia may have wished the deaths of the president or his brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, but as long as we are dealing in theories, why not eliminate the middle man? Would it not have been smarter to have Ruby carry out the contract rather than give the job to the addled Oswald? At least Ruby knew the law of Omerta, and he carried it to his grave when he died of cancer.

This book contains the names of several hundred putative suspects and all the theories you can imagine. But the rifle was Oswald's, the bullets from it killed President Kennedy, and Ruby killed Oswald on national television. Who needs another mind-boggling rash of theories?

Jeremiah O'Leary is The Washington Times' chief White House correspondent.

WASHINGTON POST

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Key investigat

Ex-CIA Aide Doubts Oswald Link to Cuba

Associated Press

The man who headed covert CIA operations in Mexico City in 1963 says Lee Harvey Oswald neither asked for nor received any aid from the Cubans or Russians in assassinating President Kennedy.

In fact, David Atlee Phillips writes in "The Night Watch," none of the CIA personnel in Mexico City had ever heard of Oswald, and were unaware that he had defected to the Soviet Union, married a Russian, and then returned to the United States.

CIA surveillance, Phillips wrote, showed that Oswald visited the Soviet embassy in an attempt to return to Russia and wanted to go via Cuba.

He said a file check with Washington normally would have been instituted, but all the agents were so busy they did not get around to it until the wife of an agent took it upon herself to compose the cable.

Even then, he said, she mistook Oswald's middle name as "Henry" and relayed a faulty physical description of him.

The reason for this, Phillips said, was that the wife had not read about Oswald but "heard" about him—presumably from some clandestine source—and was working phonetically.

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An "intelligence digest" published in Paris.

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Well, the AARC is alive and well in Washington, D.C. It has taken us many too many years to do what we should have done too many years ago, i.e., establish a physical permanent center for the study of assassinations.

We have taken a five-room suite at 918 F Street, N.W., in the heart of downtown D.C. We are two blocks from the National Archives, and just behind the FBI Building (and its Reading Room). Some day we hope to find the funding necessary to buy a townhouse for a permanent residence, but what we have will do nicely for now. And we hope that you will come and visit us in the near future. Our collection contains books, government documents, research files, unpublished manuscripts, photos and films, magazine articles, bibliographies, tapes, etc. We know that researchers will make considerable use of these materials.

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2. You can send us a one-time, initial gift. Our capitalization is very meager, and we would greatly appreciate as much as you can spare as a start-up contribution. This will be tax deductible in 1985.

3. You can send us a donation of assassinations' materials, such as books, research files, documents, photos, etc. We are starting with more than a thousand books and about twenty file cabinets of materials; these are donations from various individuals, CTIA, and AIB. However, as a research center, it will be helpful to have duplicates of all of the materials. If there are any items which you can spare from your library (or attic or basement), please send them to us by mail, freight, or United Parcel. If you so request, we will reimburse you for the cost of shipping. Also, we will gladly inventory and appraise the materials for your tax deduction on such a current gift.

4. You can leave us the remainder of your collection in your Will. It is a terrible waste, when a researcher dies, to have his or her intire collection either thrown away or given to some person or institution that cannot make any real use of it. This has happened several times in recent years; it will happen more frequently in the future. Therefore, we ask you to amend your Will or attach to it a Codicil, leaving your whole collection to the AARC, where excellent use will be made of it. A draft Codicil is enclosed for your use; if you execute it . . . and we hope that you will . . . please send us a xerox copy for our files.

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correctionnel de Dinant - Quatre militaires bien embarrassés"/four members of the armed forces embarrassed before the court in Dinant, Le Soir, Brussels, 5 II 85, & "Le mystère du vol à Florennes s'épaissit grâce à M. Vreven"/the mysterious arms theft in Florennes becomes more complicated thanks to Mr.Vreven, ibid., 6 II 85). The best biographies of Gardiner and his past as a drug dealer, petty criminal and intelligence agent appeared in Dutch in De Nieuwe ("Avonturier-cowboy of inlichtingsagest"/cowboy adventure of intelligence agent, by Gust De Blauwe, III 85) and in Solidair ("John Wood, alias Gardiner ... een politieprovokateur bekent.../story of a political agent provocateur, 23 I 85, p. 3). It seems that Gardiner's "information" was at the origin of the recent "Mammoet" Operation in Belgium and Holland whose intention was to arrest the members of the extreme left responsible for the recent anti-NATO bombings in that area (Knack, 16 I 85). See also "Holland, Intelligence, CID, BVD & J. P. Gardiner", Intel/PP, II 85, p. 5). Granotier says he is a French citizen, was politically active in Nanterre (France) and the "Ecole Spéciale d'Architecture" in V 68, has worked with the UN on peace projects and directs the IOANE peace group in Denmark. At the least, the last two statements are false. He has managed to address the Australian and the New Zealand Labor Parties before being exposed (Tribune, Sydney, 12 XII 84; New Zealand Times, 13 I 85). He has offered information to police in Australia and New Zealand and the French Embassy in Canberra has warned people not to be involved with him. He was arrested in Norway in II 84 and is considered mentally disturbed by Norwegian officials. In this issue, we publish photographs of both Granotier and Gardiner and would appreciate any further information that our readers can send us. For further information concerning Gardiner, see the articles below: "Holland, Intelligence & Extreme Right"; "Australia, New Zealand & Intelligence". For information concerning the manipulation of the peace movement see the brochure "Campaigns against European Peace Movement" by Esko Antolas (Hurtinkatu 11 A 1, 20600 Turku, Finland; tel. 645.387) of the Peace Union of Finland and also in Intel/PP: "CIA, Media, Europe & Nuclear", XII 84-I 85, p. 6; "Nuclear Arms Bibliography", III-IV 84, p. 11.

KENNEDY ASSASSINATION, ASSASSINATIONS & DOCUMENTATION. Announcement of the establishment of the Assassination Archives and Research Center, Inc. (918 F Street NW, Washington DC 20004; tel. (202) 393.19.17) and description of its activities concerning the documentation and research on political assassinations in the USA and in particular the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. This center is directed by some of the most respected names involved in this domaine of parapolitical research; among others Bernard Fensterwald, Paul Hock, Mark Allen & Gary Shaw. The good use to which such a centralised documentation service could be put can be seen in the case of A. C. A. Rodriguez Gallego in the above article, "Spain & CIA". See also the section "The Assassination of Pres. J. F. Kennedy" in the article below, "Parapolitics, Intelligence & Documentation", and also in Parapolitics: "Kennedy Assassination, Watergate, Intelligence, Extreme Right & CIA", XI 83, p. 1; "Kennedy Assassination", V 82, p. 4.

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Patron's Membership	$1,000.00 annual dues
Life Membership	$5,000.00 one time contribution

A membership form is enclosed. We most earnestly hope that you will fill it out and return it to us. Don't forget that your annual dues are tax exempt.

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5. You can send us a copy of your address list of persons interested in assassinations. This will enable us to compile a complete and current master list for use in soliciting members and gifts. We will be glad to send you a copy of this master list when completed.

6. The AARC will have a Board of Advisors, as well as a Board of Directors. The Advisors are to lend their names, prestige, and advice to our endeavors. We solicit from you suggestions of names of outstanding researchers and/or writers who, you belive, should be asked to serve on the Board of Advisors.

Association pour le droit à l'information (ADI)
16 rue des Écoles
75005 PARIS

(Tél. 326.04.52)

BROCHURE

The ADI (« Association pour le Droit à l'Information » or Association for the Right to Information) is a nonprofit organisation founded in 1980 in Paris and whose Honorary President is Sean Mac Bride.

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correctionnel de Dinant - Quatre militaires bien embarrassés"/four members of the armed forces embarrassed before the court in Dinant, Le Soir, Brussels, 5 II 85, & "Le mystère du vol à Florennes s'épaissit grâce à M. Vreven"/the mysterious arms theft in Florennes becomes more complicated thanks to Mr.Vreven, ibid., 6 II 85). The best biographies of Gardiner and his past as a drug dealer, petty criminal and intelligence agent appeared in Dutch in De Nieuwe ("Avonturier-cowboy of inlichtingsagent"/cowboy adventure of intelligence agent, by Gust De Blauwe, III 85) and in Solidair ("John Wood, alias Gardiner ... een politieprovocateur bekent.../story of a political agent provocateur, 23 I 85, p. 3). It seems that Gardiner's "information" was at the origin of the recent "Mammoet" Operation in Belgium and Holland whose intention was to arrest the members of the extreme left responsible for the recent anti-NATO bombings in that area (Knack, 16 I 85). See also "Holland, Intelligence, CID, BVD & J. P. Gardiner", Intel/PP, II 85, p. 5). Granotier says he is a French citizen, was politically active in Nanterre (France) and the "Ecole Spéciale d'Architecture" in V 68, has worked with the UN on peace projects and directs the IOANE peace group in Denmark. At the least, the last two statements are false. He has managed to address the Australian and the New Zealand Labor Parties before being exposed (Tribune, Sydney, 12 XII 84; New Zealand Times, 13 I 85). He has offered information to police in Australia and New Zealand and the French Embassy in Canberra has warned people not to be involved with him. He was arrested in Norway in II 84 and is considered mentally disturbed by Norwegian officials. In this issue, we publish photographs of both Granotier and Gardiner and would appreciate any further information that our readers can send us. For further information concerning Gardiner, see the articles below: "Holland, Intelligence & Extreme Right"; "Australia, New Zealand & Intelligence". For information concerning the manipulation of the peace movement see the brochure "Campaigns against European Peace Movement" by Esko Antolas (Hurtinkatu 11 A 1, 20600 Turku, Finland; tel. 645.387) of the Peace Union of Finland and also in Intel/PP: "CIA, Media, Europe & Nuclear", XII 84-I 85, p. 6; "Nuclear Arms Bibliography", III-IV 84, p. 11.

KENNEDY ASSASSINATION, ASSASSINATIONS & DOCUMENTATION. Announcement of the establishment of the Assassination Archives and Research Center, Inc. (918 F Street NW, Washington DC 20004; tel. (202) 393.19.17) and description of its activities concerning the documentation and research on political assassinations in the USA and in particular the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. This center is directed by some of the most respected names involved in this domaine of parapolitical research; among others Bernard Fensterwald, Paul Hock, Mark Allen & Gary Shaw. The good use to which such a centralised documentation service could be put can be seen in the case of A. C. A. Rodriguez Gallego in the above article, "Spain & CIA". See also the section "The Assassination of Pres. J. F. Kennedy" in the article below, "Parapolitics, Intelligence & Documentation", and also in Parapolitics: "Kennedy Assassination, Watergate, Intelligence, Extreme Right & CIA", XI 83, p. 1; "Kennedy Assassination", V 82, p. 4.

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Life



ed a tough leg-
with politics.



JOHN THEN: A little boy's sad farewell.

More People Recognize Oswald Than V.P. Bush

Despite the passage of 20 years since Lee Harvey Oswald gunned down President Kennedy, nearly half the people we polled still recognized Oswald from his picture.

In fact, far more people knew Oswald than recognized Vice President George Bush in a similar ENQUIRER survey!

Amazingly, more than 47 percent of the 400 people we polled in seven cities identified Oswald from his picture — but only 38 percent correctly named Bush in a recent poll.

Will He Be Next?

's face. He jumped with fright
ran into the theater. Clearly,
thought someone had shot at
until aides calmed him down
told him it was a passing car."

uthor Lester David, who wrote
d Kennedy: Triumphs and
gedies," recalled an incident at
utdoor festival that shook Ted.

He was in a crowd and suddenly
re was a loud bang. It was prob-



be the third Kennedy brother
public places.

ably a balloon bursting. But Ted cringed visibly as the blood rushed from his face. He was badly shaken, obviously thinking someone had shot at him."

And a former White House correspondent, who was with Ted several years ago while he was campaigning for a local Democratic politician, recalled:

"Ted was in an open convertible waving at the crowd when a car backfired. Ted turned absolutely white and started to duck. His security men reached for their guns.

"It was all over in a moment, but Teddy was white for minutes. Sweat was pouring down his face.

"Later he said, 'What can I do — become a hermit?' "

A Boston news reporter recalled that during a recent speech to the Chamber of Commerce in Massachusetts, the curtain behind the podium kept moving — and Ted flinched when he noticed it.

"He was obviously very troubled by it," said the newsman. "On two or three occasions it caused him to lose his train of thought."

Said the close family friend: "The bulk of the $200,000 the Kennedy clan pays out each year for Ted's protection is in salaries for his security aides. He has a number of former FBI agents on the payroll.

"The salaries are paid by the Kennedys themselves, not the U.S. taxpayers.

"Ted insists on very tight security, particularly when he's traveling. I've never known him to travel under his own name. And he gets very angry if word leaks out about his whereabouts when he's on a private weekend away from home."



TRAGIC JOURNEY: JFK and Jackie begin their fateful ride in Dallas. Minutes later, he is shot and she climbs onto trunk of car. Finally, a nation in shock sees President's flag-draped casket in the solemn funeral procession in Washington, D.C.

More JFK Stories on Next Pages

Just Released — Russia's Official Version of the Assassination

The CIA Did It!

The CIA murdered John F. Kennedy ... Lee Harvey Oswald was a "patsy" who didn't fire the fatal shots ... and "at least three" other assassins fired at the President.

Those are the startling conclusions of the Soviet Union's just-published official version of President Kennedy's assassination.

In a book titled "Echo of the Shots in Dallas" — published by Novosti, the official Soviet news agency — veteran journalists Sergei Losev and Vitaly Petrusienko say their "independent investigation" reveals that:

- The CIA conspired with the Pentagon, the Mafia, defense contractors and big U.S. oil companies to assassinate JFK.
- The CIA was furious because JFK refused to let U.S. Air Force planes help CIA mercenaries win the Bay of Pigs attack on Cuba.
- The CIA wanted to stop JFK from cutting U.S. military involvement in Vietnam, and from seeking friendlier ties with Russia.
- The CIA didn't want JFK to up the tax bite on their longtime allies — the big oil companies.



JUST A PATSY? Oswald (center) was liquidated by Jack Ruby (right) to keep him from talking, according to the Russians.



OSWALD'S RIFLE was "too inaccurate to hit anyone," say the Russians.

And in the book's words: "In addition to these elements, there was the American Mafia, to whom the loss of Cuban business meant $100 million in lost revenues from casinos, hotels and narcotics."

The authors claim that Oswald was a low-level CIA agent, who made his well-known trip to Russia to pass false information about the U.S. radar net around Japan to the Soviets.

But the authors say Russian intelligence didn't fall for the scheme. After Oswald failed his mission and returned to the U.S., the CIA went to great lengths to build him up as a Communist sympathizer, say the authors.

"Oswald was prepared as a patsy, as an ideal instrument to cover up the truth of the crime."

And the book states flatly: "Oswald did not fire the shots that killed President Kennedy. His rifle was too inaccurate to hit anyone.

"At least three people (other than Oswald) shot at Kennedy, some from the grassy knoll (near the building Oswald was in).

"The exact number of bullets that hit Kennedy's head will never be established.

"While the limousine was advancing toward the grassy knoll, he was shot head-on.

"Oswald was sent to his death two days after the assassination of Kennedy. Evidence indicates he was supposed to be eliminated earlier, actually on the very day of the assassination, and not in Dallas, but somewhere outside of Dallas.

"All the conspirators wanted to do was establish his traces in the area of the crime. After the crime ... the conspirators were afraid he would break down and reveal some of the information at his disposal. That's why Jack Ruby was ordered to liquidate him."

To further hide their crime, the book states, the CIA stole JFK's body briefly just after the assassination — and had bullet fragments removed.

The book states: "The brain was taken out of the body so that the bullet fragments could be removed and their channels obliterated. The brain was then replaced in the skull prior to the official autopsy."

The book adds that the doctor who performed the official autopsy didn't know that JFK's brain had been tampered with.

The Soviet authors also blame the CIA for the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy five years later. The book states:

"The logical conclusion of the Dallas tragedy was the assassination in 1968 of Robert Kennedy, to eliminate the return of a Kennedy to the White House."

Haunting Legacy of the Kennedy Killing . . .

Mysterious Deaths Mount to 25

The long list of people associated with the JFK slaying who have died mysteriously, and often violently, continues to grow — at least 25 people are on it now.

In the past eight years, four more names were etched in blood on the macabre list: two top crime lords with ties to the CIA; a cult leader once considered a suspect in the Kennedy slaying, and a Cuban whose testimony implicated both the CIA and the Mafia in the JFK murder.

The 25th name was added to the bizarre death list last July 31 when Jose Braulio Aleman, while being riddled by a hail of bullets in a shootout with Miami police, put his own gun to his head.

Aleman, son of a pre-Castro Cuban government official and heir to a fortune estimated at between $29 million and $200 million, had testified in September 1978 about the alleged role of the Mafia and the CIA in the plot to kill JFK.



Sam Giancana
Gunned down



Jose Aleman
Shot himself



Ervil LeBaron
Suicide victim

He fingered Florida mob boss Santos Trafficante as a key figure in the slaying conspiracy. For five years afterward, he lived in fear.

On July 31, Aleman — by now nearly broke and in hiding in Miami — went berserk. He shot and killed one relative and wounded three others. During an ensuing gun battle with police, Aleman turned his pistol on himself. Police say his own bullet killed him.

Since 1975, three notorious criminals whose names were linked to the Kennedy murder also met swift deaths. They were:

SAM "MOMO" GIANCANA
Murdered June 19, 1975

Shortly after the JFK slaying in 1963, Chicago mobster Giancana disappeared, turning up in an apparent self-imposed exile in Mexico. Between 1966 and 1974 he traveled extensively in the Caribbean and South America, returning to the U.S. in late 1974 or early 1975.

Just days before he was scheduled to testify about his dealings with the CIA in alleged plots to kill Fidel Castro and President Kennedy, Giancana was gunned down in his own kitchen.

JOHNNY ROSELLI
Found murdered Aug. 7, 1976

Roselli, Giancana's closest friend and organized crime associate, vanished Aug. 1, 1976, shortly after word leaked out he was appearing before the same Senate Intelligence Committee that had summoned Giancana the year before. Six days after he disappeared, Roselli's body was found in a sealed 55-gallon oil drum near Miami, Fla. Both Roselli and Giancana had been linked to the CIA plot to kill Castro.

ERVIL "EVIL" LeBARON
Found dead Aug. 16, 1981

LeBaron, leader of a cult of about 150 followers, was sentenced to 12 years in prison for the murder of his brother, and was serving a life sentence for another murder when he was found dead in his cell at Utah State Prison. Officials believed the 56-year-old killer killed himself.

An FBI memo implicating LeBaron in the JFK killing and dated Jan. 27, 1964 — when the FBI was publicly insisting that Lee Harvey Oswald was the sole killer of the President — said that

(Continued on next page)

(Continued from preceding page)

LeBaron "is believed to have been responsible for President Kennedy's death."

Here are the other 21 people on the JFK death list:

LEE HARVEY OSWALD
Murdered Nov. 24, 1963

Oswald was gunned down by Jack Ruby in the Dallas police station Sunday, two days after JFK was killed.

JACK ZANGETTI
Found murdered December 1963

The day before Oswald was shot, Zangetti, manager of a motel complex in Oklahoma, told friends, "A man named Jack Ruby will kill Oswald tomorrow and in a few days a member of the Frank Sinatra family will be kidnapped to take some of the attention away from the assassination." On December 8, Frank Sinatra Jr. was kidnapped, and later released unharmed. Two weeks after the prophetic conversation, Zangetti was found dead, with bullet holes in his chest.

BETTY MOONEY MacDONALD
Committed suicide February 1964

A former stripper in Jack Ruby's Carousel Club, Betty had been to a party attended by Oswald. She was arrested for fighting with her roommate and an hour later she was dead. She was found hanging in her cell.

HANK KILLAM
Found dead March 17, 1964

Killam, husband of Wanda Killam who was also a stripper for Ruby, was associated not only with Ruby but with John Carter, who lived in the same rooming house as Oswald. Four months after JFK's murder, Killam was found dead on a Pensacola, Fla., street — his throat was slashed.

BILL HUNTER
Killed April 1964

Hunter, 35, an award-winning newsman, had met with Ruby's attorney Tom Howard at Ruby's apartment only hours after Ruby shot Oswald. Five months later Hunter was accidentally shot to death by a policeman.

GARY UNDERHILL
Found dead May 8, 1964

Underhill, a CIA agent, told friends he knew who killed President Kennedy and was sure "they" would soon get him. On May 8, 1964, in Washington, D.C., Underhill died of gunshot wounds.

JIM KOETHE
Murdered Sept. 21, 1964

A Dallas Times Herald reporter, Koethe, 30, had also met with Ruby's attorney the same time as Hunter did. Ten months later Koethe was killed by a karate chop to the throat.

TOM HOWARD
Died March 1965

Howard, Ruby's attorney, died of a heart attack in Dallas. "He was seen acting strangely two days before his death and no autopsy was performed," said researcher Penn Jones Jr.

ROSE CHERAMI
Killed Sept. 4, 1965

Two days before the JFK murder, Rose, a stripper for Ruby, had told hospital psychiatrist Victor Weiss that the President was going to be killed. Cherami also told police she had seen Oswald in Ruby's club many times. Nearly two years later, a hit-and-run car struck Rose, crushing her skull.

Mysterious Deaths

DOROTHY KILGALLEN
Found dead Nov. 8, 1965

During Jack Ruby's trial for murdering Oswald, columnist Dorothy Kilgallen had an interview with Ruby. She told her makeup man she was going to "break the Kennedy assassination wide open within five days." Three days later Dorothy was found dead in her New York apartment.

WILLIAM PITZER
Found dead Oct. 29, 1966

For years U.S. Navy Lieut. William Pitzer kept the secret of the autopsy of President Kennedy. Pitzer had photographed the autopsy and was instructed never to reveal what he saw. In 1966 Pitzer was found dead with a bullet in his head.

JACK RUBY
Died Jan. 3, 1967

Cancer claimed his life. The next day his attorneys charged negligence by Dallas authorities who had custody of Ruby. They said officials ignored his complaints that he was ill.

DAVID FERRIE
Died Feb. 21, 1967

Ferrie was a CIA contract pilot who had flown into Cuba on secret missions. In early 1967 New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison questioned him on the theory that Ferrie had flown the real murderers out of Dallas. A month after he was questioned Ferrie was found dead in his apartment.

ELADIO DEL VALLE
Murdered Feb. 21, 1967

On the same day as Ferrie's death, his close friend Elodia Del Valle, a wealthy exiled Cuban, was murdered. Del Valle, who had flown with Ferrie on secret missions to Cuba, was found with a bullet wound in his heart.

DR. MARY SHERMAN
Murdered June 1967

Another of Ferrie's friends, Dr. Mary Sherman was shot to death.

DR. NICHOLAS CHETTA
Died May 1968

In a macabre twist of fate, the coroner himself, who performed autopsies on both Ferrie and Dr. Sherman, died of a heart attack.

CLYDE JOHNSON
Murdered July 1969

Johnson, 37 — who had attended parties with Ferrie, Ruby and Oswald — was to testify at the conspiracy trial Garrison was conducting. Johnson never appeared. He was beaten so severely he had to be hospitalized. Five months later he was shot to death.

JOSEPH A. MILTEER
Died Feb. 22, 1974

Milteer, a right-wing extremist, was secretly taped by Miami police as he detailed with terrifying accuracy how JFK would be killed — 13 days before the assassination. On Feb. 9, 1974, a Coleman stove blew up in his bathroom. Two weeks later Milteer died of burns he suffered in the fire — but a mortician who saw the body said the burns weren't severe enough to be fatal.

CLAY SHAW
Died Aug. 15, 1974

Shaw, a wealthy businessman, was tried by Garrison and acquitted of conspiring to kill Kennedy. In January 1974, former CIA executive Victor Marchetti revealed that a CIA executive instructed an agent to give "Shaw all the help he needs" during the Garrison investigation. Several months later Shaw was found dead in his home.

GEORGE de MOHRENSCHILDT
Committed suicide March 29, 1977

De Mohrenschildt, 65, shot himself to death in Manalapan, Fla., only hours after learning that an investigator for the House assassinations committee wanted to interview him. De Mohrenschildt once testified that he had been a close friend of Oswald.

CARLOS PRIO SOCARRAS
Committed suicide April 5, 1977

Exactly a week after de Mohrenschildt took his life, former Cuban President Carlos Prio Socarras, a one-time business associate of Jack Ruby, fired a bullet into his own chest.



KENNEDY'S GRAVE SITE in Arlington National Cemetery is never visited by his family.

Kennedy Family Never Visits His Grave

The grave sites of President John F. Kennedy and his assassin Lee Harvey Oswald are as different as day and night, but in one respect they are remarkably similar — neither man's tomb is visited by his family.



OSWALD'S remains lie in a Texas cemetery.

Kennedy's final resting place is a meticulously maintained 3.2-acre grave site in the solemn grandeur of Arlington National Cemetery outside Washington, D.C.

"Some 3.5 million people visit the cemetery every year, and the Kennedy grave is the most popular stopping place," said Courtenay Welton, spokesman for Arlington National Cemetery.

"I have been employed here for eight years and as far as I know, the former First Lady and the President's children have never been here during that time," added Welton, whose office handles arrangements for all visiting dignitaries and VIPS, and would be informed if members of Kennedy's family visited the grave site.

Meanwhile, the remains of Lee Harvey Oswald lie in a lonely cemetery near Arlington, Tex., that's bordered by a junkyard and an interstate highway.

"His wife and children never visit the grave site, I can tell you that," declared an employee of the cemetery, Rose Hill Memorial Park.

Enquirer Team That Worked on JFK Special

This ENQUIRER special section, on the 20th anniversary of the assassination of President Kennedy, was produced by a team of 56 editors, reporters, researchers, correspondents and photo staff. These were the people involved:

SENIOR EDITORS: Paul F. Levy, Don Schwartz; **GENERAL STAFF EDITOR:** Robert G. Smith; **ARTICLE EDITORS:** Richard Baker, Stephen Cox, Larry Haley, Charles Parmiter, Joseph Policy; **ASSOCIATE EDITORS:** Carl Grothmann, Marsha May, Brian Walker; **ASSISTANT EDITORS:** Michael Gross, Bill Hanway, Susan Krajewski, James Meyers, Tom Smith; **SENIOR REPORTERS:** John South, David Wright; **REPORTERS:** Roger Capettini, Jessica Klein, Charles Montgomery, Thomas L. Muldoon, James Mullins, William E. O'Neill, Jerry Oppenheimer, Martin Ralbovsky; **SENIOR PHOTO EDITOR:** John Cathcart; **PHOTO EDITORS:** Bill Graham, Donald McLachlan, Bernard D.A. Scott, Valerie Virga; **RESEARCH STAFF:** Mireya Abreu, Pamela Ashbaugh, Priscilla Badger, Jennifer Cordoza, Carol Godwin, Frances B. Jacobson, Sandra Juni, Dorothea Kelsey, Sylvia Kingrey, Barbara Koskie, Paige Kroger, Martha Matters; **SENIOR EDITORIAL ASSISTANT:** Frederick Harlowe; **CORRESPONDENTS:** Bennet Bolton, Jan Bone, Harold Brechet, Pat Ferrin, Carol Frakes, Henry Gris, Lee Harrison, Salvatore Ivone, Connie Kull, John Magee, Bill Still, Patrick Wilkins

Do You Think There Was a Conspiracy Behind JFK Murder? Phone in Your Vote

Do you believe there was a conspiracy behind the assassination of President John F. Kennedy?

Almost from the moment shots rang out on that tragic day in Dallas, a controversy has raged over who was responsible for the President's death: Did one assassin act alone — or was he part of a plot to kill Kennedy?

Here is YOUR chance to tell the world what you think by dialing one of our convenient "900" numbers.

If you say YES, there was a conspiracy behind the President's assassination, then call 900-720-4330.

If you say NO, there was no conspiracy, then call 900-720-4333.

YES: 900-720-4330
NO: 900-720-4333

If you normally dial "1" before placing a long-distance call, then dial "1" before calling either "900" number. After dialing the number, wait until you hear a recorded message saying that the call is completed, then hang up. Your vote will be recorded automatically.

The polls will be open 24 hours a day from November 14 through November 21.

The only cost to you for a call will be 50 cents on your monthly phone bill.

We'll carry the results of the poll in our issue on sale December 6. Let us know what you think.

Starting Next Week

Read the blockbuster new book that gives a no-holds-barred look at the young Kennedys — and tells how they survived booze, drugs and even death threats, while growing up in America's most famous dynasty. It's all in "Growing Up Kennedy: The Third Wave Comes of Age," exclusive in The ENQUIRER.

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JFK

New Suspect in JFK Slaying — A French Terrorist

Only in The ENQUIRER

Just Released: Russia's Surprising Official Version of the Slaying

Only in The ENQUIRER

Mysterious Deaths in Wake of Assassination Climb to 25

Only in The ENQUIRER

Teddy & Kennedy Children: Will They Ever Find Peace?



Johnny Carson and Richard Nixon Are Cousins



Star Wars' Carrie Fisher Shattered by Loss of Baby

Exclusive: Space Alien Baby Found Alive, Say Russians

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ENQUIRER Exclusive on JFK Assassination — New Facts

Is This the Man Who Killed JFK?

A mysterious new suspect has surfaced in the JFK assassination!

The suspect, a notorious French terrorist, was in Dallas the day Kennedy was shot, according to the CIA and French Intelligence — and the FBI believed he "either killed John F. Kennedy or knew who had done it," explosive new court papers charge.

And the terrorist, Jean Rene Souetre, was reportedly deported from the U.S. under mysterious circumstances just 48 hours after the assassination.

Incredibly, in the 20 years since JFK's death, Souetre's name has never popped up in any report on the assassination, including the official Warren Commission report!

Yet The ENQUIRER tracked down and questioned Souetre.

And while he denied any involvement in the assassination, he admitted he believes there was a "French connection" in the case. Souetre said he has learned that a vicious French criminal named Michel Mertz was in Dallas the day JFK was shot and "may well have been involved."

But incredibly, "Michel Mertz" is an alias Souetre himself has used, according to the FBI!



FRENCH TERRORIST Jean Rene Souetre today runs a casino in a town in France.

Notorious Terrorist Was in Dallas on Day of the Shooting

The ENQUIRER, working with top experts on the assassination and once-classified data obtained under the Freedom of Information Act, managed to penetrate the thick shield of silence surrounding Souetre. But the U.S. government has now blocked efforts to find out exactly how much intelligence agencies know about Souetre's role in the 1963 assassination.

Prominent Washington attorney Bernard Fensterwald Jr. unsuccessfully sued for release of all other U.S. intelligence documents mentioning Souetre. In his court papers, Fensterwald cited evidence of a "French connection" he had turned up in released CIA and FBI documents plus information he'd personally obtained from French intelligence sources.

"We may have found the actual killer — and that man is still alive and available for questioning," declared Fensterwald, executive director of the Committee to Investigate Assassinations and former counsel to various Senate subcommittees for 12 years.

"This opens up a whole new line of thinking on the assassination — yet every effort to explore it further has been blocked."

A 1964 CIA memo says French intelligence knew Souetre, "alias Michel Mertz," was in Dallas the afternoon JFK was shot. The memo added that the French believed Souetre had been deported — possibly to Canada or Mexico — 48 hours later. "The French are concerned," the memo explained, "because (French President Charles) de Gaulle planned a visit to Mexico (on March 15, 1964).

"They would like to know the reason for his (Souetre's) expulsion from the U.S. and his destination."

The FBI apparently already knew Souetre may have been involved in JFK's death. They tailed one of his former friends, Dr. Lawrence Alderson of Houston, "for a month" after the tragedy, Alderson told The ENQUIRER.

"When the FBI finally came to interview me (about six weeks after the assassination), they told me they had traced Souetre to Dallas a day before the assassination and lost him," said Alderson, a dentist.

"They told me they felt Souetre had either killed JFK or knew who had done it. And they wanted to know who in Washington had had him flown out of Dallas."

Dr. Alderson said he met Souetre in 1953 in France while he was serving in the U.S. Army and Souetre was a French Air Force officer.

"But the last time I saw him was in 1954," he said. "Later he dropped out of sight and joined the OAS (the outlawed French group fighting to prevent de Gaulle from granting independence to Algeria)."

Dr. Alderson said he volunteered in 1977 to tell the House Assassinations Committee "everything I knew about Souetre" — but, incredibly, they never talked to him.

Yet that very same year, Souetre's name popped up again in an FBI memo from the head of the Dallas FBI office to the FBI director. The heavily censored memo — obtained by The ENQUIRER — says someone (name deleted) "wanted to know what investigation, if any, the Bureau conducted on Jean Souetre ... who was supposedly located in Dallas, Tex., on 11/22/63, the day President Kennedy was assassinated."

In his court papers, Fensterwald says Dr. Alderson told him he had been visited by the FBI and that the dentist said, "The FBI felt Souetre had either killed JFK or knew who had done it."

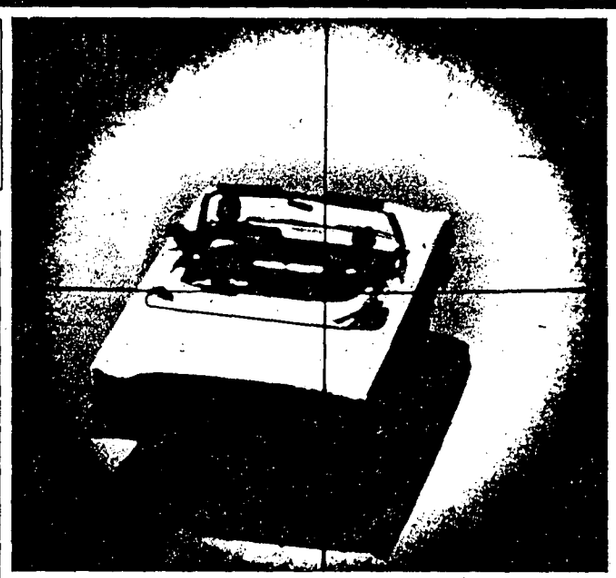
Souetre himself admitted to The ENQUIRER he was once a major suspect in a 1962 assassination attempt on de Gaulle. And according to the court papers, "All indications are that Souetre was a trained and experienced terrorist and perfectly capable of murder."

But why would Souetre want to kill JFK? "Next to de Gaulle, the OAS despised President Kennedy the most," Fensterwald's court document points out. "As a U.S. Senator, he (Kennedy) made long and passionate speeches in favor of Algerian independence. He quashed every attempt by the CIA and the U.S. military to aid the OAS in their fight to keep Algeria French ... they (the OAS) hated him (Kennedy) with a passion."

Today Souetre runs a casino in the town of Divonne les Bains in France. When The ENQUIRER contacted him there, Souetre admitted he was once a suspect in the assassination attempt on de Gaulle but denied he had any part in the JFK assassination.

Souetre insisted he wasn't in Dallas the day of the killing — but he said he has learned that another French military officer who looks like

(Continued on next page)



WHAT THE KILLER SAW: In this FBI reenactment, car is photographed through a telescopic gun sight from a sixth floor window of the Texas School Book Depository.





SPEECHES BY JFK (left) had brought him into conflict with French terrorists. At right is Souetre, photographed while he was captain in the French parachute commandos.

Revealed in Killing That Shocked World 20 Years Ago

(Continued from preceding page)

him was there that day. To this day, neither the Warren Commission nor any other official panel probing JFK's death has ever mentioned Souetre or a possible "French connection" in the case.

Richard Sprague, former director and chief counsel of the House Assassinations Committee, told The ENQUIRER: "Neither the FBI nor CIA ever pointed out that it (a French connection) was an area they had made any inquiry on or checked into.

"If I were still probing the assassination today, it's certainly something I'd want to investigate."

Panel of Experts Probes . . .

4 Pieces Still Missing In Assassination Puzzle

Twenty years after John F. Kennedy was assassinated, four major questions still remain unanswered — and a blue-ribbon panel of highly qualified assassination experts, assembled by The ENQUIRER, have examined them exhaustively.

Every one of the questions they discussed has two common elements.

Each one could throw light on how and why the President was killed — and none has ever been answered by the U.S. government.

Here are those troubling questions — and the experts' opinions.

● Where is President Kennedy's brain?

The President's brain is missing — and pathologists believe it could answer key questions about the assassination.

Records show that the brain was turned over to Kennedy's former secretary Evelyn Lincoln in 1965 while she was working at the National Archives. Since then, the brain has disappeared.

But a thorough analysis of it could reveal "where the shots came from, what their angle was, whether there could have been more than one shot to the head and much more," said famed pathologist Dr. Cyril Wecht.

● Who was the mystery policeman who came calling on Lee Harvey Oswald minutes after the assassination?

After Kennedy was gunned down, Oswald hurried into his Dallas rooming house to change clothes. While he was there, a Dallas police car pulled up outside, tooted its horn twice, then slowly pulled away, according to Oswald's landlady Mrs. Earlene Roberts.

Experts believe the mystery cop could have been Officer J.D. Tippit, the man Oswald allegedly shot dead 10 minutes later.

"The Dallas police radio log shows that the dispatcher loses contact with Tippit around 1 p.m. — the time the patrol car was seen outside Oswald's rooming house," said historian Dr. David Wrone. And he believes that suggests a link between Oswald and the Dallas police.

● Why didn't the government pay more attention to a film showing one person in each of the three sixth-floor windows of the Texas School Book Depository building — including the window from which Oswald fired at Kennedy? Experts say the film shot by Charles Bronson, an amateur photographer, shows three people. Yet the government-appointed Warren Commission concluded that Oswald acted alone.

Assassination researcher Gary Mack, who saw the film, said: "The room in which Oswald was supposed to be has three windows. It was possible to see three people — two standing, one crouching — behind the windows. The film presents a massive problem for the government, which insists that Oswald was the assassin in that room and he acted alone."

● What happened to the film taken by a woman at the assassination scene?

Photographs taken at the time of the assassination show a woman filming the scene with an expensive movie camera. She had a clear view of the grassy knoll, the area where numerous eye-witnesses reported hearing shots fired.

The woman, known as the "babushka lady" because of the scarf (also called a "babushka") on her head, was Beverly Oliver and she had worked for Jack Ruby, Oswald's killer, until shortly before the assassination.

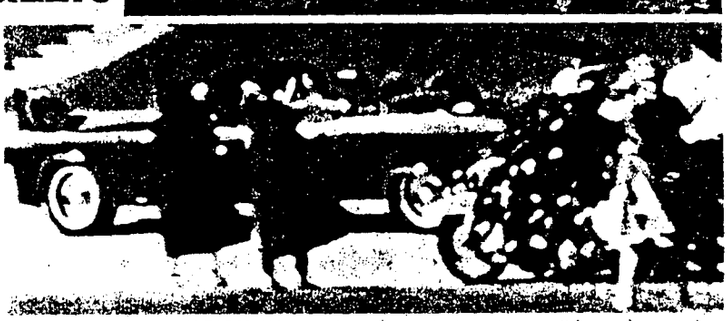
While she was working the Monday after the assassination, two men approached her. They "identified themselves as either FBI or Secret Service men — she isn't sure which," Mack revealed.

"The men told her they understood she had taken a movie of the assassination scene. When she replied that she had, but had not yet had the film developed, they politely offered to do it for her, free of charge.

"She handed over the film — and has never seen it or the men who took it since. Her view of the grassy knoll was unimpeded, her camera an excellent one capable of recording everything on the grassy knoll.

"But we'll never know what was in her movie."





MISSING FILM MYSTERY: Woman known as "babushka lady" (arrow) was taking pictures in the direction of grassy knoll (top photo). Top picture is similar to the scene she was shooting — but the film disappeared.



PEOPLE IN WINDOW MYSTERY: Warren Commission says Oswald alone shot Kennedy from Texas School Book Depository window (arrow). They discounted one film that shows three people in the sixth-floor windows.

The ENQUIRER's blue-ribbon panel of experts included: Dr. Cyril Wecht, a lawyer and doctor and panel member of the House Assassinations Committee; Harold Weisberg, former intelligence agent, Senate investigator and author of several books on the Kennedy assassination; Dr. David Wrone, a professor of history at the University of Wisconsin; Jack White, photographic expert who served as a consultant to the House Assassinations Committee, and Gary Mack, a leading assassination investigator.

More JFK Stories On Next Pages

Kennedy Children Scarred for l

. . . Say Friends and Psychiatrists

The Kennedy assassinations have left deep scars on the Kennedy kids — affecting them to this day, admit friends and psychiatric experts.

The children of John, Robert and Edward Kennedy, as well as those of Eunice Shriver, Pat Lawford and Jean Smith, were so traumatized by the slayings they will never be able to lead normal lives, say the experts.

Some have turned to drugs and wild living; others are withdrawn and suspicious of strangers. Others have even refused to tell people that their last name is Kennedy.

"Many of the children felt that they were cursed — that people were actually out to eliminate all Kennedys," said an insider.

As a result of the tragedies, he said, "Caroline shies away from the public. John seems to wander without any sense of direction. He doesn't want anything to do with politics.

"David and Robert Kennedy (sons of RFK) had drug problems. Many of the other boys did wild things and were uncontrollable.

"Caroline, John, Robert's children Kathleen and Joe and Ted's daughter Kara went through periods when they wouldn't tell anybody their last names."

Jamie Auchincloss, half brother of Jackie Kennedy Onassis, told The ENQUIRER, "The violent deaths have had a devastating effect on the lives of all the Kennedy children. This new generation of Kennedys has been traumatized and their potential for successful lives has been diminished.

"Many have shied away from professional careers because of a lack of ambition — based in part on their desire to stay out of the public spotlight.

"Because of the violence that has plagued the family, the young Kennedys say they have a sense of doom. They have a belief that a curse is on the family — and many of them say they live in fear."

Many of the older Kennedys have gotten death threats, the insider added. "This has always made the children watchful of strangers and fearful. Most of the kids had some type of bodyguards."

A Kennedy family friend confided, "The Kennedy young people have an almost paranoid view of life — fearful of more tragedy facing them every step of the way. It's because of this fear that Bobby and David turned to hard drugs."

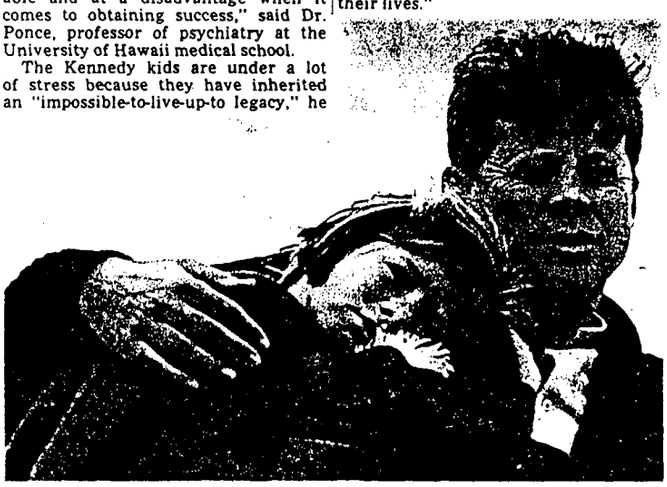
It's no blessing to be born a Kennedy — it's a curse, says a psychiatrist.

Being raised without the influence of a father is a great disadvantage later in life, particularly to boys, according to psychiatrist Danilo Ponce.

"In his younger years, a boy needs face-to-face contact with a father to learn how to make his way in the world. The Kennedy boys will be uncomfortable and at a disadvantage when it comes to obtaining success," said Dr. Ponce, professor of psychiatry at the University of Hawaii medical school.

The Kennedy kids are under a lot of stress because they have inherited an "impossible-to-live-up-to legacy," he added. In order to live up to their famous fathers, "Not only must they devote their lives to public service, be elected President or hold other high office — but they must also die tragically and young."

Dr. Jaime Quintanilla, clinical professor of psychiatry at Texas Tech University School of Medicine in Amarillo, Tex., added, "The assassinations were likely to have left the Kennedy kids with deep and lasting scars, and as a consequence, they will be impaired the rest of their lives."



CAROLINE THEN: JFK's daughter shares quiet moment with her dad.



JOHN TODAY: He's inherit
acy and wants nothing to do



CAROLINE TODAY: She shies away from the public.

Congressmen Doubt Oswald Was Only Assassin

More than one out of five U.S. congressmen polled don't believe the findings of the Warren Commission, an ENQUIRER survey reveals.

We asked 100 members of the House of Representatives: "Do you believe the conclusions of the Warren Commission — that Lee Harvey Oswald, acting alone, assassinated President Kennedy?"

Incredibly, 21 of the 100 congressmen responded with a flat-out no. Another 17 said they weren't sure that the report was correct.

Ted's Nightmare —

Ted Kennedy is still haunted by the terrible fear that he'll be shot down like brothers John and Robert — and even today he'll cringe at the sound of a car backfiring.

And despite tight security and bodyguards that cost the Kennedy family over $200,000, the Massachusetts Senator gets extremely nervous in public places, insiders reveal.

"The years have failed to dampen the nightmare that Ted suffers — that at any time he could become the third Kennedy to be murdered," said a close family friend.

"It's a fear that haunts him daily."

Said one insider: "Being out in the open among strangers makes him very nervous.

"Even though he has armed plainclothes security men with him at all times, his eyes are constantly darting about the crowd and toward nearby rooftops for any suspicious-looking person — or the glint of metal that could be a gun.

"I remember seeing him when he attended the premiere of a new play on Broadway. As he walked through the crowd to the steps of the theater, a car backfired.

"A look of horror came over



HAUNTED BY FEAR that he could
murdered, Ted is visibly nervous i

ife



a rough leg-
ith politics.



JOHN THEN: A little boy's sad farewell.

More People Recognize Oswald Than V.P. Bush

Despite the passage of 20 years since Lee Harvey Oswald gunned down President Kennedy, nearly half the people we polled still recognized Oswald from his picture.

In fact, far more people knew Oswald than recognized Vice President George Bush in a similar ENQUIRER survey!

Amazingly, more than 47 percent of the 400 people we polled in seven cities identified Oswald from his picture — but only 38 percent correctly named Bush in a recent poll.

Vill He Be Next?

face. He jumped with fright
in into the theater. Clearly,
ought someone had shot at
ntil aides calmed him down
d him it was a passing car."

nor Lester David, who wrote
Kennedy: Triumphs and
lies," recalled an incident at
door festival that shook Ted.

was in a crowd and suddenly
was a loud bang. It was prob-



he third Kennedy brother
ublic places.

ably a balloon bursting. But Ted cringed visibly as the blood rushed from his face. He was badly shaken, obviously thinking someone had shot at him."

And a former White House correspondent, who was with Ted several years ago while he was campaigning for a local Democratic politician, recalled:

"Ted was in an open convertible waving at the crowd when a car backfired. Ted turned absolutely white and started to duck. His security men reached for their guns.

"It was all over in a moment, but Teddy was white for minutes. Sweat was pouring down his face.

"Later he said, 'What can I do — become a hermit?' "

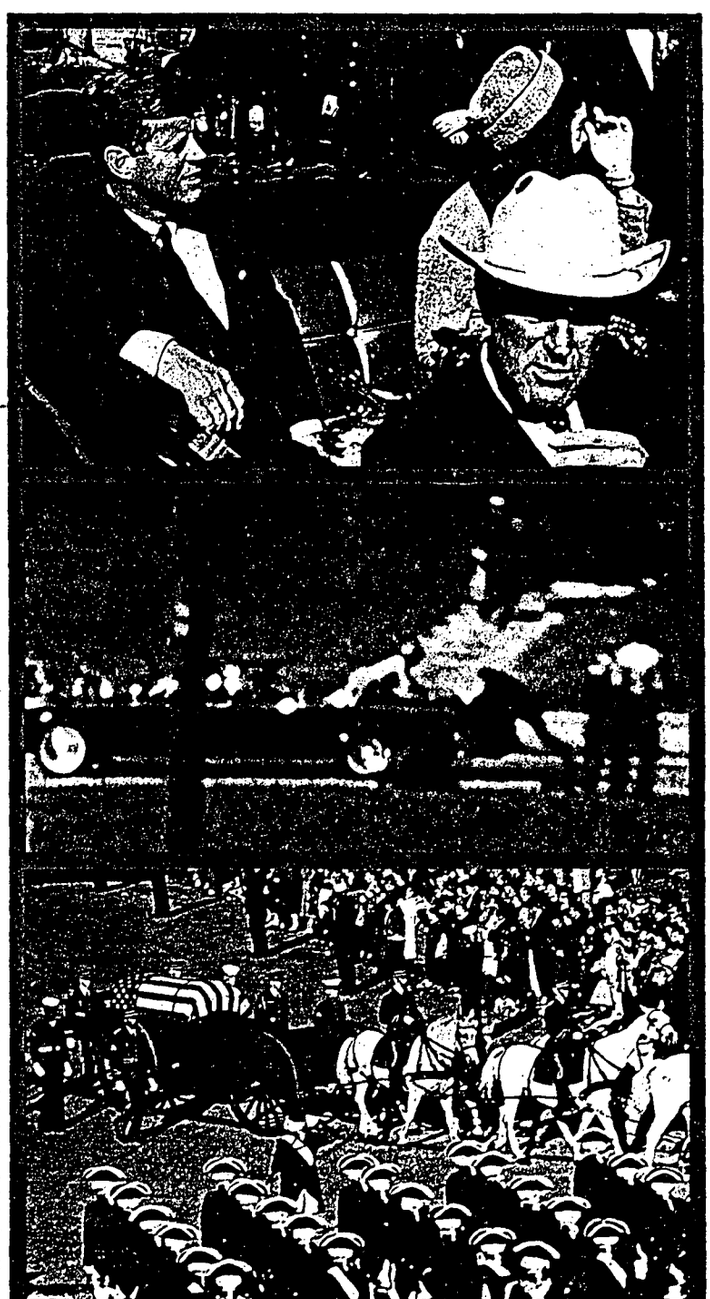
A Boston news reporter recalled that during a recent speech to the Chamber of Commerce in Massachusetts, the curtain behind the podium kept moving — and Ted flinched when he noticed it.

"He was obviously very troubled by it," said the newsman. "On two or three occasions it caused him to lose his train of thought."

Said the close family friend: "The bulk of the $200,000 the Kennedy clan pays out each year for Ted's protection is in salaries for his security aides. He has a number of former FBI agents on the payroll.

"The salaries are paid by the Kennedys themselves, not the U.S. taxpayers.

"Ted insists on very tight security, particularly when he's traveling. I've never known him to travel under his own name. And he gets very angry if word leaks out about his whereabouts when he's on a private weekend away from home."



TRAGIC JOURNEY: JFK and Jackie begin their fateful ride in Dallas. Minutes later, he is shot and she climbs onto trunk of car. Finally, a nation in shock sees President's flag-draped casket in the solemn funeral procession in Washington, D.C.

More JFK Stories on Next Pages

Just Released — Russia's Official Version of the Assassination

The CIA Did It!

The CIA murdered John F. Kennedy ... Lee Harvey Oswald was a "patsy" who didn't fire the fatal shots ... and "at least three" other assassins fired at the President.

Those are the startling conclusions of the Soviet Union's just-published official version of President Kennedy's assassination.

In a book titled "Echo of the Shots in Dallas" — published by Novosti, the official Soviet news agency — veteran journalists Sergei Losev and Vitaly Petrusienko say their "independent investigation" reveals that:

- The CIA conspired with the Pentagon, the Mafia, defense contractors and big U.S. oil companies to assassinate JFK.
- The CIA was furious because JFK refused to let U.S. Air Force planes help CIA mercenaries win the Bay of Pigs attack on Cuba.
- The CIA wanted to stop JFK from cutting U.S. military involvement in Vietnam, and from seeking friendlier ties with Russia.
- The CIA didn't want JFK to up the tax bite on their longtime allies — the big oil companies.

And in the book's words: "In addition to these elements, there was the American Mafia, to whom the loss of Cuban business meant $160 million in lost revenues from casinos, hotels and narcotics."

The authors claim that Oswald was a low-level CIA agent, who made his well-known trip to Russia to pass false information about the U.S. radar net around Japan to the Soviets.

But the authors say Russian intelligence didn't fall for the scheme. After Oswald failed his mission and returned to the U.S., the CIA went to great lengths to build him up as a Communist sympathizer, say the authors.

"Oswald was prepared as a patsy, as an ideal instrument to cover up the truth of the crime."

And the book states flatly: "Oswald did not fire the shots that killed President Kennedy. His rifle was too inaccurate to hit anyone.

"At least three people (other than Oswald) shot at Kennedy, some from the grassy knoll (near the building Oswald was in).

"The exact number of bullets that hit Kennedy's head will never be established.

"While the limousine was advancing toward the grassy knoll, he was shot head-on.

"Oswald was sent to his death two days after the assassination of Kennedy. Evidence indicates he was supposed to be eliminated earlier, actually on the very day of the assassination, and not in Dallas, but somewhere outside of Dallas.



OSWALD'S RIFLE was "too inaccurate to hit anyone," say the Russians.

"All the conspirators wanted to do was establish his traces in the area of the crime. After the crime ... the conspirators were afraid he would break down and reveal some of the information at his disposal. That's why Jack Ruby was ordered to liquidate him."

To further hide their crime, the book states, the CIA stole JFK's body briefly just after the assassination — and had bullet fragments removed.

The book states: "The brain was taken out of the body so that the bullet fragments could be removed and their channels obliterated. The brain was then replaced in the skull prior to the official autopsy."

The book adds that the doctor who performed the official autopsy didn't know that JFK's brain had been tampered with.

The Soviet authors also blame the CIA for the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy five years later. The book states:

"The logical conclusion of the Dallas tragedy was the assassination in 1968 of Robert Kennedy, to eliminate the return of a Kennedy to the White House."



JUST A PATSY? Oswald (center) was liquidated by Jack Ruby (right) to keep him from talking, according to the Russians.

Haunting Legacy of the Kennedy Killing . . .

Mysterious Deaths Mount to 25

The long list of people associated with the JFK slaying who have died mysteriously, and often violently, continues to grow — at least 25 people are on it now.

In the past eight years, four more names were etched in blood on the macabre list: two top crime lords with ties to the CIA; a cult leader once considered a suspect in the Kennedy slaying, and a Cuban whose testimony implicated both the CIA and the Mafia in the JFK murder.

The 25th name was added to the bizarre death list last July 31 when Jose Braulio Aleman, while being riddled by a hail of bullets in a shootout with Miami police, put his own gun to his head.

Aleman, son of a pre-Castro Cuban government official and heir to a fortune estimated at between $29 million and $200 million, had testified in September 1978 about the alleged role of the Mafia and the CIA in the plot to kill JFK.

He fingered Florida mob boss Santos Trafficante as a key figure in the slaying conspiracy. For five years afterward, he lived in fear.

On July 31, Aleman — by now nearly broke and in hiding in Miami — went berserk. He shot and killed one relative and wounded three others. During an ensuing gun battle with police, Aleman turned his pistol on himself. Police say his own bullet killed him.

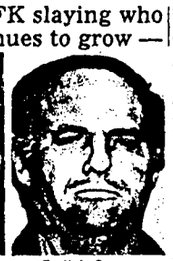
Since 1975, three notorious criminals whose names were linked to the Kennedy murder also met swift deaths. They were:



Sam Giancana
Gunned down



Jose Aleman
Shot himself



Ervil LeBaron
Suicide victim

SAM "MOMO" GIANCANA
Murdered June 19, 1975

Shortly after the JFK slaying in 1963, Chicago mobster Giancana disappeared, turning up in an apparent self-imposed exile in Mexico. Between 1966 and 1974 he traveled extensively in the Caribbean and South America, returning to the U.S. in late 1974 or early 1975.

Just days before he was scheduled to testify about his dealings with the CIA in alleged plots to kill Fidel Castro and President Kennedy, Giancana was gunned down in his own kitchen.

JOHNNY ROSELLI
Found murdered Aug. 7, 1976

Roselli, Giancana's closest friend and organized crime associate, vanished Aug. 1, 1976, shortly after word leaked out he was appearing before the same Senate Intelligence Committee that had summoned Giancana the year before. Six days after he disappeared, Roselli's body was found in a sealed 55-gallon oil drum near Miami, Fla. Both Roselli and Giancana had been linked to the CIA plot to kill Castro.

ERVIL "EVIL" LeBARON
Found dead Aug. 16, 1981

LeBaron, leader of a cult of about 150 followers, was sentenced to 12 years in prison for the murder of his brother, and was serving a life sentence for another murder when he was found dead in his cell at Utah State Prison. Officials believed the 56-year-old killer killed himself.

An FBI memo implicating LeBaron in the JFK killing and dated Jan. 27, 1964 — when the FBI was publicly insisting that Lee Harvey Oswald was the sole killer of the President — said that

(Continued on next page)

(Continued from preceding page)

LeBaron "is believed to have been responsible for President Kennedy's death."

Here are the other 21 people on the JFK death list:

LEE HARVEY OSWALD
Murdered Nov. 24, 1963

Oswald was gunned down by Jack Ruby in the Dallas police station Sunday, two days after JFK was killed.

JACK ZANGETTI
Found murdered December 1963

The day before Oswald was shot, Zangetti, manager of a motel complex in Oklahoma, told friends, "A man named Jack Ruby will kill Oswald tomorrow and in a few days a member of the Frank Sinatra family will be kidnapped to take some of the attention away from the assassination." On December 8, Frank Sinatra Jr. was kidnapped, and later released unharmed. Two weeks after the prophetic conversation, Zangetti was found dead, with bullet holes in his chest.

BETTY MOONEY MacDONALD
Committed suicide February 1964

A former stripper in Jack Ruby's Carousel Club, Betty had been to a party attended by Oswald. She was arrested for fighting with her roommate and an hour later she was dead. She was found hanging in her cell.

HANK KILLAM
Found dead March 17, 1964

Killam, husband of Wanda Killam who was also a stripper for Ruby, was associated not only with Ruby but with John Carter, who lived in the same rooming house as Oswald. Four months after JFK's murder, Killam was found dead on a Pensacola, Fla., street — his throat was slashed.

BILL HUNTER
Killed April 1964

Hunter, 35, an award-winning newsman, had met with Ruby's attorney Tom Howard at Ruby's apartment only hours after Ruby shot Oswald. Five months later Hunter was accidentally shot to death by a policeman.

GARY UNDERHILL
Found dead May 8, 1964

Underhill, a CIA agent, told friends he knew who killed President Kennedy and was sure "they" would soon get him. On May 8, 1964, in Washington, D.C., Underhill died of gunshot wounds.

JIM KOETHE
Murdered Sept. 21, 1964

A Dallas Times Herald reporter, Koethe, 30, had also met with Ruby's attorney the same time as Hunter did. Ten months later Koethe was killed by a karate chop to the throat.

TOM HOWARD
Died March 1965

Howard, Ruby's attorney, died of a heart attack in Dallas. "He was seen acting strangely two days before his death and no autopsy was performed," said researcher Penn Jones Jr.

ROSE CHERAMI
Killed Sept. 4, 1965

Two days before the JFK murder, Rose, a stripper for Ruby, had told hospital psychiatrist Victor Weiss that the President was going to be killed. Cherami also told police she had seen Oswald in Ruby's club many times. Nearly two years later, a hit-and-run car struck Rose, crushing her skull.

DOROTHY KILGALLEN
Found dead Nov. 8, 1965

During Jack Ruby's trial for murdering Oswald, columnist Dorothy Kilgallen had an interview with Ruby. She told her makeup man she was going to "break the Kennedy assassination wide open within five days." Three days later Dorothy was found dead in her New York apartment.

WILLIAM PITZER
Found dead Oct. 29, 1966

For years U.S. Navy Lieut. William Pitzer kept the secret of the autopsy of President Kennedy. Pitzer had photographed the autopsy and was instructed never to reveal what he saw. In 1966 Pitzer was found dead with a bullet in his head.

JACK RUBY
Died Jan. 3, 1967

Cancer claimed his life. The next day his attorneys charged negligence by Dallas authorities who had custody of Ruby. They said officials ignored his complaints that he was ill.

DAVID FERRIE
Died Feb. 21, 1967

Ferrie was a CIA contract pilot who had flown into Cuba on secret missions. In early 1967 New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison questioned him on the theory that Ferrie had flown the real murderers out of Dallas. A month after he was questioned Ferrie was found dead in his apartment.

ELADIO DEL VALLE
Murdered Feb. 21, 1967

On the same day as Ferrie's death, his close friend Elodia Del Valle, a wealthy exiled Cuban, was murdered. Del Valle, who had flown with Ferrie on secret missions to Cuba, was found with a bullet wound in his heart.

DR. MARY SHERMAN
Murdered June 1967

Another of Ferrie's friends, Dr. Mary Sherman was shot to death.

DR. NICHOLAS CHETTA
Died May 1968

In a macabre twist of fate, the coroner himself, who performed autopsies on both Ferrie and Dr. Sherman, died of a heart attack.

CLYDE JOHNSON
Murdered July 1969

Johnson, 37 — who had attended parties with Ferrie, Ruby and Oswald — was to testify at the conspiracy trial Garrison was conducting. Johnson never appeared. He was beaten so severely he had to be hospitalized. Five months later he was shot to death.

JOSEPH A. MILTEER
Died Feb. 22, 1974

Milteer, a right-wing extremist, was secretly taped by Miami police as he detailed with terrifying accuracy how JFK would be killed — 13 days before the assassination. On Feb. 9, 1974, a Coleman stove blew up in his bathroom. Two weeks later Milteer died of burns he suffered in the fire — but a mortician who saw the body said the burns weren't severe enough to be fatal.

CLAY SHAW
Died Aug. 15, 1974

Shaw, a wealthy businessman, was tried by Garrison and acquitted of conspiring to kill Kennedy. In January 1974, former CIA executive Victor Marchetti revealed that a CIA executive instructed an agent to give "Shaw all the help he needs" during the Garrison investigation. Several months later Shaw was found dead in his home.

GEORGE de MOHRENSCHILDT
Committed suicide March 29, 1977

De Mohrenschildt, 65, shot himself to death in Manalapan, Fla., only hours after learning that an investigator for the House assassinations committee wanted to interview him. De Mohrenschildt once testified that he had been a close friend of Oswald.

CARLOS PRIO SOCARRAS
Committed suicide April 5, 1977

Exactly a week after de Mohrenschildt took his life, former Cuban President Carlos Prio Socarras, a one-time business associate of Jack Ruby, fired a bullet into his own chest.

Mysterious Deaths



KENNEDY'S GRAVE SITE in Arlington National Cemetery is never visited by his family.

Kennedy Family Never Visits His Grave

The grave sites of President John F. Kennedy and his assassin Lee Harvey Oswald are as different as day and night, but in one respect they are remarkably similar — neither man's tomb is visited by his family.



OSWALD'S remains lie in a Texas cemetery.

Kennedy's final resting place is a meticulously maintained 3.2-acre grave site in the solemn grandeur of Arlington National Cemetery outside Washington, D.C.

"Some 3.5 million people visit the cemetery every year, and the Kennedy grave is the most popular stopping place," said Courtenay Welton, spokesman for Arlington National Cemetery.

"I have been employed here for eight years and as far as I know, the former First Lady and the President's children have never been here during that time," added Welton, whose office handles arrangements for all visiting dignitaries and VIPS, and would be informed if members of Kennedy's family visited the grave site.

Meanwhile, the remains of Lee Harvey Oswald lie in a lonely cemetery near Arlington, Tex., that's bordered by a junkyard and an interstate highway.

"His wife and children never visit the grave site, I can tell you that," declared an employee of the cemetery, Rose Hill Memorial Park.

Enquirer Team That Worked on JFK Special

This ENQUIRER special section, on the 20th anniversary of the assassination of President Kennedy, was produced by a team of 56 editors, reporters, researchers, correspondents and photo staff. These were the people involved:

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Do You Think There Was a Conspiracy Behind JFK Murder? Phone in Your Vote

Do you believe there was a conspiracy behind the assassination of President John F. Kennedy?

Almost from the moment shots rang out on that tragic day in Dallas, a controversy has raged over who was responsible for the President's death. Did one assassin act alone — or was he part of a plot to kill Kennedy?

Here is YOUR chance to tell the world what you think by dialing one of our convenient "900" numbers.

If you say YES, there was a conspiracy behind the President's assassination, then call 900-720-4330.

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If you normally dial "1" before placing a long-distance call, then dial "1" before calling either "900" number. After dialing the number, wait until you hear a recorded message saying that the call is completed, then hang up. Your vote will be recorded automatically.

The polls will be open 24 hours a day from November 14 through November 21.

The only cost to you for a call will be 50 cents on your monthly phone bill.

We'll carry the results of the poll in our issue on sale December 6. Let us know what you think.

Starting Next Week

Read the blockbuster new book that gives a no-holds-barred look at the young Kennedys — and tells how they survived booze, drugs and even death threats, while growing up in America's most famous dynasty. It's all in "Growing Up Kennedy: The Third Wave Comes of Age," exclusive in The ENQUIRER.

A C.I.A. Cable Sought to Discredit Critics of the Warren Commission

NYT – 26 Dec. 1977

The Central Intelligence Agency has often argued that its worldwide propaganda efforts are intended only to alter the climate of public opinion in other countries and that any "fallout" reaching the eyes and ears of Americans is both unavoidable and unintentional.

But a C.I.A. document, recently declassified under the Freedom of Information Act, provides a detailed account of at least one instance in which the agency mustered its propaganda machinery to support an issue of far more concern to Americans, and to the C.I.A. itself, than to citizens of other countries.

This was the conclusion of the Warren Commission that Lee Harvey Oswald alone was responsible for the assassination of President Kennedy.

In a cable sent to some of its overseas stations and bases on April 1, 1967, C.I.A. headquarters began by recalling that "from the day of President Kennedy's assassination on, there has been speculation about the responsibility for his murder."

Such speculation, the cable said, was "stemmed for a time" by the release of the Warren Commission's report in early 1964. But, the cable noted: "Various writers have now had time to scan the Commission's published report and documents for new pretexts for questioning, and there has been a new wave of books and articles criticizing the Commission's findings."

"This trend of opinion is a matter of concern to the U.S. Government, including our organization," the C.I.A. said, adding that the agency was "directly involved" in the matter because "among other facts, we contributed information to the investigation."

"Conspiracy theories," the cable went on, "have frequently thrown suspicion on our organization, for example by falsely alleging that Lee Harvey Oswald worked for us. The aim of this dispatch is to provide material for countering and discrediting the claims of the conspiracy theorists, so as to inhibit circulation of such claims in other countries."

The C.I.A. was careful to caution its stations overseas not to initiate a discussion "of the assassination question" where such a discussion was "not already taking place." But where such discussions were under way, C.I.A. officers abroad were directed to "discuss the publicity problem with liaison and friendly elite contacts, especially politicians and editors," and to "employ propaganda assets to answer and refute the attacks of the critics."

"Book reviews and feature articles," the cable said, "are particularly appropriate for this purpose."

Among the arguments that the agency suggested were that the Warren Commission had conducted "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," the cable directed, "that parts of the conspiracy talk appear to be deliberately generated by Communist propagandists."

Two of the strongest critics of the Warren Commission, Edward Jay Epstein and Mark Lane, were singled out for attack. "Although Mark Lane's book is much less convincing than Epstein's and comes off badly where contested by knowledgeable critics," the cable said, in a reference to Mr. Lane's book, 'Rush to Judgment,' it is also much more difficult to answer as a whole, as one becomes lost in a morass of unrelated details."

These critics and others, the C.I.A. said, should be depicted as "wedded to theories adopted before the evidence was in," politically or financially "interested" in disproving the commission's conclusion, "hasty or inaccurate in their research, or infatuated with their own theories."

Such critics, the cable advised, "have often been enticed by a form of intellectual pride: They light on some theory and fall in love with it; they also scoff at the commission because it did not always answer every question with a flat decision one way or the other.

"Actually, the makeup of the commission and its staff was an excellent safeguard against overcommitment to any one theory, or against the illicit transformation of probabilities into certainties."

In what was perhaps a burst of professional pride, C.I.A. headquarters asked that it also be pointed out that "Oswald would not have been any sensible person's choice for a co-conspirator—he was a 'loner,' mixed up, of questionable reliability and an unknown quantity to any professional intelligence service."

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE 14A

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
28 JULY 1978

Oswald Friend A Spy

Informant For CIA Knew Assassin Well

WASHINGTON (UPI) — George de Mohrenschildt, who knew Lee Harvey Oswald "intimately" in the months before the death of John F. Kennedy, was a CIA informant according to once-secret intelligence memos.

De Mohrenschildt was considered a key witness by the House Assassinations Committee when he died of a gunshot wound to the head in March 1977 in Manalapan, Fla., in what local authorities said was an apparent suicide.

At the time, Rep. Richardson Preyer, D-N.C., a committee member, said de Mohrenschildt was a "crucial witness . . . based on the new information he had. He knew Oswald intimately."

Some conspiracy advocates believe de Mohrenschildt could have provided evidence that Oswald was not acting alone, as the Warren Commission concluded he did, in killing Kennedy on Nov. 22, 1963. The committee's public hearings this fall are expected to review the de Mohrenschildt case.

Revelation of de Mohrenschildt's clear CIA ties came in documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act by Michael Levy, a 31-year-old freelance researcher.

One memo by Richard Helms, then CIA deputy director for plans, said de Mohrenschildt, a Russian-born petroleum geologist, applied for a job with the CIA in 1942 but was rejected "because he was alleged to be a Nazi espionage agent."

Helms, who later became CIA director, also said de Morbenschildt took a 1957 trip to Yugoslavia and provided the CIA with "foreign intelligence which was promptly disseminated to other federal agencies in 10 separate reports."

A separate memo indicated de Mohrenschildt also furnished lengthy reports to the CIA on his 1958 travels through Mexico and Panama.

De Mohrenschildt was living in the Dallas area when Oswald returned from a 2½-year stay in the Soviet Union in June 1962, and the memo said he and his wife became "well acquainted" with the Oswalds.

A CIA memo, whose author was deleted, described de Mohrenschildt as a "dubious character," citing his alleged communist sympathies.

Life



ed a tough leg-
with politics.



JOHN THEN: A little boy's sad farewell.

More People Recognize Oswald Than V.P. Bush

Despite the passage of 20 years since Lee Harvey Oswald gunned down President Kennedy, nearly half the people we polled still recognized Oswald from his picture.

In fact, far more people knew Oswald than recognized Vice President George Bush in a similar ENQUIRER survey!

Amazingly, more than 47 percent of the 400 people we polled in seven cities identified Oswald from his picture — but only 38 percent correctly named Bush in a recent poll.

Will He Be Next?

's face. He jumped with fright
ran into the theater. Clearly,
thought someone had shot at
until aides calmed him down
told him it was a passing car."

uthor Lester David, who wrote
d Kennedy: Triumphs and
gedies," recalled an incident at
utdoor festival that shook Ted.

He was in a crowd and suddenly
re was a loud bang. It was prob-



be the third Kennedy brother
public places.

ably a balloon bursting. But Ted cringed visibly as the blood rushed from his face. He was badly shaken, obviously thinking someone had shot at him."

And a former White House correspondent, who was with Ted several years ago while he was campaigning for a local Democratic politician, recalled:

"Ted was in an open convertible waving at the crowd when a car backfired. Ted turned absolutely white and started to duck. His security men reached for their guns.

"It was all over in a moment, but Teddy was white for minutes. Sweat was pouring down his face.

"Later he said, 'What can I do — become a hermit?' "

A Boston news reporter recalled that during a recent speech to the Chamber of Commerce in Massachusetts, the curtain behind the podium kept moving — and Ted flinched when he noticed it.

"He was obviously very troubled by it," said the newsman. "On two or three occasions it caused him to lose his train of thought."

Said the close family friend: "The bulk of the $200,000 the Kennedy clan pays out each year for Ted's protection is in salaries for his security aides. He has a number of former FBI agents on the payroll.

"The salaries are paid by the Kennedys themselves, not the U.S. taxpayers.

"Ted insists on very tight security, particularly when he's traveling. I've never known him to travel under his own name. And he gets very angry if word leaks out about his whereabouts when he's on a private weekend away from home."



TRAGIC JOURNEY: JFK and Jackie begin their fateful ride in Dallas. Minutes later, he is shot and she climbs onto trunk of car. Finally, a nation in shock sees President's flag-draped casket in the solemn funeral procession in Washington, D.C.

More JFK Stories on Next Pages

Just Released — Russia's Official Version of the Assassination

The CIA Did It!

The CIA murdered John F. Kennedy ... Lee Harvey Oswald was a "patsy" who didn't fire the fatal shots ... and "at least three" other assassins fired at the President.

Those are the startling conclusions of the Soviet Union's just-published official version of President Kennedy's assassination.

In a book titled "Echo of the Shots in Dallas" — published by Novosti, the official Soviet news agency — veteran journalists Sergei Losev and Vitaly Petrusienko say their "independent investigation" reveals that:

- The CIA conspired with the Pentagon, the Mafia, defense contractors and big U.S. oil companies to assassinate JFK.
- The CIA was furious because JFK refused to let U.S. Air Force planes help CIA mercenaries win the Bay of Pigs attack on Cuba.
- The CIA wanted to stop JFK from cutting U.S. military involvement in Vietnam, and from seeking friendlier ties with Russia.
- The CIA didn't want JFK to up the tax bite on their longtime allies — the big oil companies.

And in the book's words: "In addition to these elements, there was the American Mafia, to whom the loss of Cuban business meant $100 million in lost revenues from casinos, hotels and narcotics."



OSWALD'S RIFLE was "too inaccurate to hit anyone," say the Russians.

The authors claim that Oswald was a low-level CIA agent, who made his well-known trip to Russia to pass false information about the U.S. radar net around Japan to the Soviets.

But the authors say Russian intelligence didn't fall for the scheme. After Oswald failed his mission and returned to the U.S., the CIA went to great lengths to build him up as a Communist sympathizer, say the authors.

"Oswald was prepared as a patsy, as an ideal instrument to cover up the truth of the crime."

And the book states flatly: "Oswald did not fire the shots that killed President Kennedy. His rifle was too inaccurate to hit anyone.

"At least three people (other than Oswald) shot at Kennedy, some from the grassy knoll (near the building Oswald was in).

"The exact number of bullets that hit Kennedy's head will never be established.

"While the limousine was advancing toward the grassy knoll, he was shot head-on.

"Oswald was sent to his death two days after the assassination of Kennedy. Evidence indicates he was supposed to be eliminated earlier, actually on the very day of the assassination, and not in Dallas, but somewhere outside of Dallas.

"All the conspirators wanted to do was establish his traces in the area of the crime. After the crime ... the conspirators were afraid he would break down and reveal some of the information at his disposal. That's why Jack Ruby was ordered to liquidate him."



JUST A PATSY? Oswald (center) was liquidated by Jack Ruby (right) to keep him from talking, according to the Russians.

To further hide their crime, the book states, the CIA stole JFK's body briefly just after the assassination — and had bullet fragments removed.

The book states: "The brain was taken out of the body so that the bullet fragments could be removed and their channels obliterated. The brain was then replaced in the skull prior to the official autopsy."

The book adds that the doctor who performed the official autopsy didn't know that JFK's brain had been tampered with.

The Soviet authors also blame the CIA for the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy five years later. The book states:

"The logical conclusion of the Dallas tragedy was the assassination in 1968 of Robert Kennedy, to eliminate the return of a Kennedy to the White House."

Haunting Legacy of the Kennedy Killing . . .

Mysterious Deaths Mount to 25

The long list of people associated with the JFK slaying who have died mysteriously, and often violently, continues to grow — at least 25 people are on it now.

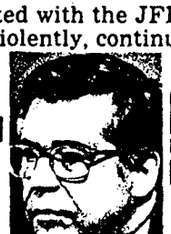
In the past eight years, four more names were etched in blood on the macabre list: two top crime lords with ties to the CIA; a cult leader once considered a suspect in the Kennedy slaying, and a Cuban whose testimony implicated both the CIA and the Mafia in the JFK murder.

The 25th name was added to the bizarre death list last July 31 when Jose Braulio Aleman, while being riddled by a hail of bullets in a shoot-out with Miami police, put his own gun to his head.

Aleman, son of a pre-Castro Cuban government official and heir to a fortune estimated at between $29 million and $200 million, had testified in September 1978 about the alleged role of the Mafia and the CIA in the plot to kill JFK.



Sam Giancana
Gunned down



Jose Aleman
Shot himself



Ervil LeBaron
Suicide victim

He fingered Florida mob boss Santos Trafficante as a key figure in the slaying conspiracy. For five years afterward, he lived in fear.

On July 31, Aleman — by now nearly broke and in hiding in Miami — went berserk. He shot and killed one relative and wounded three others. During an ensuing gun battle with police, Aleman turned his pistol on himself. Police say his own bullet killed him.

Since 1975, three notorious criminals whose names were linked to the Kennedy murder also met swift deaths. They were:

SAM "MOMO" GIANCANA
Murdered June 19, 1975

Shortly after the JFK slaying in 1963, Chicago mobster Giancana disappeared, turning up in an apparent self-imposed exile in Mexico. Between 1966 and 1974 he traveled extensively in the Caribbean and South America, returning to the U.S. in late 1974 or early 1975.

Just days before he was scheduled to testify about his dealings with the CIA in alleged plots to kill Fidel Castro and President Kennedy, Giancana was gunned down in his own kitchen.

JOHNNY ROSELLI
Found murdered Aug. 7, 1976

Roselli, Giancana's closest friend and organized crime associate, vanished Aug. 1, 1976, shortly after word leaked out he was appearing before the same Senate Intelligence Committee that had summoned Giancana the year before. Six days after he disappeared, Roselli's body was found in a sealed 55-gallon oil drum near Miami, Fla. Both Roselli and Giancana had been linked to the CIA plot to kill Castro.

ERVIL "EVIL" LeBARON
Found dead Aug. 16, 1981

LeBaron, leader of a cult of about 150 followers, was sentenced to 12 years in prison for the murder of his brother, and was serving a life sentence for another murder when he was found dead in his cell at Utah State Prison. Officials believed the 56-year-old killer killed himself.

An FBI memo implicating LeBaron in the JFK killing and dated Jan. 27, 1964 — when the FBI was publicly insisting that Lee Harvey Oswald was the sole killer of the President — said that

(Continued on next page)

(Continued from preceding page)

LeBaron "is believed to have been responsible for President Kennedy's death."

Here are the other 21 people on the JFK death list:

LEE HARVEY OSWALD
Murdered Nov. 24, 1963

Oswald was gunned down by Jack Ruby in the Dallas police station Sunday, two days after JFK was killed.

JACK ZANGETTI
Found murdered December 1963

The day before Oswald was shot, Zangetti, manager of a motel complex in Oklahoma, told friends, "A man named Jack Ruby will kill Oswald tomorrow and in a few days a member of the Frank Sinatra family will be kidnapped to take some of the attention away from the assassination." On December 8, Frank Sinatra Jr. was kidnapped, and later released unharmed. Two weeks after the prophetic conversation, Zangetti was found dead, with bullet holes in his chest.

BETTY MOONEY MacDONALD
Committed suicide February 1964

A former stripper in Jack Ruby's Carousel Club, Betty had been to a party attended by Oswald. She was arrested for fighting with her roommate and an hour later she was dead. She was found hanging in her cell.

HANK KILLAM
Found dead March 17, 1964

Killam, husband of Wanda Killam who was also a stripper for Ruby, was associated not only with Ruby but with John Carter, who lived in the same rooming house as Oswald. Four months after JFK's murder, Killam was found dead on a Pensacola, Fla., street — his throat was slashed.

BILL HUNTER
Killed April 1964

Hunter, 35, an award-winning newsman, had met with Ruby's attorney Tom Howard at Ruby's apartment only hours after Ruby shot Oswald. Five months later Hunter was accidentally shot to death by a policeman.

GARY UNDERHILL
Found dead May 8, 1964

Underhill, a CIA agent, told friends he knew who killed President Kennedy and was sure "they" would soon get him. On May 8, 1964, in Washington, D.C., Underhill died of gunshot wounds.

JIM KOETHE
Murdered Sept. 21, 1964

A Dallas Times Herald reporter, Koethe, 30, had also met with Ruby's attorney the same time as Hunter did. Ten months later Koethe was killed by a karate chop to the throat.

TOM HOWARD
Died March 1965

Howard, Ruby's attorney, died of a heart attack in Dallas. "He was seen acting strangely two days before his death and no autopsy was performed," said researcher Penn Jones Jr.

ROSE CHERAMI
Killed Sept. 4, 1965

Two days before the JFK murder, Rose, a stripper for Ruby, had told hospital psychiatrist Victor Weiss that the President was going to be killed. Cherami also told police she had seen Oswald in Ruby's club many times. Nearly two years later, a hit-and-run car struck Rose, crushing her skull.

Mysterious Deaths

DOROTHY KILGALLEN
Found dead Nov. 8, 1965

During Jack Ruby's trial for murdering Oswald, columnist Dorothy Kilgallen had an interview with Ruby. She told her makeup man she was going to "break the Kennedy assassination wide open within five days." Three days later Dorothy was found dead in her New York apartment.

WILLIAM PITZER
Found dead Oct. 29, 1966

For years U.S. Navy Lieut. William Pitzer kept the secret of the autopsy of President Kennedy. Pitzer had photographed the autopsy and was instructed never to reveal what he saw. In 1966 Pitzer was found dead with a bullet in his head.

JACK RUBY
Died Jan. 3, 1967

Cancer claimed his life. The next day his attorneys charged negligence by Dallas authorities who had custody of Ruby. They said officials ignored his complaints that he was ill.

DAVID FERRIE
Died Feb. 21, 1967

Ferrie was a CIA contract pilot who had flown into Cuba on secret missions. In early 1967 New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison questioned him on the theory that Ferrie had flown the real murderers out of Dallas. A month after he was questioned Ferrie was found dead in his apartment.

ELADIO DEL VALLE
Murdered Feb. 21, 1967

On the same day as Ferrie's death, his close friend Eladio Del Valle, a wealthy exiled Cuban, was murdered. Del Valle, who had flown with Ferrie on secret missions to Cuba, was found with a bullet wound in his heart.

DR. MARY SHERMAN
Murdered June 1967

Another of Ferrie's friends, Dr. Mary Sherman was shot to death.

DR. NICHOLAS CHETTA
Died May 1968

In a macabre twist of fate, the coroner himself, who performed autopsies on both Ferrie and Dr. Sherman, died of a heart attack.

CLYDE JOHNSON
Murdered July 1969

Johnson, 37 — who had attended parties with Ferrie, Ruby and Oswald — was to testify at the conspiracy trial Garrison was conducting. Johnson never appeared. He was beaten so severely he had to be hospitalized. Five months later he was shot to death.

JOSEPH A. MILTEER
Died Feb. 22, 1974

Milteer, a right-wing extremist, was secretly taped by Miami police as he detailed with terrifying accuracy how JFK would be killed — 13 days before the assassination. On Feb. 9, 1974, a Coleman stove blew up in his bathroom. Two weeks later Milteer died of burns he suffered in the fire — but a mortician who saw the body said the burns weren't severe enough to be fatal.

CLAY SHAW
Died Aug. 15, 1974

Shaw, a wealthy businessman, was tried by Garrison and acquitted of conspiring to kill Kennedy. In January 1974, former CIA executive Victor Marchetti revealed that a CIA executive instructed an agent to give "Shaw all the help he needs" during the Garrison investigation. Several months later Shaw was found dead in his home.

GEORGE de MOHRENSCHILDT
Committed suicide March 29, 1977

De Mohrenschildt, 65, shot himself to death in Manalapan, Fla., only hours after learning that an investigator for the House assassinations committee wanted to interview him. De Mohrenschildt once testified that he had been a close friend of Oswald.

CARLOS PRIO SOCARRAS
Committed suicide April 5, 1977

Exactly a week after de Mohrenschildt took his life, former Cuban President Carlos Prio Socarras, a one-time business associate of Jack Ruby, fired a bullet into his own chest.



KENNEDY'S GRAVE SITE in Arlington National Cemetery is never visited by his family.

Kennedy Family Never Visits His Grave

The grave sites of President John F. Kennedy and his assassin Lee Harvey Oswald are as different as day and night, but in one respect they are remarkably similar — neither man's tomb is visited by his family.



OSWALD'S remains lie in a Texas cemetery.

Kennedy's final resting place is a meticulously maintained 3.2-acre grave site in the solemn grandeur of Arlington National Cemetery outside Washington, D.C.

"Some 3.5 million people visit the cemetery every year, and the Kennedy grave is the most popular stopping place," said Courtenay Welton, spokesman for Arlington National Cemetery.

"I have been employed here for eight years and as far as I know, the former First Lady and the President's children have never been here during that time," added Welton, whose office handles arrangements for all visiting dignitaries and VIPS, and would be informed if members of Kennedy's family visited the grave site.

Meanwhile, the remains of Lee Harvey Oswald lie in a lonely cemetery near Arlington, Tex., that's bordered by a junkyard and an interstate highway.

"His wife and children never visit the grave site, I can tell you that," declared an employee of the cemetery, Rose Hill Memorial Park.

Enquirer Team That Worked on JFK Special

This ENQUIRER special section, on the 20th anniversary of the assassination of President Kennedy, was produced by a team of 56 editors, reporters, researchers, correspondents and photo staff. These were the people involved:

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2, 1983

NATIONAL ENQUIRER, 22 November 1983.

ENQUIRER Exclusive on JFK Assassination — New Facts

Is This the Man Who Killed JFK?

A mysterious new suspect has surfaced in the JFK assassination!

The suspect, a notorious French terrorist, was in Dallas the day Kennedy was shot, according to the CIA and French Intelligence — and the FBI believed he "either killed John F. Kennedy or knew who had done it," explosive new court papers charge.

And the terrorist, Jean Rene Souetre, was reportedly deported from the U.S. under mysterious circumstances just 48 hours after the assassination.

Incredibly, in the 20 years since JFK's death, Souetre's name has never popped up in any report on the assassination, including the official Warren Commission report!

Yet The ENQUIRER tracked down and questioned Souetre.

And while he denied any involvement in the assassination, he admitted he believes there was a "French connection" in the case. Souetre said he has learned that a vicious French criminal named Michel Mertz was in Dallas the day JFK was shot and "may well have been involved."

But incredibly, "Michel Mertz" is an alias Souetre himself has used, according to the FBI!



FRENCH TERRORIST Jean Rene Souetre today runs a casino in a town in France.

Notorious Terrorist Was in Dallas on Day of the Shooting

The ENQUIRER, working with top experts on the assassination and once-classified data obtained under the Freedom of Information Act, managed to penetrate the thick shield of silence surrounding Souetre. But the U.S. government has now blocked efforts to find out exactly how much intelligence agencies know about Souetre's role in the 1963 assassination.

Prominent Washington attorney Bernard Fensterwald Jr. unsuccessfully sued for release of all other U.S. intelligence documents mentioning Souetre. In his court papers, Fensterwald cited evidence of a "French connection" he had turned up in released CIA and FBI documents plus information he'd personally obtained from French intelligence sources.

"We may have found the actual killer — and that man is still alive and available for questioning," declared Fensterwald, executive director of the Committee to Investigate Assassinations and former counsel to various Senate subcommittees for 12 years.

"This opens up a whole new line of thinking on the assassination — yet every effort to explore it further has been blocked."

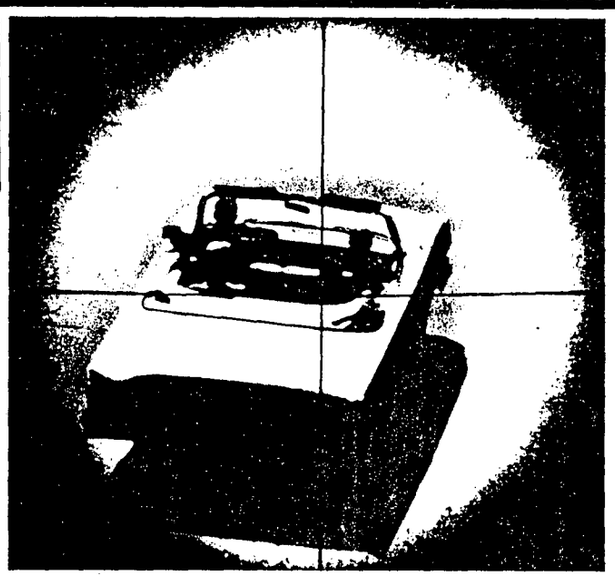
A 1964 CIA memo says French intelligence knew Souetre, "alias Michel Mertz," was in Dallas the afternoon JFK was shot. The memo added that the French believed Souetre had been deported — possibly to Canada or Mexico — 48 hours later. "The French are concerned," the memo explained, "because (French President Charles) de Gaulle planned a visit to Mexico (on March 15, 1964).

"They would like to know the reason for his (Souetre's) expulsion from the U.S. and his destination."

The FBI apparently already knew Souetre may have been involved in JFK's death. They tailed one of his former friends, Dr. Lawrence Alderson of Houston, "for a month" after the tragedy, Alderson told The ENQUIRER.

"When the FBI finally came to interview me (about six weeks after the assassination), they told me they had traced Souetre to Dallas a day before the assassination and lost him," said Alderson, a dentist.

"They told me they felt Souetre had either killed JFK or knew who had done it. And they wanted to know who in Washington had had him flown out of Dallas."



WHAT THE KILLER SAW: In this FBI reenactment, car is photographed through a telescopic gun sight from a sixth floor window of the Texas School Book Depository.

Dr. Alderson said he met Souetre in 1953 in France while he was serving in the U.S. Army and Souetre was a French Air Force officer.

"But the last time I saw him was in 1954," he said. "Later he dropped out of sight and joined the OAS (the outlawed French group fighting to prevent de Gaulle from granting independence to Algeria)."

Dr. Alderson said he volunteered in 1977 to tell the House Assassinations Committee "everything I knew about Souetre" — but, incredibly, they never talked to him.

Yet that very same year, Souetre's name popped up again in an FBI memo from the head of the Dallas FBI office to the FBI director. The heavily censored memo — obtained by The ENQUIRER — says someone (name deleted) "wanted to know what investigation, if any, the Bureau conducted on Jean Souetre ... who was supposedly located in Dallas, Tex., on 11/22/63, the day President Kennedy was assassinated."

In his court papers, Fensterwald says Dr. Alderson told him he had been visited by the FBI and that the dentist said, "The FBI felt Souetre had either killed JFK or knew who had done it."

Souetre himself admitted to The ENQUIRER he was once a major suspect in a 1962 assassination attempt on de Gaulle. And according to the court papers, "All indications are that Souetre was a trained and experienced terrorist and perfectly capable of murder."

But why would Souetre want to kill JFK? "Next to de Gaulle, the OAS despised President Kennedy the most," Fensterwald's court document points out. "As a U.S. Senator, he (Kennedy) made long and passionate speeches in favor of Algerian independence. He quashed every attempt by the CIA and the U.S. military to aid the OAS in their fight to keep Algeria French ... they (the OAS) hated him (Kennedy) with a passion."



SPEECHES BY JFK (left) had brought him into conflict with French terrorists. At right is Souetre, photographed while he was captain in the French parachute commandos.

Today Souetre runs a casino in the town of Divonne les Bains in France. When The ENQUIRER contacted him there, Souetre admitted he was once a suspect in the assassination attempt on de Gaulle but denied he had any part in the JFK assassination.

Souetre insisted he wasn't in Dallas the day of the killing — but he said he has learned that another French military officer who looks like

(Continued on next page)

Revealed in Killing That Shocked World 20 Years Ago

(Continued from preceding page) him was there that day. To this day, neither the Warren Commission nor any other official panel probing JFK's death has ever mentioned Souetre or a possible "French connection" in the case.

Richard Sprague, former director and chief counsel of the House Assassinations Committee, told The ENQUIRER: "Neither the FBI nor CIA ever pointed out that it (a French connection) was an area they had made any inquiry on or checked into.

"If I were still probing the assassination today, it's certainly something I'd want to investigate."

Panel of Experts Probes . . .

4 Pieces Still Missing In Assassination Puzzle

Twenty years after John F. Kennedy was assassinated, four major questions still remain unanswered — and a blue-ribbon panel of highly qualified assassination experts, assembled by The ENQUIRER, have examined them exhaustively.

Every one of the questions they discussed has two common elements.

Each one could throw light on how and why the President was killed — and none has ever been answered by the U.S. government.

Here are those troubling questions — and the experts' opinions.

● Where is President Kennedy's brain?

The President's brain is missing — and pathologists believe it could answer key questions about the assassination.

Records show that the brain was turned over to Kennedy's former secretary Evelyn Lincoln in 1965 while she was working at the National Archives. Since then, the brain has disappeared.

But a thorough analysis of it could reveal "where the shots came from, what their angle was, whether there could have been more than one shot to the head and much more," said famed pathologist Dr. Cyril Wecht.

● Who was the mystery policeman who came calling on Lee Harvey Oswald minutes after the assassination?

After Kennedy was gunned down, Oswald hurried into his Dallas rooming house to change clothes. While he was there, a Dallas police car pulled up outside, tooted its horn twice, then slowly pulled away, according to Oswald's landlady Mrs. Earlene Roberts.

Experts believe the mystery cop could have been Officer J.D. Tippit, the man Oswald allegedly shot dead 10 minutes later.

"The Dallas police radio log shows that the dispatcher loses contact with Tippit around 1 p.m. — the time the patrol car was seen outside Oswald's rooming house," said historian Dr. David Wrone. And he believes that suggests a link between Oswald and the Dallas police.

● Why didn't the government pay more attention to a film showing one person in each of the three sixth-floor windows of the Texas School Book Depository building — including the window from which Oswald fired at Kennedy? Experts say the film shot by Charles Bronson, an amateur photographer, shows three people. Yet the government-appointed Warren Commission concluded that Oswald acted alone.



PEOPLE IN WINDOW MYSTERY: Warren Commission says Oswald alone shot Kennedy from Texas School Book Depository window (arrow). They discounted one film that shows three people in the sixth-floor windows.





MISSING FILM MYSTERY: Woman known as "babushka lady" (arrow) was taking pictures in the direction of grassy knoll (top photo). Top picture is similar to the scene she was shooting — but the film disappeared.

Assassination researcher Gary Mack, who saw the film, said: "The room in which Oswald was supposed to be has three windows. It was possible to see three people — two standing, one crouching — behind the windows. The film presents a massive problem for the government, which insists that Oswald was the assassin in that room and he acted alone."

● What happened to the film taken by a woman at the assassination scene?

Photographs taken at the time of the assassination show a woman filming the scene with an expensive movie camera. She had a clear view of the grassy knoll, the area where numerous eye-witnesses reported hearing shots fired.

The woman, known as the "babushka lady" because of the scarf (also called a "babushka") on her head, was Beverly Oliver and she had worked for Jack Ruby, Oswald's killer, until shortly before the assassination.

While she was working the Monday after the assassination, two men approached her. They "identified themselves as either FBI or Secret Service men — she isn't sure which," Mack revealed.

"The men told her they understood she had taken a movie of the assassination scene. When she replied that she had, but had not yet had the film developed, they politely offered to do it for her, free of charge.

"She handed over the film — and has never seen it or the men who took it since. Her view of the grassy knoll was unimpeded, her camera an excellent one capable of recording everything on the grassy knoll.

"But we'll never know what was in her movie."

The ENQUIRER's blue-ribbon panel of experts included: Dr. Cyril Wecht, a lawyer and doctor and panel member of the House Assassinations Committee; Harold Weisberg, former intelligence agent, Senate investigator and author of several books on the Kennedy assassination; Dr. David Wrone, a professor of history at the University of Wisconsin; Jack White, photographic expert who served as a consultant to the House Assassinations Committee, and Gary Mack, a leading assassination investigator.

More JFK Stories On Next Pages

Kennedy Children Scarred for l

. . . Say Friends and Psychiatrists

The Kennedy assassinations have left deep scars on the Kennedy kids — affecting them to this day, admit friends and psychiatric experts.

The children of John, Robert and Edward Kennedy, as well as those of Eunice Shriver, Pat Lawford and Jean Smith, were so traumatized by the slayings they will never be able to lead normal lives, say the experts.

Some have turned to drugs and wild living; others are withdrawn and suspicious of strangers. Others have even refused to tell people that their last name is Kennedy.

"Many of the children felt that they were cursed — that people were actually out to eliminate all Kennedys," said an insider.

As a result of the tragedies, he said, "Caroline shies away from the public. John seems to wander without any sense of direction. He doesn't want anything to do with politics.

"David and Robert Kennedy (sons of RFK) had drug problems. Many of the other boys did wild things and were uncontrollable.

"Caroline, John, Robert's children Kathleen and Joe and Ted's daughter Kara went through periods when they wouldn't tell anybody their last names."

Jamie Auchincloss, half brother of Jackie Kennedy Onassis, told The ENQUIRER, "The violent deaths have had a devastating effect on the lives of all the Kennedy children. This new generation of Kennedys has been traumatized and their potential for successful lives has been diminished.

"Many have shied away from professional careers because of a lack of ambition — based in part on their desire to stay out of the public spotlight.

"Because of the violence that has plagued the family, the young Kennedys say they have a sense of doom. They have a belief that a curse is on the family — and many of them say they live in fear."

Many of the older Kennedys have gotten death threats, the insider added. "This has always made the children watchful of strangers and fearful. Most of the kids had some type of bodyguards."

A Kennedy family friend confided, "The Kennedy young people have an almost paranoid view of life — fearful of more tragedy facing them every step of the way. It's because of this fear that Bobby and David turned to hard drugs."

It's no blessing to be born a Kennedy — it's a curse, says a psychiatrist.

Being raised without the influence of a father is a great disadvantage later in life, particularly to boys, according to psychiatrist Danilo Ponce.

"In his younger years, a boy needs face-to-face contact with a father to learn how to make his way in the world. The Kennedy boys will be uncomfortable and at a disadvantage when it comes to obtaining success," said Dr. Ponce, professor of psychiatry at the University of Hawaii medical school.

The Kennedy kids are under a lot of stress because they have inherited an "impossible-to-live-up-to legacy," he added. In order to live up to their famous fathers, "Not only must they devote their lives to public service, be elected President or hold other high office — but they must also die tragically and young."

Dr. Jaime Quintanilla, clinical professor of psychiatry at Texas Tech University School of Medicine in Amarillo, Tex., added, "The assassinations were likely to have left the Kennedy kids with deep and lasting scars, and as a consequence, they will be impaired the rest of their lives."



CAROLINE THEN: JFK's daughter shares quiet moment with her dad.



JOHN TODAY: He's inherit
acy and wants nothing to dc

21% of Congressmen Polled Doubt Oswald Was Only Assassin

More than one out of five U.S. congressmen polled don't believe the findings of the Warren Commission, an ENQUIRER survey reveals.

We asked 100 members of the House of Representatives: "Do you believe the conclusions of the Warren Commission — that Lee Harvey Oswald, acting alone, assassinated President Kennedy?"

Incredibly, 21 of the 100 congressmen responded with a flat-out no. Another 17 said they weren't sure that the report was correct.



CAROLINE TODAY: She shies away from the public.

Ted's Nightmare —

Ted Kennedy is still haunted by the terrible fear that he'll be shot down like brothers John and Robert — and even today he'll cringe at the sound of a car backfiring.

And despite tight security and bodyguards that cost the Kennedy family over $200,000, the Massachusetts Senator gets extremely nervous in public places, insiders reveal.

"The years have failed to dampen the nightmare that Ted suffers — that at any time he could become the third Kennedy to be murdered," said a close family friend.

"It's a fear that haunts him daily."

Said one insider: "Being out in the open among strangers makes him very nervous.

"Even though he has armed plainclothes security men with him at all times, his eyes are constantly darting about the crowd and toward nearby rooftops for any suspicious-looking person — or the glint of metal that could be a gun.

"I remember seeing him when he attended the premiere of a new play on Broadway. As he walked through the crowd to the steps of the theater, a car backfired.

"A look of horror came over



HAUNTED BY FEAR that he could murdered, Ted is visibly nervous i

The Washington Post OUTLOOK

SUNDAY, MAY 15, 1977

Mark Lane: The Man Behind The Assassination Probe

By George Lardner Jr.

AT ONE OF their earliest executive sessions last fall, each member of the House Assassinations Committee was handed for eyes-only inspection a black looseleaf binder about the murders of President Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr.

In keeping with the "sensitivity" of the information it contained, all the members were required to surrender their copies at the end of the meeting.

The press and public have yet to get a glimpse of the secret briefing book. But it was all old stuff to Mark Lane, the quarrelsome critic of the Warren Commission and other assassination investigations. He had already been shown a copy in the offices of the then-chief counsel of the committee, Richard A. Sprague.

"I thought it was a remarkable job in a very short period of time," says Lane. He suggested this may have been partly due to the fact that he himself had given a number of briefings in the course of the committee staff's preparation of the report, a so-called "threshold analysis" of the two murders.

Mark Lane is riding high in the 14th year of his endeavors as entrepreneur, circuit rider and self-appointed revisionist of the Kennedy and King assassinations. His headquarters sits atop Capitol Hill. He was the genial host at a press conference here earlier this month to kick off the promotion for his latest enterprise, with Dick Gregory. It is a book entitled "Code Name 'Zorro': the Murder of Martin Luther King Jr.," and its publishers have tentatively earmarked $50,000 to turn it into "a number one best seller immediately."

Dozens of reporters from such varied organizations as Agence France Presse, the Nashville Tennessean, the Cleveland Plain Dealer and Jornal do Brasil showed up. Lane, just turned 50, held forth with the confidence of a veteran pitchman, presiding over a mockup of the murder scene, labeling the FBI as "prime suspects" in the killing, and finally finishing to a small burst of applause from student admirers in the audience.

Lectures, Books and Bumper Stickers

THESE DAYS Lane operates from a somewhat cluttered, four-story townhouse in the toniest area of Capitol Hill, just across the street from the Supreme Court. His standard of living is modest, he says: a 1968 Volkswagen, three suits and a $500 savings account.

See LANE, Page G5

Lardner is a member of The Post's national staff.

LANE, From Page G1

He gets $1,000 to $1,750 for his lecture performances. His Citizens Commission of Inquiry sells copies of his 11-year-old book, "Rush to Judgment," at $5.95 each, prints of the Zapruder film of the JFK assassination at $25 a crack and, for the budget-minded, bumper stickers and buttons asking "Who Killed Kennedy? Ask Congress" for half a dollar apiece.

Lane says he gives all his lecture proceeds, $70,000 in the past two years, to the Citizens Commission, an organization he controls.

A glib showman who can serve up a beguiling blend of fact and fiction, Lane moved to Washington in January of 1975 "following the Watergate disclosures — and when it became plain to me, for the first time, that Congress might be convinced to conduct an investigation of the Kennedy assassination."

He established the Citizens Commission, "a non-profit organization devoted to a congressional reopening" of the issue, bought what he describes as "an old boarding-house" at 105 2d St. NE as a headquarters and residence and put together a staff of dedicated college students to watch the store while he galloped about the country to assail the Warren Commission, the FBI, the CIA and others, drawing bigger and bigger crowds as the months wore on.

The preaching does not come free. His booking agent charges "as low as $1,000 for a straight lecture" to $1,750 for "a three-day multimedia program," Lane says. The agent takes a third off the top and sends the rest to Washington.

By late 1975, in a climate of distrust fed by Watergate and subsequent disclosure of CIA and FBI misdeeds, Lane was averaging 10 lectures a week. Nearly 7,000 turned out to hear him at Purdue University. At Northeast Louisiana University in Monroe, La., he outdrew Ronald Reagan, who had been there a few weeks earlier.

But by his account, Lane seems never to strike it rich. He counters suggestions to the contrary as a confection of the CIA, a line of inquiry suggested by the agency years ago in a memo entitled "Countering Criticisms of the Warren Report." Lane often responds to his critics in kind, accusing them of lying, ulterior motives and sometimes mental illness.

He also pleads poverty when asked how much he made off the film version of "Rush to Judgment."

Although the British Broadcasting Corp. once paid $40,000 for a single showing, reportedly the biggest such fee ever paid in Britain, Lane says he got "not a farthing" out of that telecast or any other showing. He maintains that co-producer Emile de Antonio "seized control of the film" before it started making any money.

Lane and writer Donald Freed also wrote the script of another film, "Executive Action," a fictionalized version of the JFK assassination which grossed $15 million, but the two have been quoted as saying they got "very little" for their efforts.

Building Pressure on Congress

BEFORE THE Kennedy assassination in 1963, Lane was a little-known New York lawyer and one-term member of the New York State Assembly. After the murder, he wrote a quick "Brief for the Defense" in a New York weekly and sought to establish himself before the Warren Commission, first as counsel for the dead Lee Harvey Oswald and then for Oswald's mother, Marguerite.

Then he hit the lecture circuit and in 1966 came out

Mark Lane: Behind the Assassination Probe

with his first book, "Rush to Judgment." Although one critic estimated that "nowhere near a tenth of Lane's relevant assertions and implications would stand up to careful scrutiny," more than a million paperback copies of the book were sold and more than 125,000 in hardcover.

Today Lane has not only helped turn the assassinations, first of Kennedy and then of King, into a thriving cottage industry; he has also become something of an oracular figure for the congressional panel investigating the two murders.

It is no secret that Lane was instrumental in lobbying for the creation of the select House committee as well as in the choice of Richard A. Sprague as its first chief counsel.

According to Lane, as many as 180 Citizens Commission chapters were set up, many of them consisting of just a college professor and/or a couple of students, but active enough to stage showings of the Zapruder film and other meetings that would draw hundreds.

"We helped generate more than three-quarters of a million telegrams and letters to members of Congress," Lane declares. Some, such as Rep. Joe Moakley (D-Mass.), a member of the crucial House Rules Committee, got special attention. According to Lane, Moakley said he'd been advised by Tip O'Neill (D-Mass.), then House majority leader, not to get involved, but Moakley changed his mind after a committee of Citizens Commission members in his district collected 2,500 signatures in a single day. At another point, Lane flew to San Francisco to orchestrate pressure against Rep. Phillip Burton (D-Calif.), who had been reported in the press as saying he would try to keep the issue from even coming up for a vote in the House.

But even all this failed to produce the requisite momentum until Lane hooked up with a friend, television producer Abby Mann, on a trip to Memphis last summer to gather material for a documentary on King.



By James K.W. Atherton — The Washington Post

Del. Walter Fauntroy (holding rifle) heads the House subcommittee on the King murder; Rep. Louis Stokes (behind rifle) is chairman of the full Assassinations Committee.

What they came up with — the unexplained removal, shortly before King was shot, of one of two black detectives assigned to keep King under surveillance and the abrupt transfer of two black firemen from the firehouse across the street from King's motel — was nothing new, but they transmitted it as startling new information to D.C. Del. Walter E. Fauntroy and the rest of the Congressional Black Caucus.

The House leadership relented soon thereafter. The committee was created last Sept. 17 by a vote of 280 to 65.

Defending the Committee

LANE HAS ALSO taken on a self-appointed role as defender of the committee against press attacks. His influence on the atmospherics of the investigation has been considerable. He has been, for example, at least the harbinger of what some consider "a new kind of McCarthyism," that has come to surround the committee. Any criticisms, any unfavorable publicity, indeed any vigorous insistence that the two assassinations may already have been solved can then be ascribed to secret paid-up membership in, or fellow-traveling with, the CIA or the FBI or both.

George McMillan, author of "The Making of an Assassin," says he felt the sting as long ago as last October upon publication of his book about James Earl Ray as a poor white racist who reportedly decided, months in advance, to "kill that nigger King." McMillan was invited to appear on NBC-TV's "Today" show last Oct. 26 with Fauntroy, chairman of the subcommittee investigating the King murder.

The two men had never met and, McMillan says, "I never dreamed Fauntroy would attack me on that show that morning. But he came in with some 3-by-5 cards and, from the moment he came in, he just studied them. They had the same things on them that Lane was saying. One was led to think that Lane even prepared them."

McMillan was caught by surprise. "I'd been accused of being a Communist years ago," he says. "That wasn't so, but I had been quite active in the civil rights movement, I'd been a writer in residence at black colleges in Atlanta and to be treated [on the 'Today' show] as a friend of the FBI was quite uncongenial for me . . . I didn't do too well on that show. I never even got a chance to explain what my book was about . . . This is just a new kind of McCarthyism."

As a matter of fact, Fauntroy did get his tips from Lane, on a visit to Lane's headquarters-home on Capitol Hill the night before the show. Fauntroy said he went to see Dick Gregory, who was staying with Lane on a visit to Washington, and the talk turned to the "Today" show.

"It is true I made a number of suggestions [to Fauntroy] about what could be raised," Lane says.

Other examples of Lane's use of the offense as defense:

• When Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.), as chairman of the House Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, protested against the intrusive nature of the hidden recording devices, voice stress analyzers and other gadgets proposed for the investigation by chief counsel Sprague, Lane began denouncing him on the lecture circuit and noting darkly that Edwards was a former agent of the FBI. Up to that point, Edwards had been mentioned favorably in Citizens Commission newsletters for holding congressional hearings in 1975 on the FBI's long-secret destruction of a threatening note from Lee Harvey Oswald.

• When news articles began to appear, highlighting the House committee's budgetary and civil-liberties problems and raising questions about Sprague, Lane responded by attacking certain "segments" of the press. On one radio show in late January, he asserted that the House committee was facing "one of the most effective campaigns ever waged by what they call the 'intelligence community' " and then went on to complain of the press coverage by "Jeremiah O'Leary of The Washington Star . . . David Burnham of The New York Times . . . and . . . George Lardner of The Washington Post."

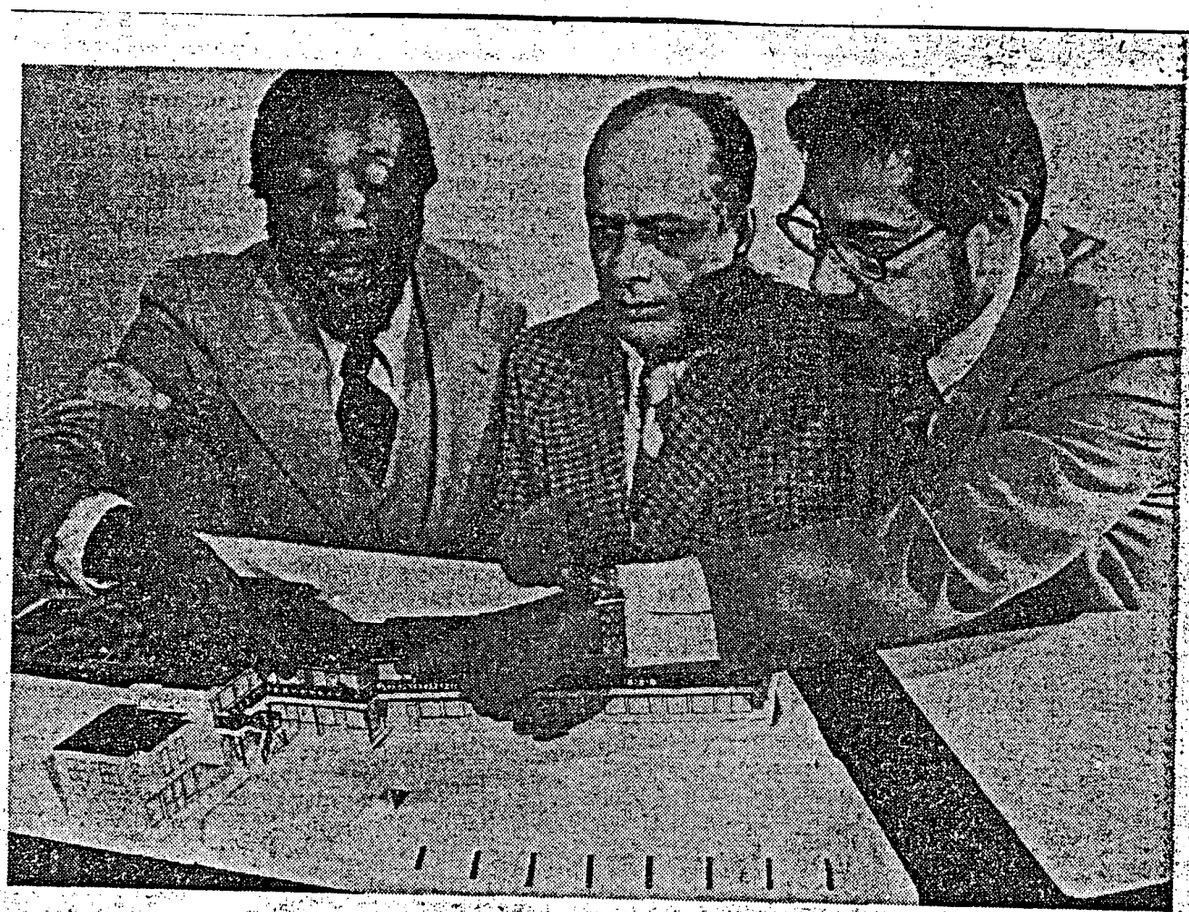
Once again, Fauntroy picked up the theme, warning in a television interview April 24 that the Assassinations Committee might investigate "a few" of the reporters assigned to cover the inquiry and charging that some of them might be CIA agents. Asked later whether he had talked with Lane about the subject before making his charges, Fauntroy said that he "probably" had.

