

Paranoia (or Is It Conspiracy?) in Our Midst

Mark Harris

the window above (Connally was later indicted for bribery after switching party affiliation from Democrat to Republican), brought down the gunfire, and was eventually found innocent by a commission including Chief Justice Warren, who was appointed to the Supreme Court by President Eisenhower on the recommendation of then-Vice President Nixon, thus paving the way for Nixon's victory over the Warren forces in California, his subsequent winning of the presidency prior to Watergate, and his eventual appointment of Gerald Ford to the presidency. Ford, then representative from

Michigan, was a member of the Warren Commission!

A conference called "Conspiracy in America" was held at UCLA upon the occasion of the first anniversary of the killing of six members of the Symbionese Liberation Army associated with Patricia Hearst of good family. Several hundred people attended. Most of them were college students or of student age; many were of good families, and their political direction was clearly left.

The conspiracy conference was one of several recently assembled,

and it promised, in California and elsewhere, "follow-up meetings... attempting to mobilize a national movement against the

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developing police state" in America. "From Dallas to Watergate: Official Violence and Cover-up — A Campaign for Democratic Freedoms

Conference. Films. Panels. Workshops on Assassinations. Intelligence. Community/Labor Repression."

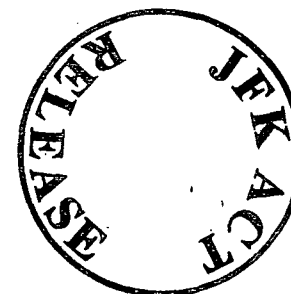
The first person I met was a young black man at a table in the corridor collecting signatures for a petition in his own defense. He had been accused of murdering a policeman. Since he seemed to me so sweet and gentle, I could not believe he had committed murder, and I signed his petition.

Inside the auditorium, I was soon swept up by orators and visual demonstrations emphasizing the

theme that Lee Harvey Oswald (if he was involved at all) was only one of several conspirators in the murder of John Kennedy. The proof seemed to lie in the fact that various documents showed a discrepancy in Oswald's height. One speaker said that "the Warren Report gave" Oswald's height as 5 feet 10 inches. I knew Oswald wasn't that tall and I thought that, if the Warren Report were that wrong, perhaps we were onto something, after all.

Afterwards, I noticed in the Warren Report that Oswald's height was

See CONSPIRACY, E-4



"The attempt to kill Gov. George C. Wallace was a conspiracy... a Communist conspiracy. It could well involve agents of Communist China. And the Central Intelligence Agency might have had something to do with it. Here are the facts. Judge for yourself." Bremer was no "lone gunman," writes Stang, providing many statistics relating to Bremer's life. Stang claims to have "gone into the underground for the facts," although the facts appear to be nothing more than what one may obtain from the "ground" and the newspapers, as the "ground" having obtained the facts of the life of Howard Hughes.

Real conspiracies have occurred. But the differences are conspiracies. Conspiracy theory explains some things, but the momentum or accident of history explains a great many more.

In America the great danger of conspiracy theory lies in its weak power of discrimination. Thus, it is easily available for widespread exploitation by fanatics. The worst of the exploitation is not that hucksters make money but that conferences on conspiracy theory replace education, and the whole past shall be warped and twisted. Nobody will remember that we are in significant ways a free people. Indeed, we are threatened in my opinion, by conscious conspirators, more than by those defects of the education and media which make conspiracy theories possible in the first place.

The explanation of paranoia is simple. It is an old political and emotional trick, and anyone can do it. While objectives are sufficiently interesting. Orators of conspiracy are abundant. Why not? They are untroubled by doubts, hesitations or the absence of facts. They have no need of their theories. They insist on nothing, retract nothing, amend nothing. They charge with association by means of connections from person to person. If the connections may be irrelevant even if true. They are masters of twisted definitions build into their grammar and certain to connect with the ready-made assumptions of their listeners.

The language and literature of conspiracy theory, left and right, is a masterpiece of logical fallacy. "Sworn testimony" is not necessarily true testimony. An article in the *Congressional Record* is not necessarily true. An "identification" of someone by someone else is not necessarily accurate — even if the "identification" is made by such a grand-sounding intelligence as "the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate of the United States." Hearsay is not necessarily true. Sarcasm is poor

Establishment believes." No persons exist named They, as in "They won't let the truth come out." For the college generation, suspended between childhood, "... They are systematically destroying the evidence."