As for his future role in the House investigation, Lane said he intends to keep supplying it with whatever relevant information he comes across — although there are indications that he may not know as much as he once said he did.

Writing in a Danish newspaper in 1967, Lane said in a signed article, "I know who fired the fatal shot at President Kennedy." Three years later, in another article, this time in the Los Angeles Free Press, he assured readers that the "CIA Killed JFK."

Which is all very strange. Last Sept. 17, after the House had voted that day to establish the Assassinations Committee, someone claiming to be Mark Lane declared firmly on WWDC here that "I don't know who killed Martin Luther King." And then, just last month, on WMCA in New York, someone again purporting to be Mark Lane assured listeners there: "I've never said that the FBI and the CIA were involved in the assassination. I still have not said that. . ."

Could there be a false Mark Lane?



By Doug Chevalier — The Washington Post

Pointing to model of the Memphis motel where Martin Luther King Jr. was shot, Dick Gregory, James Earl Ray's brother Jerry and Mark Lane promote the Lane-Gregory book on the King case.

of this paragraph; shall make studies, develop information, and make recommendations toward remedying these differences and include these in the annual Employment and Training Report of the President; and, if deemed necessary, make recommendations to the Congress within ninety days related to the objectives of this paragraph.

LABOR STANDARDS

SEC. 402. The policies and programs implemented and provided for by this Act, and funded in whole or in part through this Act, shall provide that persons employed pursuant to such policies and programs are paid equal wages for equal work, and that such policies and programs create a net increase in employment through work that would not otherwise be done. The President shall insure that any person employed in a reservoir project under section 206(d) or in any other job utilizing funds provided in whole or in part under this Act shall be paid not less than the pay received by others performing similar work for the same employer, and in no case less than the minimum wage under the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 as amended. No person employed under section 206(d) shall perform work of the type to which the Bacon-Davis Act, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276a–276a–5) applies. Any recommendation by the President for legislation to implement any program under this Act, requiring the use of funds under this Act, and submitted pursuant to the requirements of this Act, shall contain appropriate wage provisions based upon existing wage standard legislation.

AUTHORIZATIONS

SEC. 403. There is authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be needed to carry out the provisions of this Act. Notwithstanding any other provisions of this Act, no provision shall be construed to require expenditures in excess of amounts appropriated pursuant to this Act.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 404. (a) "Fiscal drag" as used in section 105 means tax and expenditure rates which, in combination, substantially impede attainment (or maintenance) of full employment, production, and purchasing power.

(b) "Balanced growth" in the Full Employment and Balanced Growth Plan means projecting and achieving (1) the relationship between production or supply capability and demand, and (2) the relationships among the growth rates of private investment, private consumer expenditures, and public outlays, and also (3) the purchasing power, including important components of each element mentioned in (1), (2), and (3) above, required to achieve and then maintain full employment and production and appropriate servicing of national priorities, these to be promoted by the programs and policies set forth in this Act and by encouragement of voluntary cooperation within the private sector (for example, between labor and management) and between the Government and the private sector.

(c) "Frictional unemployment" means the lowest level of unemployment, determined on the basis of evolving experience, consistent with labor mobility, changing job patterns, freedom of job choice, and sufficient job search on a voluntary basis.

Amend the title so as to read: "A bill to establish and translate into practical reality the right of all adult Americans able, willing, and seeking to work to full opportunity for useful paid employment at fair rates of compensation; to combine full employment, production, and purchasing power goals with proper attention to balanced growth and national priorities; to mandate such national economic policies and programs as are necessary to achieve full employment, production, and purchasing power; to restrain inflation; and to provide explicit machinery for the development and implementation of such economic policies and programs.".

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. LEVITAS. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The call was taken by electronic device, and the following Members failed to respond:

[Roll No. 747]

Abzug	Hébert	Railsback
Adams	Heckler, Mass.	Randall
Alexander	Heinz	Rangel
Andrews, N.C.	Helstoski	Rees
Ashley	Hinshaw	Richmond
AuCoin	Holland	Riegle
Badillo	Howe	Rodino
Bell	Ichord	Roncalio
Bolling	Jacobs	Rose
Bonker	Jarman	Rosenthal
Bowen	Johnson, Pa.	Rousselot
Breaux	Jones, Ala.	Roybal
Burke, Calif.	Karth	Ruppe
Burton, John	Kastenmeier	Ryan
Byron	Kelly	Santini
Carney	Kemp	Sarbanes
Carter	Ketchum	Scheuer
Chappell	Keys	Schneebeli
Chisholm	Kindness	Schroeder
Clancy	Krueger	Shipley
Cleveland	Lent	Shuster
Collins, Ill.	Lott	Skubitz
Conlan	McCloskey	Snyder
Conyers	McCollister	Stanton, James V.
Cotter	McFall	Stark
Coughlin	Madigan	Steelman
Derwinski	Mann	Steiger, Ariz.
Diggs	Matsunaga	Stephens
Dingell	Mazzoli	Stuckey
Dodd	Meeds	Symington
Eckhardt	Melcher	Talcott
Edwards, Calif.	Metcalfe	Teague
Emery	Meyner	Thornton
Esch	Mikva	Udall
Eshleman	Milford	Vander Jagt
Flynt	Mineta	Vander Veen
Ford, Tenn.	Mink	Waxman
Fraser	Mitchell, Md.	Wilson, Tex.
Fuqua	Mosher	Winn
Giaimo	Moss	Wirth
Goldwater	Murphy, N.Y.	Wolff
Green	O'Hara	Wright
Hagedorn	Patterson, Calif.	Wydler
Hansen	Pepper	Yatron
Harkin	Pike	Young, Alaska
Harsha	Pressler	Young, Ga.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Ms. JORDAN). On this rollcall 292 Members have recorded their presence by electronic device, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

CREATING SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE AND STUDY ASSASSINATIONS OF JOHN F. KENNEDY AND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Mr. MADDEN. Madam Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up the resolution (H. Res. 1540) creating a select committee to conduct an investigation and study of the circumstances surrounding the death of John F. Kennedy and the death of Martin Luther King, Jr., and of any others the select committee shall determine, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

H. RES. 1540

Resolved, That there is hereby created a select committee to be composed of twelve Members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker, one of whom he shall designate as chairman. Any vacancy occurring in the membership of the select committee shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

The select committee is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of the circumstances surrounding the death of John F. Kennedy and the death of Martin Luther King, Junior, and of any others the select committee shall determine.

For the purpose of carrying out this resolution the select committe, or any subcommittee thereof authorized by the select committee to hold hearings, is authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, including any Commonwealth or possession thereof, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, and to require, by subpena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents as it deems necessary; except that neither the select committee nor any subcommittee thereof may sit while the House is meeting under the five-minute rule unless special leave to sit shall have been obtained from the House. The chairman of the select committee may establish such subcommittees of the select committee as he considers appropriate. A majority of the members of the select committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, except that the select committee may designate a lesser number as a quorum for the purpose of taking testimony. The select committee may employ and fix the compensation of such clerks, experts, consultants, technicians, attorneys, investigators, and clerical and stenographic assistants as it considers necessary to carry out the purpose of this resolution. The select committee may reimburse the members of its staff for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of the duties vested in the select committee, other than expenses in connection with meetings of the select committee or any subcommittee thereof held in the District of Columbia. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the select committee or any member of the select committee designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member.

The select committee shall report to the House as soon as practicable during the present Congress the results of its investigation and study, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable. Any such report which is made when the House is not in session shall be filed with the Clerk of the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Indiana (Mr. MADDEN) is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. MADDEN. Madam Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ANDERSON), pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Mr. MADDEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MADDEN. Madam Speaker, House Resolution 1540 provides for the establishment of a select committee to be composed of 12 members to be appointed by the Speaker. The select committee is directed to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of the circumstances surrounding the death of John F. Kennedy and the death of Martin Luther King, Jr., and of any others the select committee shall determine.

House Resolution 1540 provides that the select committee is authorized to sit and meet throughout the remainder of the 94th Congress whether or not the

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House is in session and also provides that the select committee shall have subpena power.

On Wednesday, September 15, the Rules Committee reported this resolution by a vote of 9 to 4, with 1 abstention. Our committee feels that the time is right to begin an investigation of how these assassinations occurred.

As chairman of the Rules Committee, I have received hundreds of letters and telegrams from all over the country on this issue. An overwhelming majority have strongly urged approval of this resolution.

Madam Speaker, I support House Resolution 1540, and I urge the adoption of this resolution.

Mr. YATES. Madam Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. MADDEN I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. YATES. Madam Speaker, I ask the gentleman this question: What does the phrase mean following the granting of authority for investigating the circumstances surrounding the death of John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr., and I quote, "of any others the Select Committee shall determine"?

May this committee investigate the assassination attempts on the life of Castro, for example? Can it examine any assassination attempt it wishes to?

Mr. MADDEN. Madam Speaker, I will yield to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DOWNING) to answer that question.

Mr. DOWNING of Virginia. Madam Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding.

I would like to advise my colleague, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. YATES), that "any others" has no specific meaning.

I myself wish the words had never been included in the resolution, but it would be up to the determination of the committee as to what "any others" means.

It could mean that if there was a possible assassination attempt on the life of the present President, the committee, I suppore, would have the discretion to go into that. However, it would be entirely up to the judgment of the committee.

Mr. YATES. Madam Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, I share the gentleman's statement when he says he wishes this phrase was not in there.

I think it gives the committee enormous power to go into any possible kind of assassination attempt on any person throughout the world.

Madam Speaker, I wonder why this phrase should have been inserted. I wonder why the Committee on Rules included it.

Mr. DOWNING of Virginia. Presumably it could mean what the gentleman says. However, I think we are going to have to trust the judgment of the committee to do what is right. This phraseology pertains to American leaders, not foreign persons.

Mr. YATES. Madam Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, it seems to me that the committee's investigation of the assassinations of former President Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr., would be enough of a charge upon the committee. I would hope that there would be no effort to go into any other.

I believe it gives the committee far too much power, power beyond the original intent of the resolution.

Mr. DOWNING of Virginia. Madam Speaker, I have told the gentleman that I wish the words were not in there; but I can assure him that insofar as I have anything to do with it, I would not want the power to be too broad, and I hope the gentleman from Illinois votes for the resolution.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the chairman, the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. MADDEN, for yielding to me.

Let me say that I raised the same question before the Committee on Rules. I would like to ask the gentleman why this language should not be stricken when this matter comes on for debate today?

Mr. DOWNING of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, I have no objection to striking those words.

Mr. LATTA. I thank the chairman.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. MCKINNEY).

(Mr. MCKINNEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MCKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, I would just like to congratulate the Committee on Rules on this resolution. This is something I became involved in about 5 years ago. I do not know of any plots or any secrets, but I do know that I think the attitude of the American people is that there are questions that have not been put to rest. I think the questions that have not been put to rest about the Government have severely damaged the credibility of our Nation's Government and of our system.

I would hope that this committee quietly, very seriously and in a very hard working fashion can come out with the final answers that the American people have asked.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Alabama (Mr. DICKINSON).

(Mr. DICKINSON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Illinois for yielding to me.

Mr. Speaker, let me say that I too have some very real doubts as to some of the circumstances involved, particularly those surrounding the Kennedy assassination and perhaps we can get at some of the facts and questions that have been raised such as the unnatural deaths of certain of the people connected with the assassination, incidents that seem to be continuing right up to now as for instance, the recent murder of Roselli a month or two ago.

But, Mr. Speaker, my most immediate interest is as to the funding of the committee and I would like to have the attention of the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DOWNING) who will be the chairman of the committee.

I am curious as I say, as to the nature of the funding. First, we are limited to this Congress and, of course, we have the proposed date of October 2 for adjournment although I do not know that we will get out at that time. I would ask the gentleman from Virginia if he has any idea as to how much it will cost? I assume they will come to our committee for the funds they need, or it is going to be a direct tap on the contingency fund? How much does the gentleman anticipate it will cost?

Mr. DOWNING of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, the gentleman from Alabama is correct in his assumption in the first instance that we will appear before his committee and ask for funds. We will ask for, it is estimated, $250,000. This will be for organizational purposes, setting up of the staff, and so forth, so the committee will be ready to go at the next session of the Congress.

Mr. DICKINSON. The gentleman says "at the next session of the Congress," so I assume the gentleman does not anticipate that this special subcommittee will make any substantial progress in investigating this year. Will the committee make any report during this present Congress even though the gentleman does not expect to conduct or finish any investigations until the following Congress? I ask that, Mr. Speaker, because the resolution says:

> The Select Committee shall report to the House as soon as practicable during the present Congress the results of its investigation and study . . .

From what the gentleman has told me, the gentleman does not even anticipate making a serious start until the next Congress. Could the gentleman explain that?

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 additional minutes to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. DICKINSON. I thank the gentleman for yielding me the additional time.

Mr. DOWNING of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further to me?

Mr. DICKINSON. I would be pleased to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DOWNING of Virginia. Under the terms of the resolution the committee will have to file a report at the end of this Congress as to the progress of the committee during the interim period. It is not expected that there will be any formal hearings, certainly before election. It may be necessary to hold some hearings in order to preserve testimony. I just cannot assure the gentleman from Alabama that it will or will not hold hearings in that regard.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, much as I sympathize with the objectives of the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DOWNING), we

must remember that the select committee expires with each Congress.

Mr. DOWNING of Virginia. That is right.

Mr. THOMPSON. That would mean the creation of this select committee, then, presumably, it would appear before the Committee on House Administration for funding purposes, then the organization of the committee, so that there would be relatively little time within which to do anything before the end of this Congress. Then the select committee would expire and there would be the reconstitution of the whole process all over again in the next Congress.

It just seems to me a meritorious idea—and I say this with all respect to my dear friend, the gentleman from Virginia, who will not be with us, unfortunately, next year—that this matter, if it does deserve the attention the gentleman is convinced that it does deserve, should really wait until the 95th Congress.

Mr. DOWNING of Virginia. If the gentleman would yield further, we have got to get started sometime, I will say to the gentleman from New Jersey, that this thing has been put off too long. The longer we wait, the more difficult it will be to obtain whatever evidence still remains out there. If we can get it organized, get our priorities, and get our directions set in the remaining days of this Congress, then the 95th Congress can start off right away with substantial hearings.

Mr. THOMPSON. If the ranking minority member, the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. DICKINSON) would yield further, I wish to point out the factual situation as I see it.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DOWNING).

(Mr. DOWNING of Virginia asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DOWNING of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, today marks the culmination for me—and others, too, I suppose—of 15 months of intensive work and efforts to try to persuade this body to reinvestigate the assassinations of President Kennedy and Martin Luther King.

I want to thank the Speaker; I want to thank the leadership on both sides of the aisle; I want to thank the Committee on Rules for giving the House this opportunity.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 1540, which is sponsored by Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. FAUNTROY, and me, is the refinement of a number of similar resolutions sponsored by approximately 135 Members of this body.

Two or 3 years ago—perhaps even 1 year ago—only a small fraction of us would have looked with favor upon this establishment of a select committee to re-examine the assassinations of several of our national leaders. However, today, I believe that there is overwhelming support in this House and throughout the country for an in-depth study into these traumatic events, in order to ascertain the truth, or at the very least, dispell doubts concerning them.

Most of us have reached our conclusion as to the necessity of a select committee reluctantly. However, the revelations of the last year or two have been both shocking and sobering.

Committees of both the House and the Senate have proven that much vital information was withheld from the Warren Commission. The CIA and its former Director, Allen Dulles, pointedly withheld all information relating to the multiple plots which the U.S. Government launched, in an effort to assassinate Fidel and Raul Castro. To underline the importance of this conscious effort to deceive, we have the recent violent and unexplained murders of Sam Giancana and John Rosselli, the two Mafia chieftains who were recruited by the CIA for the assassination plots against the Cuban leaders, which I think is deplorable.

A subcommittee of the House, chaired by our colleague from California, Mr. EDWARDS, has shown how a threatening note sent by Lee Harvey Oswald to an FBI agent, shortly before President Kennedy's murder, was torn up and flushed down a toilet rather than delivered to the Warren Commission.

We know that the original autopsy notes of the chief surgeon in President Kennedy's autopsy were burned in the doctor's recreation-room fireplace.

We know that Jack Ruby had many ties to both the Mafia and to Cuba, which were either unknown to the Warren Commission, or ignored by it.

The list of such items is almost endless.

In light of all of this, there is little wonder that very few people any longer have faith in the Warren Commission's conclusions that Oswald, and Oswald alone, was responsible for the death of President Kennedy, or that Ruby, likewise, was a "lone nut killer."

In a recent CBS poll, 65 percent of those polled said they did not believe the Warren Commission's conclusions. In a Detroit News poll, it was 87 percent. In addition, most of our leading newspapers and journals now have called for a reopening of the case.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution concerns only assassinations of President Kennedy and Dr. King. If and when the select committee reaches a conclusion that other cases should be reexamined in depth, it will have authority to conduct such investigations.

However, for the present, the committee's efforts will be concentrated on the deaths of these two national leaders.

It is my hope and my expectation that this select committee shall be nonpartisan, and nonpolitical. It will be dealing with matters of grave concern to all Americans, regardless of their political party, race, or section of the country. I can foresee no partisan aspect to the work of the committee. And to the extent that I am privileged to participate in its work, I shall do everything in my power to see that it remains above politics.

This committee will engage in no witch hunts. Its purpose is to arrive at the truth, not to blame those who may have erred in the original investigations.

For my part, the only conclusion I have reached concerning the murders of President Kennedy or Dr. King is that we do not know the complete truth. Certainly in the case of President Kennedy, I am convinced that there was a conspiracy involved. I do not, however, know the identity of the conspirators or their motives. It is this that we must prove in depth.

So that there will be no question about the nonpolitical nature of the proposed committee, it has been agreed that there will be no public hearings held prior to the election in November. Some hearings may be scheduled for later this year, but most of the time will be spent in organizing staff, setting priorities, and obtaining a mass of official records. This will set the stage for prompt and deliberate action by the select committee when, as I strongly urge and expect, it will be reestablished in the 95th Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that each of us remembers the manner in which we heard of the assassinations of President Kennedy and of Dr. King. We may forget many of the details of our lives, but each one of us will always remember where we were, what we were doing, how we heard about these assassinations, and our own personal reaction to them.

Mr. Speaker, I do not want to go home and face my people unless I can assure them that I have done by utmost to provide them with the knowledge of what really happened to John F. Kennedy, their President. I want them to know what happened to Dr. King. I want to be able to tell them that no one has stood in their way of learning the truth. I want to help restore in them the credibility of their Government. That they need.

I want to leave this as my legacy to the Members of the 95th Congress, the pleasure of whose country I have chosen, with great reluctance, to deny myself.

INTERROGATION OF LEE HARVEY OSWALD

Lee Harvey Oswald was questioned by Dallas police and by seven FBI officials for approximately 12 hours. There are no stenographic transcripts of his interrogation. No tape recorded record of the questioning was made. Capt. Will Fritz, chief of homicide, "kept no notes." The sole source of information about the interrogations are reports, based in large part on memory, prepared by some of those present and covering some of the interrogation sessions. There are no reports for several of the interrogation sessions on Friday afternoon. No transcripts were made of Oswald's arraignments for either of the two homicides with which he was charged.

Oswald was taken into custody at approximately 2 p.m. on Friday and was murdered in the basement of the Dallas Police and Courts Building on Sunday shortly after 11 a.m. Throughout his detention, Oswald was without legal representation.

On Friday evening representatives from the Dallas Civil Liberties Union appeared at the police department to determine whether Oswald was being deprived of counsel and they were told by police officials that Oswald was informed of his rights and free to seek a lawyer. They sought permission to meet

with Oswald but were unable to meet with him.

The fact that the 12 hours of interrogation by FBI agents of Lee Harvey Oswald, perhaps the most important defendant and witness in the history of our country, are lost to us forever, raises the most serious questions. What did Oswald say? Why are we unable to learn of his comments? Only a congressional committee that asks those questions of the seven FBI agents can provide answers for America.

BURNED AUTOPSY MATERIAL

There is general agreement that an analysis of the preliminary autopsy materials would shed further light on the possibilities of the Commission's "single bullet" theory, a theory which is crucial to the Commission's conclusion that Oswald was the lone assassin. However, chief autopsy surgeon, Comdr. James J. Humes, burned "preliminary draft notes" relating to the autopsy upon the body of President Kennedy. When Humes testified before the Warren Commission on March 16, 1964, he testified that:

> In the privacy of my own home, early in the morning of Sunday, November 24, I made a draft of this report which I later revised, and of which this (handwritten report of autopsy report) represents the revision. That draft I personally burned in the fireplace of my recreation room.

Commission Counsel Arlen Spector, author of the "single bullet" theory, did not ask Humes why he destroyed a crucial piece of Federal evidence in the case against Oswald.

JACK RUBY AND THE FBI

According to Commission Document 1052 Jack Ruby worked for the FBI as an informant on organized crime in Dallas from March 11, 1959, to October 2, 1959. During that time he was contacted on nine separate occasions by Dallas FBI Special Agent Charles W. Flynn. J. Lee Rankin, general counsel for the Warren Commission received this information by courier service from J. Edgar Hoover on June 9, 1964.

Leon D. Hubert, Jr., and Bert W. Griffin, the two Commission lawyers in charge of investigating Ruby's background were not provided any information on his underworld or law enforcement affiliations. Thus the Warren Commission did not know and did not reveal the relationship between Jack Ruby and the FBI.

ROBERT R. M'KEOWN AND JACK RUBY

In 1959, while Jack Ruby was an informant for the FBI, he went to Havana, Cuba, where he stayed at the Tropicana Hotel owned by Meyer Lansky, a king pin in organized crime. Before Ruby went to Cuba he attempted to secure a letter of introduction to Fidel Castro from Robert R. McKeown. According to the statement of McKeown, Ruby offered $25,000 for the letter of introduction to Castro.

The year was 1959—the year organized crime entered into an alliance with the intelligence community to assassinate Fidel Castro. The two Warren Commission lawyers assigned to investigate Jack Ruby's background, Leon D. Hubert, Jr., the former district attorney of New Orleans, and Burt Griffin, now a judge in Cleveland, Ohio, insisted in four separate memorandums that the Commission call McKeown as a witness. The Commission did not call McKeown and did not ask Ruby any questions about the matter.

POSSIBLE OSWALD LINK TO CIA

Before Osward went to Mexico in September of 1963, he had to get an entry permit from the Mexican Consulate in New Orleans. After the assassination, the FBI investigated everyone who had gotten permits in New Orleans on the same day as Oswald. To their horror, they discovered that the man immediately preceding Oswald was one William George Gaudet, a man who had worked for the CIA since its founding in 1947. After much discussion between the CIA, the FBI, and the Warren Commission, it was decided not to call Gaudet as a witness, nor even to let his identity be known until the year 2039. However, recently, and apparently by accident, Gaudet's name was made public, and he has affirmed the story of the entry permit and the coverup.

This coverup by itself is bad enough, but it becomes more sinister when one realizes that CIA-man Gaudet not only stood in line ahead of Oswald, he also had knowledge of Ruby's activities. In fact, Gaudet told the FBI on November 27, 1963—4 days after the murder—of Ruby's activities in New Orleans.

Yet to this day, Gaudet has never been subpenaed, put under oath and questioned publicly about the links between himself, Oswald, and Ruby—and the CIA.

THE WARREN COMMISSION'S SECRET MEETING

Two documents recently declassified, the January 22, 1964, and the January 27, 1964, transcripts of the Warren Commission executive sessions, provide interesting reading.

The members of the Commission decided to destroy the minutes of the meetings so that the American people might not know what the Commission discussed. The minutes survived, and they reveal that the general counsel for the Warren Commission, J. Lee Rankin, reported that the two highest law enforcement officials in Texas, Waggoner Carr, the attorney general of Texas, and Henry Wade, the Dallas district attorney, both had proof that Lee Harvey Oswald was an employee of the FBI. Rankin suggested that an examination of the FBI records would reveal that Oswald worked for the FBI, but he added that Hoover would probably deny that Oswald was the agent referred to in the FBI files. Allan Dulles assured Chief Justice Warren that Hoover would not tell the Commission the truth, even under oath, if Oswald did work for the FBI. Dulles said that a good agent would lie under similar circumstances.

The Commission agreed to call the five relevant witnesses on the questioning of Oswald's employment by the FBI and to subpena Oswald's FBI file as well. By the end of the second meeting, the Commission decided not to call the five relevant witnesses and not to subpena the records of the FBI. Instead, the Warren Commission relied exclusively upon the testimony of Mr. Hoover regarding Oswald's association with the FBI.

Yet for many Americans this question remains an open one. A question which must be resolved if we are to know how and why John Kennedy was assassinated.

TAPED CONVERSATION OF "OSWALD" IN MEXICO CITY

When Oswald visited Mexico City in September 1963, someone made several visits and phone calls to the Soviet and Cuban Embassies using the Oswald identity.

That there is some doubt that the person visiting and phoning the embassies was in fact Lee Harvey Oswald is evidenced by the fact that many photographs of "Oswald" were taken by CIA cameras outside both embassies. Each and every photograph which has been pried loose from the Government—and they are still withholding some—are of a man who is about 6 feet 2 inches, 175 pounds, 35 years old, and burly. "Our" Oswald was 5 feet 9 inches, 135 pounds, 24 years old, and slim. The pictures are obviously not of Oswald, though so identified by the CIA.

At the same time, the CIA—through some unknown means—tapped and taped the telephone calls of "Oswald" to the Soviet and/or Cuban Embassies. These recorded conversations were withheld from the Warren Commission. Had they been made available, or if they were made available today, voice prints of them could be made and compared with voice prints of known conversations of Lee Oswald. Then we would know for sure if there was someone else using Oswald's identity in Mexico City. And, if there are two Oswalds for sure, we can wager great odds that there was a conspiracy involved in the death of our President.

SECRET WIRETAPS

After the assassination, the Federal Government placed a number of wiretaps but withheld most of the "fruits" of these taps from the Warren Commission.

We are certain as to one crucial tap because of an FBI report declassified only weeks ago. This tap was either on the home phone of the Paine residence or the business phone of Michael Paine. It must be remembered that the Paines were the Oswald's closest friends in Dallas; in fact, Marina Oswald was living at the Paine residence at the time of the assassination. Oswald ostensibly stored his rifle in the Paine's garage.

On the day after the assassination, the FBI overheard Ruth and Michael Paine telling each other over the telephone that, although Oswald did the shooting, "We know who is responsible." Apparently the tapes from the conversation were withheld, because when the Paines were questioned at a later date, they denied the fact that the conversation had taken place. The FBI dropped the subject without ever facing them with a tape or an FBI agent who had monitored the conversation.

If the Oswalds' best friends, the Paines, know "who was responsible," is it not about time that the American people know?

ALLAN DULLES AND ASSASSINATIONS

A leading member of the Warren Commission was Allan Dulles. Mr. Dulles had been the Director of the CIA from 1953 until after the Bay of Pigs in 1961. During this time, Dulles, as the head of the CIA, must have been privy to the fact that the CIA had been actively engaged in many attempts to murder Fidel Castro in the years 1959–61.

The grimy details of the CIA excesses—especially the use made by the CIA of the Mafia in its murder plots—have been recently documented by the Church committee.

Yet, despite the Warren Commission's great interest in Oswald's many links to Cuba and to both pro-Fidel and anti-Fidel factions, Allan Dulles never said one word to the other members of the Commission about the attempts on the life of Castro. Had Allan Dulles been more forthcoming, the whole direction of the Warren investigation might have been radically different and its conclusions radically altered.

When we have a new investigation of the Dallas murder—and we will have one, whether it is this year, next year, or 10 years hence—the investigators can now realistically weigh the evidence withheld from Earl Warren by Allan Dulles to see if John Kennedy's death was directly or indirectly caused by his administration's attempts on the life of Fidel Castro.

THE MURDER WEAPON

A rifle was discovered on the sixth floor of the book depository building at 1:22 p.m. on November 22, 1963. The Dallas authorities told the press later that day that the weapon was a 7.65 German Mauser. Dallas District Attorney Wade repeated this information at a formal televised press conference and it was widely publicized. Deputy Constable Seymor Weitzman, on November 23, 1963, in a notarized affidavit, descrbed the rifle he and Deputy Sheriff Boone found as "a 7.65 Mauser, bolt action equipped with a 4/18 scope, a thick leather brownish black sling on it." In a filmed interview in April 1974, Roger Craig, a deputy Sheriff also present when the rifle was found stated:

I was standing next to Weitzman, he was standing next to Fritz, and we weren't any more than six or eight inches from the rifle, and stamped right on the barrel of the rifle was 7.65 Mauser. And that's when Weitzman said, "it is a Mauser," and pointed to the 7.65 Mauser stamp on the barrel.

This description of the rifle is incompatible with the Warren Commission's case against Oswald. Although the FBI reported that Oswald owned a rifle it was not similar to the one reportedly found on the book depository sixth floor. According to the FBI, the rifle Oswald had purchased was a Mannlicher/Carcano, 6.5 Italian carbine. This rifle, which the Warren Commission identified as the murder weapon, is available for examination in the National Archives. Any individual, regardless of his experience in firearms, can clearly see it is an Italian rifle because stamped clearly on the rifle are the words, "Made Italy" and "Cal. 6.5." It is unlikely that two police officers upon close inspection would have made such a case of mistaken identification.

Recently declassified CIA documents add further evidence that "Oswald's" rifle was not the rifle found in the book depository. A CIA report, dated November 25, 1963, states:

On November 22, 1963 Lee Harvey Oswald shot President Kennedy while the President was riding in an open automobile on a Dallas Texas street. The rifle used was a Mauser. . .

A second CIA report dated 5 days after the assassination states:

NOVEMBER 28, 1963.

INFORMATION ON THE WEAPON PRESUMABLY USED IN THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY

1. As regards articles appearing recently in the Italian and foreign press concerning the presumed use of an Italian-made rifle in the slaying of President Kennedy, the following comments are made.

2. The weapon which appears to have been employed in this criminal attack is a model 91 rifle, 7.35 caliber, 1938 modification.

3. The description of a "Mannlicher Carcano" rifle in the Italian and foreign press is in error.

It should be clear that the initial identification of the rifle as a 7.65 Mauser clearly was not, as the Commission maintained, because Deputy Constable Weitzman "thought it looked like a Mauser." Since the Commission's case against Oswald as the lone assassin is built almost exclusively on his ownership of the 6.5 Mannlicher/Carcano, the identification of the murder weapon as 7.65 Mauser tends to discredit the entire case.

The report of the Warren Commission includes reference to a trip by Lee Harvey Oswald to Mexico City in late September of 1963, where on September 28 he visited both the Cuban and the Soviet Embassies. The report mentions that while he was in the Soviet Embassy he spoke with the Soviet Consul Kostikov, who also served as a KGB agent. Oswald referred to him as "Comrad Kostin." There is no further reference in the Warren Commission report as to the identity of Kostikov. We learned this in the recent release of some 1,500 CIA documents. I quote from one of the documents:

NOTE.—Valeriy Vladimirovich Kostikov, who has functioned overtly as a consul in the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City since September 1961, is also known to be a staff officer of the KGB. He is connected with the thirteenth, or Liquid Affairs Department, whose responsibilities include assassination and sabotage.

Upon reading this, my suspicions were very definitely aroused. Here we have the man who is considered to be the assassin of President Kennedy visiting a Soviet official whose responsibilities, according to the CIA, include assassination. I find the whole thing highly suspicious. I find it incredible. I would like to know more about Oswald's KGB contact. I would like to know why this is not mentioned in the Commission report.

THE HOSTY LETTER

Just as the FBI destroyed evidence in the Watergate case, equally did it do so in the Dallas case.

In one crucial instance we know that a few days before the assassination, Oswald hand-delivered to the FBI office in Dallas a threatening letter addressed to FBI Agent James Hosty. Two hours after Ruby shot Oswald, Hosty tore up the note and a memorandum about it, and flushed them down a toilet in the FBI office.

How can we be so sure of the details of this incident? Because a subcommittee of the House, chaired by the Honorable DON EDWARDS, held a full-fledged hearing under oath on this subject not more than a few months ago. Such facts as I have stated are perfectly clear.

What is not clear is: First, the nature of the threats in the letter; second, did J. Edgar Hoover know of the letter; third, who ordered the letter destroyed; and fourth, why was it so crucial to hide the whole incident from the Warren Commission?

At the Edwards hearing, the testimony of various FBI witnesses was radically contradictory. As they were under oath, at least some of the witnesses were perjuring themselves, 12 years after the fact.

The aim of the FBI appeared obvious from Hosty's answers to questions from Chairman EDWARDS. He said he did not tell the Commission about the Oswald letter because he was not asked. He did not volunteer the information because he had been instructed not to volunteer anything that would be of help to the Commission.

To the extent I am privileged to participate in its work I shall do everything in my power to see that the committee remains above politics.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOWNING of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution.

As chairman of the House Select Committee on Missing Persons in Southeast Asia, I would like to pledge to the gentleman or others my cooperation and work with the staff on how to set up the committee. I also commend the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GONZALEZ) for his initial leadership in this area. I would suggest to the gentleman from Virginia that you have a small staff and use other Government agencies to help gather information.

Also I would like to suggest that these select committees do not have to run on and on. Even though the Select Committee on Missing Persons was extended for 3 months over the 1 year of the life of the committee, which was needed, I think we can write a comprehensive report on the missing persons by January 3. I see no reason to extend the Select Committee on Missing Persons.

I know the gentleman will look into these matters.

Mr. DOWNING of Virginia. I thank the gentleman from Mississippi. I agree with him. The life of the committee will be determined by each succeeding Congress.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOWNING of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. SEIBERLING).

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Speaker, I would like to add my support to this

resolution and commend the gentleman in the well for his devotion to this cause. I think all America will applaud him for it.

The trouble is that we all felt in our bones that we did not have all the facts as to these terrible events, but only recently have we gotten some concrete evidence to confirm our misgivings. I was privileged to sit on the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil Rights earlier this year when we had hearings with respect to the FBI incident where they had a report on Oswald which was suppressed and flushed down the drain.

Unfortunately, the new evidence has been developed piecemeal and as a sort of byproduct of other investigations and oversight hearings. Now for the first time we will have the satisfaction that at least one committee will have the jurisdiction to go into this whole matter and try to answer some of these awful questions that have been continuing concern to the people of our country.

Mr. DOWNING of Virginia. I thank the gentleman.

This committee will engage in no witch hunts. Its purpose is to arrive at the truth and not to blame those who may have erred in the original investigation.

For my part the only conclusion I have reached concerning the murders of President Kennedy and Dr. King is that we do not know the complete truth. Certainly in the case of President Kennedy I am convinced that there was a conspiracy involved.

I do not, however, know the identity of the conspirators or their motives.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Virginia has expired.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 additional minute to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DOWNING).

Mr. DOWNING of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, so that there will be no question about the nonpolitical purposes of this proposed committee, it has been agreed there will be no public hearings held prior to the election in November. Some hearings may be scheduled for later this year, but none of the time will be spent in organizing staff, setting priorities or obtaining the mass of political records for setting the stage for broad and deliberate action by the Select Committee, when as I strongly urge and expect it will be reestablished in the 95th Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure we each remember the manner in which we heard of the assassination of President Kennedy and Dr. King. We may forget many of the details in our lives, but we will each remember where we were and what we were doing when we heard about it and our own personal reactions thereto.

Mr. Speaker, I do not want to go home and face my people unless I can assure them that I have done my utmost to provide them with all the knowledge of what happened to John F. Kennedy, our former President. I want them to know what happened to Dr. King. I want them to know that no one stood in the way of learning the truth. I want to restore credibility in our Government. I want to leave this as my legacy to the 95th Congress, whose pleasure I have chosen to leave at this time with great reluctance.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GONZALEZ).

(Mr. GONZALEZ asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, today—in this eleventh hour of the 94th Congress—the House has finally seen fit to attempt to discharge its responsibility in respect to some of the political assassinations of the last decade.

When I became the first Member of Congress since the Warren Commission report to ask for a congressional investigation of political assassinations on February 19, 1975—at the first available time after committees were organized for this Congress—I was ridiculed in some quarters and no one else was interested in joining in the effort. The U.S. press was, generally speaking, disinterested.

Much to my surprise, as well as everyone else's, the kind of reaction which I initially received quickly began to change as the result of revelations, especially about the John F. Kennedy assassination, which began to appear in print. The showing of the Zapruder film on national television also stimulated great interest.

As the interest began to mount, my good colleague, Congressman THOMAS DOWNING of Virginia, introduced the very same resolution which I had introduced, but left off all other assassinations—or attempted assassinations—except that of President Kennedy.

However, I had originally proposed and continued to propose that the House also undertake a review of the assassinations of U.S. Senator Robert F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King, and the attempt on the life of Gov. George Wallace, so my good colleague and I began to gather cosponsors on our two different versions of my proposal.

In the discussions which I had with my good colleague he argued that all the names of the others, especially that of Dr. King, should be removed from the proposal I had introduced, if we were to get any congressional investigation underway on the John F. Kennedy assassination, or any assassination.

Therefore, it was heartening this last Monday that my good colleague, THOMAS DOWNING, agreed to join me and Congressman WALTER FAUNTROY in a compromise proposal, House Resolution 1540, which includes Dr. King's assassination, and possibly others, as well as that of President Kennedy.

Mr. Speaker, you will recall, that I was the very first to appeal to you personally, on the floor of this House, for consideration of legislation creating a select committee on assassinations, as we have done today. This first appeal was many months ago when it appeared that there was no likelihood that we would ever get such a proposal out of the House Rules Committee.

Creation of the select committee is long overdue. However, whether creation of such a committee at this time, under the present circumstances, including the retirement from Congress of my colleague, Congressman DOWNING, is really appropriate, remains to be seen.

I have only one interest: the truth about why and how these assassinations occurred.

In organizing such an effort, as a select committee on assassinations, we should have only the objective of assessing the effects of these assassinations on the American people, trying to determine why they happened, and how we can prevent such a series of events from happening again.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ANDERSON).

(Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted that the gentleman who has preceded me on this resolution was the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DOWNING). The gentleman certainly has no political motives whatever in espousing the cause of a reopening of the investigation into the death of Dr. King and John F. Kennedy, because as all of the Members of this committee know, the gentleman from Virginia is not seeking reelection to this body.

Mr. Speaker, very frankly, I was one of those who originally was highly skeptical—totally skeptical, I would say—of the utility of further pursuing this matter. Yet, after listening to the testimony of the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DOWNING) before the Committee on Rules way back in March of this year, I was so impressed with the very patient and persistent effort that the gentleman had made to gather together all of the facts and all of the evidence that certainly pointed to new areas that deserve investigation, that at that ime I voted in favor of reporting out this resolution. This was on the 31st of March of this year.

Now, almost 6 months have gone by, 6 months, I might say, of very valuable time that could have been used to pursue this matter.

Fortunately, some of the members of the Committee on Rules, at least in my judgment, changed their position and so it was that I read this week 2 days ago that by a vote of 9 to 4 this resolution was favorably reported.

Mr. Speaker, I shall not take the time to go into the evidence that has been presented to the committee by the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DOWNING). The gentleman has already made some reference to it in his statement a moment ago; but, for example, some of the people who have urged reconsideration of this matter include the staff attorneys for the Commission. David Belin, who in November of last year called for a new investigation, because the Commission at the time it did its work had been totally unaware of CIA attempts on the life of Fidel Castro; yet I read, for example, in the statement of the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DOWNING) and heard the gentleman testify before the Committee on Rules, that Lee Harvey Oswald was questioned by seven FBI of-

ficials for approximately 12 hours and that there are no stenographic transcripts of his interrogation, no tape-recorded record of his questioning was made, that no notes were kept, even by the chief of homicide of the Dallas Police.

Mr. Speaker, those are things certainly that lead me to believe that in view of what we have learned in recent months of CIA involvement in attempted assassination efforts with respect to the Cuban dictator, Fidel Castro, and also some of the revelations with respect to the activities of the FBI have lead me to believe that reasonable men have the right at this point in history to once again make an inquiry into these matters.

I have not spoken as extensively about the need for reinvestigation of the death of Dr. King, although I understand from one of the witnesses before our committee, Mr. FAUNTROY, that there is evidence in this case as well that is deserving of consideration. I think both of these matters are so important that I would urge Members to put aside their doubts and support the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. THONE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. THONE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. THONE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding to me.

Mr. Speaker, no one can deny that there is a considerable percentage of people in America who feel they haven't had the full truth about the assassination of former President John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King. There are lingering doubts in the minds of many about the participants, motives, and causes of these tragedies.

In my opinion, sinister conspiratory aspects loom larger and larger.

Questions have also been raised about killings, or attempted murders, of other leading American political leaders in the past 10 to 15 years.

It is always worthwhile to seek the truth. It is always a wise course to try to replace doubts with certainty. It is always a course of wisdom to seek to find answers for important questions.

An investigation of these assassination attempts may help to guide America's conduct of international relations. An investigation may help to provide better protection for our political leaders. Most importantly, an investigation that is thorough, complete, and impartial will do much to ease American minds. The United States is a nation of free people. We require knowledge and information to keep our freedom. As Jesus said, "The truth will make you free."

In the search for truth, I urge adoption of this proposal.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. I yield to my colleague from Illinois.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, the statements that have been made today by those advocating the resolution indicate that the committee's attention will be devoted to the assassinations of former President Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King. Yet, I am troubled by the phrase in the resolution which states, "and any others the select committee shall determine."

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. I would respond to the gentleman from Illinois in this manner: Certainly, all of the testimony before the Committee on Rules—and which led me individually to support as long ago as March of this year the adoption of a resolution to set up a select committee—was based on a desire on the part of the witness to reopen the investigation into the deaths of two men, and two men only, Dr. Martin Luther King and former President John F. Kennedy.

Let me conclude my answer by saying that just as the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DOWNING) pointed out, there have been some very mysterious deaths occur in recent months, and he referred by name to two former members of the Mafia. It is generally believed that they may have had some connection with plots by the CIA on the life of Castro; so that, to me, indicates that this language is merely designed to give the select committee, if it is established, the latitude and the flexibility that it might need to look into the deaths of other individuals who are not really the prime focus of inquiry, but leads with respect to how that matter would in turn perhaps shed some light on the whole mystery surrounding the deaths of former President Kennedy and Dr. King. So, I think it is wholly ancillary to the principal thrust of the investigation, which is to look into the deaths of Dr. King and former President Kennedy.

Mr. YATES. Does the gentleman believe that the work of the committee should be fully devoted to the deaths of those two individuals? And further respecting the deaths, as the gentleman suggested, occurring recently if those deaths are related to the death of former President Kennedy, the authority given by the resolution would permit the committee to go into those deaths as well. I think the authority that is given by that gratuitous phrase, if you please, is so broad that the committee could go into the assassination of President Lincoln, for example, under this authority. It could go into the assassination of President McKinley.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Now, the gentleman is resorting to a familiar device. There is not a shred of evidence before the Committee on Rules to show that they intend to go back and exhume the bones of Abraham Lincoln or James Garfield.

Mr. YATES. Why put this phrase in here then?

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. I have tried to explain to the gentleman that the deaths of some of the other people in recent months have lead the authors of the resolution to think they might have some bearing on the deaths of President Kennedy and Dr. King.

Mr. YATES. If they have a bearing on the deaths, would not the authority of this resolution give Congress the power to go into that investigation?

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. I suppose one could argue without the phrase "and of any others" that they could.

Mr. YATES. That is right. I thank the gentleman for his concession.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. I frankly cannot see the basis for the fears expressed by the gentleman from Illinois that this committee is going to get off on a fishing expedition into every gangland slaying that has occurred over the past 10 years. I do not think that is their intention at all.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. SISK).

(Mr. SISK asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman yielding.

Mr. Speaker, let me urge my colleagues, for gosh sakes, if they have any respect, as I am sure they all do, for the dollars of our taxpayers, let us vote this resolution down. This, to me, is almost unbelievable, that we would be here, approaching October 1, even discussing the issue.

Maybe I should not use this title, because it certainly does not apply to any Member of this body, nor to most Americans, but there are unfortunately, a number of people running around this country who are plain witch hunters, and they have some kind of a melodramatic desire for the morbid. They want to try to create an incident.

If anyone can stand up and tell me one single good that anything that this committee may do would be of any benefit to the American people, to the American Government, to anyone, then for God's sake I wish they would do it.

I thought we put this thing to bed a long time ago, and we did have it stopped for a time.

But it seems to ever raise its head. And, finally, let me say we had an amendment yesterday proposed to eliminate the phrase which has been raised here which opens it up. For example, I understand there is new evidence in connection with the death of President Harding. I do not know whether or not the committee wants to go in and investigate the death of President Harding, and I do not really care. I just hope, as I said, that we vote this resolution down, and particularly at this stage of the year when there is no possibility even, with the admission of possible Members of the committee, that they are going to do anything this year and will depend on the 95th Congress for any achievements that may be developed.

Mr. Speaker, let me say to my colleagues that we have heard all kinds of rumors, and there will continue to be rumors. We had a very distinguished commission 13 years ago that I think did the very best possible job of investigating this. People talk about new facts. We read about new facts concerning a whole variety of things, some of them going back 100 years ago. Facts are facts to the individual stating them. They may or

may not be facts. They may be truths or half-truths.

So I say, Mr. Speaker, that I would urge that this House on this occasion vote down this resolution, and then if the 95th Congress wants to take a look at some new evidence that apparently seems to be floating around, they can do so. Frankly, as a Member of the Committee on Rules, I still have not heard anything up there that would in any way change my strong conviction that it is a total waste of time. Are we going to go down and bring Mr. Castro up here if somebody comes up with some so-called facts that he was instrumental in the death of President Kennedy? To me, it is just unbelievable that we spend our time on this kind of situation.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DOWNING).

(Mr. DOWNING of Virginia asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DOWNING of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I have resolved this question for myself. The Members all know that I do not go in for the sensational or the bizarre. That is not my lifestyle. I asked myself: "Why do you want to do this?" And the answer came back: "The truth."

The American people want to know the truth. I would hope and pray that the committee would resolve that the Warren Commission was right, but I know in my heart it will not.

Let me tell the Members something else about these assassinations. We should take into consideration the political effects of this crime. Let us think of this for a minute: But for the fact that Kennedy was assassinated, Johnson probably would not have been President, and but for the fact that Robert F. Kennedy was assassinated, Richard M. Nixon probably would not have been President, and but for the fact that George Wallace was eliminated, Nixon probably would not have been reelected. No one can tell me that an assassination does not have an effect on politics and on our form of government.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the Members to vote for this resolution.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from the District of Columbia (Mr. FAUNTROY).

(Mr. FAUNTROY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FAUNTROY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the House Resolution 1540. There are at least three compelling reasons for the House to establish this Select Committee on Assassinations. The first is that the American people want it. The second is that a wealth of new information which was not available to the initial investigators of the Kennedy and King assassinations justifies it. And third, Mr. Speaker, the best vehicle for such an inquiry would be a duly constituted panel of distinguished Members of this House committed to conduct a responsible and searching investigation of these matters.

Let us take a look at the first compelling reason, namely that: The American people today want a thorough, impartial and reliable investigation of the rash of political assassinations that have rocked our Nation over the past 13 years. Both nationwide polls and more localize polls of the opinions of the American people indicate that an overwhelming majority of our people are not satisfied that we know the whole truth about several of these assassinations. In fact, a CBS nationwide poll as recently as November of last year found a whopping 46 percent of the American people believing that the shootings of John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Jr., and even George Wallace were related. The polls found only that 15 percent of the American people believe that Lee Harvey Oswald acted alone in the Kennedy assassination.

When one reflects upon the wealth of new information that has come to light since initial investigators completed their work, one can understand the low level of confidence which the American people have in these dated findings. Not only have a number of books published on the subject of the assassinations revealed new information and raised serious questions that ought to be answered, but the recent findings of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence have, in my view, confirmed the need for a reopening of these matters.

Our distinguished colleague from Virginia, Mr. DOWNING, has noted a number of facts that were not available to the Warren Commission in the Kennedy case. The King assassination has never been thoroughly investigated inasmuch as there has never been a trial, even though the confessed assassin has been seeking one for nearly 8 years. I have shared new information with respect to the King assassination with the leadership of the House with the result that they have concurred in our desire to establish the select committee.

Third, Mr. Speaker, a select committee of the House is clearly the best vehicle for investigating this investigation. What the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence has documented about the shameful conduct of the FBI with respect to Dr. King is certainly enough to convince all of us that the responsible thing for the Congress to do is to undertake this investigation, resolve any lingering doubts and help restore confidence in our Government.

The American people want it, new information demands it, and the conduct of our traditional investigate agencies require that we establish this select committee. Nothing more is needed; nothing less will suffice.

Mr. MYERS of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FAUNTROY. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. MYERS of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I share the concern of the gentleman, and I agree that these assassinations certainly needed investigation at the time, but I fail to realize how we can come up now 2 weeks before sine die adjournment with a resolution that provides for the appointment of 12 Members of this Chamber to make an investigation in 2 weeks and clear the air in a matter that the Warren Commission spent months in investigating. I just cannot see it.

I will ask one other question if I may.

Mr. FAUNTROY. May I answer the first question and then answer the gentleman's second.

Mr. MYERS of Indiana. Certainly.

Mr. FAUNTROY. It is my considered judgment that the members of the Committee on Rules who voted for this, including the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DOWNING) whose record is very clear on questions of this nature, have not moved to do this at this time without serious understanding of the urgent need to preserve testimony. I am confident that when we are apprised of the specifics, of the new information, we will understanding the wisdom of the leadership which is supporting this measure now.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself an additional 30 seconds.

(Mr. MADDEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the gentleman from the District of Columbia (Mr. FAUNTROY) for the remarks he just made.

As I previously stated, Mr. Speaker, there have been thousands of letters and requests from organizations and people all over the country pressing for these investigations.

The gentleman from Texas (Mr. GONZALEZ) has been one of the pioneers in bringing about this investigation resolution. His work has not only extended over months, but over years in trying to get this Select Assassination Committee created.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PICKLE).

(Mr. PICKLE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. MADDEN) for yielding.

I will not take all of that time because I was also going to point out to the House that one of the first voices in the Congress to raise questions was that of the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GONZALEZ).

Mr. Speaker, I have doubts about what this committee will find; but I do know that the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GONZALEZ) has been pursuing this matter for the last several years and probably was the first one to initiate or to insist on further inquiring. I think the House ought to know that perhaps this resolution is before us today because of his persistence and because of his determination that certain testimony ought to be preserved.

Mr. Speaker, most of us are going to reserve our judgment, but I know that the able gentleman from Texas (Mr. GONZALEZ) felt very strongly about uncertainties, and I think that the [illegible] should be reminded of that particular fact.

Mr. MYERS of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PICKLE. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. MYERS of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, once again we will establish a commission or a select committee, and I understand that these people who will serve

on this committee have already been designated, in the event this resolution passes today.

I wonder if this resolution would be here today if the 12 members who will serve on it were not Members of the House of Representatives. If we selected 12 persons from the population to make this investigation, would we still be voting on this bill today? Are we really concerned about this or is this an opportunity for somebody to be out in the limelight again?

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, I must say to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. MYERS) that I do not know whether the members have been seletced. That is a matter for the Speaker, who will make that determination.

Mr. MYERS of Indiana. If the gentleman will yield further, at the time this came up I understand that the members had been selected already or designated, at least, even though they have not been appointed.

Again, I doubt that we would be here today taking up this resolution if Members of Congress were not to serve on this very select committee. Regardless of how worthy or meritorious this bill is, can the 12 members to be appointed fulfill all their other legislative responsibilities, all probably will be running for reelection and will be doing some politicking during this period, yet do any kind of job of investigation and make a report before we adjourn? To spend that much money in such a short time is just not reasonable.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. FITHIAN).

(Mr. FITHIAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FITHIAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

When I came to this body nearly 2 years ago, I came from a role of a history professor.

I was the person who had seen in the books repeatedly or every so often the statement that we wanted to go back and reinvestigate some assassinaton.

Mr. Speaker, by training alone, I was opposed to this movement; but in the last 13 months, both from the evidence that has been amassed and the interest that has been exhibited, and from my own investigation and my own reading into this subject, I have been led to believe that this is worthy of our consideration. It is worthy of our consideration because there are too many unanswered questions.

Both of these assassinations and the evidence pertaining to them are now demonstrably incomplete, as has been stated ably by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ANDERSON), that being the case, it is time to try to lay this question to rest and to try to assure the American people, who are, as the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. MADDEN), the chairman of the Committee on Rules mentioned, uneasy about this whole matter.

Therefore, I would urge the Members of this body to support this resolution.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PATTEN).

(Mr. PATTEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I think it is odd. Yesterday we had the Clean Air Act. Today we have this resolution.

Everybody in America loves moving pictures and they love to read mystery stories. It is the best way to sell a newspaper.

I work on the Appropriations Committee and there are no TV cameras or lights, no reporters. Let us get into the act even if it is a fake.

Mr. WON PAT. Mr. Speaker, I rise to support House Resolution 1540, which calls for the creation of a select committee to investigate the deaths of the late President John F. Kennedy, his brother Robert, Martin Luther King, and the attempted assassination of Gov. George Wallace.

The measure now before this body is similar to one I cosponsored; House Resolution 456, both of which were written by our esteemed colleague Representative HENRY B. GONZALEZ, of Texas.

The need for Congress to undertake a new and thorough investigation of these matters, particularly the Kennedy assassinations, is very real. Recent events have revealed new information which shed light on some very gray areas of the Kennedy assassinations. Information which should give every American pause to question whether the Warren Commission did, in fact, uncover all the sordid facts surrounding these terrible events in our history. Did Cuban President Fidel Castro play a role in the killings as press reports now indicate may be the case? Did the Mafia know about the murders and are the gangland killings of the two Mafia heads related in any way to the Kennedy assassinations?

I, for one, have no idea if these or any of the numerous theories about the assassinations are valid. But the fact remains that many Americans continue to doubt that all the truth has been revealed.

I have great confidence that should the Congress approve of this legislation, the investigation will be conducted in a professional and responsible manner which will reflect credit on the U.S. Congress. What we are looking for is the truth, not a sideshow. But as long as a reasonable doubt remains, I believe that it is the duty of the Congress to investigate these issues and report to the American people its findings.

Congressman GONZALEZ deserves our support in this matter. He has approached this sensative issue with dignity and appreciation for the complex issues involved. Should the select committee be authorized, I would heartedly recommend that Congressman GONZALEZ be chosen as its chairman. He is extremely familiar with the issues and has undoubtedly developed strong connections with many of the groups who have publicly expressed reservations about the assassinations. Congressman GONZALEZ's record in the House is an outstanding one, and I am confident that he would carry out the duties of the chairman of the select committee to investigate the assassinations with his usual skill.

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise to support House Resolution 1540, a resolution that establishes a House select committee to complete a thorough investigation of the assassinations of President Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Lingering doubt about "what happened" remains with the American people. Uncertainty about the death of great leaders, or anyone cannot be.

Thus, last year I cosponsored a nearly identical resolution (H. Res. 574) introduced by my colleague from Virginia, Mr. DOWNING. Today, I urge every Member to join with me in passing a resolution that, hopefully, will close an old wound.

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to urge a speedy passage today of House Resolution 1540. As Members of the House of Representatives, we have the duty to investigate and prove or disprove to the best of our ability any allegations of impropriety or conspiracy in these assassinations. The American people have the right to know with the greatest certainty possible the circumstances surrounding deaths of President Kennedy, Martin Luther King, and the attempted assassination of Governor Wallace.

Mr. MINETA. Mr. Speaker, I am most hopeful that today the House will take a step toward ending the 13 years of doubt that have surrounded the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Public opinion polls have shown us repeatedly that the American people simply do not believe the conclusions of the Warren Commission report. And rather than subsiding, the questions, charges, and doubts grow in scope, magnitude, and intensity with the passage of time. The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities concluded that there were serious omissions in the information and evidence provided to the Warren Commission and that another investigation is warranted. I concur with that conclusion and believe the House of Representatives should establish the vehicle to conduct that investigation.

It is clear that the Warren Commission never questioned the guilt of Lee Harvey Oswald and never looked into any information that was not directly related to him. In this way they never examined any information that did not fit into this preconceived conclusion, and thus the scope of their investigation was narrow and incomplete.

I do not portend to know who did, or did not, kill President Kennedy. I do know that too many questions and doubts remain for us not to create a select committee to investigate that assassination. Further, information that has come to light over the last several months regarding the surveillance and harassment of Rev. Martin Luther King, and the inconsistencies surrounding his assassination warrant attention by the House of Representatives as well.

I urge all of my colleagues to consider the public's right to know the truth, and cast an affirmative vote on this resolution.

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, I rise to indicate my full support for this resolution which will establish a new Select Committee on Assassinations. As a cosponsor of this resolution, I consider its passage vital if we are to address the clamorings of millions of Americans to reopen the investigations of the assassinations of John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Now, almost 13 years later, there are still many serious questions being raised on certain key facts associated with the murder of President Kennedy. The relentless efforts of such persons as Mark Lane in his book "Rush to Judgment" as well as other individuals and groups, have produced new evidence which questions the findings of the Warren Commission. It should be clearly understood that the efforts to create this select committee are in no way designed to be a total denunciation of the Warren Commission. Rather, in light of new and substantial evidence, it is imperative that a new inquiry be undertaken and we are seeking to allow Congress to investigate the assassination for the first time.

Similarly, serious questions have been raised about the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. New and very disturbing theories have surfaced which deserve close examination. This is exactly what the committee would do.

I am pleased that this resolution will vest the new committee with sufficient authority to insure that thorough inquiries are conducted. These two assassinations of major American leaders have had a profound effect on all Americans. We must write the final chapter on these two dark events in American history by permitting all relevant evidence to be aired and considered so that unimpeachable conclusions on these assassinations may be reached.

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Resolution 1540, to establish a Select Committee on Assassination. Many of us have been shocked in recent times to learn of the extent to which American intelligence and law enforcement agencies have engaged in illegal, improper, and unethical activities. Investigations by both Chambers of Congress have charted a long history of abuses by the CIA, FBI, and other agencies that have included illegal electronic surveillance, drug abuses, political spying, mail openings, efforts to disrupt and discredit citizen protest groups, and assassination plots against foreign leaders.

The recent disclosure of J. Edgar Hoover's now infamous COINTELPRO memos outlines a nationwide program to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities" of organizations and leaders who did not share Mr. Hoover's political philosophy. And yet, I would remind my colleagues, that the investigations of the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., were dependent upon information gathered under the direction of the very same J. Edgar Hoover.

Mr. Speaker, this Congress had done much to prevent the reoccurrence of the abuses of the past but to stop at this point is to leave our work half done. Many Americans are demanding to be told the whole truth about the assassinations of some of our greatest leaders. The recent systematic violations of the Constitution, Federal, State, and local laws by the FBI, CIA, and other agencies, necessitates the direct intervention of this honorable body in order to determine if all facts have been brought to light. The American people will expect no less.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this resolution. The proponents of this resolution are asking the American taxpayers to pay $250,000 to study the circumstances surrounding the assassinations of certain named individuals and other unnamed individuals. The proponents of this resolution call for the expenditure of these funds even though thousands of dollars have been previously spent by various local, State, and Federal entities—including adjudicatory bodies—in the investigation of assassinations.

Now, Mr. Speaker, assassinations are a terrible thing and if we could prevent them by writing $250,000 reports that nobody will read, I would vote for this resolution. But the proponents of this resolution indicate that we just have to have this study. However, I have neither heard nor seen a great clamor from the people demanding this study. If the proponents truly down deep in their hearts want this great treatise called for by this resolution, I respectfully suggest that they reach down deep in their pockets and get out their checkbooks and personally contribute to this undertaking. I have it calculated. If each of the Members would write a check for $575. that will cover the $250,000 cost of this endeavor. Since the people do not want this resolution it is only fair that we pay the bill and save the taxpayers some funds. I suspect that there would be a lot less studies undertaken if we were required to pay for them out of our own pockets. And I also suspect, Mr. Speaker, that all of these study commissions would not linger on indefinitely if the Members were required to pay for them year after year.

The SPEAKER. All time has expired.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the subject of the pending resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the ayes appear to have it.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 280, nays 65, answered "present" 1, not voting 84, as follows:

[Roll No. 748]

YEAS—280

Abdnor	Frenzel	Morgan
Addabbo	Frey	Mottl
Allen	Gibbons	Murphy, Ill.
Ambro	Gilman	Myers, Pa.
Anderson, Calif.	Ginn	Natcher
Anderson, Ill.	Gonzalez	Neal
Andrews, N.C.	Goodling	Nichols
Andrews, N. Dak.	Gradison	Nix
Archer	Grassley	Nolan
Armstrong	Gude	Nowak
Ashbrook	Guyer	Oberstar
Aspin	Haley	Obey
AuCoin	Hall, Ill.	O'Brien
Bafalis	Hamilton	O'Hara
Baldus	Hammer-schmidt	O'Neill
Baucus	Hanley	Ottinger
Bauman	Hannaford	Patten, N.J.
Beard, R.I.	Harkin	Patten, N.Y.
Bedell	Harrington	Pattison, N.Y.
Bennett	Harris	Paul
Bergland	Hayes, Ind.	Pepper
Bevill	Hechler, W. Va.	Perkins
Biaggi	Heckler, Mass.	Pettis
Bingham	Hefner	Peyser
Blanchard	Henderson	Pickle
Blouin	Hightower	Pressler
Boggs	Hillis	Preyer
Boland	Holland	Price
Bolling	Holtzman	Pritchard
Bonker	Horton	Quie
Brademas	Howard	Railsback
Breaux	Hubbard	Regula
Brinkley	Hughes	Reuss
Brodhead	Hungate	Rhodes
Brooks	Hyde	Richmond
Broomfield	Ichord	Rinaldo
Brown, Calif.	Jacobs	Roberts
Brown, Ohio	Jeffords	Rodino
Broyhill	Jenrette	Roe
Buchanan	Johnson, Calif.	Rogers
Burgener	Johnson, Colo.	Roncalio
Burke, Fla.	Jones, Ala.	Rooney
Burke, Mass.	Jones, N.C.	Rosenthal
Burton, Phillip	Jones, Tenn.	Roush
Butler	Jordan	Russo
Carr	Karth	St Germain
Cederberg	Kasten	Santini
Clausen, Don H.	Kastenmeier	Sarasin
Clay	Kazen	Scheuer
Cohen	Kemp	Schulze
Conte	Keys	Sebelius
Conyers	Koch	Sharp
Corman	Krebs	Shriver
Cornell	Krueger	Sikes
Crane	LaFalce	Slack
D'Amours	Lagomarsino	Smith, Iowa
Daniel, Dan	Landrum	Smith, Nebr.
Daniel, R. W.	Latta	Solarz
Daniels, N.J.	Leggett	Spellman
Danielson	Lehman	Spence
Davis	Levitas	Steed
de la Garza	Lloyd, Calif.	Steelman
Delaney	Lloyd, Tenn.	Steiger
Dellums	Long, La.	Stephens
Derwinski	Long, Md.	Stokes
Dicks	Lujan	Stratton
Diggs	McCloskey	Studds
Dodd	McCollister	Symms
Downey, N.Y.	McDade	Talcott
Downing, Va.	McDonald	Taylor, Mo.
Drinan	McEwen	Taylor, N.C.
du Pont	McFall	Thompson
Early	McHugh	Thone
Eckhardt	McKinney	Thornton
Edgar	Madden	Traxler
Edwards, Calif.	Madigan	Treen
Edwards, Okla.	Magnuson	Udall
Ellberg	Mahon	Ullman
Emery	Mann	Van Deerlin
English	Martin	Vander Jagt
Erlenborn	Mathis	Vanik
Evans, Colo.	Meeker	Vigorito
Evans, Ind.	Metcalfe	Waggonner
Evans, Tenn.	Meyner	Walsh
Fascell	Mikva	Wampler
Fenwick	Miller, Calif.	White
Findley	Mills	Whitehurst
Fish	Minish	Whitten
Fisher	Mitchell, Md.	Wilson, Bob
Fithian	Mitchell, N.Y.	Wilson, C. H.
Flood	Moakley	Wilson, Tex.
Florio	Moffett	Winn
Flowers	Mollohan	Wirth
Foley	Montgomery	Wolff
Forsythe	Moore	Yates
Fountain	Moorhead, Calif.	Yatron
Fraser	Moorhead, Pa.	Young, Alaska
		Young, Fla.
		Zablocki
		Zeferetti

NAYS—65

[illegible]nzo	Fary	Patten, N.J.
[illegible]ard, Tenn.	Ford, Mich.	Pike
[illegible]ester	Gaydos	Ponge
[illegible]ckinridge	Hall, Tex.	Quillen
[illegible]rown, Mich.	Harsha	Risenhoover
[illegible]rlson, Tex.	Hicks	Robinson
[illegible]rlson, Mo.	Holt	Rostenkowski
Dawson, Del	Hutchinson	Runnels
Dochran	Jarman	Satterfield
[illegible]llins, Tex.	Jones, Okla.	Sebelius
[illegible]nable	Kindness	Shuster
[illegible]rchlin	Lujan	Simon
[illegible]rst	McClory	Sisk
[illegible]rick	McCormack	Stanton,
[illegible]vine	McEwen	J. William
Dickinson	Michel	Steed
Dingell	Miller, Ohio	Steiger, Wis.
Duncan, Oreg.	Mosher	Stratton
Duncan, Tenn.	Murtha	Van Deerlin
Edwards, Ala.	Myers, Ind.	Waggonner
English	Nedzi	Wampler
Erlenborn	Passman	Wiggins

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1

Young, Tex.

NOT VOTING—84

Abzug	Hawkins	Rose
Adams	Hébert	Rousselot
Alexander	Heinz	Roybal
Ashley	Helstoski	Ruppe
Badillo	Hinshaw	Ryan
Bell	Howe	Sarbanes
Bowen	Johnson, Pa.	Schneebeli
Burke, Calif.	Kelly	Schroeder
Burton, John	Ketchum	Shipley
Byron	Lent	Skubitz
Carney	Lott	Snyder
Carter	McKay	Stark
Chappell	Mann	Steelman
Chisholm	Matsunaga	Steiger, Ariz.
Clancy	Mazzoli	Sullivan
Cleveland	Meeds	Symington
Collins, Ill.	Metcalfe	Talcott
Conlan	Meyner	Teague
Cotter	Milford	Thornton
Eckhardt	Mineta	Vander Veen
Esch	Mink	Winn
Flynt	Moss	Wirth
Ford, Tenn.	Murphy, N.Y.	Wolff
Fuqua	Patterson,	Wright
Gialmo	Calif.	Wydler
Goldwater	Randall	Yatron
Green	Rangel	Young, Ga.
Hagedorn	Rees	
Hansen	Riegle	

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Bowen with Mr. Hébert.
Mr. Chappell with Mr. Talcott.
Mr. Teague with Mr. Heinz.
Mr. Matsunaga with Mr. Bell.
Mr. Flynt with Mr. Esch.
Mr. John Burton with Mr. Goldwater.
Mr. Shipley with Mr. Wydler.
Mr. Wolff with Mr. Lott.
Mr. Yatron with Mr. Carter.
Mr. Mineta with Mr. Hansen.
Mrs. Meyner with Mr. McKay.
Mr. Mann with Mr. Schneebeli.
Mr. Cotter with Mr. Howe.
Mr. Murphy of New York with Mr. Lent.
Mr. Stark with Mr. Snyder.
Mr. Rose with Mr. Clancy.
Mr. Roybal with Mr. Ruppe.
Mr. Hawkins with Mr. Kelly.
Mr. Adams with Mr. Hagedorn.
Ms. Abzug with Mr. Steelman.
Mr. Byron with Mr. Metcalfe.
Mr. Carney with Mrs. Collins of Illinois.
Mrs. Chisholm with Mr. Winn.
Mr. Eckhardt with Mr. Skubitz.
Mr. Fuqua with Mr. Johnson of Pennsylvania.
Mr. Gialmo with Mr. Riegle.
Mr. Green with Mr. Symington.
Mr. Helstoski with Mr. Alexander.
Mr. Meeds with Mr. Cleveland.
Mr. Rangel with Mr. Rousselot.
Mr. Wirth with Mr. Mazzoli.
Mr. Wright with Mrs. Sullivan.
Mr. Badillo with Mr. Milford.
Mr. Ashley with Mr. Steiger of Arizona.
Mr. Ford of Tennessee with Mr. Conlan.
Mr. Thornton with Mrs. Burke of California.
Mr. Moss with Mr. Rees.
Mrs. Mink with Mr. Sarbanes.
Mr. Patterson of California with Mr. Young of Georgia.
Mr. Ryan with Mrs. Schroeder.
Mr. Vander Veen with Mr. Randall.

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

NATIONAL FOREST MANAGEMENT ACT OF 1976

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H.R. 15069) to amend the Forest and Rangeland Renewal Resources Planning Act of 1974, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BOLAND). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Washington.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill, H.R. 15069, with Mr. DANIELSON (chairman pro tempore) in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. DANIELSON). When the Committee rose on Wednesday, September 15, 1976, the gentleman from Washington (Mr. FOLEY) had 14 minutes of general debate remaining and the gentleman from Idaho (Mr. SYMMS) had 16 minutes of general debate remaining.

The Chair now recognizes the gentleman from Washington (Mr. FOLEY).

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. WEAVER).

(Mr. WEAVER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Chairman, the timber industry and the men and women who work in it have contributed greatly to this Nation, providing the wood products with which we have built our homes and the furnishings within our homes and buildings.

It is a hardworking industry, a proud people, fallers and buckers, choker setters, all who work in the woods, in logging shows, in mud and snow; those who pull on the green chain, the sawyers, those who lay out veneer and make plywood, the log truckdrivers who work from early dawn to late at night, all bring to America one of its most precious, warm, and useful resources to be constructed by craftsmen into that which, with the food we eat, is the important quality in our lives—our homes.

Oregon is proud to be the State which provides the most softwood timber to this Nation. We do our part, and want always to do our part. We want to continue our ability to provide timber, and at the same time show strong and reasoned concern for the care of our forests and the forests of this Nation.

For, Mr. Chairman, the woods are many things. They are the growing place of magnificent trees, the growing place of plants of rare beauty, and they are the source of our water, the fresh mountain water that is our blessing and our trust. They are the habitat of countless wildlife, the spawning grounds of bright fish, whose natural streams are sensitive to environmental change. We in Oregon are fishermen and women, hunters and hikers, and we love our forests with our streams coursing through the mountains. We know the soils must be carefully preserved to protect all that is in our woods.

We invite you to Oregon to see our natural wonders. Join us if you wish; it is a free country. We only ask one thing, that you help us to keep Oregon, its forests and rivers, a special place to live.

And, we ask this Congress to approve sound, balanced legislation which will keep us at work providing wood to this Nation, and at the same time keep a forest environment that preserves those other vital values of nature; and legislation that will assure that the trees, young and old, growing and harvested, will be with us forever. For, what would Oregon be without trees; the Nation without forests?

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as she may consume to the gentlewoman from Nebraska (Mrs. SMITH).

(Mrs. SMITH of Nebraska asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. SMITH of Nebraska. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 15069, the National Forest Management Act of 1976.

As reported by the House Agriculture Committee, this legislation would amend the 1897 Organic Act—enacted at a time when our timber resources appeared virtually unlimited—to permit the increased use of the timber produced in our national forests.

As Members know, a recent court decision based on the Organic Act has resulted in an outright ban on all clear cutting in the Monogahela National Forest. If extended to all national forests, the Forest Service estimates, timber harvests in the East would be reduced by about 10 percent, with a 50-percent reduction in western forests.

The bill presented today would allow limited clearcutting in national forests under the supervision of the Agriculture Department. This will allow the use of modern timber harvesting methods, while at the same time assuring adequate protection for the environment.

In addition, today's bill will establish an 8-year reforestation program designed to increase future timber yield.

Mr. Chairman, this represents a sound balance between increasing timber production and protecting the environment. As is evident in the debate last night and today, this is an extremely sensitive issue, and I want to commend the Agriculture Committee for a constructive solution to a difficult problem.

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FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM The David Susskind Show STATION WTTG TV Syndicated

DATE October 24, 1977 1:40 AM CITY Washington, D.C.

SUBJECT Full Text

DAVID SUSSKIND: Was Lee Harvey Oswald the sole killer of President Kennedy, or was he part of a larger conspiracy?

Recent polls, the Gallup Poll, said that 81% of the American people believe he did not act alone.

Who was Lee Harvey Oswald? What was he? And what about the mysterious, complex life he led? Tonight, experts on this subject.

I begin with syndicated columnist and one of America's top investigative reporters, Jack Anderson. He has raised the possibility that Fidel Castro, aware of the CIA-Mafia plots against him, may have used Oswald to retaliate against President Kennedy.

And David Attlee Phillips, retired from the Central Intelligence Agency. He was chief of its Western Hemisphere Division. Mr. Phillips wrote about his CIA career in a book titled "Night Watch: 25 Years of Peculiar Service."

For a number of years, Jones Harris has done extensive research on the Kennedy assassination. Mr. Harris's work has been used by a number of writers and publications, including Edward J. Epstein, The New York Times, and The New York Review of Books.

A well-known expert and researcher on the Kennedy murder, Peter Dale Scott is co-editor of the anthology, "The Assassinations: Dallas and Beyond." Dr. Scott teaches English at the University of California at Berkeley.

Retired FBI agent Robert Gemberling was stationed in Dallas Texas at the time of the assassination. He coordinated the Bureau's

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investigation and reports of the murder that were subsequently submitted to the Warren Commission.

Robert Sam Anson is political correspondent for public television station WNET in New York and a senior writer of New Times magazine. Mr. Anson is the author "They Killed the President: The Search for the Murderers of John Kennedy."

Do you believe that we have, as a public, an accurate perception of Lee Harvey Oswald?

ROBERT SAM ANSON: Just off hand, no, I don't think we do at all. The public impression of Lee Harvey Oswald, of course, is the one that's been fostered by the press. And that impression boils down to the fact that he was an unhappy loner, something of a psychotic, didn't get along with his wife. So one day he went out and killed the President.

Even though the recent polls -- 81% in one poll, 89% in another poll -- suggest that people don't believe that thesis, the actual facts of who Lee Harvey Oswald was, I think, are known to a very few people.

SUSSKIND: I found reading the facts of his life absolutely astounding, Jack Anderson. This young man enlisting at teenage in the Marine Corps, being assigned to Atsubi (?) Air Base in Japan, studying and learning Russian, to some practical extent, getting a very high classification, perhaps even a secret classification, as a radar expert.

JACK ANDERSON: He did many strange things, many mysterious things. He would appear in Russia. He would be back in the United States. He showed up, apparently, at the Cuban Embassy in Mexico City. He was active in New Orleans with the pro-Castro movement. There are now reports that he may have been with the anti-Castro movement.

He's a hard man to put a finger on.

SUSSKIND: Well, let's start somewhere. When this man applied for a Marine discharge at the age of 20 -- he went in, I think, at 17 -- in 1959, he got a discharge in, I think, a matter of three weeks. Isn't that extraordinary, Mr. Phillips?

DAVID PHILLIPS: Well, I was from the Air Force and it took longer than that in the Air Force, I can assure you.

ANDERSON: Would it have taken longer if you were a psychotic and the Air Force thought you were psychotic. Is it possible the Marine Corps said, "Let's get rid of this guy as fast as we can?"

PHILLIPS: It's sometimes, Mr. Anderson, that way. An

employee that you don't like very much, you welcome the chance to get rid of him rapidly. There's no question about that.

JONES HARRIS: I think that's silly to say. The fact is he got a hardship discharge, he got an honorable discharge. Later that honorable discharge was changed into an undesirable discharge.

But I don't see that there's anything terribly extraordinary about that section of his career.

PETER DALE SCOTT: Oh, well, I do, Jones, because he had to get it with the excuse that his mother was not able to support herself. But all those documents came before the Warren Commission, and some of the supporting documents actually were dated and arrived after he had already been put into inactive duty.

The whole thing looks very much to me as if the U.S. Government was taking him, as they took many military personnel in that period, and preparing him for some kind of covert intelligence operation under the civilian cover, where he's in fact still was an employee of the U.S. Government.

SUSSKIND: Mr. Gemberling, the did have a classification as a radar specialist, right?

ROBERT GEMBERLING: He had something to do with radar in the Marine Corps. However, Mr. Snyder over in Russia, the U.S. representative of the Department of State, recognized -- I think Oswald even told him, and this is documented in the Warren Report, when he talked to him that "I have told the Soviets I'm going to give them military secrets."

SUSSKIND: Oh, you're a little ahead of me. He was a radar expert...

GEMBERLING: Yes, sir.

SUSSKIND: Even though he was a loner, even though he was something of a psychotic, a strange-behavior fellow...

GEMBERLING: The fact that you use the word expert -- I don't know. I imagine there are many radar experts in the military, that if you want to get into the fine line of how much he knew with that classification...

SCOTT: ...at a very special place. He was at Atsugi Air Base in Japan, which was a CIA base.

SUSSKIND: A CIA base from which U-2 planes took out for reconnaissance over Russia.

SCOTT: Right. And his unit worked with those U-2s.

SUSSKIND: Right.

Now, the next question: He gets a discharge and he comes back to the United States and applies for a visa to go to the Soviet Union. Correct? In 1959...

GEMBERLING: Excuse me, sir. He applied for his passport while he was still in the Marine Corps. Documented in the Warren Report.

SUSSKIND: Yes, but destination was Russia.

GEMBERLING: If I might make one general statement. The thing that always amazes me is when people discuss the assassination of President Kennedy, it makes you wonder, have they even read the Warren Report? I know many people that ask me questions, and so much of this material is actually documented, even in the summary portion, not even going back to the 26 supporting...

SUSSKIND: I have read it, and you're right.

GEMBERLING: I'm sure you had. I didn't question...

SUSSKIND: ...Americans have read it?

But let's talk about some of the things that I find staggering. He is discharged, hardship discharge because his mother's ill and he has to take care of her. But three weeks after coming back, he applies for a visa for the Soviet Union. 1959, the height of the Cold War. Wasn't it difficult to get a visa to go to the Soviet Union in 1959?

ANSON: Well, I believe -- Peter may correct me if I'm wrong -- but that he got the actual visa in Helsinki, was it not?

SCOTT: Yes, that's right.

ANSON: The extraordinary thing about that -- and the CIA itself investigated it, under instructions of the Warren Commission. Oswald, I believe, got his visa in a matter of two or three days upon his arrival in Helsinki. According to the agency itself, at that time of the year it took, as a matter of routine, a week to two weeks to get a visa, yet Oswald managed to get this visa very quickly.

It's not the only extraordinary occurrence in Oswald's background. If it's just one single strange happening, you can excuse it as chance. But there are just too many happenings, beginning with his service Marine Corps. And when you begin to total them up -- the fact that he was stationed at Atsugi; the fact that he managed to teach himself Russian, to the point where, when he met his wife-to-be, Marina, in the Soviet Union, she took

him for a native. He spoke it that well. Here is a guy who had -- I believe he was a high school dropout, did not have much formal education, yet managed to teach himself this extraordinary language with only the help, according to the Warren Commission, of a Berlitz book. Gets a discharge out of the Marine Corps very quickly. He has very pronounced left-wing tendencies in the Marine Corps. Some of his buddies call him Oswaldkovitch, because -- and the Marine Corps is not bothered by this at all.

SUSSKIND: Now he's in the Soviet Union and he goes to the American Embassy and says, "I want to defect. I want to become a citizen of the Soviet Union." And he then proceeds to the Soviet Union organization in charge of such matters, tells them he's an American specialist in radar, hates America, wants to become a Russian citizen; and they turn him down.

Isn't that extraordinary?

ANDERSON: Yes, that would be extraordinary, and I don't understand the mysteries that you're talking about. Are you implying that maybe that the Soviets and the CIA were working together to get him inside the Soviet Union? You've got him learning Russian and doing mysterious things at a CIA base in Japan and getting out of the Marine Corps early, and then you've got the Russians obliging by rushing him into the Soviet Union with only a three-day wait.

Is he supposed to be -- whose agent was he supposed to be? Which side was he on?

HARRIS: Well, I think it's important to say one thing, of course. He was not the only young American, even of military background, who was entering the Soviet Union at that point.

SCOTT: In those six months.

HARRIS: In those six months especially, there was a ragged band of rascals that were coming in, some of whom, in fact, got Soviet citizenship, Mr. Webster, for instance, who had been a naval electronics expert. He managed actually to get Soviet citizenship, which Oswald never managed to get. What he got was a stateless passport, and he never got Soviet citizenship.

SUSSKIND: Why didn't they take him? I mean he has a lot to offer. He knew about American radar.

HARRIS: Apparently, he wanted desperately to get in, to the extent that he is supposed to have cut his wrists when he found that he wasn't going to be extended beyond the five-day visa that he had.

Then he is taken to a Soviet hospital. And later, after that, goes to the embassy, throws down his passport, and says --

makes all these wild declarations...

ANDERSON: It's my impression that he was thoroughly debriefed by the Soviets. I've seen intelligence suggesting that he was. And I would gather that the Soviets took a good hard look at him and decided that he was a neurotic and they didn't want to have anything to do with him.

GEMBERLING: I really have to agree with Mr. Anderson there. I think that's a very key point. I don't think the Soviets wanted him. And I can assure you the FBI didn't want him. And I imagine -- and I'll have to let Mr. Phillips speak for the CIA. Because these rumors that come up constantly that he worked for the FBI, that he worked for CIA -- the FBI didn't want him. I don't think Russia wanted him. And I think it's pretty well documented.

PHILLIPS: We've just had a discussion about this strange gentleman and the progression of his career. And he indeed was strange: cut his wrists, and so forth. He's just the sort of a man that an intelligence officer looking at, after some years of experience, would have the same feeling that a man who works for the Department of State would when someone asks for a visa, and I think perhaps an investigative reporter when someone walks in and says, "I have a story."

Lee Harvey Oswald was not the stuff that special agents are made of.

SUSSKIND: Was he the kind of man that the Soviet Union in 1959, Cold War time, say, "Stay in this country. Be a resident alien." And he went to Minsk and he went to work in an auto parts factory -- radio parts.

HARRIS: Well, there is one thing that ought to be said, because he was, of course, an unknown figure and a very minor figure in every walk of life that he'd ever been a part of. But there's also evidence to suggest that his case finally came before Madam Furtseva, who sat on the Politburo, and that it was really through her efforts that he was permitted to stay in the Soviet Union.

SUSSKIND: Why?

HARRIS: Now, the point is -- I don't know why. But the point is, he could have been kept from staying there at all. The point is, he was allowed to stay. And at the same time, he refused to give up his citizenship, in the sense that he did not do the proper thing of returning to our embassy to sign in writing...

SUSSKIND: He meets a Russian girl 19 years old, Marina, and requests permission to marry the Russian girl. Isn't that

extremely difficult in our time, let alone back then, to marry a Russian girl, as an American?

ANSON: Well, Marina Pertskova (?) was the niece of a senior official in the Soviet Embassy. That's the ministry that houses the Soviet secret police. But there seemed to be no trouble at all for not only to arrange the marriage, but when it came time to leave the Soviet Union, for Oswald to take Marina out of the Soviet Union and back to the United States.

Even our own people at the embassy at the time, including Alexis Davis, who was an Air Force doctor and has admitted since that time that he was doing some stuff for the CIA too in connection with the Penkovsky papers, found it very strange indeed that the Russians were allowing Marina to leave with Oswald.

So, there is a question.

But one thing I'd like -- we keep talking about Oswald as a neurotic and a psychotic as if it's a given. Now, there's absolutely not a shred of evidence that suggests anything other than the fact that Lee Harvey Oswald was just as sane as everyone here.

[Laughter]

ANSON: But in any case, there was only one psychiatrist who examined him, at the age of 12. On the basis of a half-hour's examination, this psychiatrist was found -- lost [unintelligible] on the basis of having sex with his patients. That's the sort of shrink who said that Oswald was crazy.

Everyone who came into contact with Oswald after the assassination were impressed by how cool, how rational this fellow was.

He was no crazy.

ANDERSON: Is it rational to go around and take potshots at General Edwin Walker and...

ANSON: You're assuming that he did.

ANDERSON: Well, his wife said he did.

ANSON: Well, I wouldn't believe anything...

SUSSKIND: Before we leave this point. In our time, right now, for an American or an Englishman or anyone to marry a Russian lady is difficult, with the permission of the Soviet Union. And to bring her out of the country to America is fantastically difficult. He had no trouble at all. Isn't that an extraordinary thing?

ANDERSON: Yes, it is.

SCOTT: The whole case is unusual, but it starts being unusual when he leaves the Marine. I mean I admit there's a lot that's strange at the Soviet end. But let's not forget that the thing that we know most about and the strangest of all is how he could get a hardship discharge because a box of candy had fallen on his mother's nose six months earlier. And that is the official reason. She went on working for six months, and then decided to say that she couldn't work because she had sinus because a box of candy had fallen on her nose.

She tried for some time -- that's the kind of thing you find in the documentation.

SUSSKIND: Everything about him is extraordinary: getting into the Marines, getting that kind of classification, learning Russian so thoroughly that he could converse when he got to -- coming home, getting there on a bank account that was insufficient to pay the passage on an airplane -- ship; he went by ship.

PHILLIPS: But to say that he was completely normal and everyone thought so, I can give you two exceptions. The people in the Cuban Embassy and the people in the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City, they felt Lee Harvey Oswald was a kook.

SUSSKIND: Okay, we'll come back and [unintelligible] the story in a minute.

* * *

SUSSKIND: ...pick him up leaving the Soviet Union, unless you have some comment to make.

He has a child by this time, and a Russian wife; and gets ready permission to leave, to emigrate to the United States. He comes back, and then a variety of peculiar things happen. For one thing, the CIA and the FBI do not meet him upon his return. Evidently, you knew all about him.

SCOTT: The CIA at that time was very interested in any man who'd been able to stay in the Soviet Union for a couple of years. The Warren Report would have us believe that they never interviewed this man. And even the FBI didn't get around to seeing him until after he'd established himself in Fort Worth.

I just can't believe that for a second.

ANSON: Peter's right. That's what makes you so suspicious. The question is why the dog didn't bark. I mean the CIA has admitted that at the time that Oswald was in the Soviet Union, they were opening every piece of mail that came from the Soviet union into this

country. Yet in Oswald's file from the CIA, there's no Xeroxes, no notations of any mail that was...

SUSSKIND: And he'd been in the Soviet Union three years.

SCOTT: He'd gone there with military secrets. He had told the U.S. consulate in Moscow that he was going to share these secrets with the Soviet Union. And we're asked to believe that nobody cared to find out whether he had done this or not when he came back.

HARRIS: And by the way, when agent Gemberling says that he's regarded as a kook by all these institutions and organizations...

[Confusion of voices]

HARRIS: The fact is that after he made that statement, the Marine installations on the West Coast certainly took it seriously enough so that his former lieutenant, I believe, Mr. Donovan, gave quite an interesting account of just how many codes and call signs had to be changed on the West Coast, and so forth. And I think he winds up by saying for a month Oswald was the most unpopular man in all those units, because they had to do an awful lot of rearranging.

SUSSKIND: May I ask you why a returning American who offered to defect to the Soviet Union and tell them military secrets is not greeted on his arrival in the United States by the CIA?

PHILLIPS: There's sort of a myth that prevails that says that the CIA was responsible of overthrow of practically every government in the country. And really what we've found out in the last few years, that there were many occasions when the CIA was not doing a very good job. The Bay of Pigs, for instance.

To say that the CIA automatically was to debrief every single American who returns is something that...

SUSSKIND: Let's not even say that. Let's say this particular fellow.

MAN: ...every American who'd been there for a year and a half or two years. Would you say...

ANSON: At this time, you were talking to people who were coming home from Yugoslavia.

PHILLIPS: That's right. And my point is that it's possible that, with all those people, somebody might have goofed. I've seen it happen a lot of times in the CIA.

SUSSKIND: He was met by a Travelers Aid representative.

ANSON: So called.

ANDERSON: Why do you think that the CIA wasn't interested in him?

ANSON: I think the CIA wasn't interested in him because they knew perfectly well who he was and that Lee Harvey Oswald was an intelligence agent. I'm not saying that he worked for the Central Intelligence Agency, but I think his intelligence connections are clear.

ANDERSON: And then this Politburo woman who's helping him over there and the consulate in Helsinki, are they all CIA agents on the Russian side helping -- he's accomplishing all these strange and mysterious things in Russia as well. He marries the daughter of a member of the secret police. He's getting special help from a Politburo woman. Were these CIA agents?

ANSON: I think the fact of the matter is, though, that he got a lot more special attention on this end than he did in the Soviet Union.

HARRIS: He got special attention on both ends. That's the amazing thing, David. Certainly, to go back to the Soviet Union, apparently he traveled from Minsk, where he worked in this radio factory, traveled from Minsk to Moscow without [unintelligible] or hindrance or inquiry, when apparently it would have been the normal thing for him to have had to clear most of that.

Later, when Marina herself was questioned in this country, after the assassination, I believe that our intelligence people were surprised that she had not had to go undergo quite a questioning in order to come into this country, because that was the usual procedure. When a Soviet citizen goes back to this country, he or she is put through, apparently, a tremendous questioning by the government. She had apparently, according to her own word, escaped most of that.

SUSSKIND: Yes, isn't that odd, that a Russian woman, wife of an American...

HARRIS: She, to me, is just as interesting, you see, as Lee Harvey Oswald. Because...

SUSSKIND: So, a double goof, right?

HARRIS: Well, in the sense that with Oswald dead, it is Marina's testimony that accounts for 75% of what we find in the Warren Commission...

ANSON: One thing that we haven't talked about, Jones, that I think is worthy of mentioning are Oswald's travels, both

to the Soviet Union and then coming back.

Let's -- he took a boat and finally wound up in London, and from there he flew to Helsinki, arriving, according to the time he was signed into the hotel, at a time when no planes were available between London and Helsinki. The question becomes: How did he get there, in that period of time?

HARRIS: The agency itself was baffled by that. The agency said there was no way to account...

ANSON: Unless somebody provided him with an aircraft.

The second thing is when he comes back from the Soviet Union, there's a question of an unexplained day or two that is missing. We have Marina's own diary saying that they spend a day...

HARRIS: Three days in Amsterdam.

[Confusion of voices]

ANSON: ...at a private house.

Now, I'd like to ask Dave Phillips. Forget that this fellow's name is Lee Harvey Oswald, and just considering the facts that we know about him so far -- you're a professional spook. If you were...

[Confusion of voices]

ANSON: If you were trying to evaluate a character like this, and forgetting that he was alleged to have killed the President of the United States, who would you think he was?

PHILLIPS: The point that I would like to make answering that question is that in intelligence, as in most endeavors, you try to deal with the people who are going to be able to help you in one way or another.

It was recently announced that 30,000 Americans applied for employment last year at the CIA. I can assure you, of those 30,000, there are a lot of them that wouldn't make good intelligence officers.

Lee Harvey Oswald was the kind of man who had a history and who had a history of actions of the kind that would have made me, in the field, say, "No. Let's find someone else to debrief," or, "Let's find someone else to use."

SCOTT: Are you really suggesting the CIA was not interested in Lee Harvey Oswald when he came back from the Soviet Union? Because I can promise you that there's documentary evidence that

they were. The State Department had no less than 10 separate files on the Oswalds when they came back to this country. The CIA had asked for copies to go over. Sometimes 10 copies of a telegram would go over to the CIA, sometimes 25 copies would go over to the CIA.

I assure you that they were not ignoring this man. They had opened a file on him. There was an awful lot of interagency correspondence going on.

[Confusion of voices]

SCOTT: And the State Department and the CIA were playing their cards very tightly. They were making it very difficult for the FBI to find out anything about this man.

It got to the point that a message went over to the State Department, over the signature of J. Edgar Hoover, no less than J. Edgar Hoover, suggesting that the man who had gone into the Soviet Union might be an impostor.

GEMBERLING: That was in June of 1960 when that was done. Now, it's not unusual in that instance, because -- I think Mr. Phillips will support me on this -- that it's rather elementary that if an individual is leaving with his birth certificate and has made a statement that he's going to defect, we want to be alert to the possibility that when the person comes back, that he might be an impostor. And that's exactly what Mr. Hoover did in that letter in June of 1960. He alluded then to the possibility that because Oswald's mother had said that Oswald took his birth certificate with him.

SUSSKIND: Can we, gentlemen, pick him up upon his return to the States. He went to New Orleans and had a tough time, found jobs, lost jobs, didn't succeed very much.

SCOTT: Let's just get him off the boat and see what happens. You said he was met by a representative of the Travelers Aid. Even he's not an ordinary Travelers Aid man.

SUSSKIND: Mr. Rakin (?).

SCOTT: Mr. Rakin was a recently-retired secretary-general of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, which is a support group in America for a very activist intelligence/covert operations group called the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations, supported by Army Intelligence, CIA, British Intelligence, and something called the Gehlen Network in Germany, which itself was supported by CIA.

So you can see that as you track Oswald's career, in Atsugi with the CIA, in California at a special training thing, then even

the man at the boat has an intelligence background, he has intelligence all through his career.

ANSON: Spass (?) Rakin is a friend of yours, yours being in the FBI. I spoke to Spass Rakin about this, asked him about his connections, and he said oh, yes, indeed, that he was a friend of the FBI, and oh, yes, indeed, he had a friend in the New York office that he spoke to all the time, talking -- he would debrief people as they came off the boat and he'd pass this information on to the FBI. Just your ordinary...

SCOTT: David, can I say something, because I interviewed...

GEMBERLING: But this fact is not anything new. It's right in the Warren Report, this man's name, that he was met by...

[Confusion of voices]

ANSON: You didn't identify him as an informant.

SUSSKIND: No. The Warren Commission reports his being met by a Travels Aid representative.

GEMBERLING: No, it gives the man's name...

HARRIS: Your point is that there was concern by the head of the internal security in the United States, J. Edgar Hoover, as to the possibility that given this strange performance, which had FBI agents interviewing members of this man's family while he was in the Soviet Union, that if he came back, they had to be darn sure that it was the man who had been given the passport when he'd left in the fall of 1959.

Now, how certain were they that it was the same man? For instance, the man who was interviewed by Priscilla Johnson, a reporter and somebody who was with the State Department, described the boy she interviewed in Moscow, when he first got there, as a six-footer. Our friend Professor Rakin, who I began to interview in the fall of 1965, stated that the boy that got off the boat was 5'6". And when I said, "How could you be so certain on your height, Professor?" He said, "I am 5'6" myself, and the boy I interviewed was a touch shorter than I was."

Now, as far as I know, he passed through normal immigration, got onto the dock, and so forth, and then began his career in the United States.

SUSSKIND: Are you saying...

HARRIS: Wait a second. Who was in fact making sure that the Marine who got to Moscow was the boy who came back, Hoboken, June 13th, 1962?

SUSSKIND: Are you raising the possibility that there might have been two Lee Harvey Oswalds?

HARRIS: What I am saying is...

SCOTT: ...real possibility that the man who went to the Soviet Union was not the man who was arrested in Dallas in 1962. And I'll give you one -- it's only prima facie evidence, but you would have thought someone would look into it.

The man who went to the Soviet Union was measured out of the Marines at 5'11". The man who went around being Lee Harvey Oswald in New Orleans and in Dallas was measured twice, and both times he was 5'9".

Now, of all the unAmerican things that Oswald is supposed to have done, I think the most unAmericans was to shrink two inches when he came back to this country.

GEMBERLING: May I make a comment here. We want to -- you were talking about trying to prove negatives. It's very difficult to prove a negative. Even the Warren Commission alluded to that in the Warren Report, that they were not saying there was not a conspiracy, but they were saying that no evidence had come before them to indicate that there was.

SCOTT: You don't consider that evidence, Mr. Gemberling, that the man was two inches shorter?

GEMBERLING: I'm getting to this. Let me finish, Mr. Scott.

Now, you people that say he was -- ranged all the way from six feet down to, what, 5'5", or something like that, because one of the articles I've read said that he was only -- he was about the same height as his wife, which would be a considerable difference. I think you have to realize that why don't some of these people, including you gentlemen that allude to this, prove that? Give us some evidence.

Now, I could read and read and set forth all kinds of possibilities, but let's talk about credible evidence to show that it was a different man, not the real Oswald.

ANSON: The FBI had some credible evidence. You had a memo from J. Edgar Hoover raising this possibility that Oswald was an impostor, and you didn't think sufficiently of it to give it over to the...

GEMBERLING: We alerted them in 1960. He came back from Russia in 1962. This was -- a lot of agents in the FBI, I'm sure, recognized the possibility, if they work espionage matters, of that possibility. Mr. Hoover was only alerting the State Department:

A man has indicated a desire to defect. He's in Russia, and we have information from his own mother that he took his birth certificate.

ANSON: Well, the FBI had other evidence. In your own office in Dallas, Texas, Lee Harvey Oswald walked in, dropped a note just a few days before the assassination, and the good folks at the FBI in Dallas destroyed the note.

[Confusion of voices]

PHILLIPS: How do we handle the problem of the wife, who, when Mr. Oswald changes -- he's here, there. How many wives?

SUSSKIND: We'll talk about how many wives and how do you handle your wife if you keep shrinking in a minute.

* * *

SUSSKIND: What about the shrinking Lee Harvey Oswald? His wife evidently would have been the first one to report, "My husband isn't the man I married."

PHILLIPS: One would think so.

ANDERSON: Or his mother.

SUSSKIND: Or his mother.

When he was looking for a variety of jobs and shuttling between New Orleans and Dallas, he claims to have taken a shot at Major General Walker in an attempt to kill him. Now, he was something of an excellent marksman, not an expert but a very good marksman, good enough, presumably, to have killed President Kennedy from that building in 1963.

Why didn't he succeed in killing General Walker, shooting through a window at a solitary target?

MAN: About 12 or 20 feet away.

ANSON: Twenty feet a way. Well...

SUSSKIND: Do you think he did make such an attempt?

HARRIS: Well, I interviewed General Walker for four hours, and General Walker took me all over that whole time of the shooting, everything that happened. Whoever fired the rifle, the bullet passed through the sash of the window and buried itself in the plaster wall. When the police came out, the slug was extracted from the wall, and the police and Walker identified it as a 30.06 slug.

SCOTT: With a steel jacket.

HARRIS: With a steel jacket. When the rifle was discovered at the Texas Book Depository, it was first identified by a police officer named Weitzman (?) as a 7.65 Mauser. Now, they are direct equivalents. In other words, our 30.06 and 7.65.

Later, it became the 6.5 Mannlicher-Carcano, which might have meant a problem in terms of establishing this business of who had fired at Walker. And so the slug that had been retrieved from Walker's wall was produced. Now it was virtually a shapeless mass of metal.

SCOTT: And it had a copper jacket.

HARRIS: And it had a copper jacket.

SUSSKIND: What does this mean?

PHILLIPS: What are you trying to prove?

ANDERSON: That's what I'd like to know. He's got General Walker being shot at. He agrees with that, the police agree with it. You've got Lee Harvey Oswald saying, "I did the shooting." You've got his wife saying, "Sure enough, he went off to do the shooting," and left a note just before...

GEMBERLING: Left a note. There was a note.

ANDERSON: Now, who is it that did the shooting if it wasn't them? What evidence do you have that somebody else did the shooting?

SCOTT: You know there are witnesses to that shooting who said there were two men involved?

ANDERSON: Who did the shooting? Lee Harvey Oswald said he did. Marina Oswald said he did. Somebody did the shooting. You're disputing it now.

SCOTT: Well, if you want to know the evidence, there is one piece of paper in Lee Harvey Oswald's own handwriting and there is his wife. As somebody has already said, time after time after time, how do we know something? Because Marina Oswald said...

[Confusion of voices]

SCOTT: And she is a liar. May I say, she admitted at certain points that she was a liar. She was trying very hard to say whatever her interrogators were trying to get her to say. Frequently she had to change her testimony.

democratic front operating secretly, supposedly, which was a CIA operation run by E. Howard Hunt.

ANSON: That's right.

SUSSKIND: He gave an address which was not a factual address for his organization, but he gave that precise address that was a seat of operation of Howard Hunt's.

GEMBERLING: But what does this prove? I agree wholeheartedly...

SUSSKIND: Doesn't it conjure up, as an investigative reporter, some amazing...

ANDERSON: I'll tell you, David, I've looked at the evidence, the available evidence in the Warren Commissin report, I've dug even deeper than the Warren Commission report, because the FBI and the CIA did not give the Warren Commission all of the documents and evidence that they had. And I've looked at what the House committee is doing. And the only conclusion that I can come to is that if you want to isolate the facts, you can prove, by withholding facts and just zeroing in on the facts that please you, you can prove that Lee Harvey Oswald was a Soviet agent, you can prove that he was a CIA agent, you can prove that he was an FBI agent, you can prove that he was a pro-Castro agent, or you can prove that he was an anti-Castro agent.

So, take your choice.

[Confusion of voices]

ANDERSON: I'm puzzled. I'm mystified. And this is what troubles me about these positive statements. For every positive statement that is made that I have gotten into, there is an antidote for it, there is another piece of evidence that would dispute it. And I really don't know what happened.

SCOTT: It does look like he's an agent. Now, I agree, I don't know whose agent he was. You know, I certainly don't think he was working...

ANDERSON: There's a large body of evidence that he acted alone, too.

SCOTT: No, on the contrary. Time after time after time, there is an intelligence element in his background. We're just beginning to get a few of those here. Something like the 544 Camp Street address or the Atsugi base. We haven't mentioned that he took part in the maneuvers for the CIA back in -- military operations in Indonesia in 1958. Always these sensitive, covert intelligence secrets that only a relatively few people even knew about.

So there is a case that he is somebody's agent.

PHILLIPS: We have not mentioned the principal thing at this stage. Because of the assassination attempts against Castro by the CIA, which are now well documented, this, long after the Warren Commission report, established for the first time a possible motive, and that is, on the part of Fidel Castro. So it seems to me that that's a very important thing and one of the reasons why it's so important that the investigation continue as it is now. But that's the real important development of this period.

SUSSKIND: May I ask you a question raised by Jack Anderson that is profoundly important. Why did the CIA and the FBI, which were the principal contributors to the Warren Commission of the facts of everything, why did they withhold so much and such important evidence?

PHILLIPS: Well, the vital [unintelligible] we're talking about now is the assassinations business. And...

SUSSKIND: Well, other things too.

PHILLIPS: But that is the important thing.

If that had occurred, it would have taken place like this: Allen Dulles would have gone to one man, Warren, and said, "There's something I'm not going to tell anyone else, and I'm certainly not going to give you a piece of paper," if it had occurred. But for a body like that, with secrets which were so terrible and so deep, they simply weren't going to put it on a piece of paper and give it around to everyone.

SUSSKIND: Well, that...

PHILLIPS: They should have.

SUSSKIND: All right. Now, come to your bureau. A few days, three days before the assassination, Mr. Oswald comes to the FBI office in Dallas and leaves a note for agent Hostie saying, "If any of you fellows come bothering my wife again and asking her questions, I'm going to blow up this building."

Now, that happened, right? That is true?

GEMBERLING: I did not know that at the time, and I want to go into this.

SUSSKIND: But it's since become a fact.

GEMBERLING: It's become a fact. That has done more to hurt the credibility of the entire FBI investigation of the assassination, and the organization itself, the fact that that note was

not made known to the Warren Commission.

SUSSKIND: It was destroyed.

GEMBERLING: It was destroyed. That's right.

SUSSKIND: On orders of...

GEMBERLING: This comes out in 1975. I had no knowledge of this note. Had I had this note and known its comments -- and there are still two versions, and I really don't know yet which is the correct version. They are set forth in the Church Committee report -- this would have been excellent information to include in my reports to show another indication of his violence.

SUSSKIND: But, Mr. Gemberling, I'm confused. A man comes and leaves that kind of note. Three days later, the President is coming.

GEMBERLING: I think it's documented it was approximately two weeks before.

SUSSKIND: I'm sorry, two weeks before.

GEMBERLING: That's all right. That's all right.

SUSSKIND: Wouldn't you, in the normal course of things, as the head of your Dallas office, call up the Secret Service and say, "Look here, we've got a real psycho wandering around Dallas, and the President's coming. And we urge you to take precautions," protective custody, something.

GEMBERLING: Well, we've got to go back now. There have been criticisms of the FBI for what we call investigative deficiencies. I think we have to go back beyond that. There were rules and guidelines that the FBI operated under at that time as to what kind of information was disseminated to police departments, other agencies of the government. The Church Committee has well documented in their report that Oswald did not fit the criteria at that time, even though he was a defector, or attempted to defect, for us to notify Secret Service or the police department that this man was in Dallas and might be an individual they'd want to watch.

Now, when we come down to the nitty-gritty, I agree that the criteria was wrong at that time; and it was changed immediately, I think, the Warren Commission -- before the Warren Report was even issued.

SUSSKIND: Was that fact of his visit and threat to the Dallas FBI office...

GEMBERLING: That still would not have made him come under

that cat -- if the version of the note...

SUSSKIND: Should it have been relayed, that fact, to the Warren Commission report? Instead...

GEMBERLING: Yes, by all means.

SUSSKIND: ...J. Edgar Hoover ordered it destroyed.

GEMBERLING: The fact that that note was destroyed was wrong. The FBI has admitted it was wrong.

SUSSKIND: Who ordered it destroyed?

GEMBERLING: I don't know. I don't know. I was not there. I mean I was not in on that aspect of it.

Hostie, according to the testimony, received the note from the -- oh, it was placed in his work box, I think is the way the testimony reads.

All right. Who ordered it destroyed and who physically destroyed it? I think Hostie says he was told to flush it down the john. I wasn't there to see that and I never knew what the contents of the note were. I learned of it in 1975, when it came out in the newspapers.

SUSSKIND: ...threat was made to a city, and you were the agent in charge of that city and the President was coming, would you order that man detained?

GEMBERLING: Under the criteria now, we would notify the police department. If the version that he threatened to blow up the police department and FBI, we would most certainly take action. We would notify the police department, we'd notify a lot of other people. And he would probably be interviewed.

SUSSKIND: Today you'd be very sensible, but back then...

GEMBERLING: That's right. And here we're getting into hindsight.

HARRIS: The fact is J. Edgar Hoover got off a memorandum to some of his people in October of 1964 in which he serverely criticized agent after agent for their lack of aggressiveness in looking into Oswald prior to the assassination, and felt that in some way the entire credibility of the organization he had worked so hard to build up was really being jeopardized. And plenty of people were transferred. And Hoover himself...

SCOTT: ...the FBI record is the worst at all in this case. But it's interesting that the Warren Commission heard a

report from another source that this same agent Hostie, his name was in Oswald's notebook. And they then looked at the FBI file that had come over with the contents with the names in Oswald's notebook, and lo and behold, all the names are in there except one, the name of agent Hostie.

GEMBERLING: I want to explain that, because I have first-hand knowledge of this. During the start of the investigation, we had this complete address book. We were going to identify every person in that address book. I directed an agent to prepare an office memorandum to set out leads, and I told him, "You put everything in there. We don't know who it is, but we've got to send out a lead. Put it in there."

We knew who Hostie was. We knew the address of our office. We knew the license number of our bureau car.

All right. In my first report written immediately after that, I take all of the pages of that memorandum, and we at this time were putting everything on multiliths so we could run off a lot of copies. I put -- merely change the front sheet to a regular page of paper, use all of those pages that had been typed; and that was strictly an administrative decision because we had typists and stenos swamped with material. My immediate next report that was written, and I think it was in February, contained the parts that were not in the previous report.

No attempt to conceal, cover up, or anything else. It's all there if the people know where to look.

SUSSKIND: We'll come right back.

* * *

SUSSKIND: Now let's take up a particularly puzzling series of incidents. In September, just ahead of the assassination in 1963, he made a visit to Mexico City and he visited the Cuban Embassy and the Soviet Embassy, and his purpose was to get permission to go back to the Soviet Union via Havana.

Did the CIA have those embassies under surveillance during that period of time?

PHILLIPS: Well, you're putting me on the spot, David, because I'm an ex-intelligence officer and one of those who signed a secrecy agreement. However, I think it's safe to say that in any major country in the world where there's a Soviet Embassy and a Cuban Embassy, yes; and in this particular case there was.

ANDERSON: It went beyond that. It went beyond that. He made a telephone call -- Lee Harvey Oswald made a telephone call from the Cuban Embassy to the Soviet Embassy, and we got the con-

versation from both embassies.

HARRIS: Who destroyed that tape, the tape of that telephone call?

ANDERSON: It was destroyed...

SUSSKIND: Did you have it or the CIA had it?

ANDERSON: It was destroyed by the CIA.

SUSSKIND: Why did you destroy the tape of that telephone call?

PHILLIPS: Well, I used to be stationed in Mexico, and I can see big headlines: "Former CIA Man Stationed Here Confirms This and That." That's something I can't do.

I will say this, however. In such an operation in any large city, where you're using listening devices and you have tapes, you may be covering an installation, an embassy with 11 lines, 13 lines, and you do it all day long. And so soon you have a room filled with tapes. So you take those tapes and you transcribe what is important, put it on paper, put it in the file, and erase the tapes. Otherwise you'd soon have a huge auditorium filled with tapes.

SUSSKIND: But the tape of a defector, with the career of Lee Harvey Oswald all along the line, wouldn't you save that tape or do something about it? It's sort of like the missing 18 1/2 minutes in the Nixon tapes.

[Confusion of voices]

SUSSKIND: You obviously had the embassies bugged. Pictures must have been taken, right, of people entering?

PHILLIPS: There was no picture taken in Mexico of Lee Harvey Oswald.

SUSSKIND: None.

PHILLIPS: None.

ANSON: That's the problem, because the embassies at that time were under continuous photographic surveillance. Okay? The CIA did come up with a picture that it claimed was Lee -- was it Henry?

SCOTT: Lee Henry Oswald.

SUSSKIND: As six feet tall. He was in fact...

ANDERSON: And he was obviously not Oswald.

SUSSKIND: He was 35 years old -- he was actually 24. Athetically built -- he was slender and small and not athletically built.

ANSON: And very little hair. You see, the quest -- there is two questions in this: Who is this fellow? The CIA later admitted that they didn't know who he was. I'd like to know who he is. Secondly, why did you catch Oswald if you're photographing everyone who came in and out of those two embassies?

PHILLIPS: Here it goes, the invincible CIA. It can do anything. It takes pictures 24 hours a day and it always works.

Now, let met tell you what happened in Mexico. Two events were put together by a person whose job it was to sort of watch the radar screen, and two things were put together. First, the fact that a person -- and we're talking about that heavy-set fellow -- was photographed because of interest in him and because he frequented the area around the Soviet Embassy. I'm trying to word this as carefully as I can. I'm sure you understand. A second thing was put with that. So, someone put -- and the second thing being a contact made with the Soviet Embassy, not necessarily a visit, a contact.

ANDERSON: It was a telephone call.

PHILLIPS: So, those two things happening at just about the same time were incorrectly put together, and the person who did it thought they were putting together one and one to make two, but it wouldn't make two. They were two separate events.

SCOTT: Why did you describe him as Lee Henry Oswald?

PHILLIPS: Well, I described him as Lee Henry Oswald in my book, and that was wrong. And one of the people who can tell you about that is a gentleman who wrote a book review named Koch?

SCOTT: Carl Hoak?

PHILLIPS: Hoak. He wrote a letter to someone else and said, "That part of Dave Phillips's book, I don't believe for one minute."

SCOTT: Neither do I, I'm afraid.

PHILLIPS: Well, I was wrong.

SCOTT: I'll tell you what you said in your book, if you don't want to tell us. You said that the name Lee Henry Oswald arose because the message was sent by one of the officers' wives

and that she misheard something and it was in her phonetic representation. That's what you said. Is that correct?

PHILLIPS: I said that and I now think it's wrong.

SCOTT: Know why it's wrong? It's because the CIA opened a file on a man they chose to call Lee Henry Oswald back in 1960, and they made little mistakes, four separate pieces of misinformation about this man, so that he could not be traced and so that if the FBI said, "Do you have any CIA-generated material about Lee Harvey Oswald?" the CIA could say with a straight face, "No, we don't," because they didn't; it was Lee Henry Oswald.

ANDERSON: Well, the only comment I would have on it -- I've seen my CIA file. I have seen my FBI file. And I would say that there are approximately four errors on every page of both files. So it's not entirely...

SCOTT: ...military secrets.

ANDERSON: Well, he was a defector to the Soviet Union, and I was embarrassing to the Richard Nixon Administration. I'm not quite sure which one they may have been more interested in, and I rather suspect, from the great effort that was made to find out who my sources were and what I was doing, that they might have even had a greater interest in me. Nevertheless, I found at least four errors per page.

The plain fact is that these raw files are not very accurate. And that doesn't mystify me; that's normal procedure.

ANSON: Dave Phillips, we still have two questions outstanding. Who was the husky fellow? Can you tell me?

PHILLIPS: I don't know, and I don't believe...

ANSON: And secondly, after the assassination, you still had all these pictures around of people you were photographing coming in and out of the embassies. Did you go back through the pictures and find out if Oswald was there?

PHILLIPS: I went back through hundreds of pictures, and there was not a picture taken of Lee Harvey Oswald.

ANSON: See, I'm afraid I have more confidence in the Central Agency's efficiency than you do, because you seem to have made the most extraordinary string of errors when it came to this young fellow, Lee Harvey Oswald: didn't interview him when he got off the boat, managed somehow to miss his picture when he was in Mexico City, didn't take any notice of him at all. I just think it's an extraordinary record.

PHILLIPS: Well, on the contrary. The CIA in Mexico City found out that there was this strange man there some weeks before the assassination. They knew where he went. They knew who he talked to. They advised other segments of the government, before the assassination, the FBI, the [unintelligible] travel service, advised other people that there was a strange man in Mexico before the assassination. That's not inefficiency, that's efficiency.

ANSON: And then after the assassination...

HARRIS: But they only mention the Soviet Embassy. That's not efficiency, Mr. Phillips. They only mention the Soviet Embassy before the assassination. After the assassination, we learned about the Cuban Embassy. That is not efficiency.

ANSON: Then after the assassination, we have the Mexicans doing their own investigation of Lee Harvey Oswald. That's handled by the Ministry of the Interior, which at that time is headed up by Luis Echeverria, who later becomes the President of Mexico, but at that time was on your payroll, was he not?

PHILLIPS: He was not.

ANSON: Extraordinary.

SUSSKIND: All right, you've had an answer to your question.

But let me ask you this. Was it the policy of your bureau to notify the relevant other agencies, the Secret Service, that, considering the President of the United States would soon be in Dallas, "There's a very strange and dangerous, potentially dangerous man."

PHILLIPS: Not the Secret Service, because, being out of the country, that would be the job of the FBI or one of the other departments to relay through to them. But in this case, the news that Oswald was in Mexico before the assassination was passed to the State Department, the FBI, Immigration and Naturalization, and I think one other agency.

HARRIS: ONI. You asked ONI for photographs, as a matter of fact.

SCOTT: So the photograph of Lee Harvey Oswald was actually from ONI files eight days before the assassination.

HARRIS: That's right.

PHILLIPS: I wish that I could say more. When the gentlemen came down from...

SUSSKIND: Do you know more?

PHILLIPS: I know a great deal more.

When the gentlemen came down after the assassination from the commission, I talked to them. I testified before Senator Schweiker during the Senate probe. The current House Assassinations Committee has been going now about nine months. I testified for 10 hours before that committee, giving the kind of detail that would make it much easier to explain my position here. But obviously I can't...

ANDERSON: If you could give the details to a House committee, why can not you give it to the public, which paid for that investigation?

PHILLIPS: Well, as you know, Mr. Anderson, there is going to be a -- there are going to be public hearings later. But to give it to the public, I would have to describe in detail the internal workings of a CIA station overseas, and that I don't feel that I should do.

HARRIS: But, Mr. Phillips, you do understand how all this restraint inhibited the commissioners themselves of having a really clear picture of what had taken place; for instance, in Mexico alone.

Now, I interviewed John McCloy last year, and he's a man who has been close to American intelligence responsibilities practically his entire career. And he told me at his home that he realized now that the commissioners themselves, so much information was withheld from them.

PHILLIPS: Sir, I'm not trying to defend the commission. I'm not saying even that there wasn't a conspiracy involved, because I don't know. What I am saying is that we should be reaching these conclusions based on some sort shred of evidence, as someone said before.

SUSSKIND: There are still unanswered questions, mysteries, perplexities...

PHILLIPS: There are hundreds of unanswered questions, and not a single shred of evidence.

ANDERSON: I see no reason, if you have any important evidence that you've given the committee, I see no reason why you ought not to be able to discuss it here. Was there any important evidence, or is this just trivia, the 10 hours?

PHILLIPS: It was not trivia but it was nothing earth-shaking that would change the process of that investigation.

SUSSKIND: Hold it.

* * *

SUSSKIND: Every citizen must be flabbergasted at the lack of coordination among the agencies designed to protect the President of the United States and to ferret out intelligence information and to make effective use of that. And the idea of...

GEMBERLING: ...it's very difficult, especially when you've got this volume.

SUSSKIND: If the Warren Commission relied almost entirely on the FBI, which in its own way committed X number of goofs, and relied on the CIA, which made mistakes, even the name of Lee Harvey Oswald, wasn't it a major error for the Warren Commission to restrict itself to those government agencies that may have been culpable, in the sense of errors of omission and commission?

GEMBERLING: But that was their decision. It wasn't -- you know, we get blamed, the FBI gets blamed, but they did other departments. But I agree with you, they used us and relied on us more than anyone else. But that was their decision, not ours.

SCOTT: It should be said -- I'm a critic of the Warren Commission and I believe there was a conspiracy, but I'd like to say the FBI did a lot of very, very thorough work. And also I would say that in certain areas the CIA was very cooperative, and the other agencies of government.

But very interestingly, there are two areas where they were not cooperative. The first was the intelligence background of Lee Harvey Oswald, and the second area was the organized crime background of Jack Ruby. And now that we find out that in this period, intelligence...

[Confusion of voices]

SCOTT: I just want to say that this was a period when the CIA was collaborating with organized crime to assassinate Fidel Castro. And I know we have different opinions around this -- and perhaps there is a consensus among almost all of us that that was an extremely important piece of information for the Warren Commission to have, the existence of actual collaboration on assassination projects.

HARRIS: Allen Dulles sat there day after day after day after day.

SCOTT: And this is precisely the area where they covered up. And the fact that they covered up is, to me, evidence that there was something stiking down there...

SUSSKIND: Let's come to what you've just said. He killed -- or, he was killed in the police station by Jack Ruby. Did the two men know each other prior to that fateful day, or did they not, according to your...

SCOTT: I'm going to sound like David Phillips. There's not a shred of evidence that they knew each other.

ANDERSON: I have a possible insight into it. I broke the story about the CIA's attempt to assassinate Castro and I investigated it very thoroughly, and I can now say that one of the sources was John Roselli. It took a long time, a matter of years, to get a few facts out of him, a little at a time. John Roselli told me that Lee Harvey Oswald -- excuse me. He suggested that Lee Harvey Oswald might have been linked to the Cuban -- Havana underworld. He suggested that. He said positively that Jack Ruby had close ties with Santos Traficanti and the Mafia in Havana and would have responded to orders from that Mafia.

SCOTT: Of course, the Mafia was no longer in Havana in '63.

ANDERSON: Santos Traficanti still had certain control over the Havana underworld, even after he left it.

SCOTT: He had contacts in Havana but these were French Corsican contacts. These were not U.S. Mafia.

ANDERSON: My information comes from John Roselli, who directed the assassination attempt. He said that he got his help from Santos Traficanti. He said it was Santos Traficanti who set him up with the assassins, with the contacts in Havana. I believe Roselli knew who he was dealing with.

HARRIS: ...one of the reasons why they were so spectacularly unsuccessful.

Are we on, by the way?

SUSSKIND: Yes, of course we're on.

I'm lost. If Ruby had connections with the Mafia and the Mafia had been engaged by the CIA, and this is now a fact, to assassinate or attempt to assassinate Castro, didn't succeed, then isn't Ruby's connection with the Mafia of very pertinent interest.

HARRIS: Well, I think it is. For instance, George Crile, who is a very investigative reporter, wrote a series of interesting articles in which he suggested the possibility that part of organized crime was cooperating with Mr. Castro. And he suggested that Mr. Santos Traficanti himself had cooperated with Fidel Castro, probably on the advice of Meyer Lansky. In other words, people in crime could

recognize that Mr. Castro was not just a fly-by-night opeation; he was in fact here to stay.

Now, we know that Ruby made one trip to Cuba in 1959. One of the things that researchers like myself and Peter Scott were always upset over was that we could never see Jack Ruby's passport. This is an example of something that is restricted, and perhaps may be restricted until the year 2039, when, we're told, so many documents will then come to light.

Now, to speculate. It is possible that if Mr. Traficanti was in fact cooperating with Mr. Castro -- and God knows organized crime had much to fear from the Kennedy brothers -- it is possible that there may have been a cooperation between an element of organized crime, not Mr. Marcello in New Orleans, not the Gambinos in...

SUSSKIND: If organized crime was cooperating with the CIA to kill Castro...

HARRIS: Unsuccessfully. It's the most unsuccessful collaboration in the history of the world.

SUSSKIND: All right. Then they turned around and said, "Well, we can't kill Castro. Let's become agents of Castro"?

HARRIS: There is every reason to believe that Castro has always had information, solid information, from the Bay of Pigs on, as to what to expect in the way of attacks, either on himself or on Cuba itself.

SUSSKIND: Can I ask this question? Do any of you believe that Jack Ruby was a local gangster, so-called, a local bartender, ran a bar, who out of grief for the loss of the President and anger at his killer just shot him dead?

GEMBERLING: I would believe that theory. I have seen evidence to indicate that that was the reason. I have seen no credible evidence to indicate that he was involved, so to speak, to any extent whatsoever in organized crime.

ANSON: Are you saying he was nothing more than just a bar owner?

GEMBERLING: He ran a strip joint there and he was a man who had a quick temper.

ANSON: How about the fact that he was an informant for the Dallas police?

HARRIS: How about the fact that he was an informant for the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

GEMBERLING: He was not an informant.

ANSON: Potential informant.

GEMBERLING: He was being considered and he was contacted, and this is documented, the number of times.

HARRIS: Did you tell the Warren Commission?

GEMBERLING: It's in -- you most certainly is -- it most certainly is.

ANDERSON: And when you say that you have no evidence that Jack Ruby was connected with organized crime, the fact that he was over there and talking to Stantos Traficanti? Now, I've seen the intelligence reports myself.

GEMBERLING: I have not seen that. I don't doubt that he -- the fact that he talked with somebody, I think, is merely...

ANDERSON: Would you accept, say, if John Roselli had been your informant instead of mine and Johnny Roselli had said to the FBI, "Jack Ruby was one of our boys," would you have considered that to be authoritative?

GEMBERLING: We would have [unintelligible] to it, but that in itself does not...

ANDERSON: Well, that's what happened with me. That's what he said to me.

ANSON: Is it just a coincidence that you took him on as a PCI, a potential criminal informant, at exactly the time that Ruby started traveling to Havana? Is that just coincidence?

GEMBERLING: I don't -- that may be a true statement that he was. I'm not that familiar with his case. But I think it's documented the number of times he was approached by this agent, and he wasn't producing any information. Now, if he had information, he wasn't giving it to us.

SCOTT: It was terminated. It was terminated after he had stopped traveling to Havana.

GEMBERLING: It was terminated, right.

SUSSKIND: We have to pause.

* * *

SUSSKIND: An ordinary bartender really doesn't have access to Mr. Traficanti, who is one of the kingpins in the American organ-

ized crime society, and continues to be to this day. Your files on him are extensive, I take it, Mr. Traficanit, FBI files.

GEMBERLING: I wouldn't want to comment on that, for obviously reasons. I wouldn't be allowed to...

SUSSKIND: Well, if you had a permanent tail on Sam Giancana and if you had it on Mr. Gambino in New York, who recently died, you certainly must have had one on Mr. Traficanti.

GEMBERLING: I would say that's a good assumption.

SUSSKIND: Okay.

HARRIS: Well, David there are some people who believe that the reason Sam Giancana and Roselli were executed was not that they would have gone on telling more about the government's coopeation with organized crime to eliminate Fidel Castro. Under sufficient pressure, they might have told about the section of organized crime that in fact cooperated with Fidel Castro.

GEMBERLING: What they might have done is a lot different than what they do.

SUSSKIND: Now, I just want to come back to the point. Therefore, Jack Ruby is no ordinary minor league thug, because he can have access to some of the top figures, and you have all that evidence in your file.

SCOTT: This goes back, incidentally, to 1946. It's not...

SUSSKIND: ...considering him as an informant. Why?

GEMBERLING: The main reason we would have considered him would be for the reason that he might have a link with organized crime, and that being in the nightclub, strip business, he would have -- there would be people frequenting there that we would be interested in, he would have associations there that we would be interested in. But the contacts, whatever number it was, nine or ten, were not productive.

Now, I don't mean to say that just because he didn't tell us everything, that he didn't know something. I don't know.

SCOTT: His trips to Havana. Wouldn't his trips to Havana have interested you?

GEMBERLING: ...these contacts prior to that are such that he's not telling us anything, we're not willing to waste agent time and money to keep contacting somebody that isn't giving us the time of day.

SCOTT: We all agree that you terminated this connection, but the point is that Castro had driven the American Mafia out of Havana, including Mr. Traficanti. He jailed Mr. Traficanti. So that the situation you had in 1960, when organized crime was a very good way to infiltrate into Havana, including assassination agents...

HARRIS: ...many people from his organization, he was continuously in touch...

SCOTT: A lot of French Corsicans stayed in Havana. And the best public record we have here is the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, which recorded the contacts between the Traficanti organization on the mainland and three very top-level French Corsicans in Havana.

Well, I think it's very, very bad journalism for people to suggest that French Corsicans in Havana are somehow agents of Fidel Castro.

SUSSKIND: Well, I'm more interested in the fact of the FBI office in Dallas. Did you alert the Dallas police on the comings and goings and associations of Jack Ruby with top figures in the Mafia? Because he was a crony of the police. He hung around there.

GEMBERLING: I really can't answer that question; it's because I don't really know. I did not handle Ruby as an informant. All I remember was in the coordinating of the assassination investigation that we did make available file on the potential criminal informant and showing the contents that he was. Efforts were made because we thought he might have information, and then the agent closed it because he didn't produce.

ANDERSON: David, I think I probably ought to add at least this much intelligence, and I don't know whether it's -- how reliable it is. But John Roselli did suggest very strongly to me that Jack Ruby had knocked off Lee Harvey Oswald on the orders of the mob. Of course, I asked why he would do it, and he'd say because the mob had something to do with the assassination of John F. Kennedy.

Now, he did not say flatly that he knew this to be the case, but he did say to me that he believed this to be the case, and he suggested it strongly, and he said that he did know about the ties between Jack Ruby and Santos Traficanti. And it is an interesting fact that -- because he was talking to me and people knew that he was talking to me and some of his friends knew that he was talking to me. It's an interesting fact that when John Roselli disappeared, his friends did not call the FBI, they did not call the Miami police, they called me. They obviously thought that it had something to do with his discussions with me. They called and said, "John is missing."

MAN: Do you suspect this?

ANDERSON: I don't know. I just know that Johnny Roselli was talking to me, I know that he was very reluctant to talk, I know that it had taken years to get him to say things, and I know that he was beginning to talk along this line. At no time did he say, "This is what happened." He said, "This is what I think might have happened."

SUSSKIND: You have to have asked him why. Why would the Mafia want to kill President Kennedy?

ANDERSON: All right. This is what...

SUSSKIND: What did he reply to that?

ANDERSON: Well, the Kennedys had been cracking down on the mob. Bob Kennedy had done more to hurt the mob than any Attorney General in the history of the United States. They had motive.

But John Roselli explained this possiblity -- and, again, only a possibility. He didn't say he knew this. But he said, "We tried six times to knock off Castro." He says, "Castro caught our boys." He says, "I would have to assume that they tortured them." In fact, I understand that they were tortured. He said, "It is part of the Latin American sense of irony to use the same people who are after you and have it backfire against those who had sent them after you." He says, "I think that might have been what happened."

I'm only reporting. I don't know whether it was. He didn't even say it was. He said that this was his speculation.

SCOTT: Did Roselli speak to you about the shooting of Sam Giancana when it was announced that he was going to testify to the Church Committee?

HARRIS: The only man ever to be murdered before appearing before a federal...

SUSSKIND: Did you believe it, Jack?

ANDERSON: There are a lot of strange coincidences, David, a lot of -- and that's all I can report. We did have six attempts upon Castro by the Mafia. There's no question about that. They occurred in 1963. There's no -- the last ones did, the last one in March of 1963. We know that the Mafia was called off. We know that the CIA continued to try to knock off Castro. And we know that in September -- I think it was September 7th of 1963, that Castro called the local Associated Press man in Havana and said, "I've got something important to say tonight and I'm going to be saying it at the Brazilian Embassy," a man named Martin. Martin showed up, and essentially -- the Associated Press man. Essentially, what Castro said was, "I'm aware that there have been plots on the

lives of high Cuban officials. I want you to know that two can play at this game and that even American officials themselves may not be safe."

It was three months after that, three months after that that John F. Kennedy was shot by, allegedly, Lee Harvey Oswald, who had been to the Cuban Embassy in Mexico City just before, who had been active in the pro-Castro movement just before.

Now, these are all coincidences. I don't know what they add up to. I'm not sure.

ANSON: Jack...

SUSSKIND: Hold it, Bob, and we'll come right back to you.

* * *

SUSSKIND: Okay, Robert Anson.

ANSON: All right, Jack. What we've been talking about, the "Castro did it" school of thought, it is pure speculation. I think first of all that ought to be established.

Secondly, I think you have to consider the political background that we're operating in in 1963. The fact of the matter is that there is not a shred of evidence that suggests that John F. Kennedy, at that time, was directing the assassination attempts against Fidel Castro. On the contrary, there's a lot of evidence that suggests that the Kennedy government and the Castro government were then engaged in trying to put back together relations between the two countries. And in fact Bill Atwood, who was one of our representatives at the United Nations in Cuba -- at the United Nations, had met with the Cuban Ambassador in New York and the Ambassador passed word that Castro was interested in a rapprochement. Atwood relayed this information back to Bob Kennedy, and from there it went to John Kennedy, and Kennedy said, "Go ahead with it."

SUSSKIND: Well, why were we trying to assassinate Castro?

[Confusion of voices]

ANDERSON: The plain fact is that we were trying to assassinate Castro, and it is absolutely -- I'll answer your question if you'll let me.

ANSON: Just let me make one quick point. When you say, "We were trying to," does that mean the United States Government or does that mean the Central Intelligence Agency? And I think fact of the matter is there's a great big difference between the two.

SUSSKIND: Somebody gives orders to the Central Intelligence Agency.

ANSON: I think the Church Committee established that the CIA operates illegally, on its own more often than...

PHILLIPS: I take absolute exception to that. The Church Report states very clearly that what they found was that the CIA, over a period of 29 years -- 28 years, was indeed following the dictates of the various Administrations.

SCOTT: ...particular case, they found that there was a CIA assassination plot against Castro in the second half of 1963, and they asked Richard Helms, "Did either John F. Kennedy or Robert Kennedy order you to do this?" and he answered, "No." And the next thing that he was asked, "And then why were your men going to Cuban agents, who were probably double agents, and representing themselves as personal representatives of Bobby Kennedy, when Bobby Kennedy had never given them any authorization?"

ANDERSON: And Richard Helms is about to be indicted, or by the time this comes out, he's probably been indicted, for perjury. So I don't know how much...

ANSON: But put yourself in the position of Fidel Castro.

ANDERSON: Let me tell you what the facts are, if you'd like to know them. There is no possibility that this could have been conducted without the knowledge of the Kennedys. John F. Kennedy actually appointed his brother Bob to go into the CIA and to turn it upside-down, to look at everything. There is evidence that I have gotten personally from people inside the CIA that in fact Bob Kennedy was completely aware of this plot. There is no evidence that I've been able to get that John F. Kennedy knew about it. But it seems entirely illogical that Bob Kennedy would not tell his brother about it.

Bob Kennedy did know about it. When John F. Kennedy was assassinated, the first person to reach Bob Kennedy's side was John McCone. Now, John McCone was not a family friend. This isn't a time when the head of the CIA would be calling upon Bobby Kennedy to console him. There was another purpose for it. People who were close to Bobby Kennedy said that he went into a deep funk, a period of great grief. Now, that's natural. But they said they knew Bobby Kennedy and it was not natural. They said that his grief was much deeper and much greater than would have been normal.

Now, this gets into the real of speculation. But you had John McCone, the head of the CIA, rushing over to Bob Kennedy's side, spending three hours with him, letting nobody else in during this period, and you have this deep depression that followed.

I raised the question when I first broke this story: Wasn't this grief as a result of Bob Kennedy knowing that he had had something to do with this plot, that at least he had condoned it? And didn't it also have something to do with the possibility that he felt it had backfired and that he himself may have therefore had something to do with this brother's...

ANSON: Well, once again, Jack, that is wild and, I think, grotesque speculation.

ANDERSON: That is neither wild nor grotesque. It's based upon fact. Now, it is speculation, but it is based upon fact.

SCOTT: It's based on speculation by John Roselli.

PHILLIPS: When I have some fact, eyewitness. When the Bay of Pigs failed, I was sitting there after that last message from the beach, coming from people I knew, and I was there when Bobby Kennedy came in in shirtsleeves. And he came over there to turn the place upside-down.

ANDERSON: That's correct.

PHILLIPS: But what happened was that he fell in love with secret operations. Every Foreign Service official that went to Latin America for the next few years took Bobby's course in counter-insurgency. And during this period of assassinations that we're talking about, Bobby said to the CIA, "Why don't you guys get off your ass and do something about Castro?"

SCOTT: But that was 1961-62. And I admit there was a great crescendo of operations against...

ANDERSON: That's when all this occurred.

SCOTT: Until the Cuban missile crisis.

ANDERSON: That's when this occurred.

SCOTT: Until the Cuban missile crisis. And then they had to turn these things off, because now the Soviet Union was involved, and the Kennedys were very interested in reaching some kind of understanding with the Soviet Union. And part of that was the publicly stated announcement that there would be no more operations mounted against Fidel Castro from the continental United States. This made the Cuban exiles extremely angry, but it made it just suicidal madness for Castro to want to assassinate the President, who had promised this, in order to bring to power the Vice President, who was known to be much more in favor of this kind of operations than Kennedy himself was in 1963.

ANSON: As long as we're going to deal in the realm of

speculation...

SUSSKIND: We're not in the realm of speculation. I'd like to clear that up.

Do you believe, genuinely, that Attorney General Robert Kennedy and/or his brother, President Kennedy, knew nothing about the attempts of the CIA, with cooperation from the Mafia, to kill Castro six times?

ANDERSON: That is wild.

ANSON: Wait a second. I think in 1961 and 1962, up to the time of the Cuban missile crisis, that the Kennedy brothers were doing everything conceivable to get rid of Castro. I think there is a complete break, though, in that history after the Cuban missile crisis.

ANDERSON: But you didn't cite that before. I mean I don't know at what point the Kennedys may have withdrawn from the project. I just know that they knew about the project, and I suspect that they knew about it right up to the end.

SCOTT: There was a public announcement on March 30th, 1963, coming technically from the State Department, but it was obviously policy, that there were to be no more of these kind of covert operations mounted against Cuba from the continental United States. Now, they meant -- and this is what they did. They continued to train Cubans, but that was to go to some other country, like Guatemala or Nicaragua or Costa Rica. And the CIA would give them money, and the Cubans could do their own thing. But the United States would not mount another Bay of Pigs.

SUSSKIND: Gentlemen, hold it.

* * *

SUSSKIND: All right, there was a declaration, "No more attempts on Castro's life," from the United States.

ANSON: Let me tell you another thing that's really simple and obvious, and I'm sure all the American people understand this. If there was a conspiracy to assassinate the President, as I believe there was, it had to involved a lot of people in Dallas, and particularly the Dallas police. Is anyone here really suggesting that the KGB or Fidel Castro had somehow seized control of key elements in the Dallas police force? That's crazy.

If there was a conspiracy, it was a conspiracy that had at least to be partly based in Dallas. And that's why I take what you said about organized crime very seriously indeed. And I think this should have been pursued in '64 by the Warren Commission, and

it obviously wasn't.

So that we have a very good case here for a cover-up.

ANDERSON: I don't understand there. Are you saying that the Dallas police force, in your opinion, participated in the assassination...

SCOTT: At the very least, in the cover up of it, yes. And you can see there are a lot of documents that...

HARRIS: ...as long as Oswald lived and as long as he was interrogated by one branch of the government after another in those two days, no notes were taken, no tape recordings, nothing. Now, that has always struck the American people as something damn odd.

GEMBERLING: That is really not extraordinary if you would have known and worked with Captain Fritz, who was the head of the Homicide Bureau in Dallas. I'm not being critical of Captain Fritz, but he hardly ever took notes, and he ran the whole show. In other words, in any big case, he was going to do the interviewing. And it's unfortunate that there were no tapes. I agree with that.

SUSSKIND: No stenographer, no tape recording. A man has killed the President of the United States, and we have a police chief with idiosyncrasies.

GEMBERLING: Right. I would like to make reference to that, David, here, because a man had killed the President of the United States, and it was nothing more than a local crime. Here our country was 187 years old and it was not a violation of federal law.

HARRIS: It would have been to kill a postman that day.

GEMBERLING: It was not a violation of federal law. The only way the FBI had jurisdiction -- we at first thought it might be a violation of the assaulting-a-federal-officer statute, but the U.S. Attorney, Burfoot Sanders, that Friday evening searched the books. The President wasn't covered.

So, then we were directed by the President to conduct an investigation. And then subsequently, of course, the President created the commission.

So, actually, it's amazing to me that now our Congress, I hope, this House committee is getting all of this information that you people have alluded to, especially Mr. Anderson there, and I'm sure they have it. And they're spending $2 1/2 million of taxpayer money. Let's hope they up with the answer, but let's don't come up with an answer that "Well, we still think there was a conspiracy, but we haven't been able to prove it because of,"

say, "the FBI did this or the CIA did this."

And I'd like to comment one thing that Director Kelley of the FBI said back in '76. He made a speech and he admitted we had made mistakes and that we were going to try and not make any more of them. But he said some elements of our society are pursuing the posse while the outlaws are shooting up the saloon. And if you analyze that statement, that's just about what's happening.

Now, I'm hoping, as I'm sure every taxpayer listening to this program is hoping, that when this committee, after they've spent the $2 1/2 million this year, and they'll probably spend some more next year, that they come up with a solution: There was or there wasn't. If not, why not?

HARRIS: But you do point out that the head of your own bureau at the time, Mr. Hoover, made it clear, after looking over the record of many of the FBI personnel involved in this thing, and he was furious at their performance.

GEMBERLING: He was.

HARRIS: He then said, after the commission had debated and made its findings, that this case would be held open by the FBI forever.

MAN: And it's still open.

GEMBERLING: And it was still open as of December 31st, when I retired, last year.

SUSSKIND: A quick mention of that famous letter, so-called letter written by Lee Harvey Oswald to H.L. Hunt, the deceased oil billionaire from Texas, suggesting that they had some working arrangement together and he was requesting a meeting on the matter.

[Confusion of voices]

GEMBERLING: It's never been established that that letter was directed to H.L. Hunt.

SUSSKIND: There was a letter to Mr. Hunt.

GEMBERLING: There was. I've seen the letter. And there are, I think, several handwriting experts, alleged experts, at least, that have said it was Oswald's writing. I don't think the FBI has been firmly convinced that it was his writing.

ANSON: So it might be a forgery.

GEMBERLING: But there again, it might be and it might not be. I don't know. But I did want to make it clear that it was to

a Mr. Hunt. And that is not -- that is a rather common name, so it could have been to a lot of Mr. Hunts.

HARRIS It's so common that there was a Mr. Hunt who founded the Cuban Revolutionary Council at 544 Camp Street in New Orleans, where Oswald listed his address. That sort of...

PHILLIPS: Are you suggesting that Howard Hunt was stationed in New Orleans?

[Confusion of voices]

SUSSKIND: Is that part of the continuing investigation: which Mr. Hunt that letter was written to, and the letter's authenticity?

GEMBERLING: Not by the FBI, to my knowledge. It wasn't -- well, of course, this has come up since I left, so I don't recall -- I don't know what the FBI is doing now in connection with the investigating, because the House committee is investigating, and I don't know that they want the FBI. You'd have to talk to a current member of the FBI.

SUSSKIND: Gentlemen, we must pause again.

* * *

SUSSKIND: Gentlemen, if Lee Harvey Oswald had lived and gone to trial, would that have cleared up the mystery, do you suppose? Can you project...

ANSON: Well, he would have been freed if he had a good defense attorney, because the FBI had suppressed and destroyed evidence. At least on appeal, that would have been thrown right out of court, thanks to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

SCOTT: I think it depends what year it would come up. If it would have come up in 1976, when we know just how widespread agent operations are, I think it would have come out that Lee Harvey Oswald was not his own man, he was an agent who took orders from somebody. And the question would have been then, who was he taking orders from? And the question of whether or not he actually pulled a trigger himself on that day, I think, would have been very secondary, but I personally think he did not pull the trigger.

HARRIS: Would Marina have been allowed to testify against her husband? Would she have been a government witness against her husband?

PHILLIPS: Would he have been found guilty of killing Officer Tippit? There were a number of eyewitnesses to that. I think he certainly would have been found guilty of that.

ANSON: No, I think that the case -- the Tippit case is far weaker, even, than the case...

GEMBERLING: There were two eyewitnesses to the shooting and seven eyewitnesses to the...

ANSON: Well, who -- would you name these eyewitnesses to the shooting?

GEMBERLING: They're named in the Warren Report.

ANSON: Yes, but it turns out they weren't eyewitnesses to the shooting. One was not looking up at the time and the other one came on the scene later.

SUSSKIND: We're almost at the end, and there are two important questions that I'd like each of you to take some time and comment on. Given what we know, what do you conclude about Lee Harvey Oswald? And will we ever know the entire truthful story of what happened?

What do you say, Jack?

ANDERSON: Oh, I'm just confused, and I always have been, and I'm not even sure it's ever going to be cleared up. Even tonight we've had the same people saying that Lee Harvey Oswald was sane and normal and the same people saying, "Why didn't the FBI do something about this psychotic and notify -- and notify the Secret Service?" We've had the same people suggest that he might have been a CIA agent, because of all of the peculiar circumstances under which he got out of the Marines, and who also suggest that there wer equally peculiar circumstances on the Soviet side, so he must have been -- therefore, we could -- we have just as much evidence that he would have been a KGB agent. And so we have this confusion.

SUSSKIND: David Phillips, high former official, ex-CIA, are you satisfied? Do you believe the Warren Commission Report?

PHILLIPS: I believe it, and I've taken this step. I've spent the last 2 1/2 years organizing former intelligence people from all agencies, not a very popular cause. These days, saying that you believe the Warren Commission Report is not very popular. But I have said that if I find the CIA, as an institution, was covering up in that, I would call for the abolishment of the CIA.

And one final thing, David. I think there's a compulsive tendency in our country to suspect conspiracy in the face of facts not easily understood: Is it possible to kill Camelot with a few bullets? Do I hear anyone say that there was a conspiracy in those two cases in California when two women missed President Ford? That was the difference. It could be understood.

SUSSKIND: Robert Sam Anson.

ANSON: I don not think that the Central Intelligence Agency, as an organization, had anything to do with the assassination of President Kennedy. I think the question of whether individuals who happened to work for the CIA or had a connection with the CIA were involved in the assassination is an open question. I do not believe that Lee Harvey Oswald acted alone, and that he was definitely attached to some intelligence agency.

SUSSKIND: Robert Gemberling, former FBI.

GEMBERLING: I feel from 13 years of seeing the evidence that was compiled, I think Oswald did commit the assassination, and I have seen no credible evidence to indicate that there was a conspiracy. I can't sit up here and say that there was none, but I would love to see some evidence. In other words, it seems that those who accept it, no explanation is necessary; and those that won't accept it, no explanation will suffice.

SUSSKIND: Professor Scott.

SCOTT: I'm with the 90% of the American people who do not believe the Warren Report and I'm with the 99% of the people who've read it and read the hearings who do not believe in it.

But I just want to make it clear I'm not saying that the CIA killed President Kennedy, certainly not the FBI, who, on balance, I think, did a lot to help. But I do think that there was a conspiracy of people to kill the President who knew that because Oswald had played an intelligence role for some U.S. agency that they would be able to blackmail the U.S. Government into covering up Lee Harvey Oswald's intelligence role by covering up the whole real facts of what happened in Dallas.

SUSSKIND: Jones Harris.

HARRIS: Well, I agree with Peter and 90% of the American people. My hunch is that the planning of the Kennedy assassination was the work of a man with deception experience in wartime, World War II intelligence operations; that there was a collaboration between the Soviets and organized crime in this country.

SUSSKIND: The Soviets.

HARRIS: The Soviets. And one of the reasons I believe this is that the two principal lawyers, Coleman and Slossin (?), who had to get as many facts as they could out of the Soviet Union, were rebuffed over and over again, in terms of getting the affidavits and the knowledge that they felt that they needed about Oswald's stay in Russia.

SUSSKIND: A quick thought. In our lifetime, is this mystery likely to be cleared up, Jack?

ANDERSON: I don't think so. I think that the House committee is making an effort, but I don't think that they're going to satisfy people on this panel, not all of them.

SUSSKIND: Will the year 2000 solve it, when those records can be opened up?

ANDERSON: I don't think the records are going to prove anything more than we'll know at the end of this House investigation. There are always going to be questions that cannot be answered. I hope we find the answers. I doubt that we will.

Missing Files—The Defense Department unaccountably has destroyed files on the assassination of President Kennedy. Yet at the same time, it has carefully safeguarded insignificant files on thousands of GIs and civilians.

The destruction occurred despite a warning from the Justice Department to all government agencies to preserve their assassination files.

We have been unable to locate anyone in the Pentagon who knows what the files contained. Officials speculate that the material may have come from the FBI and, subsequently, may have been deleted for some reason by the FBI. But there is no way to assess their importance.

We have uncovered only veiled references to the missing files. In an obscure Pentagon microfilm drawer, for example, there are notations that files once existed which exist no longer.

Footnote: Other Pentagon files on the assassination, such as the military data on presumed assassin Lee Harvey Oswald's Marine career, were preserved.

1 DEC 1977

Post - Anderson

8 FEB 1978

'Ruby and Oswald': Those Single, Blinding Moments Become a F



Frederic Forrest

By Jeremiah O'Leary
Washington Star Staff Writer

Like Pearl Harbor and VJ-Day, the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in November, 1963, was one of those mind-boggling moments that etched impressions firmly in the minds of everyone able to absorb the enormity of the event.

I suppose everyone who had reached puberty by the day Lee Harvey Oswald killed Kennedy, and perhaps everyone who saw Jack Ruby kill Oswald on national television two days later, can remember exactly where he or she was when these tragedies took place.

It is an especially sharp memory for me and others who saw Oswald many times in the madhouse that was the Dallas police station, and watched 12 feet away as Ruby gunned him down.

For those reasons, I found myself shaking my head sadly at CBS's three-hour dramatic special, "Ruby and Oswald," to be shown from 8 to 11 o'clock tonight (WTOP-9). I was simply not impressed with what is unquestionably a sincere effort by producer Alan Landsburg to recreate every detail of what took place.

Watching Michael Lerner and Frederic Forrest striving each to become a respective *doppelganger* for Ruby and Oswald, it was impossible for me to find them credible. Perhaps I was too close to the case. But even allowing for that, I found that the whole project just did not come off and herewith are some of the reasons why — having nothing to do with the subjective opinion that the production is too long by a solid hour.

IMAGINE, IF YOU CAN, Henry (The Fonz) Winkler underplaying the role of Oswald and an overweight Jack Weston, if that is not redundant, overplaying the part of Ruby.

Give both of these actors a script that was doubtless well-researched but includes every banal word and deed of the two assassins over a four-day span, and you have a show that comes close to making a bore of even the shootings of Kennedy, Policeman J.D. Tippit and Oswald. Newsreel footage of Kennedy, up to and including the funeral in Washington, is interspersed throughout "Ruby and Oswald" and it is a sorry thing to have to write that these are the only redeeming moments of the long three hours.

I have looked long and hard at the real Oswald and the real Ruby (who has long since died of natural causes), and they were nothing like the two actors have portrayed them. I remember Oswald, as the Dallas police periodically paraded him before us, as a snarling, surly, defiant, tight-lipped man. Whatever he-devils drove him, they never made him so bland and gentle-looking a young man as Forrest plays him.

The night before Oswald shoots Kennedy to death, director Mel Stuart has Oswald greeting his kids as if Lee and Marina were the gentlest of parents, opening doors politely for the family benefactor, Ruth Paine, chatting amiably in Russian with his wife and kissing the children goodnight. Factually, Oswald may have done all these things the night before he committed the crime of the century but the impression is all wrong. Lee and Marina fought and bickered more than they conversed normally and the ex-Marine is not most accurately depicted as a courteous candidate for a part in The Waltons.

FORREST, EXCEPT once in all too rare a while, plays Oswald as either dead pan or dolorous, and obsequious to a fault. Oswald was none of these things, ever. In custody, which is the only place I ever saw him, he was truculent, unafraid, demanding and almost arrogant. Whatever Oswald was, he was not the expressionless creature played by Forrest, an actor who seems to have been undecided whether he was portraying a black

anal Exercise

villain, a grievously wronged man of the people or an automaton.

I think the low point of the Oswald-Forrest act is the scene in which Oswald asks his brother, Robert, "What did you think of the baby?" Without doubting that this dialogue took place when the brothers met, I remember Oswald as a man screaming his defiance against a system in which he constantly failed at everything except assassination.

A close second would be the scene in which Police Capt. Will Fritz interrogates Oswald. Looking glum instead of surly, which was his true natural expression, Oswald-Forrest replies bashfully that he had indeed been a Marine. Fritz avuncularly: "Ever win any medals for marksmanship?" Oswald, almost simperingly: "Just the usual."

WHILE FORREST is going the Zombie route, Lerner does Jack Ruby hyperkinetically and comes a bit closer to the mark aided by a superficial physical resemblance to the tough nightclub owner. I saw Ruby hanging around the police station the night Kennedy was killed and all through the next day and night as well. He gave me his card; he'd get you a sandwich in the best tradition of police station buffs across the nation. Ruby positively fawned on policemen and reporters and Lerner catches this facet well.

But the complex character of Ruby was too much for even a solid pro like Lerner to capture consistently. He is shown telling an off-color joke in the nightclub, throwing out a raucous customer, diving like Ahab's great white whale into his swimming pool, crying in his car when the death of Kennedy is announced on the radio and looking thoroughly uncomfortable doing all these things. Lerner catches Ruby best in the vignette of helping newsman Ike Pappas get an interview with the DA and least deftly in protraying Ruby's repeated sobbings over the fate of the Kennedy family.

THE LOW POINT for Lerner-Ruby comes when a family member recalls mildly enough that Ruby's father never especially cared for his offspring. Lerner-Ruby promptly is sent rushing to the toilet bowl by the director and required to simulate throwing up at the mere thought of being an unloved child. The next lowest point for the Ruby part is demonstrating with laughter how to use a twist board in a Dallas newspaper office while he is supposed to be almost maddened with grief for Jack and Jackie Kennedy.

The shooting of Oswald in the Dallas police station basement is an amazingly good recreation although the ensuing dialogue, while accurate on a technicality, is unreal according to the conditions I remember so well. After they have untangled the dying Oswald from the half dozen cops and Ruby, and gotten Ruby off to one side, Ruby-Lerner is made to say, "What happened?" "You shot him, Jack, you shot Oswald." "I did? I don't even remember doing it."

The best of the recreations may well be the graphic demonstration on the scene of how easy it was for Ruby to get into the garage just in time to shoot Oswald. The commotion at the garage entrance would have been enough to permit Ruby to slip inside even if his well-known face alone had not been enough for the police guards to let him pass.

This production is based on the Warren Commission report and I am sure adheres to the best information available. The writers could work only with what they had. The actors and the director succeeded only in making a bore of a weekend that was as exciting as it was horrible. But if the design was to illustrate the banality of evil, then CBS has accomplished that better than anyone ever has before.

Young Americans, to whom much of that Black November is little-known ancient history, will perhaps be startled that such earth-shaking events could have been engineered by such trivial men. Yet, this is cinema verite, and much about "Oswald and Ruby" was just plain dull excepting their single blinding moments of notoriety. If the film is tedious, it is because Oswald and Ruby were tedious men, marred further by a streak of murderous violence.

Hey Diddle Diddle, Fiddling With History

In 'King' and 'Ruby and Oswald,' Real-Life Figures Become Comic-Strip Cutouts



By Tom Shales

Dishes are running away with spoons again and the little dogs still laugh. In the week ahead, television networks once more will be having their merry and nefarious ways with recent reality, turning figures both revered and reviled into the comic-strip cutouts of pop melodrama and further endangering the concept of truth as a cultural value.

Both "King," a three-part biography of Martin Luther King Jr. which begins Sunday night on NBC, and "Ruby and Oswald," a three-hour drama special on CBS tonight, intercut actual newsreel footage with questionable



speculative reenactments and thereby tell viewers that on television, fantasy and reality should be regarded as equals.

"King," which is really Hollywood liberal Abby Mann's six-hour love letter to himself, at least manages to pack some dramatic wallop, however parasitically generated, as it traces the history of the civil rights movement from the early '50s onward. In the course of this, however, there are such dubious injections of authenticity as having Ramsey Clark and Tony Bennett play themselves.

You didn't know Tony Bennett had a role in the civil rights movement? Why, he was nothing less than a guest star. When you're stretching the truth, you might as well pull with all your might.

The best protection against a program like "Ruby and Oswald," on Channel 9 at 8 o'clock tonight, may be its own absolute lack of dramatic tension; it ploddingly attempts to depict nearly every waking moment of Lee Harvey Oswald, the accused assassin of President Kennedy, and Jack Ruby, the assassin of Lee Harvey Oswald, during four days in Dallas in 1963.

See AIR, B3, Col. 1

"Ruby and Oswald": Frederic Forrest, top, as Lee Harvey Oswald and Michael Lerner as Jack Ruby.

Hey Diddle Diddle, Fiddling With Recent American

AIR; From B1

Long before the actor impersonating Ruby has taken his third morning dip in the family pool, viewers are bound to wonder why on earth CBS has chosen to bring this painful history up again. Certainly not for any apparent worthwhile purpose. The only points the program makes—both of them wildly debatable—are that Ruby was a lovable bumbling patriot, sort of a "Marty" with a gun, and that the Warren Commission report was positively the last word on the assassination.

No one wants to be put in the position of discouraging controversial programming on televison, but this is the cheapest kind of controversy. In fact "Ruby and Oswald" skirts the crucial, nagging unanswered questions about the JFK tragedy, while at the same time pandering to our emotional vulnerabilities with actual newsreel footage of President and Mrs. Kennedy as they near Dallas and calamity.

By using these still-heartbreaking images as bait to lure us through a sleazy crime drama at the "Starsky and Hutch" level, "Ruby and Oswald" stoops low in the name of show-biz expediency.

The creators of this travesty make giant claims for its credibility. Director Mel Stuart, who already profited from the Kennedy assassination with a documentary called "Four Days in November" in 1965 (the original title for "Ruby and Oswald" was "Four Days in Dallas"), claims that a committee of representatives from CBS News and "network executives" reviewed his film to make certain its details were authentic.

"We had nothing whatsoever to do with 'Ruby and Oswald,'" a CBS News spokesman countered yesterday. "And we will have nothing to do with any of these docu-dramas. We were never asked to review this show and we never would."

When CBS News President Richard Salant heard of Stuart's statement, he wrote Stuart objecting to it and Stuart wired back that he never made the remark. But about 65 TV critics and editors heard him make the remark at a late-afternoon press conference, following a screening of the film, in a Los Angeles hotel on Friday, Jan. 13.

Company president Alan Landsburg said yesterday from Hollywood that it was never his understanding that CBS News would look at the show but that it would be, and was, reviewed by a "committee" whose composition he was "not privy" to.

"I think it's grossly unfair to ask our company to comment on what CBS did," Landsburg said, re-emphasizing that the "accuracy of all details" in the program has been "checked in every respect."

Stuart also said the Warren Commission report was his "primary" source for the film. A Gallup Poll in December 1976 showed that 80 percent of the American people do not believe the report's conclusion that Oswald acted alone in the killing of the president, however.

So when the time comes for the actual shooting in "Ruby and Oswald," Stuart gingerly cops out. The screen goes into a blurred freeze-frame and we hear three shots fired. The actor playing Oswald—a fellow who looks more like Roger Mudd on a liquid protein diet—is not shown firing or holding a gun.

"I wasn't there," says Stuart, in defense of this curious evasion. "No one was in that room. I would have to go by circumstantial evidence and that would be wrong."

Stuart concedes that the words put in Ruby's mouth are "a synthesis of what he said in those days" and that he took "a certain dramatic freedom" in the depiction. Yet he maintains that Oswald's dialogue, at least during the lengthy interrogation scenes, is "all verbatim."

That's a particularly inflammatory contention in the eyes of Jeff Goldberg of the Washington-based Assassination Information Bureau. Goldberg says that no transcripts of recordings of the Oswald interrogations were made by the Dallas Police Department.

The Dallas police, widely criticized for their handling of Oswald, come out smelling like roses in the screenplay by John and Michael McGreevey. Stuart says proudly that the Dallas police department "read and approved" the script before production and that he had their "complete cooperation" in filming at Dallas locations. Naturally.

Goldberg saw the program in advance over the objections of CBS. "It's the Warren Commission report set to words and music," he complains. "It is not good drama and it is not good history."

But "Ruby and Oswald" is hardly the first case of selective speculation by TV entertainment producers in the pursuit of almighty Nielsens. The old argument that this technique seriously impairs the public's ability to differentiate between fact and fiction seems to have fallen on a nation—and a nation's capital—of deaf ears. There may be no point in repeating it again.

And yet there must be some way to defend ourselves against these trivializing and distorting intrusions into the past. ABC's "Trial of Lee Harvey Oswald" turned the assassination of President Kennedy into a game show. CBS' "Ruby and Oswald" turns it into a cop show. The effect is as tasteless and insensitive as if they were using the same material for a dirty joke.

"Ruby and Oswald" was produced by Alan Landsburg Productions, the

History

company whose previous network offerings this season include tales of rampaging ants on ABC ("It Happened at Lakewood Manor") and marauding spiders on CBS ("Tarantulas—The Deadly Cargo"). Perhaps in the assassination of President Kennedy the company saw the stuff of another exploitable thriller. The fact that the program is dramatically a crater isn't much comfort; millions of people are bound to see it anyway, even if it scores low in the ratings.

The irony is that during the actual four days in November, television brought the agonizing reality of the Kennedy assassination into the national living room with an immediacy that made it a part of every viewer's memory and experience, probably forever. In the ensuing years, however, TV producers have ransacked even history made on television for material the way they ravage comic strips, old B-movies and cheap novels.

And so television which has been accused of desensitizing us to violence and desensitizing us to tragedy, now seems to have come full circle. Television is desensitizing us to television.

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE 28-29

THE VILLAGE VOICE
6 February 1978

THE MOVING TARGET

By Alexander Cockburn & James Ridgeway

The Oswald Connections: Bad News for the CIA

Though already dismissed as a baseless rumor, the allegation that Jack Ruby is still alive and was given a new identity by the Central Intelligence Agency was not dreamed up by the veteran conspiracy buffs but was, in fact, advanced by a former employee of the agency itself. The Ruby story—to the effect that the CIA, in cooperation with the KGB, sponsored Ruby's murder of Oswald before the latter could disclose damning details of U.S.-Soviet intelligence links—has been put forward privately in recent weeks by Frank Snepp, formerly of the CIA. Snepp recently published *Decent Interval*, a harsh denunciation of the CIA's conduct in the last days of the Vietnam war.

This allegation is surfacing just at a time when the CIA is mounting an ardent publicity campaign, signaled by cover stories in *Time* and *Newsweek*, to refurbish its woebegone image. The campaign comes shortly before the publication of a book which will probably do as much to discredit the CIA and other intelligence agencies as any disclosures of the last decade.

Edward Jay Epstein's book *Legend*, on Lee Harvey Oswald—and financed by the *Reader's Digest* to the tune of $500,000—is scheduled to be published later this month. By all accounts, it is a devastating portrait of the CIA, particularly in its response to Oswald's assassination of President Kennedy. Contrary to a report in *New Times*, *Legend* does not contain anything about Ruby. *New Times*, armed with a sixth-hand report of Snepp's views, mistakenly ascribed them to Epstein. But directly quoting such former CIA executives as James Angleton as well as relying on extensive information from other CITA veterans, Epstein chronicles an intelligence organization so decrepit and so compromised that one of his CIA sources sent him a 40-page handwritten memorandum propounding, with names and vivid deatils, all the reasons why the CIA should be abolished forthwith. For good measure Epstein related the intimacy of other U.S. agencies with the Soviets, leading him to conclude that Hoover was gathering information for the Soviet Union—not as an act of espionage, but as part of regular, cooperative arrangements.

As he angrily denied last week that his book presented any new information about Jack Ruby, Epstein speculated that the CIA is already putting out "inoculation stories," as he phrased it, to discredit his own charges. His investigative mission has, indeed, not been without problems. His George de Mohrenschildt, the Russian friend of Marina Oswald living in Dallas, were broken off when de Mohrenschildt committed suicide in the brief interval when Epstein went for a bicycle ride on the grounds of his Florida hotel. While Epstein was conducting interviews with William Sullivan, a former high executive in the FBI, the latter had the misfortune to be mistaken for a deer and was shot dead in a hunting accident.

Central to Epstein's inquiry was his research on Lee Harvey Oswald's relationship with the Soviet Union and the KGB. This led him inevitably to Francis Gary Powers, the U-2 pilot. Epstein conducted a number of interviews with Powers, but on the eve of a meeting he had arranged between Powers and a former Marine in the same unit as Oswald, Powers was killed in a helicopter accident, in which his chopper mysteriously ran out of fuel and crashed near Los Angeles.

The Oswald-Powers connection, vital in assessing exactly how much work Oswald did for the Russians, runs roughly as follows. It is known that Oswald, in September of 1957, was a Marine assigned to Marine Air Control Squadron No. 1. This squadron was based at Atzugi, Japan, where its duties included radar scouting for incoming foreign aircraft. In the unit's equipment was special height-finding radar. Oswald, a trained radar operator, had access to this equipment.

Continued

Beginning in 1957, the U-2 spy aircraft which were making overflights across the Soviet Union on occassion took off and landed from Atzugi. (Although Powers denied to Epstein ever having been to Atzugi, Oswald's Marine colleagues clearly remembered encounters there between Powers and Oswald but Powers was killed before Epstein's arranged confrontation between the two could take place.)

Initially, the U-2 pilots overflying the Soviet Union on occasion took off and beyond the range of Soviet tracking systems, and that although the Soviets knew the flights were taking place they could do nothing about them. It was subsequently argued that if the Soviet Union were in possession of the technical radar information known to an operator such as Oswald, then it would have been in a position to knock out the U-2s.

Oswald was in Japan until November 1958, and was then returned to the United States where he was assigned to a Marine Air Control Squadron at El Toro, California. In September 1959, he got a hardship discharge from the Marine Corps. In October he went to the Soviet Union where he told American consular officials that he had offered to tell the Russians everything he knew about the Marine Corps and his specialty—radar operations.

Oswald's familiarity with height-finding radar gear and radar radio codes are mentioned at various points in the Warren Commission investigation. Powers himself raises the question of Oswald's activities in his own book *Operation Overflight:* During the six months following the October 31, 1959, embassy meeting [between Oswald and American consular officials in Moscow] there were only two overflights of the USSR. The one which occurred on April 9, 1960, was uneventful. The one which followed on May 1, 1960, wasn't." The May 1 flight was, of course, made by Powers, when he crashed.

The suggestion posed by Powers himself is that Oswald gave the Soviet officials detailed technical information, which enabled them to shoot down the plane. And, indeed, CIA officials have subsequently claimed that what Oswald disclosed were details of the radar countermeasure beam emitted by the U-2 which would have thrown Soviet tracking devices off target. They suggest that once the Russians knew details of the counterbeam they used it to track their rocket up to the U-2 itself.

All of this is puzzling, for it seems clear enough that the CIA knew, following Oswald's visit to the American embassy, what he was likely to have told the Russians. And, indeed, Richard Helms has told Edward Epstein that a CIA source in Soviet military intelligence also told the agency that the Russians had acquired the capability to shoot down a U-2. In which case why, on the eve of the summit between Eisenhower and Khrushchev, was Powers permitted to make such a hazardous mission?

There are, however, indications that the CIA may have been engaged in a cover-up of far more ludicrous inefficiency. We recently spoke with a former officer in the Air Force who, by reason of his intelligence duties, reported to the National Security Agency. At the time of the Powers flight, this officer was stationed in a U.S. listening post at Peshawar in north Pakistan. He was intimately involved in intelligence tracking of radio communications, monitoring Soviet rocket launchings and the like.

He recalled the U-2 flights and particularly the one made by Powers. He explained that the U.S. Buba Ber base just outside Peshawar had no airstrip and that the U-2—and indeed all planes—had to land and take off at the town's civil and military airstrip in the Reshawar Cantonment nearby. The U-2 used by Powers was stored the night before under a tarpaulin at the airstrip and was guarded only by the local Pakistani constabulary. The CIA, he recalls, seemed satisfied with this security.

Immediately following the news of Powers's descent in the Soviet Union there was a postmortem at the base. The officer maintains to us that it became common knowledge around the base that two Pakistani mechanics seen near the plane the night before the flight had been picked up by Pakistani police, and were later handed over to Pakistan military intelligence and executed for sabotage of the plane. Shortly thereafter, an East German woman, living in Deans Hotel in Peshawar, was arrested as the agent who had hired the Pakistani mechanics.

This woman was later taken to a border crossing on the frontier between Pakistan and Afghanistan and exchanged for an Armenian agent working for U.S. intelligence who had penetrated the Soviet army. The exchange, the former Air Force officer says, was organized by the CIA. He can well recall the East German agent, a stocky 36-year-old woman with dyed blonde hair. His conclusion, and those of his colleagues at the base, was that the CIA, gravely embarrassed at the security foulups in Peshawar, had gone along with the missile story as a cover-up.

This account does not round with the stories put forward by Powers himself, by the CIA, or indeed by the Soviet Union. All Powers knew was that there was a flash and his plane went down. But the Soviets and the Americans—notably the CIA—had reason to cooperate in saying that it was a missile that had downed the plane: the Soviets exalting their missilry and the CIA avoiding unwelcome questions about their performance at Peshawar.

Part of Oswald's significance in history depends upon exactly what happened to the U-2—whether he, indeed, played a crucial role in aborting the Summit Conference of 1960 as well as in later assassinating the president of the United States.

Jack Anderson

A Return to the Garrison Probe

House probers have quietly returned to the scene of New Orleans ex-District Attorney Jim Garrison's flamboyant investigation into the John F. Kennedy assassination.

The House Assassinations Committee has set up offices in New Orleans where the investigators are retracing Garrison's steps and requestioning his witnesses of a decade ago.

Secret testimony has been taken, for example, from Carlos Marcello, the reputed boss of the New Orleans underworld. He was summoned to Washington for questioning under oath about his relationship with a New Orleans private eye, the late David William Ferrie, whom Garrison arrested.

Garrison charged that Ferrie was Lee Harvey Oswald's getaway pilot. Ferrie was a strange, conspiratorial figure who had ties to right-wing militants and once reportedly flew a private plane on a bombing mission over Cuba.

He was found dead in 1967, possibly a suicide victim. But mystery surrounds his death as it did his life.

Garrison became convinced that Ferrie was implicated in a right-wing conspiracy to murder President Kennedy. Oswald was supposed to be set up as the assassin because of his pro-Fidel Castro activities. The presumed secret plot was to throw suspicion on Castro for the killing.

It has been reported that Ferrie showed up in Texas not long after the assassination, supposedly to fly Oswald to safety. Ferrie had also told friends that he had no use for President Kennedy. The late President's brother, Robert F. Kennedy, had used his position as attorney general to hound Marcello. It was suggested, therefore, that Marcello might have joined in the alleged conspiracy to murder Kennedy.

Under oath, Marcello acknowledged that he had made payments to Ferrie at the time of the Kennedy assassination. But the mobster testified that he had paid Ferrie to investigate the credibility of a government witness against him in an immigration case.

On the day of the assassination, Marcello told the committee behind closed doors, he and Ferrie were together at the federal courthouse in New Orleans. Marcello was questioned by the committee as a witness, not a suspect.

ARTICLE APPEARED ON PAGE A10

THE WASHINGTON POST
20 January 1978

Documents Show Ford Promised FBI Data—Secretly—About Warren Probe

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

Gerald R. Ford promised to keep the FBI secretly informed of the activities of the Warren Commission almost immediately after it was organized to investigate the assassination of President Kennedy, FBI files show.

Then the House minority leader and one of the commission's seven members, Ford made the offer in a Dec. 12, 1963, conversation with FBI Assistant Director Cartha D. DeLoach which Ford requested be kept "in the strictest of confidence."

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"Angleton said it occurred to him that it would be well for both McCone and Mr. Hoover to be aware that the commission might ask the same questions wondering whether they would get different replies from the heads of the two agencies. Angleton wanted us to know some of the things which he believes McCone will be asked and the replies which will be given.

"One question," the memo continued, "will be 'Was Lee Harvey Oswald ever an agent of CIA?' The answer will be no."

Despite such attention to detail, it is sometimes difficult to figure out the FBI's investigative priorities. In a Jan. 17, 1964, memo Hoover, for example, told a top aide to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy that the FBI did not investigate Oswald's alleged killing of Dallas policeman J. D. Tippit "because it was strictly a local crime."

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Contributing to this article were Washington Post staff writers John Jacobs and Ron Kessler and researcher Dennis Rini.

April 20 STAR

FBI Saw No Ties Between Soviet Emigre, JFK Death

By Jeremiah O'Leary
Washington Star Staff Writer

The FBI more than 10 years ago concluded that the late Russian emigre George de Mohrenschildt, a friend of Lee and Marina Oswald in Dallas, had no connection with the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

Documents released yesterday by the FBI reveal there had been considerable speculation at first about de Mohrenschildt's possible involvement in the assassination because of his Russian background.

But an FBI internal memo from Assistant Director Thomas E. Bishop to Director J. Edgar Hoover's second assistant, Cartha D. de Loach, said: "Nothing was ever developed indicating this was so."

De Mohrenschildt committed suicide in Miami last year a few days after he had disappeared in Europe, where he had gone with a controversial Dutch journalist named Willem Oltmans. De Mohrenschildt was having little luck in Washington interesting reporters or the House Assassinations Committee in his story that he was responsible for Lee Harvey Oswald's shooting of the president.

DE MOHRENSCHILDT'S death quickly made him a subject of keen press interest for a short while.

Among the 59,000 documents released by the FBI this week was the Bishop memo indicating the FBI had thoroughly checked out de Mohrenschildt and found he had no connection with the shooting of Kennedy.

He was a social acquaintance of Lee and Marina, Oswald's Russian-born wife, in Dallas and came under investigation almost immediately after Kennedy was killed in November 1963.

Bureau records show that de Mohrenschildt went to Haiti in 1964 to work as a consulting engineer.

"De Mohrenschildt has been described as an unprincipled adventurer who has lived primarily by his wits," the FBI said in the Bishop memo. "Married four times, he has been characterized as a braggart of poor moral character who has engaged in a number of illicit affairs."

The occasion for the memo by Bishop, now retired, was a visit he received at FBI headquarters here from I. Irving Davidson in October 1967.

DAVIDSON, an acquaintance of columnist Jack Anderson and a sometime registered agent for the governments of Indonesia and Haiti, told Bishop and Special Agent Hobson Adcock he had heard from Washington businessman Leonard Davidov that an Eastern group was putting up "a ton of money" to learn the truth about the assassination.

Davidson said he was told the group was working through Hugh McDonald, a Los Angeles police official and one-time bodyguard for Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz.

According to Davidson, Davidov claimed McDonald was engaged in some sort of business arrangement with Howard Hughes, the late eccentric multimillionaire. His story was that McDonald knew that President Lyndon B. Johnson had prior knowledge of the plan to assassinate Kennedy and that de Mohrenschildt was instrumental in the training of Oswald for carrying out the conspiracy.

Bishop's memo said he advised Davidson to have nothing to do with any attempt to smear Johnson. He said Davidson's purpose in coming to the FBI was to learn about de Mohrenschildt's background and that Davidson admitted he was in contact with a former Washington Post reporter named Edward Cohen, author of an uncompleted book on the assassination.

Documents Show Ford Promised FBI Data—Secretly—About Warren Probe

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

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THE BALTIMORE SUN
19 January 1978

FBI files show Hoover fumed over criticism of JFK probe

Washington (AP)—In the years following John F. Kennedy's assassination, J. Edgar Hoover fumed over the mounting criticism of the FBI investigation of the case but decided to ignore most of the critics, at least publicly.

Hoover resisted changing his criteria for alerting the Secret Service to possible presidential harm. He reacted sharply to criticism from the Warren Commission, even ordering an agent to tell the commission counsel that he "had out-McCarthied McCarthy."

At the same time, the director and his men took pains to knock down rumors that Lee Harvey Oswald, named by the commission as the sole Kennedy assassin, was an undercover FBI agent. Hoover personally told J. Lee Rankin, the commission counsel, the rumors were untrue.

Details of Hoover's activities emerged from 58,754 pages of FBI files that the bureau made public yesterday to comply with requests under the Freedom of Information Act. The half ton of documents, together with 40,001 pages released in December, comprise virtually all of the bureau's investigative files on the murder of President Kennedy November 22, 1963, in Dallas.

Nothing was found in the first batch of FBI files to disprove the Warren Commission's conclusion. Initial scrutiny of the second batch of files also yielded no startling new information.

The new batch of files begins in mid-1964. It shows that in private Hoover kept meticulous records on the personal lives and public comments of persons who wrote or spoke critically about his bureau or its investigation. But he resisted replying publicly, even through friendly writers.

Scores of letters and memos show that a cool but polite relationship between the FBI and the Warren Commission became tense and occasionally bitter. At one point, says one memo, an agent called Mr. Rankin "in accordance with instructions received" and complained about commission criticism of FBI performance.

Mr. Rankin "was advised that the bureau feels he did the bureau a great disservice and had out-McCarthied McCarthy," the memo said.

"There was a notable silence on Mr. Rankin's part," the memo added. "He then asked just what was meant by that remark. Mr. Rankin was told [by the agent] . . . that he had no further comment . . . other than the fact that he had been requested to pass this remark on to Mr. Rankin."

Another memo suggested the FBI should not change its criteria for alerting the Secret Service about possible threats to presidents. The commission had criticized liaison between the FBI and the Secret Service for failing to warn Kennedy bodyguards that Oswald's work at the Texas Schoolbook Depository gave him a perch along Kennedy's motorcade route.

Hoover contended that nothing the FBI knew about Oswald before the assassination indicated he might harm the president—and that this was the criteria for alerting Secret Service agents.

"We must adhere to our criteria and not barge all over the field," Hoover wrote at the bottom of the memo.

Another FBI official wrote: "This is up to the Secret Service."

Hoover added: "I agree."

As for the rumors that Oswald was an undercover FBI agent, a Hoover memo reported a lengthy meeting with Mr. Rankin to discuss that very point.

"I told Mr. Rankin that Lee Harvey Oswald was never at any time a confidential informant, an undercover agent, or even a source of information for the FBI, and I would like to see that clearly stated on the record of the commission, and I would be willing to so state under oath," Hoover said.

Later in 1964, the commission reported its conclusions that Oswald killed Kennedy and that he acted alone. Hoover had arrived at the same belief months earlier.

At the time, a number of writers and researchers were attracting considerable public attention with their theories that Oswald and the man who shot him to death in the Dallas police station, nightclub owner Jack Ruby, were part of a conspiracy.

The new material shows countless hours spent by FBI men trying to document claims made by such critics as Mark Lane, Harold Weisberg, Edward J. Epstein and Dick Gregory in speeches, books and broadcast interviews.

An FBI official prepared a line-by-line analysis of a William Manchester article to be published in *Life* magazine. The bureau obtained tapes and transcripts of radio and television shows featuring the critics.

Such reports often set off debates within the FBI about how the bureau should respond. Should Hoover ignore the criticism or should he answer it? One published report criticized Hoover for failing to express condolences to the Kennedy family. The FBI issued a public statement saying that was false, and a later bureau memo called the public statement a successful strategy.

Disturbed about Mr. Gregory's attacks in 1964, one FBI official wrote to Hoover, "We have long suspected that Gregory is demented. Nevertheless, the comments he has made are utterly ridiculous and we should confront him and tell him in no uncertain terms that he better stop putting out such gutter talk." Hoover concluded that a confrontation would serve no purpose and vetoed the proposal.

Two years later, author Richard J. Whalen approached FBI officials to solicit co-operation in writing a magazine article answering critics of the Warren Commission.

William C. Sullivan, one of Hoover's top advisers, supported Mr. Whalen, calling him "reliable and trustworthy and has an extremely high opinion of the bureau."

"It appears that it would be in the best interests of this bureau to co-operate with Mr. Whalen in his efforts to bring the complete truth before the American people," Mr. Sullivan wrote. "Our investigation was sound, we have absolutely nothing to hide, and no critic has brought even one scintilla of evidence that would disprove our findings."

In the margins of the memo, Hoover scrawled, "Absolutely no. Again, an emphatic no. I am absolutely opposed."

The documents show that the FBI was intensely curious about the federal grand jury investigation the New Orleans district attorney, James Garrison, launched in 1966. Mr. Garrison claimed to have proof that the assassination was the product of a conspiracy, but his charges were later discredited.

continued

The files show that the FBI first learned of the Garrison probe from David Ferrie, a New Orleans airline pilot who Mr. Garrison claimed was a key figure in the alleged assassination plot. Ferrie alerted the FBI when he was subpoenaed to testify before the grand jury. Ferrie was found dead in February, 1967, a few days after the Garrison probe became public.

FBI agents in New Orleans frequently reported to Hoover what they had learned about the progress of the Garrison probe.

"More and more it becomes evident we should stay as far away as we can from this shyster," Hoover responded at one point. "I want no injection of the FBI into this farce. Already it is backfiring on Garrison and any action of ours can be twisted by this egomaniac."

The chairman of the Warren Commission, Chief Justice Earl Warren, was not spared Hoover's sharp tongue. In a 1964 memo, Hoover noted that he had told the commission counsel, J. Lee Rankin, "that I had not appreciated what I had interpreted as carping criticism of the chief justice when he referred to the bureau's report originally submitted to the commission as being a 'skeleton' report. . . ."

The FBI files also show that the bureau and the Justice Department two years ago investigated to determine whether any FBI officials should be prosecuted for destroying assassination-related documents.

The probe centered on the destruction of a note that Oswald left with the Dallas FBI office several days before the assassination. Testimony before a House committee two years ago indicated that Oswald threatened the FBI in the note if it didn't stop questioning his wife. Other testimony described the note's destruction after Oswald was charged with Kennedy's murder.

There was no indication what the investigation concluded. However, no FBI official has been prosecuted for the incident.

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ON PAGE A8

THE WASHINGTON POST
19 January 1978

FBI Weighed Posters Depicting Oswald as a Marxist

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

Less than two months after the assassination of President Kennedy, FBI officials were planning to anonymously distribute posters meant to disrupt the Communist Party by depicting Lee Harvey Oswald as a Marxist.

The bureau was still in the early stages of investigating the murder for the Warren Commission when the proposal was made on Jan. 10, 1964, and apparently given at least preliminary approval.

"Because the poster is a factual graphic illustration of public information and because its distribution under the Counterintelligence Program will not be traceable to the government, it should in no manner affect the deliberations of the Warren Commission presently considering the facts surrounding the assassination," an aide to high-ranking FBI official William C. Sullivan urged in a two-page memo.

The proposal, which was for an anonymous mailing of the privately printed poster to selected Communist Party members with perhaps follow-up distributions at "Communist-sponsored meetings," was initialed by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover with what appeared to be an "Ok" in his handwriting. But the document also contains an "addendum" on a third page indicating that Hoover aide Alan H. Belmont had canceled the plan at the last minute.

"I have not approved because I believe it is undesirable to use the Oswald case for counterintelligence purposes while it is under consideration by the Presidential Commission," said the postscript, which was attributed to "AHB" and which seemingly overruled Hoover.

The short memo was buried among more than 58,000 pages of FBI headquarters documents on the JFK assassination that the bureau made public yesterday under the Freedom of Information Act. An initial 40,000 pages were released last month.

The hundreds of volumes still fall short of all the FBI files generated by the assassination. For instance, the documents retained by FBI field offices such as Dallas and New Orleans, those stemming from an inquiry Hoover ordered into the bureau's dealings with Oswald before the assassination, and evidently many of the records concerning the House Assassinations Committee's current investigation have not been released.

But the records that were made public, like those the FBI published last month, reflect once again a dogged pursuit of off-beat, if not off-the-wall, tips; a lofty contempt for any critics of the bureau's work, and companion disdain for the Warren Commission itself.

When Warren Commission staffers got the FBI to send them the Oswald rifle on Feb. 17, 1964, for a second inspection, for example, an FBI official decreed in a handwritten notation: "Hereafter let them come to bureau, we haven't time to play games."

On another report to Hoover that month, quoting speculation about Oswald in the Italian press that apparently stemmed from Chief Justice Earl Warren's public references to "national security" aspects of Mrs. Oswald's testimony, Hoover jotted down the observation: "If Warren had kept his big mouth shut, all of these conjectures would not have arisen."

The FBI Director bestowed harsher epithets on others such as New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison whom Hoover characterized as an "egomaniac" and a "shyster" and Dick Gregory as a "rabble-rousing Negro comedian."

As for wild leads that the bureau stolidly tracked down, witness a note purportedly signed by one "Sandra Ruby," which an unidentified source discovered in 1972 when it fell out of a roll of fabric at a Fort Worth, Tex., fabric company.

"Would the one who fines this note please git a holt of the fbi as I am bein held in white slavery by a band of Jipsies," the note said. "They are planin to kill the Presedant as thet are also comunists. My unkle is one of them."

The note was ostensibly dated Nov. 1, 1963, three weeks before the assassination. The man who found it, whose name was deleted from FBI documents, turned it over in May, 1976, because of recent publicity about the Kennedy killing. A memo from the Dallas field office to the director requested the bureau to "examine the enclosed note in an effort to determine if the paper can be determined to have been of more recent manufacture than November, 1963, and for any other information that would discredit the authenticity of this note."

After investigating the paper, the fingerprints on the note and the typewriter, the FBI concluded that "no investigation concerning this letter is deemed advisable."

Another 1976 tip that seemed more serious apparently got short shrift. It came from James E. Beaird of Apache Junction, Ariz., who told an FBI agent in a June 7, 1976, interview that he knew Jack Ruby was running guns to Cuban leader Fidel Castro.

The only response in the files reviewed yesterday, however, was to note that, according to Dallas FBI files, Ruby had made only one trip to Cuba, in August, 1959, at the invitation of L.C. McWillie, a gambler and friend.

One of the unexplained mysteries, insofar as the FBI files go is a report of a message signed "L. H. Oswald" dated Sept. 20, 1963. The message, typed on Western Union forms used by the public to compose telegrams before they are sent, was said to have been found while a 14-volume set of medical books was being unloaded in Tulsa, Okla., in 1973.

The message, addressed to Jack Nellville in Tulsa, says:

"Meet me at Sheratan (sic) Hotel in Dallas at 4:00 p.m. on Sept. 21, room 567. Expecting something big. Be on time. L. H. Oswald."

The FBI said Oswald could have been in Dallas on the day in question, and Western Union officials said the telegram form was in use in 1963 and discontinued in early 1964.

However, the FBI could not find a Jack Nellville in the Tulsa area, and the bureau dropped its investigation of the matter.

There was no indication that the bureau bothered to check with the hotel. Its chief telephone operator told The Washington Post yesterday that it has no Room 567. The highest-numbered room on the fifth floor of the Sheraton-Dallas then and now, she said, is Room 523.

Contributing to this article were Washington Post staff writers John Jacobs, Ronald Kessler and Harold J. Logan, and Washington Post researcher Dennis Rini.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES
19 January 1978

FILES SHOW F.B.I. RIFT WITH WARREN PANEL

Newly Released Data on Inquiry Into President Kennedy Slaying Tell of Mistrust and Feuds

WASHINGTON, Jan. 18 (UPI)—Relations between the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Warren Commission were so bad that the bureau spied on the panel's investigation into the assassination of President Kennedy and the panel suspected the F.B.I. of concealing old links with Lee Harvey Oswald, newly released files disclosed today.

The feud, heightened by enmity between J. Edgar Hoover, F.B.I. Director and Chief Justice Earl Warren, led the bureau to rely on an informant, then-Representative Gerald R. Ford, inside the panel and caused Mr. Hoover to complain that Chief Justice Warren had made a needless uncomplimentary remark about the bureau.

At another point, Mr. Hoover agreed to censor some material supplied by the Central Intelligence Agency about Oswald's movements in Mexico before giving it to the commission. Some members of the commission, in turn, questioned whether Oswald had been an informer for the bureau, although in the end they decided that he had not.

50,604 Pages Released

The hostility and discord underlying the inquiry into the Kennedy assassination came to light with the release of 50,604 pages of censored investigative files of the bureau and 8,150 pages of its memorandums to the Warren Commission.

Like the previous 40,000 pages released in December, the new ones corroborated the finding of the Warren panel that Oswald alone had killed President Kennedy and Jack Ruby alone had killed Oswald.

They showed that Mr. Hoover had recommended that finding to the commission about two weeks after the assassination of President Kennedy on Nov. 22, 1963, in Dallas. And, like the earlier files, they provide numerous details.

The new files show, for example, that Oswald's wife, Marina, locked him in the bathroom of their Dallas apartment in April 1963 when he began saying that he intended to kill Richard M. Nixon, whom he mistakenly thought to be in town that day. Mr. Hoover speculated that Mr. Nixon must have been confused with Vice President Johnson, who was in Dallas.

Numerous Leads Followed

The new materials also continue the account of the bureau's exhaustive pursuit of tips and leads, no matter how bizarre, from such informants as a mentally unstable woman in Cuba, a drunken Aztec Indian and a Bavarian cab driver.

They also show that Mr. Hoover and his men battled privately with anyone who challenged their competence or exclusive authority over the Kennedy investigation, calling Nicholas de B. Katzenbach, Deputy Attorney General, a liar, scoffing at investigtions carried out by Texas oficials and the New Orleans District Attorney, Jim Garrison, and battling with the Warren Commission over news leaks.

None of that, however, deterred the Warren panel from endorsing the finding of no conspiracy recommended to them by Mr. Hoover in his first report to the newly formed commission.

Dated Dec. 7, 1963, it said:

"The F.B.I. has made an exhaustive investigation into whether Oswald may have conspired with or been assisted by any person, foreign or domestic, in carrying out this dastardly act.

"No evidence has been uncovered indicating that any person, including Dallas nightclub owner, Jack Ruby, was involved with Oswald in the assassination of President Kennedy."

Mr. Hoover recommended that early finding privately to the commission even though, just days earlier, he had quashed a Justice Department recommendation that the Government make a similar statement officially to head off public unrest.

Finding Reconfirmed

Then, five days before the Warren report was issued in September 1964, Mr. Hoover reconfirmed his finding and stated, in a note for his own files, "we have left no stone unturned."

The rivalry between the F.B.I. and the commission stemmed in part from the leak of Mr. Hoover's original report to the press, with each side accusing the other, and from the suspicion of members of the Warren Commission that Oswald had been acting as an F.B.I. spy while he was in the Soviet Union from 1959 to 1952.

The files show that the bureau had somehow obtained the transcript of a confidential emergency meeting the Warren panel held on Jan. 22, 1964, to discuss, in the words of an F.B.I. analyst, "information to the effect Lee Harvey Oswald was a bureau informant in Russia."

The discussion shows that members of the commission felt that the bureau would not admit that Oswald had been an undercover agent; the bureau's review said, thereby undermining the commission's confidence in the investigation by the bureau.

The bureau's memorandum said that Mr. Hoover eventually convinced the commission that Oswald had not been an informant or agent of the bureau and was never paid any money by the bureau.

Ford's Role Described

Mr. Ford's role as a trusted bureau informant within the panel was described in a series of memorandums filed by a deputy of Mr. Hoover, Cartha DeLoach, in December 1963, when the commission had just been formed.

On Dec. 12, Mr. DeLoach said that Mr. Ford then a Republican Representative from Michigan, had called him to his office in the strictest confidence, expressed displeasure at the way Chief Justice Warren was running the inquiry and indicated that "he would keep me thoroughly advised as to the activities of the commission, on a confidential basis.

One week later, on Dec. 19, Mr. DeLoach said that Mr. Ford had briefed him on a private commission meeting the day before at which the panel discussed the news leak of Mr. Hoover's confidential Dec. 7 progress report.

There was no criticism of the bureau at the meeting, Mr. DeLoach reported.

There were no allegations made by anyone, including the Chief Justice, he went on, that the bureau had leaked portions of the report.

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THE BALTIMORE SUN
19 January 1978

Warren panel, FBI disagreed on bullet issue

Washington (AP)—The FBI and the Warren Commission disagreed on a central element of the assassination of John F. Kennedy—as to how many shots hit the President and Gov. John B. Connally of Texas.

Both concluded it was most likely three shots were fired and agreed Lee Harvey Oswald was the lone gunman in Dallas November 22, 1963.

The commission concluded one shot went through President Kennedy's neck and then wounded the governor. A second shot fatally struck the President in the head. The third missed, the commission said.

However, FBI files released yesterday contain a handwritten note by then director J. Edgar Hoover regarding the bullets:

"We don't agree with the commission as it says one shot missed entirely and we contend all three shots hit."

The matter has been central to criticisms of the Warren report because only one almost intact bullet was recovered at Parkland Hospital in Dallas and two fragments of what was probably another in the presidential limousine. The critics have asked what happened, then, to the third bullet?

The movie made by an onlooker, Abraham Zapruder, indicate President Kennedy and Mr. Connally were hit almost simultaneously. Critics doubt Oswald could have fired his bolt-action rifle quickly enough to hit both men with separate shots. They have also raised the question that if Oswald were marksman enough to twice hit his target area why would he have missed a third shot. They have speculated the existence of another assassin, a conjecture discarded by both the commission and the FBI.

Star Thurs Jan 9

New Batch of Documents

Oswald's Widow Targeted For FBI Eavesdropping

By Jeremiah O'Leary
Washington Star Staff Writer

The FBI, at the request of the Warren Commission and with the approval of then-Attorney General Robert Kennedy, put Marina Oswald under electronic surveillance early in 1964 at her home in Richardson, Texas.

FBI documents released yesterday disclosed the FBI used microphones and telephone taps to eavesdrop on the widow of Lee Harvey Oswald, the assassin of President John F. Kennedy, apparently at the request of the presidential commission.

A Feb. 24, 1964, memo from the late FBI director, J. Edgar Hoover, to Kennedy said, "We have received a request from the president's commission on the assassination of President John F. Kennedy for a technical surveillance regarding Marina Oswald. Accordingly, it is requested that you authorize installation of a technical surveillance at the Ford (Mr. and Mrs. Declan Ford of Dallas, friends of Mrs. Oswald) residence where Marina Oswald is currently residing or at any other address to which Marina Oswald may move in the future."

KENNEDY'S SIGNATURE approving the technical surveillance, a polite word for bugging or wiretapping, appears on the memorandum, which was dated the following day.

But an FBI memo in 1975, prompted by a New York Times disclosure that the bureau had tapped Mrs. Oswald's living quarters and phones here and in Texas, raises the suggestion that the Warren Commission did not ask specifically for a technical surveillance. The memo states that the surveillance was in response to the commission's request but raises doubts about precisely what the commission asked of Hoover and how much it knew about what the FBI was doing to keep track of Mrs. Oswald.

Apparently Hoover thought the commission might be trying to set him up by asking for coverage of Mrs. Oswald when she was to testify before the commission. Hoover wrote on the memo "I agree reluctantly because commission seems to be intensively alert to embarrass FBI. . . ."

The 1975 FBI memo said no indication was found that the Russian-born widow's hotel room was bugged while she was in Washington to testify. The General Investigative Division of the bureau made this report in 1975 on the events of 11 years before: "On 2/24/64, Director J. Edgar Hoover prepared a memorandum relating to a conversation he had on that date with J. Lee Rankin, general counsel of the Warren Commission.

"MR. RANKIN expressed concern that Mrs. Oswald might run out on the commission before they had an opportunity to get her back for further testimony. He said he was wondering about a stakeout on her which would watch her and see who is visiting her for a while. According to the memorandum, Mr. Hoover suggested a telephone tap could be considered in addition to the stakepout since there would not be a trial (of Oswald)."

The 1975 memo continues that a memorandum was prepared for the attorney general stating that the FBI had received a request from the Warren Commission for a technical surveillance of Mrs. Oswald. Subsequently the FBI put telephone and microphone surveillance in Mrs. Oswald's new home in Richardson, Texas.

The next month the FBI had Inspector J.R. Malley inform Rankin that the technical surveillance, plus the lookout and physical surveillance on Mrs. Oswald, was undesirable from a legal point of view. That was because some of what was picked up involved her negotiations with her attorney, William McKenzie. It raised the possibility that the FBI could be criticized for this coverage, the memo noted dryly.

THE MEMO recommended that Rankin be advised the surveillance was being discontinued and that the FBI cut off the microphone surveillance of its own volition since it had never told the Warren Commission about the microphones.

Hoover approved all these recommendations, and the memo indicates at least part of the reason was because the FBI was not getting much, if any, significant information from its electronic or physical shadowing of Oswald's widow.

FBI Probed Self On Destruction Of Oswald Data

By Jeremiah O'Leary
Washington Star Staff Writer

The FBI and the Justice Department two years ago conducted an internal investigation to determine whether any FBI official should be prosecuted for destroying documents relating to the probe of President John F. Kennedy's assassination, newly released bureau files disclosed today.

The documents in question proved that FBI's the Dallas field office was checking on Lee Harvey Oswald before the assassination.

In more than 59,000 pages of the documents relased today, it became apparent that there was a major discrepancy between the statements of the special agent in charge at Dallas and the agent who handled the Oswald case.

THE QUESTION of whether the FBI was trying to eliminate any trace of Oswald in its files in the first hours after Kennedy's death is not a new one, but the documents released today disclose the depth of the investigation conducted by FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley after reporters and tghe House of Representatives began pressing for explanations.

What the documents do not reveal is what conclusion the FBI and the Criminal Division of the Justice Department reached about who ordered destruction of a note Oswald left for Hosty at the Dallas field office several days before Kennedy was killed Nov. 22, 1963.

There is no dispute that Oswald left a note, somewhat threatening in nature, for James P. Hosty Jr., an FBI agent in Dallas. Nor is there a dkispute that the note itself was destroyed a few hours after Kennedy was killed.

See JFK, A-6

JFK

Continued From A-1

What remains at issue is whether J. Gordon Shanklin, the special agent in Cahrge in Dallas, ordered Hosty to destroy this evidence and, if he did, whether he acted on orders from some FBI higher-up in Washington.

THE HOSTY-OSWALD matter is one of the more fascinating elements of the Dallas incident because of speculation about how history may have been changed if Hosty had had better luck trying to find Oswald in the days before the shooting.

The FBI documents released today reaffirm that Hosty, who was then 35, knew from Nov. 4, 1963 — almost three weeks before the assassination — that Oswald was a defector and a Communist sympathazer and that he worked at the Texas Schoolbook Depository.

Even though Hosty knew the Kennedy motorcade route would take the president past Oswald's job, the agent didn't make the connection because no one had officially informed him of the route. When Hosty heard about the president's death, he told a Dallas policeman he was working on Oswald, the suspect, and this led Dalls Police Chief Jesse Curry to tell nationwide television audience that the FBI had prior knowledge of Oswald as a threat to the president's safety.

This drove FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and his top aides to demand that Curry retract publicly his statements that the FBI knew about Oswald beforehand. Curry did retract them, because he had the information second-hand.

THE FILES SHOW that Oswald went to the Dallas field office about 10 days before the assasination and asked to see Hosty. When a clerk, Nannie Lee Fenner, told Oswald Hosty was out, the ex-Marine left an unsealed envelope with a note inside.

Fenner told investigators in 1975 that she read the note and it said approximately, "Let this be a warning. I will blow up the FBI and the Dallas Police Department if you don't stop bothering my wife. Signed. Lee Harvey Oswald."

From here on the stories of various FBI officials in Dallas differ.

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FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM Merv Griffin STATION WTTG TV

DATE January 9, 1978 8:30 PM CITY Washington, D.C.

SUBJECT Interview with Daniel Schorr

MERV GRIFFIN: Everybody on this panel is as excited as the audience to see this gentleman who is coming out here.

The journalist who is about to join us figures prominently in recent American history. In 1976 he resigned from CBS News following months of controversy that included his confrontation with the House Ethics Committee over the First Amendment. This occurred after his decision to disclose the explosive Pike Report on CIA activities.

And now he's written this book, "Clearing the Air," which tells the dramatic story of his 40 years as journalist and investigative reporter.

Would you welcome Daniel Schorr.

[Applause]

GRIFFIN: Well, we're both out of CBS.

DANIEL SCHORR: We're both out of CBS, and it's the biggest audience I've seen since CBS.

GRIFFIN: Or since your testimony at the House Ethics Committee.

SCHORR: I guess that's right, but I was on Public Television.

GRIFFIN: Well, it's nice to welcome you to this coast.

SCHORR: It's great to be here. I just got off a plane

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to come here.

GRIFFIN: I'd be curious, first of all, Daniel, to know your appraisal of today's reporters. We have a lot of television reporters. Are they your kind of reporters?

SCHORR: I'm an old duffer who came from newspaper work. I never stopped being a newspaperman in television. Perhaps that was part of my troubles. We're raising a generation now, not like Walter Cronkite, who has that look about him as somebody who's been over in Russia and been there, and now he's come to tell you about it, but we're raising a new generation that knows only television. They know film, they know teleprompters, they know where the camera is, but some of them don't know what they're talking about.

GRIFFIN: If they did know what they were talking about, can they refuse to do the news as it's presented to them by writers in the newsroom? Can they editorialize? Can they speak out and slant it, in a sense?

SCHORR: They don't slant it, on the whole. I mean it depends on whom you're talking about. Your anchor people typically are the showcases of very large news organizations, and they show the wares that others have put together for them. They don't try to editorialize.

It depends. If you talk about Jack Chancellor, he's very straight. If you talk about Brinkley, his function is to add a note of comment to it, a note of analysis, in his own acerb style.

GRIFFIN: Are there any reins on Walter Cronkite, or is he allowed to speak?

SCHORR: That's hard to answer in those terms. Walter Cronkite has the additional title -- he's not only the anchorman, he also has the title of managing editor, which gives him a certain amount of editorial control that he can exercise.

There are no reins on Walter Cronkite because he is so experienced that he doesn't need reins. He knows his way around.

GRIFFIN: How many years were you reporting out of Washington, D.C.?

SCHORR: Out of Washington, D.C., the last time, ten years.

GRIFFIN: Ten years. Reporters there, in a sense -- I've known a lot of them, both newsprint and television reporters -- they are very insulated reporters, in the sense that they cover that beat and rarely get out of town unless the President is traveling somewhere. And then when the President does travel, they spend half the time complaining because he did.

SCHORR: You're absolutely right, in a way.

GRIFFIN: And they don't like to leave Washington, do they?

SCHORR: They don't mind leaving Washington because they find that if they dip themselves into what's happening around the country, they can come back and say, "I've been to the hinterland." And it's very important to see the hinterland every now and then so you get a feel of what the people out there are thinking.

GRIFFIN: But do they ever get the feel, Daniel?

SCHORR: No, they lose -- if they do, they lose it very rapidly. You know, the funny thing is, in Washington, New York, there's a great deal of talk about the provinces. But there's nothing as provincial and as parochial as a group of people who live there in this great federal city and who see only big issues. They can tell you the number of every bill that goes through Congress, they can follow the lobbying, they can tell you who's for what, they know what the social part of it is, they know Suzy Parker and whom she's entertaining on behalf of the Koreans, and all of that; and it's all a big, wonderful, fascinating world of its own. But every once in a while you feel that they've become so parochial, so completely immersed in what they're doing that they lose touch with this very, very large country.

GRIFFIN: Do we get, as citizens who watch television news and read newspapers, and particularly reporters out of Washington, do we get, in your estimation, good coverage of the government, what they're about? Or are there so many what you call trade-offs and deals made that we really don't get the whole story?

SCHORR: Merv, I divide reporters into two kinds. I think you're talking about one kind, and it's a very important kind. There are those who are co-opted. They're in. They're part of the establishment. They go to all the right social functions. They would never spill ashes on the rug. They would never talk about things which they shouldn't talk about. They are leaked to.

GRIFFIN: The government officials leak things to them.

SCHORR: Oh, listen, the ship of state leaks mostly from the top. It's one of the only kind of ships that does. And there are people invited in.

If you read through the files of Watergate and Nixon, you will see, "Let's have this one in, that one in. Let's give this story to that one. A good place to leak this would be Evans and Novak. Victor Lasky, we'll give him that story." And there are people who are considered, at least, to be those to whom you

can give stories, and they'll run with it, and they won't do you any harm. The price they pay is that they stay on your side. That's one kind of reporter.

There's another kind of reporter that doesn't mix that way, doesn't want to be obligated, doesn't want to sip their wine and drink their cocktails, because he -- she, too. Some shes, some very good shes -- don't want to find themselves being compromised that way.

They work harder. They deal with middle-level people, lower-level people sometimes, but as easily as well-informed. And they are getting into trouble all the time.

I guess you know where I'm putting myself.

GRIFFIN: Right.

SCHORR: They're getting into trouble all the time. They're saying, "You don't stop. The story goes where the story goes. And if it hurts somebody I had lunch with yesterday and he's not going to talk to me anymore, well, okay."

And if, as happened to me, maybe the most agonizing moment I ever had -- and it's told about in that book. If it happens that your story leads right back into your organization, if you're investigating the CIA and in the course of that you find out, "Hey, the CIA had a little connection with a man named William S. Paley" -- and to call him my boss is really being a little arrogant; he's my boss's boss's boss's boss, is who William Paley was.

GRIFFIN: The power of CBS.

SCHORR: Well, he's the proprietor, I mean the founder, the inventor of CBS.

But I had to say his name on the air and say that somebody had identified him as someone who met with CIA officials and was involved in the infiltration of CBS by the CIA. And here was I taping the piece for the Cronkite show -- and I used to be considered very glib in my business, in that I used to be -- I was called "One-take Schorr." I'd do a script and do it one time, and didn't have to do it over most of the time. And one of these last broadcasts I did was to say, "And the former President of CBS News said he was at a meeting with William S. Paley, with two CIA officials, where they discussed a reporter who wasn't a reporter at all but was a CIA agent working as a CIA reporter under Paley's aegis." And I had this down on paper and it was on a teleprompter and everything, and every time I came to the name Paley I began to [stutters], and I couldn't say the name Paley. In five minutes this is going to be on the Cronkite show and I'm going to say Paley and the CIA had this connection. Four takes. It was rough.

GRIFFIN: And you got it.

SCHORR: I got it.

GRIFFIN: And it played.

SCHORR: It was on the air and it played on the air.

Oh, no. The news organization has a momentum that goes back to Ed Murrow, goes back and it proceeds on its own momentum, square and straight, until somebody stops it, which happens now and then.

GRIFFIN: And even though Mr. Paley owns even that news department, you went ahead and reported it.

SCHORR: That's right.

GRIFFIN: Then that, in a true sense, is admirable, too, isn't it?

SCHORR: But it is, but there were very admirable signs. I mean nothing is sort of black-and-white there.

CBS News remains today, to my mind, the greatest and most professional broadcast news organization in the world, and it is only because it is so great that when pressures come on it from outside, when a Chuck Colson in the White House, Nixon's hatchet-man -- I guess now he's been born again. You don't call him hatchetman anymore. And when Chuck Colson would call up Paley and dress him down on the phone for an hour because of the coverage of Watergate, and then part two of a big Watergate expose was delayed and cut in half, and a lot of people agonized because Paley didn't want to have that trouble, we all suffer, because they were so good, because nobody else before the '72 election was telling American on television about Watergate. You could read it in the Washington Post, but only CBS News was doing it. Because they were walking with such a firm stride is why it hurt so much when they faltered because somebody outside said, "My God, what are they going to do to this network, Nixon and all his people? We've got to sort of worry about that."

GRIFFIN: We'll return after this commercial break.

* * *

GRIFFIN: In "Clearing the Air," which do you think is the most important to all of us, the American people, that you reveal?

SCHORR: The most important to all of us -- I mean long after we forget about the Chuck Colsons and all of that, we

[unintelligible] this country about the Kennedy assassination. We can't get the Kennedy assassination out of our system, because -- well, because everybody has a theory that maybe it wasn't Oswald, or maybe he was set up, and all of that.

And I spent a lot of time on that. And there's a chapter on that in the book, and I'm going to sort of see if I'm still professional and keep it down to less than a minute, if I can, but it is complicated.

But I have seen no evidence that it was anyone other than Lee Harvey Oswald acting alone. But what I have seen is evidence that the CIA went through a massive coverup with the Warren Commission to keep the Warren Commission from finding out what we now know: that the CIA was incessantly and obsessively trying to arrange for the murder of Fidel Castro in Cuba, frequently in alliance with the Mafia, if you can believe that.

GRIFFIN: And with President Kennedy's approval?

SCHORR: Well, that's an interesting question. There are no papers. See, President's don't write, "I want Castro knocked off by the close of business on Friday, and report on this action." They don't write that kind of thing. It is, "He's a pain in the neck, that Castro." And that translated down the line.

Richard Helms said he had the impression that Kennedy wanted it done, or the CIA wouldn't have done it. Everybody who knew Kennedy says Kennedy didn't go in for assassinations. And we're left: yes, no; will we ever know?

But the great irony was that -- I am convinced, based on a lot of evidence and recent material which I've dug out -- that the reason that Oswald did it stems to an interview that Castro gave in Havana when Castro found out about the plots by the CIA against him. Castro gave an interview trying to send a signal to President Kennedy in saying, "Listen, you'd better stop these plots against me. Or," he said, "an American leader can get it."

9.63

And the unstable Oswald, who admired Castro -- this loser who wanted to be some hero, somewhere -- may have read that interview. It appeared in the New Orleans Time-Picayune in September '63, when Oswald was living there. I cannot prove that, but I know he read that paper, 'cause Marina Oswald said he avidly read that paper.

But what he then did was send his family to Texas, got on a bus in secret, went down to Mexico City, he went to the Cuban Embassy. And what is not known but is now in my book, because it was hidden from the Warren Commission -- the CIA and the FBI knew it. In the Cuban Embassy, he said -- he wanted a visa to go to Cuba. And he said, "I'm going to do a great thing

for Cuba. I may kill President Kennedy.'

The Cuban Embassy threw him out. They reported it to Havana. Castro knew. Castro said, "The guy's either a lunatic or, much worse, he's being set up by right-wing people to kill Kennedy, and then I'll be blamed." So he kept quiet about it until afterward.

The irony of this all is -- you asked a good question: Did Kennedy order these plots against Castro? The Kennedy people deny it; other people think it's hob -- Richard Helms said the CIA didn't do these things except by orders, but the orders were transmitted in ways so odd -- you know, I mean there's nothing much more a President has to say than, "You know, we're having a lot of trouble with these missiles. And, boy, if somebody could do something about Castro."

GRIFFIN: And the CIA would assume that he meant, "Destroy Castro."

SCHORR: And the CIA did assume.

GRIFFIN: The same way Oswald assumed that Castro wanted Mr. Kennedy out of the way.

SCHORR: That's right. Well -- that's right. I'm not saying that the whole CIA was unstable and disturbed as Oswald was, although I must say they sometimes seemed that way. And the great irony was that if it was true that they tried to kill Castro in what they thought was the wish of Kennedy, then an arrow shot in the air to kill a foreign leader may have come back to kill our own.

GRIFFIN: We'll return after this commercial break.

* * *

GRIFFIN: Where now will your activities take you?

SCHORR: Well, right now I'm an author, you know? A new thing, I'm an author.

GRIFFIN: What about your broadcasting?

SCHORR: Well, when I broadcast now it's on sort of the other side of the microphone. One day I might have been asking you questions. Now I sit here and I answer questions. That's kind of wild for me. It's this new business of being a news subject instead of a news reporter. Strange things happen. I go to an airport, as happened last year at the height of the controversy, I got off in an airport to do a lecture somewhere and went through the airport, saw a bunch of people with cameras and sound

gear and all of that. I came up behind them, curious as ever, and said, "Who's arriving?" And somebody wheeled around and said, "You are. We're waiting for you." And this is all very strange.

I have not plotted my life very far ahead. I'd like to see how this book does. It's been for me a joy to get back to the printed word, whence I once came some 25 years ago. I kind of like that. I'm still on the CBS payroll.

WOMAN: Oh, good. That's what I wanted to know.

SCHORR: Yes. My contract is being paid out. There's been no problem about that. So I have some breathing space...

GRIFFIN: But they don't want you to work there, or you don't want to work there?

SCHORR: Well, first they didn't want me to work there. My ratings were very low. I was in trouble with Congress, I was in trouble with the CIA, I was in trouble with the White House, and everybody...

GRIFFIN: When you're in trouble in Washington, there can be a concerted effort, an effort in concert, to get you out of that town. You can be shut off from everything, can't you?

SCHORR: Yes. You know, I opened the CBS bureau in Moscow back in 1955 and ended up by being tossed out of the Soviet Union after being chased around by the KGB. And there was a period in '76 when I said, "I may be the only one to be investigated by both the KGB and the FBI, kicked out of both the Soviet Union and the United States. I really thought for a while that was going to happen.

Yes, that town of Washington -- I don't know how it works here, but that town of Washington -- well, it was like it worked here during blacklist time, right? That town of Washington can become very cold and close in on you at times.

GRIFFIN: And they did to you.

SCHORR: And it did kind of. There were a couple -- enough so that I remember vividly the couple of friends who came over. One left a bottle of wine and said, "It must be awful." We had to cut off our phone, change our phone to the first unlisted number I ever had. I know here everybody wants to have an unlisted phone. In Washington, if you're a reporter, you like somebody to call you up now and then. And having an unlisted phone was a very, very painful thing.

But if you think that was painful, when things got really very rough once, I called Dial-a-Prayer in Washington, and they had

an unlisted phone.

[Laughter]

GRIFFIN: Many meetings with Mr. Nixon?

SCHORR: Many meetings with Mr. Nixon? No.

GRIFFIN: None?

SCHORR: You mean since he's been out of office?

GRIFFIN: No.

SCHORR: In office?

GRIFFIN: Head-to-head, face-to-face?

SCHORR: No. See -- no, no. I didn't cover the White House, see. He hated me from afar. I mean Dan Rather would stand up and say things, and Nixon would get mad at him right there. But I was just covering my beat. I was sort of telling about how when Nixon said he was going to help the parochial schools, there was nothing there, he had no program. And he got mad at that, so he said he wanted the FBI to investigate me.

Or I would say -- you know, for example, he said he was going to abolish hunger in America, but there were only paper programs and nothing's happening.

And so I got on his enemies list. And it was sort of a by-proxy kind of thing.

I had very, very little to do personally with Nixon because I was covering sort of other things out there in the Nixon program. And it was indeed a surprise to me that he spent that much time and effort calling me names and planning my destruction, because I didn't have that much to do with him personally. It was really kind of done from afar.

But yet, you know, it ended up in a way -- I made peace with him, or he with me, in the end better than I've made peace with some in CBS. I the end -- I married very late. I was 50 years old when I married for the first time. I moved around too fast and I remained a bachelor. I got married. Now, at the ripe age of 61, I have a son of 10 and a daughter of 7.

GRIFFIN: Oh, that's nice.

SCHORR: And my son Jonathan, a couple of years ago -- he was then himself only 7 years old -- came up to me, and I think he thought he'd get me mad. It was when Nixon was in the hospital

with phlebitis. And Jonathan came up and said, "Hey, Dad, I want to write Nixon a letter and tell him I hope he gets well."

I said, "Well, that's all right, Jonathan. You can do that. I mean I don't have anything against it."

So he wrote a little note to Nixon and he said, "Dear Mr. Nixon. I hope you get well. Signed, Jonathan Schorr, parenthesis, Dan Schorr's son." I said in cover, "Dear Mr. Nixon. This is from my son, and I'm happy to forward it to you."

Nixon sent back a letter, "Dear Jonathan." He said, "I read your letter and I was touched by it, because I'm always moved by young people," he said. "I've always wanted peace because I'm so interested in young people." And he ended up by saying, "And I hope one day that you follow in your father's footsteps, so that I can see you on television." That was Nixon.

And when he did his David Frost interviews, in one of the out-takes that wasn't used, David told me, he volunteered and he said, "Now, there's Dan Schorr. I don't like him and he doesn't like me. But I've had some correspondence with son because I like children and so does he."

GRIFFIN: That's nice. That's a nice story.

[Applause]

GRIFFIN: Considering now that you're on a payout contract from CBS, and although you're really not affiliated with them anymore, except cashing the check, you can speak as a free man. Who do you recommend to the public to read and to listen to to be informed?

SCHORR: Oh, that's a trap.

GRIFFIN: No, that's not a trap. It's a fair question.

SCHORR: Well, it's a fair question, it's a fair trap,...

GRIFFIN: Truly informed.

SCHORR: ...is what it is.

Well, it depends in what field. I, for example -- my favorite reporter of this generation is a man named Seymour Hersh, who is now with the New York Times. This is the Seymour -- Sy Hersh who discovered the Mylai massacre and exposed it to the people, who discovered the secret bombing of Cambodia, exposed the first business about CIA in Chile and CIA domestic spying. This is, to my mind, the quintessential investigative reporter of this era. And nothing stops him when he goes to work on a story,

and he just works and works and works.

And what people don't understand about investigative reporters, because it's all been a little big glamorized in film and all, is that most investigative reporting isn't very romantic. It is drudgery. It is tracking around and going through pieces of paper and going up to person after person after person, and it is awfully, awfully hard work, most of which doesn't pay off. And I have a lot of respect for it.

GRIFFIN: You won't want to miss a moment of this. You won't put it down. Daniel Schorr's "Clearing the Air."

Jack Anderson

CIA Eyed Creation of Killer Elite

For years, the Central Intelligence Agency's darkest secret was its undercover association with Mafia hit men who were recruited for international murder missions. We finally broke the story that the CIA had used gangsters in six attempts on the life of Cuban President Fidel Castro.

Now we've learned that the CIA wanted to create its own branch of "Murder Inc." — a killer squad that would assassinate undesirable foreign leaders for $1 million each.

It has taken us years to dig out the ugly facts. We were able to report on March 3, 1967, that the CIA had "hatched a plot to knock off Castro." On Jan. 18, 1971, we began a series of three columns describing the six assassination attempts and naming the Mafia killers and their CIA contacts. Not until five years later did the Senate Intelligence Committee finally confirm our story.

The CIA recruited the hit men through Robert Maheu, a former CIA undercover operator who had taken charge of Howard Hughes' Las Vegas empire and had developed mob contacts in Nevada.

Around the time that Maheu was setting up the Mafia plot against Castro, we've just learned, the CIA also approached a former narcotics official with intimate knowledge of the Mafia. He was Charles Siragusa, a former wartime intelligence officer who had become one of the Big Three in the Federal Narcotics Bureau and had handled the bureau's liaison with the CIA.

The bureau had cultivated informants inside the Mafia and had compiled files on the crime syndicate. Siragusa was a logical person, therefore, for the CIA to sound out about forming a Mafia hit squad to kill for the United States.

The retired Siragusa, breaking a silence of more than 15 years, told us about a strange conversation with a CIA official in Washington around 1960. After a few minutes of chit-chat, the CIA man made this startling suggestion: that Siragusa, drawing on his knowledge and contacts in the underworld, recruit a crew of Mafia torpedoes for standby assassination duty.

They would be paid $1 million in fees and expenses for each kill. The CIA would assign the missions and underwrite the payoffs from its secret funds.

At this point, the visitor stopped, waiting for Siragusa's reaction. "At first I thought he was joking," he said.

When he realized the proposal was serious, he rejected it. "In wartime, it's one thing," he told the CIA emissary, "but in peacetime, it's something different." He heard nothing more of the matter.

Siragusa speculated that the CIA selected him to set up the murder squad because of his handling of two other special CIA requests.

On the first occasion, three Spanish-speaking CIA operatives had been arrested while pulling a Watergate-style break-in at the Chinese Communist news agency in Havana. Cuban police thought they had caught three small-fry burglars and locked them up on an island off Cuba.

The CIA was desperate to get them back before their cover was blown. One knew the names of numerous CIA contacts in Cuba; in any event, the CIA makes every possible effort to rescue agents in peril.

The CIA turned to Siragusa, suggesting he enlist Mafia types for a rescue raid. This proved impractical; instead, Siragusa began dealings with a Chicago lawyer supposedly close to Castro's brother, Raul. The CIA authorized Siragusa to spend up to $1 million to effect the rescue of the imprisoned agents by whatever means necessary.

The Chicagoan received $10,000 from CIA funds but his efforts failed, Siragusa said. Eventually the three won their freedom through the legal efforts of a Havana attorney, retained by the CIA without Castro's knowledge.

Siragusa also said he was involved in the establishment of a CIA "safehouse" in Greenwich Village in the 1960s. But unknown to him, the apartment was turned into a sex trap for foreign diplomats and informants.

Footnote: We are satisfied after long talks with top CIA officials that the CIA has given up its love nests, murder plots and most other dirty tricks. We have learned that Siragusa was recently interviewed about the murder squad by the Senate Intelligence Committee. Our calls to the committee for comment were unreturned.

Judge in F.B.I. Case Hints Doubt On Legality of Kearney Indictment

By ARNOLD H. LUBASCH

A defense motion raised serious questions yesterday about the indictment of John J. Kearney, a former supervisor in the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who was charged with directing the illegal opening of mail and tapping of telephones in a search for radical fugitives in New York.

Edward eBnnet Williams, the defense lawyer, argued that three of the five counts in the indictment should be dismissed on the ground that they had been drawn up improperly. He said that each of the three counts charged Mr. Kearney with more than one offense, violating a rule requiring a separate count for each offense.

Judge Kevin Thomas Duffy, who is presiding over the Kearney case in United States District Court in Manhattan, reserved his decision on whether to dismiss the three counts. The judge indicated that he was troubled by some of the wording in the indictment.

If the judge dismisses the three counts, the Government could be granted six months to obtain a new indictment designed to remedy any defects in the original one. But this could delay the case, which has already been held up by complex issues.

Other Possible Indictments

Attorney General Griffin B. Bell has said that he wants to bring the Kearney case to trial before seeking possible indictments of other F.B.I. officials in connection with alleged burglaries, wiretaps and mail openings.

The five lawyers who were conducting the investigation for the Justice Department were replaced at their own request last month because they disagreed with Mr. Bell's decision to defer any other indictments until after the Kearney case.

In arguing the defense motion to Judge Duffy, Mr. Williams contended that some of the offenses allegd in the three disputed counts were barred by the statute of limitations because they took place more than five years before Mr. Kearney was indicted last April. The defense is expected to challenge the two other counts in the indictment on other grounds later.

Allen R. Bentley, a Federal prosecutor, argued that the indictment had been properly formulated. He said that Mr. Kearney was charged with central acts that aided and abetted the carrying out of continuing offenses.

Judge Duffy noted that the present prosecutors were not the ones responsible for formulating the indictment and that it was not the judge's job to correct any defects in the charges. He added, "If the Government has drafted a sloppy indictment, you are stuck with it."

The indictment consists of a conspiracy count involving the opening of mail, two counts alleging a number of mail openings, a conspiracy count involving wiretapping and one count alleging the tapping of a number of telephones. The defense contends that each alleged mail opening and wiretap must be a separate count.

All the alleged violations occurred between late 1970 and June 1972 when Mr. Kearney was the supervisor of Squad 47, a team of F.B.I. agents in New York, searching for fugitives associated with a radical group known as the Weather Underground.

No date has been set for the trial, whil the defense continues to seek information to fight the charges.

22 DEC 1977

NEW FILES RELEASED ON KENNEDY DEATH

Records Disclose Secret Service's Inquiry Into the Assassination Concentrated on Cuban Aspect

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21 (UPI)—The Secret Service investigation into the assassination of President Kennedy was heavily preoccupied with possible Cuban and even Chinese Communist involvement, according to documents released to day.

Hundreds of pages of Secret Service files given United Press International under a Freedom of Information request show that, aside from a routine background investigation of Lee Harvey Oswald, the accused assassin, its inquiry dealt almost entirely with the Cuban angle.

The Secret Service said that the files represented all but 75 to 100 documents it had on theassassination. Those were exexempted under secrecy provisions of t law. It did not include Secred Services files already surrendered to the National Archives.

The investigation apparently concentrated on the Cuban angle because of threats against President Kennedy from Cubans in Miami, where he visited the week before his murder in Dallas on Nov. 22, 1963.

Nowhere in the material, however, is there any indication that the Secret Service was able to link Oswald with a Cuban conspiracy.

Among the other items in the documents were the following:

¶The Federal Bureau of Investigation monitored Oswald's activities for three years before the assassination but never told the Secret Service about him. The former Secret Service chief, James J. Rawley, raisd serious questions about this slip-up in communications, which, he said, "made it clear" criteria needed to be re-evaluated for identifying people who might be dangerous to a president.

¶ The head of the Secret Service's White House detail, Gerald A. Behn, said in a memorandum after the assassination that in at least two motorcades Mr. Kennedy had discouraged agents who tried to block people from approaching his limousine. "The late President Kennedy believed he belonged to the people," Mr. Behn wrote.

¶Secret Service memorandums indicated that its officials discovered some possible errors or indescretions in protecting Mr. Kennedy in Dallas, and re-evaluated the manner in which a President should be guarded. They suggested that they needed more manpower.

Perhaps the most intriguing document was from the special agent in charge of the Miami office, describing an "alleged Chicom-Castro Plot." Chicom is a term for Chinese Communists.

"This office received information from a Western deplomat on 6 December 1963 which alleges that the assassination of President Kennedy was the result of a plot prepared and executed jointly by the chicoms and Fidel Castro through intermediaries," the report begins. The diplomat, who was not named in the report, is quoted as saying that he received his information through a source described was "very good."

The report listed the following "basic ingredients" of the allegation:

¶"Reportedly Fidel Castro is extremely worried about the current probings taking place into the assassintion of President Kennedy and the possible finding that may ensue.

¶The plot to assassinate President Kennedy was arranged by Chicoms and Cuban sympathizers who have been provisionally jailed in Cuba to prevent any indiscretions. The diplomat's source himself is fearful that his arrest is imminent.

¶"There appears to be no Soviet participation in the plot because at this time the Soviets are too close to the Ameri-

The report said that a Cuban and a Mexican-American living in Dallas were "intermediaries" in the plot.

"Though this office cannot at this juncture vouch for the reliability or veracity of the information, steps have been initiated to develop the information further and identify the original source," the report ended. There was no reference to the matter elsewhere in the documents.

There also was a report on preparations leading up to Mr. Kennedy's visit to Florida Nov. 18, 1963. It reviewed special security precautions taken by the Secret Service because of threats believed to have come from the Cuban community in Miami. A postcard received by the Miami police and postmarked Nov. 16, said, "The Cuban Commandos have the BOMBS ready for killing JFK."

The Secret Service was particularly interested in a speech made by Fidel Castro, the Cuban Prime Minister, on Sept. 9, 1963. Mr. Castro warned that "United States leaders would be in danger if they hepled in any attempt to do away with leaders of Cuba."

When the Secret Service tried to link the speech to the assassination, however, it found but one connection. A report of the speech was carried in New Orleans newspapers at the time Oswald lived there as an active member of the radical Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Oswald's work for this group was the only link to Cuba substantiated in the Secret Service's investigation of the Cuba angle.

Another Secret Service memo randum, on Nov. 29, a week after the assassination, said that if there was a Cuban conspiracy information had been received "that the party responsible for carrying out any action on the part of Fidel Castro undoubtedly was Quinten Pino Machado, a Cuban terrorist used by Castro to carry out any Castro action."

This information was gained from a source identified as "3-11-48" who said Mr. Machado was a former Cuban delegate to the United Nations, then Cuban Ambassador to Nicaragua, and an expert on bombs and explosives.

The informer that said Mr. Machado once bragged that he had attempted to assassinate Dr. Enrique Heurtas, identified later by the Secret Service as an guest at a dinner for Mr. Kennedy in Miami the week before the President was killed.

The vehicle by which the Secret Service records were obtained, the Freedom of Information Act, allows private citizens, news organizations or any other interest groups to file a request with a Government agency if a reasonable description is provided. There are nine exempt categories of information, and among these are classified national security documents, trade secrets and personal information about individuals.

FBI Documents on JFK Killing Raise Questions on Bullets, Oswald's Moves

By Margaret A. Gentry
Associated Press

Newly disclosed FBI documents on the assassination of John F. Kennedy raise, but do not answer, questions about Lee Harvey Oswald's movements in the days before Dallas, and about the source of the bullets that killed the President.

The 597 pages of documents are the first of more than 40,000 the FBI will release Dec. 7 to comply with requests under the Freedom of Information Act for its material on the investigation of Kennedy's death in Dallas on Nov. 22, 1963.