In adulthood, the yearning to hear the truth is all the more affecting in view of the difficulties of telling it. Truth is not specific and definite, like *The Guinness Book of World Records* — an extremely popular book among college students; as a matter of fact the truth may be dull, complicated and shredded with qualifications, more like the slow roundabout equivocations of older professors. It is not surprising, therefore, that the public lectures students attend, the books they optionally read and the media they consume tend to be those which deliver, above all, straight answers in a positive sound. Mind and body yearn to hear it from the inside, from someone who was there who can therefore, presumably, tell it like it was.

deal with the oocok and witchcraft, extrasensory perception, magic, UFOs, self-defense, science fiction... The university lecture series is a form of popular entertainment, whose spokesmen now and then piously condemn reckless conspiracy theory even while they support those tendencies that feed it. In a great deal of popular drama, especially on television, the line between fiction and non-fiction is badly blurred, if not erased; news is made dramatic and exciting, drama is made to sound true, authentic, factual.

News and drama alike focus upon individuals, seldom upon complicated forces or processes. It is, therefore, natural that young people and others whose experience is limited inevitably interpret events as the result of the actions of powerful individuals. Almost every crisis of television drama is resolved by gunfire or other violence, and every crisis of diplomacy is resolved by the meeting

which death sentences are pronounced by "somebody, somewhere, in some smoke-filled back room," just as the conspiracy theorists say they are.

Colleges and universities, partly under their own financial pressures, partly in the spirit of democratic participation, increasingly view the student as a customer and give him "what he wants," which is likely to be an easier, simpler interpretation of events — and a better grade for mastering less. But the best defense against a paranoid citizenry may be a sound education in the grammar of those disciplines which fortify the mind against trickery.

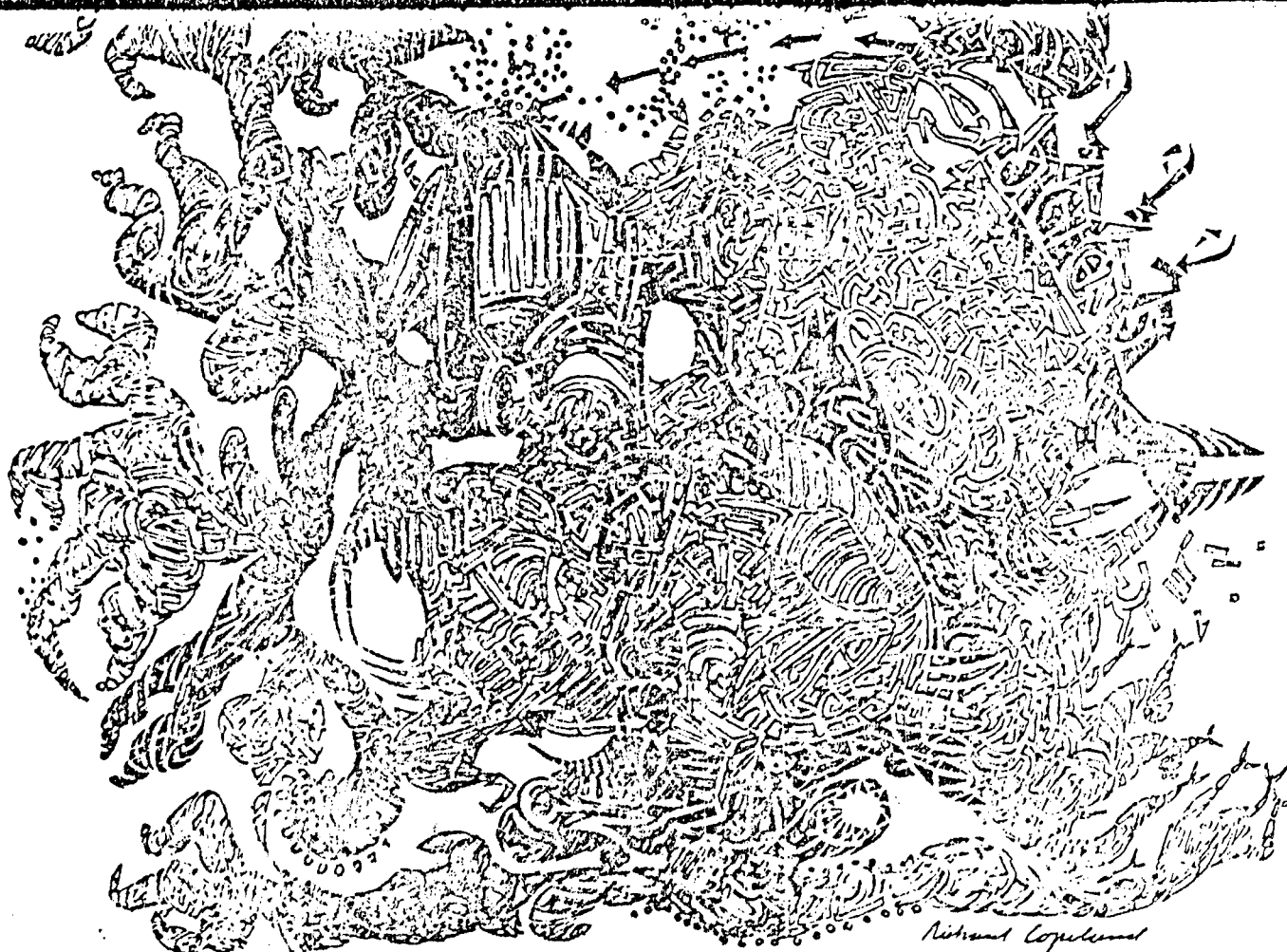
The trouble with the mind of the conspiracy theorist left or right is its inability to carry more than one idea at once. It asks laws or principles governing all events, as if human affairs were motions of dumb bodies, but it ignores the one law that might serve — the idea that some things might be true upon some occasions