The first three volumes were provided to a private researcher several months ago and were made available yesterday to the Associated Press.

The documents, many heavily censored, show that the FBI attempted to trace the fatal bullets from the time they were manufactured until they reached the assassin's hands.

Agents initially were perplexed by a piece of evidence they found.

The bullets were 6.5-millimeter Mannlicher-Carcano ammunition. Agents determined that the manufacturer was the Western Cartridge Corp. of East Alton, Ill.

Agents in Illinois examined the company's production records and found that the firm produced 4 million rounds of this type of ammunition for the U.S. Marine Corps in 1954.

"The interesting thing about this order is that it is for ammunition which does not fit and cannot be fired in any of the USMC weapons," said an FBI memo dated Dec. 2, 1963.

"This gives rise to the obvious speculation that it is a contract for ammunition placed by CIA with Western under a USMC cover for concealment purposes," the memo continued.

In other words, FBI officials speculated that the CIA was using the Marine Corps as a cover to purchase ammunition in secret.

A memo written at FBI headquarters the next day noted that the George Zucker Sales Co. of Chicago had purchased about 2 million rounds for commercial resale in 1962.

In the first batch of files released, these were the only two memos dealing with the ammunition. The material said nothing more to explain or resolve the agents' speculation. Nor was it known whether the files to be released next week, and another 40,000 pages due later, would shed more light on the question.

The Warren Commission investigated the assassination and concluded that Oswald, acting alone, killed Kennedy. The commission reported that this type of ammunition "is readily available for purchase from mail order houses as well as a few gun shops." It noted that "some 2 million rounds have been placed on sale in the United States."

The records showed that the FBI kept close watch and a voluminous file on Oswald from his defection to the Soviet Union in October, 1959, and after he returned to the United States in June, 1962.

But the bureau lost track of him for several weeks in September and October, 1963, and agents in Dallas, Little Rock and New Orleans were put on alert to locate him and his Russian-born wife, Marina.

Post 18 NOV 1977

Assassinations Panel Called for Sullivan Papers

Associated Press

The House Assassinations Committee issued a subpoena for former FBI official William C. Sullivan's papers shortly after he was killed to keep them from being destroyed, a congressional source said yesterday.

Sullivan was killed while deer hunting near Sugar Hill, N.H., last week by another hunter who mistook him for a deer, authorities said.

They said the hunter was charged with a misdemeanor.

The source said the committee wants the papers and files partly for its investigation into whether Sullivan's FBI Cointelpro (counterintelligence program) harassment of Martin Luther King Jr. was linked with the civil rights leader's assassination.

Sullivan, 65, was the former No. 3 man in the FBI.

The committee also wants the files because Sullivan's Intelligence Division conducted the FBI's investigation of President John F. Kennedy's assassination, the source said. The committee is investigating both assassinations.

He said the committee's chief Kennedy assassination investigator, Clifford A. Fenton Jr., went to Sugar Hill, N.H., last week to try to find his lawyer to serve the subpoena.

Sugar Hill Police Chief Gary Young disclosed the attempt, and said he discouraged it because the investigator referred to the subpoena but did not show it to him.

The congressional source said the subpoena has not been served, but said its issuance alone would make anyone who destroyed any of the papers guilty of a federal offense.

He said he knows first-hand that the Assassinations Committee issued the subpoena on the basis of information from another House committee. He agreed to talk only with assurance that he would not be identified.

JFK Death Probed Under Tight Rules

INQUIRY, From A1

House investigation has thus far cost. Operating in nearly total secrecy since the accession of G. Robert Blakey as chief counsel last June, the House Assassinations Committee has built up a sprawling staff of 109 individuals and hired more than 30 consultants whose names the committee refuses to disclose.

Under the terms of a perhaps unprecedented "Non-Disclosure Agreement" obtained by The Washington Post, the consultants cannot, without written permission, even "indicate, divulge or acknowledge" that they work for the committee until it goes out of business. At least one member of a group of 14 pathologists who attended a secret committee seminar in September to review JFK autopsy records says he interpreted the intimidating strictures as a warning that they could go to jail if they even discussed the meeting. Yet by all available accounts, the seminar produced nothing startling.

"Doesn't this give you a sense of deja vu?" demands assassination expert Harold Weisberg who has been highly critical of the House investigation. "They're doing the same thing the Warren Commission did. It's worse than that now because they have the experience of the Warren Commission behind them. You've got to have this stuff subject to another point of view. The press has to be able to air it."

Committee members plainly disagree. Chairman Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) says he feels the panel's "gag rule" against any discussion of the investigation has served it well. Rep. Richardson Preyer (D-N.C.), chairman of the subcommittee investigating the JFK murder, said "the fact that it [the investigation] has been out of the headlines in the last few months has helped change the mood of the House."

"We were embarrassing the House every day a few months ago," Preyer said, recalling the controversy between the first chief counsel, former Philadelphia prosecutor Richard A. Sprague, and former committee Chairman Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.). "Now that's over."

Appointed June 19 as Sprague's successor, Blakey, a former Senate staffer and Cornell University law professor, has taken firm charge of the committee staff. Committee members such as Rep. Harold S Sawyer (R-Mich.), maintain that Blakey has improved morale tremendously and put the inquiry on a thoroughly professional track.

But some former staffers and others privy to various aspects of the committee's work disagree. They describe Blakey as a professorial martinet who insists on strict discipline from his investigators while letting the investigation itself run off in a dozen different directions at once.

The behavioral discipline is indisputably strict. In the view of some, it is also childish and demeaning. They point, for example, to an Aug. 1 memo to the committee staff from Blakey, listing "some 'Dos' and 'Don'ts' that should be followed in the conduct of our investigation, especially when on trips."

Among the rules:

- "Do not conduct interviews in your hotel room with a member of the opposite sex."
- "Do be cautious in fraternizing with local residents."
- "Do not have meals in locations that are noted for their drinks and not their cuisine."
- "Do avoid excessive alcoholic drinking when on assignment, whether on or off duty."
- "Do, in dealing with any person you come in contact, be courteous, considerate and patient, even in the face of extreme provocation."
- "Do not discuss or get involved in political or controversial topics with anyone."
- "Do, after working hours, know the general whereabouts of the other members of the team."
- "Do not visit establishments that have or appear to have questionable reputations unless on official business."

Underpinning all this is the four-page Non-Disclosure Agreement, initiated after Blakey took charge and required of all staff members as well as consultants "as conditions precedent for employment or engagement or any continued employment or engagement with the Select Committee, the United States House of Representatives or the United States Congress." In other words, says one lawyer acquainted with the terms of the document, those who sign it are presumably ruling themselves out of a job anywhere else on Capitol Hill if they break part of the agreement.

It has 16 sections, including one that demands immediate reporting to the committee of any effort by outsiders such as reporters to obtain information. In addition to acknowledging the possibility of criminal prosecution for leaking proscribed information,

See INQUIRY, A7, Col. 1

Dos, Don'ts Of House JFK Probe

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

Country music singer Tommy Beckham, alias Eggleston Zimmerman, was feeling chipper as he returned to his Alabama jail cell last July.

A man of many credentials, from self-described Central Intelligence Agency operative to "bishop" of a variety of obscure sects, Beckham had just been acquitted of federal fraud charges stemming from his promotion of a country music concert that was never held.

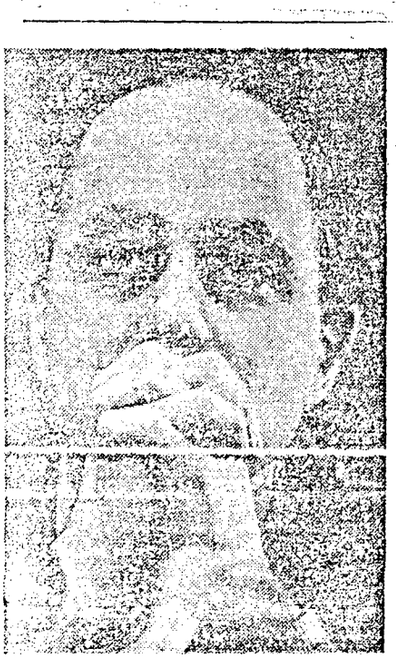
Undeterred by all this, investigators from the House Assassinations Committee interviewed him the next day in a sweltering cell at the Mobile, Ala., city jail about the murder of President Kennedy. Beckham, 35, reportedly poured forth claims of having known Lee Harvey Oswald in New Orleans and assertions that Kennedy was the victim of a conspiracy and that he, Thomas E. Beckham, knew who had taken part in it.

"To tell you the truth, most people don't believe him," Beckham's own lawyer, Jeff Stein of Mobile, says succinctly. A one-time fugitive from New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison's fruitless investigation into the Kennedy murder, Beckham finally returned to tell an Orleans Parish grand jury in 1968 that he really knew nothing about the President's assassination in 1963.

The House investigators, however, apparently took Beckham quite seriously. "They wanted names, dates, places," Stein recalled in a telephone interview.

It was a small, but illustrative slice of the approximately $1.5 million that the controversial

See INQUIRY, A6, Col. 1



G. ROBERT BLAKEY
... gives staff "dos and don'ts" list

Evidence in JFK Death Pursued in Nearly Total Secrecy

INQUIRY, From A6

the signers also agree to be liable for $5,000 in civil penalties "as a reasonable estimate for damages to the credibility and effectiveness of this investigation."

Information that may not be disclosed "by words, conduct or otherwise," at least during the lifetime of the committee, covers any data received by the select committee, presumably including even matters of public record. Some material, such as "any information pertaining to intelligence sources or methods as designated by the director of central intelligence," may "never" be disclosed without special permission. Committee Chairman Stokes must also "consult" the CIA director before clearing for publication any article written by a staffer or consultant which "may include" proscribed information.

"What kind of an independent investigation can you have with provisions like that?" demanded one former staffer who declined to be identified. "This is a theoretical world they're setting up, not a practical world for investigating murder."

The chief counsel, who likes to be called "Professor Blakey," declines to comment on any phase of the investigation, reciting a committee rule declaring that the staff shall not discuss "the substance or procedure of their work" unless authorized by Stokes, Preyer or Del. Walter E. Fauntroy (D-D.C.), chairman of the subcommittee investigating the assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968.

Asked, for instance, why the committee would be interviewing someone like Thomas Beckham when it has yet to decide who killed the President in Dallas' Dealey Plaza on Nov. 22, 1963, Blakey said simply "substance and procedure." He made the same response when asked to list in a general way what he regarded as the inquiry's accomplishments thus far.

It seems plain, however, that the two-pronged investigation into the Kennedy and King murders is pursuing an elusive and expensive skein of rumors and allegations of conspiracy before having satisfied itself—from the ballistics, medical, photographic, eyewitness and other evidence—about who the murderers were. The committee appears to be looking for helpers before having settled on the principals, who may or may not have had any helpers.

The panel's travel summaries show that it has been busy pursuing not only Beckham and other aspects of the zany Garrison investigation, but also esoterica such as the "Milteer connection." Now dead, Milteer was a right-wing organizer for the States Rights Party who happened to have been taped--two weeks before Kennedy was killed--about how the President might be shot with a high-powered rifle on a forthcoming trip to Miami.

"Where's the relevance?" demands Weisberg, who uncovered much of the material on Milteer years ago. "That's okay for a writer, but not for a congressional committee investigating a crime. How many people theatened to kill Kennedy? To kill King? They're beyond counting. Could all of them have committed the crime? They've got to establish relevance first. They've got to begin with what really happened."

More recently, investigators for the House committee journeyed to New York to interview Marita Lorenz, a self-proclaimed Mata Hari, who asserted that Watergate burglar Frank Sturgis, an old friend of hers, drove with her and several others, including Lee Harvey Oswald, to Dallas several days before the assassination. Then, last week, Sturgis was arrested on charges by Lorenz that he tried to intimidate her from testifying before the House committee.

The charges were dropped Friday in Manhattan Criminal Court when a review of seven taped telephone conversations between Lorenz and Sturgis showed all were amicable. "A lack of any substantiation of her charges impairs her credibility," the court was told of the putative congressional witness.

As for Beckham, his lawyer said House investigators had hoped to see him again after his client stood trial on still more fraud charges in Arkansas, allegedly for posing as a naturopathic physician. But the charges were dropped.

"He [Beckham] was supposed to meet one of 'em [the House investigators] in Mississippi, but he never showed up," Stein said. "They've contacted me a couple of times to see if I've heard from him, but I haven't."

Even though no public hearings are in sight, the committee, which expects its current $2.5 million budget to last until about next March, evidently foresees no trouble in getting a new appropriation next year. One committee member said wryly that they will probably be able to get more money by simply pointing out that they haven't embarrassed the House for months.

Asked if that approach would work, an aide to House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr. (D-Mass.) replied lightly: "Why not?"

Assassination Panel Is Given Right to Bypass House

By WENDELL RAWLS Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 16—The House of Representatives has given its Select Committee on Assassinations a strong demonstration of support by granting the committee the right to bypass the full House and apply directly to the courts to compel witnesses to testify about their knowledge of events surrounding the deaths of President Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

That decision, taken by the House last month in an overwhelmingly favorable vote, is considered the most significant recent development in the yearlong history of the embattled committee.

After struggling for the better part of its first year to obtain Congressional support and public credibility, the committee hired G. Robert Blakey as staff director and chief counsel last July 1, and since then has enlarged its staff from 56 to 114.

The number of field investigators rose from five to 28 in the same period, and the staff has opened a branch office in St. Louis, according to sources close to the committee.

Researchers are accumulating "immense stacks" of documents and are computerizing the information they contain, the sources said, and investigators are interviewing "hundreds" of witnesses.

At the same time, the sources said, the committee is hearing testimony in executive session from Government agents and from people allegedly linked to the events in Dallas, where President Kennedy was shot in 1963, and in Memphis, where Dr. King was killed in 1968.

However, the sources said that House passage of the request by the committee on what is called "use immunity" was especially important because it carried as much symbolic as practical significance. The committee and its subcommittees are now allowed to bypass the normal procedure of going to the floor of the House each time they want to go to court for an order of use immunity for a witness.

Use immunity protects a witness by prohibiting the prosecutorial authorities from using the compelled testimony in any respect against him. Therefore, it insures that the testimony cannot lead to criminal penalties against the witness.

However, under a grant of use immunity, which the Senate Watergate committee gave to John W. Dean and Jeb Stuart McGrunder, the witness must testify or face charges of civil contempt of Congress or possibly charges of criminal contempt of court.

If a witness refuses to testify, the committee could sentence him to jail in the basement of the Capitol for the life of the committee (until Dec. 31, 1978), or take him to court in the District of Columbia, which could sentence him to three years in the District jail. If the witness testified falsely, he could face possible perjury charges.

The symbolic significance, the sources said, lies in the favorable vote rolled up on the House floor and in the fact that only the House committee investigating the Korean payoff scandal now shares such authority to go to the courts without full House approval in advance.

The 290-to-112 vote favoring the committee's request contrasts with the much narrower 223-to-195 vote last March that extended the life of the committee through the end of the 95th Congress.

"The vote demonstrates that the House members now feel that the committee is conducting its affairs in a proper and dignified manner," a committee source said, "and that the House with its vote has told everybody that it is prepared to support the work of the committee."

In addition, the source said, the action signals to such Government agencies as the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Central Intelligence Agency and to certain segments of organized crime that the committee's future is not tenuous and that it cannot be ignored or outwaited.

Seeking 'Degree of Involvement'

"The proper application of use immunity gives this country the best opportunity ever to discover the degree of involvement, if any, by the F.B.I., the C.I.A., organized crime or other entities with Dr. King and President Kennedy," the source said.

The members of the committee seem to be adhering to a gag rule requested by Mr. Blakey, the chief counsel and staff director, and imposed by its chairman, Representative Louis Stokes, Democrat of Ohio. But Mr. Stokes said in a speech on the House floor that the committee was receiving "excellent cooperation from all the agencies from whom we have sought any type of testimony of evidence of any type."

Oswald's Widow Tells of 'Very High Level of Anger' at Him for the Legacy of Shame

By CAREY WINFREY

In a little while Marina Oswald Porter would read a statement to a room full of reporters, reiterating her conviction that Lee Harvey Oswald, her husband at the time, had assassinated President John F. Kennedy and had done so alone.

But now, sitting in the office of the publisher of a new book that she had come to New York to promote, she was worried. As she talked about Lee Oswald in English that was only faintly accented by her native Russian, the diminutive Dallas housewife fidgeted and chain-smoked menthol cigarettes. She was nervous about the news conference, and worried that the reporters would be "disappointed" that she had nothing new to say.

She will receive approximately 60 percent of the royalties earned by "Marina and Lee" for her cooperation with its author, Priscilla Johnson McMillan. But she expressed fears of losing the equilibrium that time, a new life and a measure of axonymity have helped her to achieve.

"I feel like an animal caged in a zoo," she said, "with people pointing their fingers at you."

'Young and Immature'

At 36 years of age, she is still pretty. Her eyes are almost iridescently blue. She is poised but guarded, as if she holds her emotions in tight rein. Beneath the surface, there appears to be sadness.

Her greatest regret, she said, is that when she first came to this country, she was not stronger, more independent, better able to judge her former husband's precarious psyche.

"I was so young and immature," she said, "I didn't realize he had a sick mind. I didn't analyze him or me or our marriage that deeply and seek real help for him. I was too blind."

The residue of guilt she feels about what she refers to simply as "November" comes from her belief that she might have prevented the 1963 assassination either by seeking psychiatric help for her husband, or, after he told her that he had fired a rifle at Gen. Edwin A. Walker, by reporting that incident to the police.

"Lee was the only person I had in this country," she said. "He had gone to so much trouble to bring me here, I feared of losing him if I betrayed him."

As the years have passed and as she has learned more about him and his motives by reading his diaries, her feelings for her former husband have hardened.

"It's a very strong word to use: hate. Perhaps a very high level of anger is closer," she said. Why? "How dare he ruin my name and that of my children forever? And I do not belisve in killing other people."

During an hour-and-a-half interview before the news conference, she relaxed only occasionally, mainly when she talked of her family—her daughters, June, who is 16 years old, and Rachel, who is almost 14, and her son, Mark, 11. The girls never knew their father: He was shot and killed by Jack Ruby. Mark's father is Lenneth Porter, a sewing-machine salesman and repairman who likes to go fishing. Mrs. Oswald was married to him in 1965, and she lives quietly with him today on 17 acres of Texas prairie outside Dallas. She insists that, newspaper reports to the contrary, they are not "well to do."

Her children are the centerpiece of her new life. "I hope their dreams are strong enough for them to meet the goals they set for themselves," she said. "The main thing I want for them is to be good and compassionate people. I didn't do anything great in my life, but maybe my children will be able to do something for their homeland."

She had read the book, the first half of which is almost pure biography of her, only a few days before. She had always said she wouldn't read it, but "my curiosity got the bettsr of me." It depressed her.

"When your mistakes are printed in black and white," she said, "it forces you to think harder about yourself and try to correct them."

She says she has tried to put Russia behind her, that she even thinks in English now. She does not read Russian books or magazines, has very little contact with the Russian community in Dallas and makes no effort to get in touch with friends and relatives there for fear of putting them in jeopardy. Someday, wen the children are grown, she might like to take some courses in agriculture (she's an avid gardener) or interior decorating, but "I live one day at a time now; I don't make any plans."

To Forget Is Not To Forgive

By Lee Lescaze

NEW YORK—Marina Oswald Porter, hesitant and almost expressionless, held a press conference yesterday to boost sales of a book about her life and her first husband, Lee Harvey Oswald. The book, "Marina and Lee," has a photograph of the couple inside a heart-shaped frame on the cover. It is, the jacket copy says, "A fascinating and richly detailed portrait of a man who was driven to kill and a woman who was determined to survive."

"My regret through the years has . . . been immense," Porter told the assembled reporters as photographers took picture after picture of the short, slim woman who is thinner now than she was when her husband assassinated President Kennedy in Dallas on Nov. 22, 1963. "I can never forget or forgive what he (Oswald) did, to me and to my children, to the President and his family, to the whole world," she said.

She stood behind a lectern bristling with microphones and answered patiently as reporters probed for a bit of news or new psychosexual theory about the assassination that troubles Americans' memories as perhaps no other event has done.

"It was a sad life," she said when asked to characterize her more than two years of marriage to Oswald. "A quite difficult marriage . . . and problems from a financial point of view that didn't make things easier."

"How do you feel about Oswald?" reporters asked again and again.

"You forget with the years about the bad and troublesome times," she replied. But, when she read "Marina and Lee" for the first time two weeks ago it made her angry at him.

A reporter remarked that she seemed to know more about Oswald from reading the book than from her life with him.

Porter, who spent nearly seven months with the book's author Priscilla Johnson McMillan in 1964, explained again that she had forgotten many of the bad times until she read the book.

Reporters pressed her to say she feels hatred for Oswald. She agreed that some of what she feels could be called hate.

A questioner reminded her that at one time during her marriage to Oswald she had felt a sexual aversion to him. Perhaps, he suggested, Oswald had killed Kennedy as a result of sexual frustration.

Porter rejected the suggestion.

Another reporter wondered whether Oswald had been jealous of Kennedy because his wife admired the President. He proposed that it had been a triangle in Oswald's mind with the two men competing for her love. She did not take that theory seriously.

Marina Porter rarely changed expression as she turned her head and stared at each questioner. Employees of Harper & Row, the publisher of "Marina and Lee", groaned at some of the questions.

When McMillan was responding in a circuitous manner to a question about Oswalds mental health, Oswald's widow broke in: "Nobody in his right mind would kill someone."

"Of course," Porter responded when asked whether she ever thought of Kennedy's widow. "I always feel sorry for a woman who loses her husband." She explained that it is difficult for a woman alone to earn money and raise children.

But, she was asked, didn't she feel a special grief for Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis?

"For her and for me, too," Marina Porter replied levelly. "I'm sorry, but sometimes I do feel sorry for myself."

Her two children ask questions about their father, she told the press conference, and only then does she speak of him. " They ask, 'Did he ever play with me? Did he love me?' and things like that," she said.

A reporter said that the children must face a lot of questions from their schoolmates.

"What questions can they ask a child about a father he doesn't remember?" she replied.

In a prepared statement, Porter said that anyone who reads "Marina and Lee" "will see that the events of Nov. 22, 1963, had to happen. It was the final act of a slow, painful tragedy that was our life together."

She was unable to clarify at the press conference why the assassination "had to happen." Her husband had a violent temper and was a loner who acted alone in killing Kennedy, she said. But the 36-year-old woman, who will share in the book's royalties, made it clear that many of the details of her life with Oswald no longer stand out in her memory. A Harper & Row spokesman refused to say what percentage of the royalties she will get.

After 30 minutes of questioning, with the reporters' zeal to find fresh news or just to hear Marina Porter continue talking apparently undiminished, Harper & Row editor-in-chief Buz Wyeth cut the press conference off. A couple of the reporters and photographers asked Porter for her autograph before Wyeth could escort her from the room.

THE WASHINGTON POST
Thursday, Oct. 13, 1977 B 5

compromise bill and also the Cranston-Thurmond bill on the Senate side, I have been told and the reason I will not object is it has been said to the Members of the committee that the White House will sign the compromise veterans' bill dealing with the awarding of veterans' benefits to those whose discharges are automatically upgraded under the Carter program.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, I personally am not privy to any such information from the White House myself. My understanding is that the members of the Veterans' Committee do have that assurance with respect to the authorization bill, S. 1307. That bill will be signed. In light of the circumstances. I urge that the House now recede from its insistence on the so-called Beard amendment.

Mr. BEARD of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman and I do want to state the authors of the House bill, SONNY MONTGOMERY, JOHN PAUL HAMMERSCHMIDT and RAY ROBERTS have been assured by the White House that the President would sign it.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his patience.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, I thank the gentleman from Tennessee for his patience.

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BEARD of Tennessee. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, the minority supports the majority position. This matter has been resolved all the way through.

(Mr. BEARD of Tennessee asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BEARD of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AUTHORIZING SELECT COMMITTEE ON ASSASSINATIONS TO APPLY TO COURTS

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 760 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 760

Resolved, That for the purpose of carrying out H. Res. 222, Ninety-fifth Congress, when authorized by a majority of the committee or subcommittee members voting, a majority being present, the Select Committee on Assassinations, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to make applications to courts; and to bring and defend lawsuits arising out of subpenas, orders immunizing witnesses and compelling them to testify, testimony or the production of evidence, and the failure to testify or produce evidence.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois (Mr. MURPHY) for 1 hour.

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield the usual 30 minutes for the minority to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LATTA) for purposes of debate only, pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Mr. MURPHY of Illinois asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 760 is a privileged resolution providing for 1 hour of debate in the House. This resolution gives the Select Committee on Assassinations authority to make applications to the courts and to bring and defend certain lawsuits. This authority may not be exercised unless authorized by a majority of the committee or subcommittee members voting, a majority being present.

The select committee was created by House Resolution 222 to conduct a "full and complete" investigation on the deaths of John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr. Under House Resolution 222 the committee was given subpena power and the authority to grant immunity.

House Resolution 433 extended the life of the select committee through the 95th Congress. This resolution originally contained language giving the select committee authority "to bring, defend and intervene in lawsuits and make applications to court." However, this portion of House Resolution 433 was struck from the resolution by a floor amendment on March 30, 1977. It was felt that the authority sought by the committee was too broad with no limitations placed on the type of suits in which the committee might become involved.

The current resolution seeks less authority than was originally requested by the select committee in House Resolution 433. This resolution seeks no authority to intervene in lawsuits. Secondly, the authority to bring and defend lawsuits is clearly limited to certain types of lawsuits arising out of subpenas, immunity orders, testimony, or the production of evidence, and the failure of a witness to testify or produce evidence.

House Resolution 760 would clarify the power of the select committee with regard to its authority to go to court. Although House Resolution 222 granted the committee the power to obtain immunity for witnesses under the appropriate statutes of the United States, the power to "make applications to courts" was deleted from House Resolution 433. There is now some doubt as to whether the committee can still apply to courts for immunity orders. Without this clarification, the committee would be compelled to go to the House on a case-by-case basis whenever the committee needed to apply for a grant of immunity, or for any other authority to go to court such as to obtain access to grand jury minutes or to defend against a motion to quash a subpena. House Resolution 760 should clarify this ambiguity.

House Resolution 760 was unanimously adopted by the Select Committee on Assassinations. The Rules Committee reported the resolution out by unanimous voice vote. This resolution provides the select committee with limited legal authority to conduct its investigation. I urge the adoption of House Resolution 760.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Mr. LATTA asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I agree with the statement just made by the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. MURPHY) about House Resolution 760. The resolution, for example, would make it clear that the select committee may apply to a court for an order of immunity. But it is somewhat more limited than the authority that was sought on March 30, 1977 when the House, by a vote of 223 to 195, deleted certain language from House Resolution 433. The language deleted provided that,

For the purpose of carrying out H. Res. 222, the select committee is also authorized to bring, defend, and intervene in lawsuits and make applications to courts.

Mr. Speaker, I might say the alternative, according to the proponents of this legislation, to the House granting the select committee the limited power at this time to make application to the courts is that the select committee would have to come back to the House each and every time it sought an immunity order.

In the Kennedy assassination investigation alone, the select committee has anticipated calling approximately 200 witnesses, many of whom might request a grant of immunity before they would testify. This could require the House to schedule each of these grants of immunity for floor debate, possibly on 150 separate occasions.

According to the proponents of this resolution, this is what they are attempting to prevent by virtue of the resolution.

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. BAUMAN), for purposes of debate only.

(Mr. BAUMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BAUMAN. Mr. Speaker, on March 30, when the House considered the latest resolution authorizing the continuance of the Committee on Asssasinations, the resolution then before us contained the following phrase:

For the purposes of carrying out House Resolution 222, the Select Committee is authorized to bring, defend and intervene in lawsuits and make applications to courts.

Mr. Speaker, I offered an amendment at that time to strike out that language, and on a rollcall vote, with 223 in favor, 195 opposed, this broad authority was stricken from the resolution.

The reason I offered the amendment at that time—I think most Members will recall, and the majority of the House agreed—was the erratic behavior of the committee and its sensational activities had cast in doubt whether or not the committee could properly handle such wide-ranging authority which at that

time was unprecedented in the House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, since that time a similar authority for a House committee to go into the courts without full House approval has been granted for the first time to the special Korean investigation that is being conducted. But still no other committee, standing or select, has the power to go into court for these purposes without first coming to the House.

Quite frankly, I discussed this matter with the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. STOKES) at length. I read the remarks he put into the record explaining why he felt this was now necessary. But I would also point out that this committee has already the power under the House rules and the United States Code to issue subpenas and to grant immunity to the witnesses that they may seek to compel to testify.

The thing that concerns me still is that, while this resolution before us, House Resolution 760, is described by the gentleman from Illinois as being limited in its scope, it does authorize the committee to make applications to courts. I have no idea exactly what that means. It does not sound to me to be a legal term of art. The resolution also says, without the committee, or its subcommittees, mind you, ever coming back to the House, they may compel witnesses to testify and to produce evidence.

Many of the Members have expressed grave concern that that kind of authority in the original resolution might lead to the calling of officials from the Attorney General's office, the FBI, the CIA, since at one point the committee was threatening to bring the Attorney General before the committee under subpena to testify.

Although the report says this power is limited to legal proceedings regarding immunity, and the remarks of the gentleman from Ohio indicate it is to be limited to immunity, I still read this as being a very wide-ranging authority for the majority of the select committe on its subcommittees so that there could be two or three Members of the House agreeing to bring contempt citations.

If they have many witnesses that need to be called, let us have them tell us what it is all about, and then we can have confidence that this power is needed. Otherwise we should let them come back to the House, as every other committee of the House must do, save the one conducting the Korean investigation, and seek such authority in each instance.

Mr. Speaker, I am afraid that, although the committee has demonstrated a greater responsibility in the last few months—at least I assume it has, because they are saying nothing—the history of the committee is such that I do not think we ought to change our stand. I, therefore, oppose the resolution.

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, for purposes of debate only, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. STOKES).

(Mr. STOKES asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, the resolution being debated today would, if adopted, clarify the power of the select committee to use one aspect of the authority already part of the select committee's basic resolution. The new resolution makes it clear that the select committee has the authority to make an application to a court to obtain a grant of immunity under the appropriate statutes of the United States. We are taking this action out of an abundance of caution and out of a desire scrupulously to follow the limitations of our current resolution and the essential requirements of due process. I note, too, that this power is ordinarily at the disposal of other investigative committees of the Congress.

I believe that a brief history of the scheduling of House Resolution 760 is illustrative of the necessity that the House pass it at this time. The committee has a witness who was scheduled to appear, and the committee desires to interrogate this witness at the earliest possible time. To obtain the immunity that this witness requires before he will testify, House Resolution 760 was introduced. The Rules Committee by voice vote reported House Resolution 760 to the House Calendar. Almost 2 weeks have passed since the House first could have taken action on House Resolution 760. It has been scheduled numerous times for action on the floor but due to the press of other urgent business of the House, like the ERDA bill, House Resolution 760 has not been brought up for vote until the present time. Consequently, the committee's investigation into the sensitive area where we believe this witness has information has been completely stopped. As I have indicated, one of the reasons we desire the passage of House Resolution 760 is the precise desire to avoid consuming excessive amounts of time on the floor of the House and to be able to proceed with our investigation without an undue delay due to awaiting action on the floor. The delay in voting on House Resolution 760, due to the other urgent business of the House, is a perfect illustration of the necessity that the House pass House Resoluion 760 today.

LEGISLATIVE BACKGROUND

Mr. Speaker, an explanation of the need for this action requires some background. In House Resolution 222, the House placed upon the select committee the duty of conducting "a full and complete investigation and study of the circumstances surrounding the assassination and death of President John F. Kennedy and the assassination and death of Martin Luther King, Jr." The House also empowered the committee to subpena witnesses and grant immunity. In fulfilling this mandate, the committee indeed expects to call a number of witnesses, some of whom may have to be granted immunity from the use of their testimony in a prosecution against them.

But, under 18 U.S.C. 6005(a), to obtain immunity for such witness, a congressional committee, so authorized by its basic resolution, must apply to a Federal district court for an order conferring immunity on the witness. It is probably already the case that the select committee has been authorized to apply to a court for such an immunity order, because the House Resolution 222 explicitly provides that—

> The Select Committee shall be considered a committee of the House of Representatives for all purposes of law, including . . . sections 6002 and 6005 of title 18, United States Code, . . .

Since section 6005 requires applications to courts for orders of immunity, it would seem to follow from the inclusion of this languge in the select committee's basic resolution that such applications are authorized.

Nevertheless, the special legislative history of House Resolution 433, the resolution that reconstituted the select committee, casts some doubt over the committee's power to apply to a court for such an order. Originally, the committee, in House Resolution 433, sought general authority to "bring, defend and intervene in lawsuits." This portion of House Resolution 433 was deleted on the floor of the House. The effect this particular deletion had on the general immunity provision in House Resolution 222 is what is at issue.

ALTERNATIVES IF HOUSE RESOLUTION 760 NOT PASSED

Were a witness to refuse to comply with a court's immunity order compelling testimony before the committee, as well as defend a contempt charge on the ground that the rejection of the explicit language in House Resolution 433 authorizing the committee to go to court also affected the general authority granted by House Resolution 222 to seek immunity applications under section 6005, the committee would face a difficult and troublesome legal issue. It is likely, too, that an appellate court would not resolve this issue for several months, a period of time coming during the heart of the committee's investigations. Were the resolution of the issue to go against the select committee's power, it would also seriously hinder the course of the investigation. While the lawsuit was pending, moreover, all witnesses appearing before the committee would also be in a position to frustrate the committee's efforts to secure their testimony safe in the knowledge that the committee's authority to proceed was in doubt because of the litigation. Obviously, this is a risk that the select committee cannot afford to run if we are to fulfill the mandate the House has given us.

If the committee cannot secure this clarification of its power, our work will not, of course, come to an end. But if it is to go forward, it will be necessary for the committee to return to the House floor on a case-by-case basis for each immunity application, something that other committees of the House do not have to do and something that we do not believe that the House intended when House Resolution 222 was amended. We can reasonably foresee that during the most difficult period of our investigation, immunity applications might be a weekly or even biweekly occurrence. Obviously, what is at stake here is more than the power of the committee. The efficient operation of the House calendar is also called into question, since it would be extremely time consuming for the commit-

tee to seek specific authority on the floor of the House to go to court to implement each of the committee's individual votes to grant immunity to particular witnesses. Obviously, too, if the House were on recess the investigation would remain in limbo pending the return of the Members.

GRAND JURY ILLUSTRATION

There are additional reasons for requesting the specific authorizing language we seek rather than for a resolution narrowly authorizing the committee to make an application in immunity situations. The committee has already been confronted with a limited number of other situations where it is necessary to make other types of applications to courts. For example, the committee presently needs access to certain grand jury minutes. We do not believe that the prosecutive agencies involved would object; but we know that they would want the committee to seek court permission, too. This is the proper legal way to proceed. It would be unseemly for us to act in any other fashion.

BRINGING AND DEFENDING LAWSUITS

In addition to granting the committee unequivocal authority to make applications for immunity or grand jury transcripts, the new resolution also specifically authorizes the committee to bring and defend lawsuits arising out of subpenas, immunity orders, testimony, or the failure of a witness to testify. This authority is narrowly related to issues touching on testimony or the production of evidence before the committee. For example, it insures that the committee has the authority to defend a motion to quash that may be filed against one of its subpenas. The committee has an absolute defense against such a motion based upon the speech and debate clause; this provision guarantees the committee authority to appear in court to assert that defense.

It would also enable the committee to go to a court to obtain a civil contempt order against a witness who had een ordered to testify by a court, but had not complied with it. The witness would be in violation of a court order, but to obtain the witness' testimony, it may only be necessary to clarify the order or call the judge's attention to the fact that a witness had not obeyed his order. The resolution would give the committee this authority; it would not supplant the role of the House in any criminal contempt proceeding, since pursuant to statute, criminal contempt proceedings would still have to be referred to the full House for certification.

COMPARISON WITH 443

The power to bring suit is not something that could be exercised by staff members without careful committee supervision. No power is sought to roam far and wide conducting our investigation by lawsuit rather than by carefully planned hearings—something that those who voted to delete general litigation authority in House Resolution 433 legitimately feared. For example, under the deleted authority in House Resolution 433, the committee could have intervened in a freedom of information suit brought by a citizen against the Archives for access to the Kennedy autopsy materials. No such power for the committee would be granted by the current resolution.

The authority could only be exercised by a majority of the committee or subcommittee members voting, a majority being present. It is certainly a much more restrictive and controlled authority than that which was deleted from House Resolution 433.

SENATE AND KOREAN PRECEDENT

The authority is necessary because committees cannot go to court to defend themselves unless they are specifically authorized to do so by resolution of the full House. *Reed* v. *County Commissioners*, 277 U.S. 376 (1928). Here it is significant to note that in response to the Reed case, the Senate passed a special resolution authorizing all Senate committees to petition courts for relief. See Senate Resolution 262, 70th Congress, 1st session 1928. There is no comparable resolution that exists for the House. Consequently, each committee must be individually so authorized, as the Korean Committee has been under its resolution. See House Resolution 252. Indeed, the powers granted the Korean Committee in section 6 of its resolution are broader than those we seek. This last point is particularly significant. It was thought that powers such as these were unprecedented when House Resolution 222 was considered. Now that the Korean Committee has found it necessary and helpful to have powers of this character of a general nature, the narrow authority sought by this committee should not be refused.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution will clarify and grant the committee the narrowly drawn legal authority it needs to accomplish what the House has mandated. It is a necessary power for any investigative committee to have to perform a competent and complete investigation. Having authorized the committee, and funded it, the House clearly has demonstrated its commitment to a serious investigation. To deny the committee sufficient legal authority to perform its task would make a mockery out of the "full and complete" investigation mandated by House Resolution 222. I hope it will receive the favorable attention of the House.

Mr. Speaker, as I have stated, the ability of the committee to be able to grant use immunity for a witness is crucial to the success of the committee's investigation. I have a legal memorandum written on the origins of the use immunity concept and its key role in any successful investigation. I include in the RECORD the memorandum which I have referred to.

SEPTEMBER 19, 1977.

MEMORANDUM

To: Select Committee Members.
From: G. Robert Blakey, Chief Counsel and Director.
Re: Use Immunity and the Congressional Investigatory Process.

The congressional fact finding process requires many legal tools. It is not enough that a congressional committee charged with a sensitive and difficult investigation has the power to compel the attendance of witnesses and the production of documents. Although witnesses may be forced to attend, they may not be compelled to testify contrary to their privilege against self-incrimination. Immunity is a means to procure a witness' testimony by guaranteeing that that testimony will not be used to incriminate the witness.

The immunity mechanism has deep historical roots, has been widely used by the Congress, and has proven most useful in untangling complicated conduct involving criminal wrong-doing. The Ervin Committee, for example, in investigating presidential campaign activities and the 1972 Watergate breakin conferred immunity on twenty-seven witnesses. The testimony of two of those immunized, Jean Dean and Jeb Stuart Magruder, may have been the single most important factor leading to the breaking of the Watergate case".[1]

The statute under which immunity was granted by the Ervin Committee was enacted in 1970 as part of the Organized Crime Control Act.[2] It was a "use immunity" statute; it replaced a hodgepodge of fifty separate Federal statutes that provided for blanket or "transactional immunity". The 1970 law provides "no testimony or other information compelled under the (court) order (or any information directly or indirectly derived from such testimony or other information) many be used against the witness in any criminal case, except a prosecution for perjury, giving a false statement, or otherwise failing to comply with the order".[3]

This statute presently governs the granting of immunity by Congress and its Committees. It also regulates grand juries and administrative agencies. Its legal roots run deep in English and American law. To understand the scope and limitations on Congress' immunity power under the statute, reference must be made to the history behind the concept of "use immunity" and its place in American criminal law.

I. HISTORY OF THE DUTY TO TESTIFY AND THE PRIVILEGE AGAINST SELF-INCRIMINATION

A. The duty to testify

Use immunity is merely a constitutional equivalent of the Fifth Amendment privileges against self-incrimination. The Fifth Amendment states:

"No person shall be . . . compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself. . . ."[4]

This right against self-incrimination counterbalances the duty of every witness to provide testimony. The right to maintain silence is best seen as an exception to a general duty to speak. The legal duty to speak is basic to and arose with the modern Anglo-American system of justice. Until the Sixteenth Century "witnesses", as we know them today, were not used in English trials.[5] Jurors were supposed to find the facts based on their own self-acquired knowledge. Indeed, the pure witness—the individual unrelated to either party who merely happened to have relevant information—ran the substantial risk of a suit for maintenance if he volunteered to testify.[6] The situation became unworkable as litigation became more complex and juries became less and less able to resolve factual disputes on their own. Finally, in the *Statute of Elizabeth* in 1563,[7] provision was made for compulsory process for witnesses in civil cases. The enactment of this statute alleviated the risk of a suit for maintenance, for "what a man does by compulsion of law cannot be called maintenance".[8]

The *Stat. of Elizabeth*, by allowing a party to compel a witness to attend a hearing, only made it possible to testify freely; it imposed no duty to testify. Nevertheless, the step from right to duty was short, and it was soon taken. By 1612, Sir Francis Bacon in the

Footnotes at end of article.

Countess of Shrewsbury's Trial was able to assert confidently . . .

"You must know that all subjects, without distinction of degrees, owe to the King tribute and service, not only of their deed and land, but of their knowledge and discovery. If there be anything that imports the King's service they ought themselves undemanded to impart it; much more, if they be called and examined, whether it be of their own fact or of another's, they ought to make direct answer." [9]

For more than three centuries it thus has been a maxim of indubitable certainty that the "public has a right to everyman's evidence".[10] "When the cause of justice requires the investigation of the truth," as Wigmore [11] put it, "no man has knowledge that is rightly private."

This principle, steadfastly adhered to over the past three hundred and fifty years, was resoundingly affirmed by the Supreme Court as recently as the "Watergate case". On March 1, 1974, seven presidential staff members were indicted for conspiracy to obstruct justice and other offenses relating to Watergate. On April 18, the District Court on motion of the Special Prosecutor issued a subpoena *duces tecum* to the President of the United States, directing him to produce in advance of the September 8 trial certain specified tapes and documents. Citing Executive privilege, the President refused.

On July 24, the day the House Judiciary Committee began its final, public debate on proposed articles of impeachment, the Supreme Court held unequivocally that not even the President may eschew his duty to provide evidence. As the Court stated, "The very integrity of the judicial system and public confidence in the system depend on a full disclosure of all the facts . . . To ensure that justice is done, it is imperative to the function of courts that compulsory process be available for the production of evidence . . ." [12]

The Court, in rejecting the President's privilege in this case, reaffirmed the ancient proposition of law, "(T)he public . . . has a right to every man's evidence except for those persons protected by a constitutional, common law, or statutory privilege." [13] Executive privilege was found to be too general and ill-defined a concept to offset the testimonial duty in a criminal case.

B. The privilege against self-incrimination

As the Watergate case reflects, the historical duty to testify is not absolute; it may be qualified by certain distinct privileges, the most important being the privilege against self-incrimination. The origins of this privilege, however, are unclear. The history of the privilege begins with the hated practice of the oath *ex officio mero*.[14] This oath was one abuse characteristic of heresy trials in the ecclesiastical courts and then of the infamous Star Chamber, which took its rules of procedure from ecclesiastical law. The emotional reaction which accompanied abolution of the oath ultimately halted the use of such incriminating interrogation in the common law courts.

Until the early Seventeenth Century, however, when the long battle between King and Parliament began, no serious and successful objection had been made to the oath *ex officio*. Under proper circumstances, the canon law upheld it.[15] Nevertheless, through the influence of Lord Coke, a change occurred By 1615, the power of the ecclesiastical court to use the oath *ex officio* in any penal inquiry had been ended by decisions of the common law courts.[16] The Star Chamber and its similar practice were the next to go. As a direct result of public indignation at the *Lilburn Trial*,[17] where the defendant was ordered pilloried and whipped for failure to respond to the oath, Parliament abolished both the oath and the Chamber itself.[18]

Footnotes at end of article.

Before the Star Chamber, Lilburn himself had not claimed a privilege against self-incrimination, but merely that the proper presentment had not been made, a presentment necessary before the oath could be lawfully administered. After the cause had triumphed, however, the distinction was soon lost or ignored. The oath itself had come to be associated with the Stuart tyranny. Details were forgotten.[19] Repeatedly claimed, then assumed for argument, finally by the end of the reign of Charles II, there was no longer any doubt of its general application.[20] No one at any time in any English court could be compelled to accuse himself. It was out of this history and the experience of the colonists with the Royal Governors that the privilege ultimately found its way into our Bill of Rights in the Fifth Amendment.[21]

The modern privilege against self-incrimination applies to both Federal and state proceedings.[22] Any question the answer to which would furnish a link in a chain of evidence [23] which would incriminate the witness need not be answered "unless he chooses to speak in the unfettered exercise of his own will".[24] The privilege applies not only at trial but also in any circumstance of official interrogation.[25] Only testimonial utterances fall within its scope.[26] The privilege is personal; it may not be claimed to protect another.[27] In addition, it protects only natural persons; corporations [28] or unions [29] may not claim its protection. The privilege may be waived by the recitation of incriminating facts; [30] the law requires its waiver when an accused testifies in his own behalf at a criminal trial.[31]

Generally, it must be asserted to be claimed. Otherwise, it is waived. For the privilege is "merely an option of refusal not a prohibition of inquiry".[32]

Like the duty to testify, the privilege against self-incrimination is not an absolute. It is out of the conflict of this privilege with the duty to testify that the concept of immunity developed.

II. HISTORICAL DVELOPMENT OF THE IMMUNITY GRANT: A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE PRIVILEGE AGAINST SELF-INCRIMINATION

In England, it was only a comparatively short time after the privilege against self-incrimination had matured before various techniques to mitigate its impact on the administration of justice developed. The first reliable example occurred in the *Trial of Lord Chancellor Macclesfield* in 1725.[33] The Chancellor had been guilty of traffic in public offices. An act was passed to immunize present Masters in Chancery so that their testimony could be compelled. Once the present "criminality" legally attaching to their actions was effectively "taken away" by the statute, their privilege against self-incrimination "ceased" to exist.[34] What Parliament found it could thus do with its amnesty powers, the King's prosecutors soon learned they could accomplish by the tendering of Royal pardons. The tradition in English law of permitting the privilege to be thus annulled stands even today unquestioned.[35]

The American colonists not only brought with them the privilege against self-incrimination, but they also adopted these various techniques. As early as 1807 in the treason trial of Aaron Burr, President Jefferson attempted to give an executive pardon to one of the witnesses against Burr.[36] The witness refused the pardon, but testified anyway The right of a witness to refuse a pardon, and thus defeat the technique, was not clearly established until 1915, when the Supreme Court upheld the right of a grand jury witness to turn down an executive pardon from President Wilson.[37] In the intervening years, the cloud that existed over the pardon technique because of the Burr trial directed the chief attention of the law toward the legislatively authorized immunity grant.

Congress first adopted a compulsory immunity statute in 1857.[38] Legally, no attack was successfully mounted upon it. Nevertheless, its operation was hardly successful, since it automatically protected against prosecution any matter about which any witness testified before Congress. It constituted Congress' first broadscale experimentation with transactional immunity.

"For five years, rascals and scalawags of various stripes journeyed with celerity to Congress to confess and thus receive an 'immunity bath' that cleansed them, if not of their sins, at least of legal culpability for crimes committed." [39]

As Alan Barth described it:

"The investigating committees became, during the brief period the law was in force, a kind of bargain-basement confessional where easy absolution could be secured." [40]

One individual who had stolen two million dollars in bonds from the Interior Department had himself called before Congress, where he testified to a matter relating to the bonds and was immunized.[41] Obviously, this was an intolerable situation, and the statute was soon repealed. In its place the Immunity Statute of 1862 [42] was enacted. The new statute did not grant immunity from prosecution; it merely purported to protect the witness from having his testimony subsequently used against him. Six years later the statute was broadened to cover judicial proceedings.[43] After being upheld by lower Federal courts,[44] relying on an early New York decision,[45] the statutory scheme finally reached the Supreme Court in *Counselmen* v. *Hitchcock* in 1892.[46]

The Court refused to uphold the relevant elements of the 1862 Act. It noted that the statute to be upheld would have to afford a protection coextensive with the privilege.[47] The statute only barred the use of the statements made, not the use of leads derived from those statements. But the Fifth Amendment offered, the Court felt, protection to the witness against not only his testimony being used against him, but also leads or "fruits" of that testimony being so used, since a witness need not testify at all about matters that might incriminate him, even indirectly. To be constitutional then, an immunity statute had to protect a witness to the same degree that the Fifth Amendment protected him, i.e., it had to bar the use of the compelled testimony as well as the fruits of that testimony. The Court recognized this when it stated the protection under the statute in question was inadequate because, "It could not, and would not, prevent the use of his testimony to search out other testimony to be used in evidence against him. . . ." [48]

Nevertheless, there was language in the opinion that went beyond this narrow holding. The Court indicated at one point, "In view of the constitutional provision, a statutory enactment, to be valid, must afford absolute immunity against prosecution for the offense to which the question relates." [49] *Counselmen* was read from thereon to mean that a statutory grant of immunity to be constitutional must be absolute, or in other words, cover the whole "transaction" underlying the testimony, not just the testimony itself or its fruits.

In response to the *Counselmen* decision, Congress amended various immunity provisions in the Federal Criminal Code, so that they provided "transactional" instead of "use" immunity. In *Brown* v. *Walker*,[50] the validity of this device was presented once again to the Supreme Court. The Court, by a closely divided vote, sustained the constitutionality of transactional immunity. The Court held that once the criminality attaching by law to the actions of the witness was removed by another law the privilege ceased to operate. The dissenters suggested that the privilege was intended to accord to the witness an absolute right of silence designed to protect not only from criminality, but also disgrace or infamy, something no legislative

immunity could eliminate. The majority, relying on English history, rejected this proposition.

Since *Brown* v. *Walker*, the basic principle of the immunity grant has not been successfully challenged. But it is interesting to note that Congress neglected to alter the immunity provision relating to Congress until 1954, when it provided for transactional immunity to witnesses testifying concerning "attempts to interfere with or endanger the national security or defense of the United States by treason, sabotage, espionage, or the overthrow of its government by force or violence".[51] This and other similar grants were subsequently sustained.[52]

The view that transactional immunity was constitutionally mandated remained until the Supreme Court's 1964 decision in *Murphy* v. *Waterfront Commission*.[53] In that case, the Court held immunity conferred by a state prevented the Federal government from using compelled testimony or information derived from it in a later criminal prosecution. The Court thus implied, contrary to *Counselmen*, that the constitutional privilege against self-incrimination was adequately preserved if the witness was protected against direct or derivative use of his compelled testimony. The Court suggested that the Fifth Amendment privilege would be sufficiently preserved by using the doctrine of suppression of the fruit of the poisonous tree, an analogy borrowed from the test for suppressing illegally obtained evidence in Fourth Amendment cases.[54]

The Court's view in *Murphy* was embodied in the current immunity statute,[55] which the Brown Commission,[56] after an exhaustive and thorough survey of the relevant case law and an analysis of the policy arguments, included in its proposed Organized Crime Control Act. The Act passed by an overwhelming majority of both Houses in 1970.[57] Subsequent to passage in the Congress, similar statutes were passed in Louisiana, Ohio and Arizona.

Even before Federal enactment, states had been experimenting with similar use immunity statutes. Such statutes were sustained by the Supreme Court at the same time as the Federal law was upheld.[58] Such statutes have recently won the recommendation of the National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals.[59]

In *Kastigar* v. *U.S.*,[60] the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of this use immunity statute. The Court offered a two-fold rationale. First, it concluded that "use immunity" was coextensive with the Fifth Amendment since it placed a witness in precisely the same position he would have been in under the Fifth Amendment, i.e., his testimony, even though compelled, could not be used in any way to incriminate him. Thus the Court reasoned:

(P)rotection coextensive with the privilege is the degree of protection which the Constitution requires. Transactional immunity which affords full immunity from prosecution for the offense to which the compelled testimony relates, affords the witness considerably broader protection than does the Fifth Amendment privilege. The privilege has never been construed to mean that one who invokes it cannot subsequently be prosecuted. Its sole concern is to afford protection against being 'forced to give testimony leading to the infliction of "penalties affixed to . . . criminal acts".' Immunity from the use of compelled testimony and evidence derived directly and indirectly therefrom affords this protection. It prohibits the prosecutorial authorities from using the compelled testimony in any respect, and it therefore insures that the testimony cannot lead to the infliction of criminal penalties on the witness.[61]

Second, the Court determined that "use immunity" provided a resolution of the conflict between the duty to testify and the privilege against self-incrimination that was more consonant with the realities of law enforcement than was transactional immunity. The Court stated:

"Immunity statutes, which have historical roots deep in Anglo-American jurisprudence, are not incompatible (with the values of the self-incrimination clause). Rather they seek a rational accommodation between the imperatives of the privilege and the legitimate demands of government to compel citizens to testify. The existence of these statutes reflects the importance of testimony, and the fact that many offenses are of such a character that the only persons capable of giving useful testimony are those implicated in the crime." [62]

In short, the Court found that use immunity was not only equivalent to the Fifth Amendment privilege but was also better suited to the aims of the criminal justice system.

When the Brown Commission and the *Kastigar* Court opted for use immunity as a solution to the conflict between the duty to testify and the privilege against self-incrimination, those bodies were not importing a foreign jurisprudential concept. The notion that testimony or statements may be extracted for one purpose to satisfy an overriding principle but may not be used to prosecute the witness is firmly embedded in the American criminal law.

For instance, in the case of a suppression hearing concerning illegally obtained evidence the Court has made clear that any testimony provided by the defendant cannot be used at the subsequent trial. The analogy with the normal immunity situation is apposite. As the Court noted in *Simmons* v. *U.S.*,[63] a defendant wishing to establish standing must do so at the risk that the words which he utters may later be used to incriminate him. In this situation, the Court, in order to provide the defendant with an opportunity to testify concerning possibly illegally obtained evidence, grants "use" immunity for any such evidence elicited.[64]

Similarly, Congress and the courts have prevented the use of testimony garnered at incompetency hearings from being used at trial against the defendant.[65] And the Federal Rules have forbidden the use of the withdrawn guilty plea by the prosecution at trial.[66] Again, in these instances, resort was made to a use immunity mechanism to obtain testimony necessary to fulfill a particular policy interest where that testimony might otherwise not have been given because of its incriminating nature.

III. POLICY ADVANTAGES OF USE OVER TRANSACTIONAL IMMUNITY

An effective investigation requires the power to grant immunity. Under the present federal statute, Congress has access to use immunity. Aside from its constitutional rationale, there are several policy advantages of use over transactional immunity. Use immunity more effectively respects inter and intra-government relations. Use immunity does not interfere with administrative regulation by preventing the imposition of civil penalties and forfeitures. Under some circumstances, it promotes the defendant's Sixth Amendment rights to compulsory process of witnesses. And most importantly, it more effectively than its counterpart promotes witness cooperation.

A. Use immunity preserves comity between state and federal jurisdictions

The present immunity statute reconciles federal and state power. The power of state governments to grant immunity only reaches the testimony compelled or its fruits, even if the statute under which it is granted is a transactional immunity statute. *Murphy* v. *Waterfront Commission*,[67] held that the constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under federal as well as state law and a federal witness against incrimination under state as well as federal law. At that time a great majority of state statutes in states which had immunity legislation were "transactional" in nature. The Court held that the constitutional rule required that a state witness may not be compelled to give testimony which may be incriminating under federal law unless the compelled testimony and its fruits could not be used in any manner by federal officials in connection with a criminal prosecution against him. In essence then, the Court found that "use" immunity was constitutionally sufficient to accommodate the interests of state and federal governments in investigating and prosecuting crime. It allowed the states to carry out their law enforcement responsibilities without unduly entrenching on ongoing federal investigations. As Justice Goldberg concluded:

"This exclusionary rule, while permitting the states to secure information necessary for effective law enforcement, leaves the witness and the Federal Government in substantially the same position as if the witness had claimed his privilege in the absence of immunity." [68]

The implication of *Murphy*, of course, is that federal prosecuting agencies should be barred from granting transactional immunity, which would interfere with state prosecutions. One would assume such a result on grounds of comity if nothing else. Nevertheless, an earlier Supreme Court opinion leaves this in doubt. In *Adams* v. *State of Maryland*,[69] the Court allowed a congressional grant of immunity under a federal transactional statute to abort a state prosecution. Under the *Adams* opinion, it is possible for a federal agency, either legislative or executive, to interfere with independent state prosecutions by providing a blanket immunity order to a federal witness. Under the present federal use immunity statute, such a result is not possible since only the federal witness' testimony and its fruits are barred from use in state courts.

B. Use immunity does not interfere with executive and congressional investigative responsibilities

Unlike transactional immunity, which prohibits the government from prosecuting a witness for the entire transaction about which he testifies, use immunity bars only the direct and indirect use of the testimony against that witness. As a result, use immunity does *not* interfere with the executive branch's ability to prosecute the witness so long as the prosecutor can demonstrate that any testimony used against the witness was obtained independently of the immunized testimony.[70] The prosecutor can, of course, meet this burden by sealing all evidence in his possession and delivering that evidence to the court prior to the time that the immunized testimony is to be given. In fact, this procedure was successfully followed by the Special Prosecutor's Office in advance of John Dean's immunized testimony before the Ervin Committee. Based on the sealed evidence, Dean decided to plead guilty.

Similarly, under the current immunity statute, the executive branch cannot interfere with the activities of its legislative counterpart in granting immunity.[71] Thus, if 10 days notice is given the Attorney General and the appropriate committee of Congress approves the immunity application by a two-thirds vote, the court must grant the legislative request to bestow the witness with immunity regardless of any policy arguments to the contrary made by the executive branch.[72]

Such a proscription could not be maintained under a transactional immunity statute. Transactional immunity operates like a pardon. It prohibits the future prosecution of the individual. Traditionally, the pardon power has been exercised only by the Executive. The executive branch is responsible for

Footnotes at end of article.

investigating and prosecuting wrongdoers. Such a broad-based power to abort prosecution of wrongdoers should only be exercised by the highest official responsible for carrying out the prosecutive responsibility. On a more pragmatic level, only the executive is in a position to know the full implication of a pardon on ongoing or potential prosecutions.

Hypothetically, under a transactional immunity statute, Congress could exercise a power to pardon by granting immunity and effectively aborting criminal prosecutions. To prevent such a transfer of constitutional power and interference with duties of the Executive, the Executive would have to be granted a veto over Congress' deployment of transactional immunity.

The dangers of such a limitation, however, are readily apparent. It is only necessary to recall the Senate Watergate investigation. A presidential veto on the Ervin Committee's use of immunity for John Dean and other witnesses would have prevented the true story of Watergate from coming out. The converse is also true. The possibility exists under transactional immunity for congressional committees acting on corrupt motives to prevent executive prosecutions.

Use immunity, of course, obviates the need for an executive veto. By allowing the Congress to wield immunity power without executive interference, it respects the division of authority and separation of powers between the various branches. With use immunity, congressional investigating committees are free to make important immunity decisions without being dominated by a fear of aborting an independent executive investigation. In addition, by restricting the immunity only to the testimony and fruits compelled, both branches are prevented from employing immunity for corrupt purposes.

C. Use immunity does not interfere with administrative regulation by foreclosing the imposition of civil penalties and forfeitures

Transactional immunity has traditionally been interpreted to prohibit not only criminal proceedings, but also the exaction of civil penalties and forfeitures. For example, in one case, authorities were unable to suspend the license of an inattentive co-pilot after transactional immunity had been granted for testimony relating to an airplane crash.[73] Use immunity does not carry with it such a prohibition. The courts are unwilling to include within the scope of its protection a bar against use of immunized testimony in proceedings to impose civil penalties.[74]

D. Use immunity promotes defendant's Sixth Amendment right to compulsory process for obtaining witnesses

Ironically, there are some circumstances in which not even the defendant's interest is served by transactional immunity. A defendant has a Sixth Amendment right to use compulsory process to produce witnesses in his favor. It has been held under both use and transactional immunity statutes, however, that a defendant has no constitutional right to confer immunity upon a defense witness who exercises his privilege not to give testimony that is self-incriminating.[75] Immunity can only be conferred by those agencies granted that power by statute. A prosecutor or a court would be extremely reluctant to confer immunity on a witness in such a situation if the grant amounted to pardon for all crimes testified to by the witness. Therefore the defendant's interest in compelling a witness' testimony is better served in this case by use immunity. A prosecutor will be less inclined to oppose immunity for the defendant's witnesses if the effect is merely to prevent prosecution based on the testimony or leads derived from that testimony.

E. Use immunity promotes witness cooperation

Immunity is granted solely for the purpose of obtaining testimony. By this criteria, use is preferable to transactional immunity because only use immunity has a built-in incentive for the witness to testify with as much detail as possible.

Since transactional immunity prohibits prosecution for any criminal activities mentioned in the witness' testimony, the witness has no incentive to testify to anything beyond his general involvement in the crimes for which he seeks immunity. The reluctant witness may provide the government with some evidence, but not enough to sustain a conviction. Although the witness would still be subject to the contempt sanction, this remedy is effective only if the government can establish that the witness is still withholding information.[76]

Use immunity, on the other hand, carries an inherent incentive for an immunized witness to furnish the details of his criminal activity. Since use immunity imposes a burden on the prosecution to demonstrate that all of the evidence it introduces against an immunized witness was obtained independently of the immunized testimony, the witness vastly increases the prosecutor's burden by including more and more information in his testimony. In short, a witness' protection under use immunity is only as good as his testimony is detailed. Thus, John Dean, having been granted use immunity by the Senate Watergate Committee, sought to erect a shield against subsequent prosecution by furnishing the Committee with one of the most richly detailed accounts even given a congressional investigative committee.[77]

CONCLUSION

Use immunity gives the Congress an effective investigative tool. It has deep historical roots in Anglo American jurisprudence and in our system of criminal justice. The Congress can be confident that use immunity under the statute, more effectively than any other form of immunity, accomplishes the purpose of the immunity grant—obtaining testimony. It does so not only by fulfilling its constitutional responsibility to be coextensive with the Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination, but also by respecting the separation of power between the Executive and Congress, and the relation between the states and the federal government.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See Hamilton, *The Power to Probe*, Vintage Press, 1977, pp, 22–23.
[2] 18 U.S.C. §§ 6001–6005.
[3] *Id.* at § 6002.
[4] V Amendment, U. S. Constitution.
[5] See generally 7 Wigmore, *Evidence*, § 2190 (3d. ed. 1940); Morgan, *The Privilege Against Self-incrimination*, 34 Minn. L. Rev. 1–45 (1949).
[6] See, e.g., (1450) Y.B. 28 Hen. 6, 6, 1.
[7] St., 1563, 5 Eliz. 1, c. 9, § 12.
[8] Littleton arguing in (1450) Y.B. 28 Hen. 6, 6, 1.
[9] (1612) 2 How. St. Tr. 769, 778.
[10] Cf. *Piedmonte v. United States*, 367 U.S. 556, 558 n.2 (1961).
[11] 8 Wigmore, *Evidence*, § 2190, at 66 (3d ed. 1940).
[12] *U.S.* v. *Nixon*, 418 N.S. 683 (1974) at 691.
[13] *Id.* at 691.
[14] The oath *ex officio mero* was a procedure in which a clergyman was compelled to state under oath whether he committed the crime with which he was charged. 3 *Blackstone's Commentaries*, 99–100, (Wendell ed. 1857).
[15] See Wigmore, supra. at § 2250.
[16] See *Id.* § 2250, at 289 nn. 56 and 57, and cases cited therein.
[17] (1637) 3 How. St. Tr. 1315.
[18] St., 16 Car. 1, cc. 10, 11.
[19] Benthem, *Rationale of Judicial Evidence* (1827). 7 *The Works of Jeremy Bentham* 456, 462 (Bowring ed. 1843), quoted in 8 Wigmore, *Evidence*, § 2250, at 292 (McNaughton rev ed. 1961).
[20] See cases cited 7 Wigmore, *Evidence* § 2250, at 298–99 n. 105 (3d ed. 1940).
[21] See generally Pittman, *The Colonial and Constitutional History of the Privilege Against Self-Incrimination in America*, 22 Va. L. Rev 763 (1935).
[22] *Malloy* v *Hogan*, 378 U.S. 1 (1964).
[23] *Hoffman* v *United States*, 378 U.S. 1, 8 (1964)
[24] *Malloy* v *Hogan*, 378 U.S. 1, 8 (1964).
[25] Cf. *Miranda* v. *Arizona*, 384 U.S. 436 (1966).
[26] *Schmerber* v. *California*, 384 U.S. 757 (1966).
[27] *Rogers* v. *United States*, 340 U.S. 367, 371 (1951).
[28] *Wilson* v. *United States*, 221 U.S. 361 (1911).
[29] *United States* v. *White*, 322 U.S. 694 (1944).
[30] *Rogers* v. *United States*, 340 U.S. 367, 373 (1951).
[31] *Spies* v *Illinois*, 123 U.S. 131, 180 (1887).
[32] 7 Wigmore, *Evidence*, § 2268, at 388 (3d ed. 1940).
[33] (1725) 16 How St. Tr. 767, 921, 1147.
[34] Cf *Hale* v *Henkel*, 201 U.S. 43, 67 (1906).
[35] 8 Wigmore, *Evidence*, § 2281, at 469 (3d ed. 1940).
[36] See generally Wendell, *Compulsory Immunity Legislation and the Fifth Amendment Privilege New Development and New Confusion*, 10 St. Louis U.L.J. 327, 330–31 (1966).
[37] *Burdick* v. *United States*, 236 U.S. 79 (1915). Cf. *United States* v. *Wilson*, 32 U.S. (7 Pet.) 150, 160–61 (1833).
[38] Act of Jan. 24, 1857, ch. 19, 11 Stat. 155.
[39] Hamilton, supra. at 80.
[40] Barth, *Government by Investigation*, p. 131.
[41] See generally Wendel, *supra.* note 138, at 333–35.
[42] Act of Jan. 24, 1862, ch. 11, 12 Stat. 333. The statute is now found in 18 U.S.C. § 3486 (1964), as amended, 18 U.S.C. § 3486(c) (Supp. I, 1965).
[43] Act of Feb. 25, 1868, ch. 13, 15 Stat. 37.
[44] *United States* v. *Williams*, 28 Fed. Cas. 670 (C.C.S.D. Ohio 1872); *United States* v. *Brown*, 24 Fed. Cas. 1273 (D.C.C. Ore. 1871); *United States* v. *Farrington*, 5 Fed. Cas. 343 S.C.N.D.N.Y. 1881); *In re Phillips;* 19 Fed. Cas. 506 (D.C.D. Va. 1869).
[45] *People* v. *Kelly*, 24 N.Y. 74 (1861).
[46] 142 U.S. 547 (1892).
[47] *Id.* at 565–84.
[48] *Id.* at 564.
[49] *Id.* at 585–86.
[50] 161 U.S. 591 (1896).
[51] 18 U.S.C. § 3486, 68 Stat. 745 (1954).
[52] See *Ullman* v. *United States*, 350 U.S. 422 (1956) upholding 18 U.S.C. § 3486, and *Reina* v. *United States*, 364 U.S. 507 (1960) upholding 18 U.S.C. § 1406 which granted transactional immunity in narcotic and Internal Revenue cases.
[53] 378 U.S. 52 (1964).
[54] See e.g., *Wong-Sun* v. *United States*, 371 U.S. 471 (1963).
[55] 18 U.S.C. §§ 6001–6005.
[56] National Commission in Reform of Federal Criminal Laws, 1970. Members included former Gov. Edmund (Pat) Brown, Chairman, Rep. Richard Poff, Vice-Chairman, Senators Sam Ervin, Roman Hruska, John McClellan, Representatives Robert Kastenmeier, Abner Mikva and Don Edwards.

Use immunity also brings with it the recommendations of scholars. In analyzing the constitutional demands of the privilege against self-incrimination, Wigmore in his treatise noted that the initial judicial analysis before *Counselmen* was sound concerning

the constitutional meaning of use immunity statutes

The constitutional efficacy of 'use' statutes was well expounded in early opinions, written at a period nearer to the era of constitution-making when the cobwebs of artificial fantasy had not begun to obscure its plain meanings " Wigmore, *Evidence* 3rd Ed p 523

These sentiments were echoed in McCormack in analyzing the rejection by Counselmen of the analysis of use immunity by Judge Denió in *People* v *Kelly* As the legal scholar put it

"Surely 'Counselmen' was a wrong turning at a critical point Perhaps few decisions in history have resulted in freeing more rascals from punishment Surely protection 'from use plus fruits' is all that 'should' reasonably be demanded and the insistence upon complete immunities for punishment is an unjust and unnecessary obstruction to law enforcement" McCormack *Evidence*, 1954 p 285 86

[5] Organized Crime Control Act of 1970 84 Stat 922 18 U S C §§ 6002 3

[6] *Zicarelli* v *New Jersey State Crime Commission* 406 U S 472 (1972)

[7] Report of Task Force on Organized Crime Washington, 1976 p 154 55

To date, only the ABA House of Delegates has voiced disapproval over the enactment of use as opposed to transactional immunity statutes The ABA criticism has revolved around charges that use immunity inhibits witness cooperation and encourages inaccurate testimony because of the uncertainty about the scope of protection Further the ABA points to the "small number of successful prosecutions" of immunized witnesses under use immunity statutes and that a return therefore to transactional immunity would not remove a significant weapon against organized crime

The ABA is also troubled by the fact that as they put it, "'Use' immunity represents the most grudging interpretation of the constitutional right against self-incrimination" Perhaps the most fitting answer to such a view is Justice Holmes' opinion in *Heike* v *U S* (227 U S 131, 144 (1913)) He called for strict construction of immunity statutes Giving immunity where it is not necessary the Justice stated, would be giving an unnecessary gratuity to crime, a step no sane society ought ever to take

[8] 406 U S 441 (1972)

[9] *Id* at 453

[10] *Id* at 459

[11] 390 U.S 377 (1968).

[12] *Id*. at 389

[13] *United States* v *Alvarez*, 519 F.2d 1036 (1975) and 18 U.S.C § 4244

[14] F.R Cr P 11(e)(6)

[15] *Supra*

[16] *Murphy*, *supra* at 56.

[17] 347 U.S. 179 (1953).

[18] *Kastigar*, *supra*

[19] 18 U.S.C § 6005.

[20] *Application of U.S Senate Select Comm on Pres Camp Activities*, 361 F Supp 1270 (DDC 1973) (Sirica, Jr)

[21] See *Lee* v *CAB* 225 F 2d 950 D C Cir (1955) and hearings before Subcommittee on Criminal Law and Procedure of United States Senate Judiciary Committee 91st Congress 1st Session Hearings on S 30 and others March 18, 19, 25, 26, and June 3, 4, 1969 Testimony of Robert G Dixon Jr p 298 99

U S v *Capetto* 502 F 2d 1361 (1974) *Cert den* 420 U S 925 (1975)

[22] *U S* v *Allstate* 507 F 2d 492 (7th Cir 1974)

[23] See *U S* v *Buffalino* 285 F 2d 408 418 n 27 (2d Cir 1960) (witness to "organized crime convention" able to circumvent transactional immunity by answering evasively)

[24] While the ABA has been critical of the effect of use immunity as an incentive to provide testimony its criticism is misplaced Use immunity has proven itself to be a potent weapon against organized crime precisely because of this crucial distinction from transactional immunity Use immunity does not prohibit prosecutions It prohibits the use of compelled testimony and its fruits As such, use unlike transactional immunity, leaves some uncertainty as to the subsequent vulnerability of the witness to criminal prosecution Whatever uncertainty is generated about whether a witness can be prosecuted will induce increased cooperation of that witness The witness must assure that as much testimony as possible is recorded under immunity or risk prosecution based on evidence or leads not referred to or implied by the testimony The ABA comment that use immunity inhibits witness cooperation is not only inherently illogical, but ignores the Ervin Committee's experience with the federal use immunity statute.

Mr. BAUMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr STOKES. I yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr BAUMAN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Maryland agrees that this select committee already has power to grant witness immunity, regardless of any past action of the House. The gentleman from Ohio (Mr STOKES) agrees. In the face of that, however, he seeks to have this resolution passed so as to make sure of that right.

Mr. Speaker, I think the gentleman is correct. I do not think we need this resolution to grant these immunity powers.

Mr. Speaker, what concerns the gentleman from Maryland is that when the gentleman from Ohio first appeared before the Committee on Rules in March, he said:

* * * there may be instances where it may be preferable for the Committee itself to exercise its right to secure evidence from the Executive Branch of Government, rather than having to rely upon the Justice Department to pursue statutory contempt * * *

This resolution is written rather broadly. May I ask the gentleman this question: Have there been any instances in which a witness has refused to testify when the committee has offered to grant immunity; and second, is the gentleman seeking to use these powers to bring citations of contempt, either civil or criminal?

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, in order to answer the gentleman, may I say first that yes, we have had witnesses who have appeared before the committee and who have refused to testify, asserting their constitutional privilege.

Because of the cloud over this committee and its authority to be able to grant immunity, we have not made any application to any court or come to the floor for authority to grant immunity to a witness This is precisely why we are before this body today asking for this narrowly prescribed authority

Fortunately, we have had no difficulty with the executive branch of the Government We have had excellent cooperation from all of the agencies from whom we have sought any type of testimony or evidence of any type

So that we might properly deal with those persons who are involved in organized crime or those persons who might be soldiers of fortune who want to avail themselves of the constitutional privilege of not incriminating themselves, we need this authority. If we are going to be able to conduct the type of investigation that has to be conducted here where there are allegations of conspiracy, this is a tool that is absolutely needed. All we are asking for is for this body not to require us to come here conceivably to get 100 or 150 immunity applications from this body.

Mr. THONE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STOKES. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. THONE. Mr. Speaker, I certainly support the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. STOKES) in his advocacy of this resolution and the necessity for it. I do have one inquiry to make. I think the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. BAUMAN) makes a good point regarding the fact that the subcommittee is also authorized to exercise this somewhat extraordinary authority. Does the gentleman from Ohio (Mr STOKES) feel strongly on that point?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the additional time.

In answer to the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr THONE), I say that we do feel strongly on that point. But, Mr. Speaker, first let me describe the procedure that is necessary here without this resolution. In order to proceed to the Federal court and request an application of immunity, the full committee would have to vote such procedure by a two-thirds vote of the full committee. The House would then have to give us permission to go to court. If we were to then go to the Federal court and receive the order immunizing the witness and the witness then refused, despite that court order, to testify before our committee, it would then be necessary for us to come back to the floor of the House to get permission to bring the matter to the attention of the court. To go back to the court and say to the court that this witness refused to comply with the court's order, we would have to come back to the floor of the House for authority to go back to tell the court that the witness refused to comply with its order.

Under this resolution, we could avoid these unnecessary trips to the House floor. But this, of course, is a procedure in civil contempt. In no way can we proceed with criminal contempt without coming back to the floor of the House for full certification under the applicable U.S statutes

Mr THONE Will the gentleman from Ohio (Mr STOKES) yield again briefly?

Mr STOKES Certainly I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr THONE Mr. Speaker, as I understand it, just to clarify again the statement made by the gentleman from Maryland (Mr BAUMAN) the only use of immunity contemplated here is strictly in the area of "use" immunity, is that correct?

Mr STOKES That is correct.

(Mr THONE asked and was given per-

mission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. THONE. Mr. Speaker, Congress investigative process requires many legal tools, chief among them, after the subpena, is the power to grant immunity. It is not enough that a congressional committee charged with a sensitive and difficult investigation has the power to compel the attendance of witnesses and the production of documents. Witnesses may be forced to attend by a subpena; they may not be forced to testify in derogation of their right against self-incrimination. Immunity, therefore, is a legal means to get a witness' testimony by guaranteeing that the testimony will not be used to incriminate the witness.

In recent years, the immunity mechanism has been widely used by the Congress, and has proven most useful in untangling complicated conduct involving criminal wrongdoing. The Ervin Committee, for example, in investigating Presidential campaign activities and the 1972 Watergate breakin, conferred immunity on some 27 witnesses. The testimony of one of those immunized, John Dean, may have been the single most important factor leading to the breaking of the Watergate case.

The primary reason for the introduction of House Resolution 760 is to insure that the Select Committee on Assassinations, like the Ervin Committee, will not be hampered in obtaining the necessary immunity orders to fulfill its investigatory responsibility.

The type of immunity that the select committee will be seeking under the statute is "use immunity", the same type which enabled the Ervin Committee to effectively compel the testimony of many of its important witnesses without jeopardizing prosecution of these witnesses by the Watergate Special Prosecutor. As I just mentioned, the Members are probably most familiar with the case of John Dean. His story, perhaps more than any other, best illuminates the effective application of use immunity by a congressional committee.

"Use" immunity prevents the use of an immunized witness' testimony in a subsequent criminal trial by any jurisdiction, State or Federal. It also prevents any use being made of leads, inferences, or implications arising out of the testimony. It does not, however, prevent the subsequent prosecution of a witness on matters touched upon in the testimony provided the prosecutors are able to meet the substantial burden of demonstrating that any evidence used in the prosecution was obtained independently of the testimony. Such proof may, of course, as in John Dean's case, be had by the sealing by the prosecution of all testimony in advance of any immunized testimony by a witness. Based on such sealed evidence, Dean decided to plead guilty and was convicted of a crime after his Watergate testimony.

Use immunity should not be confused with "transactional immunity". "Transactional" immunity involves granting a witness complete protection against future criminal prosecutions on all matters touched upon in the immunized testimony. In effect, the witness is allowed to take an immunity "bath" that then cleanses him of all crimes relevant to the testimony. No prosecutions are possible against that witness for those crimes indicated in the testimony, regardless of whether the evidence implicating the witness was obtained independently or even previous to the immunized testimony.

Mr. Speaker, use immunity has not only been found to be constitutionally sufficient, but has proven to be a precise tool for congressional investigations. When all is said and done, the interest in granting immunity is in obtaining testimony. Transactional immunity prohibits prosecution of matters related to a witness' testimony. There is no incentive, therefore, for an individual to testify beyond acknowledging in the testimony the matter sought to be immunized.

In contrast, it is only necessary to remember the testimony given in great and lengthy detail by John Dean before the Ervin Committee. Many attributed it to Mr. Dean's remarkable powers of recollection. I suggest that something else was involved. Like any witness immunized under the present Federal use immunity statute, Dean had a great incentive to develop his powers of recall. A witness is protected under use immunity for all his testimony and its implications given under the immunity grant. But the protection is only as good as the testimony is detailed.

In short, use immunity gives the Congress a device for prompting testimony without preventing future prosecutions by the Government for criminal activities related to the witness' testimony, but for which evidence is independently obtained. It is essential to the work of the select committee.

The current use immunity statute will allow the select committee to conduct its investigation without interfering unduly upon the prosecutive responsibilities of State or Federal officials. The select committee will be able to fulfill its mandate to conduct a full and complete investigation into the assassinations of John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. We need now to clarify our power to use immunity by the passage of this resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. STOKES) has again expired.

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, for purposes of debate only, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. BAUMAN).

Mr. BAUMAN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Ohio has not assured me at all by his statement with reference to my concerns. In fact, I think the gentleman has only magnified them, by saying that this resolution is for the purpose of allowing contempt procedures against witnesses without further action by the House. I do not understand that such power rests with any other committees of the House. If the Congress is to hold in contempt any witness, clearly the House should decide the issue, whether in civil or criminal contempt. The full House should pass on it. I cannot think of any instances where this power has been granted with the possible exception of in the Korean investigation. This committee does not warrant this kind of a broad grant of power.

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield, for purposes of debate only, 1 minute to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. MCKINNEY).

Mr. MCKINNEY. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I would just like to say that I admire the chairman. I am not a lawyer on this committee, so some of the Members can get very much over my head. But we have sat on Saturday and Sunday for hours coming up with what we think is the fairest and the most constricted power. It has been given to the Korean Committee, and it would seem to me that the investigation of the murder of one of the Nation's greatest black leaders and the investigation of the murder of a President of the United States would require that we give to this committee, to its chairman, and to the head of counsel, our new counsel, the ability to proceed. We have a limited period of time, and we have limited money. To go back to the House every single time, particularly when we are only talking about civil contempt, would be to me a ludicrous construction of the committee's purpose and the committee's job, which is being done however quietly.

Mr. DODD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. DODD. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I would like to commend the chairman and the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. MCKINNEY) for his stand. The point is well taken. We have seen this resolution necessarily delayed for a 2-week period, having come up four different times before we could do what we are doing here this afternoon.

I think if everyone would recognize that if we try to come back to this Congress for permission to proceed in a civil contempt case, we might be here all year on these cases, given the calendar and the pressure we are under.

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, for purposes of debate only, I yield 1 additional minute to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. STOKES).

Mr. STOKES. I would just like to say to the House that the gentleman from Connecticut has accurately described the situation we have been in the 2-week period since we left the Committee on Rules. We have now been trying for 2 weeks just to be able to get this resolution on the floor of the House. We have identified somewhere in the neighborhood of 100 to 150 witnesses in the Kennedy case alone, for whom we may want to seek immunity applications. If we are seriously to be about this investigation, the Members can understand the problem we would have with the House Calendar and trying to get onto the floor 100 or 150 times pursuant to immunity applications for those witnesses. It would be impossible. No one in this body wants to obstruct this investigation. But I think it would be seriously obstructing the purposes for which we were originally constituted if we were required to come back

to this body, case after case, 100 or 150 times or more, to get permission to make immunity applications to a court or to seek citations for civil contempt.

Mrs. COLLINS of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I stand in support of House Resolution 760, a resolution which authorizes the House Assassination Committee to enter courts and intervene in court proceedings in order to discharge their legislative duties in a complete fashion.

As my colleagues will recall this Assassinations Committee originally had the power to "bring, defend, and intervene" in lawsuits, but this authority was curtailed during House consideration of the status of the committee on March 30, 1977.

It is fitting and proper that this committee and its subcommittees have the power to engage in lawsuits that might be necessary as a result of its use of subpenas, grants of immunity, contempt power, or efforts to see that evidence is produced. Having access to the courts and the judicial process is a fundamental and necessary tool of any congressional investigative body. Without the authorization to seek legal means to carry out an investigation, the possibility of this committee discharging its obligation to investigate the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King is surely curtailed.

In summary, let me remind my colleagues that this committee is a responsible body, chaired ably by Congressman STOKES of Ohio. It appears to me, we ought to give this reasonable request for access to the courts our unequivocal approval.

I urge my colleagues to join me in support of House Resolution 760.

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 290, nays 112, not voting 32, as follows:

[Roll No. 602]

YEAS—290

Addabbo	Baldus	Brademas
Akaka	Barnard	Breaux
Alexander	Baucus	Breckinridge
Allen	Beard, R.I.	Brinkley
Ambro	Beard, Tenn.	Brodhead
Ammerman	Bedell	Brooks
Anderson, Calif.	Bellenson	Broomfield
	Benjamin	Brown, Mich.
Anderson, Ill.	Bennett	Buchanan
Andrews, N.C.	Bevill	Burke, Calif.
Andrews, N. Dak.	Biaggi	Burke, Fla.
	Bingham	Burke, Mass.
Annunzio	Blanchard	Burlison, Mo.
Applegate	Blouin	Burton, John
Ashley	Boggs	Burton, Phillip
Aspin	Boland	Caputo
AuCoin	Bonior	Carney
Badillo	Bonker	Carr
Carter	Holtzman	Ottinger
Cavanaugh	Hubbard	Panetta
Cederberg	Hughes	Pattison
Chappell	Ichord	Pease
Chisholm	Ireland	Perkins
Clay	Jacobs	Pettis
Cohen	Jeffords	Pike
Coleman	Jenkins	Preyer
Collins, Ill.	Jenrette	Price
Conte	Johnson, Colo.	Pritchard
Conyers	Jones, N.C.	Quie
Corcoran	Jones, Tenn.	Railsback
Corman	Jordan	Regula
Cornell	Kastenmeier	Reuss
D'Amours	Kazen	Richmond
Danielson	Ketchum	Rinaldo
Davis	Keys	Risenhoover
Delaney	Kildee	Rodino
Dellums	Koch	Rogers
Derrick	Kostmayer	Roncalio
Devine	Krebs	Rose
Dickinson	Krueger	Rosenthal
Dicks	LaFalce	Roybal
Diggs	Leach	Ryan
Dodd	Lederer	Santini
Downey	Leggett	Sarasin
Drinan	Levitas	Sawyer
Duncan, Oreg.	Lloyd, Calif.	Scheuer
Duncan, Tenn.	Long, La.	Schroeder
Early	Long, Md.	Schulze
Edgar	Luken	Selberling
Edwards, Ala.	Lundine	Sharp
Edwards, Calif.	McCloskey	Shipley
Eilberg	McDade	Sikes
Emery	McFall	Sisk
English	McHugh	Skubitz
Ertel	McKay	Slack
Evans, Colo.	McKinney	Smith, Nebr.
Evans, Del.	Maguire	Snyder
Evans, Ind.	Mahon	Solarz
Fary	Mann	Spellman
Fascell	Markey	St Germain
Fenwick	Marks	Staggers
Fish	Mathis	Stanton
Fisher	Mattox	Steers
Fithian	Mazzoli	Stokes
Flippo	Meeds	Studds
Flood	Metcalfe	Thompson
Flowers	Meyner	Thone
Flynt	Mikulski	Traxler
Foley	Mikva	Tsongas
Ford, Mich.	Miller, Calif.	Tucker
Ford, Tenn.	Mineta	Udall
Fountain	Minish	Ullman
Fowler	Mitchell, Md.	Van Deerlin
Fraser	Mitchell, N.Y.	Vander Jagt
Frenzel	Moakley	Vanik
Fuqua	Moffett	Vento
Gammage	Mollohan	Walgren
Gephardt	Montgomery	Walsh
Giaimo	Moorhead, Calif.	Wampler
Gibbons		Waxman
Gilman	Moorhead, Pa.	Weaver
Ginn	Moss	Weiss
Gore	Mottl	White
Gudger	Murphy, Ill.	Whitley
Hamilton	Murphy, N.Y.	Whitten
Hanley	Murphy, Pa.	Wiggins
Hannaford	Murtha	Wilson, C. H.
Harkin	Myers, Gary	Wilson, Tex.
Harrington	Myers, Michael	Winn
Harris	Natcher	Wirth
Harsha	Neal	Wolff
Hawkins	Nichols	Wright
Heckler	Nix	Wylie
Hefner	Nolan	Yates
Heftel	Nowak	Yatron
Hightower	Oakar	Young, Mo.
Hillis	Oberstar	Zablocki
Holland	Obey	

NAYS—112

Archer	Derwinski	Huckaby
Armstrong	Dingell	Hyde
Ashbrook	Dornan	Jones, Okla.
Badham	Edwards, Okla.	Kasten
Bafalis	Evans, Ga.	Kelly
Bauman	Findley	Kemp
Brown, Ohio	Forsythe	Kindness
Broyhill	Frey	Lagomarsino
Burgener	Gaydos	Latta
Burleson, Tex.	Glickman	Lent
Butler	Goldwater	Livingston
Byron	Gonzalez	Lloyd, Tenn.
Clausen, Don H.	Goodling	Lott
	Gradison	Lujan
Cleveland	Grassley	McCormack
Cochran	Guyer	McDonald
Collins, Tex.	Hagedorn	McEwen
Conable	Hall	Madigan
Coughlin	Hammer-schmidt	Marlenee
Crane		Marriott
Daniel, Dan	Hansen	Martin
Daniel, R. W.	Hollenbeck	Michel
de la Garza	Holt	Milford
Miller, Ohio	Rudd	Stump
Moore	Runnels	Symms
Myers, John	Ruppe	Taylor
Nedzi	Russo	Thornton
O'Brien	Satterfield	Treen
Patten	Sebelius	Trible
Pickle	Shuster	Volkmer
Poage	Simon	Waggonner
Quayle	Skelton	Walker
Quillen	Smith, Iowa	Watkins
Rhodes	Spence	Whitehurst
Robinson	Stangeland	Wydler
Rooney	Steiger	Young, Fla.
Rostenkowski	Stockman	Young, Tex.
Rousselot	Stratton	Zeferetti

NOT VOTING—32

Abdnor	Florio	Rahall
Bolling	Horton	Rangel
Bowen	Howard	Roberts
Brown, Calif.	Johnson, Calif.	Roe
Clawson, Del	Le Fante	Stark
Cornwell	Lehman	Steed
Cotter	McClory	Teague
Cunningham	Patterson	Whalen
Dent	Pepper	Wilson, Bob
Eckhardt	Pressler	Young, Alaska
Erlenborn	Pursell	

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Dent with Mr. Horton.
Mr. Eckhardt with Mr. Rahall.
Mr. Cotter with Mr. Whalen.
Mr. Rangel with Mr. Erlenborn.
Mr. Stark with Mr. Cunningham.
Mr. Teague with Mr. McClory.
Mr. Howard with Mr. Young of Alaska.
Mr. Le Fante with Mr. Del Clawson.
Mr. Lehman with Mr. Bob Wilson.
Mr. Bowen with Mr. Steed.
Mr. Brown of California with Mr. Roe.
Mr. Cornwell with Mr. Johnson of California.
Mr. Florio with Mr. Pressler.
Mr. Pepper with Mr. Pursell.
Mr. Roberts with Mr. Patterson of California.

Messrs. ZEFERETTI and RUPPE changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the resolution just agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 9290, INCREASING THE TEMPORARY DEBT LIMIT

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 781 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 781

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move, clause 2(l)(6) of rule XI to the contrary notwithstanding, that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 9290) to increase the temporary debt limit, and for other purposes, and all points of order against said bill for failure to comply with the provisions of clause



WHY Did The Warren Commission Ignore: Khrushchev

By JACK KELLEY
MIDNIGHT/GLOBE BOOK EDITOR

The shocking truth behind the assassination of President John F. Kennedy involves a monstrous international conspiracy that will scare the wits out of America and the free world.

So says a highly respected lawyer-investigator who is about to unleash the biggest bombshell ever in the JFK murder mystery.

After 14 years' intensive investigation British sleuth Michael Eddowes has amassed a wealth of persuasive evidence to support this heart-stopping conclusion: Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev ordered Kennedy's death at the hands of a highly trained Russian assassin impersonating Lee Harvey Oswald.

America's leaders, President Lyndon Johnson included, not only knew this, but actively concealed it from the American public to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war with Russia.

What's more, says Eddowes, Jack Ruby and George De Mohrenschildt were deeply involved in the assassination conspiracy — but their roles were deliberately hidden by the Warren Commission and the FBI.

Perhaps most stunning of all is Eddowes' evidence that Khrushchev set up his Presidential murder squad a full year before the 1960 Presidential election. He was, says Eddowes, equally prepared to kill Richard Nixon had he beaten Kennedy for the Presidency. And it was only after Kennedy twice humiliated Khrushchev — over Berlin and the Cuban missile crisis — that the Russian leader gave the go-ahead for JFK's assassination.

The whole chilling plot is about to be unravelled in Eddowes' new book, "The Oswald File," soon to be published by the prestigious Clarkson N. Potter. MIDNIGHT/GLOBE has obtained a special preview of Eddowes' book, which attempts to make sense for the first time of all the puzzling questions left hanging since Kennedy's death.

Here's what Eddowes will reveal to America and the world:

A 20-year-old ex-Marine named Lee Harvey Oswald visited Russia on Oct. 16, 1959. Five days later — after a supposed suicide attempt — he was taken to Moscow's Botkin Hospital. There he disappeared and his name and identity were taken over by a look-alike Soviet assassin who later wed a Russian girl — Marina Prusakova — and entered the United States pretending to be Lee Harvey Oswald.

If that sounds bizarre, consider these startling facts, all, according to Eddowes, hidden or obscured by the Warren Commission:

On Sept. 3, 1959, when the real Oswald was discharged from the Marine Corps, his height was measured by a Marine doctor at 5-ft.-11. Seven days later Oswald was issued a passport recording his height as 5-ft.-11. The following day he was issued a Department of Defense identification card by a Marine officer who measured his height as 5-ft.-11.

Yet the man who returned from Russia claiming to be Lee Harvey Oswald was a full two inches shorter. He was arrested for a minor street disturbance Aug. 9, 1963, by New Orleans police who measured him against a scale and recorded his height as 5-ft.-9. And the two doctors who performed the autopsy on him at Parkland Hospital in Dallas recorded the length of the corpse as 5-ft.-9.

Marine Corps medical records show that the real Oswald had a permanent 1 1/2-inch scar behind his left ear from a childhood mastoid operation. Yet the two eminent doctors who performed the autopsy on Kennedy's killer found "no evidence of injury" where the scar should have been.

The real Oswald had three distinct scars on his left arm. They are recorded as identifying marks in his Marine Corps medical records. The impostor Oswald had two scars on his left arm, differing in both position and description from those in the Marine records.

Besides those clear-cut physical discrepancies, Eddowes offers additional evidence linking an impostor Oswald to a Russian plot.

For one thing, the assassin's wife, Marina, was the niece of Ilya Prusakov, a colonel in the Soviet Secret Police. Further, on Oct. 28, 1959, the same day the phony Oswald was discharged from Botkin Hospital in Moscow, Marina was enlisted in the Russian military. And when it came time for the two to enter the United States, Marina lied to Immigration, telling them she had never been a member of Komsomol — the voluntary Communist youth organization — when in fact she had.

The evidence of conspiracy is also bolstered, Eddowes contends, by these facts:

The supposedly penniless "Oswald" owned at least $500 worth of professional spy equipment including four cameras, two binoculars, a compass, a telescope, and a pedometer. Yet he did not "ever use a camera to take a social photograph while in the United States; he did nothing that might have involved the innocent use of any of this equipment."

He carried a full set of professional-quality false identification with two names.

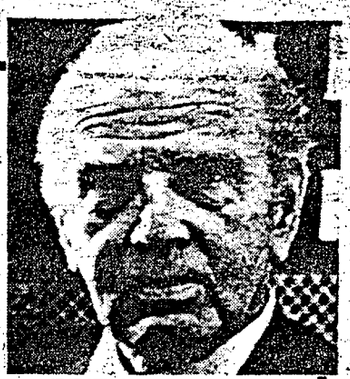
In his first job in Dallas, at a highly secret Army Map Service, he worked alongside a suspected spy who used the alias Jack Leslie Bowen. Later, he traveled to Mexico with another suspected spy who used the alias John Howard Bowen.

Between Sept. 27 and Oct. 2, 1963, the impostor Oswald

The work of distinguished British solicitor Michael Eddowes is unprecedented in the history of English law. After 13 years of research, he succeeded in obtaining from Queen Elizabeth II a posthumous pardon for a convicted murderer, Timothy Evans, in one of Britain's most sensational cases.

Eddowes' reputation as an investigator of extraordinary skill was internationally acknowledged and the attendant public outcry over the miscarriage of justice he uncovered was one of the major factors leading to the abolition of capital punishment in Britain.

Five months before the Kennedy assassination, Eddowes was approached by the FBI for information on political sabotage, about which he had inside knowledge. From 1963 to the present, he, together with a team of investigators, devoted himself to an intensive study of the Warren Commission's 26 volumes of testimony and exhibits. His research also involved thousands of miles of travel in tracking down some of the people who could give or had given pertinent information on the assassination.



BRITISH LAWYER Michael Eddowes, the man who saw the secret plot.

'The FBI and the State Department blew it...'

1. The differences between the real Oswald and JFK's real killer...?

2. The obvious links between Jack Ruby and Harvey Oswald?

3. Marina Oswald's previous links with Russian secret service?

Ordered JFK's Assassination!

visited the Soviet Embassy and Consulate in Mexico City. Upon his return to Dallas, he immediately began applying for jobs at companies located on all the possible routes for President Kennedy's motorcade. Says Eddowes: "He must have been told of all the possible routes that Kennedy could take."

Jack Ruby's role in the assassination — downplayed by the Warren Commission after FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover testified there was no link between Ruby and JFK's assassin — was in reality a major part, says Eddowes.

It was Ruby, he contends, who was assigned to engineer "Oswald's" escape from Dallas, and it was only when the escape plan failed that Ruby was ordered to murder the assassin to keep him from testifying.

As proof, Eddowes lists an array of activities by the two men which he believes points to something far more incriminating than mere coincidence:

Jack Ruby, alias Jack Rubenstein, attended Communist meetings in the early 1940s in a hall above a jewel shop where he worked in Indiana.

The week that "Oswald" arrived in New Orleans, Ruby flew from Dallas to Havana (where there was a Soviet embassy) to New Orleans where he dropped out of sight temporarily.

On Nov. 18, 1963, — just days before the assassination Ruby met at his Dallas nightclub with the sister of the woman who was "Oswald's" resident housekeeper.

Six days after "Oswald" rented a post office box in Dallas, Ruby rented one just eight feet away. It was, says Eddowes, "the first he had rented during his 16 years in Dallas."

When "Oswald" was captured after the assassination, he had purchased a bus ticket to a stop that was a full mile from his own rooming house, but only four blocks from Ruby's apartment.

A stripper from Ruby's nightclub told the Secret Service she suspected that Ruby and Oswald were conspirators with others and that she feared she'd be killed for testifying. "Although changing her name and moving to another part of the United States, she was shot dead in the street."

Eddowes also establishes a link between Ruby and George De Mohrenschildt, who he says had been under FBI surveillance, as a suspected spy, as far back as 1941, and who was an open associate of the impostor Oswald:

"It is a remarkable coincidence that in a city of 300 square miles during 1956-7-8, and perhaps thereafter, De Mohrenschildt and Ruby had access to apartments in the same block less than 100 yards apart.

"It is my belief that these three men — George De Mohrenschildt, Jack Ruby and the impostor Oswald — were the three primary operatives at work in Dallas, for the purpose of killing President Kennedy." In support of his government cover-up theory, Eddowes points to a memorandum recently uncovered by a researcher.



JACK RUBY (extreme right) POSING as a journalist to hang around Dallas police headquarters.

The memorandum, dated June 3, 1960, and signed by J. Edgar Hoover, says: "Since there is a possibility that an impostor is using Oswald's birth certificate, any current information the Department of State may have concerning subject will be appreciated."

What happened, says Eddowes, is that the FBI and the State Department flat out blew it. They failed to follow up on their suspicion, and instead let the impostor Oswald into America, where he combined with Ruby and De Mohrenschildt to assassinate President Kennedy.

After Kennedy's murder, America's leaders quickly discovered their mistake and had but one choice: to cover it up or risk World War 3.

That is why, says Eddowes, representatives of five crack investigating agencies interviewed the captured assassin in Dallas without making a single note or recording. It is why "shortly before 9 p.m. that night, the White House exerted pressure on Dallas officials and police not to disclose the suspected Russian conspiracy."

It is why the Warren Commission did not ask for nor receive detailed information on the obvious physical differences between the real Lee Harvey Oswald and the man who killed JFK.

And, concludes Eddowes, it is the reason why on Dec. 10, 1963, 17 FBI employees, were censured or placed on probation for "shortcomings in connection with the investigation of Oswald."

SHOCK

51. HEIGHT 71 in

57. BLOOD PRESSURE (Arm)

SITTING SYS. 110

DIAS. 58

59. DISTANT

RIGHT 20/ 20

OSWALD'S HEIGHT as shown when he left the Marine Corps on Sept. 3, 1959: 5-ft.-11.

EVIDENCE PROVES THE EXISTENCE OF TWO 'OSWALDS'

From observation and questioning, OS as follows:

OSWALD was advised questions ete physical description and b the question as to his presen out further discussion.

Race	White
Sex	Male
Date of Birth	October 1
Place of Birth	New Orlea
Height	5' 9"
Weight	140
Hair	Medium br needs hai
Eyes	Blue-gray
Scars	No tatto
Relatives	Mother + address nurse (

FBI RECORDED 'Oswald's' height as 5 foot, 9 inches, on two separate documents on June 26th, 1963.



1 Oct 59 Louisiana | Mrs. M. OSWALD, Same as line 14

9 MARINE CORPS AIR STATION, TORO (SANTA ANA), CALIF. | Rel: Lutheran

	CLINICAL EVALUATION
X	19. HEAD, FACE, NECK, AND SCALP
	20. NOSE
	21. SINUSES
	22. MOUTH AND THROAT
	23. EARS—GENERAL
	24. DRUMS (Perforated)
	25. EYES—GENERAL
	26. OPHTHALMOSCOPIC
	27. PUPILS (Equality and reaction)
	28. OCULAR MOTILITY

NOTES—Describe every abnormality in detail. (Enter pertinent item statements continued in Item 72 and use additional sheets if n

(39) S operation, 1" left mastoid
S operation, 1" ULA
S gunshot, left elbow
S 1" left hand
VSULA

Above: MARINE MEDICAL REPORT, Sept. 3, 1959, mentioning mastoidectomy.

Left: "OSWALD" after his arrest in November, 1963; short haircut shows no trace of mastoidectomy.





THE TWO OSWALDS: left is the one who served in the U.S. Marines, Sept. 1959; above, the impostor, August, 1963.

29 SEP 1977

House Approves Assassin Probe's Immunity Power

Associated Press

The House authorized its Assassinations Committee yesterday to immunize possibly 150 witnesses against prosecution in investigating the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

Chairman Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) told the House his committee may need immunity for more than 100 witnesses in the Kennedy investigation alone.

Stokes said the only way the committee can obtain testimony from organized crime figures and soldiers of fortune is to provide court immunity against their testimony being used to prosecute them.

The House approved 290 to 112 the committee's request for authority to ask the courts for immunity powers.

Stokes' reference to soldiers of fortune appeared to confirm a report that an appearance by soldier-of-fortune Loran Hall was postponed this month so that he could be given immunity.

Hall has said in at least four published interviews—in which details varied—that before the Kennedy assassination Nov. 22, 1963, Dallas businessmen offered him $50,000 to kill the President.

The committee chairman refused to make any comment about Hall.

He also told reporters he cannot reveal how more than 100 people, including gangsters and soldiers of fortune, might still need immunity for their stories about the 14-year-old assassination.

"We just cannot answer that question at this time," Stokes said. ". . . We know what we're doing."

Rep. Neal Smith (D-Iowa) opposed the request on grounds that it would give a majority of seven committee members power to grant immunity.

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE 3

LOS ANGELES TIMES
18 September 1977

Ex-CIA Official Denies Any Oswald Link to Agency

BY MYRNA OLIVER
Times Staff Writer

Former Central Intelligence Agency Western Hemisphere chief David A. Phillips asserted Saturday that Lee Harvey Oswald "was in no way connected with the CIA" and promised to call for abolition of the CIA if the agency is proved guilty of a "cover-up" in President John F. Kennedy's assassination.

Mark Lane, attorney and chief critic of the Warren Commission, which concluded that Oswald alone killed Kennedy, sharply opposed Phillips during one of three debates at an "Age of Conspiracy" conference sponsored by the University of Southern California's college of continuing education.

The conference will be followed by eight weekly seminars on political and other conspiracies since World War II.

Phillips, who resigned from the CIA in 1975 and founded the 2,000-member Assn. of Former Intelligence Officers, said he testified for 10 hours last fall and remains available to Congress' Select Committee to Investigate the Assassinations of Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr.

He said he welcomed the investigation to put to rest any lingering doubts in the public mind about possible conspiracy behind the President's death.

But Lane countered that Phillips' endorsement of the investigation came late, and said critics of the Warren Commission have been pilloried by the CIA for the last 14 years.

Lane claims Oswald was a CIA employe, and has repeatedly criticized CIA reports submitted to the Warren Commission.

Phillips said he felt like "an insect pierced and mounted on a pin for public display" as the latest "spook" suspected of trying to cover up what happened to Kennedy. He said he resented the masquerade of a Senate employe, whom the magazine New Times later revealed as a CIA employe. The magazine said the Spanish-speaking employe had tried to identify Phillips as the CIA man who introduced him to Oswald but failed to do so.

Lane said he specifically doubted CIA reports that Oswald had contacted the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City, then under Phillips' CIA eye, to ask for messages. He said FBI agents who questioned Oswald after Kennedy was shot in Dallas listened to tapes the CIA claimed proved that Oswald called the Soviets. Lane said the FBI determined the taped voice was not Oswald's.

Lane and University of California at Irvine Prof. John Gerassi won loud applause from the largely one-sided group of 100 who paid $45 each for the day-long conference. They were pitted in debate with CIA supporters Phillips and Ray S. Cline, former CIA deputy director for intelligence.

The finale staged for a larger audience Saturday night was between Daniel Ellsberg, tried for making public the Pentagon Papers critical of the Vietnam war, and former CIA Director William Colby.

After a vitriolic exchange Saturday morning, Cline announced he was "disgusted" with the conference and planned to leave immediately. He said he would refuse to discuss issues of conspiracy again until he received apologies from Ellsberg and Gerassi for what he considered personal slurs.

Lane later told the group that Cline threatened to "take a poke" at him during a private conversation about how much money Lane earned on books about his conspiracy theories.

Gerassi vehemently criticized the CIA and Cline personally for working to overthrow South American governments solely to please wealthy U.S.-based multinational corporations.

Asked by moderator and CBS reporter Bill Stout if he considered the CIA the same under new Director Stansfield Turner (who has begun a national campaign of openness for the agency as under former Director Colby, Gerassi said:

"Yes. They talk different, but they are the same. It is still covert, secret."

Cline, now a professor at Georgetown University, said he left government service in 1973 after 30 years because he felt former President Richard M. Nixon and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger were misusing the CIA; because power became overconcentrated in the White House, and because the policy of detente prevented necessary gathering of information about "the two truly great conspiratory totalitarian empires of our day—the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Republic of China."

Cline said much of what the CIA labeled as secret in the 1950s and '60s should have been made public. But some secrecy is necessary—such as census data or political affiliations—to protect the public, he insisted.

Continued

"Every time a national reformer came to power in the Cold War period in Latin America, the United States and the CIA instituted a coup," Gerassi said.

Gerassi, who described himself as a "sort of Marxist," was formerly a Latin American correspondent for Time, Newsweek and the New York Times.

Cline countered that the CIA, despite the public's romantic ideas about its power, lacked the capability to overthrow governments and could not take all the credit Gerassi tried to heap on it.

He voluntarily described "one great covert operation" by the CIA during the Cold War era.

"Thank God for it," Cline said, "or we would have totalitarian rule in Western Europe today."

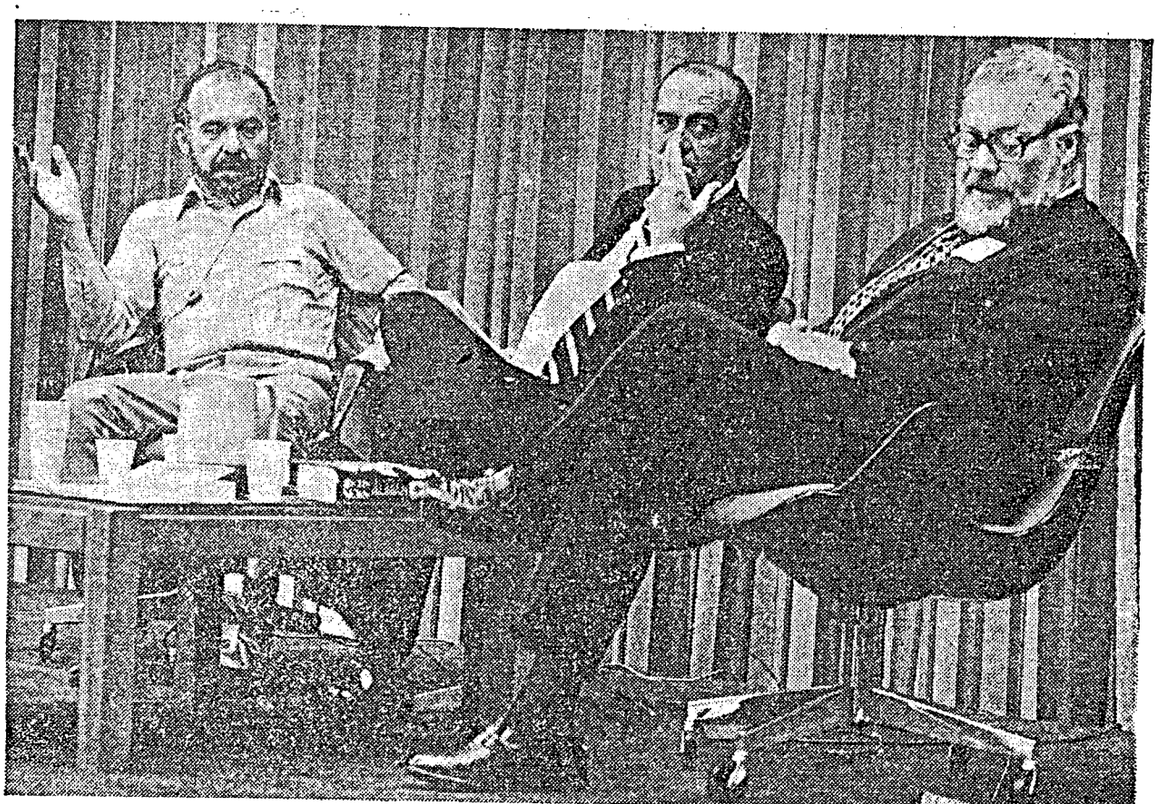
He said great amounts of money and political advice were quietly poured into middle-philosophy parties in Germany, France and Italy. At the same time, he recounted, the Marshall Plan was devised to bolster the countries economically and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was formed to ward off outside military threats.

Cline said military intervention in the Dominican Republic, contrary to Gerassi's observations, was decided largely by President Lyndon B. Johnson, who said he only wanted to protect Americans living there and could care less about advice against sending in troops.

Lane later scored Cline for referring to the Dominican Republic as "a lousy little country."

Cline said he had disagreed with final intervention plans in Chile, "the last of the CIA big political covert operations, and unsuccessful."

He said he had favored an initial effort to back opponents of President Salvador Allende with money and advice, assuming Allende would lose a 1976 election, but had opposed any further action.



A MATTER OF DEBATE—John Gerassi, left, gives an opinion as moderator Bill Stout, center, and Ray Cline listen during a daylong conference at USC on the "Age of Conspiracy."

Times photo by Andy Hoyt

Single-Bullet Theory On Kennedy Backed

NY Times 13 Sept 77 p. 19

EAST LANSING, Mich. Sept. 16 (UPI)—A radiologist who helped review President Kennedy's medical records says the theory that a single bullet killed Mr. Kennedy is well founded.

Congressional investigators should concentrate on other elements in their inquiry into the assassination, Dr. Russell Morgan of Johns Hopkins University said.

Dr. Morgan, who spoke at Michigan State University yesterday, told reporters that Mr. Kennedy's X-rays showed conclusively that a single bullet fired from behind his car was the cause of death.

Dr. Morgan was a member of a team of medical experts who in 1968 reviewed the medical records on the Kennedy assassination at the request of then-Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

21 JUN 1977

News Blackout Vowed

Assassinations Panel Picks a New Counsel

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House Assassinations Committee appointed a former government prosecutor as its new chief counsel yesterday and then proclaimed a gag rule on its investigations into the murders of President Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

The new counsel, G. Robert Blakey, 41, currently director of the Cornell Institute on Organized Crime, vowed to make the news blackout stick and said he hoped the press would simply go away until the investigations are completed.

"The purpose of this news conference is to announce there will not be any more news conferences," Blakey told reporters yesterday afternoon following announcement of his appointment by Chairman Louis Stokes (D-Ohio).

Known as a hard-line expert on criminal law, Blakey served as a special attorney in the organized crime and racketeering section of the Justice Department from 1960 to 1964. Later, as a special consultant to the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures, he played a major role in drafting Title III of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, the section that authorized government wiretapping and bugging with judicial warrants.

Rep. Christopher J. (Dodd (D-Conn.), who headed a special committee task force to find a successor to former chief counsel Richard A. Sprague, said the members sifted through 115 possible candidates for the job, selected 34 for prospective interviews and actually interviewed 13.

"Blakey was our principal choice," Dodd said, adding that the committee began dickering with the Cornell University law professor about a month ago.

Former Watergate special prosecutor Archibald Cox and former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg had turned down earlier overtures to take the assignment.

Sprague quit March 29 after a prolonged dispute with former committee Chairman Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.) over the staffing and spending for the inquiry.

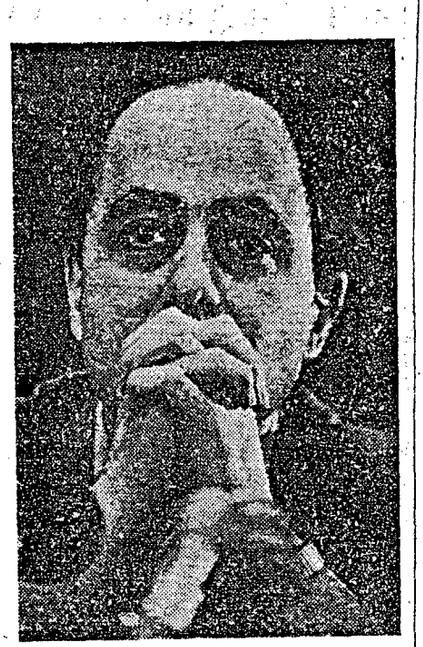
Stokes coupled announcement of Blakey's appointment with promulgation of a new committee rule declaring that "all information" will be kept confidential "during the preliminary evidence-gathering phase" in order to protect the witnesses and the integrity of the process of the investigation.