ed act of one person.

Above all, it ignores the possibility of that mixture of accident and intention that is finally process. We are process. We are complexity. We are the products of our minds, singly and collectively.

Unable to endure slow motion, the mind of the conspiracy theorist is likewise unable to endure uncertainty. We may never know more than we know now of the truth of our several major political assassinations. We may know all that exists to be known, or we may be in the presence of a mystery. Not all crimes are solved, as they are on television.

Finally, it should be said that, despite the pitfalls he leads us into, despite the dangers, or simple discomfort, the conspiracy theorist seems to understand least his own importance. The paranoid contribution to decision must always have been great, integral to process, a noise and a clamor keeping lawmakers from slumbering in their houses.



POWER

Continued From E-1

how is unaffordable. On the rare occasions when Harry Gold dined out, he was said to place a telephone book surreptitiously on his chair. "Lexus shoes," which promise an additional two inches in height, appeal to the same insecurity.

Height means something to people, and it's wise not to forget it. The chairman of one great conglomerate is said to have a pedestal behind his desk so that he appears to be about a foot taller than he really is when he stands up to greet somebody, and it is rumored that a stockholders meeting had to be delayed because an underling had forgotten to place the pedestal behind the podium. It is certainly true that he likes to have short men around him; one's chances of success at this particular corporation are vastly increased if one is under 5 feet 8 inches in height. Indeed, being tall is dangerous there. The chairman likes to humiliate people who are taller than he is, and sometimes promotes them just so that he can make them suffer. "Big is dumb, short is smart," he once told an executive who had displeased him.

If shortness supposedly spurs us on to power, health is usually taken as a sign of having it. Years ago, I remember seeing Robert F. Kennedy walk into a room full of people in Maine, all of them rich and healthy, and noticing that he positively radiated good health and energy. "God!" breathed the woman beside me, "look what power does to you. I wish I had it!"

It is a curious sign of our admiration for power that we associate power and health; in former times, power was popularly supposed to lead to worry, illness, premature aging and baldness, rather like masturbation. Today, we expect the powerful to glow with health, and they mostly do. The successful exercise of power, like a satisfactory sex life, tends to make people feel good about themselves, whatever the real state of their health, and constant excitement tones up the system wonderfully.

Of course power takes its toll too. Erik Erikson has pointed out that Martin Luther, a man with an enormous need and drive for power, suffered all his life from constipation, a malfortune which obsessed the great reformer to the point that his spiritual breakthrough took place while he was sitting on the toilet. Erikson points out that Luther was "compulsively retentive," that he stored up his energies and his knowledge as if aware that they would someday be released in a single, explosive moment—a purgative flash that would at once cleanse Luther himself and the Church.

pie are not only anxious to control everything, but determined not to let go of anything. Be this as it may, the use of laxatives seems to increase as power increases, and a great many of the powerful people I know not only suffer from constipation, but discuss it quite openly, as if it were proof of their success, a form of self-imposed suffering. I have seen a motion picture halted every morning at 9:30 so that the director—a man of great fame in the movie business—could go off and fight the daily battle with his recalcitrant bowels. As he left, the cast and the crew wished him success, and on his return he would describe exactly what had happened, or not happened, in graphic detail. Gradually I came to realize that knowledge of the daily state of his bowels was a kind of status symbol. Think of it: actually being able to force people to discuss this as if it were a subject of fascination. What greater proof of power!