"As to the substance of this investigation," the resolution stated, "it shall be the policy of this committee and its staff not to comment until this investigatory phase is completed."

Blakey began his brief remarks by quoting the words of Thomas B. Dewey in a 1935 radio address shortly after his appointment as a special prosecutor in New York City to investigate organized crime.

"'In general, it is my belief that a talking prosecutor is not a working prosecutor,'" Blakey approvingly quoted Dewey as saying. "'It is my sincere hope that the work we are doing vanishes from the newspapers.'"

Admittedly ill at ease through the rest of the press conference, Blakey avoided direct answers to many of the questions put to him, declining to say when public hearings might be expected and what issues involving the two assassinations he thinks it most important to resolve. He said his $47,500 congressional salary would leave him with a substantially reduced income flow. When asked why he took the job, Blakey said tersely: "I think it's important that it be done."



G. ROBERT BLAKEY
. . . hard-liner on criminal law

8 JUN 1977

Assassination Panel Witness Takes Fifth

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

An American soldier of fortune once active in attempts to overthrow Cuban Premier Fidel Castro refused to testify yesterday before a House Assassinations subcommittee about the slaying of President Kennedy.

The witness, Loran Eugene Hall, 47, of Los Angeles, invoked the Fifth Amendment on the first question and told the subcommittee he had no intention of answering any inquiries members had in mind.

Hall told reporters later he was not going to make any statements to the committee because panel investigators had voiced suspicions that "I was somehow involved in the assassination" of Kennedy and then tricked him into a meeting last month where they served him with a surprise subpoena.

"I was willing to talk to them in Los Angeles," he said. "But they lied to me and they lied to Art Kevin (the radio newsman who arranged the meeting.)"

Hall, who demanded that yesterday's session be held in public, was asked only one question — whether he had been in Dallas, Tex., Nov. 22, 1963, the day President Kennedy was assassinated there — when his refusal to talk cut the hearing short.

Rep. Richardson Preyer (D-N.C.), chairman of the subcommittee investigating the Kennedy murder, ruled that any further questioning would be inappropriate "since the witness has invoked his rights under the Fifth Amendment."

The subcommittee then voted to keep Hall under subpoena and ordered him back to Washington for another hearing Sept. 14 — which committee aides said will be the first regular meeting for the panel after Congress returns from its summer recess.

Hall was originally named in the Warren Commission's report on the Kennedy assassination as an anti-Castro activist who visited the Dallas apartment of Sylvia Odio in late September, 1963, with two men. Odio told the commission that the visitors spoke to her of killing the President and that one of them, whom she later identified as Lee Harvey Oswald was introduced to her as "Leon Oswald."

The FBI said Hall admitted in September, 1964, that he had visited Odio, but he later denied making such statements, and his two alleged companions denied any such meeting.

A dapper, mustachioed ex-mercenary who now works as a real estate dealer in Los Angeles, Hall has since told acquaintances that he occasionally stopped in Dallas in 1963 on various anti-Castro undertakings, but that he never took part in a conversation or meeting such as Odio described.

Hall is only the second witness to be summoned before the House Assassinations Committee in public session since it was set up nine months ago to re-investigate the murders of President Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

The first was Mafia leader Santo Trafficante Jr., once the kingpin of syndicate gambling in pre-Castro Cuba, who also invoked the Fifth Amendment. Trafficante and Hall were once confined together in Havana briefly in 1959 after Castro rose to power.

As to his professed whereabouts on the day President Kennedy was killed, Hall has made no secret of that over the years despite his refusal yesterday to tell the committee. He has said he was in his apartment in Monterey Park, Calif., "in my shorts, shaving," when the news blared forth on television.

Ex-Castro Soldier Balks at House Inquiry on Kennedy

By WENDELL RAWLS Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 7—Loran E. Hall, a self-styled soldier of fortune who fought for Fidel Castro in Cuba before turning against him in 1959, refused to answer questions put to him today by a House assassination subcommittee, which had hoped to get information from him about a possible conspiracy in the murder of President Kennedy.

When asked if he was in Dallas on Nov. 22, 1963, the day President Kennedy was killed, Mr. Hall invoked his Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination and said that he would do the same with all other questions put to him by the subcommittee. After continuing Mr. Hall under subpoena and telling him to reappear on Sept. 14, the subcommittee adjourned its public hearing.

After the seven-minute hearing, Mr. Hall answered questions at an impromptu news conference at the witness table and accused the committee's investigators of "lying" to him when they tried to interview him in Los Angeles, where he resides.

'A Lot of Witnesses'

He said that the investigators had told him "they had a lot of witnesses who said I was involved" in the Kennedy assassination, and that Art Kevin, a Los Angeles radio newsman, could be present while investigators asked questions and took a deposition.

However, before the interview started, the investigators asked Mr. Kevni to leave the room, Mr. Hall said. When Mr. Kevin refused to leave and Mr. Hall refused to ask him to, the investigator served him with a subpoena to appear in Washington, Mr. Hall said.

Representative Richardson Preyer, Democrat of North Carolina, who is chairman of the subcommittee, said that the investigators had not promised Mr. Hall that the radio reporter could sit in on the interview. He would not comment on the investigators' alleged use of a newsman to find Mr. Hall so he could be served with a subpoena.

But Mr. Preyer did say that the subcommittee would discuss ways to force witnesses to answer questions, and that it would consider granting some witnesses immunity in exchange for their testimony.

The subcommittee was interested in pursuing at least three lines of questioning with Mr. Hall, according to sources close to the committee.

Questions Are Listed

The committee wanted to ask Mr. Hall about his association with an alleged organized crime figure, Santos Trafficante Jr., in a Havana jail in 1959.

This would pursue the possibility that anti-Castro Cubans, organized crime figures and some Central Intelligence Agency operatives had been involved in the murder of President Kennedy. That theory arises from C.I.A. disclosures that some organized crime figures had been involved in attempts to assassinate Mr. Castro.

The committee also wanted to ask Mr. Hall about statements made to the committee by a Dutch journalist, Willem Oltmans, that Mr. Hall had been offered $50,000 in a Dallas law office if he would kill Mr. Kennedy. Mr. Hall would not comment today to newsmen about that allegation. Previously, he talked publicly about such an offer but made conflicting statements about who wanted Mr. Kennedy killed.

Finally, the committee wanted to talk to Mr. Hall about the alleged visit that he and Lee Harvey Oswald, President Kennedy's assassin, made to the Dallas home of Sylvia Odio, an anti-Castro Cuban refugee.

Mr. Hall had told the Federal Bureau of Investigation that he visited Mrs. Odio in the company of two other men, neither of whom was Mr. Oswald. He subsequently told a different story to the F.B.I., and Mrs. Odio insists that one of the men who visited her was Mr. Oswald.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, JUNE 6, 1977

House Inquiry Reported Fruitless On Kennedy-King Assassinations

By WENDALL RAWLS Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 5—The House Select Committee on Assassinations, which has been in operation for eight months, has come up with virtually no new information or evidence relating to the death of President Kennedy or of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and has discovered that much of the so-called "new information" on which Congress based its decision to reopen the investigations is in error, according to a well-placed committee source.

"We certainly have come up with nothing earthshaking," the source said, "and much that witnesses tell us is in conflict with what they supposedly told people who have written books about the assassinations and who have provided the basic leads for the committee to pursue."

An examination by The New York Times has determined that it was Mark Lane, the author and lecturer, who provided, on the basis of his published works, most of the "new leads."

Moreover, according to several officials familiar with the genesis and scope of the committee's investigation—and Mr. Lane himself—Mr. Lane was the primary force behind the formation of the committee and the architect of the direction that the investigation should take.

Mr. Lane, a former New York State legislator better known for his book "Rush to Judgment," criticizing the official investigations of the Kennedy assassination, was unsuccessful for two years in his attempts to get Congress to reopen an investigation into the death of Mr. Kennedy in Dallas.

But early last year he began looking into Dr. King's death and persuaded the civil rights leader's widow, Coretta King,

Continued on Page 20, Column 1

Continued From Page 1

to solicit support from the Congressional Black Caucus for a reinvestigation of both assassinations.

Shortly after such an investigating committee was formed, Mr. Lane and the comedian Dick Gregory began work on a book about Dr. King and the assassination in Memphis. Mr. Lane refused to say how much they received from the publisher as an advance against royalties, but it was reported to have been $100,000.

The book, entitled "Code Name Zorro," was recently published—at about the time that the committee, according to minutes of one of its executive sessions, was seeking favorable public and Congressional reaction to its request for funds.

From the committee's inception, staff members acknowledge, Mr. Lane's books, theories and private investigations have provided the "working manuals" and the "working hypotheses" for the investigation.

Delay in Work Cited

The committee source said that internal problems that resulted in the resignations of the committee's chairman, Representative Henry B. Gonzalez, Democrat of Texas, and its chief counsel, Richard A. Sprague, had delayed the active investigation phase of the committee's work until the "past two or three weeks."

This was true, the source said, even though the committee issued a report March 28 asserting that it was already pursuing "new leads" and had processed "new information."

Just as the committee almost collapsed in controversy a few weeks ago, much of the new evidence appears to be falling apart. The lack of credible new evidence has been cited to explain why the committee has been unable to obtain a new chief counsel to replace Mr. Sprague. Arthur Goldberg, the former Supreme Court Justice, and Archibald Cox, the former Watergate special prosecutor, have both declined the post.

The report of March 28 said, "much of the new evidence is of a highly sensitive nature and cannot be publicly disclosed at this time," but it gave "representative examples which illustrate the leads the committee is currently pursuing."

An Unnamed Witness

In one of the examples, apparently designed to show that the Warren Commission was remiss in its conclusion that Lee Harvey Oswald had never seen Jack Ruby before Nov. 22, 1963, the report said the "committee staff has spoken with "an unnamed witness" who has never been previously interviewed" and who stated that in November 1963, before the assassination of President Kennedy, the witness was introduced to Oswald by Jack Ruby.

According to Harold Weisberg, a former Senate investigator who has investigated the Kennedy assassination for the last 13 years, written six books about it and collected thousands of pages of Government documents through the Freedom of Information Act, the unnamed "witness" is a former nightclub dancer who performed under the name Cochise.

According to Mr. Weisberg, Cochise is now married to a clergyman and living in Texas. Mr. Weisberg observes that "Cochise" says "she was introduced by one man, now dead, to another man, also dead, and there is no way to prove or disprove it."

The report cites another unnamed "witness" who was "an F.B.I. security code clerk in the New Orleans field office from 1961 to 1966" and who says that the F.B.I. sent a teletype message to all its offices five days before the Kennedy assassination warning of a reported conspiracy by a "militant revolutionary group" to kill the President on his proposed trip to Dallas on Nov. 22 and 23.

That witness, according to Mr. Weisberg, is William Walters, who served as an F.B.I. clerk while in college and who has said the same thing on a CBS television show and to another Congressional committee 18 months ago.

Mr. Weisberg, who favors a thorough reinvestigation of the assassinations and does not believe that either death happened as official versions contend, maintains that the committee claims new and relevant information and leads that are neither new nor relevant and seemed to have been pursued "because of their public relations attractiveness."

Public opinion polls have shown that the vast majority of Americans do not believe that Oswald or James Earl Ray acted alone.

Other Ray Interviews Cited

At a public hearing, the committee staff said that it planned to investigate a letter purportedly written by Oswald to a "Mr. Hunt," asking that "we discuss the matter fully before any steps are taken by me or anybody else."

Nothing in the letter says that the recipient was the late Texas oil magnate, H.L. Hunt, or E. Howard Hunt Jr., the Watergate conspirator. Mr. Weisberg asks, "What liberal politician or oil-company hater would oppose checking into that letter, of which I have had a copy for two years and which has been available to the public for 18 months?"

As regards the assassination of Dr. King, the committee reported on March 28 that the "most important current development is the willingness of James Earl Ray, who pleaded guilty to the murder, to talk to the committee."

The report does not say that Mr. Ray has been interviewed by at least four newspapers, the Tom Snyder "Tomorrow" television show and a French television show, or that he testified for two days under cross-examination at an evidentiary hearing in October 1974 and testified in a civil lawsuit he brought against the author of a book about him.

The report said further that the committee had "uncovered other areas of possible assistance to Ray" and cited "bank records" as showing that Mr. Ray's safety deposit box in a Birmingham, Ala., bank "was closed by someone living in Baton Rouge, La.," while Mr. Ray allegedly was in Los Angeles.

According to Mr. Weisberg, who was

hired by Mr. Ray's lawyer as an investigator for several years, Mr. Ray closed the safety deposit box by returning the key in a letter that he mailed from Baton Rouge while on a trip from Los Angeles to New Orleans.

The committee said that it was examining information provided by Mr. Lane that would implicate the Memphis Police Department and the F.B.I. as assisting Dr. King's assassin "just before and immediately after the murder."

The evidence that the committee cites is that a black policeman was relieved of his assignment at a surveillance post on the day of the King murder. The report does not mention that 12 members of a police tactical squad were at that same point at the time of the assassination.

'One of Biggest Issues'

One of the committee members, Representative Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, Democrat of California, said "one of the biggest issues" the committee was investigating was how and why Dr. King was "lured" out onto the balcony of the Lorraine Motel where he was shot.

The fact is that the only exit from Dr. King's room was onto the balcony.

Mrs. Burke, as chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus in 1976, was one of the more influential people applying pressure on the House Democratic leadership to form a committee to investigate the assassinations.

Former Representative Thomas Downing, Democrat of Virginia, who was the first chairman of the Select Committee on Assassinations, said that his original resolution calling for an investigating committee limited it to a re-examination of the Kennedy assassination. He said that Mr. Lane "was constantly around the office" providing information and leads that would show the need of a committee to investigate the death.

Mr. Downing's bill was killed in the House Rules Committee, and it appeared that efforts to reopen the Kennedy investigation had run their course. Mr. Lane, however, did not cease his efforts. In his own version, backed up by other sources, he said in a telephone interview from Chicago:

"I moved to Washington in January 1975 and established the Citizens' Commission of Inquiry for the purpose of trying to get Congress to reinvestigate the Kennedy assassination. It was funded by the $70,000 to $80,000 a year I made in traveling and lecturing.

"After the effort was defeated last March [1975] in the Rules Committee, Abby Mann, [creator of the television series "Kojak"] told me about a two-hour program he was putting together on the life of Dr. King. He wanted to do a little on the death, and he wanted me to help him."

So, Mr. Lane said, he went to Memphis and interviewed some people on tape recordings and concluded that the F.B.I. was involved in the murder.

"We went to see Mrs. Coretta King, and I told her about all the evidence we had uncovered," Mr. Lane said, "and she said it confirmed her suspicion about the F.B.I."

Then, Mr. Lane called former Representative Andrew Young, Democrat of Georgia, who is now the United States chief delegate at the United Nations, and told him about the "new evidence." An hour later, Mr. Lane met in Mr. Young's Capitol Hill office with Walter Fauntroy, Democratic Delegate of the District of Columbia, and Mrs. Burke.

Subsequently, Mr. Lane and Mrs. King met with the Black Caucus. In August, the caucus accompanied Mrs. King to a meeting with Carl Albert, who was then Speaker of the House, and his heir apparent, Representative Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., Democrat of Massachusetts.

The leadership was reminded of the influence that black voters would have on the outcome of the Presidential election, Mr. Lane said, and Mr. Albert was persuaded of the need for a Congressional investigation of both assassinations.

The leadership wanted to wait until the new Congress before naming such a committee, but Mrs. King was insistent. The leadership relented, and in September the committee was formed. Numerous sources in Congress said that without pressure from the Black Caucus no committee would have been approved by the House.

Not only was Mr. Lane instrumental in getting a committee named, but he was also perhaps most instrumental in getting Mr. Sprague named chief counsel. He was the first person to get in touch with Mr. Sprague, and he lobbied diligently in his behalf with both the committee members and their staffs.

Within a few months, however, a bitter feud between Mr. Sprague and the chairman, Mr. Gonzalez, led to the resignation of both from the committee.

The committee still has no permanent staff director or chief counsel to guide the $2.5 million investigation. After eight months, it is about where it was at the beginning—checking "new leads," gathering "new evidence" and searching for a chief counsel.

NEWS & OPINION

The Deadly Kennedy Probe

EXECUTION FOR THE WITNESSES







By Howard Kohn

CHARLES NICOLETTI used to drive a "Syndicate Special"—a car equipped with a fake radio-speaker grill for hiding guns, and with switches to black out the rear lights—customized for his job as an underworld assassin. At one time he was unrivaled as a hit man in Chicago.

When Syndicate leaders Sam Giancana and John Roselli helped the CIA hatch an assassination plot against Fidel Castro in 1960, they recruited Nicoletti to map logistics. Nicoletti's role was not revealed when the Senate discovered the plot in 1975, but the House Assassinations Committee, which has reopened the John Kennedy and Martin Luther King murder cases, discovered his involvement and decided to interview him.

House investigators began making phone calls to locate Nicoletti on March 28th, 1977, according to a committee source. One day later Nicoletti was executed, joining Giancana and Roselli as the third victim of a mysteriously desperate purge.

Aside from their shared Syndicate and anti-Castro histories, there was one other theme common to the three men. All had been sought for questioning about Kennedy's assassination.

On June 19th, 1975, a few days before Giancana was to appear before the Senate Intelligence Committee, a gunman slipped into the kitchen of his Chicago mansion and interrupted his late-night snack with a barrage of bullets pointedly aimed at his throat and mouth. On August 7th, 1976, shortly after Roselli began talking to Senate investigators about the Kennedy case, his body was found stuffed in a chain-draped oil drum floating in a bay off Miami.

Nicoletti met his fate, three shots in the back of his head, as he sat in his late-model Oldsmobile at the Golden Horns Restaurant parking lot in Chicago. As his body slumped in the front seat, his foot apparently stuck on the accelerator, overheating the engine, setting the car ablaze and obliterating fingerprints and other physical clues.

But the slaying was in classic gangland style and strengthened a growing conviction that the Syndicate was somehow involved in Kennedy's death. "There's no way to prove it yet," the committee source told ROLLING STONE, "but there had to be some overwhelming reason, like the Kennedy case, to warrant knocking off someone as powerful as Nicoletti." Adding to that surmise was the impatient nature of his killers; if they had waited, lung cancer would have silenced Nicoletti by summer, a fact probably known within his Syndicate circle.

House investigators, according to the source, had planned to question Nicoletti about a complicated conspiracy theory they are pursuing. The gist of the theory is that Cuban exiles and Syndicate gambling bosses, aided and abetted by the CIA, teamed up to kill Castro and turned on Kennedy in 1963 when the American president reached for détente with the bearded revolutionary.

The Syndicate's apparent motive was greed. Castro had padlocked the gambling spas and evicted the high-rollers from Havana, and the Syndicate wanted to overthrow Castro to regain $100 million a year in revenue.

Giancana, the Chicago don and a heavy investor in the Havana casinos, was a big loser when Castro seized power in 1959. Roselli, a good friend of Giancana, was a Syndicate journeyman who helped set up roulette wheels and dice tables in Havana and later in Las Vegas. Santo Trafficante, the Miami don and the fourth Syndicate member involved in the CIA's plot on Castro, had been in charge of administering the Havana gambling empire.

Largely because of the Giancana and Roselli murders, the House investigators targeted the Syndicate as a number one suspect in the Kennedy case, devoting long hours to finding underworld figures willing to talk. In mid-March they subpoenaed Trafficante, but the aging Miami mobster refused to answer their questions.

Among those who did cooperate, however, was Charles Crimaldi, a contract killer-turned-author who soldiered with Nicoletti in the Chicago gangland wars. In his book *Contract Killer*, published in winter 1976, Crimaldi accused CIA agents of executing Giancana, Roselli and

HOWARD KOHN *did a lengthy investigation of the Syndicate and the CIA last year in writing "Strange Bedfellows" (RS 213).*

Loose Talk

"When I first went to Washington I thought, what is li'l ol' me doing with these 99 great people? Now I ask myself, what am I doing with these 99 jerks?" — *Senator* S.I. HAYAKAWA

"I've made so many movies playing a hooker that they don't pay me in the regular way anymore. They leave it on the dresser."—SHIRLEY MACLAINE

"You are suggesting I have some sort of romantic attachment. I have no relationship with her, just a passing acquaintance for two nights."

—MICK JAGGER *when asked about Margaret Trudeau*

PHOTOGRAPHS BY COMPIX (TOP)

deposed Teamster boss Jimmy Hoffa, who disappeared in July 1975 and who, Crimaldi said, served as a liaison between the CIA and the Syndicate in the Castro plot.

Crimaldi apparently tipped off the House investigators to Nicoletti, and they immediately began trying to arrange an interview. According to the committee source, they hoped that Nicoletti could supply information not only about the CIA but also about Dallas nightclub owner Jack Ruby's alleged connections to the Syndicate. The Warren Commission had dismissed Ruby as a psychotic patriot and generally overlooked his criminal background. But House investigators have been trying to confirm an allegation that the Syndicate ordered Ruby to shoot Lee Harvey Oswald to keep him from talking.

In his prime, Nicoletti oversaw Chicago's illegal betting, a vast business that once counted

Three former Syndicate members, all victims of a mysterious purge (clockwise from top): John Roselli, Charles Nicoletti, Sam Giancana. All were sought for questioning about the Kennedy assassination.

Ruby among its aspiring hustlers. At age 15, Ruby was running errands for Frank "The Enforcer" Nitty, heir to Al Capone. Then Ruby began selling "tip sheets" at racetracks and moved up to a top position in a Chicago union described by the FBI as "largely a shakedown operation." A Senate investigation later found that Ruby's union helped open up Chicago's organized labor to Syndicate corruption and led to the Syndicate's alliance with Hoffa.

Ruby transferred to Dallas in 1947, where he took over a nightclub. Former Dallas sheriff Steve Guthrie told the Warren Commission that a local racketeer had offered him $150,000 to allow Ruby and his Chicago associates to use the nightclub as a Syndicate gambling front. In 1956 an informant told the FBI that "Ruby is the [Syndicate] payoff man for the Dallas police department." Ruby also was implicated in a narcotics and gun-smuggling ring.

When Castro began his revolution in the Cuban hills, Ruby initially supported him and sold him U.S.-made weapons. In Au-

WIDE WORLD (LEFT); CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

gust 1959 Ruby visited Havana at the invitation of Lewis McWillie, the Syndicate's manager at the Tropicana casino and a man Ruby said he "idolized." A friend of Ruby's recently told House investigators that the former errand boy had been summoned to help arrange freedom for Santo Trafficante and two other mobsters Castro had imprisoned. Ruby allegedly conferred with Trafficante in his cell and made preparations to intercede with Castro. But the plan became moot when Castro deported Trafficante.

Ruby, along with his Syndicate friends, became bitterly anti-Castro after the Cuban leader shut down the casinos—in which Ruby reportedly held an interest—and embraced communism. That fury later was directed at Kennedy after he failed to oust Castro. According to columnist Jack Anderson, a Cuban exile told House investigators of a conversation in which Trafficante said: "Kennedy is going to be hit."

In the months preceding the Kennedy assassination Ruby again was in touch with the Syndicate, flying to Nevada to see McWillie, who had gone to work at a casino allegedly owned in part by Giancana, and phoning three other men with connections to the Teamsters and the Chicago underworld.

That much of Ruby's schedule has been known for some time. But Ruby's friend has informed House investigators that Ruby also met with Roselli in Miami a few months prior to the assassination. In addition, according to a confidential committee memo, Roselli suggested privately that the Syndicate used Ruby to eliminate Oswald.

As it did with Ruby, the Warren Commission labeled Oswald a deranged loner. But, according to the committee source, House investigators now think Oswald may have been part of an anti-Castro conspiracy, calculated to blame Castro for Kennedy's death and trigger a war with Cuba. They suspect that Oswald posed as a pro-Castroite to mask his real intentions and are following leads connecting him to the Miami-based Cuban refugee community. Cuban exiles provided the troops for the CIA's 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion and then lobbied for a second anti-Castro attack after that one aborted. Because Kennedy ignored their plea, they had a motive for making a pact with the Syndicate against the president.

Oswald presented himself as a pro-Castro supporter, distributing political leaflets in New Orleans and scuffling with a member of the anti-Castro Cuban Revolutionary Council (CRC), a macho display that gained him local media notice. But an unlikely coincidence has long intrigued assassination researchers: the CRC's New Orleans headquarters was at 544 Camp Street, the same address which Oswald stamped on his pro-Castro literature.

Former CIA contract agent Robert Morrow has now given House investigators the names of three anti-Castro Cubans he says were associates of Oswald. The three belonged to a group headquartered at a Florida jungle camp known as "No Name Key," and the investigators have obtained photos showing CIA agents who trained the group.

One of the three, Loran Hall, has a particularly curious history. In the Sixties he twice played a key role in undermining official probes of an anti-Kennedy conspiracy. In 1967 he attached himself to New Orleans district attorney Jim Garrison's investigation and steered it into a case of mistaken identity that helped discredit Garrison. Earlier, as a Warren Commission witness, he had helped debunk a theory that anti-Castro forces duped Oswald.

That theory was advanced by two of the commission's lawyers, David Slawson and William Coleman, who felt anti-Castroites might have pushed pro-Castroite Oswald into shooting Kennedy. "The motive of this would, of course, be the expectation that after the president was killed Oswald would be caught or at least his identity ascertained," Slawson and Coleman wrote in a memo declassified in 1975. "The law enforcement authorities and the public would then blame the assassination on the Castro government, and the call for its forcible overthrow would be irresistible."

(Ruby, who died of cancer in 1967, allegedly told a jailhouse visitor that he had expected Kennedy's assassination to incite a second Bay of Pigs invasion.)

Although the Warren Commission eventually discarded the theory, House investigators are taking a new look at Oswald and his affiliations. An important difference in their investigation is the suspicion that Oswald feigned his pro-Castro stance—and did so at the behest of the CIA.

The unexplained suicides of two other potential witnesses the same week as Nicoletti's execution have helped turn the investigators' attention to the U.S. intelligence community.

A half day before Nicoletti was slain, and only a few hours after learning House investigators wanted to interrogate him, Russian immigrant George de Mohrenschildt apparently pulled the trigger of a 20-gauge shotgun put to his mouth. He had been a friend of Oswald, an internationally traveled petroleum engineer and, according to United Press International, a CIA operative. Dutch journalist Wil-



NEWS & OPINION

lem Oltmans also claimed de Mohrenschildt had privately confessed a role in an anti-Kennedy conspiracy.

House investigators recorded Oltmans' secondhand tale, but, according to the committee source, they are more piqued by de Mohrenschildt's association with the CIA. So far they have determined that the Agency debriefed de Mohrenschildt after his frequent business trips to Soviet bloc countries in the Fifties and Sixties, and they are trying to pin down an allegation that the CIA assigned him to befriend and watch Oswald.

Seven days after de Mohrenschildt's alleged suicide in Palm Beach, another immigrant with CIA connections took the same escape 60 miles away in Miami Beach. Carlos Prío Socarrás, the former president of Cuba and a fervent anti-Castroite, apparently shot himself in the chest with a .38-caliber revolver. Prío had been a spokesman for the Cuban exiles and only a few weeks before had prevailed on Secretary of State Cyrus Vance to halt the Carter administration's revived rapprochement with Castro.

Although House investigators had not yet contacted Prío, his name was on their list of possible witnesses because of an FBI report that Prío, as principal owner of a casino in pre-Castro Havana, had numbered Jack Ruby among his junior partners. (Before he was forced from office in 1952, Prío had allegedly amassed an investment trove of $30 million in misappropriated funds.)

Like Ruby, Prío helped smuggle guns to Castro's guerrilla forces and then felt betrayed when Castro outlawed gambling. In retaliation he joined with the CIA in recruiting Cuban exiles for the Bay of Pigs army.

Prío and de Mohrenschildt's CIA connections and untimely deaths refueled the argument about Oswald's alleged relationship with the Agency. A former





Carlos Prío Socarrás (top) and George de Mohrenschildt

Soviet intelligence agent told the Warren Commission that the Soviets suspected Oswald was a pretender working for the CIA when he defected to the U.S.S.R. in 1959. The Warren Report, however, seemed to disregard this and other evidence of Oswald's spylike behavior, as well as his background as a Marine with a top security clearance who served at secret military bases and who was handed back his citizenship papers in 1962 despite his vaunted defection.

In March 1977 two freelance researchers acquired part of the CIA's Oswald file through a Freedom of Information request. Among the papers was a "201" personality file dated December 9th, 1960, about a year after Oswald moved to the U.S.S.R. Agency officials claim the file grew out of its routine monitoring of a defector, but some ex-CIA agents say the "201" designation means Oswald actually took orders from the U.S. intelligence community.

The ever-widening circle of connections was something House investigators had planned to discuss with Charles Nicoletti —partly because a gang of CIA-trained Cubans has become an integral and controversial part of the Syndicate.

Since the early Sixties this "Cuban Mafia" has operated one of the world's largest smuggling rings, shipping narcotics, guns and prostitutes through Miami to Syndicate outlets in New Orleans, Chicago, Las Vegas and up the East Coast corridor. According to a Miami source, Nicoletti resented the intrusion of the Cubans and had become estranged from the Syndicate since the death of Sam Giancana, his one-time boss. The *Washington Post* reported that Nicoletti "felt the CIA was taking over the operation." He apparently equated the Cubans with the Agency since the CIA, according to the *Post*, helps protect the smuggling ring.

In the past two years, the Miami source told ROLLING STONE, the Cubans have also established themselves as professional killers. Three "Cuban Mafia" members and a freelance CIA operative are being investigated in the 1976 bombing assassination of former Chilean ambassador Orlando Letelier, and the Cubans also are under suspicion in several Syndicate murders.

Among their alleged victims, according to the Miami source, was Giancana, who was shot with a .22-caliber gun. A .22 is an unusual assassin's weapon in that it demands superior marksmanship. But the small-caliber guns apparently are favored by the Cubans, thanks to the quality of their CIA training, and have been used in at least 20 murders.

Most of the liquidations were Syndicate turncoats who had been cooperative with federal organized-crime prosecutions. The FBI recently embarked on a special investigation of the ".22 murders." But because the FBI has shrunk from exposing CIA-related wrongdoing, and has a record of suppressing Kennedy-related evidence, House investigators doubt the FBI probe will benefit them.

Nor, for that matter, do they expect their own work to bring a quick resolution. Despite a number of promising leads, the investigation remains a labyrinth blocked at key intersections by importune corpses. "It seems like every time somebody important turns up," the committee source laments, "he turns up dead."

King Probe Widens

HOUSE ASSASSINATIONS COMMITTEE INvestigators are following two leads connecting the Syndicate to the Martin Luther King assassination.

The first is an allegation that Frank Liberto, identified in a secret committee report as "a person with organized-crime connections," was seen talking to confessed King assassin James Earl Ray and an Alabama gun-shop owner shortly before the assassination. The gun dealer allegedly was holding a rifle and is quoted in the report as saying that "this is the gun that is going to kill Martin Luther King."

The second is the claim of Myron Billett, a self-described former FBI undercover operative, that FBI and CIA agents offered the late Syndicate don-of-dons Carlo Gambino $1 million to kill King. Billett, now in an Ohio penitentiary, says Gambino rejected the contract.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ALBERT COYA-MIAMI HERALD (TOP); WIDE WORLD

JFK-King Panel Names Acting Staff Director

House assassinations Committee Chairman Louis B. Stokes (D-Ohio) has named Thomas W. Lambeth as acting staff director for the inquiry into the murders of President Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr.

The temporary assignment was made Monday following the resignation of acting chief counsel and staff director Alvin B. Lewis Jr. Lewis, former special counsel for the committee, had agreed to stay on for only a few weeks after the resignation of chief counsel Richard A. Sprague.

Lambeth, 42, has been administrative assistant to Rep. Richardson Preyer (D-N.C.), chairman of the subcommittee investigating the Kennedy assassination. He is currently dividing his time between work for Preyer and serving as chief administrator of the committee staff and liaison between the staff and committee members.

The investigations are being directed by deputy chief counsels Robert Tanenbaum and Robert Lehner while the search for a new chief counsel continues.

"They've got tremendous problems," Sprague said yesterday in a telephone interview from Philadelphia where he has resumed his private law practice. "They haven't hired a single person since I left . . . and the sad truth is that as of this date, they have not had access to one classified document."

The committee staff now numbers 59 persons and has 56 vacancies. Sprague had complete hiring and firing authority when he was in charge of the staff, but since then, he said, the 12 committee members have been unable to agree among themselves on even the hiring of a new secretary. The committee has also had no success in finding a permanent successor to Sprague.

"I am convinced it's not going to fly," Sprague said. "The nature of congressmen and their habit of approaching things from a political angle just make it impossible to do this [investigation] the right way."

The Washington Post OUTLOOK

SUNDAY, MAY 15, 1977

Mark Lane: The Man Behind The Assassination Probe

By George Lardner Jr.

AT ONE OF their earliest executive sessions last fall, each member of the House Assassinations Committee was handed for eyes-only inspection a black looseleaf binder about the murders of President Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr.

In keeping with the "sensitivity" of the information it contained, all the members were required to surrender their copies at the end of the meeting.

The press and public have yet to get a glimpse of the secret briefing book. But it was all old stuff to Mark Lane, the quarrelsome critic of the Warren Commission and other assassination investigations. He had already been shown a copy in the offices of the then-chief counsel of the committee, Richard A. Sprague.

"I thought it was a remarkable job in a very short period of time," says Lane. He suggested this may have been partly due to the fact that he himself had given a number of briefings in the course of the committee staff's preparation of the report, a so-called "threshold analysis" of the two murders.

Mark Lane is riding high in the 14th year of his endeavors as entrepreneur, circuit rider and self-appointed revisionist of the Kennedy and King assassinations. His headquarters sits atop Capitol Hill. He was the genial host at a press conference here earlier this month to kick off the promotion for his latest enterprise, with Dick Gregory. It is a book entitled "Code Name 'Zorro': the Murder of Martin Luther King Jr.," and its publishers have tentatively earmarked $50,000 to turn it into "a number one best seller immediately."

Dozens of reporters from such varied organizations as Agence Francе Presse, the Nashville Tennessean, the Cleveland Plain Dealer and Jornal do Brasil showed up. Lane, just turned 50, held forth with the confidence of a veteran pitchman, presiding over a mockup of the murder scene, labeling the FBI as "prime suspects" in the killing, and finally finishing to a small burst of applause from student admirers in the audience.

Lectures, Books and Bumper Stickers

THESE DAYS Lane operates from a somewhat cluttered, four-story townhouse in the toniest area of Capitol Hill, just across the street from the Supreme Court. His standard of living is modest, he says: a 1968 Volkswagen, three suits and a $500 savings account.

See LANE, Page G5

Lardner is a member of The Post's national staff.

LANE, From Page G1

He gets $1,000 to $1,750 for his lecture performances. His Citizens Commission of Inquiry sells copies of his 11-year-old book, "Rush to Judgment," at $5.95 each, prints of the Zapruder film of the JFK assassination at $25 a crack and, for the budget-minded, bumper stickers and buttons asking "Who Killed Kennedy? Ask Congress" for half a dollar apiece.

Lane says he gives all his lecture proceeds, $70,000 in the past two years, to the Citizens Commission, an organization he controls.

A glib showman who can serve up a beguiling blend of fact and fiction, Lane moved to Washington in January of 1975 "following the Watergate disclosures — and when it became plain to me, for the first time, that Congress might be convinced to conduct an investigation of the Kennedy assassination."

He established the Citizens Commission, "a non-profit organization devoted to a congressional reopening" of the issue, bought what he describes as "an old boarding-house" at 105 2d St. NE as a headquarters and residence and put together a staff of dedicated college students to watch the store while he galloped about the country to assail the Warren Commission, the FBI, the CIA and others, drawing bigger and bigger crowds as the months wore on.

The preaching does not come free. His booking agent charges "as low as $1,000 for a straight lecture" to $1,750 for "a three-day multimedia program," Lane says. The agent takes a third off the top and sends the rest to Washington.

By late 1975, in a climate of distrust fed by Watergate and subsequent disclosure of CIA and FBI misdeeds, Lane was averaging 10 lectures a week. Nearly 7,000 turned out to hear him at Purdue University. At Northeast Louisiana University in Monroe, La., he outdrew Ronald Reagan, who had been there a few weeks earlier.

But by his account, Lane seems never to strike it rich. He counters suggestions to the contrary as a confection of the CIA, a line of inquiry suggested by the agency years ago in a memo entitled "Countering Criticisms of the Warren Report." Lane often responds to his critics in kind, accusing them of lying, ulterior motives and sometimes mental illness.

He also pleads poverty when asked how much he made off the film version of "Rush to Judgment."

Although the British Broadcasting Corp. once paid $40,000 for a single showing, reportedly the biggest such fee ever paid in Britain, Lane says he got "not a farthing" out of that telecast or any other showing. He maintains that co-producer Emile de Antonio "seized control of the film" before it started making any money.

Lane and writer Donald Freed also wrote the script of another film, "Executive Action," a fictionalized version of the JFK assassination which grossed $15 million, but the two have been quoted as saying they got "very little" for their efforts.

Building Pressure on Congress

BEFORE THE Kennedy assassination in 1963, Lane was a little-known New York lawyer and one-term member of the New York State Assembly. After the murder, he wrote a quick "Brief for the Defense" in a New York weekly and sought to establish himself before the Warren Commission, first as counsel for the dead Lee Harvey Oswald and then for Oswald's mother, Marguerite.

Then he hit the lecture circuit and in 1966 came out

Mark Lane: Behind the Assassination Probe

with his first book, "Rush to Judgment." Although one critic estimated that "nowhere near a tenth of Lane's relevant assertions and implications would stand up to careful scrutiny," more than a million paperback copies of the book were sold and more than 125,000 in hardcover.

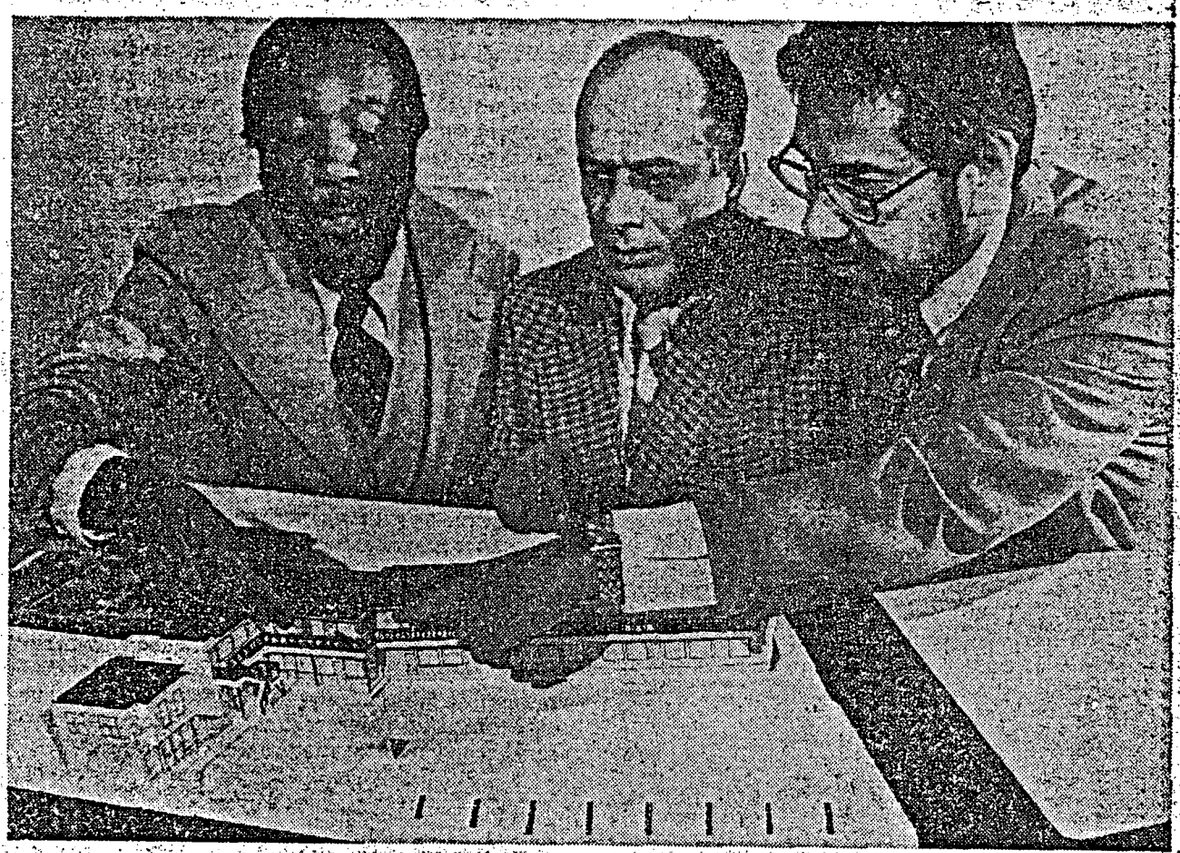
Today Lane has not only helped turn the assassinations, first of Kennedy and then of King, into a thriving cottage industry; he has also become something of an oracular figure for the congressional panel investigating the two murders.

It is no secret that Lane was instrumental in lobbying for the creation of the select House committee as well as in the choice of Richard A. Sprague as its first chief counsel.

According to Lane, as many as 180 Citizens Commission chapters were set up, many of them consisting of just a college professor and/or a couple of students, but active enough to stage showings of the Zapruder film and other meetings that would draw hundreds.

"We helped generate more than three-quarters of a million telegrams and letters to members of Congress," Lane declares. Some, such as Rep. Joe Moakley (D-Mass.), a member of the crucial House Rules Committee, got special attention. According to Lane, Moakley said he'd been advised by Tip O'Neill (D-Mass.), then House majority leader, not to get involved, but Moakley changed his mind after a committee of Citizens Commission members in his district collected 2,500 signatures in a single day. At another point, Lane flew to San Francisco to orchestrate pressure against Rep. Phillip Burton (D-Calif.), who had been reported in the press as saying he would try to keep the issue from even coming up for a vote in the House.

But even all this failed to produce the requisite momentum until Lane hooked up with a friend, television producer Abby Mann, on a trip to Memphis last summer to gather material for a documentary on King.



By Doug Chevalier — The Washington Post

Pointing to model of the Memphis motel where Martin Luther King Jr. was shot, Dick Gregory, James Earl Ray's brother Jerry and Mark Lane promote the Lane-Gregory book on the King case.



By James K.W. Atherton — The Washington Post

Del. Walter Fauntroy (holding rifle) heads the House subcommittee on the King murder; Rep. Louis Stokes (behind rifle) is chairman of the full Assassinations Committee.

What they came up with — the unexplained removal, shortly before King was shot, of one of two black detectives assigned to keep King under surveillance and the abrupt transfer of two black firemen from the firehouse across the street from King's motel — was nothing new, but they transmitted it as startling new information to D.C. Del. Walter E. Fauntroy and the rest of the Congressional Black Caucus.

The House leadership relented soon thereafter. The committee was created last Sept. 17 by a vote of 280 to 65.

Defending the Committee

LANE HAS ALSO taken on a self-appointed role as defender of the committee against press attacks. His influence on the atmospherics of the investigation has been considerable. He has been, for example, at least the harbinger of what some consider "a new kind of McCarthyism" that has come to surround the committee. Any criticisms, any unfavorable publicity, indeed any vigorous insistence that the two assassinations may already have been solved can then be ascribed to secret paid-up membership in, or fellow-traveling with, the CIA or the FBI or both.

George McMillan, author of "The Making of an Assassin," says he felt the sting as long ago as last October upon publication of his book about James Earl Ray as a poor white racist who reportedly decided, months in advance, to "kill that nigger King." McMillan was invited to appear on NBC-TV's "Today" show last Oct. 26 with Fauntroy, chairman of the subcommittee investigating the King murder.

The two men had never met and, McMillan says, "I never dreamed Fauntroy would attack me on that show that morning. But he came in with some 3-by-5 cards and, from the moment he came in, he just studied them. They had the same things on them that Lane was saying. One was led to think that Lane even prepared them."

McMillan was caught by surprise. "I'd been accused of being a Communist years ago," he says. "That wasn't so, but I had been quite active in the civil rights movement, I'd been a writer in residence at black colleges in Atlanta and to be treated [on the 'Today' show] as a friend of the FBI was quite uncongenial for me . . . I didn't do too well on that show. I never even got a chance to explain what my book was about . . . This is just a new kind of McCarthyism."

As a matter of fact, Fauntroy did get his tips from Lane, on a visit to Lane's headquarters-home on Capitol Hill the night before the show. Fauntroy said he went to see Dick Gregory, who was staying with Lane on a visit to Washington, and the talk turned to the "Today" show.

"It is true I made a number of suggestions [to Fauntroy] about what could be raised," Lane says.

Other examples of Lane's use of the offense as defense:

• When Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.), as chairman of the House Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, protested against the intrusive nature of the hidden recording devices, voice stress analyzers and other gadgets proposed for the investigation by chief counsel Sprague, Lane began denouncing him on the lecture circuit and noting darkly that Edwards was a former agent of the FBI. Up to that point, Edwards had been mentioned favorably in Citizens Commission newsletters for holding congressional hearings in 1975 on the FBI's long-secret destruction of a threatening note from Lee Harvey Oswald.

• When news articles began to appear, highlighting the House committee's budgetary and civil-liberties problems and raising questions about Sprague, Lane responded by attacking certain "segments" of the press. On one radio show in late January, he asserted that the House committee was facing "one of the most effective campaigns ever waged by what they call the 'intelligence community' ", and then went on to complain of the press coverage by "Jeremiah O'Leary of The Washington Star . . . David Burnham of The New York Times . . . and . . . George Lardner of The Washington Post."

Once again, Fauntroy picked up the theme, warning in a television interview April 24 that the Assassinations Committee might investigate "a few" of the reporters assigned to cover the inquiry and charging that some of them might be CIA agents. Asked later whether he had talked with Lane about the subject before making his charges, Fauntroy said that he "probably" had.

As for his future rule in the House investigation, Lane said he intends to keep supplying it with whatever relevant information he comes across — although there are indications that he may not know as much as he once said he did.

Writing in a Danish newspaper in 1967, Lane said in a signed article, "I know who fired the fatal shot at President Kennedy." Three years later, in another article, this time in the Los Angeles Free Press, he assured readers that the "CIA Killed JFK."

Which is all very strange. Last Sept. 17, after the House had voted that day to establish the Assassinations Committee, someone claiming to be Mark Lane declared firmly on WWDC here that "I don't know who killed Martin Luther King." And then, just last month, on WMCA in New York, someone again purporting to be Mark Lane assured listeners there: "I've never said that the FBI and the CIA were involved in the assassination. I still have not said that. . ."

Could there be a false Mark Lane?

13 MAY 1977

Assassinations Panel Convenes, Closes the Door

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House Assassinations Committee was chided yesterday for its habit of holding unannounced secret meetings in violation of its own rules.

Rep. Charles Thone (R-Neb.) protested the practice at the outset of what had been billed by Chairman Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) as an "important private informal meeting" of the 12-member committee.

Capitol Police were instructed by a committee staff worker at one point before the meeting to keep the press out, but a Washington Post reporter insisted on taking a seat.

Thick briefing books concerning the committee's investigation into the murders of President Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr. were distributed to each member, but reportedly the session was called primarily to discuss the committee's search for a new chief counsel to replace former counsel and staff director Richard A. Sprague.

Citing the meeting notice Stokes had sent, Thorne said that "of course, this violates the rules of our own select committee."

Those rules, he said, clearly state that "each meeting . . . shall be open to the public" unless and until the committee votes to move into closed session to discuss sensitive matters. The Assassinations Committee's habit of holding informal, secret get-togethers, Thone said, also skirted the requirement that public notice be given of all committee meetings, including those that wind up in closed session.

Urging an end to the practice, Thone said he felt strongly that "the more open we are, the better off we are going to be."

Rep. Harold S. Sawyer (R-Mich.), the newest member of the committee, said he "could not disagree more." He voiced fears over the release of raw, uncorroborated information.

Rep. Yvonne Burke (D-Calif.) said she generally favored open meetings, but found herself in a peculiar position concerning the assassinations inquiry. A number of colleagues in the House, she said, have been contending that the committee ought to keep "all our meetings closed." But she said she agreed with Thone that the proper procedure ought to be followed.

The committee then voted 6 to 1 on a motion by Rep. Samel L. Devine (R-Ohio) to go into closed session. No reason was stated.

Later, after the press was excluded, it was learned that the committee voted to have the official stenographer leave the meeting so that there would be no transcript of what was said. Finally, after briefing the members on the progress of the two investigations, the committee staff was asked to leave. The panel apparently has yet to settle on a replacement for Sprague.

Jack Anderson and Les Whitten

Odd CIA Activity in Dallas in 1963

The secret files of the House Assassinations Committee contain reports of strange CIA activities in Dallas on the eve of the John F. Kennedy assassination.

Credible witnesses have confirmed our past reports that the accused assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald, was in touch with anti-Castro Cubans in Dallas. One confidential report states that "in 1963, Oswald was seen leaving the Dallas office of Alpha 66." This was a Cuban commando group trained by the CIA.

A Cuban CIA operative, Antonio Veciana, also told investigators that he had been summoned to Dallas in August 1963, by his CIA contact—a mysterious man who went by the name of Morris Bishop. States a confidential summary: "When (Veciana) arrived, Bishop was accompanied by another man, Lee Harvey Oswald."

Another witness who impressed the investigators, Sylvia Odio, told them that two anti-Castro Cubans had introduced her to an American by the name of Leon Oswald. She was told that Oswald was trying "to convince anti-Castro Cuban groups. . .to kill President Kennedy." After the assassination, she recognized this American as Lee Harvey Oswald.

The House investigators don't really believe that the CIA had any part in the murder of President Kennedy. More likely, they suspect the CIA may have tried to cover up some embarrassing contacts with Oswald in Dallas.

In any case, the CIA took pains to give the impression that Oswald was in Mexico City at the time that witnesses claimed he was dealing with the CIA-guided Cubans in Dallas. Veciana, for example, told of a strange call he received from his CIA contact after Kennedy was killed.

The CIA man, Morris Bishop, asked Veciana to contact his cousin, Buillamo Ruiez, who worked for the Cuban embassy in Mexico City. Relates a confidential report: "Veciana was to relay Bishop's offer to pay Ruiez and his wife to say that they had met with Oswald in Mexico City."

This not only would have placed Oswald out of Dallas but would have thrown suspicion on the Castro government. The ruse was later called off. Instead, the CIA cited secret tapes and photographs as evidence that Oswald had been in touch with both the Cuban and Soviet embassies in Mexico City.

The CIA kept tapes of all phone calls going in and out of the two embassies. Photographs were also taken of everyone entering and leaving these embassies. On Oct. 1, 1963, the CIA notified other U.S. embassies that "an American male, who identified himself as Lee Oswald, contacted the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City."

Oswald was described in the cable as "approximately 35 years old, with an athletic build, about six feet tall, with a receding hairline." The committee files note that this "in no way physically resembles the Lee Harvey Oswald accused of assassinating President Kennedy."

The CIA sought photographs from the navy to compare with its photographs of Oswald at the Soviet embassy. Declares a committee report: "These photographs, though obviously not of the correct Lee Hrvey Oswald, became the Warren Commission's exhibit 237. The CIA admitted that there had been a mix-up but never cleared the matter up."

A CIA witness has told committee investigators, meanwhile, that the CIA's monitoring camera happened to break down on the day that Oswald allegedly visited the Soviet Embassy. But the CIA tap on the Soviet Embassy's phone produced an alleged telephone call from someone who identified himself as "Lee Henry Oswald."

The CIA witness claimed that the actual voice recording of the telephone conversation "was destroyed in routine destruction procedures approximately one week after it was received." Yet more than seven weeks later, the FBI claimed to have heard the telephone conversation that the CIA said had been destroyed. The FBI's judgment was that the voice did not belong to Oswald.

Wrote the late FBI director J. Edgar Hoover on Nov. 23, 1963: "The Central Intelligence Agency advised that on Oct. 1, 1963, an extremely sensitive source had reported that an individual indentified himself as Lee Oswald, who contacted the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City inquiring as to any messages.

"Special agents of this bureau, who have conversed with Oswald in Dallas, Tex., have observed photographs of the individual referred to above and have listened to a recording of his voice. These special agents are of the opinion that the above-referred-to individual was not Lee Harvey Oswald"

The House investigators are beginning to wonder whether the CIA concocted the whole Oswald adventure in Mexico City in an attempt to conceal his real activities in Dallas.

W. POST 27.4.77

House JFK-King Panel Fund Of $2.5 Million Advances

Associated Press

A $2.5 million budget for the House Assassinations Committee was cleared yesterday for floor action.

The money for investigating the assassinations of President Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. was approved by the House Administration Committee, 13 to 7.

The chairman of the administration committee, Rep. Frank Thompson Jr. (D-N.J.), said he hopes to put the funding measure to a full House vote Thursday.

A motion to terminate the investigations was made by Rep. Lucien N. Nedzi, (D-Mich.). He said he had never supported a House assassinations panel and now is even more opposed because of one member's talk of investigating reporters.

"Well, that's ludicrous," Nedzi said. "And it embarrasses us [members of Congress]."

He was referring to statements Sunday by Del. Walter E. Fauntroy (D-D.C.), who said the committee might investigate whether any of the reporters writing that the panel is accomplishing little are Central Intelligence Agency operatives trying to discredit the probe.

Fauntroy could not be reached for comment yesterday but an aide said the delegate only meant to raise the question and did not mean to state that the committee is considering such an investigation.

Committee approval of the $2.5 million budget was supported by Rep. John L. Burton, (D-Calif.), who said the assassinations committee should be given enough money to get to work.

"Keeping it on a short string guarantees disaster," Burton said.

Burton also said he was convinced by a secret briefing from committee leaders last week that they are pursuing questions on the two assassinations that should be answered.

There was no direct vote on Nedzi's motion to close the assassinations investigation down because the committee voted instead on the question of whether to approve the $2.5 million.

EXCLUSIVE NEW EVIDENCE

Oswald Could Not Have Killed JFK

...And Top-Secret Govt. Documents Prove Accused Assassin Had Been on CIA Payr

Just one day before the House assassinations committee was scheduled to fold on March 31, its life was extended by nearly two years — because of new leads uncovered in the death of John F. Kennedy. The committee, which was set up by Congress to investigate the murders of President Kennedy and Martin Luther King, heard testimony that Texas oilmen were behind Kennedy's assassination. And a letter reportedly written by Lee Harvey Oswald was released by a retired Texas newspaper editor. The letter — dated two weeks bef Kennedy's death — was addressed to a "Mr. Hunt" and asked "discuss the matter fully before any steps are taken by me or any else." The new evidence — and the mystery-shrouded suicide Lee Harvey Oswald's friend George de Mohrenschildt about two ho after a House investigator called to see him — triggered a mass ENQUIRER probe. The accompanying articles reveal what we learn

New evidence uncovered by The ENQUIRER reveals that Lee Harvey Oswald could n have killed President John F. Kennedy.

At the very moment JFK was shot, Oswald and a friend — George de Mohrenschildt — were standi on a downtown Dallas street watching the motorcade pass, de Mohrenschildt told a hospital roommate la December.

De Mohrenschildt said Oswald ran from the scene and he never saw Oswald again. He also said th Oswald was once offered money by a CIA agent to kill Kennedy — but rejected the offer.

De Mohrenschildt made these disclosures to roommate Clifford Wilson in Dallas — but before the House assassin tions committee got a chance to hear them, de Mohrenschildt was found shot to death.

The ENQUIRER has also uncovered another startling aspect of the Kennedy assassination case.

Top secret government documents — kept locked away until only days ago — reveal that Lee Harvey Oswald worked for the CIA.

These documents, now in The ENQUIRER's possession, prove Oswald was on the CIA's payroll three years before JFK's assassination — a fact that top CIA officials have vigorously denied, even under oath.

De Mohrenschildt's death came on March 29 in Manalapan, Fla. A local coroner's inquest ruled it a suicide. Last year de Mohrenschildt, a Dallas geologist, had tried to kill himself four times, and had spent the last weeks of the year in Dallas' Parkland Hospital.

At the hospital, de Mohrenschildt became friendly with Wilson, a manual laborer . . . and over a period of 11 days in December, de Mohrenschildt confided to Wilson that Oswald could not have assassinated JFK.

"He said to me: 'I know damn well Oswald didn't kill Kennedy — because Oswald and I were together at the time,'" Wilson told The ENQUIRER in an exclusive interview.

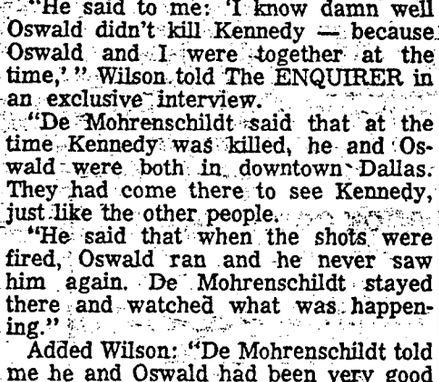
"De Mohrenschildt said that at the time Kennedy was killed, he and Oswald were both in downtown Dallas. They had come there to see Kennedy, just like the other people.

"He said that when the shots were fired, Oswald ran and he never saw him again. De Mohrenschildt stayed there and watched what was happening."

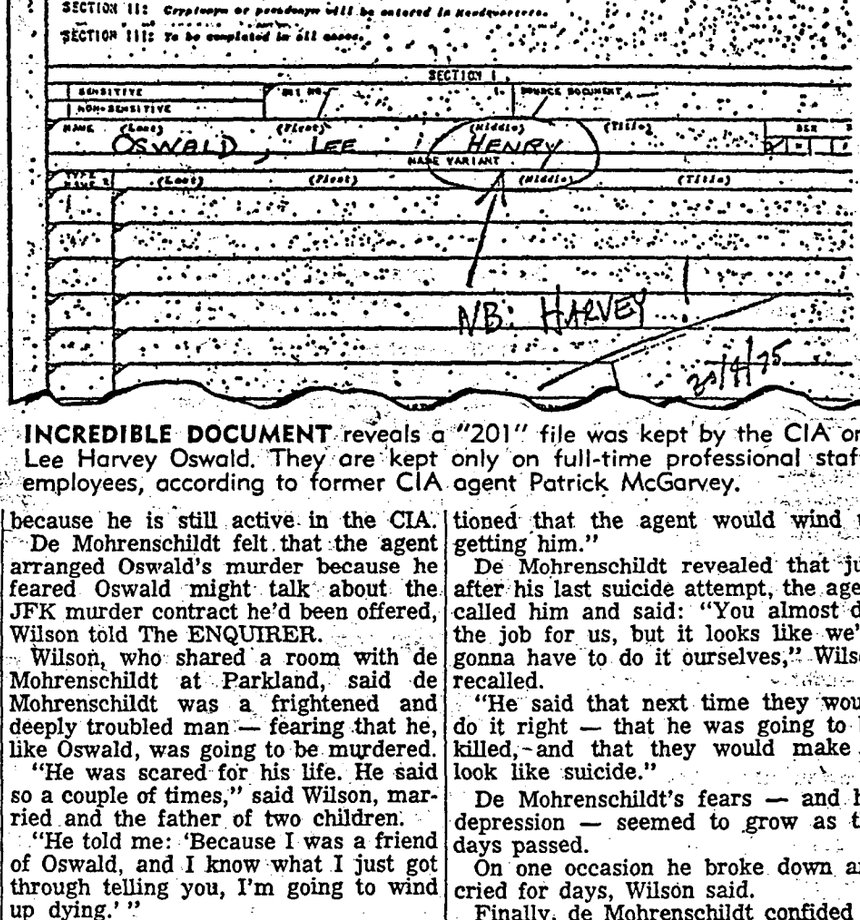
Added Wilson: "De Mohrenschildt told me he and Oswald had been very good friends for a long time.

"He also said Oswald had once been offered money by a CIA agent to kill Kennedy — but that he had turned it down."

Wilson gave the agent's name to The ENQUIRER, but it is being withheld because he is still active in the CIA.



TOP PROBERS of JFK assassination, Alan J. Weberman (left) and Robert Sibley uncovered amazing government documents.



INCREDIBLE DOCUMENT reveals a "201" file was kept by the CIA on Lee Harvey Oswald. They are kept only on full-time professional staff employees, according to former CIA agent Patrick McGarvey.

De Mohrenschildt felt that the agent arranged Oswald's murder because he feared Oswald might talk about the JFK murder contract he'd been offered, Wilson told The ENQUIRER.

Wilson, who shared a room with de Mohrenschildt at Parkland, said de Mohrenschildt was a frightened and deeply troubled man — fearing that he, like Oswald, was going to be murdered.

"He was scared for his life. He said so a couple of times," said Wilson, married and the father of two children.

"He told me: 'Because I was a friend of Oswald, and I know what I just got through telling you, I'm going to wind up dying.'"

De Mohrenschildt said his fear had been triggered by the fact that the CIA had begun harassing him in mid-1976, Wilson said.

"De Mohrenschildt said he was visited at home — and told he was being watched — by the agent who'd offered money to Oswald," recalled the laborer.

"After that, he was bothered by the CIA.

"He said he couldn't go anywhere or do anything without one of them following him.

"He said he couldn't even go home from the hospital for two days without them bugging him, calling him up and threatening him.

"De Mohrenschildt said he and his wife couldn't take a walk without being followed.

"He often told me: 'They'll wind up getting me.' Most of the time he mentioned that the agent would wind getting him."

De Mohrenschildt revealed that ju after his last suicide attempt, the age called him and said: "You almost d the job for us, but it looks like we' gonna have to do it ourselves," Wils recalled.

"He said that next time they wou do it right — that he was going to killed, and that they would make look like suicide."

De Mohrenschildt's fears — and h depression — seemed to grow as t days passed.

On one occasion he broke down a cried for days, Wilson said.

Finally, de Mohrenschildt confided Wilson exactly why the CIA was out get him.

"He said to me: 'I'll tell you w they're bugging me . . . the Kenne assassination investigation has be opened again, and they're afraid I' going to be called back up on th thing — and this time I'll talk.'"

Wilson said de Mohrenschildt was leased one day before he himself we home.

Three months later de Mohrenschil was found dead in an upstairs bedroo at a close friend's home in Manalapa Fla.

"When I heard over the news that was shot, it brought tears to my eyes said Wilson, 17.

"From what he told me, I know dar well it wasn't suicide."

The ENQUIRER taped Wilson's sto and took the tapes to Charles R. M



DISCLOSURES by George de Mohrenschildt (left) show Oswald (right) didn't shoot JFK.

uiston, co-developer of the truth-de-ecting Psychological Stress Evaluator. fter an extensive examination of the apes, McQuiston reported:

"At no point during the interview did ıy electronic equipment indicate he as lying.

"My conclusion is that he is being uthful."

Dutch journalist Willem Oltmans, who stified before the House assassina-ons committee in February, March id April, confirmed that the geologist id been running scared in recent onths.

And the newsman, a friend of de ohrenschildt's since 1968, revealed to ıe ENQUIRER that de Mohrenschildt lmitted he had met Jack Ruby — a fact Mohrenschildt had denied during tes-nony before the Warren Commission in 64.

CIA documents on both de Mohren-hildt and Oswald were obtained rough the Freedom of Information Act ly last month from CIA headquarters Langley, Va., by Alan J. Weberman id Robert Sibley — two top investiga-rs who have devoted years to probing e JFK assassination.

These documents reveal there is a 01" file on Oswald.

The very existence of this file — the andard personnel file for paid CIA nployees — conclusively shows that worked for the agency, three CIA terans confirmed.

"The fact that Oswald had one (a 201 e) is absolutely fantastic!" said for-er CIA man Bradley E. Ayers, who ce trained anti-Castro Cubans.

Ayers said it meant Oswald was ither a contract agent, working for em full time, or he was on some kind assignment for the CIA."

Former CIA agent Patrick McGarvey ıs equally astounded when told of wald's 201 file.

"You've got a bombshell, man! You've t the one that cracks the egg," Mc-ırvey told The ENQUIRER. "If a guy s a 201 file, that means he's a pro-ıssional staff employee of the organiza-n."

Victor Marchetti, former executive as-tant to the deputy director of the A, agreed.

'Basically, if Oswald had a 201 file, was an agent," he said.

n an exclusive ENQUIRER interview, vestigator Weberman revealed how the A had hidden the fact that Oswald rked for the agency:

'The CIA never told the Warren Com-ssion that a 201 file existed on Os-ld.

'Instead they claimed their file was outine file on a suspected Communist ent.

'This file offers conclusive proof that wald was not just a 'weak, pathetic er,' as the Warren Commission con-ded — but was in actual fact a A operative."

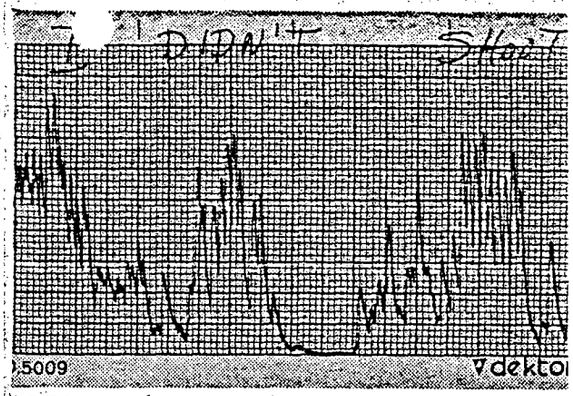
'he Commission, in fact, was never d of Oswald's work with the agency. A Director John McCone told the pan-under oath that Oswald "was never ociated or connected, directly or in-ectly, in any way whatsoever, with th[e] gency." Deputy Director Richard He[lms] issued similar denials.

Investigators Weberman and Sibley also obtained CIA documents which show that Oswald's friend, George de Mohrenschildt, also had links with the agency.

One document reveals that after a trip behind the Iron Curtain to Yugoslavia in 1957, de Mohrenschildt was extensively debriefed by a CIA agent.

"It seems clear to me that this new evidence on Oswald and de Mohrenschildt proves there's a conspiracy," said investigator Weberman.

"And I'm confident that in the next few months this whole thing will be blown wide open."



READOUT of Lee Harvey Oswald's voice on PSE

Analysis of Voices Using Psychological Stress Evaluator Shows . .

Oswald Told the Truth—He Did N

. . . But Justice Warren Lied When He Said He'd Found No Evide

Lee Harvey Oswald was telling the absolute truth when he said he did not kill President Kennedy.

And the late Chief Justice Earl Warren lied when he said he'd found no evidence of a conspiracy in the President's death. Warren headed the commission that concluded JFK was killed by a lone assassin.

Those are the bombshell discoveries of the truth-detecting Psychological Stress Evaluator (PSE), which tested statements made by both men. The PSE is so reliable that its results are accepted as court evidence in eight states.

"Oswald told the truth when he denied that he was responsible for killing President Kennedy," declared Charles R. McQuiston, co-developer of the PSE.



ROOMMATE: Clifford Wilson heard startling admissions in hospital from George de Mohrenschildt.

McQuiston analyzed the statements Oswald made during a madhouse press conference only hours after the President's death. A newsman shouted to the suspect, "Did you shoot the President?"

"No! No!" Oswald quickly responded.

Noted McQuiston, "The situation was very emotional, very stressful. In all his statements, Oswald shows what could be considered normal situational stress in his voice patterns.

"But when he replies 'No! No!' to the question, his situational stress level drops. That's impossible if he were lying." Another reporter asked Oswald if he'd shot the President. "I didn't shoot anybody, no sir," he replied.

"This time he shows no stress at all," said McQuiston, "I have to conclude that he believed what he said."

The PSE also tested statements made by Earl Warren while he was visiting Brandeis University in 1972. He told an interviewer there were theories that Nikita Khrushchev and Fidel Castro — or possibly right-wing Texas oilmen — were behind the assassination.

"We explored both of these theories for 10 months, and found no evidence that either of them were involved in it," Warren stated.

McQuiston observed, "The PSE shows hard stress on this statement, particularly on the words 'and found no evidence.' Obviously, there was some evidence. Perhaps it was something that was not properly pursued."

Warren said he was aware of severe criticism of the commission's finding after the report was issued in 1964, but added, "I have found nothing since that time (1964, when the commission's report came out) to change my view."

Declared McQuiston: "When Warren said he'd 'found nothing to change my view,' he was lying. It's quite apparent from studying his stress patterns that he had found something that impugns his commission's findings." Warren died in 1974.

The ENQUIRER obtained recordings of statements made by many other key figures in the assassination, and had them analyzed by the PSE. Here are the findings:

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Ruby tol ence in my Oswald) w other."

McQuisto extreme st It appears for the very

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But, said treme stres no evidenc

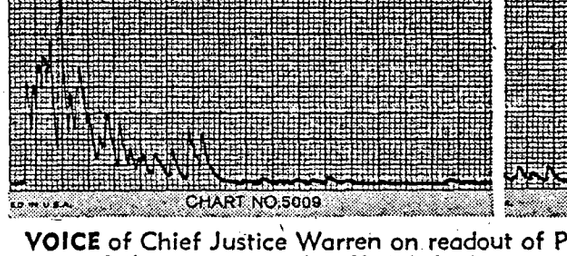
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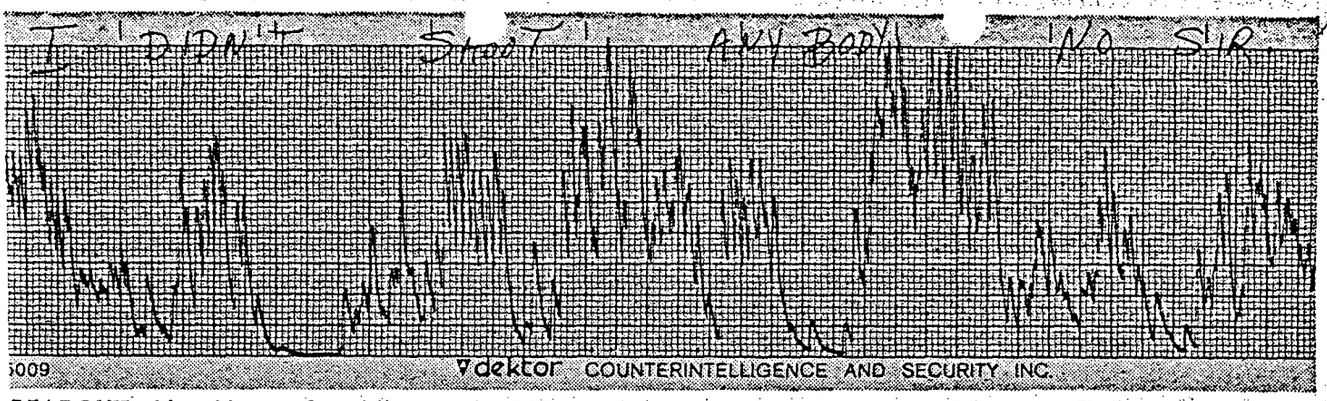
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EX-PRES and may confidenc



VOICE of Chief Justice Warren on readout of P view of the commission's official findings on



READOUT of Lee Harvey Oswald's voice on PSE shows he told truth in saying he didn't shoot JFK.

hological Stress Evaluator Shows . . .

e Truth—He Did Not Kill JFK

When He Said He'd Found No Evidence of a Conspiracy

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The ENQUIRER obtained recordings statements made by many other key ures in the assassination, and had m analyzed by the PSE. Here are the dings:

• Oswald's killer Jack Ruby was definitely lying when he said he just happened to be in the Dallas police station when Oswald was brought out — and shot him on the spur of the moment.

Ruby told an interviewer, "The difference in my meeting this fate (shooting Oswald) was 30 seconds one way or the other."

McQuiston noted that Ruby "showed extreme stress and was definitely lying. It appears he was at the police station for the very reason of shooting Oswald."

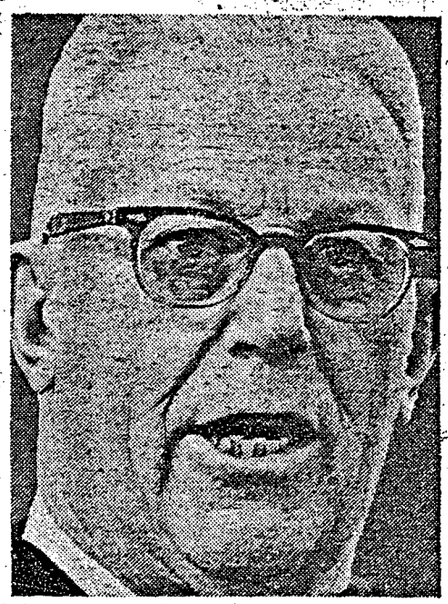
• The late President Lyndon Johnson doubted the conclusions of the Warren report, although publicly he expressed his belief in them. In a November 1966 press conference he said, "I know of no evidence that would cause any reasonable person to have a doubt (about the commission's findings)."

But, said McQuiston, "He shows extreme stress at the phrase, 'I know of no evidence.' He knew something."

• Former President Gerald Ford was hedging, evasive and may have been lying when he defended the Warren report at a press conference on April 3, 1975. Ford was asked if he still had confidence in the findings of the commission (he was a member of it). "We said the commission had found no evidence of a conspiracy, foreign or domestic," he responded.

"Those words were very carefully drafted, and so far I've seen no evidence that would dispute the conclusions to which we came."

Noted McQuiston, "His voice shows stresses that indicate he's not telling the whole story. He's hedging, and may not be telling the truth. He avoided the questions that were asked — he was evasive."

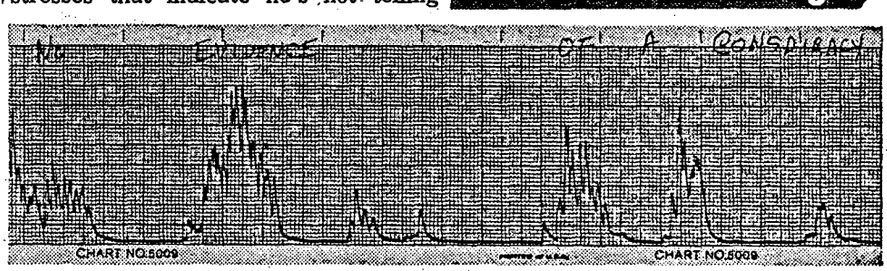


CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN was aware before his death in 1974 of criticism of commission's report.

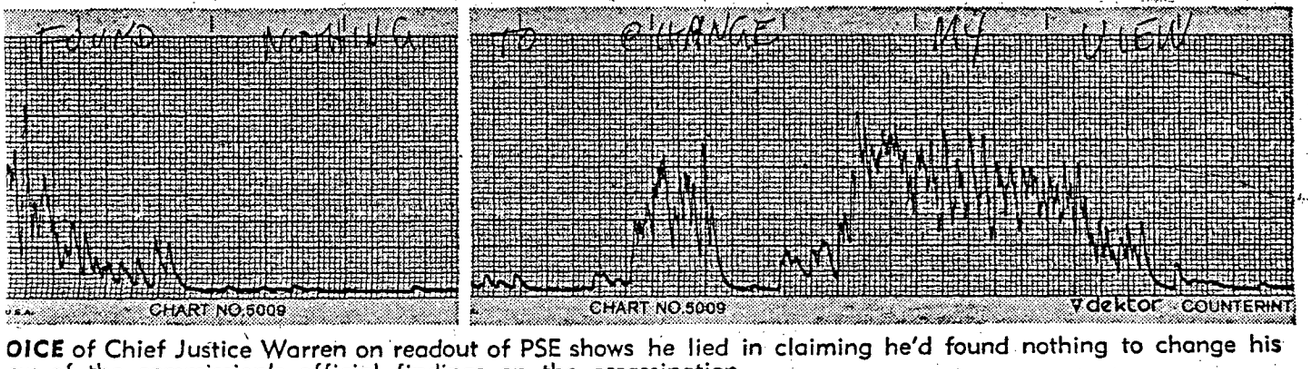
• Former Texas Gov. John Connally, wounded at the same time Kennedy was killed, wasn't telling the truth when he said he believed there was no conspiracy. Talking to the press in 1966, Connally stated, "I have never believed there was a plot."

McQuiston called the stress pattern on this statement "one of the strongest we've run into in this investigation. He does believe there was a plot."

More Stories Next 2 Pages



EX-PRESIDENT FORD'S readout of PSE shows that he was hedging, evasive and may have been lying when he was asked at press conference if he had confidence in findings of Warren Commission.



OICE of Chief Justice Warren on readout of PSE shows he lied in claiming he'd found nothing to change his ew of the commission's official findings on the assassination.

Transcript of Astonishing Tape Discloses . . .

Right-Wing

Just 13 days before President John F. Kennedy was gunned down in Dallas, a right-wing extremist revealed details of the assassination with bloodcurdling accuracy.

The shocking plans were secretly recorded by Miami police and given to the FBI — but incredibly they let the potential assassin roam free.

A transcript of the astonishing tape — a blueprint for murder — was obtained by The ENQUIRER.

On it, the late Joseph A. Milteer, who was a member of the White Citizens Council of Atlanta, Ga., reveals in stunning detail how:

• JFK would be assassinated from a tall office building with a high-powered rifle.

• A fall guy would be picked up within hours of the slaying "just to throw the public off."

Miami Circuit Court Judge Seymour Gelber — who provided The ENQUIRER with the tape transcript — was administrative assistant to the Dade County (Fla.) State Attorney when the tape was made in November 1963.

At the time Gelber was using an undercover informant named Willie A. Somersett to infiltrate a group of right-wing extremists.

Gelber recalled:

"The crucial tape on the JFK assassination was made in a small downtown Miami hotel where the informer Somersett was living on Nov. 9, 1963 — just 13 days before Dallas.

"A Miami Police Department detective set up a tape recorder with a long playing spool in a broom closet off the kitchen."

Milteer arrived and began discussing future plans with Somersett.

Here — in bone-chilling detail — are astonishing excerpts of their tape-recorded conversation:

SOMERSETT: "I think Kennedy is coming here (Miami) November 18th to make some kind of speech. I don't know what it is, but I imagine it will be on TV."

MILTEER: "You can bet your bottom dollar he is going to have a lot to say about the Cubans, there are so many of them here."

SOMERSETT: "Well, he'll have a thousand bodyguards, don't worry about that."

MILTEER: "The more bodyguards he has, the easier it is to get him."

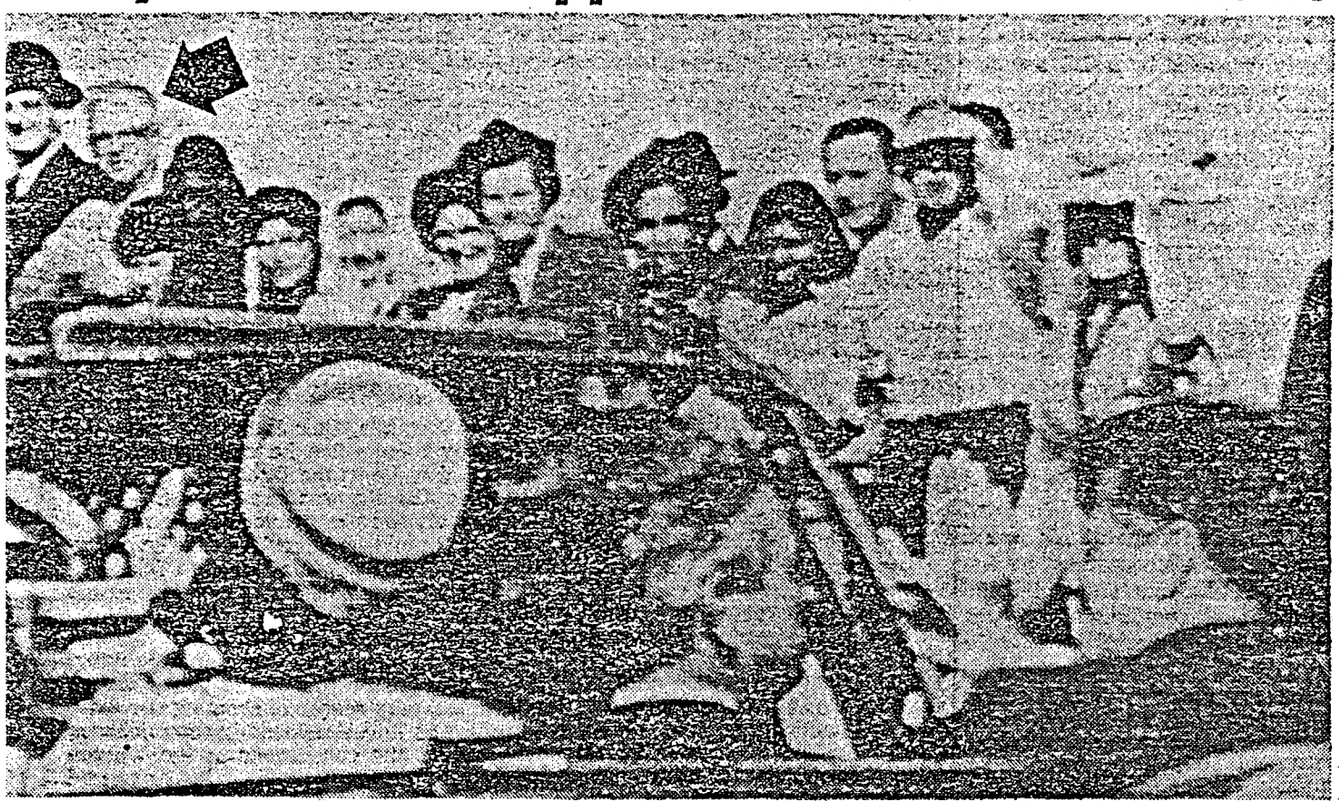
SOMERSETT: "Well, how in the hell do you figure would be the best way to get him?"

MILTEER: "From an office building with a high-powered rifle."

SOMERSETT: "They are really going to try to kill him?"

MILTEER: "Oh, yeah. It is in the working. — — — — — (name deleted for legal rea-

Extremist Revealed Blueprint for Assassination 3 Days Before It Happened—And the FBI Knew!



JFK MOTORCADE rolls through Dallas on fateful day as man (arrow) looking exactly like right-wing activist Joseph A. Milteer (left) watches the President's car. Just 13 days before, Milteer disclosed — with chilling accuracy — the plot to murder JFK.



ns) is just as likely to get
m as anybody. He hasn't said
, but he tried to get Martin
ıther King. He followed him
r miles and miles and
uldn't get close enough to
m."

SOMERSETT: "Hitting this
ennedy is going to be a hard
oposition. I believe you may
ve figured out a way to get
m, the office building and all
at.

"I don't know how them
cret Service agents cover all
em office buildings every-
ıere he is going. Do you
ow whether they do that or
t?"

MILTEER: "Well, if they
ve any suspicions they do
at, of course. But without
spicion, chances are that
ey wouldn't. You take there
Washington. This is the
ong time of the year. But in
easant weather, he comes
t on the veranda and some-
dy could be in a hotel room
ross the way and pick him
just like that.

'You don't have to take a
n up there. You can disas-
semble and take it up in pieces. All those guns come knocked down and you can take them apart."

SOMERSETT: "Boy, if that Kennedy gets shot, we have got to know where we are at. Because you know that will be a real shake, if they do that."

MILTEER: "They wouldn't leave any stone unturned there, no way. They will pick up somebody within hours afterwards, if anything like that would happen, just to throw the public off."

SOMERSETT: "Oh, somebody is going to have to go to jail, if he gets killed."

MILTEER: "Just like that Bruno Hauptmann in the Lindbergh case."

The tape was handed over to the FBI and an official report of the Bureau, dated Nov. 9, 1963, noted:

"Threat to kill President Kennedy by J.A. Milteer, Miami, Florida, Nov. 9, 1963."

After the FBI received the tape, a presidential motorcade scheduled in Miami for November 18 was called off. "But no steps were taken by any authority to arrest Milteer or put him under surveillance," said Gelber.

"On Dec. 4, 1963 — nearly two weeks after the assassination — I heard that the FBI had finally acted. After the fact.

"Somersett called Milteer and found that the FBI had swooped down on Milteer and questioned him as part of a mass roundup of extremists," Gelber said.

Milteer denied to the FBI that he ever threatened the President's life or that he participated in his assassination.

Remarked an astonished Judge Gelber:

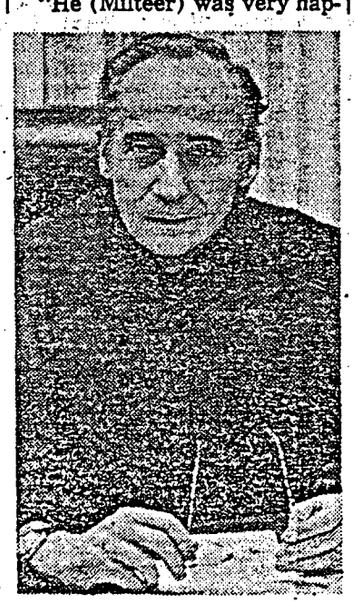
"The FBI had Milteer on tape forecasting in detail the assassination — yet they accepted his denial without question and let him go."

Gelber kept a diary of his investigation which revealed that shortly after Kennedy's death, police informant Somersett met again with Milteer, and reported on that meeting to Miami Detective Everett Kay on November 25. According to the diary, Somersett told Kay:

"He (Milteer) was very happy over it (the assassination) and shook hands with me. He said, 'Well, I told you so. It happened like I told you, didn't it? It happened from a window with a high-powered rifle.'

"I said, 'That's right. I don't know whether you were guessing or not, but you hit it on the head pretty good.'

"He said, 'Well, that is the way it was supposed to be done, and that is the way it was done.' "



JUDGE Seymour Gelber was with Dade County (Fla.) State Attorney's office in November 1963 when he heard tape that revealed plans of JFK's slaying.

Amazingly, Milteer may have been just a few feet from Kennedy as the President's motorcade swept through Dallas on Nov. 22, 1963, the day of the assassination.

A photograph taken of the motorcade shows a man who looks exactly like Milteer standing in the crowd, revealed investigative reporter Dan Christensen, who's written about the assassination for "Miami" magazine.

Last summer, Christensen made another startling discovery as he searched through an old, abandoned home of Milteer in Quitman, Ga. Christensen found a bankbook belonging to the extremist which showed that in the 3½ months before the assassination three large deposits were made — totaling $12,000 — and withdrawn shortly after the killing.

Christensen also learned that Milteer died under mysterious circumstances.

Milteer, according to his death certificate, suffered fatal burns when a Coleman

Continued on Next Page

Extremist

(Continued from preceding page)

stove in his bathroom exploded on Feb. 9, 1974. He died two weeks later, but no autopsy was performed and the local mortician, who saw the body, said the burns were not severe enough to have caused death.

There is one final chilling

With the Death This Month of Former Cuban

At Least 21 People Linked to

When former Cuban president Carlos Prio Socarras sent a fatal bullet crashing into his chest April 5, he became the latest name added to an astonishingly long list of people who died mysteriously — and often violently — after being linked to the assassination of John F. Kennedy.

Since that fateful day more than 13 years ago, at least 21 men and women who knew something or somebody connected with JFK's murder have died under strange circumstances. In almost every case they died either by murder or suicide.

The macabre list of deaths grew bigger when Prio committed suicide. His death has brought renewed interest into an FBI document that had been shelved with thousands of other assassination-related files in the National Archives.

Ten days after the assassination, FBI agent Daniel Doyle wrote a report quoting a reliable FBI informant that Prio was actually a one-time business associate of Jack Ruby, the nightclub owner who killed assassin Lee Harvey Oswald.

The report said that Ruby once purchased a share in a Havana casino in which Prio was the principal owner. In the mid-1950s both Ruby, known as Jack Rubenstein, and Prio were active in arranging flights of weapons to the Castro guerrillas in Cuba while Prio was financing the supply of arms to pro-Castro forces.

Assassination investigator Alan Weberman told The ENQUIRER: "Prio supported Castro who promised to make him president again. But Castro double-crossed him and Prio . . . was very active in arranging the Bay of Pigs plot to take Cuba back by force."



LATEST DEATH linked to the JFK murder is former Cuban president Carlos Prio Socarras.

Prio died violently, like so many others directly or indirectly connected with JFK's murder. The mysterious deaths of persons involved with the Kennedy assassination were:

LEE HARVEY OSWALD
Murdered Nov. 24, 1963

Millions of television viewers looked on in horror as the suspected assassin — who could have provided so many much-needed answers — was gunned down by Jack Ruby in the basement of the Dallas police station Sunday, two days after JFK was killed.

JACK ZANGETTI
Found murdered December 1963

The day before Oswald was shot, Zangetti, manager of a motel complex in Oklahoma, told some friends, "Three men — not Oswald — killed President Kennedy. A man named Jack Ruby will kill Oswald tomorrow and in a few days a member of the Frank Sinatra family will be kidnapped to take some of the attention away from the assassination." This conversation was confirmed by assassination researcher Penn Jones Jr.

Zangetti was dead right. On December 8, about two weeks after Ruby shot Oswald, Frank Sinatra Jr. was kidnapped, and later released unharmed.

Two weeks after the prophetic conversation, Zangetti was found dead in Lake Lugert, Oklahoma, with bullet holes in his chest.

BETTY MOONEY MacDONALD
Committed suicide February 1964

A former stripper in Jack Ruby's Carousel Club, Betty had been to a party attended by Oswald. Betty had provided an alibi for a man accused of shooting and wounding Warren Reynolds, a witness to the Kennedy assassination. A week after talking to the police, she was arrested for fighting with her roommate. An hour later she was dead — she was found hanging in her cell.

HANK KILLAM
Found dead March 17, 1964

Killam, husband of Wanda Killam who was also a stripper for Ruby, was associated not only with Ruby but with John Carter who lived in the same rooming house as Oswald. After the assassination, Killam moved from state to state to avoid questioning by federal agents. Four months after JFK's murder, Killam was found dead on a Pensacola, Fla., street — his throat was slashed.

BILL HUNTER
Killed April 1964

Hunter, 35, an award-winning newsman with the Long Beach Press-Telegram in Long Beach, Calif., had met with Ruby's attorney Tom Howard at Ruby's apartment only hours after Ruby shot Oswald. Five months later Hunter was shot to death by a policeman in the Long Beach police station. The policeman said he dropped his gun and it accidentally fired when he picked it up. The bullet went through Hunter's heart.

GARY UNDERHILL
Found dead May 8, 1964

Underhill, a former military affairs editor of Life magazine, and a CIA agent, "begged his friends to keep him out of sight" after the assassination,

Huge Enquirer Team Worked on Special

This week's ENQUIRER special on the Kennedy Assassination involved 40 editors, reporters, photographers and researchers working as a coordinated team. These are the people responsible:

General Editor: William Dick
Associate Editors: Malcolm Balfour, Nat Chrzan, Thomas Kuncl, Bernard D.A. Scott, Edward Sigall, Robert G. Smith
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wo weeks later, but no autop-sy was performed and the lo-cal mortician, who saw the body, said the burns were not severe enough to have caused death.

There is one final chilling twist. Judge Gelber told The ENQUIRER:

"The Dade County State Attorney's files on the JFK assassination disappeared some time between 1971 and 1976. I last saw them — they consisted of thousands of pages of transcripts and documents — in 1971.

"I was the person who gave permission for their movement or for people to examine them. No one asked to see them until 1976. I called the North Miami warehouse where they were stored and asked for them. An extensive search was launched — but nothing was found. They're gone and no one knows where."

lonth of Former Cuban President . . .

ople Linked to the Assassination Have Died Mysteriously



LATEST DEATH linked to the JFK murder is former Cuban president Carlos Prio Socarras.

ro who promised to make him resident again. But Castro ouble-crossed him and Prio . was very active in arrang-ng the Bay of Pigs plot to take uba back by force."

Prio died violently, like so any others directly or indi-ectly connected with JFK's urder. The mysterious deaths f persons involved with the ennedy assassination were:

LEE HARVEY OSWALD
Murdered Nov. 24, 1963

Millions of television viewers looked on horror as the suspected assassin — ho could have provided so many much-eeded answers — was gunned down y Jack Ruby in the basement of the allas police station Sunday, two days fter JFK was killed.

JACK ZANGETTI
Found murdered December 1963

The day before Oswald was shot, Zan-etti, manager of a motel complex in klahoma, told some friends, "Three en — not Oswald — killed President ennedy. A man named Jack Ruby will ll Oswald tomorrow and in a few days member of the Frank Sinatra family ill be kidnapped to take some of the ttention away from the assassination." his conversation was confirmed by as-assination researcher Penn Jones Jr. Zangetti was dead right. On Decem-r 8, about two weeks after Ruby shot swald, Frank Sinatra Jr. was kidnap-d, and later released unharmed.

Two weeks after the prophetic con-rsation, Zangetti was found dead in ake Lugert, Oklahoma, with bullet oles in his chest.

BETTY MOONEY MacDONALD
Committed suicide February 1964

A former stripper in Jack Ruby's arousel Club, Betty had been to a arty attended by Oswald. Betty had rovided an alibi for a man accused of hooting and wounding Warren Rey-olds, a witness to the Kennedy assas-nation. A week after talking to the olice, she was arrested for fighting ith her roommate. An hour later she as dead — she was found hanging in er cell.

HANK KILLAM
Found dead March 17, 1964

Killam, husband of Wanda Killam ho was also a stripper for Ruby, was ssociated not only with Ruby but with ohn Carter who lived in the same oming house as Oswald. After the assassination, Killam moved from state state to avoid questioning by fed-al agents. Four months after JFK's urder, Killam was found dead on a ensacola, Fla., street — his throat was ashed.

BILL HUNTER
Killed April 1964

Hunter, 35, an award-winning news-an with the Long Beach Press-Tele-am in Long Beach, Calif., had met th Ruby's attorney Tom Howard at uby's apartment only hours after Ruby ot Oswald. Five months later Hunter as shot to death by a policeman in e Long Beach police station. The po-eman said he dropped his gun and accidentally fired when he picked it . The bullet went through Hunter's eart.

GARY UNDERHILL
Found dead May 8, 1964

Underhill, a former military affairs itor of Life magazine, and a CIA ent, "begged his friends to keep him ut of sight" after the assassination, claimed Penn Jones Jr. "Almost out of his mind, he told his friends that he knew who killed President Kennedy and he was sure 'they' would soon get him."

According to Jones, Underhill said the CIA had killed Kennedy because it was unhappy about JFK's snooping into its affairs. On May 8, 1964, in Washington, D.C., Underhill died of gunshot wounds to the head. Authorities ruled it suicide — even though he was right-handed and he was shot through the left side of the head.

JIM KOETHE
Murdered Sept. 21, 1964

A Dallas Times Herald reporter, Koethe, 30, had also met with Ruby's attorney the same time as Hunter did. Ten months later Koethe was killed by a karate chop to the throat as he emerged from a shower in his apartment. His killer was never found.

TOM HOWARD
Died March 1965

Howard, Ruby's attorney, died of a heart attack in Dallas. "He was seen acting strangely two days before his death and no autopsy was performed," said Penn Jones Jr.

ROSE CHERAMI
Killed Sept. 4, 1965

Two days before the JFK murder, Rose, a stripper for Ruby, had told hospital psychiatrist Dr. Victor Weiss that the President was going to be killed. The doctor put it down to the ravings of a heroin addict — until the assassination. Cherami then told police she had seen Oswald in Ruby's club many times. Nearly two years later, a hit-and-run car struck Rose, crushing her skull, near Big Sandy Texas.

DOROTHY KILGALLEN
Found dead Nov. 8, 1965

During Jack Ruby's trial for murdering Oswald, columnist Dorothy Kilgallen had a 30-minute private interview with Ruby in the judge's chambers. She never published what was said.

Dorothy told her makeup man she was going to "break the Kennedy assassination wide open within five days." Three days later Dorothy was found dead in her New York apartment. Medical experts never determined the exact circumstances surrounding her death — there were no signs of violence or suicide — but they did discover a combination of alcohol and barbiturates.

WILLIAM PITZER
Found dead Oct. 29, 1966

For three years U.S. Navy Lt. William Pitzer kept the secret of the autopsy of President Kennedy. Pitzer had photographed the autopsy at Bethesda Naval Hospital in Bethesda, Md., outside Washington, D.C., and was instructed never to reveal what he saw. In the fall of 1966 he retired from the Navy after 28 years and took a $45,000 a year job with a network TV station. Less than a month later, Pitzer was found dead with a bullet in his head. A gun was found in his right hand.

JACK RUBY
Died Jan. 3, 1967

Cancer claimed the life of this major figure in the JFK assassination investigation. The next day his attorneys charged negligence by Dallas authorities who had custody of their client. They said officials ignored Ruby's vomiting and complaints that he was ill.

DAVID FERRIE
Died Feb. 21, 1967

Ferrie was a CIA contract pilot who had flown into Cuba on secret missions. In early 1967 New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison — convinced Ferrie was part of the conspiracy that killed JFK — questioned the CIA pilot on the theory that Ferrie had flown the real murderers out of Dallas immediately after the assassination.

A month after he was questioned and released, Ferrie was found dead in his apartment with an unsigned suicide note. Coroner Dr. Nicholas Chetta ruled suicide claiming that a ruptured blood vessel had caused a massive brain hemorrhage. But the coroner never explained how Ferrie could have induced such a hemorrhage.

ELADIO DEL VALLE
Murdered Feb. 21, 1967

On the same day as Ferrie's death, his close friend Eladio Del Valle, a wealthy exiled Cuban, was murdered. Del Valle, who had flown with Ferrie on many secret missions to Cuba, was found in a Miami parking lot — with a bullet wound in his heart.

DR. MARY SHERMAN
Murdered June 1967

Another of Ferrie's friends, Dr. Mary Sherman was shot to death in New Orleans. Her killer then burned her body.

DR. NICHOLAS CHETTA
Died May 1968

In a macabre twist of fate, the coroner himself, who performed autopsies on both Ferrie and Dr. Sherman, died of a heart attack.

CLYDE JOHNSON
Murdered July 1969

Johnson, 37 — who had attended parties with Ferrie, Ruby and Oswald — was slated to testify at the New Orleans conspiracy trial that Garrison was conducting. Johnson never appeared. He was beaten up so severely he had to be hospitalized. Then five months later he was shot to death near Greensburg, La.

JOSEPH A. MILTEER
Died Feb. 22, 1974

Milteer, a right-wing extremist, was secretly taped by Miami police as he detailed with terrifying accuracy how JFK would be killed — 13 days before the assassination. After Kennedy's death, the FBI briefly questioned, then released Milteer. On Feb. 9, 1974, a Coleman stove blew up in his bathroom. Two weeks later Milteer died of burns he suffered in the fire, according to the death certificate, but no autopsy was performed — and the burns were not severe enough to have caused death, according to a mortician who saw the body.

CLAY SHAW
Died Aug. 15, 1974

Shaw, a wealthy businessman, was tried by Garrison and acquitted of conspiring to kill Kennedy. In January 1974, former CIA executive Victor Marchetti revealed that a CIA executive instructed an agent to give "Shaw all the help he needs" during the Garrison investigation. Several months after this revelation Shaw was found dead in his home. The exact cause of death was never established because his body was embalmed too quickly.

GEORGE de MOHRENSCHILDT
Committed suicide March 29, 1977

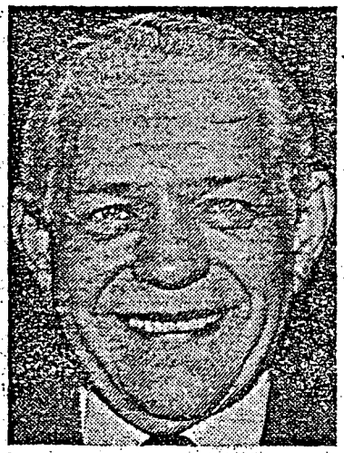
De Mohrenschildt, 65, shot himself to death in Manalapan, Fla., only hours after learning that an investigator for the House assassinations committee wanted to interview him. De Mohrenschildt once testified before the Warren Commission that he had been a close friend of Oswald.

CARLOS PRIO SOCARRAS
Committed suicide April 5, 1977

Exactly a week after de Mohrenschildt took his life, Carlos Prio also committed suicide, becoming the latest name in the assassination death list — a list that may never stop growing.



JACK RUBY: After his death from cancer, attorneys charged Dallas authorities with negligence.



CLAY SHAW: Acquitted of conspiring to kill JFK, he died in 1974 — but exact cause of his death was never established.

Billionaire Named in the Plot Was Taken Into Custody by Federal Agents on Day of JFK Slaying

Billionaire Texan H.L. Hunt — recently named as a major figure in the conspiracy to kill JFK — was actually taken into custody by federal agents on the day of Kennedy's assassination, The ENQUIRER has learned.

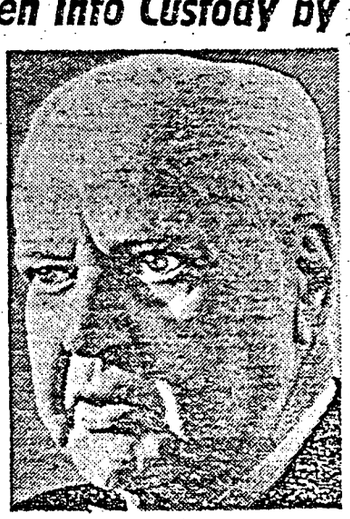
However, Hunt was detained not as a suspected conspirator — but for his own protection, according to reporter Brian Hitchen, who interviewed Hunt for the London Daily Mirror.

"Hunt said the agents told him a lot of people believed he had something to do with the assassination, and that they wanted to take him and his wife away," said Hitchen, who interviewed the oilman in Dallas on March 18, 1968. Hunt told me he and his wife were escorted to another city, where they were kept for, I believe, three days.

"At no time was he under arrest. He said the agents told him it was for his own protection."

Dutch journalist Willem Oltmans told the House assassinations committee last month that the late oilman was identified as a member of the assassination conspiracy by George de Mohrenschildt, a Dallas geologist and close friend of Lee Harvey Oswald just before the assassination.

"De Mohrenschildt definitely identified H.L. Hunt as being his important contact in the oil community with regard to the conspiracy," Oltmans told The ENQUIRER.



TEXAS OILMAN: H.L. Hunt was detained by federal agents — for his own protection — on day President Kennedy was slain.

Did Another Bullet Hit Connally?

Star 21.4.77

DALLAS (UPI) — The surgeon who operated on Gov. John Connally at Parkland Hospital in 1963 says he believes Connally was hit by a different bullet from the one that passed through President John F. Kennedy, the Dallas Morning News reported in a copyrighted story today.

Dr. Robert Shaw, who did not mention his theory during lengthy testimony before the Warren Commission, said the bullet which wounded Connally "just didn't seem to have lost enough of its metallic substance" to have passed through Kennedy and through three parts of Connally's body.

The governor's shattered wrist bone alone "would have deformed a bullet badly enough to have metallic fragments knocked off of it," Shaw said.

The theory, the Dallas News said, "would mean that accused assassin Lee Harvey Oswald either fired his rifle more accurately and quickly with three hits or that Oswald was not the only person shooting."

The bullet which the Warren Commission said struck Connally was found on Connally's stretcher. It had only about two of 161 grains missing, leaving it virtually intact.

In news stories last month, Audrey N. Bell, the nurse in charge of the operating room at Parkland, said more than three bullet fragments were removed from Connally's wrist, indicating the bullet which hit him had disintegrated more than the Warren Commission determined.

The News said Shaw did not state his views about the bullet before the Warren Commission because "they never questioned me about that, because there was no way in which I could have given any testimony that would have pinpointed it one way or another."

Assassinations Panel Gets a Pared Budget

United Press International 2/4/77

A House Administration subcommittee yesterday approved a $2.5 million budget for the Assassinations Committee.

Among the items cut from the budget request was $124,800 to repay staff members who took voluntary pay cuts when the panel's status was in jeopardy earlier in the year.

The investigative panel originally asked for $6.5 million for 1977 but then pruned the request to $2.6 million saying that was "as lean as we can do" to carry out its probes into the assassinations of John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr.

The budget was approved by a voice vote. Rep. Robert E. Badham, R-Calif., voted no after sarcastically suggesting a budget of $10 on grounds the secret briefing the panel provided Tuesday was no better than hearsay published in the National Enquirer.

The budget must still go to the full Administration Committee for action and to the floor for a vote of the entire House.

Dubious House Unit Votes $2.5 Million for JFK Probe

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

A dubious House Administration subcommittee yesterday recommended a $2.5 million budget for the House assassinations inquiry despite clear expectations that the investigation will prove a failure.

The subcommittee approved the financing for 1977 at the urging of Chairman John H. Dent (D-Pa.), who maintained that it really didn't matter whether subcommittee members felt the money was going to be wasted or not.

"The House, in its wisdom, voted [last month] to recreate the committee; all we have to do is fund it," Dent said. He argued that it had to be financed "at a level where there can be no excuse for their failure if indeed they do fail."

After initially proposing a $6.5 million budget that touched off a storm of controversy, the House Assassinations Committee finally went before Dent's subcommittee this week with a pared-down request for $2,639,200 to carry on its investigations into the murders of President Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr.

The Assassinations Committee insisted on a closed-door session Tuesday to present secret packets of unverified allegations that its staff is pursuing, but Dent and other members of his subcommittee made plain that they were unimpressed.

Sarcastically, Dent asked his colleagues at yesterday's meeting whether any of them had seen former Assassinations Committee counsel Richard Sprague Tuesday night on CBS-TV's program "Who's Who."

". . . Everything we learned in secret session yesterday was on the air last night," Dent declared.

Rep. Robert E. Badham (R-Calif.) was even more indignant yesterday as the result of a stop at the supermarket on his way home Tuesday night.

Waving a copy of the weekly National Enquirer that he picked up with his groceries, Badham pointed to the tabloid's big headlines this week proclaiming that "Lee Harvey Oswald did not kill JFK."

"Here's all the secret nonsense that we had yesterday," Badham complained after reading out the headline in scornful tones.

"Where've you been? To a supermarket?" asked Administration Committee chairman Frank Thompson Jr. (D-N.J.), who had just walked in the room.

"Yeah," Badham replied in indignant tones. "Literally, Mr. Chairman, yeah."

Badham said later that the claims in the Enquirer article were of the same type as the unsubstantiated rumors and reports the Assassinations Committee had served up the day before, no better and no worse.

Dent, however, argued firmly against any substantial cuts. The subcommittee approved a $2,514,400 budget on voice vote after trimming $124,800 that the Assassinations Committee wanted to make up for voluntary pay cuts staffers took for the first four months of the year.

Instead of any money, Badham suggested that the Assassinations Committee be given a subscription to the National Enquirer. He finally proposed a $10 budget for the inquiry, but the motion died for lack of a second.

The $2.5 million budget proposal will go next to the full Administration Committee and then to the House floor.

House Aids Say F.B.I. Agrees To Cooperate in Kennedy Inquiry

WASHINGTON, April 18(AP)—House Assassinations Committee investigators said Monday that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had promised to coordinate its investigation of any leads on the assassinations of President Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. with House investigators.

But the staff officials told committee members that the Senate Intelligence Committee had not yet honored requests even for some of its public material, much less confidential information.

Stephen J. Fallis, deputy staff director, told the committee that a system had been worked out "whereby the F.B.I. will notify us immediately of any areas they are investigating in connection with these assassinations."

Representative Louis B. Stokes, Democrat of Ohio, asked if that meant the bureau was still investigating both assassinations.

"They are interested in pursuing any new leads or evidence," and have promised to coordinate any such effort with the committee, Mr. Fallis replied.

Agency Investigating New Leads, Evidence

19.4.77

FBI Still Probing King, JFK Murders

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The FBI is still conducting its own investigations of "any new leads and new evidence" in the murders of President Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., the House Assassinations Committee was told yesterday.

Lawyers for the House committee did not elaborate on the FBI's justification for its continuing detective work, but several committee sources privately expressed chagrin about it, especially in light of widespread criticism of the bureau's original handling of the cases.

Last year, the Senate intelligence committee concluded that the FBI and the Central Intelligence Agency had concealed crucial information during the course of investigating President Kennedy's assassination.

House committee Chairman Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) wondered at a hearing of his panel yesterday morning whether it would be safe to conclude that "as far as the FBI is concerned, both investigations are still open."

Deputy counsel Stephen J. Fallis did not answer directly, but said he had been assured by Justice Department and FBI officials "that they are not conducting a full, complete or de novo investigation" of either assassination.

Fallis said the officials told him "they are only interested in pursuing any new leads and new evidence that comes to their attention and coordinating" their efforts with the House committee.

He said the FBI had promised to "give us virtually immediate notification of the areas they are investigating in these two assassinations." Fallis said he hoped this would keep the committee, the Justice Department and the FBI "from stepping on each other's toes."

In response to a follow-up inquiry, a Justice Department spokesman denied to a reporter that the FBI was trying to head off any embarrassments that might result from discoveries by House investigators during the next year and a half.

Although neither the Kennedy nor King assassination was a federal crime, the spokesman said the FBI was continuing to investigate new leads under the federal law prohibiting conspiracies to deprive anyone of his civil rights.

"They'd be derelict if they didn't" continue to investigate, the spokesman insisted, adding that the five-year statute of limitations would not apply "if a conspiracy is still going on."

In addition to the putative competition from the FBI, the House committee was confronted yesterday with reports of an incipient lack of cooperation from the Senate Intelligence Committee now headed by Sen. Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii).

Stokes said that part of the problem was that committee staffers are still awaiting security clearances from the FBI and the CIA, but House committee lawyers indicated they have gotten very little response to the "substantial requests" they have made for Senate committee records bearing on the assassinations.

Rep. Stewart B. McKinney (R-Conn.) said he hoped the Senate committee would recognize that "we work for the same government," and urged Stokes to start applying "vise-like" pressures if cooperation is not forthcoming.

Inouye said later, through a spokesman, that he had received "one official request from the assassinations committee and I have responded to it." The spokesman declined to elaborate on Inouye's response, but it apparently was not a substantive one.

Slayings Staff Cites 'Slowness' Of Senate Panel

9.4.77 By Jeremiah O'Leary
Washington Star Staff Writer

The House Assassinations Comittee's staff has reported to its chairman, Rep. Louis Stokes, that the Senate Intelligence Committee is dragging its feet about handing over confidential material about the murders of President John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

At a hearing yesterday, Deputy Counsel Robert Tanenbaum told the panel the Senate committee "has important material we have to have." He added, "I asked for some of this material early in January and haven't received it yet."

The difficulty is not a new one for the assassinations committee staff. For a long while it was cut off from any access to FBI, Justice Department and CIA material at the request of former chairman Henry B. Gonzalez's request. Even now, none of the committee's 67 remaining staffers has been cleared to receive classified material from these agencies, although 10 staffers soon will be.

THE PROBLEM WITH the Senate committee was outlined in a letter from Chairman Daniel Inouye, D-Hawaii, to Stokes. The letter reportedly says the Senate committee has "some problem" with giving the assassination probers what they want because some of the Senate witnesses were promised confidentiality.

Stokes said he will do his best to expedite an agreement for access to the Senate material and told the hearing he would personally try to arrive at a satisfactory arrangement for doing so.

Sprague Lashes Out at the Hill In Reviewing His Resignation

By Jeremiah O'Leary
Washington Star Staff Writer

In his stormy career as chief counsel of the House Assassinations Committee, Richard A. Sprague acquired enemies as well as allies. One thing he did not acquire was awe of Congress or fear of controversy.

Sprague came back to Washington yesterday to break the silence he imposed on himself when he got into a controversy with the former chairman of the committee, Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez, D-Tex. That controversy spelled the end of both of their jobs in the investigations of the murders of President John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

At a press conference, Sprague fired critical salvos at the entire House of Representatives, including the new committee chairman, Rep. Louis Stokes, D-Ohio, and Del. Walter E. Fauntroy, D-D.C.

He declared he does not think Congress is capable of conducting a murder investigation and recommended that the President appoint a special prosecutor to carry on the probe in the Kennedy-King cases.

Sprague said he was not interested in being a special prosecutor and made it clear that he is fed up with the political games that are played in Washington.

THE CAREER prosecutor threw new light on the manner in which he handed in his resignation last month. He said the night before the House voted to continue the committee's life, Stokes called him to a meeting with two other members of the panel. "They advised me they had a whip count," he said. "And there were not enough votes and they took up the question of whether my resignation would bring the votes around.

"I said a resignation would be bowing to an expediency and they shouldn't knuckle under to the 'big lie.' I told Fauntroy it was a sorry commentary for him to be talking about my resignation and I wondered if Martin Luther King, if he were alive, would agree with him. I detected that Stokes felt he wasn't getting his way, and I thought, 'Now I'm in with another chairman who didn't get his way.'"

Sprague said Stokes asked him to return the next day at 11 a.m., just before the House vote. Sprague then said, "'This kid isn't dangling around until 11 a.m. tomorrow,' and I tendered my resignation."

Sprague said, "The House is a political animal. It is the nature of representatives that they are elected and then play to the public looking for a good press and headlines. Staff personnel cannot be directed by 435, or even 12 elected officials. That makes an investigation impossible. You have to be left alone to do a proper job of investigating a crime.

"MY EXPERIENCE indicates that there is a constant push for public hearings to titillate the public and the specter of sensationalism and that it is necessary to produce something new, and that's not the way to conduct an investigation because it impedes the search for the truth."

Sprague charged that when he went to Tennessee recently for two interviews with James Earl Ray, serving a 99-year sentence for killing King, he had to fight off members of the committee who wanted to get into the limelight. He said members of Congress wanted to put their cronies on his staff and that he was accused of being abrasive because he turned them down.

Before he faced the press yesterday, Sprague said he met with the 70-plus staff members, almost all of whom had remained loyal to him in his battles with Gonzalez. He said he told the staff of his view that the House was probably not capable of properly conducting the assassination investigations but said he hoped the staff would prove him wrong.

THE STAFF IS authorized and funded for the rest of 1977 while Stokes looks around for another chief counsel.

On other points, Sprague said:

- He has no intention of suing Gonzalez who frequently charged him with dishonesty, insubordination, incompetence and violation of House rules. Sprague said these charges were untrue and said they were the old "Hitler-McCarthy tactic of repeating lies."
- Some progress was made in the two sessions with Ray. It has come out that Ray got assistance in his escape from jail in Missouri and after the April 1968 shooting of King in Memphis, in obtaining "certain weapons and certain money." This indicates, according to Sprague, that Ray was not acting alone but this assistance was from somebody other than the "Raoul" who Ray has insisted was his mentor.
- Mob figure Santos Trafficante has information important to the Kennedy case but his attorneys insisted on a public session at which he claimed the 5th Amendment to show his underworld friends he was not answering questions. The committee was later criticized for that session.

12 APR 1977

Sprague Urges Carter to Set Up Inquiry Into the Murders of Kennedy and Dr. King

By BEN A. FRANKLIN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 11—Richard A. Sprague, who resigned two weeks ago as chief counsel to the House Select Committee on Assassinations, urged today that President Carter appoint a special prosecutor to re-examine the murders of President Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Mr. Sprague's comments included criticism of the "political expediency" and "the push to titillate the public" that he said had motivated members of Congress and had put him in conflict with the committee. They came at a news conference at which he declared that his own investigation, "as little and as sparse" as it was, "mandates that there be a thorough examination into each of these two assassinations."

He responded to persistent questions about the basis of the "mandate" by disclosing two admittedly inconclusive discoveries about the accused assassins in the Kennedy and King deaths. He described them as points that needed to be pursued.

To a crowded gathering of reporters at the National Press Club, Mr. Sprague said that the Central Intelligence Agency had told the select committee staff that it had "re-used" and erased a tape recording of wiretapped telephone conversations by Lee Harvey Oswald, the Kennedy assassin, to the Cuban and the Soviet embassies in Mexico City.

Mr. Sprague, mentioning the late director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, continued, "But then recently we uncovered a memo by J. Edgar Hoover to the then-head of the Secret Service, in which Mr. Hoover pointed out" that after the assassination of President Kennedy, F.B.I. agents who were familiar with Oswald's voice listened to the tapes and said the voice was not his.

"That raises some very serious questions," Mr. Sprague went on, "because if the tapes had existed after the assassination of President Kennedy and they were destroyed, why? And if, in fact, these tapes showed that the voice on there was not Oswald's, what does that indicate?

"In these investigations, one of the dangers is taking a point and leaping to a conclusion that doesn't follow. I'm not saying that, if these things exist, that that shows the C.I.A. had something to do with the assassination. But it does raise questions as to what might have been a conspiracy that arose after the assassination in which certain agencies of Government felt that they would be an embarrassment in showing certain relationships with Oswald. We don't know, but these are matters that certainly need to be investigated."

Mr. Sprague also disclosed that, in two recent interviews with James Earl Ray, who is serving a 99-year prison term in Tennessee for the murder of Dr. King, Mr. Ray told him that he had "received aid from others" than members of his family or the mysterious "Raoul," a man never otherwise identified who Mr. Ray has said set him up for the murder charge. Mr. Sprague said that Mr. Ray had admitted to him that "Raoul" was a fictitious name.

Assertion on Weapons

The "aid" was in the form of obtaining for Mr. Ray "certain weapons and certain money," Mr. Sprague said, both before and after the King shooting in April 1968. "This was just a threshold of inquiry," Mr. Sprague said, "but it is certainly an indication of aid by other people."

Another Sprague-Ray interview was to have taken place in Tennessee today, the former prosecutor said. It has now been rescheduled for Thursday, with other committee staff members asking the questions.

Mr. Sprague also asserted separately under a reporter's questioning that Santo Trafficante Jr., an alleged Mafia leader who refused to answer any of the committee's questions in a public appearance last March 16, "absolutely has useful information" on the Kennedy assassination. Mr. Sprague would not describe the information.

Mr. Sprague resigned as the committee counsel on March 29, when it appeared to some House members that if he stayed with the committee it would not win a vote on the floor the next day to continue it past April 1. The subsequent vote was 230 to 181 to extend the committee's life through 1978, and Mr. Sprague, 54 years old, left Washington immediately for a vacation in Mexico, reportedly with mixed feelings of disgust and hope for the committee's work.

In 10 days in the Acapulco sun, his news conference revealed today, Mr. Sprague apparently cultivated his disgust and diminished his hopes.

He had criticism for many in the House, including Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts. He accused him of never giving the assassination investigation the support it deserved. But Mr. Sprague leveled his harshest criticism at Representative Henry B. Gonzalez of Texas, who was chairman of the assassinations committee from January until he resigned on March 2 with a bitter blast at Mr. Sprague and at the committee majority, which was then supporting the chief counsel.



Associated Press

Richard A. Sprague ponders question at his farewell news conference

Says Hill Pressures Hamper Probes

Sprague Doubts Panel Can Find Truth

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The former chief counsel of the House Assassinations Committee warned yesterday that the committee would never find the truth behind the assassinations of President Kennedy or the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. if it continues on its present course.

Openly critical of the committee's new chairman, Rep. Louis Stokes (D-Ohio), former chief counsel Richard A. Sprague said the investigation has been hampered so much by demands for "sensational" disclosures and public "titillation" that he is now convinced Congress cannot handle the inquiry properly.

In his first public statement since he was forced to resign last month, Sprague said he hoped President Carter might consider appointing a special prosecutor to take over the investigations. In light of his own experience, Sprague said he feels that "the Congress of the United States is not the proper agency to conduct an investigation of any crime, much less crimes of murder."

The former Philadelphia prosecutor stopped short of urging that the Assassinations Committee be disbanded. Shortly before his late-morning press conference here, he visited committee staffers and urged them to prove him wrong, to " 'show everybody . . . that you can keep political influence out of this thing and get a job done.' "

But Sprague continued, "I don't think they can, because what occurs is that the members of Congress want to staff this with their cronies, with their friends . . . Just about every congressman in existence wrote me with his recommendations as to who to put on the staff. I guess . . . I became 'abrasive' because I turned them down, because I was looking for professionals."

Looking relaxed and tanned after a 10-day vacation in Acapulco, Sprague disclosed yesterday that he quit

See SPRAGUE, A4, Col. 4

12 APR 1977

Sprague, Blaming Pressures, Doubts Panel Can Find Truth

SPRAGUE, From A1

March 29 — the day before a crucial House vote to continue the investigation—primarily because of Stokes' incipient animosity.

Sprague said he hadn't wanted to resign and felt he still had enough committee members behind him "to avoid being booted out," but then sensed that Stokes was getting increasingly annoyed at him for wanting to hold out.

"I figured, 'Why put up with it again?' " Sprague said, recalling his difficulties with former committee Chairman Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.) who had tried to fire the committee counsel in mid-February but was countermanded by the panel's 11 other members.

The fresh pressures for Sprague's ouster arose March 29 because of an unofficial headcount by committee members which indicated that the investigation would survive the next day's vote on the House floor only if Sprague were replaced.

Summoned to a four-hour meeting in Stokes' office the night of March 29, where he found the chairman with Reps. Floyd J. Fithian (D-Ind.) and Rep. Robert W. Edgar (D-Pa.), Sprague said he had already decided to leave at some future date, but resisted the pressures to quit immediately, especially in light of reassurances he had gotten earlier that day from committee members.

Reminding Stokes and the others that they were agreed that criticisms of Sprague's conduct and investigating techniques were unjustified, the counsel said he told them "it was a sorry commentary for congressmen in this democracy to be knuckling under to the big lie." Sprague then polled other committee members by telephone and was assured of their support.

But "at that point," Sprague said, "I detected that Mr. Stokes was kind of resentful that he was not getting his way." Anticipating continuing difficulties with the chairman if he stayed, the Philadelphian decided to quit. He made it effective immediately despite a "Don't do that" chorus at the last minute from Fithian, Edgar and Del. Walter E. Fauntroy (D-D.C.), who had joined the group.

Sprague was also critical of the committee's calling of Dutch journalist Willem Oltmans to a meeting two weeks ago "just because of the sensationalism arising from the death of Mr. de Mohrenschildt" (George de Mohrenschildt, a Russian refugee who committed suicide last month after reportedly telling Oltmans of a far-flung conspiracy involving de Mohrenschildt, Lee Harvey Oswald, anti-Castro Cubans, the CIA and Texas oilmen).

The former committee counsel said he still feels some sort of investigation is needed in light of uncorroborated information that has been developed, for instance, in interviews with James Earl Ray. But the committee staff, instead of being left alone to conduct a thorough impartial investigation, has been confronted, Sprague said, with "a constant push for a public hearing to present something to the media, something to titillate the public, something that has the specter of sensationalism . . .

"That is not the way to investigate," he said, "and it totally impedes the search for the truth."

James R. Dickenson

Can assassination questions be allayed?

Like the Lincoln assassination, the assassinations of John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr. promise to be with us forever. The continuation of the House of Representatives investigating committee assures that, but if there were no committee something else would keep the controversies alive.

The committee's image has been tarnished by the Keystone Kops quarrel over its original chief counsel but even if it had gotten off to the most harmonious possible start its chances of establishing the truth of the tragedies wouldn't be any greater.

For the hard reality is that most of us have more chance at sainthood than of ever getting an account of the shootings that will satisfy most of us as definitive.

The "leads" that leaked out of the committee recently are more convincing as attempted justification for its existence than as hard evidence.

One is from a woman who worked for Jack Ruby, who killed Lee Harvey Oswald, Kennedy's assassin (in the nature of the controversy this flat statement will be challenged by many) who says that Ruby introduced her to Oswald in his nightclub and said Oswald was associated with the CIA. There is a nurse at the hospital where Kennedy died who contends that there were four or five bullet fragments, too many to be consistent with the Warren Commission's single-bullet theory, removed from John Connally's wound.

There are reports of "crucial" photographs, reportedly confiscated by the FBI, of the grassy knoll next to the Texas Book Depository where Oswald fired his shots. Skeptics of the Warren Commission report contend witnesses heard shots there and that there are photographs of puffs of smoke and gunmen on the knoll.

There are allegations that billionaire H.L. Hunt and other Texas oilmen hired Oswald to kill Kennedy.

The problem is that there are so many ambiguous crucial facts that can be interpreted differently depending on the opinion each individual brings to them.

There is a large body of literature, for instance, on whether or not a single bullet could have passed through Kennedy's body and inflicted the wounds he and Connally suffered. Once you've read it all, however, you don't feel any closer to the truth than when you started.

The basic disagreement is between antithetical views. One is held by those who can't believe that anything so monstrous could be the result of caprice in the form of one disturbed individual. Some find this so disturbing as to be unacceptable.

Many intellectuals, who almost by definition seek an orderly structure of things, are in this group. So are those most suspicious of the "establishment," particularly the CIA and FBI, and believe there is a giant conspiracy on high to eliminate leaders such as King and the Kennedys.

There is some justification for this. John Kennedy's assassination was the opening of a Pandora's Box of more than 10 years of bad times. Subsequent revelations indicated that the FBI and CIA indeed were not above some criminal practices.

"Human ambition, venality, greed, crime — all these we live with and can handle," Garry Willls wrote in his book on Jack Ruby. "No matter how criminal such acts are at least conventional in their sequence of cause and effect . . . There is this much, at least, of reason and light in the darkness of the darkest plot.

"Better that than the vision of total night, of superhuman or subhuman forces revealing themselves, at last, as *anti*-human, erasing all man's pretension, all reason, order, law."

On the other hand there are those who are skeptical that a conspiracy of such magnitude could be put together and kept secret for so long and/or don't want to believe that powerful members of their government and society could be involved in such a matter.

These people hold that if two persons know about something, given the blabby nature of mankind, the chances of its remaining secret are minimal and that if three know it's sure to be public.

The conspiracy theories seem to run in cycles. The stories that right-wing Texas oil millionaires were behind the Kennedy assassination is the latest. A year and a half ago the leading theory was that the mob was the likely perpetrator since it had both the resources, including ties with the CIA, and the motive because of the loss of gambling casinos and heroin connections in Havana and the hope that a different administration might be more aggressive in ousting Castro.

The reports that Oswald had CIA and FBI ties are as old as the crime itself. He had an address book with the telephone and license plate numbers of an FBI agent, and one Dallas police investigator said he would be "disappointed" if the FBI hadn't tried to recruit Oswald as an informant. Sarah Jane Moore, who tried to shoot Gerald Ford, had been an FBI informant.

The House established its committee arguing correctly that the controversy will continue, as has that over Lincoln's assassination, until the truth is established. Its hope that it or anything else can establish that truth is a true monument to American optimism.

ngton Star Monday, April 11, 1977

Sprague Replaced On Interim Basis By Slaying Panel

PHILADELPHIA (AP) — Alvin B. Lewis Jr., who has worked for the House Committee on Assassinations since last December, has been appointed acting chief counsel and staff director, the committee chairman reports.

Lewis, a lawyer from Palmyra, Pa., replaces Richard A. Sprague, who resigned March 30 after a long feud with former committee chairman Henry Gonzalez, D-Tex.

Committee Chairman Louis Stokes, D-Ohio, said yesterday through a spokesman that Lewis will serve as counsel to the 12-member committee for about one month, or until a permanent counsel is named.

He said the committee is engaged now in a search for a permanent successor to Sprague.

"We are looking for someone of national stature and experience." Stokes said, but he added that "outstanding persons on the staff . . . are not excluded from consideration."

Sprague, a controversial former Philadelphia district attorney, stepped down as counsel after reportedly being convinced that his departure would clear the way for the committee to continue its probes of the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

The day after his resignation, the full House voted to extend the life of the committee through 1978.

Lewis, 43, resigned last Thursday while at the same time offering his services during the transition period.

As special counsel, Lewis worked on both the investigations of the Kennedy and King assassinations, performed a number of special assignments and acted as liaison with members of the committee.

Lewis was elected Lebanon County, Pa., district attorney in 1961 and served for eight years. In that job he supervised a number of major cases in central Pennsylvania.

11 APR 1977

Assassinations Unit Names Alvin Lewis Acting Chief Counsel

Post A-2

The House Assassinations Committee today named Alvin B. Lewis Jr. as its acting chief counsel and staff director. Chairman Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) said Lewis would remain until a permanent chief counsel can be found to replace Richard A. Sprague, who resigned March 31.

Lewis, 43, had been special counsel of the committee since Dec. 6. He resigned that post Thursday, but offered to stay on during the transition period.

As special counsel, Lewis worked on the investigation of both the assassinations of President Kennedy and of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. He also performed a number of special assignments and acted as liaison with members of Congress.

Lewis lives in Palmyra, Pa. He was Lebanon County district attorney for eight years, and was a partner in the Lebanon, Pa., law firm of Lewis, Brubaker and Christianson.

Jack Anderson and Les Whitten

JFK Data Quashed, Memo Says

A confidential House memo accuses the FBI and CIA of "a serious suppression of evidence which was vital to this country's investigation" of the 1963 assassination of President Kennedy.

A House Assassinations subcommittee "has uncovered a good deal of information which suggests that Lee Harvey Oswald was associated with one or both of these organizations," the memo says.

It charges bluntly "that both the CIA and FBI intentionally withheld relevant information from the Warren Commission and in at least one instance, provided the commission with information known to be false."

The memo accuses the FBI of withholding 23 Oswald files from the commission. The FBI "was in possession of 69 pre-assassination files on Lee Harvey Oswald," states the memo. "However, of these files, only 46 were turned over to the commission."

The information that allegedly was withheld was contradictory. On one hand, the CIA suppressed facts suggesting that Cuba's Fidel Castro may have retaliated against President Kennedy after learning about the CIA's plot against his own life. But on the other hand, the CIA allegedly covered up evidence linking Oswald to CIA-sponsored, anti-Castro Cubans.

The House memo draws no conclusion about the Kennedy killing. But it lays out the evidence that the committee has gathered thus far. Here are the highlights:

• The CIA did not disclose to the Warren Commission that it had been trying to knock off Fidel Castro at the time Kennedy was shot. Killers from the Havana underworld, controlled by mobster Santos Trafficante, were used in the plot against the Cuban premier. The mobster who directed the attempt on Castro's life, John Roselli, hinted privately that the same killers had been caught by Castro and had been turned against Kennedy. Interestingly enough, a Cuban exile, according to the memo, quoted Trafficante as saying "that Kennedy was going to be hit."

• Roselli had also suggested that the mob had ordered Jack Ruby to kill Oswald to prevent any disclosure of the Trafficante connection. One of Ruby's underworld associates, the memo reports, "indicates that in 1959 Jack Ruby traveled to Cuba and visited Santos Trafficante in jail." The same source also reported that "Ruby and Roselli had meetings in Miami several months prior to the assassination."

• A witness had told committee investigators that Ruby introduced her to Oswald at a Dallas nightclub two weeks before the assassination. She "had been afraid to come forth with her information," according to the memo, because another woman disappeared after she mentioned seeing Oswald at Ruby's nightclub. But the long-silent witness "is now willing to testify."

• The Warren Commission met behind closed doors on Jan. 27, 1964, to discuss "evidence" that Oswald had been a $200-a-month FBI informant up to the time of the assassination. The evidence came from two "independent" and "reliable" sources. The commission's general counsel, J. Lee Rankin, took this up with the late FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, who categorically denied any relationship between Oswald and the FBI. Reports the memo: "The Warren Commission decided that rather than embarrass J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI they would not pursue the evidence."

• A Dallas woman, named Sylvia Odio, reported that she had been visited by anti-Castro Cubans. They introduced her to an American, whom she later recognized as Oswald. The Cubans told her that the American was trying to persuade anti-Castro groups "to kill President Kennedy because of Kennedy's reaction to the Bay of Pigs invasion." Not long afterward, Kennedy was shot. But the FBI misrepresented the woman's story to the Warren Commission, the memo alleges. This report "of what the bureau knew to be patently false," declares the memo, "requires further investigation."

• The memo cites photographs and stories linking Oswald to members of a paramilitary, anti-Castro unit known as the "No Name Key Group." Some of the photos show "CIA agents assigned to train the Cuban exiles and soldiers of fortune." Some members of the group were traced to Dallas shortly before the Kennedy assassination.

Footnote: FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley has told us that all 69 summaries were provided to the commission. Kelley also said the bureau furnished the commission with all pertinent information about potential informants, including the Cuban Sylvia Odio. The CIA had not commented by the time we went to print.

NYT 5 APR 1977

WARREN STUDY INFLUENCE LAID TO F.B.I. BY O'NEILL

WASHINGTON, April 4 (Reuters)—Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. said today that he believed the Federal Bureau of Investigaton had told some witnesses not to tell the Warren Commission the full truth about President Kennedy's assassination.

The Massachusetts Democrat said that the witnesses had told him they had been asked by the bureau to hold back certain information when they testified to the commission, which investigated the Nov. 22, 1963, Kennedy slaying.

Congressional investigators have new information that justifies the full-scale inquiry of Mr. Kennedy's death and the slaying of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, which occurred nine years ago, he added.

The speaker did not identify which witnesses he had talked with nor did he give details about new data given to House leaders by the House Assassinations Committee at a recent closed briefing.

Mr. O'Neil was asked at a news conference whether he still backed a full-scale inquiry even though the committee's six months of investigation had not produced hard evidence that President Kennedy and Dr. King here victims of conspiracies.

"From personal conversations with witnesses who appeared before the Warren Commission, I don't think they gave (the Warren Commission) a full and honest description" he replied. "I believe that they were reporting the mill of the F.B.I."

Post

5 APR 1977

Warren Panel Testimony Incomplete, O'Neill Believes

Associated Press

House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr. said yestrday he believes some witnesses of the Warren Commission gave incomplete testimony when they testified about the assassination of President Kennedy.

"I don't believe they gave a full and honest description," O'Neill told reporters. "I think they were reporting the will of the FBI."

The Speaker did not elaborate but a source close to him said later he was referring primarily to a man O'Neill talked with about the time the Warren Commission reported its findings.

"When this fellow told them (the FBI) what he was going to say, they said, 'Well, don't say all that, it will just confuse things,' " the source said.

O'Neill made the comment when asked if he was convinced the House Assassinations Committee really has hard new evidence justifying the two-year investigation the House approved last week.

"Let's let them go ahead and see what kind of job they do," the Massachusetts Democrat said. He added later "We will examine the results of what they do."

He has said repeatedly at the daily news briefings that he doubts whether the Warren Commission had all the facts and for that reason believed the House Assassinations Committee was needed to answer questions many people still have about the Kennedy assassination.

The Warren Commission concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald was acitng on his own when he killed Kennedy. It concluded that there was no conspiracy.

A transcript accidentally released last week showed that committee members discussed a scenario for winning House approval of extending the investigation. This plan involved giving O'Neill and other leaders sensitive information to win their support.

The memoers also discussed making a public report to build constituent pressure on House members to extend the committee.

But former chief council Richard A. Sprague said that would not work because the only evidence investigators had that could be made public "is really a rehash kind of thing."

The question of whether the committee has more substantial information which it gave to the leaders but could not make public has not been answered.

'The Scenario'

Assassinations Panel Studied 'Choreography' as the Art of Survival

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House Assassinations Committee spent much of its time at a secret meeting two weeks ago on the "choreography" and "scenario" for winning congressional and public support of its inquiry.

"This, of course, is not the way to conduct an investigation," Rep. Samuel L. Devine (R-Ohio) observed at one point, according to a transcript of the session that was released inadvertently. "But what we are talking about today is survival."

At another point, committee Chairman Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) was reminded of the members of the press waiting outside the meeting room and was asked what he might tell "these wolves outside the door."

"I think you should keep them right where you have them now, champing at the bit and not tell them anything," advised Rep. Floyd J. Fithian (D-Ind.).

The March 17 meeting came at a time when the committee was still struggling to survive in the wake of weeks of acrimony over the efforts of former Chairman Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.) to fire the committee's chief counsel, Richard A. Sprague. House leaders, already chagrined by the committee's slow pace in investigating the murders of President Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., were widely predicting its likely downfall.

With Stokes as their new chairman, committee members seemed to have been heartened by the publicity stemming from the public hearing of the day before, March 16, at which gangland leader Santo Trafficante Jr. refused to testify, invoking the Fifth Amendment and other constitutional rights.

Rep. Robert W. Edgar (D-Pa.) proposed another public hearing that might include "something like what we did yesterday" when "we had Mr. Trafficante there and he was pleading the Fifth Amendment."

"I think we did more yesterday, even without getting factual information, simply because it focused again on the fact that we are looking into the issue," Edgar said enthusiastically.

". . . I realize that, in terms of the investigative technique and issues, that is not the way to go," the Pennsylvania Democrat added, "but I guess

See INQUIRY, A5, Col. 3

Assassinations Panel Eyed 'Scenario'

INQUIRY, From A1

I have some concern about the scenario and the choreography and I realize that while we do not want a circus atmosphere, we want it to be as content-filled as possible . . ."

In the continuing discussion, Fithian cautioned against placing too much reliance on press coverage of public hearings by the committee. He complained specifically about coverage in The Washington Post.

Fithian agreed, however, that the two or three public meetings the committee had had were helping to erode the feeling generally held by many members of the House that "we really have not done anything," even "regardless of how badly Lardner [Washington Post staff writer George Lardner Jr.] has reported them, and he has reported them pretty badly."

Suggestions were made for secret briefings of the House Democratic leadership and other influential members of Congress such as the members of the Rules Committee. Edgar kept suggesting a follow-up public hearing that might include a discussion of the budget and other matters.

He said the meeting could begin with a 45-minute segment, "split between the Kennedy and King assassinations as to what direction we are going and what evidence and information we can share publicly."

Deputy chief counsel Robert J. Lehner, the man in charge of the King investigation, said later in the meeting he would really be hard put to hold forth in public for the requisite length of time.

"I think when you talk about 45 minutes, I would have to do a little 'soft shoe dance' in the middle of it," Lehner told the committee.

Sprague agreed that a public session on the fruits of the investigation wouldn't work because the staff would be forced to serve up "almost a rehash" of what has long been public.

That, Sprague emphasized, would amount to "not saying anything." He said that "the only things that they [The staff] can say of significance" are "things that are too raw and uncorroborated for us to be stating publicly."

> *". . . I guess I have some concern about the scenario and the choreography and I realize that while we do not want a circus atmosphere, we want it to be as content-filled as possible."*
>
> —Rep. Robert W. Edgar (D-Pa.)

In the end, the committee, which survived its House test narrowly this week but only after Sprague resigned, simply issued a report listing some of the uncorroborated leads it is pursuing.

At the March 17 meeting, committee members also agreed that the report should say nothing "of the impediments and the financial limitations and the problem of the previous Chairman [Gonzalez]."

Sprague asked how those sore points should be treated in the committee report.

"Ignored, I would say, completely," Chairman Stokes ordered.

"Benign neglect," interjected Rep. Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.).

Stokes, a black congressman from Cleveland, agreed. "Yes," he said. "That deplorable expression."

The March 17 transcript was inadvertently released late Wednesday after the committee had authorized release of another hitherto secret transcript containing Sprague's rebuttal of various charges against him.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, APRIL 1, 1977

Ruby Introduced Oswald as C.I.A. Agent, Woman Tells House Inquiry

WASHINGTON, March 31 (AP)—Investigators of the House Assassinations Committee told committee members in a secret briefing this month that a woman who worked in a Dallas nightclub before President Kennedy was assassinated was willing to testify that Jack Ruby introduced Lee Harvey Oswald to her and to others as "Lee Harvey Oswald of the C.I.A."

Mr. Ruby, a Dallas nightclub owner, killed Mr. Oswald after the Kennedy assassination. The Warren Commission concluded that Mr. Ruby did not know Mr. Oswald before the assassination, and Mr. Ruby maintained he had not previously known Mr. Oswald.

A 20-page section of the secret March 17 briefing was accidentally released by the committee yesterday, a day after the House voted to give the panel two years to pursue its investigations of the killings of President Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Doubt on Warren Commission

The investigators also said the possibility that there were too many bullet fragments for Mr. Oswald to have killed Kennedy alone had been raised because of the story of a nurse. She was identified as the head nurse at Parkland Hospital in Dallas. Investigators quoted her as saying four or five bullet fragments, not one clean bullet, were removed from John B. Connally, then Governor of Texas, who was wounded when Mr. Kennedy was killed.

If that is true, the investigators said, the Warren Commission's conclusion that one bullet went through President Kennedy's body and then traveled on to wound Mr. Connally might no longer be valid.

Robert Tannenbaum, the committee's chief investigator of the Kennedy assassination, told the committee: "If the four or five fragments in fact were taken out and if we can show—if we can locate them—that they weigh more than that portion that is missing from that bullet, then the very cornerstone and basis of the entire Warren Commission report is no longer valid."

The commission, headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren, concluded that Mr. Oswald was acting alone in killing President Kennedy and was not part of a conspiracy.

Mr. Tannenbaum told the committee that he considered the bullet theory and the former nightclub worker's story "very significant." He said the woman was prepared to testify on Mr. Ruby's reference to Mr. Oswald as being from the Central Intelligence Agency.

Further, Mr. Tannenbaum said, the same woman is prepared to testify that she was taking pictures at Dealy Plaza when Mr. Kennedy was killed there and that two men identifying themselves as C.I.A. and Federal Bureau of Investigation agents took the film from her two days later. Mr. Tannenbaum quoted her as saying her camera angle would show parts of the controversial grassy knoll. He added "that could be crucial."

One conspiracy theory that has never been proved was that shots were fired from a gun on the grassy knoll at the same time Oswald was firing from the Texas schoolbook depository building.

Suicide Time Pinpointed

PALM BEACH, Fla., March 31 (AP)—A tape recorder being used to transcribe a television program recorded the gunshot when a friend of Lee Harvey Oswald killed himself, the authorities say.

Lieut. Richard Sheets of the Palm Beach County sheriff's office said there were no sounds of anyone else in the background as George de Mohrenschildt died.

Mr. Sheets said that by comparing the tape with television station logs the investigators determined that Mr. de Mohrenschildt, 65, shot himself at 15 seconds past 2:21 P.M. Tuesday. Mr. Sheets said the autopsy, which concluded Mr. de Mohrenschildt committed suicide, would be reviewed before the case was closed. But he indicated he thought the death was a suicide.

Mr. de Mohrenschildt, a Dallas geologist, apparently shot himself after an investigator for the House Assassinations Committee tried to interview him, the officials said. Mr. de Mohrenschildt had known Lee Harvey Oswald and his wife, Marina.

Mr. de Mohrenschildt was a psychiatric patient at the Parkland Hospital in Dallas for 51 days late last year after a suicide attempt, according to a United Press International report today.

Was He Responsible for Oswald's Act?

The de Mohrenschildt-JFK Enigma

By Jeremiah O'Leary
Washington Star Staff Writer

When George de Mohrenschildt disappeared in Brussels last March 7, he could have been tabbed either as just another fruitcake or as someone out to make a buck on his acquaintance with Lee and Marina Oswald.

Or, just possibly, he could have been the man responsible for Oswald's behavior when President John F. Kennedy was shot to death in 1963 as he reportedly acknowledged in the manuscript of a book he had written.

But today, this much is certain about the 65-year-old Russian-born emigre:

• He is now in a Palm Beach, Fla., morgue, dead of an apparently self-inflicted shotgun wound.

• He was of sufficient interest to the House Committee on Assassinations that one of its investigators was in Palm Beach on Tuesday seeking to interview him when the ostensible suicide occurred.

• He is once again of considerable interest to the FBI. A major portion of Book 9 of the Warren Commission Report concerns de Mohrenschildt.

The reason de Mohrenschildt may have committed suicide in his daughter's house is not known. Nor is it known why he was negotiating with Dutch publishers to sell his book when he disappeared in the Belgian capital shortly after meeting a Soviet diplomat.

He has been described as an opportunist and a man with a history of mental illness who was subject to wild changes of mood.

But both the House investigative panel and the FBI seek to find out what role, if any, de Mohrenschildt played in the Kennedy assassination.

DE MOHRENSCHILDT, as part of the Dallas Russian-speaking community, was close to Oswald and his Russian-born wife, Marina. The FBI says it checked him out after the presidential assassination. He was a witness before the Warren Commission, and what he said then can be found in 118 pages of that bulky report.

What is not known is what his motive was for writing the manuscript of a book entitled "I'm a Patsy, I'm a Patsy" and claiming that it is the story of how he was responsible for Oswald's assassination of Kennedy.

Some details of the last months of de Mohrenschildt's life were provided to The Washington Star in an interview with Dutch journalist Willem Oltmans.

Oltmans had cultivated de Mohrenschildt as a news source and as a friend for the past 10 years. He told the House Assassinations Committee earlier this month about de Mohrenschildt's decision to tell his version of the Kennedy murder.

Oltmans version prompted the panel to send investigator Gaetan Fonzi to Palm Beach last Monday to question de Mohrenschildt. According to Oltmans:

Oltmans had known de Mohrenschildt for a decade. He knew de Mohrenschildt to be an emigre Russian count, a petroleum engineer, a teacher of French at Bishop College and a close friend of the Oswalds. Oltmans fell into the habit of visiting George and Jeanne de Mohrenschildt in Dallas two or three times a year.

IN JANUARY 1976 de Mohrenschildt wrote Oltmans that he was preparing a book and sent several pages to the Dutch reporter. By June the book was completed, but Jeanne de Mohrenschildt told Oltmans she was upset when she read it. She told her husband he would go to jail if it was published because it was about the assassination of Kennedy and mentioned names of CIA and FBI agents throughout.

Last November, Oltmans went to Dallas and called de Mohrenschildt, only to be told by his wife that he had been in a hospital for several months. Oltmans said he called de Mohrenschildt's lawyer, Pat S. Russell, and was told de Mohrenschildt was in a mental hospital suffering from a persecution complex and undergoing shock treatments.

According to Oltmans, Russell has the manuscript in his office files.

Oltmans went back to Dallas on Feb. 23, 1977, and had lunch with de Mohrenschildt, who was back at work. The journalist said this exchange took place in the Bishop College library:

De Mohrenschildt: "How would it hit the media if I came out and said I felt responsible for Oswald's behavior?"

Oltmans: "You mean what Oswald did? Shot or not shot, he was involved in the shooting. You have links here to the shooting of the president of the United States."

De Mohrenschildt: "I realize that and I don't want to incriminate myself directly. But I am convinced that what Oswald finally set up we completely agreed upon."

Oltmans: "But you were in Haiti on the day of the assassination."

De Mohrenschildt: "Yes."

Oltmans said de Mohrenschildt "was a guy very cleverly saying 'I knew exactly what Oswald was going to do and I have proof of it.' "

OLTMANS said he asked de Mohrenschildt if he was ready to make a statement. He said the professor replied: "Yes, but never in America. I am being followed. I find my house all the time searched. So I am scared to death. I first must get out of the country."

Oltmans said he quickly called his Dutch television superior and was told to bring de Mohrenschildt to Holland. As Oltmans tells it, de Mohrenschildt had several changes of mind but finally said he was ready to go. Oltmans said they drove to Houston, left de Mohrenschildt's car there with a man named David Russell and eventually arrived in Amsterdam on March 3. There they began a round of talks with Dutch television and publishing executives, meanwhile checking with attorney Russell in Dallas to be sure the manuscript was still in his office.

On March 5 Oltmans and de Mohrenschildt drove to Brussels to meet a friend of the Dutch reporter, a Soviet diplomat he identified only as "Kuznetzov." The three men chatted at the newstand of the Hotel Metropole and de Mohrenschildt said he would go for a walk before lunch. "He never returned from that walk," said Oltmans.

On March 7, de Mohrenschildt's disappearance was reported to the U.S. Embassy in the Hague. Oltmans said the official receiving the report was Jacob Gillespie, a press officer at the embassy. There is no record that the missing report was relayed to the State Department in Washington.

Oltmans said he wasn't worried. He got a call from a man in Brussels who identified himself as "Genta" and said de Mohrenschildt had departed for the United States. But Olt-

mans said de Mohrenschildt left behind all his belongings except his briefcase. Oltmans said he put de Mohrenschildt's possessions in an Amsterdam bank and sent the receipt to attorney Russell in Dallas.

Yesterday in Palm Beach, Fla., a police official said authorities were holding "certain personal papers" belonging to de Mohrenschildt, United Press International reported. The official declined to say whether those papers were related to the Kennedy assassination.

In early March, Oltmans told his story to the House panel's deputy counsel Robert Tanenbaum and three other investigators in Washington. Oltmans' view of de Mohrenschildt's role in the assassination is that de Mohrenschildt didn't figure in the slaying but "that together they cooked it up."

De Mohrenschildt, according to Oltmans, could have been kidnaped, or have had another "crazy attack" or have gone to the Soviet Union. None of those things happened, but Oltmans did have a clue to the way de Mohrenschildt died even before the man shot himself.

Oltmans said "He told me in Europe: 'Look, I'll be discharged at Bishop College in June. I'm 65. My wife ran away. (They reportedly are now divorced.) I'm at the end of the line.' And one day he came into my room and said, 'Let's face it. I only made up the story (about Oswald) because everybody makes a million dollars off the Kennedy assassination, and I haven't made anything. So now it's my time. So now you and I know that.'"

THE FBI SAYS IT does not know what to make of de Mohrenschildt's strange journey or of his apparent suicide. The Warren Commission concluded that he did not have any connection with Kennedy's death even though he knew the Oswalds well and probably helped them with financial and family problems.

House investigator Fonzi went to the house where de Mohrenschildt was staying at noon Tuesday and was told to return that evening because the man was not home. In the afternoon, de Mohrenschildt apparently put a shotgun in his mouth and pulled the trigger.

No note was found. If there is an answer to George de Mohrenschildt's troubled life, it may lie in the book he has written and that lawyer Russell purportedly has filed away in Dallas: "I'm a Patsy, I'm a Patsy."

31 MAR 1977

Sprague Says His Quitting Kept Panel From Dying

By Ron Sarro
Washington Star Staff Writer

Richard Sprague had always been the ultimate weapon in the House Assassinations Committee's now victorious battle for survival.

The unorthodox former Philadelphia prosecutor had been the center of controversy ever since January, when Democratic leaders were forced to yank from the floor a resolution to authorize the committee's investigation over the next two years.

Sprague had a "standing offer" with the committee and the staff of 73 he had assembled. He would stick it out, at least until the resolution to continue the committee's life again reached the floor. He would quit if it would help assure the investigation would continue.

Fifteen hours before the House was to vote on the committee at noon yesterday, Sprague and several of his staff members met informally with six congressmen, including D.C. Del. Walter E. Fauntroy, in the office of Rep. Louis Stokes, D-Ohio, the committee chairman.

The prognosis wasn't good. "We discussed the vote count and how it looked in terms of the floor vote," Stokes recalled later. "Our count showed we were probably down 20 votes." The mood of the House was not good.

RESENTMENT lingered about Sprague's original request for a $13 million two-year budget to reopen the investigations of the assassinations of John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr.; about his onetime request to use sophisticated electronic investigative tools; about his showdown with Rep. Henry Gonzalez, D-Tex., forcing Gonzalez's resignation last month as committee chairman; and about Gonzalez' charges against Sprague.

Legislators attending the meeting in Stokes' office estimated that perhaps 40 more votes could be obtained if the committee would just use that ultimate weapon — Sprague.

"He said he did not want to be the impediment in terms of this investigation going foward," Stokes said. "For that reason, he said 'I want to resign.' I think it made the difference."

By a 49-vote margin, the committee was authorized to continue its investigation with a proposed $2.8 million budget for this year which should pass the House later with little trouble. The final vote yesterday was 230-181 in favor of the committee with one member voting "present."

Voting for the committee were 181 Democrats and 49 Republicans. Against it were 93 Democrats and 88 Republicans, including 16 of the 19 Texas congressmen who opposed the committee mainly as an act of loyalty to Gonzalez, who resigned as its chairman after battling with Sprague.

AMONG WASHINGTON area congressmen, supporting the committee were Reps. Gladys Spellman, D-Md.; Newton Steers, R-Md.; and Herbert Harris, D-Va.; opposing it were Reps. Joseph Fisher, D-Va., and Marjorie Holt, R-Md. Fauntroy, who heads an assassinations panel subcommittee, does not have a vote on the House floor.

The final vote on the assassinations committee was preceded by one of the most unusual maneuvers in the memory of veteran House observers. During extensive debate, Stokes had been telling his colleagues that the committee had developed new leads in the Kennedy and King cases, but that he could not discuss them publicly.

Rep. Robert Bauman, R-Md., who called the committee the "biggest legislative circus we've engaged in in years," cited obscure House Rule 29 and moved that the House go into executive session for the first time since 1830 to hear the committee's new evidence. Bauman's motion was defeated, but by the amazingly close vote of 185-226, considering the uniqueness of the maneuver.

THE ASSASSINATIONS committee met before the floor action yesterday and made public a transcript of a closed session March 16 at which Sprague responded to the variety of charges leveled against him by Gonzalez and in a New York Times article about Sprague's activities.

The record provided Sprague's first public response to Gonzalez, with Sprague terming the charges made by the former chairman "dastardly smears by a member of Congress."

Sprague also told the committee, according to the transcript, that he would make "no bones" about leaving the committee and that he had only stayed on after the controversy because he felt an obligation to the committee members. He said he did not want to walk out on the committee or the staff, but declared, "I am not wedded to this position."

"I do not think I am doing myself a favor," Sprague said in his testimony, "I think I am doing you a favor — by you I mean the Congress. I give you a standing offer. I don't want to be fired obviously but if you feel I am a sort of a millstone, if you feel that because of attitudes of other members of Congress that your ship will sail the better, then you don't have to play around with me on it. I am happy to submit my resignation immediately."

AND SPRAGUE added, "The truth of the matter is that I am personally losing quite a tremendous amount of money by being in this position."

The 11 members of the committee who refused to accept Gonzalez' attempt to fire Sprague as the two clashed over who was running things, said yesterday they had found no fault with Sprague after their interrogation of him.

HOUSE VOTES TO KEEP ASSASSINATION PANEL

Continued From Page A1

resignation of Mr. Sprague, which was announced this morning before the House convened, had made it easier to secure enough votes to reconstitute the committee.

Resignation 'Meant 40 Votes'

"With Sprague resigning, they claim it means 40 more votes," the Speaker of the House, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., Democrat of Massachusetts, said before the vote.

The former chairman of the committee, Representative Henry B. Gonzalez, Democrat of Texas, tried to dismiss Mr. Sprague as chief counsel and staff director last month on the ground of alleged insubordination. But the 11 other members of the committee backed Mr. Sprague, and Mr. Gonzalez resigned his post earlier this month.

In the last two days, Mr. Gonzalez had made speeches on the House floor accusing Mr. Sprague of, among other things, interfering with his work as chairman, insubordination and creating disharmony.

Last night several members of the committee gathered in the office of Representative Louis Stokes, Democrat of Ohio, who is the new committee chairman, and concluded, according to one participant, that they were about 25 votes short of the majority needed to reconstitute the committee.

'Facts of Life' Discussed

A number of representatives had told committee members that the continued presence of Mr. Sprague on the committee would lead them to vote against continuing the committee.

The committee members discussed what Representative Robert W. Edgar, Democrat of Pennsylvania, called "the facts of life" with Mr. Sprague, who then went to an anteroom and dictated a letter to the committee. The letter said:

"I am hereby submitting my resignation effective immediately, as chief counsel and staff director of the House Select Committee on Assassinations.

"I do so with the hope that the Congress can now proceed with the challenge of seeing that these investigations are pursued promptly."

Mr. Sprague, 51 years old, who had gained a reputation as an aggressive prosecutor in Pennsylvania before joining the committee late last year, left town after resigning, according to a committee spokesman.

Today's events marked another turning point in the brief, turbulent history of the committee, which was created last year with only 65 dissenting votes.

Before the public dispute arose between Mr. Gonzalez and Mr. Sprague, the chief counsel had angered some representatives by requesting a budget of $13 million to conduct the investigations over a two-year period. The committee later trimmed that budget request to $7.8 million for the first year, with the expectation that a similar amount would be sought next year.

Members of the committee said that Mr. Sprague had resigned voluntarily and that the committee met this morning to accept his resignation "with regret."

The committee members unanimously praised Mr. Sprague for his work and made public transcripts of a closed meeting they held earlier this month with Mr. Sprague. The representatives said that the transcripts refuted all the criticism that had been made against Mr. Sprague by Mr. Gonzalez and in news accounts.

Pickle Calls Inquiry 'Sick Cat'

Walter E. Fauntroy, Democrat, delegate from the District of Columbia, said that allegations against Mr. Sprague had "absolutely no basis in fact" and added that the counsel's resignation to allow the investigations to continue "in my judgment merits the Congressional Medal of Honor."

Representative Samuel L. Devine, Republican of Ohio, said that other members of the House had told committee members: "If you get rid of that Sprague, we'll go with you. That's what it's all about."

In the four hours of debate later on the House floor, several representatives criticized the committee's work. Representative J. J. Pickle, Democrat of Texas, called the investigations "a sick cat."

But supporters of the committee contended that the investigators should be allowed to try to resolve unanswered questions about the Kennedy and King assassinations. Committee members also contended that they were pursuing "new leads," but did not give details.

The House, however, rejected, 226 to 185, an effort to get it to go into a rare secret session to hear evidence the committee has gathered. Also, the House voted, 223 to 195, to delete the committee's request for authority to intervene in lawsuits or to seek court actions to seek information.

HOUSE VOTES TO KEEP ASSASSINATION PANEL

After Sprague Quits as Staff Chief, Inquiry Is Extended Through '78

By RICHARD L. MADDEN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 30—The House of Representatives voted today to keep its Select Committee on Assassinations in existence through next year. The vote was taken after the committee's chief counsel, Richard A. Sprague, resigned.

The vote, which was 230 to 181, assures that the embattled committee, which was established last September, will be able to pursue its investigations of the assassinations of President Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. throughout the term of the current 95th Congress.

The 12-member committee, which received an interim extension by the House last Feb. 2, would have gone out of business tomorrow if the House had not preserved it.

In Florida, sources familiar with the apparent suicide of George de Mohrenschildt, whose testimony the committee had been seeking, said today that he might once have been a Central Intelligence Agency operative and a confidant of Lee Harvey Oswald. [Page A14.]

Members of the committee and other representatives acknowledged that the

Continued on Page A13, Col. 1

Professor, 65, Who Killed Himself May Have Been Oswald Confidant

PALM BEACH, Fla., March 30 (UPI)—A Russian-born professor who committed suicide, apparently when he learned that a House investigating committee wanted his testimony concerning President Kennedy's assassination, may once have been an operative for the Central Intelligence Agency, and a confidant of Lee Harvey Oswald, sources familiar with the case said today.

The body of George de Mohrenschildt, 65 years old, was found yesterday in a second-floor study of a Palm Beach waterfront mansion by his daughter, Alexandra, 33, who had just returned from a shopping trip.

His death came shortly after he learned that an investigator for the House assassinations committee was seeking him to testify before the committee about his connections with Mr. Oswald, Mr. Kennedy's assassin.

The timing of Mr. de Mohrenschmidt's death immediately became a factor in the House committee's request to extend its investigations of political assassinations. Representative Richardson Preyer, Democrat of North Carolina, said the committee had linked Mr. de Mohrenschildt to "new evidence" that indicated "de-Mohrenschildt may have been closer to Lee Harvey Oswald than appeared on the surface."

Called C.I.A. Agent

A source who investigated the Kennedy assassination for three years asserted that Mr. de Mohrenschildt, who held degrees in international commerce, petroleum geology and engineering, was serving as a C.I.A. agent in Haiti in 1963, the year that Mr. Kennedy was killed in Dallas.

Mr. de Mohrenschildt denied in published testimony before the Federal commission that investigated the Kennedy death that he had never been an agent of any government. he said his wide travels on several continents were solely business-connected. However, the commission, headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren, also took off-the-record testimony from him that has never been made public.

Mr. de Mohrenschildt talked last month in Dallas with a Dutch journalist, Wilhelm Oltmans, who told the House Assassination committee that in advance that Oswald was going to do.

According to the Warren Commission report, published in October 1964, Mr. de Mohrenschildt and his wife met Oswald and his wife Marina in dallas in 1962.

Mr. Preyer said Mr. de Mohrenschildt "was a crucial witness for us, based on the new information he had." "He was intimately involved with Oswald," he added.

Convinced of Suicide

The Palm Beach County sheriff's office withheld an official ruling on Mr. de Mohrenschildt's death until results of an autopsy and further investigation wre made public. But Lieut. Richard Sheets said there was "no reason to suspect anything other than suicide."

Mr. de Mohrenschildt, who was a French-language teacher at Bishop College in Dallas at the time of his death, arrived from Brussels a week ago with his daughter to visit Mrs. Charles Tilton 3d.

Mrs. Tilton owns the three-story home on an estate alongside the Intracoastal Waterway, seven miles south of Palm Beach. Mrs. Hilton is the former Nancy Pierson Sands.

Sheriff Richard Wille said that Gaeton J. Fonzi, an investigator for the House assassinations committee, went to the Hilton estate about noon yesterday and left word that he would return at 8:30 P.M. to see Mr. de Mohrenschildt. The sheriff said no suicide note had been found.



RICHARD A. SPRAGUE
. . . chief counsel resigns

House Backs Inquiry on JFK, King

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

Assuaged by the last-minute resignation of the chief counsel of the inquiry, the House voted yesterday to continue its beleaguered investigation into the murders of President Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

The vote, after nearly four hours of spirited and sometimes testy debate, was 230 to 181. By all accounts, the outcome might have been just the reverse if the chief counsel of the House Assassinations Committee, Richard A. Sprague, had not resigned around midnight in an effort to blunt the opposition.

In a short letter dictated from the offices of committee Chairman Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) late Tuesday night, Sprague said he was quitting immediately "with the hope that the Congress can now proceed with the challenge of seeing that these investigations are pursued promptly."

The decision followed gloomy

See INQUIRY, A5, Col. 1

House Votes to Continue JFK-King Probe

as Sprague Quits

INQUIRY, From A1

reports from committee members who had taken an unofficial head count of the House to determine the prospects for passage of the resolution keeping the inquiry alive for the remainder of the 95th Congress. The committee had been scheduled to go out of business tonight, without a fresh vote of approval from the House.

"We were short, clearly short," perhaps by as much as 25 to 30 votes, Rep. Christopher J. Dodd (D-Conn.) told reporters.

A switch of 25 votes would have killed the committee. In a brief news conference last evening, Chairman Stokes said he felt that Sprague's resignation "made the difference."

Moments later, Stokes abruptly cut short the news conference in apparent annoyance over continued questioning about the importance of George de Mohrenschildt, 65, to the Kennedy investigation.

A Russian-born geologist who was acquainted with Lee Harvey Oswald and who had been questioned by the Warren Commission, de Mohrenschildt was found dead Tuesday, an apparent suicide, at his daughter's oceanfront home in Manalapan, Fla.

Although de Mohrenschildt had spent three months in the psychiatric wing of Parkland Memorial Hospital in Dallas last fall and winter, Stokes and other committee members said they regarded him as "a crucial witness."

Rep. Richardson Preyer (D-N.C.), chairman of the subcommittee investigating the Kennedy assassination, said hints of what de Mohrenschildt might say, furnished to the committee last month by Dutch journalist Willem Oltmans, indicated that de Mohrenschildt may have talked with Lee Harvey Oswald in advance about the President's assassination. Preyer indicated, however, that de Mohrenschildt did not come up with the "unconfirmed" story until recently, after his release from the hospital.

At his press conference in the House radio-TV gallery, Stokes repeatedly refused to give any indication of why de Mohrenschildt's testimony would have been so "crucial." He finally walked out after passing over a question as to whether the committee or its staff had ever talked to the man.

[According to the Associated Press, the Palm Beach County sheriff's office reported that Gaeton Fonzi, a staff investigator for the House Assassinations Committee, went to the home of the daughter, Mrs. Charles Tilton II, at about noon Tuesday and asked to see de Mohrenschildt.

[Tilton told Fonzi that de Mohrenschildt was not at home and Fonzi left, saying he would return that evening. De Mohrenschildt was found dead several hours later, before Fonzi's return.]

Before the showdown on the House floor, members of the Assassinations Committee met in emergency session yesterday morning to accept Sprague's resignation reluctantly and praise him for his service. The former Philadelphia prosecutor, who had stirred controversy over his proposed budget, his planned investigating techniques and finally his confrontation last month with former Committee Chairman Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.), had already left Washington. He reportedly went to Philadelphia and then left on a quick vacation.

In his absence yesterday morning, he was widely hailed by committee members for remaining silent in the face of "defamatory accusations" and praised as an "outstanding public official" who had been unfairly maligned.

In indignant tones, Rep. Stewart B. McKinney (R-Conn.), contended that Sprague had been the victim of latter-day McCarthyism, a reference to the tactics of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy during the 1950s.

"I was a child of the McCarthy era," McKinney declared. "I think that in the case of Richard Sprague, we have seen a witchhunt and a devastation of human rights that I never expected to see again."

With Rep. Charles Thone (R-Neb.), a strong supporter of Sprague, voting nay, the committee decided by a vote of 11 to 1 to accept Sprague's resignation reluctantly, in the interests of keeping the inquiry alive.

Hours later on the House floor, critics of the assassinations inquiry hurled the suggestions of McCarthyism back at the committee.

Rep. Charles E. Wiggins (R-Calif.) was especially critical of the committee's calling Florida mobster Santo Trafficante to a public hearing this month when it had been alerted in advance that he would refuse to testify by invoking the Fifth Amendment and other constitutional rights.

Brandishing a copy of the Assassinations Committee's 14-page progress report including various leads it is investigating, Rep. John D. Dingell (D-Mich.) said it contained "not one smidgin of evidence" that impressed him. He said the investigation reminded him of the days of the old House Un-American Activities committee which brought "shame upon the House" before it was finally disbanded.

Warning the House of the possible consequences of killing the committee, Rep. Richard Bolling (D-Mo.) said the public would take it as a cover-up.

"They're uneasy, to put it mildly, about the Warren report," Bolling said. "They're uneasy about the King murder."

In an emotional highpoint that drew sustained applause, Rep. Lindy Boggs (D-La.) recalled the service of her late husband, Rep. Hale Boggs, on the Warren Commission, and went on to explain how important she thought it was to continue the investigation. She said the commission, in language perfected by her husband, concluded only that it saw no evidence of a conspiracy in the Kennedy assassination, "according to the evidence presented . . ."

Stokes said he anticipates no trouble in obtaining the $2.7 million budget the committee is seeking for calendar year 1977.

De Mohrenschildt's death, reportedly from the blast of a shotgun placed in his mouth, caused reverberations throughout the day. In releasing a previously secret transcript to show Sprague's rebuttal of various charges against him, the committee also made public, perhaps inadvertently, a March 17 account of evidentiary matters.

In it, Sprague said that de Mohrenschildt went to the Netherlands with Dutch journalist Oltmans recently. "The purpose of his (de Mohrenschildt's) trip was to divulge for the first time his knowledge of the assassination of the President, and he indicated that he was responsible for Oswald's activity, and that there were others involved who were involved in the actual shooting of the President," Sprague told the committee.

30 MAR 1977

Sprague Quits as Counsel To Assassinations Panel

By Jeremiah O'Leary and Ron Sarro
Washington Star Staff Writers

Richard A. Sprague resigned as chief counsel of the House Assassinations Committee today in the climax to a bitter feud that had forced the resignation of a chairman of the committee.

The sudden resignation came as the House was preparing to vote on whether to continue the investigation into the murders of President John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Sprague informed Chairman Louis Stokes, D-Ohio, of his decision this morning in a terse, two-paragraph letter saying:

"I am hereby submitting my resignation effective immediately as chief counsel and staff director of the House Select Committee on Assassinations.

"I do so with the hope that the Congress can now proceed with the challenge of seeing these investigations are pursued properly."

COMMITTEE SPOKESMAN Burt Chardak said Sprague left town immediately after signing the letters to committee members and would be out of touch for several days.

Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez, D-Tex., who was chairman of the commitee, last month tried to fire Sprague for what he called insubordinate conduct and on a variety of other charges. But when the other 11 committee members backed Sprague, Gonzalez himself resigned.

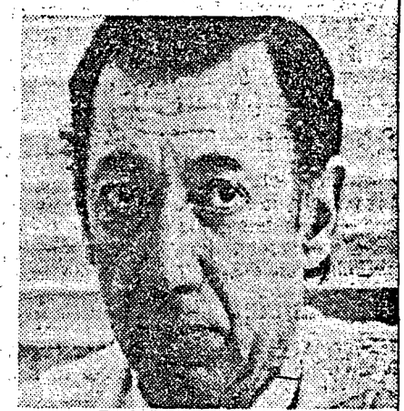
Sprague's decision to quit apparently was reached last night during a meeting with Stokes that lasted from 8:30 until midnight. It is reported that Stokes explained to Sprague that an unofficial count of House members showed there was little hope that the House would extend the committee past the present March 31 expiration date as long as Sprague remained as chief counsel.

THE COMMITTEE MET at midmorning and voted to accept the resignation "with regret."

The panel also voted to make public a transcript of everything Sprague said in his defense against charges made against him by Gonzalez. The transcript covers a day and a half of closed hearings at which Sprague apparently convinced the committee that allegations made against him by Gonzalez were false.

Chairman Stokes said, "I personally regret having to be the recipient of this letter of resignation. Sprague has been the victim of many unfair and defamatory accusations. He has remained quiet and diligent, and he

See SPRAGUE, A-6



RICHARD SPRAGUE
Now He's Out, Too

SPRAGUE

Continued From A-1

has not answered any of these false charges except in executive session.

"It is unfortunnate he has chosenn to resign. I know he did so in the determination that the work of this committee is bigger than any individual."

Rep. Richardson Preyer, D-N.C., said, "I hope we make it clear that Sprague is not resigning because of any truth in the charges against him. We owe it to him to answer the charges that were made against him, and we should release the transcript of the closed hearing at which he did answer."

Rep. Sam Devine, R-Ohio, charged that Sprague was literally driven from his job by "these scurrilous, irresponsible charges. I'd have to blame certain sections of the media, certain hatchetmen, for this," he said.

D.C. Del. Walter E. Fauntroy said Sprague's actions today "merit the Congressional Medal of Honor. The House is now stripped of excuses for voting against us."

THE RESIGNATION is a belated victory for Gonzalez, who was embittered by what he regarded as a situation in which House leaders and other committee members were supporting a committee employe over an elected member of the House.

When the House Rules Committee met Monday to vote on the resolution extending the committee until the end of the year, it was evident that Sprague had become the main issue with many members of the House. In previous votes the issue primarily had been about the proposed expenditures for the investigations.

The Rules Committee reported the resolution out by a vote of 9 to 4 with two pro-Gonzalez members voting present. House leaders still expected the resolution to win full House approval, and with Sprague suddenly out of the picture, it appeared even more certain.

Last Monday, Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill said he favored the extension but carefully pointed out that it was not a party matter. This was taken to mean that he would not exert pressure to influence the voting of the Democratic majority.

Later some members of the Assassinations Committee met with Majority Whip John Brademas, D-Ind., and reportedly made a strong pitch for support for the extension, again without getting a commitment. This left the fate of the committee somewhat up in the air and indications were that the measure could not pass so long as Sprague continued as chief counsel.

Stokes could not be reached for comment after Sprague's resignation, but sources said he had called a meeting of the panel to discuss the departure of Sprague and its implications for the future.

GONZALEZ HAD APPEARED determined over the last two days to even the score with Sprague in the dispute which forced the Texas Democrat out as the chairman of the committee.

Gonzalez obtained House permission yesterday to give one-hour "special order" speeches — yesterday, today, tomorrow and next Monday — obviously with the intention of bringing out every allegation ever made against Sprague and listing things he felt the chief counsel had done in violation of House rules and ethics. Gonzalez also spoke for an hour last Monday about Sprague.

"I said he was a rattlesnake. He is a rattlesnake that doesn't rattle," Gonzalez told the House late yesterday. "He's more like a copperhead."



—Associated Press

George de Mohrenschildt, shown with his wife in an earlier photo,

Figure in JFK Probe Found Dead, a 'Suicide'

From News Services

PALM BEACH, Fla. — A Russian-born petroleum geologist and language professor, described as "intimately involved" with Lee Harvey Oswald and a "crucial witness" in the new congressional investigation of the John F. Kennedy assassination, has been found dead in an apparent suicide.

Palm Beach County Sheriff Richard Wille identified the victim as George de Mohrenschildt, 65, a professor of French at Bishop College in Dallas.

Wille said de Mohrenschildt, a guest at the historic oceanfront mansion in suburban Manalapan, Fla., of Mrs. Charles Tilton III, apparently placed the muzzle of a .20 gauge shotgun to his mouth yesterday and pulled the trigger.

Authorities planned an autopsy today. Lt. Richard Sheets of the sheriff's office said there was "no reason to suspect anything other than suicide, but the investigation is continuing."

The sheriff said de Mohrenschildt had vanished from Dallas shortly after a Dutch newspaper report about three weeks ago claimed he had prior knowledge of the assassination.

De Mohrenschildt was traced by a House Assassinations Committee investigator to the Florida address, the sheriff said, and he returned to the Tilton home about 2:45 p.m. yesterday to learn that the investigator, believed to be Gaeton J. Fonzi, had been trying to reach him.

INFORMED LATE LAST night of the death, Rep. Richardson Preyer, D-N.C., a member of the committee, said, "He was a crucial witness for

See SHOOTING, A-12

SHOOTING

Continued From A-1

us, based on the new information he had. He was intimately involved with Oswald."

When the Warren Commission issued its report in 1964, concluding that President Kennedy was killed by Oswald acting alone, it said it had conducted an extensive investigation into de Mohrenschildt and his wife, Jeanne, because they had known the Oswalds through mutual Russian-speaking friends in the Dallas-Fort Worth area. The commission concluded that there was no evidence linking them to the assassination.

In his account quoting de Mohrenschildt as saying he had prior knowledge of the Kennedy assassination, Dutch journalist William Oltmans reported, "He (de Mohrenschildt) asked me, 'How do you think the media would react if I came out and said I feel responsible for Oswald's behavior?' "

AFTER VANISHING from Dallas, de Mohrenschildt showed up in Oltmans' office in Holland. Then he disappeared again and was traced by government investigators from Brussels to Florida.

Wille said only a maid and the chauffeur were home at the time and the shooting went undiscovered until the body was found by de Mohrenschildt's daughter in a second floor drawing room. Both had been guests at the Tilton home for about a week.

The sheriff said the call to the home was believed to have been placed from Miami by House investigator Fonzi.

About an hour later, Wille said, de Mohrenschildt apparently shot himself. "We're 99 percent certain he killed himself," the sheriff said.

Wille and Palm Beach State Atty. David Bludworth questioned witnesses about the shooting until shortly before midnight.

Among the witnesses quizzed was free lance writer Edward Jay Epstein, author of "Inquest: The Warren Commission and the Establishment of Truth," who had told the West Palm Beach Post Monday night that he had been interviewing de Mohrenschildt in connection with a book he was doing about Lee Harvey Oswald.

Lt. Sheets said that just before de Mohrenschildt's death, he met with Epstein, whom he referred to as "an author on contract from Reader's Digest for an exclusive interview."

AFTER HIS questioning last night, Epstein said, "I don't mean to be evasive, but the police told me not to talk about de Mohrenschildt's death to anybody."

In his book Epstein laid out a thesis that problems of timing, questions about the Kennedy autopsy report and other matters suggest that more than one man shot at the President.

The Tilton home remained sealed off by sheriff's deputies last night.

Accordng to the Warren Commission report, de Mohrenschildt was born in the Ukraine in 1911 and fled Russia in 1921 following the civil disorders that broke out after the Bolshevik revolution.

He became an American citizen in 1949, having earlier received a graduate degree from the University of Texas in petroleum geology and petroleum engineering.

In 1960, the report states, he traveled for eight months through Mexico and Panama over primitive jungle trails, and by happenstance he and his wife were in Guatemala City when the Bay of Pigs invasion was launched. He prepared a lengthy film clip and a complete written log on the trip and a report was made to the U.S. government, the commission reported.

De Mohrenschildt's death was the third involving witnesses or potential witnesses before congressional panels investigating assassinations.

Underworld figure Sam Giancana was murdered before testifying, and John Roselli was killed after appearing before the Senate Intelligence Committee investigating allegations that the assassination of Kennedy was in retaliation for CIA efforts to assassinate Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

Assassinations Probe Nearing Showdown; Counsel Under Fire

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House Rules Committee cleared the way yesterday for a showdown over the House assassinations inquiry amid a sudden outburst of demands for the ouster of chief counsel Richard A. Sprague.

"I think this resolution is in serious trouble on the House floor," Rep. Morgan Murphy (D-Ill) warned members of the Assassinations Committee at a hearing before the Rules Committee.

Although Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill has promised "wholehearted support" for keeping the investigations alive, Murphy said advocates of the inquiry were seriously underestimating "the feelings of the members of the House" about Sprague.

"I think you ought to get your own man in there," Murphy warned the newly installed Assassinations Committee chairman, Louis Stokes (D-Ohio). "What he can do to Henry, he can do to you."

Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.), the former chairman whom Murphy was talking about, underscored the mood in a bitter speech on the House floor about how he unsuccessfully tried to fire Sprague last month. He said he was deserted by House Democratic leaders and committee colleagues, and blamed it at least partly on racial discrimination.

"I think I have been treated shabbily," Gonzalez declared. "I think that if my name were Jones or O'Brien or Rosenthal or George Washington Carver or Martin Luther King, I would not have been treated so shabbily."

The Texas Democrat held the floor for more than an hour with a chapter-and-verse recitation of his efforts to restore order to the committee's finances.

The day after he ordered Sprague's dismissal, Gonzalez said, Majority Leader Jim Wright (Tex.) assured him, "'Well, fella, we're with you. You're right.'"

"I don't know how anybody could interpret that," Gonzalez said. "I took it as support." But it soon disappeared when the rest of the committee remained solidly behind Sprague. Gonzalez quit the chairmanship and the committee on March 8.

With heavy sarcasm, Gonzalez at various points imitated the voices of Reps. Shirley Chisholm (D.-N.Y.) and Richardson Preyer (D.-N.C.) speaking at a Rules Committee hearing in January, described Rep. Richard Bolling (D.-Mo.) as "the great rajah of the Rules Committee," and called Del. Walter E. Fauntroy (D.-D.C.) "the vizier of Washington."

The Rules Committee voted 9 to 4 to set up a floor vote Wednesday on continuing the investigations into the murders of President Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr. for the remainder of the 95th Congress. Two other Rules Committee members, Murphy and Rep. John Young (D-Tex.), voted "present".

Appointed chairman March 8, Stokes said he inherited a committee staff that was marking time with "almost no stationery, almost no supplies" and was "unable to travel" or even make a long-distance phone call. He strongly urged keeping the investigations going past their current March 31 expiration date and submitted a 14-page report indicating some of the "leads" the committee is pursuing.

The information, however, smacked of twice-told tales. In one passage reminiscent of former New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison's celebrated investigation, the committee said it is "actively pursuing several new leads which indicate that Lee Harvey Oswald was associated with CIA-supported anti-Castro groups".

Raising the persistent specter of a "false Oswald," the committee said those same "leads" also "suggest" that Oswald's "reported pro-Castro activities" and his "alleged" trip to Mexico City might have been deliberately designed to mask his CIA-supported anti-Castro associations.

Stokes insisted at yesterday's hearing that the inquiry was running smoothly now with Gonzalez gone. The new chairman maintained that Sprague had satisfactorily countered all the charges against him at a secret committee meeting recently.

Murphy noted that Gonzalez was not present when the questioning of Sprague was conducted. "We're taking Sprague's word over Gonzalez' word, as I understand it," Murphy said. Citing Gonzalez' speech on the House floor earlier in the afternoon, Murphy said he was especially concerned about a charge that Sprague had forbidden committee staffers to furnish payroll information to committee members.

Stokes said that Sprague "has offered a number of times to step aside if it would be of assistance to the committee," but the committee remains solidly behind him.

"I think you ought to accept that offer," Murphy said.

Rep. Joe Moakley (D-Mass.) said he has been supporting the investigation for months, but he agreed that the issue in the minds of most House members is "not whether the assassinations committte ought to be reconstituted. It's whether Mr. Sprague should be retained as chief counsel."

Rep. Bolling, who will serve as floor manager for the Wednesday resolution to keep the committee alive, told a reporter that he thinks the odds still favor its passage, but added: "It's awfully close. It'll probably change three times before Wednesday."

Enlist Other Writers, Too 25 Mar.

Norman Mailer Offers Slaying Probers a Hand

By David Braaten
Washington Star Staff Writer

Norman Mailer has leaped with his usual syntactical gusto to the defense of the embattled House Assassinations Committee, and has enlisted 28 fellow writers to join his plea for continuation of the committee's investigations.

In a letter sent yesterday to the House and to President Carter, Mailer said in effect that while the committee's game is being badly played — and getting bad play — it's the only game in town and the stakes are high.

"The select committee," he wrote, "may be imperfect, impractical and a demon for poor publicity. For all we know, it may be riddled with undercover men. But it is the only investigating body we have in the House of Representatives with the obligation to subpoena recalcitrant witnesses on these matters and the duty to listen to witnesses who have studied the flaws in the Warren Commission report for years.

"By its existence, therefore, the committee represents a threat to anybody who would hope to maintain public apathy about the assassinations."

THOUGH CONCEDING that practical results, such as prosecutions, are unlikely from the committee's work, Mailer stressed the "psychic value" of the investigations.

"A clear idea of the character of the events of the recent past is essential to a democracy," he wrote. "Without knowledge of what happened in an event, how can one debate its meaning?

"If we do not know whether Jack Kennedy was killed by the demented act of an isolated man, or whether by the concerted acts of a group of conspirators who employed Oswald as the set-up; if we do not know whether the murder of Oswald by Jack Ruby was an attempt to spare the First Lady all the discomfort of appearing at a trial, or an order that came to Jack Ruby out of the chain of communication that ran between the CIA and the Mafia, then we do not know which history we can act upon."

Mailer told a press conference here that he personally does not believe Cuban Premier Fidel Castro had Kennedy shot because Castro would have realized that it eventually would have leaked out and meant the end of Castro's Cuba.

But he noted the belief in some quarters that "the reason the Warren Commission went into the tank" and pinned the assassination on Lee Harvey Oswald alone was the commission's fear that Castro was involved, and that if this were brought out it would lead to war with Cuba and possibly with Russia.

HE WOULD, Mailer said, like to know the truth.

Mailer said he takes it for granted that the assassinations committee staff is loaded with undercover agents. Though he declined to specify exactly what governmental body — or what government, for that matter — the agents are working for, his repeated references to the CIA strongly suggested where his suspicions lie.

His conclusion that the committee is spook-ridden comes, Mailer said, from reading in the newspapers of the committee's strange activities.

"The committee does bizarre things," he said. "It's important to know whether they're doing bizarre things or someone is making them *look* like they're doing bizarre things."



—Washington Star

NORMAN MAILER
"If we do not know the answer . . ."

Asked what useful purpose it would serve to determine that the FBI and/or CIA were involved in the Kennedy or Martin Luther King Jr. assassinations, Mailer said it would at least give the public "firm knowledge" of the agencies' performance.

As things stand now, he said, there are some who think the FBI can do no wrong, and others who think "they couldn't operate cleanly if it was handed to them on a towel."

MAILER TOOK the occasion to announce that he has joined a Cambridge-based research organization called the Assassination Information Bureau. The group is a shoestring-financed collection of five officers and "a long list of volunteers," according to the two young AIB men who were present at the National Press Club news conference. They have just opened a Washington office.

Mailer said that even though riddled with spies, the House committee can still function. The undercover agents won't necessarily run the investigation, he said, and their conflicting loyalties and self-interest within, say, the CIA, will tend to help bring out the facts as the power struggle among the agents progresses.

Mailer described an organization like the CIA as "epic comedy" and "democracy in microcosmos." Even in the Byzantine world of an intelligence agency, he said, "democracy can still sprout a seed or two."

Asked what, exactly, he'll be doing for the Assassination Information Bureau, the diminutive, gray-haired author, looking almost roly-poly in a green three-piece suit, said:

"I'm a dilettante in these matters. I'll be popping in from time to time. I'll write about it, help get funding. Maybe I'll throw a party."

HE SAID HE would be more of "an uncle" than a central figure in AIB. He is not, he said, equipped to be an investigator.

The 28 authors who signed Mailer's letter at his solicitation have no connection with the information bureau, Mailer said.

The writers, whose names were listed in alphabetical order after Mailer's, are Robert Bly, Malcolm Cowley, Will Durant, E.L. Doctorow, Allen Ginsburg, Doris Kearns Goodwin, Richard Goodwin, Francine du Plessix Gray, John Hawkes, Shirley Hazzard, Joseph Heller, Larry King, Stanley Kunitz, Joyce Carol Oates, William Phillips, Richard Poirer, James Purdy, Dotson Rader, Muriel Rukeyser, Mark Schorer, Meyer Shapiro, Wilfred Sheed, Francis Steegmuller, Wallace Stegner, William Styron, Hunter Thompson, Kurt Vonnegut and Richard Wilbur.

NYT 24 MAR 1977

Wife Says Husband Was Offered $500,000 to Assassinate Dr. King

LOUISVILLE, Ky., March 23 (AP)—The wife of a retired Louisville police officer confirmed today that her husband had told Representative Gene Snyder of Kentuckyt that he was offered $500,000 on two occasions to kill the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Mary Baird, 44 years old, said that her husband, Clifton, who was unavailable for comment, had told Mr. Snyder of an offer that Mr. Baird said had been made by members of the Louisville Police Department and several agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

She said that her husband, who is 50, retired from the Louisville force several years ago after 27 years' service. He is now working for a private security agency, which his wife declined to identify. She said that he was out of town on business that was unrelated to the investigation of the King assassination by the House Select Committee on Assassinations.

"He told me about this when I first married him, seven years ago," Mrs. Baird said. "I think he thought he wasn't going to be believed."

Shesaid she believed one reason he came forward a second time with the allegation was because "he wants to know why someone asked him" to kill the civil rights leader, who was assassinated in Memphis in 1968.

"It sure has been on his mind," Mrs. Baird said. "He said it just got to bothering him and that's why he contacted Mr. Snyder."

Reportedly Told Ray's Lawyer

She said that her husband, before getting in touch with Mr. Snyder, had told one of James Earl Ray's attorneys of the alleged plot. She said that her husband was "discouraged" after he told the attorney.

Mr. Ray, who confessed that he had killed Mr. King, is serving 99 years in prison for the slaying. He did not implicate anyone else in the murder.

Mr. Snyder, who disclosed last week that he had heard from a man who said that he had knowledge of a plot to kill Dr. King, refused to divulge the man's name.

In Washington, a committee spokesman declined comment on Mrs. Baird's statements or identification of her husband as the man who had gotten in touch with Mr. Snyder.

Mrs. Baird said that her husband had told her "he was offered $500,000 to kill" Dr. King and that "he didn't appreciate it." She said, "I can't say any more, but he's just not that type of person."

Asked why her husband thought he was asked, Mrs. Baird responded: "That's the $64 question; he wants to know why someone asked him."

Newspaper Disclosed Name

The Kentucky Post first named Mr. Baird as the man who reported the alleged plot to Representative Snyder, a Republican.

Mrs. Baird said that she had no idea how her husband was identified as the man who made the allegation but that she was glad it is out in the open now.

"I'm not upset," she said. "It had to come out sooner or later."

Mr. Snyder said earlier this week that he had met the man "face to face" and was convinced he was a "rational" man. Mr. Snyder said he had changed his mind and voted to extend financing for the House Select Committee on Assassinations solely because of his conversation with the man.

C. J. Hyde, a longtime Louisville police chief who is now retired, said that he remembered Mr. Baird as a "very fine police officer."

Committee Approves Reduced Budget

WASHINGTON, March 23 (UPI)—The House Select Committee on Assassinations, which is in danger of lasting only one more week, approved a sharply reduced budget today in the hope that the House will let it continue to investigate the deaths of President Kennedy and Dr. King.

Jack Anderson and Les Whitten

Mobster's Summons by Probers

Perhaps the most feared mobster in the underworld is Florida's Mafia chieftain, Santos Trafficante. House investigators approached his Miami hideaway, therefore, with some apprehension.

He appeared at the screendoor to accept their subpoena. "Shove it under the door," he said softly. They peered through the screen. The sinister Trafficante was pale, and his hands were shaking.

He may have had reason to shake. The House Assassinations Committee had taken a sudden interest in the murder last July of mobster John Rosselli. Before he died, the flamboyant Rosselli hinted that he knew who had arranged President John F. Kennedy's assassination. Carefully hedging, he told an incredible story that implicated Trafficante.

The New York Times reported on the front page that Rosselli was murdered as a "direct result" of his Senate testimony about the Kennedy assassination.

Twelve days before his death, Rosselli dined with Trafficante at the fashionable Landings Restaurant in Fort Lauderdale, Fla. It is the custom of the Mafia to wine and dine a wayward member before he is executed.

The unfortunate Rosselli had been the victim of a gangland execution. This raised some nagging questions in the minds of the committee's homicide experts who are wise in the ways of the mob.

Why would the Mafia knock off a retired racketeer? The fact that he had appeared before the Senate normally would have deterred the crime lords. They would rather not risk antagonizing the federal government by murdering a celebrated witness unless there was some compelling reasons.

The experts doubted the Mafia was upset over Rosselli's confession that, as a hit man for the Central Intelligence Agency, he had attempted to assassinate Cuban Premier Fidel Castro. The mobsters hated Castro, who had expropriated their casinos in Havana. So they should not have minded his CIA mission.

We furnished the committee with a more likely motive for the murder. We got the story from Rosselli himself, bit by bit, over the past six years. He had come to trust us during our investigation of the CIA plot to kill Castro. Whenever Rosselli was in Washington, he dropped by. His associates, knowing of his trust in us, called us ahead of the authorities about his disappearance.

The CIA had figured that the Havana underworld must have killers who could eliminate Castro. The CIA, therefore, spoke secretly to Howard Hughes' chief huncho in Las Vegas, Robert Maheu, about the project. Maheu recruited Rosselli, then the Chicago mob's debonair representative in Las Vegas.

Rosselli looked upon the assassination mission as an opportunity to gain favor with the U.S. government. But he lacked the stature to deal with Santos Trafficante, who controlled the Havana underworld. Rosselli enlisted his own superior, Chicago godfather Sam Giancana, to approach Trafficante.

Giancana flew down to Miami to make the arrangements with the Florida racket boss. Then with Trafficante's blessing, Rosselli used the Havana underworld to plot Castro's demise. The assassination squad tried to plant poison pills, supplied by the CIA, in Castro's food. Castro became ill but failed to die. Then underworld snipers were dispatched to a Havana rooftop. Unhappily for them, they were caught.

Rosselli told us the rest of the story as his own "speculation." But it was his habit to pass us tips in the form of conjecture. There is a good chance he was not merely speculating but had picked up information inside the mob. At least, here's his startling story:

Rosselli heard that Castro had tortured the would-be assassins and had learned about the plot on his life. It would be the sort of irony that Latin-Americans appreciate, Rosselli suggested, for Castro to use the same plotters to retaliate against the U.S. President.

According to Rosselli's speculation, Castro may have used these underworld elements, most of them Cubans from the old Trafficante organization, to arrange the assassination of Kennedy.

They may have lined up Lee Harvey Oswald as the assassin or may have used him as a decoy while others ambushed Kennedy from closer range. Once Oswald was captured, the mob couldn't afford to let him reveal his connection with the underworld. So Rosselli speculated that Jack Ruby, a small-time hoodlum with ties to the Havana underworld, was ordered to eliminate Oswald.

This sort of "speculation" might have induced the mob to silence John Rosselli.

16-377

Subpoena Reported For Gang Figure

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House Assassinations Committee has secretly subpoenaed crime figure Santo Trafficante Jr. for its first hearing today into the murder of President John F. Kennedy, according to informed sources.

Once the overlord of syndicate gambling in Cuba, Trafficante is the only surviving member of a gangland trio that was secretly enlisted by the Central Intelligence Agency in 1960 in efforts to kill Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

The other two men, described as Mafia members, were Sam (Momo) Giancana, who was shot to death in his suburban Chicago home two years ago, and his longtime lieutenant, Johnny Rosselli, whose decomposed body was found last summer in an oil drum floating in the backwaters of Miami's Biscayne Bay.

Trafficante is expected to protest the compulsory appearance, and has reportedly hired Boston lawyer F. Lee Bailey to represent him.

"You can't blame him when you remember what happened to the other two," one source said.

Giancana, 65, was murdered as he prepared a midnight snack of sausages and spinach on June 19, 1975, shortly after his release from a hospital and on the heels of preliminary efforts by the Senate Intelligence Committee to contact him in its investigation of CIA assassination plots.

Rosselli, who had been involved in several abortive plots against Castro, testified before the Senate committee five days after Giancana was killed. Thirteen months later, on July 28, 1975, he disappeared from his Plantation, Fla., home. His hacked-up body was found 10 days later in a 55-gallon oil drum weighted with heavy chains.

Both slayings remain unsolved. But long before his murder, Rosselli had been privately claiming to his attorney that Castro had become aware of the CIA-sponsored plots against him and "thereafter employed teams of individuals who were dispatched to the United States for the purpose of assassinating Mr. Kennedy."

Initially introduced to his CIA contacts in late 1960 as "Joe," Trafficante was described as someone who would serve as a courier to Cuba and make arrangements there in the plot to kill Castro. Trafficante had lived in Cuba, and he still had a number of associates there even after Castro seized their gambling enterprises in Havana.

Although he did not testify during the Senate Intelligence Committee's 18-month investigation of CIA misdeeds, Trafficante was questioned secretly last fall by Senate committee investigators in connection with Rosselli's death.

Trafficante reportedly said he dined with Rosselli at a Fort Lauderdale restaurant less than two weeks before Rosselli's disappearance. He was said to have described this and other get-togethers as "friendly social events with no business."

As long ago as March, 1967, Rosselli had expressed his belief in a Cuban connection to the Kennedy assassination to the FBI through his Washington lawyer, Edward P. Morgan. Morgan, in turn, told the FBI that several of his clients who "were on the fringe of the underworld" informed him that Castro had learned of the plotting against him.

The House Assassinations Committee had been talking of staging a hearing on the assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. in hopes of keeping that investigation alive at least past March 31, when its current charter expires. The decision to hold a hearing on the JFK assassination apparently reflects new hope within the committee for continuing that inquiry as well.

Committee lawyers have been in contact with an attorney for James Earl Ray, serving a 99-year prison term for King's 1968 murder, but Ray is not expected to make any public appearances soon beyond a nationally televised interview last night on the Columbia Broadcasting System's "Who's Who" (WTOP-TV).

Interviewed by correspondent Dan Rather, Ray denied, as he has before, firing the shot that killed King, and insisted that he was not even in the rooming house across the street from King's motel at the time of the murder.

Asked why he was remaining silent if someone else did it, rather than telling all, Ray said he feared that whatever he said might be turned against him. "I think a lot of people have a sort of a Pollyanna view of the legal system," he said.

Crime Figure Takes 5th on Assassination

By Ron Sarro
Washington Star Staff Writer

One of three gangland figures allegedly hired by the CIA to eliminate Fidel Castro in the early 1960s today refused to cooperate with the House Assassination Committee in its investigation of the murder of former President John F. Kennedy.

Despite the warning he might be cited for contempt of Congress, Miami gangland figure Santos Trafficante Jr. refused to answer 13 questions about the Castro plot, his connections with the CIA and prior knowledge of Kennedy's assassination.

It was a scene reminiscent of the old Kefauver Rackets Committee hearings. Trafficante, a balding, elderly man in a gray suit, quietly recited his rights under the 1st, 4th, 5th and 14th Amendments as questions were posed by Committee Chief Counsel Richard Sprague.

Next to Trafficante sat his Florida lawyer, Henry Gonzalez, in a three-piece black pinstriped suit.

TRAFFICANTE is the only surviving member of the CIA hit squad allegedly hired to kill Castro in 1960. Sam Giancana of Chicago was shot to death June 19, 1975, and John Roselli's body was found floating in an oil drum in Biscayne Bay later that summer.

Sprague asked Trafficante whether he had ever worked under contract with the CIA and whether he knew Roselli, a longtime associate. The witness refused to answer.

Trafficante was also asked whether he had prior knowledge of the assassination of Kennedy in Dallas Nov. 22, 1963, or had ever "advised" other people about the killing.

Sprague also asked whether Trafficante knew Jack Ruby, murderer of Kennedy assassin Lee Harvey Os-

See PROBE, A-6

PROBE

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Continued From A-1

wald, and whether Ruby had ever visited Trafficante while the witness was in prison in Cuba, once the base of his gambling empire. Again the witness wouldn't answer. Trafficante also would not say whether he had ever met with the CIA to discuss the assassination of Castro or other world leaders or whether he had immunity in connection with such plans.

Nor would he say whether he knew Robert Maheu, the former official in the Howard Hughes business empire who reportedly put the CIA in touch ith Giancana.

WHEN IT became evident that Trafficante was going to continue to plead potential self-incrimination, Assassination Commiteee Chairman Louis Stokes, D-Ohio, recessed the meeting for nearly 10 minutes while the panel held an informal meeting in a room just off the hearing chamber.

After the meeting Stokes told Trafficante the committee felt his "claim of privilege was inappropriate" and that it may recommend that he be cited for contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions even when directed to do so.

Trafficante remains under subpoena and could be recalled as a witness. He did answer one question, saying, "Yes, sir," when asked whether he understood the subpoena continues.

The committee, which has been attempting to gain credibility so that the House will continue its funding after it expires March 31, had troubles again today. Its hearing had to be delayed 30 minutes because Trafficant's microphone wasn't working.

THEN THERE was another 10-minute delay because Trafficante had exercised his right to exclude television cameras and photographers. This exclusion also cut into the committee attempt to get widest exposure to show that the investigations of the deaths of Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. are serious.

Committee members winced and some in the audience laughed when Trafficante's lawyer was introduced. His name is the same as that of the former chairman of the committee, Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez, D-Tex., who recently resigned after a well-publicized dispute with committee counsel Sprague.

After Trafficante left and the committee voted to subpoena four persons from Tennessee, where King was slain, the panel went into executive session to discuss Trafficante's unwillingness to testify and other aspects of the Kennedy probe.

The supboena of Trafficante ordered him to appear to testify about what he knew of attempts to assassinate Castro and Kennedy and to produce any relevant notes and documents. The subpoena was dated March 16. Gonzalez said that Trafficante could not comply with the requests for documents today.

— 24 MAR 1977

Assassinations Panel Accepts Lower Funding

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House Assassinations Committee formally jettisoned its $6.5 million "bare bones" budget yesterday and decided to try to struggle along for the rest of the year at less than half the price.

Anticipating House approval for continuing their investigations into the murders of President Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., after a dubious winter, committee members also voted a new resolution to keep them in business for the remainder of the 95th Congress—until 1979.

Del. Walter E. Fauntroy (D-D.C.) said he thought the proposed new budget of $2,796,650 for calendar 1977 would be "certainly palatable" to the House. It includes approximately $250,000 already spent this year while the committee struggled for survival in the face of a series of disputes.

Committee chief counsel Richard A. Sprague endorsed the new allotment reluctantly. He warned that the cutback might make it impossible to complete the investigations within the expected two years.

Sprague had contended that his original $6.5 million budget couldn't be cut at all without compromising the inquiry, and he made plain yesterday that he had no intention of eating those words.

Instead, he said he was relying on the assurances of his two top deputies, Robert Tanenbaum and Robert Lehner, who told him they felt they could conduct effective investigations with the slimmer budget.

"I have gone along with their recommendation," Sprague said. "It is less than I would propose, but I am willing to go ahead."

Rep. Richardson Preyer (D-N.C.), chairman of a special budget task force for the committee, said the biggest savings was realized by cutting the proposed staff from 170 to 115 persons, meaning a $2,334,106 reduction in projected salaries.

The new proposal would provide a 27-member task force, under Tanenbaum's direction, to investigate the Kennedy assassination, and 27 more, headed by Lehner, to investigate King's murder.

The inquiry would still be the most expensive investigation ever undertaken by Congress, but House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr. (D-Mass.) professed his "wholehearted support" for it this week after a private briefing from the ranking Democrats on the committee.

It was also plain, from the figures presented yesterday, that next year's budget for the committee, with a full-strength staff of 115, will be about $1 million higher.

The House Rules Committee is expected to take up the resolution reconstituting the committee early next week. The budget will be submitted later, first to the House Administration Committee and then to the House floor.

The Assassinations Committee spent the rest of the day in secret session for a briefing on the progress of the Kennedy and King investigations. Chairman Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) told reporters that it included a rundown on the committee staff's prison interview Tuesday of James Earl Ray, who is serving a 99-year term in Tennessee for King's murder.

"He was very cooperative," Stokes said of Ray. The chairman, however, indicated that the interview was primarily a get-acquainted session, and said, "It may be necessary to talk to him many times" before considering any public testimony.

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE 10A

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER
18 MARCH 1977

Publicity grab hurts assassination probe

The House Select Committee on Assassinations, which has made a mess of its probe into the deaths of President Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., did nothing to retrieve any part of its credibility by bringing underworld figure Santos Trafficante before it.

Mr. Trafficante invoked the Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination in refusing to answer 14 questions worded to determine whether the witness knew anything about the assassination of President Kennedy. There was nothing new about the questions as they related to Mr. Trafficante, and Rep. Louis Stokes (D., Ohio), the chairman, disclosed after the hearing that the committee knew in advance that Mr. Trafficante would take the Fifth.

So, the purpose was not to produce any new evidence or advance an inch toward resolving the legitimate doubts that remain about the Kennedy and King murders. Very obviously, all the committee was trying to do was convince Congress to keep the investigation going after March 31, when the committee will run out of funds.

But the calling of Mr. Trafficante was such a cheap shot in such a sensitive matter that it makes it enormously difficult to believe that this committee, riddled with dissension and grasping for sensational-sounding straws, deserves to be kept alive.

We do believe there is a need to put all doubts to rest—if possible—about the two assassinations, particularly doubts arising from some actions of the FBI and the CIA, and we supported the concept of the Select Committee.

Committees of the Congress always have an obligation to take responsibility for the testimony of their witnesses. Considering the importance and delicacy of the assassination probe, the Select Committee had a special responsibility in this regard which it totally failed to exercise.

The committee should be able to make its case for continuing beyond March 31 on the need to seek answers to questions that most of us have about the assassinations. If it can't, then it should be allowed to go out of existence so that another effort to resolve the questions can be made.

Jack Anderson and Les Whitten

Liddy Complaint Angers Inmates

G. Gordon Liddy, the macho Watergate conspirator who once tried to impress friends by holding his hand over a burning candle, has been coming under some fire in prison as well.

The tight lipped Liddy has remained silent to this day about his role in the ill-fated Watergate break-in. But he was quick to complain loudly about his accommodations at the Allenwood Prison Camp in Pennsylvania. Liddy moved to the minimum security prison three months ago from another penitentiary in Danbury, Conn.

The tenacious tough guy was assigned to sleep on a cot in a hallway near the television room because the better rooms were all booked up. Liddy soon squawked that he couldn't sleep because of the noise from the all-night TV room.

Almost immediately, prison officials banned TV watching after 11:30 p.m., and even started making spot checks to make sure the inmates weren't sneaking a peek at the late show. The other inmates were infuriated at what seemed to be the special treatment for their famous colleague. Many other sleepless inmates had complained about the late night TV noise, to no avail.

The outraged prisoners retaliated by setting Liddy's mattress on fire. When he got a new one, they soaked it. The inmates also threw all the beleaguered Liddy's personal property out the door.

We learned of the brouhaha when an angry inmate bellyached to us that the prison surrenders to every demand Liddy makes. Allenwood warden Eldon Jensen confirmed that Liddy had some trouble with his fellow prisoners. He told us, however, he closed the TV room early due to numerous complaints, not because of Liddy's protest.

Footnote: Last month, we revealed that the Justice Department was seriously considering Liddy's petition to commute the rest of his sentence. Justice officials are studying the request and a recommendation will likely be sent to President Carter early this spring.

Heartbroken Hoover—Behind the bulldog visage of J. Edgar Hoover, who intimidated lawmakers and lawbreakers for decades, was a man acutely sensitive to any criticism of his beloved FBI.

No one defended the bureau more staunchly than Hoover when the Warren Commission complained about the FBI's handling of the investigation into President Kennedy's assassination. But long-secret documents show that Hoover was nearly heartbroken over his bureau's failings in the JFK probe and felt the commission had "debunked" the FBI forever.

Every morning, the tough-talking director carefully perused clippings from 10 daily newspapers, including The Washington Post and New York Times. But nothing pleased him more than the peppy style and sympathetic viewpoint of the New York Daily News and the now-defunct Hearst papers, the Journal-American and the Mirror.

When the Journal-American got wind of secret FBI files and reported that Hoover would tell President Johnson that Lee Harvey Oswald acted alone, the FBI chief was surprisingly calm. Had the breach of security appeared in a more liberal paper, Hoover probably would have unleashed his own plumbers to track down the leaker.

Instead, he sent a mild memo to his sidekick Clyde Tolson, commenting wryly: "I assume none of this is coming from the FBI." His aides assured him it wasn't.

Hoover did withhold some information about the killing that could have damaged the FBI's reputation, however. When the Warren Commission report criticized the FBI, Hoover sadly found that even the loyal Journal-American was giving him bad reviews. Solemnly, he underlined the harshest phrases.

In a handwritten note to closest bureau friends, Hoover conceded that the commission report was "a real debunking of the FBI which we will never live down."

Now, after 13 years, the late director's words seem prophetic. For as charges of a cover-up have been leveled at the FBI, its actions in the Kennedy investigation are once again being probed by Congress.

Footnote: Hoover's successor, Clarence Kelley, is still trying to clear the air. We reported in January that the FBI withheld from the Warren Commission 23 summaries of Oswald's activities. Kelley told us that all 69 summaries were provided to the commission. Kelley also said the bureau furnished the commission with all pertinent information about potential informants, including the Cuban Sylvia Odio and right-wing activist Joseph Milteer. All allegations about them were investigated and turned over to the commission, Kelley said.



By James K. W. Atherton—The Washington Post

Mafia chieftain Santo Trafficante Jr. just before refusing to answer congressional questions. Story, A2.

WASHINGTON STAR (GREEN LINE)
17 MARCH 1977

ARTICLE APPEARED ON PAGE A-2

Slayings Panel Still Spinning Wheels

By Ron Sarro
Washington Star Staff Writer

Don't blame the members of the House Assassination Committee if they are beginning to think that someone in Washington has 12 congressional voodoo dolls and sticks in pins every time they try to present a positive image.

The committee has been trying to make the public forget about the political brawl between its former chairman, Rep. Henry Gonzalez, D-Tex., and staff director Richard Sprague over who was really running the committee. Things have not been going all that well.

Consider these developments yesterday in the committee's effort to prove it is conducting serious investigations into the assassinations of former President John F. Kennedy and civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr.

THE COMMITTEE subpoenaed Santos Trafficante Jr. of Miami, one of three gangland figures allegedly contracted by the CIA in 1960 to kill Cuban Premier Fidel Castro, to tell what he knew about alleged connections between the Castro caper and Kennedy's murder.

First, Trafficante's microphone would'nt work. The committee had to delay the start of its hearing for 30 minutes while an electrician was summoned, as newspaper, radio and television deadlines passed.

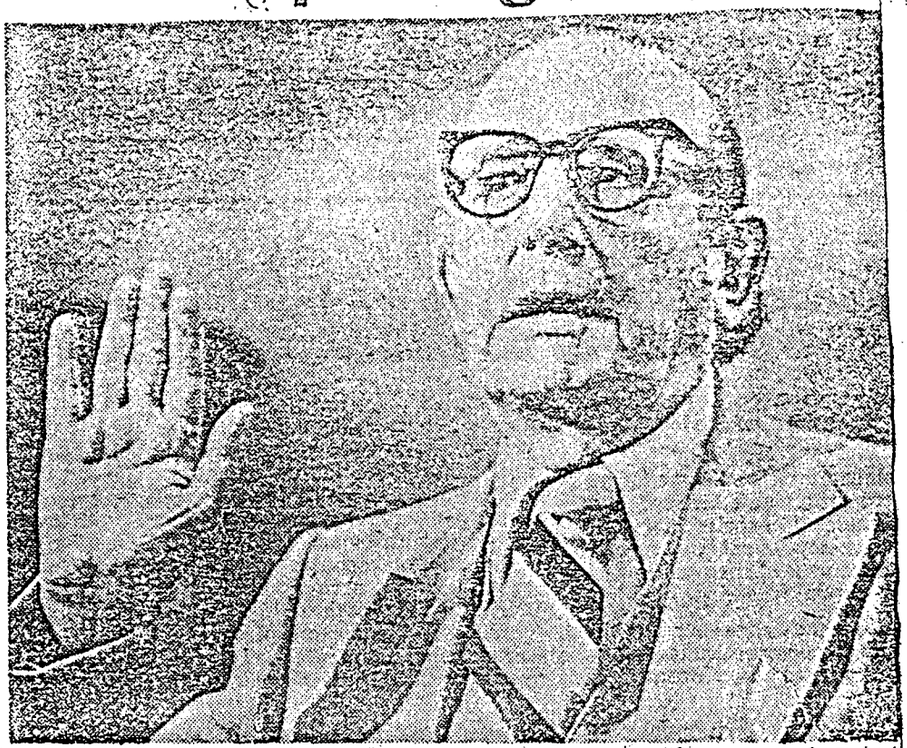
Next, Trafficante exercised his option under congressional rules to be spared from television and still photographers' cameras. This eliminated television coverage of his testimony and more committee exposure before the big audiences on the evening news. There was another 10 minute delay while TV crews took out cameras and microphones.

How about this. The committee is trying to make people forget the Gonzalez-Sprague spat, right? So what's the name of Trafficante's Tampa lawyer in a black pin-striped suit? Henry Gonzalez. As he said his name, committee Republicans laughed and Democrats winced.

THEN, TRAFFICANTE was supposed to bring with him any papers and documents for the period June 1955 through December 1964 on attempts to assassinate Castro and Kennedy, and about groups including ALPHA 66, International Anticommunist Brigade, No Name key group, and the Cuban Revolutionary Council, and concerning his release from prison in Havana, Cuba. Trafficante brought nothing.

Lastly, but most important, Trafficante didn't want to incriminate himself and refused to answer any of the 13 questioned asked him by Sprague, He took the 1st, 4th, 5th and 14th Amendments.

"We had some idea he probably would assert his constitutional privilege," said Rep. Louis Stokes, D-Ohio, the committee's new chairman who has been leading its image-building campaign.



—United Press International

Reputed underworld figure Santo Trafficante Jr. of Tampa takes the oath as he begins his appearance before the House Assassinations Committee here yesterday, but he refused to answer questions 15 times.

So why did the committee bother? It's just one facet of the investigative process, said Stokes, whose committee will run out of money March 31 unless it can convince the House there is good reason to give it a $1 million to $3 million budget and let it proceed.

TRAFFICANTE IS the only survivor among three gangland figures allegedly hired by the CIA in 1960 to kill Castro. The other two were killed, gangland style, in 1975 when they were involved in the Senate Intelligence Committee's investigation.

Sam Giancana was shot to death in Chicago, as Senate investigators were trying to obtain his cooperation, and John Roselli was found hacked up and chained in an oil drum in Biscayne Bay, Fla., several weeks after he testified.

Trafficante had a gangland gambling empire in Havana, before Cartro seized power, and was jailed in Cuba. "I refuse to answer on my constitutional rights," he told the assassination committee yesterday.

Sprague asked him if he had every been under "contract" to the CIA, if he knew Roselli, if he knew Giancana, and if he knew Robert Maheu, former official in the Howard Hughes business empire who reportedly put the CIA in touch with Giancana. Trafficante wouldn't answer.

SPRAGUE ALSO ASKED if he had knowledge before Nov. 22, 1963, that Kennedy would be assassinated, if he "advised" others of the plan, and if he knew Jack Ruby, murderer of Kennedy assassin Lee. Harvey Oswald, and if Ruby ever visited him in jail in Cuba. No answers.

Trafficante also was asked if he ever discussed plans to "assassinate varrious world leaders including Fidel Castro," if his life had ever been threatened by anyone or any government agency, and if he had been contacted by any government agency in connection with yesterday's appearance. Again he took the 1st, 4th, 5th and 14th Amendments.

Stokes told Trafficante that he could be cited for contempt of Congress for refusing to answer the questions, and said he would remain under subpoena for possible recall as a witness. In extended closed sessions later yesterday, the committee continued to discuss the Kennedy assassination, but took no action on a contempt citation. The committee was to continue its discussions today.

The committee last week took possession of all police and FBI evidence in the case against Ray. It opened the evidence in public before television and newspaper photographers and writers, displaying the items in dramatic fashion one-by-one.

Next week it is planning to take its credibility show to Tennessee to interview James Earl Ray in jail where he is serving a 99-year term after pleading guilty to killing King in 1968. After eight years in jail, Ray now denies he shot the civil rights leader.

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PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER
17 MARCH 1977

Mafia figure takes 5th as JFK hearings open

By Aaron Epstein
Inquirer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Underworld figure Santo Trafficante Jr., appearing under subpoena, took the Fifth Amendment yesterday as the first witness in the congressional investigation of the murder of President John F. Kennedy.

Trafficante, a short, stocky man with a sagging face and a sallow complexion, was one of three Mafia men reportedly hired by the CIA to kill Cuban Premier Fidel Castro in 1960.

He is the only one of the three who has not been murdered — a factor that weighed heavily against any real hope that he might give evidence to support a theory that Kennedy's assassination was plotted by Cuban agents in retaliation for the CIA murder schemes.

Trafficante responded somberly to 13 questions put to him yesterday with a sentence that his lawyer, Henry Gonzalez of Miami and Tampa, had prepared for him.

"I refuse to answer that question pursuant to my constitutional rights under the First, Fourth, Fifth and Fourteenth amendments."

Trafficante, once the boss of syndicate gambling in Cuba, maintains homes in Tampa and North Miami. The lawyer is no relation to Rep. Henry Gonzalez (D., Tex.) who resigned last week as chairman of the House Select Committee on Assassinations.

The committee's chief counsel, former Philadelphia First Assistant District Attorney Richard Sprague, wanted to know whether Trafficante had a CIA contract, whether he knew in advance that Kennedy would be killed, and whether he met with CIA officials to discuss assassinations of Castro or other world leaders.

Sprague also asked Trafficante whether he knew Jack Ruby, Sam Giancana, Johnny Roselli or Robert Maheu, and whether he was visited by Ruby while Trafficante was in prison in Cuba. Trafficante was imprisoned in Cuba for a short time after the Castro revolution in 1959.

Ruby was the killer of Lee Harvey Oswald, named by the Warren Commission at the sole murderer of Kennedy.

Giancana, a Chicago crime syndicate boss, his West Coast lieutenant Roselli and Trafficante reportedly were recruited in the CIA anti-Castro plot by Maheu, a former FBI agent and later a key aide to millionaire Howard Hughes.

The Senate Intelligence Committee reported in 1975 that the CIA had instigated at least eight plots against Castro. Some of the schemes discussed were to sabotage his cigars with a disorienting agent before a speech, to poison his food in his favorite Havana restaurant and to dust his shoes with a substance that would make his beard fall out and thus kill his charisma.

Giancana was shot to death June 20, 1975, in his home in suburban Chicago shortly after Senate committee staff members began trying to contact him. Roselli testified five days later. His hacked-up body was found last July floating in an oil drum near Miami.

Trafficante, 61, a dapper figure in a vested gray suit, refused to tell the House committee whether his life had been threatened.

He also failed to produce any of the documents subpoenaed by Sprague. The committee's chief counsel had sought written material related to various anti-Castro groups and to Trafficante's imprisonment in Cuba.

At Trafficante's request, Rep. Louis Stokes (D., Ohio), the committee chairman, ordered television cameras and radio microphones removed from the hearing room before any questions were asked.

Stokes excused Trafficante after warning him that he could be cited for contempt of Congress.

The committee is hoping to convince the full House to keep the investigation going after its current authorization runs out March 31. For months, the committee's work was crippled by a feud between Sprague and Rep. Gonzalez.

"I don't think this (Trafficante's refusal to talk) sets us back," Stokes said. "This is only one of many facets of the investigation."

Stokes said that the committee had subpoenaed records pertaining to the assassination of the civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. from officials in Memphis, Tenn., and Birmingham, Ala. James Earl Ray, serving a 99-year term for King's murder, will give preliminary depositions to the committee next week, his attorney, Jack Kershaw, said yesterday in Nashville, Tenn.

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ON PAGE 2

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS
17 MARCH 1977

Mafia Big Takes the 5th on JFK Death

By JOSEPH VOLZ

Washington (News Bureau)—Santo Trafficante, reputed mob boss of Florida, took the Fifth Amendment and refused to answer yesterday when he was asked by congressional investigators whether he had ever discussed the assassination of President John F. Kennedy several months before Kennedy's murder in Dallas in 1963.

Trafficante, of Tampa, who reportedly operated lucrative gaming rackets in Cuba until Fidel Castro came to power in 1959, took the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination a total of 15 times in response to questions from the House Assassinations Committee.

The committee chairman, Rep. Louis Stokes (D-Ohio), said the panel would decide later whether to try to have the upper Trafficante cited for contempt of Congress.

There have been reports that Trafficante predicted in Florida, several months before Kennedy's death on Nov. 22, 1963, that Kennedy would be killed.

Stokes said that the committee had known before Trafficante walked into the crowded hearing room that Trafficante would refuse to answer questions. There was speculation that the troubled Assassinations Committee — told by House Democratic leaders to come up with something dramatic or go out of business in two weeks — had rushed the reputed mobster before the panel.

The questions included: Was Trafficante involved in plotting to kill Fidel Castro? Did Trafficante ever meet Jack Ruby, who killed Lee Harvey Oswald, Kennedy's assassin? Most of these questions have been answered, to some extent, elsewhere.

For example, the Senate Intelligence Committee reported that Trafficante, using the name Joe, had sat in on Miami planning sessions during the abortive CIA-Mafia program to kill Castro in the early 1960s. John Rosselli, a Miami mafioso who was the leader of the plotting, was killed after testifying before the Senate panel.

Sam (Momo) Giancana, Chicago Mafia boss, also participated in the abortive operation. He was slain in 1975, the day before Senate investigators were to quiz him. The murders of Rosselli and Giancana remain unsolved.

There have been no reports that Trafficante participated in any plan to kill Kennedy on behalf of Castro. On the contrary, an FBI report in January 1961 said that Trafficante was associated with anti-Castro activities in the hope that he could resume his gambling operation in Cuba if Castro were overthrown.

Trafficante appeared unimpressed with the committee proceedings yesterday. He was on time, standing in the aisle with his attorney, but the committee meeting started a half hour late because Trafficante's microphone did not work. The first thing Trafficante did was invoke a House rule that permitted him to bar TV crews and tape recorders from the room.

Committee investigators apparently became interested in Trafficante because he had ties with both the CIA and the Cuban community. The CIA and various pro and anti-Cuban groups have been mentioned by some conspiracy theorists as possibly having been involved in the Kennedy assassination.

Trafficante has reportedly been a leading Mafia figure since 1954. He attended the famous mob summit meeting in November 1957 at Apalachin, N.Y.

The News revealed last week that Trafficante reportedly has joined forces with Carmine Galante, top New York boss, as silent partners in a multimillion-dollar-a-deal syndicate to import Asian heroin into the United States.

Gangland Figure Trafficante Refuses to Answer

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

Mafia chieftain Santo Trafficante Jr. refused to tell a congressional committee yesterday whether he had advance knowledge of the 1963 assassination of President Kennedy.

Subpoenaed by the House Assassinations Committee for its first hearing into Kennedy's murder, the nattily dressed, grandfatherly-looking Trafficante invoked his constitutional rights in response to every question put to him at the crowded session.

Fourteen times in all, the Florida underworld boss hunched close to the microphone in front of him and declared in a calm, pat monotone that:

"I respectfully refuse to answer that question pursuant to my constitutional rights under the First, the Fourth and Fifth and the Fourteenth Amendments."

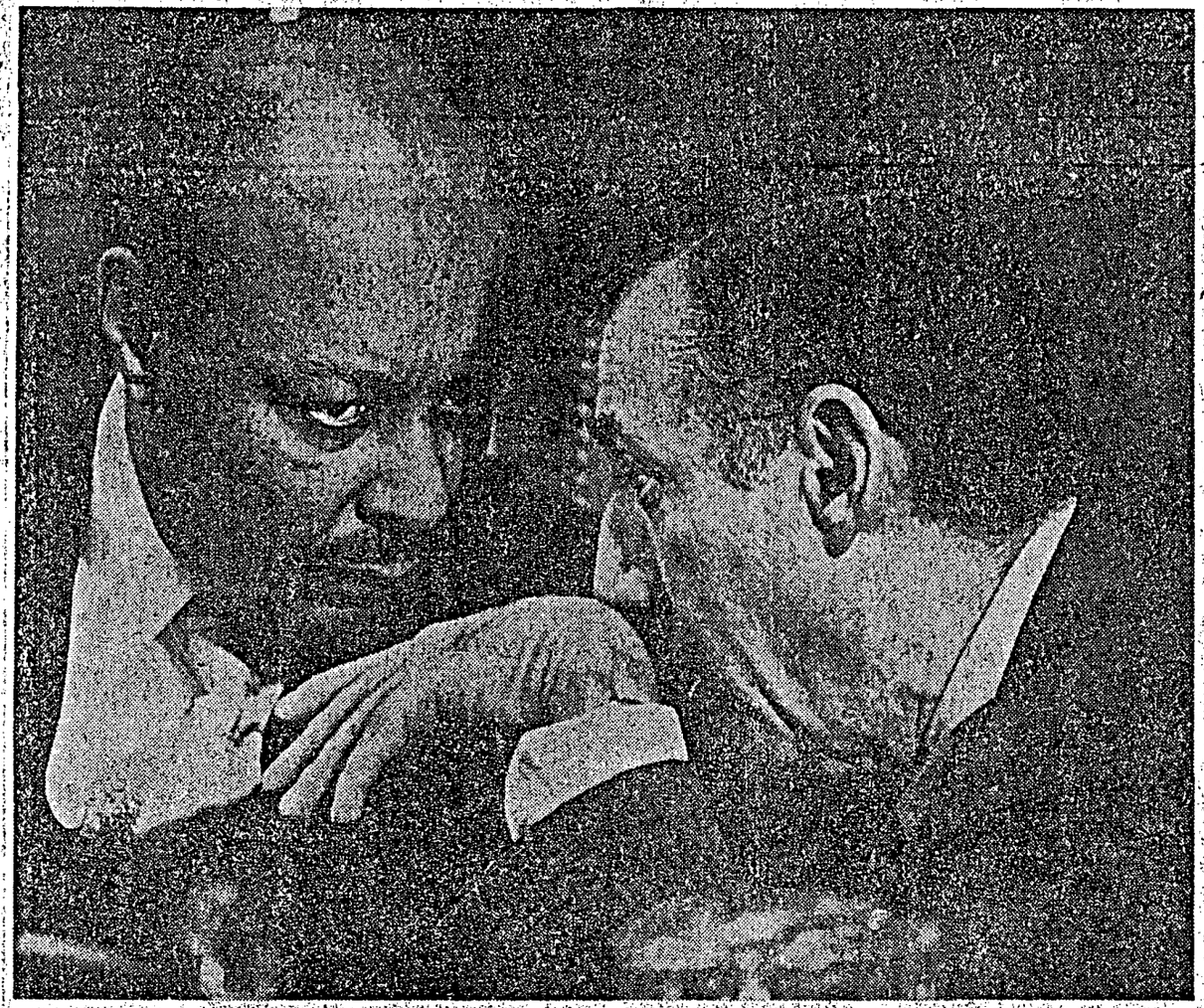
The committee's chief counsel, Richard A. Sprague, conducted most of the interrogation, asking Trafficante about his participation in CIA-sponsored plots in the early 1960s to assassinate Cuban Premier Fidel Castro, about reports that Trafficante predicted Kennedy's "hit" more than a year in advance, and about rumors that Trafficante may have been acquainted with "an American gangster type named Ruby" years before the President's death.

Sprague laid no factual groundwork on the record before asking any of his questions, but committee Chairman Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) insisted to reporters afterward that the committee had legitimate grounds for posing them. Stokes acknowledged that Trafficante's attorneys had indicated in advance that the witness would decline to answer the committee's questions.

"I thought we had propounded some rather important questions," Stokes said. "It's unfortunate we were unable to get the answers."

When pressed to justify the questions about Jack Ruby, however, Stokes declined, saying that he was "not at liberty to disclose publicly what the investigation has developed at this point."

But a number of the allegations, while never satisfactorily developed or substantiated, have long been in the public domain.



By James K. W. Atherton—The Washington Post

Chairman Stokes and chief counsel Sprague confer before the start of questioning of Trafficante

For instance, a Cuban exile named Jose Aleman, who reportedly became involved with Trafficante in 1962 in connection with a possible Teamsters Union loan, was evidently the source of reports that Trafficante may have known the President's assassination was coming.

The Washington Post reported last year, in an article by journalist-author George Crile III, that Aleman had a long discussion with Trafficante in Aleman's Miami Beach motel around September, 1962. According to this account, the discussion eventually turned to the Kennedys, about whom Trafficante complained, saying they were not honest and did not keep a bargain. Trafficante was quoted as saying:

"Have you seen how his brother is hitting Hoffa, a man who is a worker, who is not a millionaire, a friend of the blue collar? He doesn't know that this kind of encounter is very delicate. Mark my words, this man Kennedy is in trouble, and he will get what is coming to him."

When Aleman reportedly argued back that Kennedy would be re-elected, Trafficante was said to have replied, "No, Jose, he is going to be hit."