As if that weren't enough, a group of researchers has found that power (and "achievement orientation") correlates very highly with serum uric acid, the substance in the blood that is responsible for gout, and which is considered "a possible risk factor in coronary heart disease." Serum uric acid is high among powerful, successful men, and at its lowest among the unemployed, a depressing piece of information for the ambitious to consider. Blood pressure and serum cholesterol both increase among those who have "responsibility for others" in a working situation, which makes it hardly surprising that nearly 30 per cent of the businessmen who responded to one nationwide survey felt that their jobs "had adversely affected their health."

The kinds of jobs that lead to power naturally involve stress and responsibility, but I strongly suspect that the businessmen who felt their health was affected were simply responding to the "suffering quotient." This is an extension of the Puritan pleasure-pain principle, in which pleasure must be expiated by an equivalent or greater amount of pain, and implies that all power, insofar as it is enjoyed, must be justified by suffering.

The basic proposition is simple—I am not supposed to like power, though it's what I most want, therefore I must pretend that it has been thrust upon me by others against my will; and I must convince everyone around me that it is a painful burden, that I'm suffering on their behalf. The feeling is that while it may be all right to have power, it is wrong to enjoy it.

Not surprisingly, many powerful people are hypochondriacs. On the one hand, they want to command and control; on the other, they want to be comforted and appreciated. One way of bridging these conflicting de-

power, for some, it is more staying in the office all summer simply in order to be able to say, "I never take vacations." It is part of the suffering quotient.

The complaints of powerful people about stress, tension and overwork are mostly bogus, and when they're real, they're self-imposed. It's a form of guilt.

The feeling is that while it may be all right to have power, it is wrong to enjoy it.

Yet love it we do. In the words of novelist Patrick Anderson, "It's like a woman you want to stay in bed with forever. But that's not all, not for the best people. There's all you can do with power, if you're smart and tough and lucky. You get kicked in the teeth every day, but sometimes there'll be those moments when you've done everything right, when everything breaks your way, and then you're soaring, you've won your game, whether or not anyone else knows it or understands it or even gives a damn."

Perhaps herein lies a key to the difficulty we have in coping with power—it is perhaps the most personal desire we have, since even the intimacy of sex is usually shared with someone else. Power, by contrast, is a private passion, the winning and the losing are internal, only we can know whether or not we've won our game.

"Power!" says the Rev. John J. McLaughlin, the controversial Jesuit who was a deputy special presidential assistant, and seemed to function as chief exorcist to the defunct Nixon White House. "What do we know about it? We don't know anything about it. We have sex education—why don't we have power education? You can train yourself to handle power." True enough, though one wonders, judging from Father McLaughlin's support for such temporal matters as the Christmas bombing of Hanoi, the mining of Haiphong and the president's stand on Watergate, whether he himself is able to perceive the difference between what he describes as "two views of power... an opportunity for an ego-trip, and an opportunity for service."

We don't in fact know much about power. No sooner had the scandal of Watergate been revealed than sermons began to appear on the evils of power, as if the White House under Richard M. Nixon had been the palace of Nebuchadnezzar. Yet what was Watergate but an example of the price of impotence? The rationale for the burglary—and all that followed

non-potential, the worthlessness that made them fear they had no right to be there, and might at any moment be found out, revealed as weak and ordinary men.

George Allen of the Washington Redskins, Nixon's favorite football coach, was perhaps unconsciously speaking for the president when he remarked, "The winner is the only

individual who is truly alive. I've said this to our ball club. Every time you win, you're reborn; when you lose you die a little."

But power is not based on winning all the time. A man who has to win every battle is asking the impossible of himself and the world, and is likely to collapse the first time he encounters defeat. A powerful man, by definition, is able to survive failure and humiliation, to draw some deeper wisdom from them, to practice what John F. Kennedy called "grace under pressure."

The essence of power is the ability to cope with the demands of life, not to react like a paranoid at every real or imagined threat, or waste one's life and energy trying to submit everything to one's own control. The world is a disorderly and dangerous place, and always has been, and the man of power must learn to live in it comfortably. It is one thing to have a sense of order, but quite another to impose that sense of order on the rest of the world—no amount of power is sufficient for that, and one can only fail in the attempt. We can only control others to a limited degree, and the world is full of men who seem powerful in their little world, but are in fact chained to their desks like galley slaves to the oar. On and on they labor, far into the night, because they fear one moment of inattention or hesitation will undermine their power.

One could see these traits in former President Nixon—the joylessness, "the endless struggle for control," the compulsive need to be "on top," the tortured attempts to disguise even small defeats as victories of some kind, the endless plea for sympathy and understanding, the feeling that life is nothing but a tough challenge, in which hard work and the will to win count for everything.

It is not power—perhaps not even the abuse of power—that is at the root of the White House horrors. "The thing that is completely misunderstood about Watergate," said former White House special counsel Charles Colson, "is that everybody thinks the people surrounding the president were drunk with

There is no doubt that a "high-level self-pity influenced the style of the Nixon White House, and self-pity is not an emotion one connects with a sense of power. What is more, it led to blunders, inefficiency and bad management."

But was the Nixon administration unique in this respect? Many of the people we think are powerful turn out on closer examination to be merely frightened and anxious. It is a mistake to assume that the position and the person are the same thing. A man may have money, a great position of authority, but if we notice that his hands are constantly fidgeting on his desk, that he can't look us in the eye, that he cringes and uncrosses his legs as if suffering from a bad itch in the crotch and that when the telephone rings, he can't make up his mind whether to pick it up or ignore it, we can then, I think, safely conclude that he is not a man of power.

However humble our own position, we have a chance of getting whatever it is we want. How often we fail to recognize this, how long it takes us to learn the difference between real and simulated power, what opportunities we waste!

We have to learn to fight subtly, ruthlessly, constantly for our own. As nations carry on diplomacy and war to maintain their own independence, so we too must play the games of power in order to be ourselves, to avoid "being lived by" events, rather than living them. What is at stake is our ability to be the person we want to be, rather than being the person others want us to be. What we all want is what Rollo May describes as "sense of significance... a person's conviction that he counts for something, that he has an effect on others, and that he can get recognition from his fellows."

Thus, trivial as power games may sometimes seem, they are a means of defining who we are, of preserving both our freedom of action and our ability to effect change. We learn, early on in the schoolyard, that things often go badly for bystanders, that engaging ourselves in events may lead to their turning out in our favor, rather than against us. When you pick up the telephone, write a letter, join in a conversation, you are—like it or not—initiating a game, at the end of which you will either feel pleased with yourself or have the nagging sense that you have somehow been diminished, reduced in significance. Nothing is static; every action makes us more or less than we were before. Even the most mundane office is a place in which to test our power. Every moment in the day offers us the opportunity to try our skills, to enjoy our triumphs, to learn something from defeats—for we cannot always be victorious.

Most of us think power lies elsewhere, in the next office, on the floor above, in the White House. On the

dents and all the well known assassination attempts.

It even went into one episode that was not an assassination attempt. That was the shooting of the Chilean chief of staff, Gen. Rene Schneider, in 1970, as part of a bungled effort to stage a kidnapping that would provoke a military coup against the Allende regime.

In handling the investigation, Sen. Church behaved with exemplary re-

that the committee inquiry, despite the comments of the President and Vice President, did not find there was clear presidential responsibility for all the actions taken by the CIA in the assassination area.

But even Sen. Church could not admit that the bureaucratic interplay between a President and a secret intelligence agency was inevitably a matter

passed by the CIA to those who did the killing. It requests tapes from a time when tapes were probably not being made. It refers to a highly sensitive special file of Nixon papers that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger says he didn't even know existed.

The upshot of the subpoena is to throw the hot potato back to the White House. Now if any secrets remain un-

known to the serious business of setting new guidelines and establishing new machinery for command and control over the CIA. In the bargain there would be a little dent made in the populist myth that some kind of fix is always in, and that all the country's problems can be solved if only there is a tough investigation of the bad guys.

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Jack Anderson

...And a Return to the Shadows

The Central Intelligence Agency may come out of its penitent period with its powers and privileges still intact.

The calls for reform have produced more promises than changes. Abuses have been halted, but the causes have gone uncorrected.

All the while, the CIA has been slipping back into the shadows. The scandal-weary public is tiring of sordid spy stories. The investigations on Capitol Hill are running out of steam.

Sensing that the worst is over, CIA chief William Colby is trying to put the lid back on. President Ford has joined him in warning that the investigations could impair the collection of vital intelligence.

Colby contends that the chastened spy agency won't again overreach its legal limits. There is nothing wrong with the CIA, he insists, that the right indoctrination and discipline can't cure. Once the authorities on high define the agency's mission with a little more clarity and lay down the dictum that abuses won't be tolerated, promises Colby, the CIA can be counted upon to operate within constitutional constraints.