An FBI informer at the time, Aleman assertedly reported the conversation to his bureau contacts, but they were described as interested only in Trafficante's business propositions, and Aleman assumed they dismissed the Kennedy talk as gangland braggadocio.

The questions concerning Jack Ruby turned on Trafficante's days in Cuba, where he was overlord of syndicate gambling in Havana before Castro toppled the Batista government in the 1959 revolution and closed down the casinos. Trafficante was even lodged for a time in a Cuban jail.

At yesterday's hearing, Sprague asked Trafficante first whether he had ever known Jack Ruby prior to the President's assassination on Nov. 22, 1963, and then, after a 10-minute recess, one follow-up question:

"Mr. Trafficante," Sprague said, "while you were in prison in Cuba, were you visited by Jack Ruby?"

The inquiry may have stemmed from a once-classified CIA memo from Warren Commission files about the conversation of a British journalist named John Wilson at the U.S. embassy in London shortly after the president's assassination and after Lee Harvey Oswald's murder by Ruby. Wilson reportedly told of meeting an American "gangster-gambler named Santos" in jail in Cuba after the 1959 revolution. "While Santos was in prison," Wilson was quoted as saying, "Santos was visited by an American gangster type named Ruby."

Trafficante was arrested in the 1957 Appalachia, N.Y., meeting which federal investigators described as a Mafia national convention.

The two other gangland plotters enlisted by the CIA, Sam (Momo) Giancana of Chicago and his longtime lieutenant, Johnny Rosselli, were both killed following the initiation of a Senate Intelligence Committee investigation of CIA assassination plots. Giancana was shot to death in his suburban Chicago home in June, 1975, before Senate investigators could contact him.

Panel Chairman Says James Earl Ray Wants To Testify on the Hill

15 MAR 1977

By Jeremiah O'Leary
Washington Star Staff Writer

The House Assassinations Committee, in an effort to remain in existence after March 31, will hold a hearing this week with "live witnesses," possibly including James Earl Ray, according to sources.

Ray, who once confessed to the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. but has since repudiated the admission, will be interviewed tonight by Dan Rather on CBS' "Who's Who" television show (Channel 9, WTOP at 8 p.m.). Chairman Louis Stokes, D-Ohio, said yesterday Ray, now serving a life term in Tennessee's Brushy Mountain State Penitentiary, has informed the committee he wishes to talk.

Previously, Ray said in a letter to this reporter that he was willing to testify before the panel. Ray has never testified in court because of his guilty plea and has never permitted a public interview although he did supply responses for a book by William Bradford Huie.

Committee sources said yesterday they did not know whether Ray would be among the "live" witnesses produced by the panel but it is considered possible that the security problem created by a Ray appearance at the House might cause the appearance to go unannounced.

THE COMMITTEE already has received the whole package of evidence against Ray from Tennessee authorities, including the rifle that was found near the scene of King's death in Memphis in 1968.

Yesterday Stokes said on the Panorama television show that it is obvious to him Ray could not have traveled and lived as he did prior to the assassination of King without some source of income.

Stokes said the Department of Justice task force in the King investigation pointed up some of the unanswered questions about Ray's role in the slaying, including the source of the money Ray spent in the one year, one month and 15 days he was at large between his escape from a Missouri prison until his capture in London.

"Ray was in prison for seven years," said Stokes. "The Justice Department report shows that he was in 21 cities and six countries and that he had known expenses of $5,544. His only known source of income was $664 he earned in six weeks of work in Winnetka, Ill. Obviously a man can't travel the way he traveled and use his life-style without some source of income. And neither the FBI nor the Royal Canadian Mounted Police can trace him to any robbery or crime."

Author George McMillan spent six years of research on Ray and his entire family and concluded that Ray could have earned about $7,000 while he was in Jefferson City State Penitentiary, Mo., before his escape and the murder of King. This money, McMillan says, was earned by selling food, drugs and other contraband to fellow prisoners, which Ray could have easily done because he worked in the prison commissary.

STOKES ALSO said the committee will meet tomorrow to consider the new budget worked out by Rep. Richardson Preyer, D-N.C., and Chief Counsel Richard A. Sprague. Stokes indicated the new budget would be considerably less than the $6.5 mil-

See PROBE, A-6

PROBE

Continued From A-1

lion Sprague originally sought for the first year of committee staff operations. Some sources believe the committee will now be asked to approve less than $3 million, a practical measure in the light of congressional unrest about the huge original cost.

Meanwhile, Stokes also said the committee staff now has had access restored to FBI and Justice Department files on the Kennedy-King cases. This was accomplished last weekend when Stokes and fellow committee members asked Atty. Gen. Griffin B. Bell to restore the access that had been denied at the request of previous chairman, Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez, D-Tex., because of his running feud with Sprague.

"I think that by March 31, we can demonstrate to the House that the committee ought to be reconstituted." Stokes said. House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. has said that the panel has to come up with something fairly sensational in order to win a House vote for continued existence and refunding past the March 31 cutoff date. Before the House vote, the request also must clear the House Rules and Administration Committees.

Stokes said he believes the committee will pursue both the Kennedy and King cases. There has been some speculation that the Kennedy case might be dropped in order to reduce both the cost and the opposition to continued investigation by the committee.

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ON PAGE K-1

THE BALTIMORE SUN
13 March 1977

PERSPECTIVE

Not a normal-type House probe

By JIM MANN

Washington.

No one who has seen Richard A. ague prosecute a murder case will ev- forget the experience. In front of a jury, s short, homely man—his face reminds vaguely of Jack Webb, star of the old agnet" television series—is one among llions. His voice conveys power, cer- nty and moral fervor. His cross-exami- ions are riveting. His sense of drama is e.

No one who has watched Mr. Sprague ercise power will ever forget the expe- nce, either. He likes the trappings. In iladelphia, where he was first assistant trict attorney, he liked to travel in an icial limousine, which was chauffered one of Frank Rizzo's policemen and s often parked illegally on the sidewalk tside City Hall.

While his nominal bosses, the district orneys, were out giving speeches and uring out what office to run for next, . Sprague for years made all the day-to- y decisions—on who to hire and fire, o to prosecute and who to let go. As a ecial prosecutor assigned to Washington unty, Pa., after the murder of United neworkers official Joseph A. Yablonski, ran up such a huge bill that county au- orities wound up questioning his expen- .

Finally, no one who has ever fought th Mr. Sprague will ever forget it. Far ore than most men, Mr. Sprague divides e people he meets into two groups: ends and enemies. For the latter, all re- aints are off. For the public enemies he osecutes, there is the electric chair. Mr. rague is one of the nation's most fervent vocates of capital punishment. For his rsonal enemies in politics or govern- nt, there is the more prolonged ordeal public controversy.

Mr. Sprague does not give in easily, d when fired, does not go quietly. Ordi- narily the most secretive of men, he is capable, when under attack, of operating in public to round up support for his own position. For a quarter of a century Mr. Sprague has survived the bruising, brawling world of public life in Philadelphia, where name-calling and mud-slinging are virtually a form of pop-art.

All this may provide something of an introduction to the recent contretemps within the House Assassinations Committee. Formed last fall to investigate the murders of John F. Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., the committee went out and hired Mr. Sprague as its chief counsel and staff director.

To most people, it was a logical choice. Mr. Sprague, after all, knows a good deal more about the crime of murder than most congressmen and their staffs. And at first, Mr. Sprague went about his job as if this was just an unusually big pair of criminal cases for the superprosecutor. "It's not the normal-type congressional investigation when you investigate two murders," he told reporters when he was sworn in last October. "You cannot do it against a deadline. A homicide investigation is an intensive job...."

The problem with Mr. Sprague's approach was that the converse is also true: It's not a "normal-type" murder investigation when you have to deal with Congress. And the qualities required to become a great prosecutor—presence, command, voice, drama, ego—can be outright harmful to a congressional chief counsel. Congressmen are not used to delegating the kind of power Mr. Sprague is used to wielding.

In fact, Congress is not used to people like Mr. Sprague at all. The usual chief counsel to a major Capitol Hill investigation is a smooth, urbane diplomat. He may come from a law school, like Sam Dash, the Watergate counsel, or he may emerge from the old-boy network of Justice Department and Kennedy family contacts, like John Doar, the Nixon impeachment investigation counsel. Rarely before has anyone had a background like Mr. Sprague, who was born in Baltimore, went to Philadelphia to attend Temple University, and has lived there for his entire professional career.

The members of the assassination committee were impressed with Mr. Sprague—so much so that he began to treat Congress like a bunch of wide-eyed jurors. Last fall, Mr. Sprague made the following mistakes that have been plaguing him ever since:

• Clearly misreading the depth of Congress's commitment to the assassination inquiry, Mr. Sprague asked for an annual budget of $6.5 million—far more than Congress had spent on the Nixon impeachment inquiry, Watergate, or the investigations into the FBI and CIA. Mr. Sprague described this as a "bare bones" (and, in one case, "bare bottom") budget and implied he might quit if he didn't get what he needed. The committee, led by Representative Henry B. Gonzalez (D., Texas), who was slated to be its chairman, approved the budget without questioning it. But when the details appeared in the newspapers, other congressmen began to get leery.

• Again misjudging Congress, Mr. Sprague included in his budget request a variety of high-powered investigative equipment—polygraphs, hidden transmitters, stress evaluators and recording devices. These are all no doubt common fare at the CIA, but not on Capitol Hill.

Leading liberals in Congress, such as Representative Don Edwards (D., Calif.), chairman of the House subcommittee on civil and constitutional rights, took offense. In the end, the committee decided it didn't need the fancy gadgets, but the public controversy that had been engendered increased skepticism about the $6.5 million budget and mistrust of Mr. Sprague himself.

• Apparently unaware that he was breaking all the rules of congressional protocol, Mr. Sprague walked into both the Democratic and Republican caucuses last September to tell other congressmen, too, that his $6.5 million budget could not be cut. Once he had done this, most of Capitol Hill was beginning to wonder who Mr.

Continued

n Mann reports on Congress from The n's Washington Bureau.

Sprague was and how he had managed to acquire so much power. In the past, after all, at least in public, chief counsels had talked to Congressmen only when spoken to.

Just before the end of the year, Mr. Sprague hurriedly added several staff members to the committee payroll. He did so realizing that a busy Congress would, in January, probably grant the assassinations committee a temporary extension at whatever level of funding the committee had reached in December. Once again, the incident served to increase congressional mistrust of Mr. Sprague and his budget.

By early February, Congress was clearly disenchanted with the committee it had only so recently created. Instead of giving it another two years of life, as it was originally supposed to do, the House voted to give the investigation a temporary extension of two months. During that time, the committee was supposed to organize itself, to adopt procedures that would allay the fears of civil libertarians, and to come up with a new, more realistic budget request.

It was also clear from the House floor debate that the committee was supposed to put to rest the growing uncertainty in Congress over Mr. Sprague. The vote for a two-month extension was hardly overwhelming: 237 to 164. A substantial minority apparently wanted to kill the probe altogether.

With a large mouth and sad eyes, Henry B. Gonzalez looks like the world's first human beagle. His parents came to San Antonio in 1911 after fleeing the Mexican revolution. Mr. Gonzalez himself once taught American citizenship classes in a San Antonio night school.

And since coming to Congress in 1961 Mr. Gonzalez has pursued his notion of good citizenship. His voting record is liberal, but he supported Lyndon Johnson on Vietnam. Representing a district that is 60 per cent Chicano, he served seven times as House delegate to the U.S.-Mexican Interparliamentary Conference. Most of all, he accumulated seniority, waited in line to be a committee chairman, and pushed his pet project, a re-examination of the Kennedy murder. The assassination committee was his big chance.

To Mr. Gonzalez, the events of early February on the House floor had a clear message: Congress wanted the committee to keep a closer watch on Mr. Sprague and to put the committee's budget and finances in order. By traditional House rules, the responsibility for exerting control on Mr. Sprague lay with the chairman of the committee.

Mr. Gonzalez began to demand that all committee expenses be cleared with him. He began scrutinizing salaries, staff lists, expense vouchers and phone calls. He began looking for ways to cut back on the committee staff, which was operating in excess of its allowable budget.

But Mr Gonzalez made serious errors of his own. Before seeking to exert control over Mr. Sprague's staff and budget, he failed to touch base with the House leadership. He also failed to obtain the support of the members of his own committee—particularly the two subcommittee chairmen, Delegate Walter S. Fauntroy (D., D.C.), who was directing the King investigation, and Representative Richardson Preyer (D., N.C.), who was heading the Kennedy investigation.

Instead of taking action jointly with them, Mr. Gonzalez acted on his own. He assumed that he was operating with the approval of the House leadership, and he assumed that his committee would support him. Most of all, Mr. Gonzalez assumed he could do as he wished as chairman of the committee.

Mr. Gonzalez first sought to have some of the 73 members of Mr. Sprague's staff taken off the payroll. Mr. Sprague—who had run the committee without outside interference for several months—balked. Gradually, he won the support of the rest of the committee for salary reductions rather than layoffs.

Behind closed doors, Mr. Gonzalez's own committee voted against him. It should have served as a warning to the chairman. It didn't. Two days later, after learning that Mr. Sprague was speaking unkindly of him to committee staff members, Mr. Gonzalez fired Mr. Sprague. Again he failed to obtain the support of the leadership before taking action. And again he failed to win the support of his own committee. Mr. Sprague promptly turned around and won the approval of the rest of the committee to remain on the job.

This time the disagreement was out in the open. Mr. Gonzalez waited for the House leadership to support him, but the leadership held off from acting. Now isolated and humiliated, Mr. Gonzalez unleashed a torrent of name-calling that probably exceeded anything Mr. Sprague had heard even in Philadelphia. "When one spies a rattlesnake at the door, one does not hesitate," the chairman told reporters in one public session. In private, the language Mr. Gonzalez's staff applied to Mr. Sprague was unprintable.

By now, the rest of Congress was beginning to squirm. And when Congress squirms, it begins to look for a compromise. Representative Jim Wright (D., Texas), the House majority leader, was assigned to see what could be worked out. Mr. Wright began to suggest that Mr. Sprague be retained but forced to cut back on his staff and to give up some of his power. But Mr. Gonzalez was having none of it; in the civics books, it says that a congressional chairman gets his way. Accusing the committee of usurping his "ministerial powers" as chairman, and calling Mr. Sprague an "unscrupulous scoundrel," Mr. Gonzalez submitted his resignation.

Last week, Congress accepted it and appointed a new chairman, Representative Louis Stokes (D., Ohio). And so, with the Gonzalez affair put to rest, matters returned once again to where they were in early February. No one knows for sure how much of an investigation Congress is willing to support, no one knows for sure what new information can be turned up about the Kennedy and King cases.

As Mr. Sprague said, it's not a normal-type congressional investigation.

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WASHINGTON STAR (GREEN LINE)
10 MARCH 1977

Assassination Probe Gets New Push

Stokes Vows to Seek Extension of Panel

By Jeremiah O'Leary
Washington Star Staff Writer

New House Assassinations Committee Chairman Louis Stokes believes he will be ready next week to seek new authority and funding to extend the probe beyond the March 31 expiration date.

The committee, minus its former chairman, Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez, D-Tex., received a detailed briefing from Chief Counsel Richard A. Sprague yesterday.

Sprague told the committee before the press was excluded for most of the session that he has uncorroborated evidence indicating other persons may have known in advance that John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr. were going to be murdered.

Stokes, who is black, discounted speculation that the committee might decide to concentrate on the King slaying while setting the assassination of Kennedy aside.

"THE BRIEFING WE received points toward our pursuing both the King and Kennedy cases with equal fervor," Stokes said.

He also said he is not inclined to hold any public hearing on what Sprague said behind closed doors in yesterday's all-day session. He said it would be better and more responsible to have no public hearing than to air uncorroborated information that might hurt innocent people.

Stokes said he favors seeking authorization and funds — probably beginning next week — simply by telling the House leadership of what direction the committee will take and how much money will be required to do it, then going through the needed steps to bring the question to a floor vote.

Rep. Richardson Preyer, D-N.C., is in charge of the task force to calculate a new budget for the committee, probably for one year of operations. The committee is expected to reduce its request from the $6.5 million originally sought by Sprague to $2 million to $3 million.

STOKES ALSO SAID a committee group will meet Atty. Gen. Griffin Bell tomorrow afternoon and ask him to cancel the order that prevents committee investigators from having access to Justice Department and FBI files on the Kennedy and King cases.

Sprague's comment that the staff has uncovered some new information may indicate that the committee intends to subpoena James Earl Ray to testify. Ray, who pleaded guilty to shooting King, was sentenced to life in prison but has never testified in open court. He has recanted his confession and is seeking a new trial. There have been reports that Ray wants to testify before the House committee even though his testimony probably would be self-serving.

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE 10

THE WASHINGTON POST
10 March 1977

Sprague: Staff Has 'Conspiracy' Leads

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The chief counsel of the House Assassinations Committee said yesterday he has gathered uncorroborated "information" suggesting a conspiracy in the murders of both President Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

Struggling to keep their investigation alive, committee members convened yesterday in secret session for a briefing from chief counsel Richard A. Sprague and his aides on the progress of the inquiry so far.

In a short statement before the press and public were excluded, Sprague told the committee that the information compiled to date was a blend of reports from "witnesses who have advised us directly that they have relevant information" and hearsay about "witnesses whom we have been told have information."

As a result, he added in straight-face understatement, "We have been unable to do what I would consider a thorough check of the information we have been advised of."

That said, the former Philadelphia prosecutor continued, "The sum total of the information would be in the nature of evidence indicating that others may have had knowledge of or participated in arranging the assassinations of Dr. King and President Kennedy."

Sprague did not elaborate, but it seemed likely that much of the information originated with the many books and articles written in recent years in attempts to debunk the official findings that there was no credible evidence of a conspiracy in either murder. The committee's 73-member staff has been bogged down by controversy in recent weeks, cut off from classified FBI files and unable to travel or even make long-distance phone calls.

Trying to regain its momentum following the resignation of Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.), who had tried to fire Sprague for alleged mismanagement and insubordination, the committee met formally yesterday for the first time under its new chairman, Rep. Louis Stokes (D-Ohio).

It has only three more weeks to win a new charter from the House and head off extinction. Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr. (D-Mass.) and other House leaders have predicted that the committee will probably not be continued past March 31 unless it can produce some striking new evidence or, in O'Neill's words, "something of a sensational nature."

The Warren Commission, which investigated the 1963 Kennedy assassination with the resources of the FBI and other government agencies, concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald, acting alone, killed the President. Similarly, the FBI concluded that James Earl Ray, now serving a 99-year prison term, was King's lone assassin, although a Justice Department task force recently conceded that the sources of Ray's money "still remain a mystery today."

After Sprague's brief public presentation, the committee voted 8 to 2 to go into secret session. Dissenting were Reps. Charles Thone (R-Neb.) and Harold E. Ford (D-Tenn.).

Sprague mentioned no names, not even those of Oswald or Ray, but it seemed clear that the "others" he had in mind were in addition to those two men. He also told the committee that there was some information indicating that some unidentified individuals knew in advance that the Kennedy assassination "was about to occur."

Most of yesterday's session, however, was spent on the King murder. At a lunch-hour briefing, Stokes told reporters that the committee was moving with deliberate caution, but he said there was "a very good possibility that some witnesses" may be called to a public hearing before March 31 in an effort to demonstrate the need for continuing the inquiry.

The new chairman would not discuss the witnesses who might testify, but other sources said two under consideration are Ray's brother, Jerry, and former Memphis police detective Edward E. Redditt, one of two black plainclothesmen assigned to keep King under surveillance before the 1968 murder.

ARTICLE APPEARED ON PAGE 7

THE BALTIMORE SUN
10 March 1977

Conspiracies hinted in King, JFK deaths

Washington (AP)—The House Assassinations Committee's chief investigator said yesterday there is "uncorroborated" evidence of conspiracies in the murders of President John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

But as the panel met for briefings behind closed doors, the committee chairman, Representative Louis Stokes (D., Ohio), would say only that the information was "highly speculative," and that it was too early to know whether it could be verified or where it might lead.

He said the committee, which still must prove to the House that its proposed inquiries into the two assassinations are justified, faces the task of sifting through "many leads" that already have come to it, and must regain access to FBI and other government agency files.

The committee and its staff have "no preconceived notions," Mr. Stokes said, but are "proceeding from ground zero" in probing anew the Kennedy and King assassinations.

"We hope to present credible evidence to Congress, so we don't come out with a smoking gun that is not corroborated and not credible," he said.

As the panel convened, the staff director, Richard A. Sprague, said he had uncorroborated evidence "indicating that others may have had knowledge of or participated in the assassination" of King, and that "there was prior knowledge on the part of some individuals of [the Kennedy assassination] before it occurred." He gave no further details.

All previous official inquiries have reported no evidence to show that the slaying of Kennedy in Dallas in 1963 resulted from a plot, or that James Earl Ray had accomplices in the shooting of King in Memphis in 1968. The most recent such finding in the King case was a report by the Justice Department.

Despite conflict with the previously published conclusions, Mr. Stokes said Mr. Sprague's report was "not an effort to sensationalize."

Sprague: Staff Has 'Conspiracy' Leads

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Washington Post Staff Writer

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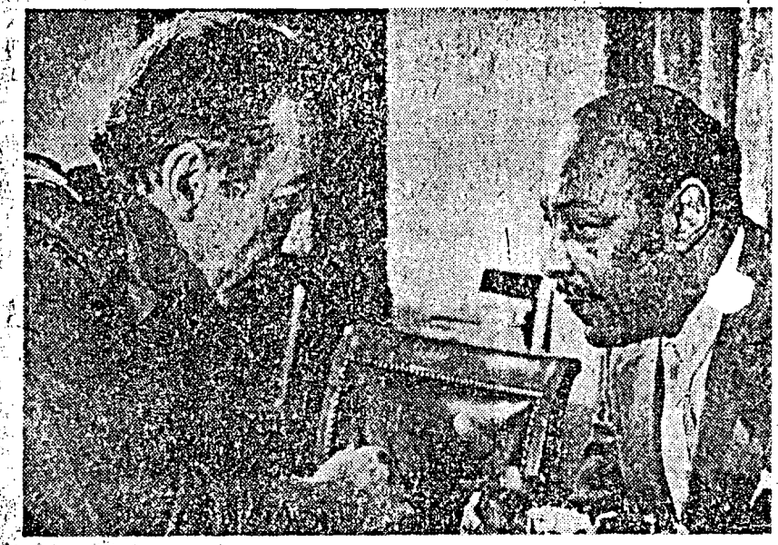
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By James K. W. Atherton—The Washingto

Chief counsel Richard A. Sprague chats with new chairman Rep. Louis Stok

Activities Today in the Senate and House of Representatives

Senate

Meets at 9:45 a.m. on public works.

Committees:

Agriculture and Forestry—9 a.m. Open. Extend and amend the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of 1973 with relation to peanuts—322 Russell Office Building.

Appropriations Subcommittee on Agriculture—1:30 p.m. Open. FY 78 appropriations; R.M. Davis-Soil Conservation Service; Richard Aldrich-Cooperative State Research Service, David Hamil-Rural Electrification Administration—1114 Dirksen Office Building.

Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense—10 a.m. Closed. Navy procurement; Rear Adm. W.H. Rowden-DOD—1223 DOB.

Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations—10 a.m. Open. FY 78 appropriations; Sam Brown-Peace Corps, William Dyal Jr.-Inateramerican Foundation—1318 DOB.

Appropriations Subcommittee on Interior-Related Agencies—9:30 a.m. Open. FY 78 appropriations; Vincent McKelvey-Geological Survey—1114 DOB.

Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor-HEW—2:30 p.m. Open. Mark up economic stimulus package—S 128 Capitol.

Appropriations Subcommittee on Military Construction—10 a.m. Open. FY 78 appropriations for Air Force, Air Reserve and Air Guard; witness list unavailable—S 146 Cap.

Appropriations Subcommittee on Public Works—2 p.m. Open. Bureau of Reclamation FY 78 appropriations; witness list unavailable—S 126 Cap.

Appropriations Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service—10 a.m. Open. FY 78 appropriations; Frank Horton-Comm. on Fed Paper Work, Benjamin Burton-Postmaster General—1224 DOB.

Armed Services Subcommittee on Research and Development—10 a.m. Closed. FY 78 authorization request for Navy hulls & propulsion; H. Tyler-March-Navy r&d, Vice Adm. P.B. Armstrong-Off. of Chief of Naval Operations, Brig. Gen. S.G. Olmstead-Marine Corps—224 ROB

Armed Services Subcommittee on Tactical Airpower—9 a.m. Closed. Joint USAF-Navy air-air missiles; Lt. Gen. Alton Slay-Dep. Chief of Staff-R&D, Rear Adm. Robert C. Mendeville-air warfare, Rear Adm. E.R. Seymour-naval air systems—212 ROB.

Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs—10 a.m. Open. Condition of banking system; Arthur Burns, —Fed Reserve, Robert F. Keller-Dep. of Comptroller General—5302 DOB.

Budget—10 a.m. Open. Welfare budget issues and welfare reform; Robert Harris, Urban Institute, John Palmer, Brookings Inst., John Dempsey-Mich. Dept. of Social Services—357 ROB.

Commerce, Science and Transportation—10:30 a.m. Open. Business meeting—5110 DOB.

Commerce, Science and Transportation Subcmte on Communications—2 p.m. Open. Business meeting—5110 DOB.

Energy and Natural Resources—10 a.m. Open. Nominations for Interior Dept. positions; Guy Martin, to be asst. secy. and Robert Herbst to be asst. secy.—3110 DOB.

Energy and Natural Resources—2 p.m. Open. Mark up S 36-drought bill and S 925-ERDA authorization—3110 DOB.

Environment and Budget Works—9:45 a.m. Open. FY 78 Nuclear Regulatory Commission budget request; Markus Rowdin and Lee Bossick—Nuclear Regulatory Commission—4200 DOB.

Finance—9:30 a.m. Open. Nomination of Arabella Martinez to be asst. secy. for human dev. in HEW; to be followed by hearings on tax cut bill 10 a.m.—2221 DOB.

Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Foreign Assistance—11 a.m. Open. International financial institutions; Charles Cooper and Sidney Wientraub-LBJ School of Public Affairs-Univ. of Tex., James Grant-Overseas Dev. Council, Harlan Cleveland-New Directions—4221 DOB.

Human Resources—10 a.m. Open. Nomination of Arabella Martinez to be asst. secy. of HEW—4232 DOB.

Human Resources Subcommittee on Health and Scientific Research—10 a.m. Open. FDA monitoring of biomedical research; Sherwin Gardner-FDA, J. Richard Crout-Bureau of Drugs, Joseph P. Hile-associate commissioner for compliance—2228 DOB.

Judiciary—2 p.m. Open. Committee reorganization—room to be announced.

Select Committee on Small Business—9 a.m.—Open. Product liability; James Gillice-American Mutual Insurance Alliance of Washington, John Hunter Jr.-HUD—424 ROB.

Select Committee on Intelligence Budget Authorization Subcmte—10 a.m. and 2 p.m. Closed FY 78 intelligence budget for Air Force and Navy; Charles Cook-USAF, Adm. Donald Harley-Navy—S 407 Cap.

House

Meets at 11 a.m.

Committees:

Agriculture—10 a.m. Open. On report to Budget Committee. 1301 Longworth House Office Bldg.

Appropriations—9:30 a.m. Open. On supplemental

Appropriations—2 p.m. Open. For Operations Subc. Cont. on aid. H-308 Cap.

Appropriations—2 p.m. Closed. Defense Subc. on Spec. Activities, Air Force. H-140 Cap.

Appropriations—1 p.m. Open. Agri. Subc. on Farmers Home Admin. 2362 Rayburn House Office Bldg.

Appropriations—1 p.m. Open. Interior Subc. on Natl. Park Serv. B-308 RHOB.

Appropriations—2 p.m. Open. Pub. Works Subc. on Nuclear Reg. & Application. 2362 RHOB.

Appropriations—2 p.m. Open. State Justice, Comm. & Judiciary Subc. on Patent & Trademark Office. H-130 Cap.

Appropriations—2 p.m. Open. Transport. Subc. Cont. on Fed. Railway Admin. 2358 RHOB.

Armed Services—10 a.m. Open. Cont. on report to Budget Comte. 2118 RHOB.

Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs—10 a.m. Open. Consumer Aff. Subc. Cont. on HR 29, Debt Collection Practices Act. Pub. wit. 2128 RHOB.

Budget—10 a.m. Open. Natl. security task force on fed. budget & budget process. Dept. 285, 210 Cannon House Office Bldg.

Budget—9 a.m. Open. Commun. & physical res. task force. On costs of new energy proposals. FEA Admin. O'Leary. 311 CHOB.

Education & Labor—9:30 a.m. Open. Elem., Secondary & Voc. Edu. Subc. Cont. on HR 1139, Natl. School Lunch Act amend. Pub. wit. 2175 RHOB.

Education & Labor—10 a.m. Open. Labor-Manage. Rel. Subc. Cont. hrngs. on HR 3500, common situs picketing. Pub. wit. 2261 RHOB.

Government Operations—9:30 a.m. Open. Environ., Energy & Natural Res. Subc. Cont. hrngs. on radioactive waste disposal costs. 2203 RHOB.

House Administration—9 a.m. Open. Election panel. Contested election: Saunders v. Kelly. H-328 Cap.

Interior—9:45 a.m. Open. Spec. Invest. Subc. on

International Relations—9:30 a.m. Open, [illegible] by Clark Clifford, spec. pres. emi[illegible] trip to Cyprus, Greece, & Turkey. 2[illegible]

International Relations—2 p.m. O[illegible] Pacific Aff. Subc. on FY '78 foreig[illegible] aid Dept. wit. 2255 RHOB.

Commerce—10 a.m. Open. Oversight & [illegible] Subc. Cont. hrngs. on FPC. 2325 RHOB.

Commerce—10 a.m. Open. Consumer Prot[illegible] Finance Subc. Cont. on HR 3816, FTC act a[illegible] 2322 RHOB.

Commerce—10 a.m. Open. Health & E[illegible] Subc. Cont. on HR 4151, Clean Air Act a[illegible] 2123 RHOB.

Judiciary—10 a.m. Open. Monopolies & [illegible] Law Subc. on HR 3685, add'l. fed. judg[illegible] Atty. Gen. Bell. 2141 RHOB.

Judiciary—10 am. Open. Crts., Civ. Lib. & A[illegible] of Justice Subc. Cont. markup HR 3719, Serv Corp. auth. 2226 RHOB.

Merchant Marine & Fisheries—10 a.m. Coast Guard & Navigation Subc. Cont. hrn[illegible] comp. oil pollution & liability legis. Dept 1334 LHOB.

Rules—10:30 a.m. Open. HR 1746, halt imp[illegible] Rhodesian chrome. H-313 Cap.

Science & Technology—9:30 a.m. Open. Fo[illegible] & Nuclear Energy Res., Develop. & Demo. Cont. markup ERDA auth. 2318 RHOB.

Science & Technology—2 p.m. Open. E[illegible] & Atmos. Subc. Cont. on EPA & ERDA markup. 2325 RHOB.

Science & Technology—2 p.m. Open. Adv. [illegible] Tech. & Energy Res. Develop. & Demo. Cont. on ERDA auth. Markup. 2318 RHOB.

Standards of Conduct—1 p.m. Open. Pendin[illegible] ness. 2210 RHOB.

Veterans Affairs—9 a.m. Open. Pending bu[illegible] 334 CHOB.

Ways & Means—10 a.m. Open. On repo[illegible]

Washington Post, 9 March 1977

Assassination Unit Gets New Chairman

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House Assassinations Committee got a new chairman yesterday after the resignation of Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.) was accepted on the House floor by a vote of 296 to100.

Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr. (D-Mass.) named Rep. Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) to preside over the uncertain inquiry, which will go out of business March 31 unless the House votes to continue it.

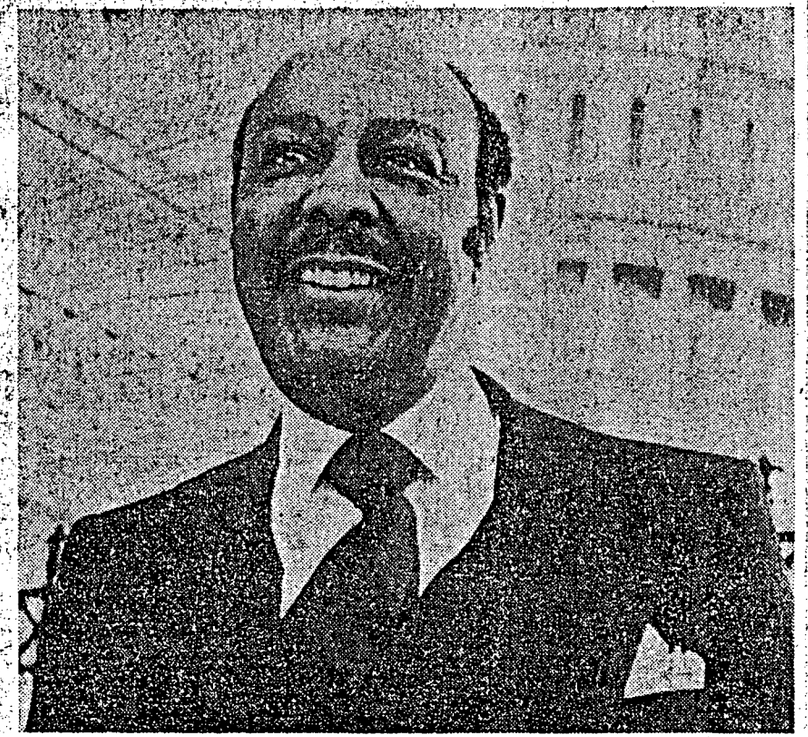
Stokes took heart in the top-heavy vote to accept Gonzalez' resignation, which he said he felt was "in some ways a barometer of the feelings of the House" about the investigation, but others saw no connection. House Majority Leader Jim Wright (D-Tex.) emphasized in a floor speech that Gonzalez no longer wanted any part of the committee and hoped the House would simply accept his resignation without a fuss.

"The fight is still uphill," Wright told reporters later of the committee's struggle to stay alive. "The chances for survival are somewhat unlikely."

Others privately said they saw Stokes' appointment as a sign of hope only for the investigation of the murder of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. The Cleveland Democrat is one of the four members of the Congressional Black Caucus appointed to the 12-member committee last September as a result of the caucus' special interest in the King assassination.

Stokes, however, said he thinks it "absolutely essential that the original intent of the committee be carried forth" to investigate the assassinations of both President Kennedy and of King. He said in a short press conference that the committee may release some sort of preliminary report on the evidence gathered thus far in hopes of generating sufficient support.

Gonzalez lasted as chairman little more than a month. Appointed Feb. 2, he ran into resistance from chief counsel Richard A. Sprague, and was overruled by all 11 other members of the committee when he tried to fire Sprague.



United Press International

Rep. Stokes: "Absolutely essential that the original intent . . . be carried forth."

O'Neill had initially said he would not submit Gonzalez' resignation to the House until he first had a chance to try to dissuade him, but O'Neill said yesterday that all his efforts to contact the ailing chairman had been futile. Gonzalez has been recovering from the flu in his San Antonio home.

[In San Antonio, Gonzalez denounced the House leadership and his former colleagues on the committee for refusing to back his efforts to fire Sprague.

["Even if all those guys from top to bottom were to be born again I wouldn't touch them with a 15-foot pole," said Gonzalez. "They sold me down the river."

[Gonzalez, speaking on a talk show on radio station WOAI, said he quit the assassination committee because it had become a "ridiculous charade." He also aimed some of his fire at speaker O'Neill. "Old Tip is a fine guy, but his concept of the speakership is that it's just one glorious extension of the Boston political ward system," Gonzalez said.]

Several committee members had hoped the speaker would appoint Rep. Richardson Preyer (D-N.C.), the ranking Democrat, as the new chairman, but O'Neill said he wanted Preyer as chairman of the about-to-be-created House ethics committee.

Preyer, for his part, had urged appointment of someone not now on the committee, but O'Neill said he decided on Stokes, the next-ranking Democrat, because "I just feel those on the committee are more knowledgeable" about the inquiry.

Yesterday's roll-call vote was demanded by Rep. Robert E. Bauman (R-Md.), an early critic of the investigation, who said the House should first have an opportunity to discuss the charges of mismanagement and insubordination which Gonzalez had leveled against Sprague.

The debate, however, lasted only a few minures, and consisted largely of attacks on the press by members of the Assassinations Committee. Rep. Stuart B. McKinney (R-Conn.) charged that the media had created the "erroneous" impression that the committee was in disarray when everyone —except Gonzalez—was "very firmly together."

The immediate upshot was to leave Sprague firmly ensconced as chief counsel and staff director with the committee's unanimous support. At a closed meeting in Stokes' office yesterday afternoon, sources said, committee members demonstrated their backing by giving Sprague authority to fire Kenneth Brooten, whom Gonzalez had designated to replace Sprague, and Edythe Baish, a staffer who had supplied Gonzalez with reports on Sprague's activities.

Sprague reportedly told the committee that he ordered both Brooten and Baish to report to work yesterday morning and that they had failed to do so.

Prior Knowledge of Assassinations?

10 MAR 1977

Sprague Gives Panel Some New Evidence

By Jeremiah O'Leary
Washington Star Staff Writer

Investigators for the House Assassination Committee have information that some persons knew beforehand that President John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. were going to be killed, Chief Counsel Richard A. Sprague said today.

The committee, under its new chairman, Rep. Louis Stokes, D-Ohio, immediately voted to exclude press and public before hearing the details from Sprague.

Stokes asked Sprague to give the committee some idea of the nature of his briefing as soon as he had appointed subcommittees for the Kennedy and King slayings. The chairman named Rep. Richardson Preyer, D-N.C., to head the Kennedy panel and District Del. Walter E. Fauntroy to head the King group.

Then Sprague said, "We will present today in detail information we have gathered to date. We have been unable to do a thorough check on the information to ascertain if it can be corroborated or disproved.

"But the sum total of the information in both murders would be in the nature of evidence indicating that others may have had knowledge or participated in the assassinations of President Kennedy and Dr. King. This information would indicate there was some prior knowledge by some individuals."

SPRAGUE'S information may be crucial to the continued life of the assassination committee, which has been paralyzed by a feud between Sprague and the former chairman, Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez, D-Tex. The committee's funding expires at the end of March and it is thought the committee must demonstrate it has uncovered startling new leads in order to persuade House members to extend the funding.

Rep. Sam Devine, R-Ohio, asked Sprague whether the information gathered by the Sprague staff is new or a rehash of what was presented to the Warren Commission.

Sprague replied, "The information would be new in some instances and additional information in others such as information that was available but was not presented to the Warren Commission in the Kennedy case."

Rep. John Anderson, R-Ill., inquired, "Does this include people who have never testified in the case of James Earl Ray?"

Sprague replied, "Correct." Ray is now serving a life term in a Tennessee State prison after having pleaded guilty to the slaying of the civil rights leader in Memphis. But Ray has since recanted his confession and is demanding a new trial and reportedly is willing to testify for the House committee.

Sprague told the panel he is now ready to ask for subpoenas for certain witnesses whom he did not publicly identify. He said he is also ready to resume the investigation and to send people to interview numbers of witnesses to see whether information his staff has received can be proved or disproved.

YESTERDAY in its first meeting under chairman Stokes, the committee voted to fire the only two members of the staff known to be loyal to Gonzalez.

Letters of dismissal were mailed to Edyth Baish and Kenneth Brooten.

See PROBE, A-11

PROBE

Continued From A-1

The action came yesterday afternoon shortly after the House voted 296-100 to accept Gonzalez' resignation as chairman. Gonzalez had been feuding with Sprague.

Baish, 55, acknowledged last week that she was the "spy" on the staff who supplied Gonzalez with seven typewritten reports of what she called "Sprague' pep rallies" and daily telephone reports of staff activities. Baish said she acted out of loyalty to Gonzalez, for whom she had worked part-time for 4½ years.

Brooten, a Florida attorney, had been a senior counsel on Sprague's staff but associated himself with Gonzalez' viewpoint as to how the committee staff would function.

Stokes was appointed yesterday to be the committee's third chairman in three months by House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill. O'Neill named Stokes after the House moved without notice to accept Gonzalez' resignation yesterday.

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ON PAGE 2

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
9 March 1977

Inside the news—briefly

Assassination panel to have new chairman

Washington

The House Tuesday accepted the resignation of Rep. Henry Gonzales (D) of Texas as chairman of its troubled Committee on Assassinations, and House Speaker Thomas O'Neill said he would name Rep. Louis Stokes (D), Ohio as new chairman.

The vote to accept Mr. Gonzalez' resignation was 296 to 100. He submitted his resignation March 1 after trying unsuccessfully to fire Richard Sprague as chief counsel of the committee. The panel, formed last September to investigate the assassinations of President Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr., has been torn with internal problems which were brought to a head by the Gonzales-Sprague feud.

Gonzalez Resignation Is Accepted

9 MAR 1977 NYT

WASHINGTON, March 8 (AP)—The House accepted today, by a vote of 296 to 100, the resignation of Representative Henry B. Gonzalez, Democrat of Texas, as chairman of the assassinations committee despite an objection that it first should discuss his charges against Richard A. Sprague, the committee's chief counsel.

Representative Robert E. Bauman, Republican of Maryland, objected to putting the resignation to a vote, saying there first should be a full discussion of Mr. Gonzalez's charges that Mr. Sprague refused to cut costs as the chairman had ordered.

But House leaders forced the resignation question to a vote, with Representative Jim Wright of Texas, the majority leader, telling the members that the only issue at the moment was whether to accept the chairman's resignation.

Representative John B. Anderson, Republican of Illinois, told Mr. Bauman that the time for discussing Mr. Gonzalez's charges against Mr. Sprague would be at the end of the month, when the House has to decide whether to continue the investigation of the assassinations of President Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Representative Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts, the House Speaker, said before asking the members to vote on Mr. Gonzalez's resignation that he would name Representative Louis Stokes, Democrat of Ohio, as chairman of the committee.

Mr. Stokes already is a member of the committee. Its investigation has been blocked by a bitter dispute between Mr. Gonzalez and Mr. Sprague.

Mr. O'Neill held off more than a week after Mr. Gonzalez submitted his resignation. The Speaker had hoped the dispute could be resolved with the Texas Democrat remaining as chairman of the committee.

However, Mr. O'Neill finally gave up that effort, and said he would accede to Mr. Gonzalez's desire to resign from the committee.

The acting chairman and the chief counsel of the committee say they oppose calling James Earl Ray, Dr. King's convicted murderer, for quick hearings on the 1968 assassination of Dr. King.

Washington Post
8 March 1977

Sprague Blames Gonzalez for Setbacks

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The chief counsel of the House Assassinations Committee yesterday blamed its setbacks on its missing chairman and urged the other members to renew their inquiry into the murders of both President Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr.

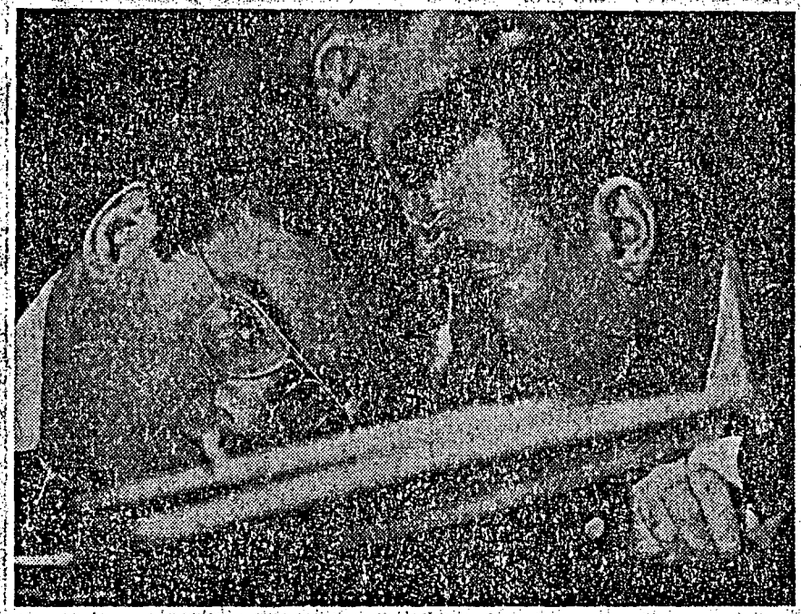
"I do not think one person marching out of step ought to destroy the work of everyone else," the committee's chief counsel, Richard A. Sprague, said of Chairman Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.).

The 11 other members of the committee met without Gonzalez, who submitted his resignation last week after a futile attempt to fire Sprague on charges of mismanagement and insubordination.

Rep. Charles Thone (R-Neb.) voiced his doubts that the committee could ever issue a report that will be believed by the American people "after this three-ring circus we've had here, this Keystone Kops adventure."

Sprague conceded that no dramatic breakthroughs would be possible by March 31, when the committee will go out of business unless it can win a permanent charter from the house.

"The concept of coming up now with a smoking gun . . . if that is the only way in which the investigation can proceed, then in my opinion, the job cannot be done," he told Thone. But he said he still thought a thorough, credible investigation was possible if the committee can win "an appropriate budget" and a bigger staff.



By James K. W. Atherton—The Washington Post

Assassinations panel counsel Sprague, right, confers with aide Robert Tanenbaum.

"I take it you do not feel the ship is sinking?" asked Thone.

"I feel there's been some torpedoes shot," Sprague replied. "The question is whether it has been sunk with the Congress," alluding to the committee's uncertain future in the House.

Under questioning by Rep. Yvonne B. Burke (D-Calif.), Sprague vigorously resisted the notion that the investigation, if it is to survive at all, must first concentrate on one assassination, probably that of Dr. King.

Speaking of the present 73-member staff, which many House members contend is large enough, Sprague asserted that it is too small to handle either inquiry, let alone both of them.

"I do not think that with the existing staff, you can do a credible investigation with either [assassination]," he told the committee. "There is a need for additional staff."

With Rep. Richardson Preyer (D-N.C.) presiding in place of Gonzalez, whose resignation has yet to be acted upon by the House, the committee put off any discussion of the post-March 31 budget it will seek and postponed until Wednesday a discussion of the evidence compiled thus far in the two murders. Rep. Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) was named chairman of a task force to come up with a new budget in place of the $6.5 million Sprague initially proposed in December.

Yesterday's daylong session was devoted instead, amid a display of premeditated harmony, to adoption of procedural rules for the investigation and to housekeeping details such as unplugging paychecks for the staff for February. In clearing the way for the back pay, which had run into a snag over the current $84,000-a-month spending limit, the committee also quietly removed any cloud over Sprague's claim to his job.

The snag over the spending limit was removed when most of the staff agreed to take a small additional pay cut, leaving them at 61.5 per cent of agreed-upon salary.

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7 MAR 1977

Gonzalez Blames 'Criminal Element'

Assassinations Panel Called Farce

SAN ANTONIO, Tex. (AP) — Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez says the assassination of John F. Kennedy will never be investigated in a meaningful way "because vast and powerful forces, including the country's most sophisticated crime element, won't stand for it."

"This criminal element is all-pervasive, loaded with nothing but money and in many ways more potent than the government itself," said Gonzalez, a Texas Democrat who submitted his resignation last week as chairman of the House Assassination Committee.

In an interview published yesterday in the San Antonio Express-News, Gonzalez said other forces against the investigation include "the Kennedy family and heavy business interests in the Dallas-Fort Worth area who don't want all the old JFK muck raked up."

The congressman called the assassination probe committee "a put-on job and a hideous farce that was never intended to work."

HE CRITICIZED the committee's chief counsel, Richard Sprague, as an "unconscionable scoundrel" and added:

"Sprague tried to spend committee money on long-distance phone calls to his Philadelphia law firm and to the home of his girl friend there. And get this. He actually took a little Acapulco vacation for himself while on the committee payroll."

Sprague was not immediately available for comment.

Gonzalez predicted the committee will forget about the Kennedy assassination now and go into "a weak, one-legged investigation of the Martin Luther King assassination as a sop to blacks."

Meanwhile, committee members planned to meet today to see if the committee could be saved. The meeting was scheduled without the permission of Gonzalez and was to be attended by Sprague, who has refused to be fired.

THE ONLY SLIM encouragement for the troubled panel to prevent its almost certain dissolution this month lay in promises of "new evidence" in the assassination of King and the reported willingness to testify by James Earl Ray, King's confessed killer.

Gonzalez resigned as committee chairman following a showdown with Sprague, during which Gonzalez tried to fire Sprague but fellow committee members supported the former Pennsylvania prosecutor.

His resignation has not yet been formally accepted.

Gonzalez said he tried to call House Speaker Thomas O'Neill and fellow Texan Majority Leader Jim Wright, to enlist their support.

"It was an exercise in futility," Gonzalez said. "The fix was in."

He said he was then aware "at last that the House leadership never had intended for the JFK investigation to fly, and indeed had prefabricated the whole thing for the skids."

WITHOUT BEING specific, Gonzalez said that "powerful forces, including criminal elements" had deliberatly put Sprague and himself into the committee picture on an automatic collision course.

Without a Chairman, Assassination Panel Adopts New Budget

By DAVID BURNHAM
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 7—Fighting for its life, the House Assassinations Committee met today without its chairman and adopted a series of rules and an interim budget for its investigation into the deaths of President Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Nevertheless, Representative Richardson Preyer, the North Carolina Democrat who presided at today's meeting, said the chances of the committee's surviving beyond March 31 were "minimal."

The committee was established by the House last September. For the last few weeks its chairman, Representative Henry B. Gonzalez, Democrat of Texas, and the rest of the committee members have been battling over whether to dismiss or retain its controversial chief counsel, Richard A. Sprague.

Last week Mr. Gonzalez said Mr. Sprague was a "scoundrel" and submitted his resignation as chairman. The Speaker of the House, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., said that he did not have the power to accept Mr. Gonzalez's resignation and that it would have to be acted upon by the House.

At today's meeting, the committee voted itself the power to hire and discharge staff and approved yet another reduction in the salaries paid to more than half of the 70 staff members, so that the committee would not spend more than was authorized by the House.

The new cuts mean that 46 staff members will receive only 61 percent of their agreed-upon salaries for February and March.

The committee did not discuss Mr. Gonzalez's refusal to sign a pay voucher bearing Mr. Sprague's name, nor did it directly address the chairman's allegation that Mr. Sprague had violated House rules by continuing to practice law in Philadelphia and by refusing to prepare a new budget for the inquiry.

The committee, however, did adopt new rules restricting the inquiry's use of lie detectors, psychological stress evaluators and equipment to tape telephone conversations.

Under the rules, none of these devices can be used without the permission of the subject and, in some instances, of a majority of the committee. Another restriction would prohibit the public disclosure of either the results of any polygraph test or a witness's refusal to take such a test.

Representative Preyer said he hoped these restrictions, and a provision under which the committee said it would locate a lawyer for a witness unable to afford his own, would allay fears that the committee's investigators might violate the civil liberties of any person

7 MAR 1977

House Assassinations Panel: Bi

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

Unless the beleaguered members of the House Assassinations Committee produce some striking evidence soon, said one leading House Democrat, "they can start singing 'Nearer My God to Thee.'"

Some congressmen would prefer to start the music right now. Stunned by internal bickering and questionable spending practices that have yet to be cleared up, the 12-member committee will die March 31 unless it can win a new vote of confidence on the House floor.

So far it has shown nothing to be confident about. It has incurred bills, paid and unpaid, of more than $300,000 since September in rushing together a bigger staff than it could afford. It has yet to hold a single public hearing on whatever evidence it has gathered in the murders of President Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. It has even insisted on secrecy for the hundreds of unanswered

News Analysis

questions it has compiled, perhaps for fear that too many of the answers might be readily available. Instead of the public record, it showed a preference for seeking clues with polygraphs, psychological stress evaluators and other questionable gadgets.

Despite all that, the House voted Feb. 2 to give the committee roughly two more months—until March 31—to settle down, draft a reasonable and prudent budget and come back for a charter that would last through the 95th Congress.

The inquiry turned to opera bouffe. Appointed chairman by Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr. (D-Mass.) for the probationary period, Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.), who felt he should have been named chairman last year, took the assignment as a mandate to put the committee's overextended finances in order.

Richard A. Sprague, a former Philadelphia prosecutor who had been promised complete authority over hiring and firing by Gonzalez' predecessor, resisted, allegedly to the point of deriding Gonzalez at private staff meetings and warning staff members that they would be fired for carrying gossip back to members of Congress. One staffer, Edythe H. Baish, who had worked for Gonzalez for 4½ years, brought the word back to him. He ordered Sprague dismissed Feb. 10, only to be countermanded by all 11 other committee members.

Finally, after waiting nearly two weeks in vain for the House leadership to back him up, Gonzalez submitted his own resignation Wednesday in the wake of a series of bitter blasts.

Incredibly, the committee's 11 other members, or a majority of them, apparently plan to address themselves to the dispute by ignoring it. They say they hope to meet today to recommend a full year's budget, adopt rules of procedure and pretend that Sprague and the rest of the staff are securely aboard the payroll.

All this ignores one of the basic questions raised by Gonzalez' attempts to fire Sprague. The committee majority said the chairman had *no such power*. The resolution that reestablished the inquiry this year explicitly stated that the authority to "employ and fix the compensation" of staffers rested with the full committee and not, as is customary, with the chairman.

But as one of Gonzalez' aides, Kelsey Meek, observed, if Gonzalez had no right to fire Sprague, then Sprague payroll [for the Assassinations Committee staff] . . . It's our opinion that the committee was not properly organized."

Several committee members indicated they will do their best to gloss over that at today's meeting and legitimize the staff as it stands. They are afraid that if Sprague should be forced out now, enough top-ranking staffers and even some committee members would quit with him, making it impossible to stage an evidentiary hearing and justify the committee's continuation past March 31.

For his part, Gonzalez seems to have no intention of walking in and causing a stir. Although House leaders say he is still the chairman until the House acts on his tendered resignation, he insisted in a letter to Rep. Richardson Preyer (D-N.C.) Friday that he was "no longer chairman" and thus not empowered to call a meeting of the committee "or perform any other function as a member of it."

Speaker O'Neill has said he would not send Gonzalez' resignation to the floor until he had a chance to talk with him—something the flu-stricken Gonzalez avoided last week—but the Texan's letter to Preyer, the second-ranking Democrat on the committee, suggested that Gonzalez has no intention of changing his mind.

Submission of his resignation to the House could, in turn, touch off fireworks, especially since Sprague is still chief counsel and staff director despite Gonzalez' attempts to fire him and the attempts of House Majority Leader Jim Wright (D-Tex.) to get him to share power with a chief administrator. Not a few House members are incensed at the thought that a chairman, one of their own, is being sacrificed for a "clerk."

"There are just two kinds of people who work here," said Rep. Charles B. Rangel (D-N.Y.), "members of Congress and clerks. Some of the clerks are elevator operators. Some are secretaries. Some are chief counsel of committees. But they're all clerks."

Sprague, in short, may not last much longer. But if he is to be dumped, the committee may have to be reconstituted, perhaps even under another name. There have been whispers about making it a House Judiciary subcommittee, although Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr. (D-N.J.) is said to have expressed disfavor. There also is rising sentiment for wiping out the entire investigation.

"We've fooled around with it so much it's just a mess," said House Rules Committee Chairman James J. Delaney (D-N.Y.), whose committee has jurisdiction over continuation of the inquiry. He expressed frustration that, after more than five months of sporadic investigating by the committee, he has no idea whether it has come up with anything substantial.

"I'd like to know if they have anything or if this is just a plain witchhunt," Delaney said. "I don't know if it's a witchhunt or not."

House leaders and committee members seem resigned to abandoning the investigation of President Kennedy's 1963 murder or at least assigning it "a very, very minor role." Evidently not enough promising information has been developed. They are working to salvage the King inquiry and are hoping to stage a hearing on it, before tackling the Sprague problem. But all that is still highly tentative.

O'Neill has said he thinks the committee will have to produce "something of a sensational nature" to survive, but committee members are talking more modestly in terms of making public "what we believe are significant leads." A staffer close to

the staff because it would be "immoral" to fire people already working at voluntarily reduced pay. Sprague, however, has yet to acknowledge any fault in hiring too many people to begin with.

Then there is Gonzalez, who waited 16 years to become chairman of a big-time committee. One House Democratic leader faults him for behaving too much like a heavy-handed, oldtime chairman, for not realizing times have changed in the House. But that's understandable, too.

"Look at the Texans who have been committee chairmen in the House," this congressman said. "You've got people like George Mahon, Jack Brooks, Bob Poage. These are guys used to brooking no opposition, used to running over anybody who got in their way. Then Henry becomes a chairman and what happens? They

gossip back to members of Congress. One staffer, Edythe H. Baish, who had worked for Gonzalez for 4½ years, brought the word back to him. He ordered Sprague dismissed Feb. 10, only to be countermanded by all 11 other committee members.

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But as one of Gonzalez' aides, Kelsey Meek, observed, if Gonzalez had no right to fire Sprague, then Sprague may not have been properly hired either. Only Gonzalez had certified his employment, or that of the rest of the staff, for the 95th Congress.

"That's the next logical question," said Meek. "Did anybody ever have a legal job in the first place?"

The chairman of the House Administration Committee, Rep. Frank Thompson Jr. (D-N.J.), wasn't sure of the answer but said the question is far from frivolous.

"It is a legitimate argument," he said. "I may, in fact, have made a legal mistake in signing the January

Former Carter Aide Joins Staff of League of Cities

Associated Press

Thomas D. Tatum, director of urban affairs for Jimmy Carter's presidental campaign, has joined the staff of the National League of Cities as deputy director of federal relations.

Tatum, 31, is a former assistant to Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson, and served as urban coordinator for the Carter-Mondale transition office.

have expressed disfavor. There also is rising sentiment for wiping out the entire investigation.

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O'Neill has said he thinks the committee will have to produce "something of a sensational nature" to survive, but committee members are talking more modestly in terms of making public "what we believe are significant leads." A staffer close to the investigation said members believe they can demonstrate "the weakness of the Justice Department's [just-issued] task force report on the King assassination regarding the [police] surveillance" of King before he was killed in 1968.

Exclaims author-investigator Harold Weisberg: "What's that got to do with who killed King? This gets zanier by the minute."

At this point, however, no evidentiary hearing has been scheduled. Says Rules Committee Chairman Delaney, for one, "My feeling is it [the committee] would not be continued."

Some blame former Speaker Carl Albert (D-Okla.) for appointing then-Rep. Thomas N. Downing (D-Va.) as chairman last year. About to retire, Downing promised Sprague complete authority while Gonzalez stood waiting for the chairmanship. By custom, the Texan, as the original sponsor of the assassination inquiry, should have been chairman from the outset.

Others blame O'Neill, whom they suspect of malign neglect.

Defenders of Sprague say he fought Gonzalez' attempts last month to cut

ckering on the Brink of Ruin

won't even give him a gun, or let him fire his orderly."

Gonzalez: Forces at Work To Prevent JFK Inquiry

SAN ANTONIO, Tex., March 6 (AP) —Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.) says the assassination of President Kennedy will never be investigated in a meaningful way "because vast and powerful forces, including the country's most sophisticated crime element, won't stand for it."

"This criminal element is all-pervasive, loaded with nothing but money and in many ways more potent than the government itself," said Gonzalez, who submitted his resignation last week as chairman of the House Assassinations Committee.

In an interview published today in the San Antonio Express-News, Gonzalez said other forces against the investigation include "the Kennedy family and heavy business interests in the Dallas-Fort Worth area who don't want all the old JFK muck raked up."

The congressman criticized the Assassinations Committee's chief counsel, Richard A. Sprague, as an "unconscionable scoundrel" and added:

"Sprague tried to spend committee money on long-distance phone calls to his Philadelphia law firm and to the home of his girl friend there. And get this. He actually took a little Acapulco vacation for himself while on the committee payroll."

Contacted at his home in Philadelphia, Sprague refused comment.

Gonzalez predicted the committee will forget about the Kennedy assassination and go into "a weak, one-legged investigation of the Martin Luther King assassination as a sop to blacks."

Gonzalez resigned as committee chairman following a showdown over his efforts to fire Sprague.

Gonzalez' resignation has not yet been formally accepted.

The congressman said he tried to call House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. (D-Mass.) and fellow Texan Majority Leader Jim Wright, to enlist their support. "It was an exercise in futility," Gonzalez said. "The fix was in."

He said "the House leadership never had intended for the JFK investigation to fly, and indeed had prefabricated the whole thing for the skids."

Meanwhile, House Minority Leader John J. Rhodes (R-Ariz.) said on "Face the Nation" (CBS, WTOP) that the probe is "salvageable," but needs a new chief counsel and chairman.

In Cheyenne, Wyo., Saturday, Majority Leader Wright said he hoped to talk to Gonzalez to work out a compromise before the committee reconvenes, United Press International reported.



Associated Press

at Blair House on official visit to U.S.

ful framework of negotiations that might be desired to bring about peace, to postpone war and to maintain tranquility in the area," he said.

Before leaving Tel Aviv, Rabin confirmed he would press for a reversal of President Carter's decision to block the sale of concussion bombs to Israel and the sale by Israel of 24 KFIR C2 jets to Ecuador. "I shall deal with the subject, but I do not want to create a high level of expectations," he said.

The blocking of the Israeli sale of KFIR C2 jets to Ecuador is based on their use of an American-made General Electric engine.

Rabin will be formally welcomed at the White House Monday morning, then meet with Vance and Defense Secretary Harold Brown before a "working dinner" at the executive mansion Monday night.

Newly confirmed as his party's choice for leader but facing a fight for re-election in May, Rabin is expected to expand on discussions held last month when Vance made an exploratory fact-finding mission to the Middle East.

ws to Fight On

10 or 20 years to organize the Arab masses, he hoped to see "an Arab revolution aimed at the total unification of the Arab world and total liberty of the Arab world."

But before then he was confident that a leftist revolution in Jordan, Syria, Egypt or Lebanon would give the Palestinians a solid base from which they could go on fignting Israel.

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Assassination Panel Salvage Attempted

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

House Democratic leaders yesterday endorsed a long-shot attempt to salvage the investigation of the murder of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., but offered less hope for the inquiry into the assassination of President Kennedy.

Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr. (D-Mass.) said after a meeting with Democratic members of the embattled House Assassinations Committee that they are hoping to stage a hearing on the King murder to dramatize that investigation before the committee's charter runs out March 31.

The committee's already shaky prospects for survival were damaged even further Wednesday when Chairman Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.) submited his resignation as an outgrowth of his dispute with the committee's chief counsel, Richard A. Sprague.

O'Neill said he'd been told at yesterday's conference with the committee's seven other Democrats that "there are three witnesses who are ready to appear" about the King assassination in Memphis in 1968.

He said he did not know how compelling their testimony might be, but said he had been "led to believe that it's information the American public would be keenly interested in."

The Speaker declined to say whether he feels the House should vote to continue the Assassinations Committee past the end of the month. When asked that question, O'Neill said only:

"Well, let's just see what we're talking about with these three witnesses."

O'Neill said he did not know if James Earl Ray, who is serving a 99-year prison term for King's murder, was one of the putative witnesses, but other sources said he is not. One source said committee members were talking of calling one of Ray's brothers and two other witnesses.

Gonzales, who has been sick with the flu in his San Antonio home for the past two weeks, has yet to return O'Neill's repeated phone calls. But the Speaker said he will do nothing about the resignation until he has had a chance to talk with the unwilling chairman.

If Gonzalez remains adamant, it is up to the House to accept or reject his resignation, but O'Neill would not discuss when he might schedule the issue for floor action.

Committee Democrats, meanwhile, said they would take steps to call a meeting for Monday, with or without Gonzalez, in order to recommend a proposed budget for the rest of the year, adopt rules of procedure and authorize February paychecks for the committee's 73-member staff. The salaries have been held up in Gonzalez' absence because of $3,000 in excess spending for the month.

The ranking Democrat on the committee, Rep. Richard Preyer (D-N.C.), acknowledged after meeting with the Speaker and other House leaders that "the odds [on the committee's survival] are long right now in view of all the problems that have come up."

Preyer, who said he does not want to be chairman if the committee is continued, added that "one of the problems the committee must resolve are the charges against Mr. Sprague," whom Gonzalez has accused of mismanagement and insubordination. Other committee members, however, said the Sprague dispute would not be on Monday's agenda, and they voiced hope that it could be shunted aside until the committee recovers its equilibrium.

Aides to Gonzalez said the committee's refusal to face up to the issue



By James K. W. Atherton—The Washington Post.

Rep. Preyer and Majority Leader Wright talk with reporters after meeting.

was a primary factor in his decision to resign.

House Majority Leader Jim Wright (D-Tex.) said he did not know when a hearing on the King murder might be held, but said he thought the chances of the committee's surviving at all were not much more than 10 per cent.

4 MAR 1977

Took Notes at Sprague Staff Meetings

Woman Was 'Spy' for Gonzalez

By Jeremiah O'Leary
Washington Star Staff Writer

A Bethesda woman today said she was the "spy" on the staff of the House Assassinations Committee's chief counsel for the committee's chairman.

Edyth H. Baish, 55, said she acted to keep Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez' office informed of the activities of the chief counsel, Richard A. Sprague, out of loyalty to the Texas Democrat.

She said she wanted the chairman to know of "the details I saw as disruptive . . . it is of the utmost importance that it be understood by all that I was acting on my own and not under instruction of any other person.

"I was the 'spy' who kept the chairman's office informed on what was going on over at the committee offices," said Baish. "I guess there isn't any other word for it. But it was my own idea and I did it because I found it necessary, my duty, to report at great length and in fine detail the conditions and happenings within the staff offices that jeopardize Mr. Gonzalez' position as chairman and sabotage his efforts."



EDYTH BAISH.
An act of 'loyalty'

GONZALEZ RESIGNED as chairman Wednesday after attempting unsuccessfully last month to fire Sprague, and the House will vote next week on whether to accept Gonzalez' resignation. It is probable that the committee will cease to exist at the end of this month when its funding runs out.

Gonzalez, who is in his San Antonio, Tex., home recovering from flu, previously said he had a reliable pipeline into what was going on in Sprague's offices. Several times he recounted what had taken place in Sprague staff meetings shortly after they took place, even though he and Sprague were no longer speaking to each other.

None of the memos Baish wrote to Gonzalez' administrative assistant, Gail J. Beagle, nor her frequent phone calls to him concerned information relating to the assassinations under investigation, she said. The committee is supposed to investigate the murders of President John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., but little has been accomplished because of budget problems and internal wrangling among the chairman, the other 11 committee members and the 73-member staff assembled by Sprague.

BAISH SAID SHE never dealt directly with Gonzalez. She said she

See PROBE, A-4

PROBE

Continued From A-1

openly took notes at staff meetings as part of her job as office manager for the so-called JFK Task Force. Within an hour of typing these notes for Sprague and his senior associates, Baish said, a copy was on Gonzalez' desk.

"Obviously, I didn't advertise what I was doing to Sprague's people, but all of them knew I had come to the staff after 4½ years in Mr. Gonzalez' office as a part-time employe and that I had been recommended by Gail Beagle for the job," Baish said. "Furthermore, Mr. Sprague told me when I was hired that 'Congressman Gonzalez and his aide are your bosses.'"

Baish, a divorcee who also runs a secretarial service from her home, said it caused her "great pain and regret" to be reporting on the doings at Sprague headquarters.

Baish cites what she said were

'Oswald Letter' Clouded

FBI Said Unable to Authenticate It

FBI investigators have been unable to establish the authenticity of a letter purportedly written by Lee Harvey Oswald to a right-wing Dallas millionaire two weeks before the murder of President Kennedy, reliable sources said yesterday.

An FBI spokesman said only that a copy of the letter had been received and was being investigated. He declined further comment.

However, other sources familiar with the probe said FBI technicians had concluded that it is not possible to determine through laboratory tests whether the letter is genuine. Although the investigation is continuing, the sources added, the FBI is leaning toward the idea that the letter was a forgery.

The letter, whose existence was revealed in published reports a few days ago, reportedly was sent by Oswald to the late H. L. Hunt, a strong backer of ultra-conservative causes, on Nov. 8, 1963. It said:

"I would like information concerning my position. I am asking only for information. I am suggesting that we discuss the matter fully before any steps are taken by me or anyone else. Thank you."

A copy of the letter reportedly was sent to Penn Jones Jr., a retired newspaper editor in Midlothian, Tex., by an unidentified source in Mexico City. In an accompanying note, the source told Jones that he had sent a copy of the letter to FBI Diretcor Clarence M. Kelley in 1974 but had never received a response.

Resignation From JFK-King Panel

3 MAR 1977

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

In an indignant letter to the Speaker of the House, Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.) submitted his resignation as chairman of the House Assassinations Committee yesterday after an admittedly futile effort to take charge of the inquiry.

He accused House leaders of failing to back him up in his struggle with the committee's chief counsel, Richard A. Sprague, and said that he saw no alternative to quitting "under the circumstances that now exist."

Accusing Sprague once again of mismanagement, insubordination and disloyalty, Gonzalez denounced him as "an unscrupulous individual, an unconscionable scoundrel." Sprague, who has thus far had the backing of the rest of the 12-member committee, had no comment.

Apparently caught by surprise, House Majority Leader Jim Wright (D-Tex.) said he doubted the investigation would survive at all unless Gonzalez can be persuaded to change his mind.

The volatile Gonzalez phrased his resignation letter in terms that ostensibly made his departure immediate and final but, under a precedent established just two years ago, it is up to the House to accept or reject it.

Speaker Thomas P. "(Tip) O'Neill Jr. (D-Mass.) said he would not schedule the issue for floor action until he first had a chance to speak to Gonzalez and try to dissuade him. Gonzalez has been bedridden with flu in his San Antonio home for the past 12 days.

O'Neill refused to speculate on what the House might do if Gonzalez remains adamant, but not a few members seemed agreed that it could well kill the entire investigation into the murders of President Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

Already reeling from the impact of earlier disputes over the inquiry's proposed cost and methods, culminating in Gonzalez' attempts to fire Sprague, the 12-member Assassinations Committee will go out of business March 31 unless it can get a new charter and budget from the House.

"In view of the low repute we have in the minds of other members of the House because of the unseemliness of the whole squabble, that might be hard to get," said Rep. John B. Anderson (R-Ill.), one of the committee's four GOP members. "The life of the committee still hangs by a slim thread."

The Speaker had already suggested, in a television appearance last week, that the committee would go out of business at the end of the month "unless they come up with something sensational," and he reiterated that judgment yesterday. He said some committee members had "told me they have some breakthrough on the King business," but O'Neill said he was not aware of what that might be.

Del. Walter E. Fauntroy (D-D.C.), who has been heading a subcommittee that would look into the King assassination, hinted of a possible public hearing to "focus on the results of the investigation so far." But he declined to predict any bombshells, and other members said there was none to be produced.

See INQUIRY, A10, Col. 1



REP. HENRY B. GONZALEZ
... harsh words for Sprague

Rep. Gonzalez Resigning Assassination Panel Chair

INQUIRY, From A1

"The committee feels there's a good chance to crack the King case, but that's a long run," said Rep. Richardson Preyer (D-N.C.), the ranking Democrat under Gonzalez. "But I don't know of any bombshells we're about to drop."

The committee was already prepared to postpone the investigation into President Kennedy's assassination, in anticipation of a much slimmer budget than the $6.5 million a year Sprague had proposed.

Appointed chairman just last month, Gonzalez said he was quitting as both chairman and as a member of the committee. He described the inquiry as mired down in "an administrative nightmare," and said he decided to fire Sprague only after finding "unjustifiable salaries, unjustified employees, and reckless, inexplicable financial obligations."

It seemed plain that Gonzalez would insist on Sprague's ouster if he were to be expected to change his mind. Alluding to an effort by a committee majority to secure paychecks for Sprague and the rest of the committee's 73-member staff in Gonzalez' absence, the chairman protested that some of his colleagues "appear to be interested in usurping even my ministerial powers."

"It seems clear now that the House leadership is unwilling to offer me support," Gonzalez wrote O'Neill. "Yet, I cannot bring myself to sign pay vouchers for an unscrupulous individual, an unconscionable scoundrel, and no power on earth can compel me to do so."

Gonzalez aides said he felt House leaders had expected him to bend too much in keeping Sprague on the committee staff. Majority Leader Wright acknowledged to reporters later in the day that he may have miscalculated on that score, thinking that Gonzalez could be persuaded to accept the prosecutor "in a reduced role."

Asked last month by Speaker O'Neill to mediate the dispute, Wright told reporters he had gotten the approval of eight of the committee's 12 members to a compromise he had proposed this week.

Wright refused to discuss the details, but it was learned later that it was a seven-point suggestion involving Sprague's retention as chief investigator and the hiring of "a new person acceptable to all the members" to replace Sprague as staff administrator. All "final decisions on hiring and firing would repose with the committee membership . . ."

O'Neill said House leaders would meet today with other members of the committee to discuss the dispute.

Gonzalez, Assailing His Committee, Quits as Assassination Inquiry Head

By DAVID BURNHAM
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 2—Representative Henry B. Gonzalez submitted his resignation as chairman of the House Committee on Assassinations today after accusing some other committee members of trying to usurp his powers and the Democratic leadership of failing to support him.

The action by the Texas Democrat, according to a number of senior House Democrats, may mean the end of the House investigation into the deaths of President Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Representative Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., Speaker of the House, said in his regular news conference that, unless the committee came up with some major new investigative lead, he did not believe that the panel would survive. Mr. O'Neill, a Massachusetts Democrat, said he would not accept the resignation until he had talked with Mr. Gonzalez and that under House rules the resignation would "have to be adopted by the House."

Representative Jim Wright of Texas, the majority leader, said in an interview it was his opinion "that unless Henry can be prevailed upon to continue as chairman, the House probably will not

Continued on Page 14, Column 1



Richard A. Sprague



United Press International
Representative Henry B. Gonzalez

GONZALEZ, ASSAILING PANEL, QUITS AS HEAD

Continued From Page 1

vote to continue the investigation."

Mr. Gonzalez, who has been ill in Texas for the last 10 days, submitted his resignation in a two-page letter in which he called the committee's chief counsel, Richard A. Sprague, "an unscrupulous individual, an unconscionable scoundrel."

A spokesman for Mr. Sprague said he would have no comment.

The committee, which was established by the House last September, has been wracked with open dissension since Feb. 10, when Mr. Gonzalez moved to dismiss Mr. Sprague, only to have all the 11 other members instruct the controversial chief counsel to disregard the termination notice.

Under its present mandate, the 73-man committee staff must win the support of a majority of the House for a new resolution if it is to continue operating after March 31.

Walter E. Fauntroy, the House delegate from the District of Columbia who is chairman of an assassination subcommittee that is concentrating on the events surrounding Dr. King's death, said he had not "given up hope that we will be able to continue."

Mr. Fauntroy said the problem was that public attention had concentrated on the internal struggle of the committee rather than on its investigation. While he refused to discuss whether the investigators had thus far uncovered any major new leads, he indicated that some committee members were considering possible ways to influence the public's opinion about the inquiry.

"A hearing is among the kinds of things that could be used to change the public focus," Mr. Fauntroy said in an interview.

Representative Richardson Preyer, a North Carolina Democrat who is chairman of the subcommittee on the Kennedy assassination, agreed that national attention had focused on the dispute between Mr. Gonzalez and Mr. Sprague and that it might be helpful to "hold some hearings on the evidence that might be forthcoming."

But because of the potential for damaging innocent persons, Mr. Preyer said that in his opinion such hearings would initially have to be conducted in executive session rather than open to the public.

In his letter to the House Speaker, Mr. Gonzalez said that no head of a committee could have taken any other action than he had when he attempted to dismiss Mr. Sprague.

'Administrative Nightmare'

"I found in the committee an administrative nightmare; I found a chief counsel who assumed the full powers of the committee itself (and by implication usurped the powers of the House itself); a chief counsel who was insubordinate and insulting, not to mention disloyal," Mr. Gonzalez said.

"I found unjustifiable salaries, unjustified employees and reckless, inexplicable financial obligations. I had a responsibility to act, and no one has yet demonstrated that I acted wrongly or without full cause."

The Texas Congressman said that in the last few days he had been ill and absent but that even so, "several of my colleagues on the committee appear to be interested in usurping even my ministerial powers."

He said that "it seems clear now that the House leadership is unwilling to offer me support," but "I cannot bring myself to sign pay vouchers for an unscrupulous individual, an unconscionable scoundrel, and no power on earth can compel me to do so."

"Under the circumstances that now exist," he concluded, "I have no alternative but to resign from the Select Committee on Assassinations herewith."

2 MAR 1977

Assassinations Panel Misses Another Payday In New Spending Snag

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The staff of the rudderless House Assassinations Committee missed another payday this week in a new snafu over the committee's spending limits.

House Administration Committee chairman Frank Thompson Jr. (D-N.J.) told members of the Assassinations Committee staff at a meeting Monday that he would not approve any paychecks for them until they shaved their total spending for February to the lawful limit of $84,000.

This would mean a cut of a total of some $3,000 in salaries on top of the voluntary pay reductions that many of the committee's 73 staff members took for January and were prepared to swallow again for February.

The $3,000 accommodation, however, would normally require the signature of Assassinations Committee Chairman Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.), who has been bedridden with the flu in San Antonio for the past week and a half.

The Assassinations Committee's chief counsel, Richard A. Sprague, reportedly suggested an authorization signed by a majority of the committee instead of Gonzalez, but a spokesman for Thompson said that the New Jersey Democrat was reluctant to endorse that approach.

Meanwhile Monday, which was the monthly payday for the rest of the House, slipped away without any paychecks for the Assassinations Committee staff, the second month in a row they have been kept waiting. A committee majority has reportedly signed the letter Sprague suggested, but it had not yet been transmitted to the Administration Committee at the close of business yesterday.

The question of whether Sprague will be paid is another issue. Gonzalez has insisted he be dismissed for insubordination and ordered Sprague's name stricken from the staff payroll list that was sent to the Administration Committee last Thursday.

Facing extinction by March 31 unless it can win a new charter from the House, the strife-torn committee met privately, and inconclusively, with Sprague and other top staffers yesterday afternoon in the offices of Rep. Richardson Preyer (D-N.C.).

Preyer said they decided not to act on a suggestion that they formally petition Gonzalez to call a meeting "because we don't want it to appear that we're trying to embarrass the chairman."

A Gonzalez aide said that Gonzalez was feeling much better yesterday and hoped to be back in Washington next Monday. Preyer said he thought the rest of the committee could wait until then in an effort to resolve the controversy.

WASHINGTON, D.C., WEDNESDAY, MARCH 2, 1977

Gonzalez Quits Panel, Calls Sprague a 'Scoundrel'

By Jerry O'Leary
Washington Star Staff Writer

Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez today abruptly resigned as chairman of the House Assassinations Committee, calling Chief Counsel Richard A. Sprague an "unconscionable scoundrel" and declaring he could not continue without support of the House leadership.

The Texas Democrat submitted his resignation in an emotional letter to House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill in which he castigated Sprague and bitterly criticized other members of the committee for usurping his "ministerial powers" as chairman.

Gonzalez tried to fire Sprague last month, but all the other members of the committee backed the controversial chief counsel.

Gonzalez sent the letter from his home in San Antonio where he has been ill with flu for nearly two weeks.

THE RESIGNATION added a new complication to the already confused situation. The committee, established to conduct new investigations into the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King jr., has been plagued with controversy almost from its inception and now has been funded only until the end of this month.

Gonzalez leveled his harshest words at Sprague, the former Philadelphia prosecutor whom the chairman tried to dismiss in a showdown over whether the the chairman or the chief counsel was going to run the committee. The other 11 members of the committee refused to back up Gonzalez's firing of Sprague and ordered him to remain on duty.

In turn, Gonzalez refused to sign pay vouchers for Sprague and today declared, "I cannot bring myself to sign pay vouchers for an unscrupulous individual and unconscionable scoundrel. No power on earth can make me do so."

Gonzalez also said several members of the committee appeared to be interested in taking over his role as chairman and said he was not receiving the support of the House leadership, including O'Neill, in his battle for control of committee operations.

GONZALEZ SAID he had found the committee to be an administrative nightmare.

"I found a chief counsel who assumed full powers of the committee itself, a chief counsel who was insubordinate and insulting, not to mention disloyal," Gonzalez told O'Neill in his letter. "I found unjustifiable salaries, unjustified employes and inexplicable financial obligations. I had a responsibility to act and no one has yet demonstrated that I acted wrongly or without full cause.

"At the outset I pledged to you, the majority leader and the House that I would see the committee operated in a credible, responsible and productive manner," Gonzalez wrote. "In

See GONZALEZ, A-8



—United Press International

Rep. Henry Gonzalez, D-Tex., announced his resignation today as chairman of the controversial House committee investigating the assassinations of John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr. Gonzalez is shown at a committee meeting on February 17.

GONZALEZ

Continued From A-1

your widely reported public statements, you expressed concern about the committee chief counsel's budget demands, his advocacy of extremely questionable investigative techniques and his general conduct.

"You made statements to the effect that Henry Gonzalez would make policy, not the committee, not the committee counsel. I was expected to rectify the problems that had accumulated through months of neglect and virtually free hand given to the committee's ambitious chief counsel.

"With your appointment (of me), I could only assume that the leadership would support my efforts to provide direction and a sense of responsibility to the committee. I made an intense effort to enlist the support of my colleagues on the committee."

But, Gonzalez went on, Sprague failed to produce any kind of information on which the committee could make rational budget decisions and pursued a deliberate course of action "to undermine me with members of the committee and staff alike. I had no recourse but to dismiss him, which I did."

GONZALEZ SAID HE had tried to keep the speaker informed of the situation through letters and repeated attempts to reach him by phone.

"During the past several days," Gonzalez wrote O'Neill, "I have been ill and unable to return to Washington. Nothwithstanding my illness and absence, several of my colleagues on the committee appeared to be interested in usurping even my ministerial powers. I do not know if the leadership is aware of these events, nor what leadership efforts have been made, if any, to insist that the committee function within the rules of the House. It seems clear now that the House leadership is unwilling to offer me support.

"I will not compromise my own standards or integrity and I will not accept any arrangement that saves face at the expense of constitutional obligations, the integrity, prestige and honor of the House. Under the circumstances, I have no alternative but to resign from the committee herewith."

There was no immediate comment from other members of the select committeee, and there was no word whether Speaker O'Neill will appoint another chairman to replace Gonzalez. If he does, the most likely candidate is Rep. Richardson Preyer, D-N.C., a former judge who has been supporting Sprague's con-

Assassinations Panel Will Survive: O'Neill

2.2.77

By Jerry O'Leary
Special to The Washington Star

Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, whose prophecies are often self-fufilling, predicts that the House Assassinations Committee will find a way today to continue its investigations despite the bitter feud involving its chairman and the committee membership and the chief counsel.

O'Neill meets this morning with Majority Leader Jim Wright, D-Tex., and Committee Chairman Henry B. Gonzalez, D-Tex., to hear firsthand why the chairman is trying to fire chief counsel Richard A. Sprague.

Then, at 2 o'clock this afternoon, the committee will meet for one last try a reconciling Gonzalez with the controversial chief counsel and the other 11 committee members, who appear to be supporting Sprague.

UNLESS THE select committee finds a way to iron out the dispute, which O'Neill indicated yesterday is what he expects, the probes into the murders of President John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. probably will not survive after the remaining five weeks of their current mandate.

Appearing on the CBS interview show "Face The Nation" yesterday, O'Neill said that he has no power to remove Gonzalez from the chairmanship and that Sprague's continued presence as chief counsel is for the committee to decide. The speaker said he did not think Gonzalez should step down. He also said he thought Sprague was a "tremendously able man" and noted that the majority of the committee thinks Sprague is doing a good job.

O'Neill's comments indicate he is using his powerful role as speaker of the House to persuade the committee to settle its squabble in this afternoon's session because its members believe there is justification for the committee to continue.

ALTHOUGH GONZALEZ has leveled formidable charges of dishonesty, deceit, unacceptable performance, financial irresponsibility and violation of House rules against Sprague, there is probably a remote chance that the chairman and Sprague's backers on the committee may find a compromise that will permit the panel to get on with its work.

If it doesn't, today's session — billed as an organization meeting — will dissolve into what one member called "a blood-on-the-floor" situation, and the committee will self-destruct in acrimony.

The House is not likely to authorize additional existence and funding for the committee after its temporary mandate expires March 31 unless that feud is settled today.

Gonzalez has shown no signs of weakening up to now in his determination that Sprague must go. The other committee members, especially Del. Walter E. Fauntroy, D-D.C., and Richardson Preyer, D-N.C., have been equally adamant that Gonzalez has no right to fire Sprague and that the former Philadelphia prosecutor should be retained.

SPRAGUE AND Gonzalez have rubbed each other the wrong way ever since the Texan succeeded the previous chairman, Thomas N. Downing, D-Va., who was willing to let the aggressive chief counsel run the committee staff and its procedures without much supervision. What started out as a personality clash escalated into a battle between Gonzalez and Sprague over who was going to run things.

Sprague Ouster Is Upset by Panel On Assassination

11 FEB 1977

Counsel Told to Ignore Chairman's Order

By DAVID BURNHAM
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 10—The chairman of the House Select Committee on Assassinations moved today to dismiss Richard A. Sprague, the committee's chief counsel and director, only to have all the other committee members order Mr. Sprague to disregard the termination notice.

The committee's chairman, Representative Henry B. Gonzalez, said in a letter requesting Mr. Sprague's immediate termination that the former Philadelphia prosecutor "has engaged in a course of conduct that is wholly intolerable for any employee of the House."

He called for Mr. Sprague to vacate the offices of the committee by 5 P.M. today.

But within hours of the first public knowledge of the decision by Mr. Gonzalez, the committee's 11 other members signed a letter directing the counsel to disregard the order.

Decision Is Explained

Mr. Gonzalez, a Texas Democrat, said in a statement explaining his decision that for the last few days Mr. Sprague "has been making a consistent attempt to undermine my chairmanship and malign me personally with the members of the committee staff."

The bizarre struggle pitting Mr. Gonzalez against the members of his committee and Mr. Sprague broke out a week after the House re-established the committee on an interim basis until it submitted a new budget and a plan for the investigation of the deaths of President

Continued on Page A28, Col. 1

Panel on Assassinations Overrules Chairman on Dismissal of Sprague

Continued From Page A1

Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

In directing Mr. Sprague to ignore the order of Mr. Gonzalez, the other committee members cited the resolution re-establishing the committee until March 1. The resolution said that the whole committee, and not its chairman, was empowered to make decisions about hiring and the salaries of the staff.

In addition to the letter sent to Mr. Sprague, Mr. Gonzalez sent another one asking Representative Frank Thompson Jr., chairman of the House Administration Committee, to remove Mr. Sprague from the payroll immediately.

Mr. Thompson said in response to an inquiry that he would be "very pleased to sign the termination papers providing the rules of the House have been adhered to."

After acting to oust Mr. Sprague and drafting his expanatory statement, Mr. Gonzalez boarded a plane for his Texas district and could not be reached for comment on Mr. Sprague's decision to resist his discharge.

But a spokesman for Mr. Gonzlaez said: "The chairman is confident his action will be sustained. There is no question that in the vast majority of cases it is the prerogative of the chairman to hire and fire staff. And in any event, there is no question that the disbursement of committee funds only can be done under the recognized signature of the chairman."

The subsequent statement made public by the assassination committee's staff said that Mr. Sprague "has been directed by the committee to disregard the orders of Henry B. Gonzalez, committee chairman, on the basis that he does not have the power unilaterally to discharge Mr. Sprague."

"It is only the committee which has this power," the statement added.

When the committee staff statement, drafted by Mr. Sprague, was made public, the spokesman said that it had been endorsed by two of the 12 members of the committee. An hour later, a spokesman for Walter Fauntroy, a member of the committee who is a delegate from the District of Columbia, said that it had been signed by five members.

Mr. Sprague's conduct both while heading the assassination committee's 73-man staff and while a prosecutor in Philadelphia has been controversial. Many House members objected to the chief counsel's initial plan to mount a $13-million, two-year investigation of the assassinations. Others were concerned with a proposal, now abandoned, to use hidden microphones and psychological stress evluators to test secretly the credibility of witnesses.

There was also concern, expressed by such members as Representative Timothy E. Wirth, Democrat of Colorado, about public criticisms that had been made of Mr. Sprague's private and public actions. The criticisms were made by such bodies as the Pennsylvania Crime Commission, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court and in a study done for the Philadelphia Crime Commission.

In explaining the decision to dismiss Mr. Sprague, Mr. Gonzalez said that at a recent meeting on the budget Mr. Sprague asked whether he still supported him.

"I told him that in all candor at best it was qualified support, and that if I had known last September what I know now, I would have objected to his being employed," Mr. Gonzalez said.



The New York Times

Richard A. Sprague

The Washington Post

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Rep. Gonzalez Trying to Fire Sprague

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

House Assassinations Committee Chairman Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.) yesterday abruptly ordered the dismissal of chief counsel Richard A. Sprague, but Sprague refused to leave and remained holed up in his offices on Capitol Hill.

In a flurry of letters to Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr. (D-Mass.) and other key members of Congress, Gonzalez angrily accused Sprague of "divisive and deceitful conduct" and said the sputtering investigation could not possibly succeed unless he were fired.

The latest brouhaha in the life of the beleaguered committee was triggered earlier this week when Gonzalez made an effort to economize by calling for at least a temporary cutback in its 73-member staff. The new chairman apparently was rebuffed, first at a meeting with Sprague in Gonzalez' office Tuesday morning and then by other members of the committee at a secret "informal" meeting later in the day.

A Keystone Kops flavor was added to the dispute when Gonzalez ordered Capitol police to make sure Sprague left his offices in the old FBI Identification Building by 5 p.m. and then had those orders countermanded, apparently by Del. Walter E. Fauntroy (D-D.C.).

About 90 minutes later, evidently after a rash of phone calls to members scattered about the country for the long holiday recess, Fauntroy handed Sprague a letter of support bearing the names of all members of the 12-member committee except for Chairman Gonzalez.

The letter pronounced Gonzalez action "invalid," said only the committee had such authority, and directed Sprague "to disregard Mr. Gonzalez' order terminating your employment and his instructions that you vacate the offices of the select committee by 5 p.m. of this date. The entire committee, apart from the chairman, so directs you."

By then, Gonzalez was already in the air, flying home to San Antonio. Apprised of the committee members' action, when he arrived, Gonzalez told United Press International: "They're not the chairman. He [Sprague] can work for free. He is not going to work under the payroll. I certified to the clerk to remove his name."

The confrontation left the House inquiry into the murders of President Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr. on shakier ground than ever. Alarmed by Sprague's ambitious $6.5 million budget and questionable investigative techniques he had proposed, the House delayed re-establishing the committee until last week and then did so only on a temporary basis, giving the panel until March 31 to settle down and come back for a permanent charter.

In a letter to other committee members, Gonzalez accused Sprague

See SPRAGUE, A17, Col. 1

11 FEB 1977

Gonzalez 'Fires' Sprague; Chief Counsel Refuses to Go

SPRAGUE, From A1

in effect of a rule or ruin approach to the investigation and protested that under the present circumstances, "there is no way that this committee can function effectively or carry out its responsibilities to the House."

"I am confident that we can carry on a successful investigation without Mr. Sprague," Gonzalez declared. "I am confident that we cannot do so with him."

"This committee has been led into a series of errors by its counsel; its work has been without organization and direction; its official reports and documents have been of wholly unacceptable quality," the chairman's letter continued. "These are matters that must be remedied if this investigation is to progress."

Sprague had no comment except to state through a spokesman, shortly after 5 p.m., that he was staying on the job because "only the committee has the power" to fire him.

According to several sources, Gonzalez had proposed at a secret committee meeting Monday that some staffers be dismissed temporarily because the committee's present funding is only $84,000 a month and its payroll amounts to $123,000 a month. A decison was postponed to Tuesday so that Sprague could be heard. He opposed the move, pointing out that many staffers had already taken a voluntary 35 per cent pay cut.

No vote was taken but it was clear that Sprague had a majority of the committee on his side.

25 JAN 1977

ASSASSINATION PANEL FACING BUDGET TRIM

House Majority Leader Predicts Inquiry Will Be Continued, but Not With 'Grandoise' Funds

By DAVID BURNHAM
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 24—Representative Jim Wright, the House majority leader, predicted today that the House Assassination Committee would be continued but that its budget would be "considerably curbed below the grandiose figures that have been bandied about."

Mr. Wright added that Representative Henry B. Gonzalez, the Texas Democrat in line to be the committee's chairman, would have to get the "reins in his hands," curb what he called the "voracious appetite" of some of the staff and guarantee that the investigating tactics and techniques of the committee would not "impinge on basic human rights."

Mr. Wright, also a Texas Democrat, made his comments at a luncheon with reporters and editors of The New York Times one day before a resolution to re-establish the committee was scheduled to come before the House Rules Committee.

Criticism of Sprague

The majority leader further said that he personally did not believe that the committee would turn up any significant new information, although he said a minority of the House felt that the investigation was needed. "But I'm not going to vote for $6.5 million," Mr. Wright said, referring to the committee's proposed budget for the first year.

Mr. Wright's criticism of the committee's tactics referred to the initial plan of Richard A. Sprague, the committee's chief counsel and director, to use tiny hidden radios and psychological stress evaluators to test the credibility of witnesses without their knowledge.

In the face of criticism by a number of Congressmen, including Representative Don Edwards, the California Democrat who heads the House Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, the committee earlier announced that it would not use the stress evaluators.

But the record and activities of Mr. Sprague, a former first assistant district attorney from Philadelphia, has been one factor in the increasing Congressional concern about the proposed investigation of the assassinations of President Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

A new controversy involving Mr. Sprague has come to light concerning his report a little more than three years ago that he had not found sufficient evidence of corruption to recommend the establishment of a special grand jury while he was serving as a special prosecutor in a county near Philadelphia.

Deputy Attorney General Disagreed

Ten months later, a special deputy attorney general in Pennsylvania said in a confidential report that there were indications of extortion, bribery, election fraud, bid rigging and related crime in the same county, and recommended the appointment of an independent prosecutor and grand jury.

Although the Attorney General of Pennsylvania, Robert P. Kane, did not act on the report of his special deptuy, Walter M. Phillips Jr., a string of reports of corruption in Delaware County by the State Crime Commission and anongoing Federal investigation of political corruption there provide at least some support to the conclusion of the Phillips report.

Mr. Sprague, in response to an inquiry, said the only real difference between the two reports was the legal judgement "that I did not feel there was sufficient evidence to meet the legal requirement for creating an investigating grand jury and Mr. Phillips felt there was."

Mr. Sprague also said the two reports were not contemperaneous because most of his investigation of Delaware County had been completed two years before his report was made public in the fall of 1974.

Accompanied by two committee staff officials during an interview, Mr. Sprague also strongly criticized The New York Times for publishing an article that cited a number of occasions in which the Pennsylvania Crime Commission, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court and a report prepared by the Philadelphia Crime Commission had criticized several of his official actions while serving as the first assistant district attorney of Philadelphia.

Mr. Sprague charged that the article had not been a "fair presentation" and "obviously was intended to smear me."

on Post Foreign Service

. 24—The Boeing Corp. n a growing controversy which the Seattle plane is reported to have paid millions of dollars in nge for the Egyptian na- to buy four overpriced 707 jets.

the planes to Egyptair 46 million. $6 million ieve that other airlines or similar equipment at , according to the Egyp- ecutor.

onsultant to the airline

...was given immunity on charges of taking kickbacks for his part in the transaction has admitted receiving $150,000 for his part in the deal and has implicated others whom he says received more.

Two former Cabinet ministers have been named as suspects in the case but have not been arrested. One of them, former Civil Aviation Minister Ahmed Nouh, has told Cairo newspapers that he will turn over documents that incriminate other prominent personalities if he is prosecuted.

No member of President Anwar Sadat's current Cabinet has been implicated in the so-called Boeing affair, nor have any of his close advisers. But the scandal clearly comes at a bad time for the president, contributing to the atmosphere of popular dissatisfaction and resentment against the government that boiled over into last week's food-price riots.

The controversy recalls the scandals involving payoffs on airplane deals by the Lockheed Aircraft Corp. to officials in Japan, Canada and several countries in Europe.

The Egyptair consultant, Hilmy Shams, a former pilot, has admitted taking a bribe from Boeing and has been jailed.

See BOEING, A13, Col. 3

...European war, according to a Pentagon memo to the White House.

The memo was sent in the last days of the Ford administration to the White House National Security Council for President Carter's consideration, according to the Associated Press. "Performance rates in previous wars are too slow," said the memo in calling for a streamlined draft system for wartime.

Under the plan, 20-year-olds would participate in an annual lottery to determine in what order they would be called if war came. The system would be run by reservists attached to 66 re-

See DEFENSE, A6, Col. 3

"midyear" to discuss common economic and political strategies. European sources said the meeting would probably be held in London in May.

• Said Secretary of State Cyrus Vance would announce new American initiatives to resolve the Cyprus conflict between Greece and Turkey in Washington on Tuesday.

• Said the Carter administration would support steps to bring Spain into the NATO alliance when its government takes such an initiative.

• Said he had "no knowledge" of the future status of NATO commanding Gen. Alexander Haig, the former Nixon White House aide with whom

See MONDALE, A6, Col. 1

25 JAN 1977

House Cools on Assassinations Probe

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

When the House Select Committee on Assassinations was handed its proposed $6.5 million budget last month, it was done with a professional flair suggesting that every penny's worth had been painstakingly studied and justified.

In fact, it hadn't even been added up until a day and a half before it was presented to committee members Dec. 9 for their ritual approval.

"Any cut, in my opinion, would make the task impossible," chief counsel Richard A. Sprague intoned at the hearing that morning when Rep. Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) pressed him for a hint of where a few dollars might be saved.

No one need coax Sprague for any more hints. His budget is going to be cut, willy-nilly, perhaps by more than 50 per cent. The more immediate question is whether the committee's

News Analysis

ambitious inquiry into the deaths of President Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. will be allowed to proceed at all.

The change in the mood of the House since it authorized the investigation last September by a vote of 280 to 65 has been remarkable.

The committee's sponsors will ask the House Rules Committee today to clear for floor action later this week a broadly worded resolution re-creating the committee. Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.), the chairman-designate, said yesterday that he simply hopes to see the resolution survive without any "crippling amendments."

Some restrictions in the name of due process seem likely. There is also talk among some members of requiring the committee to examine the existing evidence first.

Its investigators have been sent to Mexico City. It has talked of leads in Portugal. But just a few blocks away,

See INQUIRY, A6, Col. 5

Snowfall Puts Icy Glaze Back On Area Roads

By Robert Meyers
and Martin Weil
Washington Post Staff Writers

Snow swirled into the Washington metropolitan area again yesterday, giving some downtown streets little more than a light dusting, but accumulating as much as three and four inches in outlying areas.

Highway officials in many sections, taking into account predictions that the snow would end early today and temperatures begin to rise, were relatively optimistic about prospects for the morning rush hour.

However, a Virginia highway engineer urged extreme caution, warning that primary roads would be slick and secondaries "all ice and snow" in the morning. He recommended snow tires and chains for all roads, despite last night's spreading of salt and sand.

Yesterday's storm, arriving just before the evening rush hour, caused fender-bender accidents, minor traffic congestion and suburban snowball fights.

It also caused the early closing of outlying offices and stores.

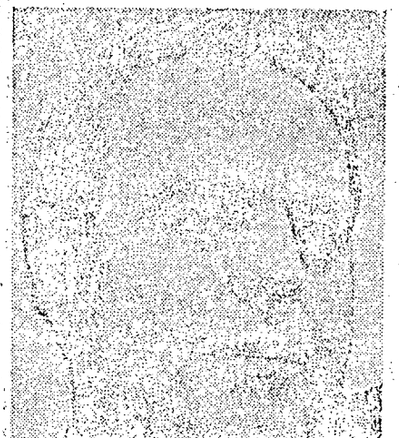
National Weather Service forecaster Harold Hess estimated late last night that accumulations had reached about 1½ inches in parts of the District, two inches in suburban areas and three to four inches in western Loudoun County.

Ex-Aide Testifies Edwards Given Cash by Park

By Dan Morgan and Scott Armstrong
Washington Post Staff Writers

A former aide to Louisiana Gov. Edwin W. Edwards told a federal grand jury yesterday that South Korean businessman Tongsun Park gave Edwards $20,000 in cash for his 1972 gubernatorial campaign.

Clyde Vidrine, who worked with Edwards throughout the campaign and subsequently lived in the...



Carter Seeks Halt To All Testing of Nuclear Devices

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Carter, in the first interview of his administration, has announced extensive arms control proposals including an immediate halt to all atomic testing and substantial reduction in U.S. and Soviet nuclear might.

In an interview with the Associated

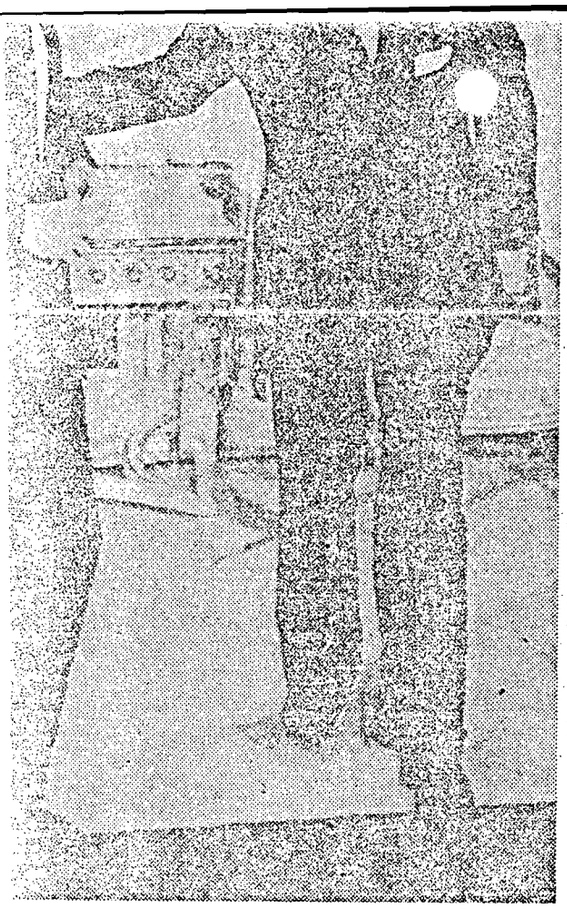
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United Press International

left, meets with Belgian Prime Minister Leo Tindemans.

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Therefore, the report added, NATO "is confronted with the prospect of warning calculable in days, not weeks or months."

Asserting that "we are neither suggesting any intention on the part of the Soviets to invade Western Europe nor predicting an invasion," the report said NATO nations must face the new facts of what the Soviets could do in a war and adjust their forces accordingly.

No longer is it an attractive option to use tactical nuclear weapons to stop an invader if conventional defenses collapse, the report said, because the Soviet Union's tactical nuclear weapons are now "more destructive and longer-ranged than NATO's."

Also, said the report, Warsaw Pact forces are better prepared than NATO's to fight on a battlefield where tactical nuclear weapons have been used.

The changed situation, the report said, dictates that NATO nations streamline mobilization procedures; strengthen NATO conventional forces along the NATO line, especially the center, and move them closer to the front; improve their ability to communicate with one another; store ammunition, and more of it, closer to combat units, and change war planning to reckon with the likelihood of getting little warning of a Communist attack.

Breakfast Test Lays an Egg

United Press International

In case you don't know how long it takes to fry two eggs for breakfast, the federal government spent nearly $46,000 to find out.

It takes exactly 838 time measurement units, or TMUs if you prefer. That finding by researchers at the Agriculture Department yesterday won Sen. William Proxmire's "Golden Fleece" award for January.

INQUIRY, From A1

at the National Archives, there some 40 feet of shelf space loaded down with the physical evidence of the Kennedy assassination—clothing, bullets, photographs, a rifle — still waiting to be tested and analyzed by the committee.

"We're worse off now than if no investigation had been authorized," said author Harold Weisberg, a longstanding critic of the government's investigations of both the Kennedy and King assassinations.

"This committee hasn't been conducting an investigation," Weisberg charged. "It's been engaged in promoting itself. It's been engaged in trying to justify an appropriation which is not only unjustified but, if granted, would have been counterproductive."

Sprague proposed a staff of 170 persons. Weisberg maintains that "you cannot have effective communication with a staff that large."

At this point, the committee, which built up a staff of 73 before it had to stop hiring, has no official existence. The Rules Committee is scheduled to consider the assassination panel's reestablishment today, with floor action expected later in the week.

The prevailing wisdom, which could shift abruptly, seems to be that it is too late for the House to try to put the cap back on the bottle of conspiratorial rumors and theories about the two assassinations which were promised congressional scrutiny last September. To squelch the inquiry now, even for the best of motives, might seem a blatant cover-up.

"I'm sure the Hill is loaded with people who have all kinds of doubts (about the investigation)," said Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.), chairman of the House Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights.

Edwards, whose subcommittee took sworn testimony in 1975 on the FBI's destruction of evidence in the Kennedy case, was one of the first to express concern about the current investigation in light of Sprague's plans to buy hidden radio transmitters, polygraphs, psycychological stress evaluators and other gadgets.

But despite the spreading skepticism, Edward said, "I think it'll go through in some modified form."

The center of contention is Sprague: his methods, his judgment, his temperament. An unsettling catalogue of many of the problems involved can be found in a 2½-year-old report to the Citizens Crime Commission of Philadelphia, where Sprague, a career prosecutor, had been first assistant district attorney for eight years.

The 60-page study, conducted for a newly elected, incoming DA by consultant Charles H. Rogovin under a Law Enforcement Assistance Administration grant, complimented Sprague for being "without doubt one of the most skilled prosecutors in the country," but was less enthusiastic about other qualities.

The report was highly critical of Sprague's "total dominance over all activities of the district attorney's office," said the administration of the office was best described as 'chaos," and attacked its "primitive approach to budgeting practices" and its weak financial controls.

At another point, the study said that the office's investigative work occasionally constituted "a search for targets of opportunity, rather than action undertaken pursuant to a strategic plan."

Echoes of those same complaints keep coming up on Capitol Hill, where Sprague insisted upon, and was granted, "complete authority" over hiring and firing of personnel on the assassinations committee.

He quickly asserted himself in an opening blitz of public statements, television and newspaper interviews, and even policy pronouncements about what the committee would and would not do. Critics such as Rep. Robert E. Bauman (R-Md.) charged angrily that Sprague had "virtually assumed the role of chairman of the committee."

Meanwhile, the committee, with Sprague doubling as chief counsel and staff director, spent itself into trouble. It got $150,000—for a projected staff of 28 persons—shortly after it was created in September. But it wound up the year with a staff of 73.

None is being paid at present. Nor is any of the committee's creditors. The committee must be re-established first. But even then, under the rules of the House, it will be limited, until it gets a new budget, to spending no more than it spent in December.

Committee officials say that amounts to $84,000. According to a compilation Jan. 10 by the clerk of the House, the total is really only $67,797. Neither amount is enough to meet the committee's full-month payroll of $115,000, let alone any other bills. Committee staffers are planning to take a voluntary pay cut until the crisis is resolved.

The proposed $6.5 million budget, which is certain to be slashed, poses other questions.

Described by Sprague as an exercise in sheer frugality, a "bare-bones . . . bare-bottom . . . minimal" figure, it calls, among other things, for $1,248,000 in domestic travels by its attorneys and investigators alone and $42,900 for bringing witnesses to Washington.

Put another way, that suggests a total of 24 trips to outlying precincts by House sleuths for every witness brought back to the nation's capital to enlighten the electorate at public hearings.

The budget also includes $180,000 for overseas travel, but before traveling abroad, Weisberg and others (such as former Warren Commission lawyer David Belin) contend, "You've got to establish the basic facts of each homicide first. They haven't done it yet. They don't know what they're investigating yet."

Chairman-designate Gonzalez professes now to be fully aware that the budget he and the rest of its members endorsed just last month is unrealistic. He says he is fully prepared, once the committee is re-established, to cut the spending proposal back to the "irreductible minimum."

Adaptable to the changing mood, Gonzalez even scoffs at the $1.8 million in proposed overall travel expenses.

"It's inconceivable to me that I would go to anybody and say I need $1.8 million for future travel without saying where I'm going," Gonzalez says now.

But the real question, he maintains, is the basic re-establishment of the committee, the issue expected to come before the House this week. On that score, there is suddenly a widespread ambivalence.

Rep. Richard Bolling (D-Mo.) reflects the uncertainty as well as anyone. A key member of the House Rules Committee, Bolling was responsible for squelching the inquiry when it first came up for a hearing last spring. He opposed it in the name of the Kennedy family.

But then he was "converted" last summer on the basis of information about the King assassination presented to him by Del. Walter E. Fauntroy (D-D.C.) and the Congressional Black Caucus.

Now, Bolling says candidly, he doesn't know what to think.

At this point, he said late last week, "I don't know what's going to happen in the Rules Committee Tuesday and I don't know what I'm going to do. I haven't had a chance to read enough to be sure of some things that may seem obvious to others."

IN FOCUS

Assassination Prober Learns Washington Realities

By Jeremiah O'Leary
Washington Star Staff Writer

Dick Sprague blew into town a few months ago like the tough new kid on the block determined to stake out his turf as chief counsel of the House Select Committee on Assassinations.

But he's beginning to get the picture that Washington is a much tougher league than the rough-and-tumble politics of Pennsylvania. He's playing hardball now with some people who aren't about to give him what he wants — the blank check he thought he had when he was hired to get the final answers to the murders of President John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Richard A. Sprague, 52, victor in thousands of Philadelphia courtroom battles and political squabbles and the nationally prominent prosecutor in the Joseph (Jock) Yablonski murder cases, has never dodged controversy. He almost seems to relish it. But now he is embroiled in a battle involving elected members of the House of Representatives who are feeling their post-Watergate oats. The next few weeks will determine whether the House committee will die aborning or be permitted to get on with the two-year assassinations probe.

SPRAGUE IS AT the center of this controversy and he has clearly rubbed some influential House members the wrong way. He hasn't said in so many words that he will undertake the assassination probe only on his own terms but he has certainly given that impression. He is also caught in a minefield of his own making about the cost of the investigation and about the guidelines and electronic devices his investigators will use.

Sprague is tough, but can he buck the system?

Like many other newcomers to Capitol Hill, Sprague has made tactical errors. One of these was at the outset when he required that he be named both chief counsel and director of the committee. Then he fell into the pattern of upstaging members of the assassinations committee — although this was natural enough since he knew more answers than the committee did and he draws a crowd when the press is around.

Even the easygoing former committee chairman, Thomas N. Downing, D-Va., seemed astonished when Sprague dropped his biggest bombshell at an open hearing: the $6.5 million price tag for the first year of operations and a projected cost of $13 million over the two-year span.

THE COMMITTEE approved Sprague's budget but was out of its depth when Sprague disclosed that he intended to use hidden radio transmitters, recording devices on some staff phones, polygraph machines and even voice stress evaluators to measure the truthfulness of witnesses' statements.

Henry B. Gonzalez, D-Tex., who is to be chairman of the committee, has been forced into the position of carrying the fight for reconstituting the committee to the Rules Committee and the full membership of the House. Gonzalez, who is wise in the ways of the House, is in the uncomfortable role of selling the investigation to his peers and assuring critics that Sprague's investigators will not become a legislative CIA with their evaluators, lie detectors, tape recorders and hidden mikes.

The central figure in the current dispute has the size and appearance of a retired welterweight fighter. His hair is longish at the back of his neck and tends to curl as if he had just emerged from the shower. His eyes protrude slightly but they project the self-confidence that exudes from his every pore. Dress Sprague in a black shirt and broad-brimmed fedora and you've got Nathan Detroit. Put him in a courtoom and you've got a ringwise legal bulldog. Place him in locker room and you've got a small version of Vince Lombardi.

See SPRAGUE, E-20

SPRAGUE

Continued From A-1

OVER IN THE OLD FBI Fingerprint Building, a sleazy annex used for bottom-dwelling House units, Sprague is the undisputed boss of the 73 employes hired so far. Like Sprague, the committee staff is in a legislative limbo until the House decides to give the chief counsel the tools he says he must have, or dilutes both the budget and the investigative techniques Sprague has proposed, or kills off the committee entirely.

In an effort to defuse criticism, the committee staff — from Sprague on down — earlier this week offered to take a 35 percent temporary pay cut while the panel's budget is debated.

Sprague runs a tight ship and demands not good but excellent performance. When things don't go just right, staffers speak in awe of Sprague's sharp tongue.

While Downing was chairman, Sprague dominated the committee but in a deferential way. Gonzalez is an affable, gregarious man but he is Washington-wise as Sprague is not. Gonzalez' role has essentially become that of the mediator between Sprague and House critics of the assassinations committee battle plan. It will be up to Gonzalez to get the votes for bringing the committee back to legal status and he can only do that by restricting Sprague to the satisfaction of the House of Representatives.

"HE'S A COMPETENT lawyer with a great reputation. But he used to handle 'sure-pop' cases. And he always took personal care of his public relations," said one Philadelphia legal figure.