I have talked with Colby, and I am sure he means this. In my opinion, he will work within the CIA to make it a better, more responsible agency.

Yet it was only 14 years ago that the CIA went through another upheaval. The blunder of all CIA blunders was the Bay of Pigs invasion. President Kennedy was so angry after the fiasco that he threatened "to splinter the CIA in a thousand pieces and scatter it to the winds."

Instead, he confronted the CIA's civilian watchdogs. "Something is gravely wrong inside the CIA, and I intend to find out what it is," he proclaimed. "I cannot afford another Bay of Pigs."

He personally attended many of the civilian advisory board's secret sessions and helped to fashion reforms that were imposed upon the CIA. He charged his brother, Robert, with the responsibility to see that the reforms were put into effect. The younger Kennedy shook up the agency from top to bottom.

Yet throughout the very throes of these reforms, the CIA used the Mafia to make several attempts on the life of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro. And the worst excesses of the CIA, including the illegal spying on American citizens, occurred during the next 10 years.

Now the Rockefeller Commission is prepared once again to rely on a "strengthened" civilian advisory board to make the CIA behave. The Rockefeller reformers would grant the board full powers for "assessing the quality of foreign intelligence collection."

There is something dismayingly familiar about this. Back in 1961, the board was reformed with powers, according to the old charter, to "conduct a continuing review and assessment of foreign intelligence activities."

In other words, the board has always had the powers Nelson Rockefeller so piously would now bestow upon it. He should be aware of this, since he has served on the board. He should also be familiar with its history of acquiescence to the CIA.

Periodically, CIA officials have been

called before the board for questioning. The sessions have always been sober but sympathetic, with the solicitude that characterizes gentlemen who share grave secrets.

Participants have assured us that they have often pressed reforms upon the CIA. But apparently, these have been more structural than substantive. The CIA officials always listen solemnly to their civilian advisors. Thereafter, the officials call meetings, issue directives, move the furniture around and otherwise create the impression that changes will be made. And then they quietly return to their same old routines.

The cozy relationship between the watchdogs and the watchees is exemplified by the board's executive secretary, Wheaton Byers. My associate, Jim Grady, asked him for the phone numbers of board members so we could solicit their comments.

Byers indignantly refused, saying we wrote a "scurrilous" column that printed classified information. Evidently, he considered the phone numbers of the members classified, since he refused to give them out. We reached several of them anyway; with rare exception, we found them as protective as Byers toward the CIA.

This seems to be the attitude of everyone close to the CIA. They agree with Colby, who wants to make it a crime for newsmen to publish classified information. The legislation he has in mind, of course, would authorize the CIA director to determine what should be classified.

This would give the nation's spy chief total censorship power over all news that comes out of the CIA. As has

way of reform, in other words, he would put the emphasis not on correcting CIA abuses but on keeping them out of the newspapers.

Certainly he can argue that the CIA would not be under fire today if he had already possessed this extraordinary power. The abuses would have gone unpublished, uninvestigated and, therefore, uncorrected.

The Rockefeller Commission, if it isn't willing to go quite as far as Colby, comes perilously close. The commission wants to make it a "criminal offense for employees or former employees of the CIA willfully to divulge to any unauthorized person classified information pertaining to foreign intelligence or the collection thereof obtained during the course of their employment."

If the CIA is to regain the trust of the people, it must allow more, or less, light on its activities. No other nation has been as successful as the United States in maintaining a free society. It requires a powerful spotlight to expose the abuses that threaten our freedom.

Footnote: The Rockefeller Commission has also come out, four square, against domestic spying. But the recommendation leaves a handy loophole which permits a little benign spying. There should be "a clear danger to Agency facilities, operations or personnel." Of course, this was precisely the rationale used by the CIA to begin illegal domestic spying in the first place. What the CIA needs, clearly, is a tough new charter spelling out the rights and wrongs of intelligence operations.

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Joseph Kraft

CIA: The Assassination Hot Potato...

The Senate investigation into CIA assassinations is running into the sands of confusion. That is the immediate meaning of the subpoena issued the other day for new access to President Nixon's tapes and papers. The larger meaning is that even the most responsible authorities are unwilling to acknowledge that some issues are too delicate and complex for the rights and wrongs to be settled by mere investigation.