"There's no way I'd let him in my chicken house," said a Philadelphia official who tangled with Sprague.

An FBI man who worked the prosecution of Tony Boyle and the other Yablonski conspirators, said, "He was very demanding, unrelenting in court and he came on streng with us and with the jury. But we gave him a real pat case on a hit made by some ignorant hillbillies who left a trail like an elephant with a nosebleed in a snowstorm."

Sprague was born in Baltimore but has lived and worked in Philadelphia since World War II. In that war, he was an enlisted sailor in the submarine service. Afterwards he got his B.S. from Temple University and his law degree at the University of Pennsylvania. Both his parents are psychoanalysts and are still living. Sprague has been divorced for many years, is on excellent terms with his two children but refuses to discuss his personal life except to say that he has a girl friend.

Sprague has been criticised on the Yablonski case for being too extravangant in the long sequence of federal and state trials.

His repsonse: "There were nine defendants when the Yablonski trials began in 1970 and the whole thing cost $440,000. I got the state of Pennsylvania to reimburse Washington County. The FBI and the police paid their own expenses. The City of Philadelphia paid for me because the DA had asked me to take on the prosecution. One decision I made cost some money but was important to the prosecution. I decided to keep the defendants separate from one another throughout so they couldn't get together on their stories and that cost some money in travel. One of them was a woman and for a while we had to keep her in a place that was in a resort area but that ended when we found a deserted farm house for her to stay in."

It is generally acknowledged that Sprague did a brilliant job on the Yablonski case, both with the investigative aspects and as a bulldog prosecutor. FBI agents did not find him easy to get along with because he made a lot of demands that they had to clear with their headquarters in Washington.

SPRAGUE RECENTLY got into a hassle with the FBI about the bureau's request to National Archives for access to some test bullets fired from the rifle of Lee Harvey Oswald in 1963. The FBI had been given a mashed bullet that a Texas man said he found two years ago with a metal detector within 61 paces of the spot where President Kennedy was shot to death.

Sprague at first opposed giving the FBI the test bullets, expressing concern for the integrity of the evidence. It is more likely that his nose was slightly out of joint because the FBI asked for the test bullets from Archives without clearing it with him first.

Now Sprague says in a conciliatory way that the FBI can have the test bullets for comparison with the new Dallas bullet if one of his people is there to ensure the chain of custody. But meantime, outgoing Atty. Gen. Edward Levi has written to Gonzalez that, as far as he is concerned, the assassinations committee can have no access to Justice Department or FBI records or evidence until it is reconstituted by the House. Until then, Levi wrote, Sprague and his staff are "unauthorized persons."

WHAT HAPPENS NOW depends on the Rules Committee and the House itself. Rep. Don Edwards, D-Calif., is demanding assurances from Gonzalez that Sprague and his staff will not run roughshod over the constitutional rights of Americans with their transmitters, tape recorders, polygraphs and stress evaluators. Gonzalez, who would like to get on with the probe without further controversy, is telling anyone who will listen that Sprague and company will have to operate within proper legal guidelines.

The probabilities are:

- The Rules Committee hearings will impose checks on Sprague that he never expected when he took the job.
- The House, in the end, will permit the investigation to proceed but at some lesser cost than $6.5 million for the first year.
- Faced with the difference between the Washington reality and the free-wheeling folkways of Philadelphia, Sprague will adjust his ego and carry on with what he has started rather than quit.
- The Kennedy-King reopener may not result in any different basic answers than that Oswald and James Earl Ray were the killers, operating alone, but it could shed lots of light on hundreds of murky questions that were not answered by the Warren Commission or Ray's now-repudiated confession.

O'Neill Doubtful On Funding of JFK-King Probe

United Press International

Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill predicted yesterday that the House would not reconstitute a special committee studying assassinations even if its backers reduced a planned budget request by as much as $2.5 million.

"I see in the paper they're thinking of cutting back their request now to $4 million," O'Neill told reporters. "I would hope they cut it back much more, much lower than $4 million."

The Massachusetts Democrat said a resolution to reconstitute the panel created last year to investigate the killings of President John F. Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. would come before the House next Wednesday if it clears the Rules Committee by then.

The committee last year endorsed a budget request for the new Congress of $6.5 million a year for two years, and the planned $13 million spending resulted in opposition to continuing the committee, even at last year's spending level, through March until a new budget could be approved.

"This House isn't going for any of the sums they've been talking about and it won't go for the systems they've suggested either," said O'Neill.

The "systems" referred to an earlier plan, now abandoned, to seek approval of equipment to secretly monitor and record telephone conversations.

Well-founded reservations

14 JAN 1977
Star

It appears that a good many House members have some reservations about the Kennedy-King assassinations investigation authorized in the waning weeks of the 94th Congress, as well they might.

If the budget proposed by chief counsel Richard Sprague is approved, the investigation will cost $13 million over a two-year period. Some of the investigative methods proposed recently by Mr. Sprague are questionable. And some critics are concerned lest the investigation get beyond the assassinations and turn into another probe of the FBI and the CIA.

House leaders tried last week to get the Select Committee on Assassinations re-established in the new Congress by voice vote without debate but were stymied by objections from Rep. Robert Bauman, R-Md.

Then the leaders planned to bring it up this past Tuesday under a suspension of the rules, which also would have limited debate and prohibited amendments to the authorizing legislation. But in the face of growing protest over the cost, methods and scope, the leadership decided to follow the more normal channel of routing the authorizing resolution through the Rules Committee which, unless there is some other finagling, will open the resolution to full discussion and possible amendment.

Trying to find new scent in the cold trails of the John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr. assassinations has been a questionable operation from the start. It certainly does not seem worth $13 million. The grandiose probe envisioned by Mr. Sprague would have 170 people sifting the ashes of past investigations and trying to turn up something new.

Some questions have arisen, too, about Mr. Sprague, who was described the other day by Ron Sarro of *The Star* as "tough, abrasive and sometimes unorthodox." Mr. Sprague's original plan to use lie detectors, electronic eavesdropping devices and equipment that evaluates stress in a person's voice summons up fears of investigative methods in the executive branch that have been condemned by many congressional committees in the post-Watergate era.

Rep. Timothy Wirth, D-Colo., has asked that the Select Committee on Assassinations inform the House how the chief counsel was selected, and he suggested that Mr. Sprague be required to file a "full financial disclosure" statement with the committee. Considering that the investigation would be the most extensive and costly in congressional history, Mr. Wirth's request that the House know more about the man who would direct it does not seem unreasonable.

Nor is it unreasonable that language be written into the resolution re-establishing the committee to prevent it from going too far afield.

Was sufficient thought given last year to the proposal to reopen the assassination investigations? The matter ought to be fully explored before the select committee and Mr. Sprague go any further.

14 JAN 1977

Star

House Puts Off Vote

Rebuff to Slaying Probe Staff

By Ron Sarro
Washington Star Staff Writer

Most of the 73 investigators, lawyers and clerical people on the staff of the House Select Committee on Assassinations gathered in the old FBI fingerprint building late yesterday to discuss the collective kick in the pants they had just been given on the House floor.

Chief Counsel and Staff Director Richard A. Sprague — who has become a center of controversy over re-establishing the committee for the 95th Congress — gave the staff a sort of a George Allen pep talk about singleness of purpose, toughing it out and hanging in there together.

"To a person, they decided to work on until a final resolution of the issue is made by the House. . . . They are a professional group of people who came here for a purpose," reported Deputy Chief Counsel Stephen Fallis.

And what of the tough, abrasive and sometimes unorthodox Philadelphia lawyer who successfully prosecuted the killers of Joseph (Jock) Yablonski? What of Sprague? "He's committed to continue the investigation," said Fallis.

SIGNIFICANTLY, the room used for the meeting at the old FBI building at 2nd and D Streets SW didn't have any furniture. It may never have, either, unless proponents of the reopening of the investigations of President John F. Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. mend some fences, particularly on the issue of Sprague.

The mushrooming controversy over Sprague, his investigative methods, the scope of his probe, and his near-demand that the committee be funded at the level of $6.5 million a year forced Democratic leaders yesterday to cancel a vote on the House floor to authorize the committee's work during the 95th Congress.

"A good many members raised the question of bringing it up under suspension of the rules," Wright said. Under that procedure, the resolution to re-establish the committee could not have been amended to put limits on Sprague's investigative techniques or any other aspect of the committee's work. The House would have had to take it or leave it.

"Rather than try to cram this thing down the throats of the members, we have decided to go to the Rules Committee" with a resolution to re-establish the committee, House Majority Leader Jim Wright explained.

THE RULES Committee legislative route is the more conventional way of conducting House business and would allow the House to restrict the committee's work, but the process could delay action several weeks. Predictions were that some form of limited investigative authority would result.

Wright said there was some "alarm" about the money the committee wants and some other "reservations" among House Democrats. He added that he has been informed by House Republican Leader John J. Rhodes of Arizona that "a great many of their members have many questions."

Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez, D-Tex., who is expected to be named the new chairman of the committee and therefore its chief defender, acknowledged after yesterday's action that Sprague had become almost the single issue and that some members were urging him to fire the chief counsel.

"There have been a few insinuations, I wouldn't say demands. . . . But I say don't shoot the piano player, he is doing his best up to now," Gonzalez said.

Gonzalez, who would replace retired Rep. Thomas Downing as committee chairman, said he hopes to use the delay in House consideration of the resolution to clear up what he considers misunderstandings, "innuendoes" and unnecessary reservations about the committee's work.

"I INHERITED some of these things," said Gonzalez. "I never had a fair chance. . . . I'm like a prize fighter who gets knocked out even before he gets into the ring."

For the past week, Gonzalez has been assuring congressmen, both personally and in writing, that the committee members would adopt strict rules which would restrict the conduct of staff investigators. However, yesterday's action showed his efforts so far have not been enough, and that many members want restrictions written into the committee's authorization.

The committee was established last September to try to resolve lingering public doubts about the official investigations into the assassinations of Kennedy and King. Officially, the committee went out of business Jan. 3, but it continues to function on an interim basis. But what would have been a routine reconstitution of the committee has not become a major issue.

House concern about the committee stems from requests by Sprague's staff to use such investigative techniques as lie detectors, electronic eavesdropping devices and equipment which evaluates the stress in a person's voice, as well as the $6.5 million the staff wants.

A KEY COMMITTEE staff member said last night that it has never been Sprague's intention to abuse the equipment. "We would not record anybody's statement without their consent. . . . There would be no polygraph or voice stress analysis without the full consent of the person involved." The staffer continued that the results of such tests would never be published or made known, and would be used for investigative research only.

New Assassination Panel Is Blocked

By DAVID BURNHAM

Special to The New York Times

JAN 1977

WASHINGTON, Jan. 11—Faced with growing objections to the proposed scope, budget and methods of the Select Committee on Assassinations, the leadership of the House leadership today withdrew from immediate consideration a resolution to re-establish the committee.

The decision, by Representative Jim Wright of Texas, the Democratic leader, came just before the House was scheduled to meet and after the Republican Conference agreed to oppose consideration of the resolution under procedures that sharply limit debate and require a two-thirds majority for approval.

Mr. Wright said he was not sure that the resolution would have passed if it had been brought up today but that the leadership would seek to re-establish the committee in two or three weeks under more time-consuming procedures that require only a simple majority for approval.

'Legitimate Concern'

In a related development, Representative Timothy E. Wirth, Democrat of Colorado, placed a statement in the record demanding to know how the committee chose its general counsel, Richard A. Sprague, and suggesting that he be required to make "a full financial disclosure to the select committee, if not to the House."

Mr. Wirth said that normally the selection of a committee staff should be left to the chairman and members of a committee, but because this particular panel was investigating the killings of President Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the "selection of the committee's chief staffperson is a matter of legitimate concern to this body."

Representative Henry B. Gonzalez, the Texas Democrat who will probably be appointed the committee chairman if and when it is re-established, said he felt like "a guy who has been slugged before he has a chance to get into the ring and fight."

Mr. Gonzalez criticized an article in The New York Times on Jan. 2 about Mr. Sprague as "a journalistic vendetta dredged from the turgid and murky waters of big city politics" involving matters that he said occurred more than 10 years ago.

Article Cited Criticisms

The Times article cited a number of occasions, some as recent as 1973 and 1974, when official bodies such as the Pennsylvania Crime Commission, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court and the Pennsylvania Attorney General criticized the actions and judgment of Mr. Sprague, who was for years the first assistant district attorney in Philadelphia.

A criticism of the select committee, voiced today during the House Republican Conference, concerned its scope of investigation. According to two members of the conference—Representatives Robert H. Michel of Illinois and Robert E. Bauman of Maryland—the proposed resolution re-establishing the committee would permit it to investigate far more than only the assassinations of President Kennedy and Dr. King.

"With the proposed mandate, that committee could begin a whole new investigation of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation," Mr. Michel said.

House Showdown on Assassinations Inquiry Called Off

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House Select Committee on Assassinations was left without official status again yesterday when House Democratic leaders hurriedly withdrew a bill re-establishing the committee for the next two years.

House Majority Leader Jim Wright (D-Tex.) said there had been complaints from "a good many members" about the committee's proposed budget and methods.

"So we decided, instead of trying to cram it down their throats and rush it through, to do it in an orderly way," Wright explained.

A resolution reconstituting the committee for the 95th Congress had been scheduled for floor consideration at noon under suspension-of-the-rules procedures. These would have limited debate, prohibited any amendments, and required two-thirds approval of those present and voting.

With the outcome highly uncertain, Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.), who is expected to become the committee's new chairman, signaled House leaders at 11:45 a.m. to call off the showdown.

"At 11:45, we got word that the Republican Conference had a big donnybrook on this. Our [Democratic] picture was cloudy," Gonzalez said later. "It looked like trouble . . . By 11:45, my firm recommendation was not to bring it up."

Backers of the committee, which was established last fall to investigate the murders of President Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., will now take their resolution to the House Rules Committee. Approval there would send the bill to the House floor under normal procedures requiring only a simple majority. Wright said he doubted this could be done before next week.

A committee official said yesterday afternoon that the 73-member staff is facing a budgetary crisis in any event. Even if a new resolution reconstituting the inquiry is adopted this month, the committee will still have to wait until next month, or longer, to win a new budget.

Until that is approved, according to the official, the committee can spend no more than $84,000 a month, the amount he said was paid out in December for salaries and other bills. However, he said, since many staffers were hired during the month of December, the staff payroll alone now amounts to $115,000 a month.

Chief counsel Richard A. Sprague held a meeting with the staff yesterday afternoon to explain the situation.

Much of the rising congressional criticism has centered on Sprague's proposed $6.5 million budget, which is certain to be cut back, and his plans for detective work such as having witnesses physically followed after they have been questioned. Rep. Tim Wirth (D-Colo.) also voiced concern yesterday about Sprague's judgment in light of some of his actions as a prosecutor in Philadelphia.

On top of all this, House Minority Leader John J. Rhodes (R-Ariz.) and Minority Whip Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.) warned GOP members at yesterday's Republican Conference to be wary of the resolution to re-establish the committee. The wording had been changed from the one adopted last fall, considerably expanding the committee's legislative intent and broadening some powers. One new clause gives committee investigators the authority to take sworn statements.

Rep. Robert E. Bauman (R-Md.) first blocked adoption of the resolution last week when it was brought up under unanimous consent procedures. He told the House yesterday he hopes it will come back under an open rule so members can offer amendments to "circumscribe the activities of the staff and the scope of the investigation."

To a reporter, Bauman charged later that Sprague was turning the investigation into a "circus" and suggested that the controversy "might be" resolved if Sprague quit.

Gonzalez told reporters he has heard "a few insinuations" along that line, but only a few.

Assassination Panel May Have to Defuse Some Stiff Criticism

11 JAN 1977

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House Select Committee on Assassinations may have to stave off some stiff criticism on the House floor today in its effort to win new life in the 95th Congress.

Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.), who is expected to become the new chairman of the committee, said last night that he may even seek to withdraw the resolution reviving the committee. The decision will depend on a final head count in the morning.

Gonzalez acknowleged that the resolution might not have the needed two-thirds majority because of "erroneous impressions" that have built up about the committee's investigation in recent weeks.

If the resolution does come up as scheduled, Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.), chairman of the House subcommittee on constitutional rights, said he intends to press for detailed assurances that the civil liberties of those who come under investigation or who are sought as witnesses by the Assassinations Committee will be properly safeguarded.

"I'm just trying to make sure we're not creating a monster here," Edwards said.

After a meeting with Edwards yesterday afternoon, Gonzalez specifically disavowed some of the plans announced by the chief counsel of the Assassinations Committee, Richard A. Sprague. Gonzalez indicated he would have vetoed them if he had been chairman from the outset.

"My own feeling is that many questions have been raised concerning issues I had nothing to do with," Gonzalez told a reporter. The committee was created last September to investigate the assassinations of President Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr. Rep. Thomas N. Downing (D-Va.), who has now retired from the House, was appointed chairman.

Since then, sharp objections have been raised to a number of the Assassinations Committee's proposed purchases and investigating techniques. With Downing still chairman, the committee staff recently sought approval to buy five suction-cup devices that are used to tape-record telephone conversations. In another letter submitted under Downing's name, the committee sought authority to install "transmitter cutoff arrangements for listening in purposes on two of the committee telephones."

House Administration Committee Chairman Frank Thompson Jr. (D-N.J.) rejected both of those requests, which apparently originated with the Assassinations Committee's office manager, former Downing aide Rick Feeney. Thompson said he was "unalterably opposed to the utilization of wiretap and other devices to intrude upon a citizen's right of privacy by congressional committees for investigative purposes."

Such criticisms were expected to come up on the House floor today in connection with the new resolution reestablishing the assassinations panel for the next two years. The resolution was scheduled for action under suspension-of-the-rules procedures, which prohibit any amendments but also require two-thirds approval for passage.

If the resolution is pulled off the calendar, it will have to wait for clearance by the House Rules Committee, presumably sometime later in the month, and then floor action under normal rules requiring only a simple majority. Even this would only revive the committee on a temporary basis, pending an even more spirited debate over its projected $6.5-million-a-year budget.

After his 90-minute meeting with Edwards, Gonzalez said he would press for adoption by the Assassinations Committee of rules and procedural safeguards to make clear that the panel does not intend, as Edwards has suggested, to "indulge in a temporary suspension of the Bill of Rights."

For his part, Edwards said he was satisfied that Gonzalez wants to conduct "a low-key, responsible investigation."

Emphasizing that he was speaking for just himself at this point, Gonzalez not only disavowed the telephone gadgetry that Thompson disapproved, but he also expressed distaste for some of the equipment chief counsel Sprague wants to purchase, such as two "mind-phone recording devices."

The $2,200 kits feature tiny transmitters that can be hidden in the clothing of committee investigators. Sprague has denied that they would be used to make secret tape-recordings. But he insisted that the equipment would be needed for "certain surveillance activities."

Correction

Because some type was dropped from a story in Monday's editions, there was an error in reporting the committee assignments of Maryland's two U.S. senators. Sen. Paul S. Sarbanes (D-Md.) has temporarily been assigned to the Appropriations and Interior committees while Sen. Charles Mac. Mathias Jr. (R-Md.) intends to remain on the Appropriations, Judiciary and District committees.



es K. W. Atherton—The Washington Post

e-designate Cyrus R. Vance prior
e in a closed, informal session.

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"There is a general reluctance to re-
ate," the Brooks report states, and
series of letters printed as appen-
es illustrated that finding.

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(40 U.S. Code 163) to be in the
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arbara Williams, staff director of
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hard Conlon, staff director of
House Democratic Study Group,
that a move of his group to An-
2 would "seriously impair our
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available."

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Assassination Panel Faces Budget Cut

By Richard L. Lyons
Washington Post Staff Writer

Flooded with members' protests that $6.5 million a year is too much, House leaders have agreed that the Select Committee on Assassinations' budget must be drastically cut or at least broken into smaller pieces so it appears that way.

House speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. (D-Mass.) said yesterday he expects the House will vote next Tuesday to reconstitute the committee to investigate the murders of President Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. during the two years of this Congress.

O'Neill said he will appoint to the vacant chairmanship Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.), who said yesterday he favors a "gradual and orderly" approach to the investigation with the committee requesting funds "step by step" rather than all in one big bite.

During its three-month life until it expired with the 94th Congress Monday, the select committee's only public activity was to approve a one-year budget of $6.5 million prepared by chief counsel Richard A. Sprague. He told members if they were going to undertake the investigation of whether the two assassins acted alone they should do the job right and that this would require a staff of 170 persons. If the probe lasted two years that would cost $13 million and be the most expensive investigation ever undertaken by Congress.

Many members returning this week for the opening of the 95th Congress, said they couldn't vote for so much money. Democratic leaders talked with Gonzalez, who from the start had opposed putting a price tag on the investigation. He agreed to redo the budget after the committee is given new life next week.

"I don't want to put a price tag on it now," Gonzalez said yesterday. "We will be in a position to justify every cent" when the committee appears before the House Administration Com-

See COMMITTEE, A9, Col. 1

Cuts Eyed in JFK Unit Budget

COMMITTEE, From A1

mittee, which passes on investigative budgets. "Sprague is a highly experienced professional. He isn't padding it."

Gonzalez said that when Sprague first presented the $6.5 million budget to the select committee his initial reaction was "'Oh, my God.' But once he went into details I could see there was a case to be made" for the big budget. But Gonzalez said he prefers a "step-by-step approach. I'm not saying it may not eventually cost that much, but I don't want to ask for it all at once."

Rep. Samuel L. Devine (R-Ohio), senior Republican on the select committee and on the House Administration subcommittee that must initially pass on its budget, said he "wouldn't be surprised if the budget were cut by several million" if presented as it now stands.

Majority Leader Jim Wright (D-Tex.) and Minority Leader John J. Rhodes (R-Ariz.) agreed the budget figure should be reduced.

The resolution reconstituting the committee will be brought up under a procedure requiring a two-thirds vote, since the House Rules Committee has not been reconstituted to provide usual majority vote procedures.

The proposed $6,531,050 one-year budget included $3.6 million for salaries of 170 persons. The list includes a public information officer at $34,000 a year, a budget officer at $30,000 and an editor/historian at $22,000.

The $1,684,200 for domestic travel included funds for 80 attorneys/investigators to travel 10 days each month at average costs of $650 per trip. International travel for committee members and staff would total $180,000.

The proposed budget also contained funds to buy two "stress evaluators" and two "mini-phone recording devices." Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.), chairman of the House Judiciary Civil and Constitutional Rights subcommittee, wrote the assassinations panel's outgoing chairman, Thomas N. Downing (D-Va.), expressing concern lest individuals' constitutional rights be violated by bugging or other types of secret surveillance.

Gonzalez said in an interview yesterday that he shares Edwards' concern.

"I am very sensitive about intrusion on anyone's constitutional rights," said Gonzalez. "There will be no secret surveillance of any sort."

Made public yesterday was letter sent to Downing last month by Rep. Frank Thompson Jr. (D-N.J.), chairman of the House Administration Committee, rejecting a request from the select committee to install "listening-in" devices on two of its telephones. Thompson wrote Downing that for committees to monitor telephone calls without the knowledge of one party was violation of privacy and a violation of law.

Gonzalez said he was told that the letter to Thompson though signed with Downing's name was in fact sent by a staff person without knowledge of either Downing or Sprague. He said the request would not be renewed.

Gonzalez said he expected the investigation would last the full two years of the 95th Congress. He said he intended to conduct public hearings.

Assuming the House votes to extend the life of the select committee, it could then continue to spend at the December rate of about $60,000 a month until the House approves a permanent budget for it.

7 JAN 1977

Assassination Panel Is Warned on Its Techniques

JAN 1977

By DAVID BURNHAM
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5—The chairman of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights has warned that some of the proposed investigative techniques of the House Select Committee on Assassinations would be "wrong, immoral and very likely illegal."

The warning from Representative Don Edwards, Democrat of California, concerned the select committee's plans to record secretly the remarks of potential witnesses with the use of hidden body transmitters and then subject the responses to psychological stress evaluation.

"Such procedures are, to say the least, totally inappropriate for use by a Congressional committee," Mr. Edwards wrote in a confidential letter dated Dec. 16 to Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr.; Jim Wright, the House majority leader; Representative Peter W. Rodino Jr., chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, and three members of the select committee.

The use of hidden recording devices and stress evaluation techniques, Mr. Edwards said, "would constitute intentional invasions of the most fundamental rights of Americans." He added, "I believe the use of these techniques by a committee of Congress to be wrong, immoral and very likely illegal."

The committee's $6.5 million budget proposal for the first year of operations, made public in December, included $4,400 for two miniphone recording devices, $8,000 for two stress evaluators and $2,800 for two polygraph machines. In addition, the committee budget set aside $120,000 for four technicians for its proposed "polygraph-psychological stress evaluation unit."

At a news conference last Friday, Richard A. Sprague, the committee's chief counsel, told newsmen that he did not intend to tell potential witnesses that their recorded words later would be subject to stress evaluation aimed at determining whether they were telling the truth.

In addition to criticizing the proposed investigative techniques, Mr. Edwards also questioned the committee's plan to hold public hearings and the highly public role that so far has been played by Mr. Sprague.

The existence of the critical letter from Mr. Edwards became known after Representative Robert E Bauman, Republican of Maryland, objected late last night to an attempt of the House leadership to obtain unanimous consent for a resolution re-creating the committee that was initially established last September.

The effect of Mr. Bauman's objection was to leave Mr. Sprague and the committee's 72 other employees without funds for the planned two-year, $13 million investigation of the assassinations of President Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The reason was that the committee's legislative authority ended with the last Congress and must be re-enacted by the new Congress before the committee can obtain funds.

It was expected that the House leadership would seek a temporary extension of the committee until its proposed budget and other questions could be subjected to a more formal review in the next six or seven weeks. Under this procedure a unanimous vote would not necessarily be required.

A spokesman for the Select Committee on Assassinations, in response to an inquiry about Mr. Edwards's letter, referred a reporter to Representative Henry B. Gonzalez, Democrat of Texas, who is expected to become the committee's chairman when and if it is re-created.

A spokesman for Mr. Gonzalez said that if the committee were reconstituted and if Mr. Gonzalez were selected as its chairman, "the concerns expressed by Mr. Edwards would be fully considered and every effort will be made to satisfy them."

Mr. Edwards also criticized Mr. Sprague's statement that the committee would make public, chiefly through hearings, the information it developed, even if the disclosures might affect individuals or government agencies only indirectly connected to the assassinations.

"If the above procedure is actually to be employed, it seems to me that you run the risk that innocent persons might well be subject to criticisms or worse, when they have no reasonable connection with, or involvement in, the tragedies," Mr. Edwards said.

Arguing that the committee should consider publication of carefully documented reports rather than public hearings, Mr. Edwards said that "a Congressional committee must set much higher standards in protecting the rights of privacy of citizens since the protections afforded in our civil and criminal justice systems do not exist in a Congressional hearing room."

Bullet to Be Tested

DALLAS, Jan. 5 (AP)—A bullet discovered two years ago near the site of President Kennedy's assassination in 1963 will be compared with those fired from the rifle that the Warren Commission said was used to kill President Kennedy, the Federal Bureau of Investigation said.

R. H. Lester, 59 years old, a semiretired night watchman, said that he found the bullet with the use of a metal detector but did not turn it over to the bureau until last Nov. 30.

Larry L. King

Assassination Panel: Worth the Trouble?

Larry L. King is the Star's current writer in residence. His columns appear on Mondays, Wednesdays and Sundays.

Capitol Hill was so deserted on New Year's Eve you could have fired a shotgun down the halls and not hit anybody.

Unless, that is, you had aimed at Room 2325 in the Rayburn House Office Building. If you had happened to hit someone there, then likely cries of conspiracy would have been heard.

For it was there the chief counsel and members of the Select Committee on Assassinations, which unit's life was to expire at the stroke of the New Year, held a press conference in hopes of bolstering their chances of getting new life and new money when the House takes up the question tomorrow.

They are not asking for a dollar six-bits. They are asking for more than $6.5 million and 170 employes; if you want a prediction, mine is that they will be required to settle for far less.

A HIGH STAFF aide, well-connected to the Democratic leadership, said over his morning coffee, "There's a lot of skepticism in the House. The Assassination Committee is doubtlessly well-intended. But, frankly, I've heard much doubt expressed that after all these years they can find out who killed Cock Robin."

Mindful of opinion polls showing that the majority of the American people suspect conspiracies in the deaths of President Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King, the House is likely to extend the committee's life but put it on short rations. It will throw a sop, and deftly step back in case of a splatter.

The committee — particularly its chief counsel and director, Richard A. Sprague — may have been guilty of bad politics. Mr. Sprague, who as first assistant district attorney in Philadelphia put Tough Tony Boyle in jail for ordering the murder of a United Mine Workers rival, may have made a mistake in asking to address the Democratic caucus some days ago.

It violates tradition for outsiders to participate in such cozy proceedings. Sprague may have compounded the act by having talked too long; grumbles also have been heard that he talked down to the members, lecturing them in pedantic fashion that unless they gave him enough people and money to properly do the job then it shouldn't be attempted at all.

Although his message may make perfectly good sense, some members did not appreciate Mr. Sprague's manner. Someone should have warned him that the House often tends to honor form over substance.

IF THE ASSASSINATION Committee — and, again, particularly Mr. Sprague — hoped its New Year's Eve press conference might inspire enthusiasm for its costly approach, then they do not know much about leading horses to water. Here are some of Mr. Sprague's answers when asked thewhos, whats, whys, wheres and whens: "I will not get into that at this time . . . . I will not venture an opinion . . . Iwill not say from where to where (that memo was sent) . . . At this time I prefer not to answer that . . . I do not want to characterize it . . . I do not think it would be helpful for us to get into what I think . . . at this point I'll not get into a disclosure of what cocuments are involved . . . That's something we're working on right now and I think it inappropriate to comment."

That Mr. Sprague represents himself as an open mind, free of conjecture or speculation or premature conclusions, is well and good. It may even be admirable and high-minded. Again, however, he seems guilty of bad tactics. If you hold a press conference designed to help your cause (and the 11th-hour timing would so indicate) you might reasonably be expected to have something to say. Mr. Sprague may be a whiz at jailing the erring, though I suggest he has much to be modest about with respect to raising money or advertising causes.

The chief counsel even proved unwilling to say whether he might attempt to interview James Earl Ray, the confessed killer of Dr. King, who has several times recanted his confession claiming to have performed the foul deed without help; his grounds were that "If I tell you that about X, then you will ask me the same thing about Y and Z". Who, Lee Harvey Oswald? Jack Ruby? Obviously, if the investigation is to be worth a Confederate dime, then James Earl Ray must be quizzed down to the bone. Where's the harm in saying so?

Well, forgive me for getting on Mr. Sprague's case. I wish him well. There are many unresolved questions — "hundreds" in his words; "literally a thousand," according to lame-duck chairman Tom Downing, D-Va., involving, among others, the FBI and CIA.

FOR EXAMPLE — as the committee asks — did the CIA deliberately avoid furnishing critical information to the FBI which would have resulted in the surveillance of Lee Harvey Oswald prior to JFK's assassination? If so, why?

Was critical evidence withheld from the Warren Commission? If so, why?

Who and where were the FBI agents, known to have Dr. King

See KING, A-8

KING

Continued From A-3

under close surveillance, at the time he was murdered? Was this surveillance deliberately curtailed just prior to his assassination? Again, if so, why?

Were unusual transfers of personnel away from the motel where Dr. King was staying, by the Memphis fire and police departments on the night before and the day of Dr. King's assassination, deliberate or accidental and did they adversely effect security? In any case, who ordered this and what was that person's reasons?

All that's only the tip of the iceberg.

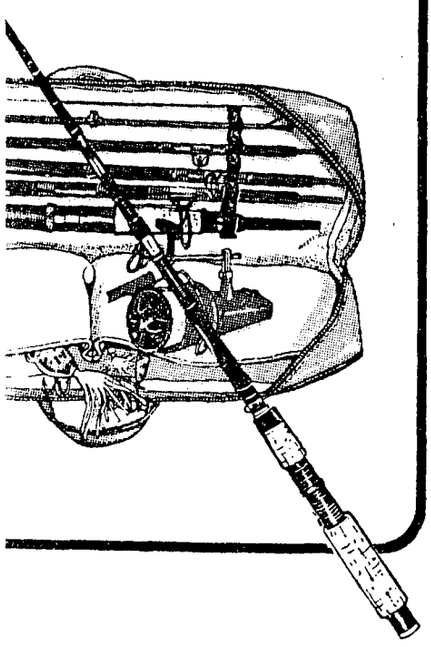
I must join House skeptics in doubting whether these and other questions ever will be fully resolved, no matter the time and the money spent. If one presumes that the CIA, FBI or other government agencies once harbored dirty little secrets of such staggering magnitude, then must not one presume that these 12 and eight years later any incriminating documents long ago were deep-sixed? Is it likely that government agents or former agents, who for all these years may have been possessed of sensational information but kept their lips sealed, now will rush forward unleashing a tumble of words?

UNLESS THE Assassination Committee is able to produce conspirators in the flesh — an unfair and next-to-impossible expectation — then many doubts shall remain in place. Americans weary of coverups and white washes and official lies probably will greet anything less than clear and clean solutions with renewed bursts of skepticism: "So they investigated and didn't turn up much; so what else is new?"

Fair or not, new frustrations after a costly and highly publicized investigation might only refuel the public anger. The mood in the House seems to be one of letting sleeping dogs lie, rather than to start new off-key barkings. You may translate this into less money, fewer employes and more limited powers than the Assassination Committee would wish.

ting goods

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counsel and director of the House committee investigating the assassinations of President Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is a former prosecutor whose judgment and actions have been subject to formal criticism on a number of occasions.

According to Representative Thomas N. Downing, chairman of the House Select Committee on Assassinations, the controversial background of Richard A. Sprague, the committee's chief counsel, was known to Congress when he was selected for the politically sensitive job of re-examining the conclusions of the previous investigations of the two killings.

The committee was established on Sept. 17 and Mr. Sprague's selection was announced two weeks later. Functioning for the last three months on a $150,000 budget, the committee now has a staff of 68 lawyers, investigators and technicians.

With the release yesterday of an interim report describing what it called important new possible leads, Mr. Sprague and the members of the committee hope to persuade the House to provide at least $13 million for a two-year investigation by a staff of 170.

Opposition to Inquiry

However, there is some opposition in the House of Representatives to the committee and some doubt about the need for the re-investigation and the size of the proposed budget. Mr. Sprague's controversial record could affect the House debate over the committee's future.

Mr. Sprague won wide acclaim for his successful prosecution of the killers of Joseph A. Yablonski, the United Mine Workers insurgent leader, and his family, and for the conviction of scores of other murderers in his 18-year career in the office of the Philadelphia District Attorney.

In a two-and-a-half-hour interview in the committee's office this week, Mr. Sprague described himself as a dedicated public servant and said that most of the criticisms of him were a result of the highly tumultous nature of Pennsylvania politics.

But an examination of official reports and records and interviews with a number of Philadelphians has uncovered at least five situations in which Mr. Sprague's official and unofficial actions have been faulted by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, the Attorney General of Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania Crime Commission and elected officials.

Three years ago, for example, the Pennsylvania Attorney General issued a two-inch thick report on Mr. Sprague's handling of a homicide case in which the son of a good friend was involved in a dispute leading to the death of a man named John Russell Applegate.

Problems Are Cited

"It is unfortunate that various matters were not properly pursued in 1963 immediately after the death of Applegate," the 1973 report concluded, citing unresolved conflicts in the testimony of key participants, additional witnesses who were not interviewed, an incomplete fingerprint search at the death scene and faulty lie-detector and blood tests.

A second controversial case involved a Philadelphia detective who worked as Mr. Sprague's chief investigator and who once trailed the husband of Mr. Sprague's girlfriend to what was alleged to be a motel rendezvous with another woman. The detective testified under oath in a divorce proceeding that he had undertaken the clandestine spying on his own time and without pay but at the request of Mr. Sprague.

Two years later, the Supreme Court issued a decision involving the same domestic squabble in which Mr. Sprague was said to have done in his office much of the legal work that led to the arrest for contempt of court of the same man who had been followed by the detective



The N

Richard A. Sprague, right, confers with Representative

a friend, for example, Mr. Sprague argued that the alleged failure to make an adequate investigation should have been directed by the Attorney General's report at the Philadelphia police and not himself, even though he was in charge of both the individual case and the District Attorney's homicide squad.

According to the Attorney's General's report on the affair, Mr. Sprague personally recommended that no charges be brought against Rocco Urella Jr. and Donald F. Scallessa, then students at LaSalle College, in the death of Mr. Applegate.

The report quoted Mr. Sprague as saying that he had handled the case at the request of Mr. Urella's father, a close friend who at that time was a captain in the Pennsylvania state police.

Louis Vignola, at the time a district magistrate, said that because he was not a lawyer he had relied on Mr. Sprague's recommendation that there was insufficient evidence to bring a murder charge in the case.

Mr. Sprague, according to the report, said that he did not believe it was improper for him to have handled this case because what the State Attorney General's report now describes as a faulty police investigation had not found any evidence that the son of his friend had contributed to Mr. Applegate's death.

Domestic Case Explained

Concerning his actions regarding the former husband of his girlfriend, Mr. Sprague said that he now understands how the use of a county detective, even if voluntary, might be subject to misunderstanding.

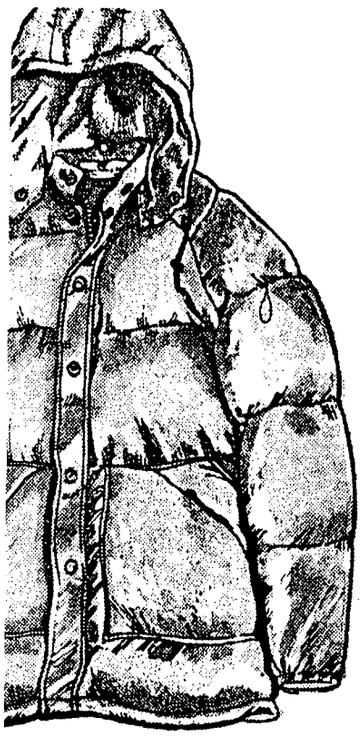
"Thinking of it subsequently, I don't think there was anything wrong with my action but it would have been wiser perhaps to have hired a private investigator," he said.

But Mr. Sprague defended his role in helping his friend obtain a contempt of court citation and criticized the Pennsylvania Supreme Court on the grounds that it had issued its opinion in the case without giving either him or the judge who signed the contempt citation an opportunity to make their case.

As for the report by the Citizens Crime Commission of Philadelphia, Mr. Sprague dismissed it as a substantively weak and politically motivated document whose publication had been arranged by the present Philadelphia District Attorney, F.

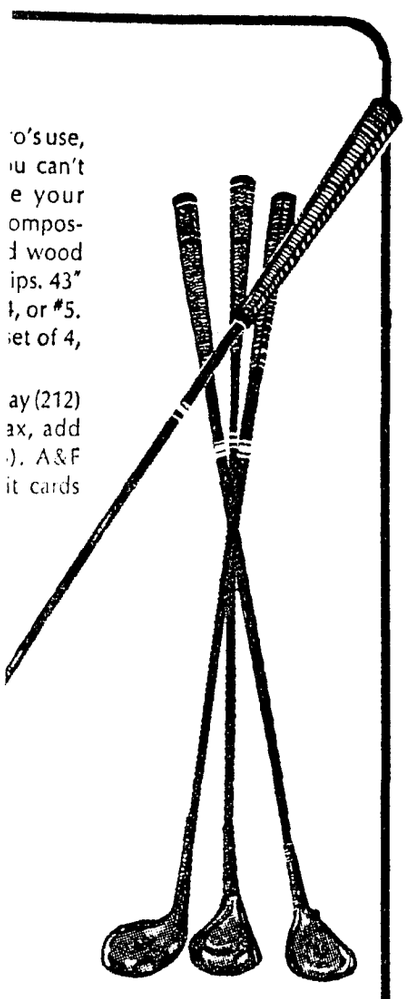
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participants, additional witnesses who were not interviewed, an incomplete fingerprint search at the death scene and faulty lie-detector and blood tests.

A second controversial case involved a Philadelphia detective who worked as Mr. Sprague's chief investigator and who once trailed the husband of Mr. Sprague's girlfriend to what was alleged to be a motel rendezvous with another woman. The detective testified under oath in a divorce proceeding that he had undertaken the clandestine spying on his own time and without pay but at the request of Mr. Sprague.

Two years later, the Supreme Court issued a decision involving the same domestic squabble in which Mr. Sprague was said to have done in his office much of the legal work that led to the arrest for contempt of court of the same man who had been followed by the detective.

The court's 1969 decision characterized the contempt of court action that led to the arrest of this man as a "gross injustice" and said that the legal proceedings "were sorely lacking in due process."

U.S. Agency Criticism

Concerning Mr. Sprague's administrative abilities, the Citizens Crime Commission of Philadelphia made public two years ago a 60-page report on the Philadelphia prosecutor's office that had been compiled by Charles Rogovin, a criminal justice consultant, under a grant from the United States Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

"The principal impressions received during the initial review of this office were an inordinate concentration of authority in the first assistant district attorney, Mr. Sprague, a lack of necessary delegations of authority to division chiefs and very serious deficiencies in administration throughout the entire organization," Mr. Rogovin concluded.

Representative Downing, the head of the select committee, said in response to a detailed inquiry that he tended "to think that Mr. Sprague's overall qualifications minimized any indiscretions he may have made during his career."

No Background Investigation

Mr. Downing, a Virginia Democrat who will retire from Congress next week, acknowledged that he had never heard of the various official criticisms concerning Mr. Sprague and that Mr. Sprague had been selected as chief counsel without a background investigation.

Mr. Downing said that, based on his experience in working with Mr. Sprague over the last three months, he was convinced the former prosecutor would make "a great contribution to the committee's effort."

He said he had selected Mr. Sprague from a list of about six candidates after an interview. A number of members of the committee apparently helped in the preparation of the final list, but neither Mr. Downing nor Representative Henry B. Gonzales, the Texas Democrat who is expected to be named the next chairman, could remember who specifically recommended Mr. Sprague.

Mark Lane, one of the leading critics of the official explanation of President Kennedy's assassination, has said that he recommended Mr. Sprague. One committee source, however, said that the Philadelphia prosecutor had been suggested by several Congressmen.

In addition to Mr. Sprague's general defense of his reputation, the former prosecutor offered detailed explanations of each of the criticisms of his actions that he contended showed the criticisms were groundless.

Concerning the criticism of his handling of the murder case involving the son of [illegible] if voluntary, might be subject to misunderstanding.

"Thinking of it subsequently, I don't think there was anything wrong with my action but it would have been wiser perhaps to have hired a private investigator," he said.

But Mr. Sprague defended his role in helping his friend obtain a contempt of court citation and criticized the Pennsylvania Supreme Court on the grounds that it had issued its opinion in the case without giving either him or the judge who signed the contempt citation an opportunity to make their case.

As for the report by the Citizens Crime Commission of Philadelphia, Mr. Sprague dismissed it as a substantively weak and politically motivated document whose publication had been arranged by the present Philadelphia District Attorney, F. Emmett Fitzpatrick, with whom he had many disputes.

Other Cases in Dispute

A number of other actions of Mr. Sprague have been questioned or criticized. On May 25, 1972, for example, the Philadelphia District Attorney's office charged Gregory P. Walter, one of that city's leading investigative reporters, with recording his own telephone conversations without informing the persons to whom he was talking.

Mr. Sprague, then the busy first assistant district attorney, personally handled the prosecution of Mr. Walter in the misdemeanor court. It resulted in a conviction and a $350 fine. Mr. Walter's lawyer, Gregory M. Harvey, argued that because the Philadelphia police and fire departments routinely recorded all incoming calls without informing the callers, the case appeared to represent selective enforcement of an unusual Pennsylvania law.

The case againstt Mr. Walter was "terminated" by agreement between his lawyer and the district attorney after it was appealed to the next court.

In an unusual disposition, the misdemeanor conviction and associated fine were "terminated" by the district attorney after Mr. Walter appealed his case.

Mr. Sprague said the decision to prosecute Mr. Walter, who was working on a major story about police corruption, was made by Arlen Specter, then the District Attorney, and that he had personally handled the prosecution in the lower court at the specific request of Mr. Specter.

Several months later, on April 19, 1973, Mr. Sprague brought a $2 million libel suit against The Philadelphia Inquirer, Mr. Walter and several other reporters and editors, for a series of articles about his handling of the Applegate murder. This action is still pending.

Crime Commission Criticism

During the summer of 1971, the Pennsylvania Crime Commission, controlled by the Democratic administration of Gov. Milton J. Shapp, issued a report charging widespead political corruption in Delaware County, a Republican stronghold. On Sept. 24, 1971, Stephen McEwen Jr., the Delaware County District Attorney, announced the appointment of Mr. Sprague as a special prosecutor to look into the allegations of corruption.

On June 30, 1974, the crime commission issued another report charging that "despite possessing extensive records of what appears to be systematic forced political contributions by county officials, Mr. Sprague has issued no criminal charges and has not yet even reported on the results of his investigation despite the passage of nearly three years."

Four months later, on Oct. 18, Mr. Sprague issued his own 36-page report,



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The New York Times/George Tames

Richard A. Sprague, right, confers with Representative Walter E. Fauntroy

a friend, for example, Mr. Sprague argued that the alleged failure to make an adequate investigation should have been directed by the Attorney General's report at the Philadelphia police and not himself, even though he was in charge of both the individual case and the District Attorney's homicide squad.

According to the Attorney's General's report on the affair, Mr. Sprague personally recommended that no charges be brought against Rocco Urella Jr. and Donald F. Scallessa, then students at LaSalle College, in the death of Mr. Applegate.

The report quoted Mr. Sprague as saying that he had handled the case at the request of Mr. Urella's father, a close friend who at that time was a captain in the Pennsylvania state police.

Louis Vignola, at the time a district magistrate, said that because he was not a lawyer he had relied on Mr. Sprague's recommendation that there was insufficient evidence to bring a murder charge in the case.

Mr. Sprague, according to the report, said that he did not believe it was improper for him to have handled this case because what the State Attorney General's report now describes as a faulty police investigation had not found any evidence that the son of his friend had contributed to Mr. Applegate's death.

Domestic Case Explained

Concerning his actions regarding the former husband of his girlfriend, Mr. Sprague said that he now understands how the use of a county detective, even if voluntary, might be subject to misunderstanding.

"Thinking of it subsequently, I don't think there was anything wrong with my action but it would have been wiser perhaps to have hired a private investigator," he said.

But Mr. Sprague defended his role in helping his friend obtain a contempt of court citation and criticized the Pennsylvania Supreme Court on the grounds that it had issued its opinion in the case without giving either him or the judge who signed the contempt citation an opportunity to make their case.

As for the report by the Citizens Crime Commission of Philadelphia, Mr. Sprague denouncing the crime commission for denouncing him and accusing the commission of refusing to cooperate with his investigation of Delaware County, done with the assistance of two detectives and two assistant district attorneys from Phiadelphia and volunteer law students.

During his interview, Mr. Sprague said that his investigation and report on Delaware County had been delayed because he at the same time was serving as special prosecutor in the Yablonski killing and as first assistant district attorney in Philadelphia.

On Feb. 24, 1967, Paul Delahanty was found not guilty of homicide in a Philadelphia courtroom. The principal reason for the decision: a Police Department evidence expert named Agnes Bell Malatratt, who had repeatedly testified as a professional witness for the Philadelphia District Attorney's office, had been discovered to have lied about her qualifications and training.

Both Mr. Sprague and Arlen Specter, then the Philadelphia District Attorney, unsuccessfully argued that the misstatements by Mrs. Malatratt were of no importance because she was in fact an expert witness.

Even Mr. Sprague's string of convictions in the Yablonski murders has not been free from criticism. Although the special prosecutor is widely praised for dogged detective work and brilliant courtroom tactics in the long series of state and Federal trials, their expense did become an issue.

According to Frank Mascara, the newly elected comptroller in Washington County, Pa., one reason he won the Democratic primary earlier this year was his criticism of his opponent—who had held the position for 20 years—for approving the $440,000 expense of the trials.

"Sprague wasn't very careful with the money during the first trial and I raised hell about it," said Mr. Mascara in a recent interview. "They would say you can't put a price tag on justice and I would say baloney, you can have justice in a frugal manner."

Mr. Sprague, in his interview, denied that the cost of the trials was in any way extravagant and pointed out that the state ultimately refunded most of the county's expenditures for the prosecution. But the select committee's estimate that its investigation will cost at least $13 million has already been criticized as extravagant by several members of Congress.

Mr. Sprague, in his interview, denied that the cost of the trials was in any way extravagant and pointed out that the state ultimately had refunded most of the county's expenditure for the prosecution. He also noted that the county prosecutor who had asked him to be special prosecutor, unlike the comptroller, was re-elected. But the select committee's estimate that its investigation will cost at least $13 million has already been criticized as extravagant by several members of Congress.

"There is a price to being a public official, to being in the goldfish bowl, but it doesn't mean you have to be subject to smears and distortions," Mr. Sprague said at the end of the interview.

"I do feel the public in general does not have dedicated people serving in the public interest. But I happen to think I have been a good public servant," he said.

So nice to come home to... The New York Times



CIA Withheld Data on Oswald

Assassinations Panel Issues Report to House

BY NORMAN KEMPSTER
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—The CIA withheld from the FBI for almost two months in 1963 information that Lee Harvey Oswald had talked with Cuban and Soviet officials about his desire to visit those countries, a House committee reported Friday.

The Select Committee on Assassinations indicated in a report to the full House that its investigation of the murder of President John F. Kennedy would focus early in 1977 on a trip Oswald had made to Mexico City in October, 1963.

Chief Counsel Richard A. Sprague said that the committee staff had learned that a CIA message describing Oswald's activities in Mexico to federal agencies such as the FBI had been rewritten to eliminate any mention of his request for Cuban and Soviet visas. The message was sent in October, more than a month before the Nov. 22, 1963, assassination.

The CIA discovered Oswald's presence at the embassies through its routine surveillance of those facilities. Because Oswald had once defected to the Soviet Union, the CIA and FBI had been interested in his activities even before the Kennedy assassination.

The CIA's decision to withhold information was reversed shortly after Kennedy was killed. The agency reported Oswald's efforts to visit Cuba and the Soviet Union both to the FBI and to the Warren Commission, which concluded that Oswald was the assassin and had acted alone.

Sprague told a press conference that it was impossible without more information to know why the CIA had censored its own message.

But he said the incident raised two interesting questions: what might the other agencies have done differently if they had been more fully informed and why did the CIA decide to remove "information that was considered pertinent enough to be put in an initial draft of the message?"

There were no firm conclusions in the report, which the 12-member committee prepared after the first three months of its investigation into the murders of Kennedy and civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King.

Technically, the committee goes out of business Tuesday with the end of the session of Congress in which it was formed. The purpose of the year-end report was to urge the new Congress to reestablish the committee and to give it $6.5 million to pay for the first year of what could be a two-year investigation.

"In the three months since its establishment, the committee has initiated preliminary investigations into new and previously unpursued leads in both assassinations," the report said.

The committee said its staff investigators had recently questioned a former CIA agent who had "personal knowledge" of Oswald's visits to the Soviet and Cuban embassies in Mexico. As a result of that interview, the report said, staff members were sent to Mexico, where they found and questioned additional witnesses.

"These witnesses had never been sought out before by any investigative body, notwithstanding the fact that they had important information concerning statements by Lee Harvey Oswald in Mexico within 60 days of the assassination of President Kennedy," the report said.

The report said also that the committee staff had interviewed a person who asserted that he had discussed the King murder with James Earl Ray, who pleaded guilty to the crime. The unidentified witness said that Ray had told him about contacting an associate in Europe to receive further instructions. The story, which was told to reporters by a committee member several weeks ago, has not been verified.

In a letter to New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis, Ray offered this week to testify under oath at a committee hearing. But Sprague and Walter F. Fauntroy, the gate and the chairman of the King subcommittee' said that no decision had been made on accepting Ray's offer.

However, Sprague indicated that it probably would be accepted.

"Any and all people who have relevant information will be interrogated," Sprague said.

In a personal statement issued in conjunction with the report, Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.), who is to become committee chairman in the new year, said a thorough investigation was needed to answer hundreds of pressing questions.

Gonzalez said that the committee hoped to discover whether former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's now well-known animosity toward King had affected the FBI's investigation of the assassination.

However, Gonzalez said, the committee's work could go well beyond the killings of Kennedy and King.

"The committee can shed light on the larger issue of political murder and violence," Gonzalez said. ".We should not forget that President Ford had his own narrow escapes; no member of the House should forget that the Capitol Building was bombed. . ."

He said the committee's ultimate task was "to find out not just what happened but why."

Assassination Questions Require Probe, Panel Says

1-1-77

By David Burnham
New York Times News Service

The House Select Committee on Assassinations reported yesterday that its preliminary investigation of the deaths of President John F. Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. had uncovered enough unresolved questions to require a continuing investigation of the killings.

The committee made the statement in an interim report recommending that the 95th Congress — which meets for the first time Tuesday — approve a $6.5 million budget for the first year of a two-year investigation.

The report said that on the basis of "numerous areas of inquiry and the necessity to preserve evidence already under subpoena," the committee unanimously recommends "that the Select Committee on Assassinations be immediately reestablished to continue the investigation."

THE COMMITTEE CITED several examples of what it called "new and disturbing questions" which remain unanswered about the two cases.

"Did the Central Intelligence Agency deliberately avoid furnishing critical information to the Federal Bureau of Investigation which would have resulted in the surveillance of Lee Harvey Oswald prior to the assassination of President Kennedy?" the committee report asked.

Concerning the killing of King, the committee cited James Earl Ray's unexplained court room statement in 1969 disagreeing with remarks made by his lawyer and the state prosecutor that there had not been a conspiracy to kill the civil rights leader.

"The committee does not mean to imply that there was or was not a conspiracy, it merely indicates that this is one of the areas which requires further investigation, especially in view of the failure to obtain a full statement of involvement from Ray by the Tennessee authorities."

Legislation establishing the select committee was approved last Sept. 17 by the House and it has been operating under a $150,000 budget for the last three months. At the preset time it has a staff of 68.

THE PANEL several weeks ago approved a recommendation by Richard A. Sprague, its chief counsel and director, that the investigation of the assassinations would require at least $13 million and two years to complete.

The committee's report and proposed budget will be used by its members to persuade the House to reestablish the committee and grant it the funds that Sprague has said are required to conduct an independent investigation of the two cases.

The committee noted that 12 years had passed since the Warren Commission released its report finding that Lee Harvey Oswald was the sole assassin of President Kennedy and eight years has passed since James Earl Ray's plea of guilty was accepted.

Assassinations Panel Cites Need For Major Probe

Post 1.1.77

Associated Press

A new in-depth investigation into the assassinations of President Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is needed to resolve lingering mysteries surrounding the slayings, the House Select Committee on Assassinations said yesterday.

The committee made its statement to justify its formal request for $6.5 million to pursue leads about James Earl Ray, the confessed slayer of King, and Lee Harvey Oswald, identified by the Warren Commission as the man who shot Kennedy.

These include uncorroborated testimony that Ray received instructions from a secret conspirator during his flight to escape arrest after King's slaying. Another involves the Central Intelligence Agency's surveillance of Oswald in Mexico City less than two months before the Kennedy assassination.

About JFK, King Probes

Richard A. Sprague, counsel and director of the House Assassinations Committee, which is investigating the murders of President John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr., was interviewed by Washington Star Staff Writer Jeremiah O'Leary.

Question: *You have the reputation as a tough prosecutor from the Yablonski-Boyle case. Would you have taken on this new assignment if you were satisfied that we have every thing we need to know?*

Sprague: I took this assignment because I was satisfied an investigation was going to be done. I was also satisfied that many questions have been raised about the president's assassination. It seemed to me most important that the inquiries to be conducted today be done in a thorough, dispassionate manner. My purpose has nothing to do with what conclusions we ultimately come to but whether or not it is possible to get a group of professionals to do the kind of job which ultimately satisfies the broad base of the public.

Q: *That seems to imply that you have some doubts if the previous investigations were complete and totally satisfying.*

A: I wouldn't put it on that basis. It seems to me that we are commencing these investigations without assumptions However, it is certainly clear that, say, in the investigation of the assassination of President Kennedy the investigative agencies that were used by the Warren Commission appear to have had areas concerning their own efforts, their own involvement, which they did not disclose to the Warren Commission. That does raise a question of the thoroughness of that investigative effort. In the King case, it is obvious from an examination of the transcript of when James Earl Ray pleaded guilty that Ray disputed a statement made by his own lawyers and the state prosecutor that there was no conspiracy. No one seemed to have the interest of saying to Ray: "What is it you're talking about?' That raises the question whether the inquiry was concerned with finding out whether others participated. Whether, in fact, others did, whether, in fact, the areas that the CIA and the FBI may have withheld from the Warren Commission affected any conclusions we

See SPRAGUE, A-14

the investigatory process was thorough and definitive.

Q: *In both examinations are you going back to Square One?*

A: Yes. I think that in each case it is essential in doing a thorough investigation to start with the two assassinations as you would do in any homicide case. The-body-at-the-scene, so to speak. And then you've got to investigate what led to the scene.

Q: *What impediment is it going to be that a fair number of the participants, in the Kennedy case, for instance, are now dead?*

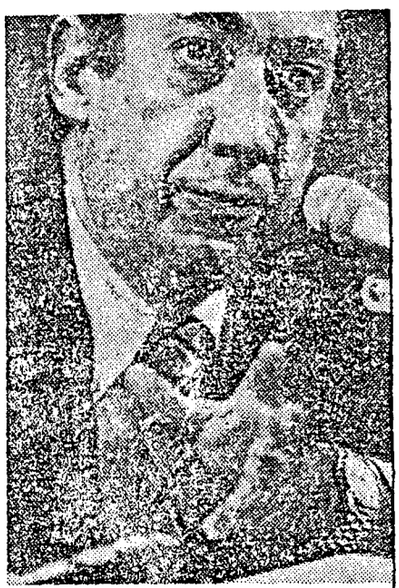
A: It is a problem, of course. The question arises also as to the time that has elapsed. We're being called to the scene of these two murders 13 and 8 years later. That makes the investigative task more difficult. But I daresay that it's not quite as difficult as it would be if you waited another five years. There is an advantage in that there is a mass of material, that there are live witnesses who are yet living in each of these cases. The fact that there are difficulties ought not to mean "Let's not make the attempt.' It may be that after the attempt is made those problems may make it impossible but let's make the attempt and find out.

Q: *Will you be using the original findings as the base point and go from there?*

A: Not the findings so much but what is the evidence which led to conclusions and whether or not that evidence is solid and substantial and corroborative or whether, in fact, it is not so. I think, in fact, to do an investigation we have to find out what has been done up until now. I do think it is essential that we must bring together all of the material that exists for each of these assassinations and all the investigating effort that has taken place up until now.

Q: *It seems apparent that the Warren Commission accepted only that which was given to them, you have no intention, then, of accepting that?*

A: No. It is important that we obtain the reports and data upon which these reports were predicated. But our investigation is going to mean our own interviews of witnesses at the source. Even when we say FBI reports we are talking about going back to the man who made the reports and finding out from him who the sources of his information are. One thing I've found is that people who prepare reports put into that report the things they think are interesting, relevant. There are often matters that are omitted that are more germane than that which is put in the report. In fact, I've found on many occasions that the author of the report lets his attitude and feelings color to a certain extent that which is reported.



RICHARD A. SPRAGUE
Starting all over

Q: *Is it disturbing to you that at least two agencies failed to report to the Warren Commission all the facts now well known — Oswald's threatening letter to the FBI and CIA activities or plans concerning Cuba?*

A: The answer is that it *absolutely* disturbs me. It disturbs me from many standpoints. It raises a question as to whether or not there are other areas which similarly have not

It All Started With Flick of a Cigarette

NEW YORK (UPI) — A fight broke out among Christmas revelers attempting to board an elevator in a Bronx apartment house early yesterday. When it was over, five persons had been stabbed and six were under arrest, police reported.

According to police, 10 men were waiting to board an elevator in a building shortly after 1 a.m. to attend a party.

"Someone flicked a cigarette and it hit someone else in the face," a police spokesman said. "Words were exchanged and the fists started flying; then someone got a knife out."

The five injured all were stabbed in the abdomen, the spokesman said. Two of the injured were treated for stab wounds and released. Three others were admitted to a hospital, where a spokeswoman said they were in stable condition. Six men were being held pending arraignments in criminal court police said.

they would not have complied fully with that presidential order.

Q: *Certain elements of evidence — autopsy reports, photographs, etc. — have been put under seal. Does your subpoena power allow you to get at these?*

A: In my view, the answer is yes.

Q: *Do you expect to get the cooperation of the agencies involved in this probe?*

A: Well, I can't speak for the future, of course. In the long run we will have to see if indications of cooperation which are stated to be at this point will, in fact, continue as we may get into hairier areas. As of this date the indications are the agencies will cooperate with our getting access to materials.

Q: *How do you say you want this or that document wih material locked up in secret agency files?*

A: One of the things we are in the process of arranging with those agencies is that personnel from this office will have access to their material at their place. We will go through the files and we will make the determination as to what they have that we'll want here.

Q: *What do you do about a man like James Earl Ray? Can you subpoena him and if he refuses to talk what can you do — he's already got a life sentence?*

A: He's serving a period of years in jail which in effect is the same as a life sentence. Keep in mind, anyone that I know of that is serving a life sentence keeps alive the hope ultimately of a parole and being in the good graces of a parole board. We're not talking about that particular person now. There are laws. Any and all witnesses subject to the jurisdiction of the United States ae subject to subpoena power of this committee. Each witness called before the committee must answer the questions under oath that are presented or asked of that witness. The only exception is where the witness could properly invoke the privilege against self-incrimination or in the event that the question is beyond the scope of the committee. In the event that a witness even wanted to invoke the privilege against self-incrimination there are other avenues for the committee to take.

Q: *Such as?*

A: Such as the immunity powers to compel testimony. The Congress has that authority. I happen to be a big believer in using this power, though sparingly. In the Yablonskicases, for example, you note that we did not [illegible] ing other ways, other avenues. Going time and time again. Ultimately people who appear at first blush like they do not want to talk about various matters end up perhaps being wiling to. I don't want to talk about any particular person, though, even in a hypothetical cases.

Q: *You've put forward a budget request of $6.5 million for the first year. Doesn't that seem like a lot of money?*

A: I take it that my job is, as a professional, to come up with my best opinion as to what is needed — recruiting a top-notch staff, directing it in a professional manner. It is up to the Congress to decide if they think the cost is too high. But investigations are costly. Heretofore, when the Congress wanted to investigate something they could call on the other branches of government. They could call on the FBI, the CIA, the field offices. But they can't do that in this case. The investigatory team must be indepedent because those are agencies that to some extent are going to be investigated. In New York State they ar investigating scandals involving nursing homes. Now, with all due respect to nursing home scandals, they are not quite as important as investigating whether there were other people in existence who took part in the assassination of the president of the United States. But in that one investigation, New York State has created a special prosecutor who has a staff of 65 attornys, 156 auditor-accountants, another 100 investigators, another 100 back-up people. He has a $6 million yearly budget. He has, in addition, 40 investigating grand juries whose cost is not in that $6 million. So when we talk about in *two* investigations having a total of 80 attorneys and investigators and a total staff with the back-up of 170 people, the truth of the matter is that that is as bare-boned on organization as youcan have.

Q: *What are your feelings as to how the House will respond to this request?*

A: I haven't the slightest idea. I really feel that that is not my problem, that I was not brought down here to become an advocate or a salesman. The determination whether to investigate is one that was made by the Congress. The one thing that I've tried to make clear to the public and the Congress and the media is that the worse thing would be the appearance of an investigation that would, in fact, be hypocritical. It is better that it not be done than to do it in a way that did not provide for adequate financing. It is either to be done thoroughly, definitively or don't do it. Don't do it in a manner that is going to raise more questions than exist today.

The Gallup Poll — 26 DEC 1976

Most Americans Believe Oswald Did Not Act Alone

By George Gallup

PRINCETON, N.J.—As the House Select Committee on Assassinations begins its investigations, the overwhelming majority of Americans believe that others besides Lee Harvey Oswald were involved in the assassination of President Kennedy in Dallas on Nov. 22, 1963.

In the latest survey, just completed, 80 per cent think others were involved in the assassination, while only 11 per cent think Oswald acted alone. Nine per cent do not express an opinion.

Persons with a college background, while overwhelmingly of the opinion that some form of conspiracy was involved, are less inclined to hold this view than are persons with less than a college background.

Approximately one-half of the survey respondents who believe others were involved did not name a specific group. Among those who did, however, Cuba or Premier Fidel Castro were mentioned most often. Other responses frequently given are "the Mafia," "Communists," and the Central Intelligence Agency.

The same survey also shows that few Americans believe James Earl Ray acted on his own in the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in Memphis on April 4, 1968. Only 18 per cent hold this view, while 69 per cent think others were involved and 13 per cent do not express an opinion.

An investigation into the assassinations of Kennedy and King was recently begun by the newly established House Select Committee on Assassinations—the sixth to be conducted on a large scale by government officials since Kennedy was assassinated.

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Jack Anderson and Les Whitten

Evidence Points to a King Plot

House investigators have uncovered dramatic new evidence that the convicted killer of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. may not have acted alone.

The murder was pinned on James Earl Ray, an esaped convict, who used phony passports to slip out of the country. According to the investigators, he got as far as Portugal, where he received "further instructions" from a secret conspirator.

Ray was finally tracked down in London and extradited to the United States for trial. His activities in Portugal, meanwhile, have been concealed from the authorities for eight years.

Not until a few weeks ago did the House investigators learn about Ray's Portugal connection from "a witness who had never previously been interviewed by any investigative agency."

The investigators reported this startling development confidentially to the Select Committee on Assassinations. "Ray contacted another person from whom he received further instructions," they disclosed cautiously in a preliminary report.

They didn't mention in the report where the contact was made, except that it was "out of the United States." We have established that the location was Portugal.

The investigators have also uncovered some intriguing new information about Lee Harvey Oswald, the accused assassin of President Kennedy.

According to the report, the committee staff "spent seven hours questioning an ex-CIA agent who had come forth to relate his personal knowledge of the contents of conversations between Lee Harvey Oswald and personnel within the Cuban and Soviet embassies in Mexico City."

Oswald's conversations, according to our sources, were monitored by the Central Intelligence Agency. Immediately, staff members "were dispatched to Mexico City where they conducted further interviews," the report discloses. No evidence has been uncovered so far, however, that Oswald discussed the Kennedy assassination at either embassy.

The committee will probe deeply into any connection between the CIA and Kennedy's assassination. The agency, we have learned, has more than 60 cartons of top secret documents "relating to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy and the activities of Lee Harvey Oswald prior to that assassination."

Meanwhile, the committee staff is anxiously awaiting congressional approval of their reauest for a record $6.5 million to investigate the assassinations. Behind closed, doors, Richard Sprague, the panel's brilliant staff director from Philadelphia, dramatically laid out his plans, and persuaded even the most stubborn members of the committee that the money was necessary.

Sprague pointed out that, compared with other investigations, the money he wanted was not an unreasonable sum. For example, he noted that for the first three-month period of the search for Patricia Hearst, the FBI spent $2.6 million.

In addition, Sprague explained, the New York State investigation of abuse in the Medicaid program has a budget of $6 million for its second year.

Rep. Henry B. Gonzales (D-Tex.), the incoming chairman of the assassination committee, told us he is convinced that Sprague is right.

Conflict Curbs—President-elect Jimmy Carter, armed with an unpublished survey showing that employees are abysmally ignorant of conflict of interest laws, plans to make an executive order on the problem one of his first orders of business.

According to the survey, prepared by Ralph Nader's Center for Law and Social Policy, the conflict laws are so complex that employees can't understand them.

In fact, the employees told the Nader interviewers, the legal terminology is "so boring and burdensome" that they sign federal job agreements without even reading the regulations.

Some agencies, states the report, don't even bother to provide workers with the written laws. Instead, the employees receive quick oral briefings.

Incredibly, federal agencies do not remind employees about potential conflicts when they leave the government. The burden is on the worker to determine if taking a new job is illegal.

As a result, top government executives are caught in a revolving door between business and government which moves so fast it is difficult to distinguish the watchdogs from those who are being watched. In some cases, regulators break the law by quickly accepting jobs in the industries they were regulating.



By James K. W. Atherton—The Washington Post

Assassination probe leaders Henry Gonzalez (left) and Thomas Downing confer with counsel Richard Sprague.

Assassination Probers to Buy 2 Costly Secret Transmitters

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The chief counsel of the House assassination inquiry said yesterday the committee plans to buy two tiny $2,200 transmitters that can be secretly worn by investigators.

The lawyer, Richard A. Sprague, maintained that the devices are needed for "certain surveillance activities" that he is contemplating. He denied that they would be used to make secret recordings of the conversations of unsuspecting witnesses.

"It is our intention in making recordings that we will advise each individual that we are recording the interview," Sprague said.

Asked why walkie-talkies wouldn't suffice for surveillance, Sprague insisted that there would be situations when investigators would need to communicate with one another without tipping anyone off.

"A guy might be getting ready to step out of a tap room, for example, and you might want to communicate that fact" Sprague said. He said he envisioned "many situations" in the forthcoming House investigation into the assassinations of President Kennedy and Martin Luther King where "you cannot just call out a window (or) . . . pull out a walkie talkie."

Pressed to elaborate at a press conference following a meeting of the House committee yesterday afternoon, the former Philadelphia prosecutor said he had in mind some individuals who "are in a situation where we want to be observing what they are doing after they've been interrogated."

The proposed purchases of the "mini-phone recording devices" had raised questions about the committee's investigating techniques.

Sprague made his comments after Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.), chairman of the House Judiciary subcommittee on constitutional rights, had written a letter of protest about the possible bugging of witnesses to the inquiry committee's chairman, Thomas Downing (D-Va.), and to Vice Chairman Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.).

The committee held its last meeting under Downing yesterday afternoon, beginning in public session, but winding up amid strict secrecy at Sprague's behest. The official stenographers and most of the committee staff, as well as the press and public, were ordered outside for the final portion of the meeting.

Downing, who is retiring from the House, refused later to comment on the discussion beyond stating that it was devoted to "a very sensitive matter" currently under investigation.

Earlier, after voting 6 to 2 to go into closed session, the committee tentatively adopted a 10-page final report to the current Congress, outlining proposed avenues of inquiry for the projected two-year investigation. Downing said there are "hundreds of unresolved questions" in each assassination, some 600 by the staff's count in the King murder and 380 in the case of President Kennedy.

Del. Walter E. Fauntroy (D-D.C.) made the motion for a secret session to discuss the report although it is said to contain "no bombshells." Reps. Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.) and Charles Thone (R-Neb.) opposed the closed hearing. The report is expected to be made public, after some final revisions, on Jan. 2.

Assassinations: 980 Questions —Or Is It 800?

From News Services

The new House Select Committee on Assassinations convened yesterday to review the unanswered questions in the slayings of President John F. Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. After the meeting, the major question seemed to be: How many unanswered questions are there?

The committee chairman, Rep. Thomas Downing, D-Va., talked to reporters after the committee tentatively approved a report on its inquiry thus far. He said the "unanswered questions" totaled 980.

"There are 600 questions in the King matter and 380 questions in the Kennedy matter," Downing said. "We have turned up leads we will pursue."

BUT D.C. DELEGATE Walter Fauntroy, chairman of the subcommittee investigating the King murder, said in an interview just before the closed session that there were 800 unanswered questions — 600 questions relating to the 1968 slaying of King and 200 involving the 1963 murder of Kennedy.

Fauntroy, who had a copy of the draft report in front of him as he spoke, said all 800 questions were not listed in the draft. Instead, he said, the draft reports states the over-all number and lists various areas in which the unanswered questions exist.

Fauntroy also assured a reporter that an actual list of the 800 questions exists.

The committee voted 6-2 to close its session on the report — which will be used to justify the proposed $6.5 million budget for the investigation. Committee sources told United Press International, however, that work on the draft will be completed over the weekend and forwarded to the clerk of the House, at which time it will by made public.

But since reporters were excluded from the meeting yesterday, it remains unclear where the extra 180 "unanswered questions" came from.

DOWNING SAID the report contained "no bombshells" and "nothing that is sensitive or shouldn't be released."

He declined to say what it does contain, but UPI's sources said the investigators, among other things, found Kennedy assassination witnesses not questioned by the Warren Commission or Dallas police.

The sources said these witnesses could shed new light on a bullet found on a stretcher at Parkland Memorial Hopsital. The bullet prompted theories that a second gunman fired at Kennedy.

15 DEC 1976

Assassination Panel Hires N.Y. Detectives

By Jeremiah O'Leary
Washington Star Staff Writer

Two veteran New York City detectives have been named by the House Select Committee on Assassinations to be deputy chief investigators for the parallel investigations into the deaths of President John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

They are Det. 1st Grade Clifford A. Fenton Jr., 49, of Manhattan and Det. 2nd Grade Edward M. Evans, 45, of the Bronx. Fenton will supervise investigators assigned to the Kennedy case, and Evans will be in charge of the King investigation.

In making the appointments, Chief Counsel Richard A. Sprague noted that Evans and Fenton are both veterans of the New York Police Department's major case squad and have long experience in police and undercover work.

THE MAJOR CASE squad, which has about 35 members, is personally selected by the police commissioner and chief of detectives. The squad handles cases having to do with bank robbery, kidnaping, premeditated murder of police officers and assassination of public figures.

The two investigators, who are black, were introduced to the press yesterday in the office of Del. Walter E. Fauntroy of Washington, who is chairman of the subcommittee for the King probe. Rep. Richardson Preyer, D-N.C., is chairman of the Kennedy assassination subcommittee.

Accompanying the chief investigators were Robert K. Tanenbaum, deputy chief counsel for the Kennedy task force, and Robert J. Lehner, deputy chief for the King probe.

Fenton and Evans said they are retiring from the New York force to take charge of the two-year investigation of the Kennedy and King murders. Evans, with 22 years on the force, and Fenton, with 21 years, were team leaders directing four-man units.

EACH HAS HANDLED about 5,000 criminal cases and interviewed or interrogated more than 50,000 persons in connection with their police work. Both said they have traveled extensively across the country in search of suspects, witnesses and fugitives.

Fenton has received 12 police honor citations and Evans seven. Both are members of the Honor Legion, an organization of policemen who have received the highest commendations of the New York department.

Fenton is a graduate of the University of Bridgeport (Conn.) with a degree in business administration. Evans graduated from the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, a branch of the City University of New York, with a bachelor of science degree.

14 DEC 1976

House Assassination Panel Rapidly Using Up Its Budget

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House Select Committee on Assassinations is running out of money at a rather rapid rate.

It got $150,000 — for a projected staff of 28 people — shortly after it was created in September.

It has hired 43 people and is putting more on the payroll each week to get set for a projected two-year investigation into the murders of President Kennedy in 1963 and Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968.

According to committee spokesman Burt Chardak, the committee had obligated all but $39,900 of its nest egg by Dec. 6 to pay for employees already hired, equipment already leased and other bills incurred through the end of the year.

According to some officials of the House Administration Committee, that could cause problems.

The $150,000 is supposed to last the assassinations committee through Jan. 3. It is seeking a $6.5 million budget for the new congressional year staring Jan. 4.

Unfortunately, says House Administration Chairman Frank Thompson Jr. (D-N.J.), there is little likelihood that the assassination inquiry will get its new budget, whatever the figure, from the full House before mid-February.

What happens in the meantime is, for the moment, a subject of considerable confusion. The committee will keep operating under a "continuing resolution" but the question is whether the spending limit of $150,000 applies to the continuing activity.

Thompson indicated that it does. The House Administration Committee's staff director, William H. Cable, was even more emphatic. He said that the assassination committee could not hope to spend more under a continuing resolution than the previous year's total. The clerk of the House, he said, would stop paying the bills when the limit is reached.

"If it were construed any other way," he said, "that would just totally violate the intent of Congress."

The staff of the assassinations committee, from chief counsel Richard A. Sprague down, is of a different persuasion.

"Say our payroll for a month is running at $100,000 on Jan. 3 and travel and stationery and other items are costing an additional amount per month; we might wind up spending $150,000 or it might be $200,000," said Thomas Howarth, the assassinations committee's budget officer.

"No way," said Cable.

Informed of the disagreement, Sprague promptly announced he was assigning a staff attorney to look into the matter. Chardak said their interpretation had been based on advice by outside counsel, including one lawyer from the House Administration Committee, but in case it was mistaken, he said, a special continuing resolution might be so worded to lift the $150,000 limit.

The House is still clucking over the committee's proposed $6.5 million budget, which would apparently make it the most expensive investigation Congress as ever undertaken, but no loud voices have been raised in opposition yet. Speaker-designate Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr. (D-Mass.) indicated that he will maintain an air neutrality.

Asked about the budget request in his office Friday afternoon, O'Neill just rolled his eyes toward the ceiling and said: "Pshewww. The figures are staggering."

But then he quickly waved reporters off. An aide interjected, "We'll let the House work its will, right?"

"Yeah," O'Neill said.

10 DEC 1978

Panel to Study 2 Assassinations Asks $13 Million

By DAVID BURNHAM
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 9—Richard A. Sprague, chief counsel of the House Select Committee on Assassinations, told Congress today that the reinvestigation of the deaths of President Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. would cost more than $13 million.

The size of the budget request—far more than was spent by the Warren Commission staff in its original investigation of President Kennedy's assassination a dozen years ago—surprised even members of the committee.



Associated Press

Richard A. Sprauge, director of House panel on assassinations, at hearing in Washington.

"The budget blew my hat off, too," said Representative Thomas N. Downing, the Virginia Democrat who heads the committee, after Mr. Sprague presented his cost estimates at a committee hearing.

Members Back Request

Despite the size of the budget—about double that spent by both the Senate Watergate committee and the House Judiciary Committee in their investigations of the Nixon Administration—the six Democrats and three Republicans present at today's session voted unanimously to approve the proposed request.

The committee acted after Mr. Sprague testified that the $6,531,050 request for the first year's operation of the proposed 170-person staff was a "bare-boned minimum figure" and that "any cut, in my opinion, would make the task of investigating the assassinations impossible."

In a later presentation to the caucus of House Democrats, Mr. Sprague said he expected that approximately the same budget would be requested for the committee in its second year.

Mr. Sprague presented the committee with a brief outline of some areas already under investigation by the panel. These included information concerning the surveillance and security provided by the F.B.I. at the time of Dr. King's death and a report that intelligence about Lee Harvey Oswald was not passed to other agencies before the death of President Kennedy or to the Warren Commission after it.

Mr. Sprague also announced that the Justice Department, the F. B. I. and the C.I.A. have agreed not to destroy any documents until the committee had completed its investigation or given its opinion that the documents were not needed.

According to a research paper completed for Mr. Sprague, the Warren Commission spent $1.2 million in its 10-month life, but its 83-member staff was supplemented by 222 investigators borrowed from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency and the Secret Service.

High Cost Explained

Mr. Sprague said that a major reason the assassination committee budget was so high was that it had been forced by circumstances to hire its own investigators and not borrow from the F.B.I. or the C.I.A.

Noting that the C.I.A. had not told the Warren Commission about its attempts to assassinate Prime Minister Fidel Castro of Cuba and that the F.B.I. had not disclosed the animosity felt for Dr. King by J. Edgar Hoover, the bureau's Director at the time, the chief counsel said that an independent investigatipn was essential.

Mr. Sprague told the Democratic caucus that if the committee was staffed by investigators from the F.B.I. and the C.I.A. it would "make Congress the laughing stock not only of the nation, but the world."

The former prosecutor said that another reason for the large budget was the committee's mandate to investigate at the same time the assassinations of both President Kennedy, who was killed on Nov. 22, 1963, and Dr. King, who was killed on April 4, 1968.

Approval of Funds Foreseen

Representative Frank Thompson Jr., Democrat of New Jersey, who is chairman of the House Administration Committee, which will pass on the assassination committee's budget before it goes to the House, said that in his experience the size of the request was "unprecedented" but that Congress would probably vote to fund that committee "up to its justified needs."

Conversations with several other Congressmen and House staff members indicated that despite the size of the budget, the full House would probably grant most of the request if not all of it.

Mr. Sprague said that he planned to assign the major part of the investigation to two teams, each made up of 15 lawyers and 25 investigators. One team would investigate President Kennedy's death, the other that of Dr. King.

In addition, the committee plans to have a legal unit to prepare subpoenas with a staff of five persons, a document analysis and research team of 30, a polygraph and stress evaluation unit of four and a security unit of two to assure the safety of important witnesses.

The committee's first year budget allots $3,635,600 for salaries; $1,864,200 for travel; $155,000 for consulting services; $425,000 for telephones, and $78,900 to pay the expenses of witnesses.

10 DEC 1976

Assassinations Inquiry Asks $6.5 Million for First Year



RICHARD A. SPRAGUE
... presents "bare-bones" budget

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House Select Committee on Assassinations gingerly agreed yesterday to seek a $6.5 million budget for the first year of its investigations into the murders of President Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr.

The spending proposal, submitted at a formal committee session by chief counsel Richard A. Sprague, was more than twice the amount that committee members themselves had been privately forecasting.

"It blew my hat off, too," Chairman Thomas Downing (D-Va.) told reporters. Just a few days ago, he said, "I thought sure that $2 million to $3 million [a year] would be enough."

Sprague presented the budget proposal as a "bare-bones" minimum and insisted that it could not be cut without compromising the quality of the House inquiry. Because of criticisms leveled at the FBI and the CIA in the Kennedy assassination investigation and at the FBI in the King murder probe, Sprague emphasized that the committee could not afford to cut corners by relying on any government agencies for its detective work.

The proposed inquiry, which is generally expected to take two years to complete, would appear to be the biggest and most expensive Congress has ever undertaken.

See INQUIRY, A9, Col. 1

Assassinations Inquiry Asks $6.5 Million

INQUIRY, From A1

A former Philadelphia prosecutor with a nationwide reputation for his courtroom victories, Sprague proposes to conduct thoroughly independent, simultaneous inquiries into the two murders with a total staff of 170 people on an annual payroll of $3,635,000. At that rate, the average salary would be about $21,400.

The House Judiciary Committee's inquiry, which recommended the impeachment of President Nixon in 1974, cost approximately $1.9 million. The Senate Watergate investigation in 1973-74, which preceded the House inquiry and laid much of the groundwork for it, cost about $2 million.

The Senate intelligence committee's subsequent investigation of the CIA, the FBI and other segments of the U.S. intelligence community cost even more: approximately $2,850,000. It had a staff of more than 120 people at its peak and lasted 18 months. As part of its work, the Senate inquiry found that senior officials of both the CIA and the FBI concealed crucial information in the course of investigating the Kennedy assassination for the Warren Commission.

In a special report last June, the Senate committee said it had not come up with evidence "sufficient to justify a conclusion that there was a conspiracy to assassinate President Kennedy," but the committee said the "investigative deficiencies" it had uncovered were glaring enough to raise substantial doubts about the Warren Commission's work and to justify continued congressional investigation.

The momentum for the present House inquiry was finally supplied in September when members of the Congressional Black Caucus, citing "new information" in the 1968 slaying of King, joined the drive and secured the support of House Democratic leaders.

In a move yesterday that suggested continued support, Speaker-designate Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill (D-Mass.) gave his blessings to an unusual noon-hour appearance by Sprague on the House floor where he again plumped for the $6.5 million budget before the House Democratic caucus.

Calling it "a bare-bottom figure," Sprague argued that the cost of professional investigative work is not generally appreciated. He said the FBI spent more than $2 million just in the first three months of its work on the Patricia Hearst kidnaping.

For the investigation of President Kennedy's assassination alone, Sprague added, the Warren Commission had 83 staff members plus the full-time assistance of 150 FBI agents, 60 Secret Service agents, 13 CIA officers and others from the Justice and State departments and the Internal Revenue Service.

Even so, several members of the House committee itself, at yesterday morning's session, apparently found it difficult to persuade themselves that the $6.5 million request was for one year only. At one point, Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.), who is expected to become chairman, asked Sprague "how much you will need on a fiscal year basis."

Sprague: "This is a yearly submission, our budgetary request for this first year."

Gonzalez: "So we're talking about $6 million per annum?"

Sprague: "That is correct."

A few moments later, Rep. Richardson Preyer (D-N.C.), the chairman of the subcommittee investigating the JFK assassination, observed that "the size of the budget does take your breath away."

"How much of this do you think we will be able to spend in the first year?" he asked Sprague.

"In my view this is a minimal budget that will be spent in a year," replied Sprague who is rapidly building up the committee staff on the strength of a preliminary $150,000 appropriation.

After what seemed a long pause, Preyer pledged his support of the proposed budget. "You get what you pay for," he observed.

"Credibility is everything as far as this committee is concerned," added Rep. Charles Thone (R-Neb.). He said he would support "every cent Mr. Sprague feels he needs to do a thorough, definitive job in both these investigations."

The proposed budget must be submitted in January to the House Administration Committee. Its chairman, Rep. Frank Thompson Jr. (D-N.J.), told a reporter yesterday that "as far as I'm concerned, they'll get any money they can justify," but doubted that any appropriation could clear the House floor before mid-February.

Recommendation in JFK Probe

Warren Critics Cite Role on Sprague

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

Two leading critics of the Warren Commission's report on the assassination of President Kennedy said yesterday that they recommended Philadelphia lawyer Richard A. Sprague as chief counsel for the new House inquiry into the murder.

One of the critics, Mark Lane, also said that he sounded out Sprague about the job at a get-together in Philadelphia Oct. 6 and subsequently accompanied Sprague to meetings with several members of the House Select Committee on Assassinations, including Chairman Thomas N. Downing (D-Va.). Sprague took the job Oct. 7.

"I went to Philadelphia, had dinner with him and came away convinced that if he was the man who did it, it would be an excellent investigation," said Lane, whose Citizens Commission of Inquiry has been pressing since early 1975 for a congressional probe.

The other Warren Commission critic, Washington lawyer Bernard Fensterwald, said he had initially been offered the top committee staff job by Downing, but turned it down, partly on the grounds that he could hardly be considered impartial.

The House committee has also been assigned to investigate the 1968 assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. Fensterwald represented James Earl Ray, who is serving a 99-year prison term for King's murder, from 1971 until recently.

In addition, as head of the private Committee to Investigate Assassinations, Fensterwald observed, "I've said for years that the Warren Commission report was a fairy story."

See SPRAGUE, A16, Col. 1

Two Critics Cite Role On Sprague

SPRAGUE, From A1

Lane and Fensterwald have been working for months with Downing and other members of Congress on the creation of the committee.

Shortly after the committee was created in September, Lane said that "Downing told me he was considering two people, Bud Fensterwald and me. I said either one would be a tragedy. You can imagine how tempted I was, but the media would have said, with absolute justification, that the committee had already reached a conclusion."

There has been considerable vagueness until now over the manner in which Sprague was selected. In an interview several days ago, for instance, Downing told a reporter that:

"Actually Sprague's name was submitted in a list offered by Congressman [Henry B.] Gonzalez. I talked to Henry about it. He doesn't know where the name came from. But as I looked into it, I became convinced that he [Sprague] was the best for the job."

In that same interview, Downing also said that Lane had never been considered. Of Fensterwald, the committee chairman said, "to say he was never considered wouldn't be right, but a lot of people were interested in this thing."

According to Lane, however, Downing gave up on Fensterwald with some reluctance. Lane said that when he emphasized Fensterwald's role as Ray's lawyer, Downing countered by suggesting that Fensterwald could handle the Kennedy inquiry and Lane the investigation of King's murder.

"I said, 'No, no, that would be counterproductive,'" Lane recalled yesterday in a telephone interview. "I've worked too hard for this. [Downing aide Rick] Feeney said I was being too selfish, but I said, 'No, I'm being unselfish. I want an impartial committee to say I was right.'"

Subsequently, Lane said he and George O'Toole, another Warren Commission critic, batted the question of who should get the job back and forth over the telephone. Lane said he mentioned the name of a high-ranking lawyer in the American Civil Liberties Union, but "George said, 'We're not really talking about a civil libertarian, are we? We're talking about a tough prosecutor.' I said yeah."

O'Toole finally came up with Sprague's name, because of his prominence and success as a special prosecutor in the murders of United Mine Workers dissident Jock Yablinski, his wife and daughter.

That same day, either in late September or early October apparently, Lane went over to the Library of Congress, did some research on Sprague, and, duly impressed, called him long-distance. Lane said he made clear that he was "calling without portfolio" but asked Sprague, then in private practice in Philadelphia, if he would be interested in the job.



BERNARD FENSTERWALD
... says he rejected job

"He said 'the first thing you should know is that I worked for Arlen Specter' [former Philadelphia District Attorney and ex-Warren Commission lawyer who authored the "single bullet theory"]. I said, 'I don't see that as a problem at all. In one week, you're going to be up to your hips in evidence of conspiracy.'"

Finally, Lane recalled, Sprague said he would be interested only if Congress wanted a thorough investigation rather than "a splash and a few headlines."

Lane said he then talked to members of the committee including Del. Walter E. Fauntroy (D-D.C.), about Sprague; got together with him in Philadelphia, and shortly thereafter, perhaps on Oct. 7, introduced him in separate meetings here with Fauntroy and Downing. Later, after Lane left for other engagements, "he went on to meet Gonzalez. He told me later, in essence, that they'd offered him the job."

Sprague went on the committee payroll as acting director Oct. 7. He is known as a tough, independent prosecutor and those who have dealt with him in the past predicted yesterday that he would conduct a thoroughly independent inquiry. Washington lawyer Joseph L. Rauh Jr., who worked with Sprague in the Yablonski killings, said he recommended the Philadelphian to Fauntroy in the strongest terms. "He told a lot of congressmen he was going to be the boss and they said okay," Rauh said. "I think he's absolutely great."

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THE WASHINGTON POST
24 November 1976

Full Probe Vowed on JFK, King

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The chief counsel for the House investigation of the murders of President Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. promised yesterday a thoroughly independent investigation that would not rely on either the FBI or the Central Intelligence Agency.

The congressional inquiry, which may take two years, would be "the laughingstock of the world" if it depended on any government agencies for its detective work, said Richard A. Sprague, chief counsel for the new House committee on assassinations.

He told reporters at a breakfast meeting that one of the chief reasons for the new investigation into President Kennedy's death 13 years ago was the fact that the Warren Commission did not have its own investigative staff.

The commission concluded, in the fall of 1964, that Lee Harvey Oswald, acting alone, had killed the President from the sixth floor of the Dallas School Book Depository.

It later turned out that some FBI documents concerning Oswald had been destroyed and that both the CIA and the FBI had withheld relevant evidence concerning CIA-sponsored plots to kill Cuban premier Fidel Castro.

Widespread complaints have also been raised about the FBI inquiry into King's death for which James Earl Ray is currently serving a 99-year term in Tennessee.

The Senate intelligence committee disclosed last year the FBI had waged a persistent undercover campaign to discredit King that continued even after the civil rights leader had been killed in Memphis in 1968.

Sprague said the importance of a thorough, independent investigation was the chief reason that the new assassinations committee is seeking a 170-member staff. Unless the inquiry can be conducted in a definitive, professional manner that will attempt to resolve every pressing doubt about both killings, Sprague said, it would be better not to undertake it at all.

"There's no halfway part in this thing," he declared. "It's either got to be done thoroughly or you don't do it."

Sprague envisioned a staff of 15 "attorney-investigators" and another 25 investigators for each of the two killings. A career prosecutor from Philadelphia, he also plans to hire a 50-member "document and research unit" that will attempt to compile and collate every available document on the two assassinations and make sure that all new bits and pieces of information are channeled to the appropriate investigators.

A legal staff of five to uphold the committee's subpoenas and other powers, a security team, a two-member polygraph unit, along with requisite clerical and secretarial personnel, would complete the proposed committee staff.

Of polygraphs and the newer, so-called "stress evaluators," Sprague said that "I do not think that either of these two instruments are infallible. I would not use either one in a court of law. But as an investigative tool, they are valuable."

He said a stress evaluator, which attempts to measure tensions in a person's voice, might be used on tape-recorded interviews where it is not feasible to use a polygraph.

Sprague declined to say whether former or present FBI or CIA officials would be asked to submit to polygraph tests, but he emphasized that "I do not exempt anybody" from a possible request of that nature. In a criminal investigation, he said, "You just don't march 'em [witnesses] in and let them give their version of something."

The investigation into the two assassinations will proceed simulataneously and has already started with the issuance of committee subpoenas for pertinent records in the custody of law enforcement agencies in Texas and Tennessee.

Continued

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ON PAGE 27

THE NEW YORK TIMES
22 November 1976

Assassination Probes

DALLAS—A Dallas Police Department spokesman has confirmed that a House committee investigating the 1963 assassination in Dallas of President Kennedy has subpoenaed all police records on the murder.

Bob Shaw said Chief Don Byrd received the subpoena, which calls for Byrd to appear before the committee Nov. 29 and produce the records.

It was not clear whether the subpoena also called for records of the subsequent murder of presidential assassin Lee Harvey Oswald by nightclub owner Jack Ruby. Ruby shot Oswald to death in Dallas Nov. 24, 1963, two days after Kennedy was killed.

The House Select Committee on Assassinations is looking into the assassinations of Kennedy and of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

Meanwhile, in Memphis, six city officials have been subpoenaed to appear before the house committee Nov. 29 and bring files pertaining to the death of King, who was slain there in 1968.

Police Director E. Winslow Chapman was served a subpoena Friday and ordered to supply the committee with all his department's "records, tapes, logs and other evidence" on the murder and the arrest of confessed assassin James Earl Ray.

Also subpoenaed were Shelby County Attorney General Hugh Stanton and his chief investigator, John Carlisle; Frank C. Holloman, who was fire and police director when King was killed; public defender Edward G. Thompson, and criminal court clerk James A. Blackwell.

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ON PAGE IV-4

'E NEW YORK TIMES
. November 1976

Assassination Panel Organizing

A recently impaneled House Select Committee on Assassinations has announced as expected that it plans to gather a preliminary staff of 170 lawyers and homicide detectives for its parallel investigations of the murders of President John F. Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

The formation of the special committee had been urged by a number of assassination "students" and potential conspiracy theorists in both Houses after a Senate subcommittee on intelligence reported earlier this year that the findings of the Warren Commission may have been based on incomplete information.

The House committee has asked the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Central Intelligence Agency for all documents and memoranda pertaining to the killings.

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E BALTIMORE SUN
21 November 1976

PERSPECTIVE

Lee Harvey Oswald and his CIA connection

By STEVE PARKS

President Kennedy was murdered 13 'ears ago tomorrow.

Yet only last week the House Committee on Assassinations announced it would ire a staff of 170 to investigate the assasinations of John F. Kennedy and Martin .uther King, Jr. Fresh revelations about he JFK assassination have trickled out ver since the Senate Select Committee on ntelligence opened the first-ever public nquiry into the Central Intelligence Agency. Most of these stories suggest Kennedy vas killed in retaliation for CIA attempts n the life of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro. But some intelligence personnel caution hat these leaks are part of a CIA design o throw investigators off the trail of a domestic conspiracy.

Whatever the truth about the JFK assassination, the CIA has been less than orthcoming. When Senators Gary Hart D., Colo.) and Richard S. Schweiker (R., 'a.) conducted a preliminary inquiry last ear they subpoenaed the agency's files on)swald. According to a former FBI agent nd a current intelligence insider, only alf the CIA's documents on Oswald were urrendered.

Why? What was Oswald's connection ith the U.S. intelligence community?

Lee Oswald's bleak, truancy-prone hildhood hit an early abyss, at age 3, hen he and his 8-year-old brother, Robrt, were consigned to an orphanage beause their mother, Marguerite, could not rovide. She hadn't found another hus-and.

Robert and Lee's father, Robert E. Lee)swald, died three months before Lee was orn. The boys got out of the orphanage in year. Edward K. Ekdahl, a Dallas busiessman, had married Marguerite. So the oys moved to Texas. In three years, the)swald brothers went through the broken ome routine. They moved back to New)rleans with their divorced mother.

Robert soon escaped all this by joining he Marine Corps. He wrote his kid brother *that the marines had changed his life.* t 16, Lee dropped out of school and tried o enlist. Turned down, he spent the next year washing dishes until he was 17 and could enlist without lying. He did so October 24, 1956, six days after his birthday.

Lee was sent to San Diego and Camp Pendleton, Calif., and later was transferred to the Naval Air Technical Training Center in Jacksonville, Fla. By mid-September, 1957, he would be stationed in one of the most strategic and exotic security bases in the U.S. overseas network. Oswald was a radar operator for the 1st Marine Air Squadron based in Atsugi, Japan.

At the time, Atsugi was one of the largest CIA bases in the world. From deep inside the island's rock, in a honeycomb maze of tunnels, U.S. intelligence monitored communications from that part of the world. From the runways at Atsugi, U.S. planes took off for reconnaissance missions over the People's Republic of China. Oswald's unit was assigned to look after these planes, inside the hangars.

The Office of Naval Intelligence contacted Oswald while at Atsugi sometime during 1958. That was the year Quemoy and Matsu began to make world headlines. The two islands off the coast of the People's Republic were used by the Nationalist Chinese as staging areas for attacks on the mainland. That the Red Chinese tried to swat the Nationalist dragonfly was cited as another brazen example of the threat of world domination by the Communist monolith, which the big Macs, Joe and Doug, had warned of.

August 29, 1958, Lee Oswald was separated from his regular unit, assigned a new pay status and sent to Taiwan for six weeks. Oswald's Marine Corps service record, however, conceals this transfer. Though his pay records show Oswald was sent to Taiwan, his status is not known because that portion of his records is censored.

If this does not make Oswald a likely agent, consider: In his first year as a marine Oswald taught himself the Russian language and preached to his buddies that "Marxist morality is the most rational" in history and that communism is "the best system in the world today." Consider that, as a consequence, his buddies called him "Osvaldkovitch" and that curiously lacking as a consequence, the Marine Corps did nothing about removing this Communist sympathizer from an intelligence base that required a minimum security clearance of "secret."

Shortly after returning to the Philippines from his secret assignment in Taiwan, Oswald was transferred to El Toro Air Station, Calif. On one leave he went to Fort Worth to see his mother, saying nothing on his return about an accident she had at work. It wasn't much to talk about. A fallen jar had struck her head and toe.

Nearly a year later, Harvey Oswald requested a discharge so he could be with his mother again. Though he supplied no medical verification whatsoever, Oswald claimed his mother had been disabled by an "industrial accident"—her run-in with a jar. In truth, his mother had returned to work three days after she was bopped on the head and was neither disabled nor dependent.

Nevertheless, Oswald amazed his buddies by getting his discharge in a record 11 days—just 3 months before his tour of duty would have ended. An unpublished Warren Commission memo, labeled "Top Secret," states: "He undoubtedly obtained the discharge fraudulently."

But instead of staying home in Fort Worth to take care of his unailing mother, he was off to New Orleans in three days. There he obtained a four-month touring visa and booked passage to London on the SS Marion Lykes. She sailed September 21, 1959, bound for Le Havre, France, and London. Ostensibly, Oswald was on the first leg of a trip that would take him to Albert Schweitzer College in Switzerland, where the high school dropout claimed to

continued

teve Parks, a member of The Sun's staff, s on leave writing a book about the assasination of President Kennedy.

Raikin, who identified himself to the Warren Commission as a representative of the Travelers Aid Society. Mr. Raikin did not mention that he was a former secretary general of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Nations, a group connected with intelligence agencies all over the non-Communist world. He also was a member of the Tolstoy Foundation, a virulent anti-Communist aggregate of exiled Russian aristocracy and nouveau riche.

As the Warren Commission turned a deaf ear on evidence that fairly shouts Oswald was an agent, it hardly could be expected to take seriously any hypothetical missions he may have carried out behind the Iron Curtain.

Francis Gary Powers had an idea what Oswald was up to. Oswald's marine commander at Atsugi had an idea, too. He said Oswald seemed to take an unusually detailed interest in the planes his unit was assigned to guard.

In his book, "Operation Overflight," Mr. Powers, the U-2 pilot whose plane was shot down over the Soviet Union in May, 1960, points out that men in Oswald's unit were familiar with the newest radar the U.S. was using. The Russians had never shot down a U-2, enabling President Eisenhower to blithely deny their existence. The planes flew too high. Oswald defected, got employment at a radio plant and in seven months the Russians found the mark.

The other officer present at the U.S. Embassy when Oswald appeared to renounce his citizenship was Richard Snyder, the naval attache. Of all Oswald's rantings, Mr. Snyder gleaned one remark he thought should be acted on. November 3, 1959, four days after Oswald's visit, Mr. Snyder cabled the State Department, the FBI, the CIA, the Office of Naval Intelligence and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, warning them that Oswald had threatened to "furnish Soviets info he possesses on U.S. radar."

Nothing much happened except that a few radar signals were switched in the Pacific. Also Oswald's discharge status was downgraded from "honorable" to "undesirable," for the reason of defection. Espionage was not mentioned. Perhaps the naval attache's cable was not a warning at all, but reassurance to all agencies which might be alarmed that there was no need.

The cable begins: "Concerning the renunciation of U.S. citizenship by Lee Harvey Oswald former marine and. . . ." The next 40 spaces in the cable have been blanked out, censored as "secret," and we are left to wonder whatever else, besides a marine, Lee Oswald might have been.

In any case, the naval attache kept Oswald's passport handy, in his desk drawer, for more than two years, handing it over to Oswald on demand.

The 40 spaces in the naval attache's cable could do a lot of explaining. They could explain the ex-marine's peculiar facility with passports and other border-crossing paraphernalia. They could explain how a defector extracted favors and a loan from a State Department dominated by dedicated Red-hunters like Frances Knight and Otto Otepka, and how one year after his $435.71 loan Oswald obtained a new passport in New Orleans without having his application flagged for failure to repay the loan.

Of course, some delinquents are bound to slip through the bureaucratic fishnet. But this one waved a Red flag, and it was 1962, the crest of the cold war. This was an ex-marine who had defected to pre-detente Moscow, renouncing his citizenship and threatening to betray radar secrets. In seven months the Russians shot down their first U-2, Eisenhower was caught in a lie and the superpower summit conference was scuttled. Two years later, when the ex-marine asked to be a citizen again, the State Department took his word for it that he committed no espionage and the embassy gave him unofficial assurances that he would not be prosecuted for same. When the onetime defector and his Russian wife were brought to New York on the State Department's tab, their arrival attracted not one official representative of the intelligence, military or law enforcement fields. This, in an era when government employees were required to sign loyalty oaths to keep their jobs.

It wasn't sheer gall that caused Oswald to file an "application of review" requesting nullification of his undesirable discharge from the Marines and requesting recommendation for re-enlistment. In that application Oswald cited "the special knowledge I have accumulated through my experience since release from active duty in the Naval Reserve," as if sending a signal to his naval intelligence sponsors.

It is common practice for military recruits in the intelligence field to resign from the service to facilitate a cover. They do so with the understanding that eventually they can return to the military with their time on loan to the CIA counting toward promotion and retirement. They call it "sheep-dipping."

Meanwhile, no summit talks until 1961 in Vienna, when Kennedy met Khrushchev.

New York Times, 21 November 1976

Why Another Assassination Inquiry?

By DAVID BINDER

WASHINGTON—On the eve of the 13th anniversary of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, subpoenas have been sent out in search of new information about his murder and that of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The investigation launched by the newly established House Select Committee on Assassinations is the sixth to be conducted on a large scale by Government officials since the 35th President was killed Nov. 22, 1963.

Why another inquiry? Its origins appear to lie in four quarters: a Congressman who is a self-styled "student of political assassinations," another who genuinely believes in a conspiracy theory, a group of black Congressmen who feel the King murder investigation was a cover-up and, finally, some Capitol Hill investigators who feel there are still unpursued trails. Beyond these motives is a lingering suspicion on the Hill that even if the Central Intelligence Agency's past misdeeds have been largely exposed, parallel misdeeds of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and its long-time chief, J. Edgar Hoover, remain largely unexamined.

Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez, the promoter of the new House inquiry into the Kennedy and King murders, said it was "the summer of 1973—Watergate—when I became inwardly very disturbed, that certain questions became very poignant, that the F.B.I. would destroy documents, and that the C.I.A. was corruptible." Mr. Gonzalez, author of the resolution on Feb. 19, 1975, that eventually gave birth to the new committee, said "Watergate raised to a serious level questions I had suppressed before."

The Texas Democrat, by his own account, has been interested in the Kennedy assassination ever since that day in Dallas when he rode in the motorcade that carried the President to his death. Mr. Gonzalez, who was 47 years old at the time, began collecting a private file on the murder. He has remained a "student of political assassinations" ever since, adding the King murder, the killing of Robert F. Kennedy and the attempt on the life of Alabama's Gov. George Wallace to his interests.

Earlier this year he found an ally in Thomas N. Downing, Democrat of Virginia, who, after viewing an amateur film of the Kennedy assassination, concluded that the shooting was not the work of Lee Harvey Oswald but of a conspiracy. The two Representatives were impressed by the work of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, which had exhaustively studied the possible relationship between the killing of President Kennedy and the C.I.A.'s plots to assassinate Cuba's Premier Fidel Castro. That study began with Senator Richard S. Schweiker's statement that the 1964 Warren Commission report would "collapse like a house of cards" when all the evidence was in and ended last June with the less confident conclusion that there were still "promising leads" to be explored.

Representatives Downing and Gonzalez fought to get an investigation of their own approved. The Rules Committee was evenly split for a time. A staunch opponent was B.F. Sisk, the California Democrat, who declared on the House floor on Sept. 17: "Let me urge my colleagues, for gosh sakes, if they have any respect, as I'm sure they do, for the dollars of our taxpayers, let us vote this resolution down." He spoke of "witch hunters" with "some kind of melodramatic desire for the morbid" and observed: "I thought we put this thing to bed a long time ago, but it seems to ever raise its head." Eunice Shriver, sister of the Kennedys was among those condemning the proposal as a publicity-seeking action.

But new disclosures of F.B.I. coverups in the investigation of Martin Luther King's death breathed new life into the cause championed by Representatives since, adding the King murder, the killing of Robert tant members of the Conglessional black caucus, including Walter Fauntroy, delegate from the District of Columbia, and Ronald V. Dellums, Democrat of California.

Mr. Gonzalez was also persuasive among Republicans, including the influential John Anderson of Illinois, arguing that it was time for a dispassionate Congressonal study of political assassinations in this country. "Enough time has elapsed to get an objective and unimpassioned view of the facts," he said. In the end, he and Mr. Downing had 80 co-sponsors.

A distinctive feature of the new investigation is that it will be conducted by a professional investigative attorney, Richard A. Sprague, who handled more than 60 first-degree murder cases as a prosecutor in Pennsylvania. Previous investigations had policemen and lawyers as staff aides, Mr. Gonzalez said, but never a professional prosecutor.

Is there, in fact, more to be learned about such much-discussed and long past events as the Kennedy and King murders? A Capitol Hill official familiar with the Senate investigation that ended last June said last week that "some things are worth pursuing" and that the Senate committee had "poked a pretty good hole in the Warren Commission report."

The official was rererring principally to still inconclusive F.B.I. reports about a Cuban agent named Rolando Culelo who apparently worked both for the C.I.A. and Mr. Castro, and about mysterious figures who slipped out of the United States and into [illegible] shortly after the assassination 13 years ago.

The latest "new" piece of evidence, indicating that Lee Harvey Oswald was known to have told the Castro government of his murder plan, is a memorandum by J. Edgar Hoover to the Warren Commission. It has been dismissed by Congressional investigators as "insignificant."

David Binder is a reporter in the Washington bureau of The New York Times.

Washington Post, 18 November 1976

House Unit Opens Probe of Slayings Of JFK, Dr. King

By Richard L. Lyons
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House Select Committee on Assassinations has begun what may be the biggest and most expensive of congressional investigations as it seeks final answers to the murders of John F. Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

The committee yesterday issued about 10 subpoenas seeking information from various agencies on the shooting deaths of President Kennedy in Dallas in 1963 and of Dr. King in Memphis in 1968. The committee, created by the House in September, is seeking answers to lingering questions as to whether Lee Harvey Oswald alone killed Kennedy and whether James Earl Ray alone killed King or whether the accused assassins were part of larger conspiracies.

The committee staff would not say specifically what the first subpoenas sought. But they reportedly were sent to law enforcement agencies that had expressed willingness to turn over the materials but wanted them submitted under subpoena.

The committee will have only begun its work when it expires with the end of the 94th Congress on Jan. 3. But it is expected to be speedily reconstituted and to continue its work on a greatly expanded scale.

The probe could last the full two-year life of the 95th Congress. Now that the House has decided the investigation is needed, it would be politically difficult to cut it short because that would leave the committee open to charges of cover-up.

The committee is now operating on a budget of $150,000 and has assembled a staff of about 25 with headquarters in three rooms of an old FBI building back of the HEW headquarters which the House has taken over as an annex.

Chief Counsel Richard A. Sprague is working up a budget proposal that calls for a staff of 170 persons next year. Such a staff could run the cost up to $3 million or $4 million if the investigation lasts more than a year.

The biggest recent congressional investigations were the Senate Watergate investigation in 1973-74 and the House Judiciary Committee's inquiry.

See PROBE, A5, Col. 1

Probe of JFK and King Slayings Opens

PROBE, From A1

that recommended impeachment of President Nixon in 1974. The Senate investigation cost about $2 million over 19 months and had a professional staff of 25 with backup personnel. The impeachment inquiry cost nearly $1.5 million and had a staff of just over 100 at the peak.

The proposed cost of the assassination inquiry has raised some eyebrows at the Capitol. But Chief Counsel Sprague, a tough Pennsylvania prosecutor who won a murder conviction against ousted United Mine Workers President W.A. (Tony) Boyle in the killing of UMW rebel Joseph Yablonski, tells members that if they are going to make an investigation they should do it right—to end the doubts, not conduct a halfway investigation that leaves them hanging.

To Sprague the job is a criminal investigation of two homicides, from scratch. By contrast, the impeachment inquiry did no investigating of its own. It assembled and evaluated information collected by others—much of it on Nixon's tapes.

At a meeting this week, the assassination committee, on Sprague's recommendation, created two subcommittees to conduct concurrent investigations of the two deaths. One, headed by Rep. Richardson Preyer (D-N.C.), will look into the death of Kennedy. The other, headed by Delegate Walter E. Fauntroy (D-D.C.), will investigate the death of Dr. King, with whom he worked in the 1960s.

The proposed budget would assign to each of these subcommittees 15 attorneys, 25 investigators and 40 backup personnel.

Ever since the two leaders were killed, there have been doubts that Oswald, who was killed before he was brought to trial, and Ray, who pleaded guilty and never went to trial, acted alone. Congressional leaders had resisted pleas for further inquiries.

But this year the House went ahead because of new information, such as revelations about efforts by the CIA to assassinate Cuban leader Fidel Castro before Kennedy's assassination, and the request by black members of Congress for a joint inquiry into the two deaths.

Rep. Thomas N. Downing (D-Va.), as chief sponsor of the resolution creating the committee, was named chairman. But he will retire from Congress at the end of the year. If tradition is followed, Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.), committee vice chairman and longtime sponsor of a similar resolution, will become chairman in January.

DOCUMENTS MISSING IN DR. KING INQUIRY

Aide Says Data Were Apparently Destroyed After House Action

NYTimes

17 November 1976

WASHINGTON, Nov. 16 (AP) —Documents relating to the murder of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. apparently have been destroyed since the creation of a House committee to investigate the slaying, committee staff members said today.

Richard A. Sprague, chief counsel of the House Committee on Assassinations, said that the documents were "relevant to our investigation" and "would have been in the possession of law enforcement authorities."

Mr. Sprague added, "I have been advised that the destruction has been since it was announced [in September] that this committee would be investigating" the murders of Dr. King and President Kennedy.

The chief counsel cautioned that he had not received official notification that the documents had been destroyed, but, in an apparent reference to a member of his staff, said he had learned of their destruction "from an individual who has interviewed other people."

No Hint on Possession

Mr. Sprague refused to discuss which law enforcement agency had possessed the documents. However, Representative Henry B. Gonzalez, Democrat of Texas, a committee member, said that he believed the documents had been in the possession of the authorities in Tennessee where Dr. King was killed in 1968.

During an unexpected public session of the committee, Mr. Gonzalez asked a staff attorney, Robert Ozer, if he had any reason to believe that documents relating to the King assassination had been destroyed "since the constitution of this committee."

"Yes, sir," Mr. Ozer replied. "I believe there are some documents that have been destroyed."

Mr. Ozer is a former member of a Justice Department strike force against organized crime in Detroit.

The hearing, originally expected to be held in closed session, was open to the public after a motion to go into executive session failed on a 6-to-6 tie vote.

On Monday, Mr. Sprague said the committee would hire 170 investigators to investigate the Kennedy and King assassinations. He said the size of the investigative team was not excessive and said that by comparison, the Warren Commission had ~~83~~ aides of its own, 150 Federal Bureau of Investigation agents, 60 Secret Service agents and the help of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Internal Revenue Service in its inquiry.