The starting point of the assassination muddle is President Ford. He made it known—in an offhand way that verges on irresponsibility—that the CIA had been involved in assassination plots against foreign leaders. When an outcry arose, as it was bound to, he assigned investigation of the matter to the Rockefeller Commission looking into domestic improprieties by the CIA. The implication was that the Rockefeller Commission would get to the bottom of the assassination business.

In fact the commission went an inch deep and then stopped for lack of time and staff. So Mr. Ford passed the issue to a select Senate committee headed by Frank Church (D-Idaho), which was looking into the appropriate organization of the intelligence community.

At that time, Mr. Ford said that he "did not want to be a Monday morning quarterback" on the actions of past Presidents. The only reasonable inference was that past Presidents were mixed up in the assassination business and that the Senate committee would make a definitive judgment on their role.

The committee did undertake a full-scale investigation, using a large and competent staff with access to the most privileged material. It examined the actions of all the post-war Pres-



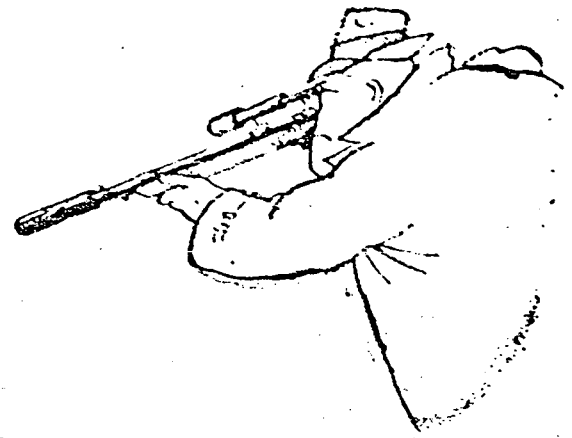
The CIA at home...

sponsibility. He refused, miraculous to say, television hearings that would have been a socko sensation and made his name a household word. He worked closely with opposition senators, notably John Tower of Texas, to produce unanimous decisions.

His one impropriety was to say that the CIA had behaved as "a rogue elephant." No doubt that put the case too bluntly. What the senator meant was

of wilful, knowing ambiguity—a transaction where neither party wanted to know too much of the other's actions. Rather than merely say that, he is bowing out by demanding, through subpoena of the White House, documents from the Nixon presidency which are relevant to the Schneider killing.

The language of the subpoena strains for effect. It refers to the



By Asch for the Philadelphia Inquirer
...and abroad.

plumbed. If any loose ends remain untied, the White House can be blamed.

Turnabout is fair play, and President Ford is only getting now what he asked for when he handed the committee the assignment in the first place. But it is too bad somebody can't say flatly that ultimate responsibility for the assassinations probably can't be pinned down.

That was all anybody could say

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By James K. W. Abernethy—The Washington Post
Former CIA counsel Lawrence R. Houston testifying.

RFK Called Upset By CIA-Mafia Ties

By Lawrence Meyer
Washington Post Staff Writer

Former Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy was "perturbed" when he learned in 1962 that the Central Intelligence Agency and the Mafia were working together, but he appeared indifferent to their aborted plot to kill Cuban Premier Fidel Castro, a former CIA official said yesterday.

Kennedy was angry at the CIA's involvement itself with the Mafia "because at the time he was very strong on crime-pushing," former CIA general counsel Lawrence R. Houston told reporters. When Kennedy was briefed on the plot to kill Castro, Houston said, "he didn't seem very perturbed about Castro. At least, he didn't say anything."

What Kennedy did say, according to Houston, was, "If you're going to have anything to do with the Mafia again, come to me first."

Houston, the CIA's chief lawyer for 26 years until his retirement in 1973, was asked because a House subcommittee yesterday to probe

agreement between the CIA and the Justice Department that let the CIA decide when its personnel should be prosecuted for breaking the law.

Although questions of possible illegal conduct should have been referred to him under CIA procedures, Houston testified, he learned recently of several illegal activities carried on by the CIA.

Houston's comments about the aborted Mafia-CIA plot to kill Castro in 1959-61 represented the fullest public account yet made.

Houston said he approached the Justice Department when one of its investigations into an associate of Mafia figures Sam Giancana and Johnny Roselli threatened to reveal the plot. By that time, April, 1962, the plot had been exposed by unknown officials in the CIA, Houston said.

He said he had been told the plot to kill Castro was started in 1960, although

See HOUSTON, A2, Col. 1

Lead Spurt in Living Costs

By James L. Rowe Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

Propelled by rising meat and fuel prices, the cost of living jumped sharply in June, prompting administration officials to warn of the dangers of renewed inflation.

The Department of Labor reported yesterday that the consumer price index rose 0.8 per cent in June, twice the 0.4 per cent increase registered in May and the biggest jump retail prices have taken in a month this year.

White House press secretary Ron Nessen told reporters that President Ford sees the June increase as a "signal that inflation has not been defeated." Nessen said the increase was larger than had been anticipated.

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.), chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, agreed with Mr. Ford that "inflation remains a serious problem and not one that automatically disappears, as some seem to believe, with recession."

He blamed the rise in gasoline prices on administration policies. "President Ford wants them to rise. He believes that higher prices will stimulate production and increase conservation. But so far, only the prices are rising."

Albert Rees, director of the Council on Wage and Price Stability, said the June price performance "disappointed" him. He said he still felt consumer prices would be about 2 per cent higher in December than they were at the end of 1974.

"I had been hoping for a substantially better performance than that. Now it will be difficult," Rees said.

Rees, who will leave the White House economic watch dog agency next week to return to Princeton University, said the real disappointment in the consumer price index was not the steep rise in gasoline and meat but the fact of declines anywhere else.

"Everything is up from a month ago," Rees said. "I thought somewhere, there would be something that would have gone down."

Grocery store prices, which rose 0.6 per cent in May, shot up 1.9 per cent in June. Most of the rise was accounted for by a sharp 3.8 per cent increase in meat prices.

Fruit and vegetable prices rose 2.4 per cent in June, after falling in April and May, or the threat to the American as dairy products or cereals. He said his plan would have either fell or remained virtually the same.

Gasoline prices rose 3 per cent.

See ECONOMY, A5, Col. 1

Oil Price Decontrol Is Killed

By Richard L. Lyons
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House yesterday killed President Ford's plan to decontrol the price of domestic oil but showed it lacks the votes to override his veto of a bill to retain controls.

By 262 to 167, the House rejected Mr. Ford's plan to decontrol over 20 months the price of oil now subject to controls, which is about two-thirds of domestic production. Under the oil price law, rejection of a presidential decontrol plan by a majority vote of either house kills it.

But the vote fell far short of the two-thirds needed to override the President's Monday veto of a bill that would have extended the price control law from its expiration Aug. 31 to Dec. 31 and also would have rolled back the price of uncontrolled domestic oil to \$11.28 a barrel from its present level of about \$13. House leaders will decide Thursday whether to try to override the veto.

After yesterday's vote, the House resumed consideration of an energy conservation bill which some members said could provide a vehicle for a compromise on the oil price issue, but it adjourned for the day without voting on the issue.

President Ford said he was disappointed at the vote but that he would continue to urge Congress to adopt a comprehensive energy program.

"We cannot stand still or move backwards," Mr. Ford said. "We must make progress. The threat to the American economy and American jobs will continue to increase."

He said his plan would have saved energy "while not hindering economic recovery."

See ENERGY, A7, Col. 1

Hathaway Reveals 'Depression'

Interior Secretary Stanley K. Hathaway, a patient at Bethesda naval hospital for the past week, announced yesterday he is suffering from "moderate depression brought about by physical exhaustion and fatigue."

PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD

Hottelmann, 43, is a former special assistant to the Secretary of Defense and a former in legal counsel to Sen. Charles McNamara (D-Ill.). He also served as general counsel of the Atomic Energy Commission.

A native of Stockbridge, Mass., Hottelmann is a graduate of Princeton University and the University of Virginia Law School.

After service in the Army, he was an assistant U.S. attorney here and later was associated with the University Commission of Dallas.

The White House also announced that Mr. Ford plans to nominate two new under secretaries—James A. Baker III of Houston, in the Department of Commerce, and Edwin H. Yeo III of Sewickley, Pa., in the Treasury Department.

Baker, 43, is a lawyer who has been a partner in a Houston firm since 1967. Yeo, 41, a native of Youngstown, Ohio, will serve as under secretary of the treasury for monetary affairs. He is now vice chairman of the Pittsburgh Corp. and Pittsburgh National Bank.

President Ford also announced that he plans to nominate James D. Ishister to head the new Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration.

Witness Says CIA-Mafia Tie 'Perturbed' RFK

HOUSTON, From AP

How it got started was "a bit the vague" and he said he did not know who ordered it.

When the discussion came up, Houston said, the head of the CIA's Office of Security, Col. Sheffield Edwards, said "I've got a fellow with some interesting contacts."

That person, Houston said, was Robert Mahon, a former FBI agent and then an associate of billionaire Howard Hughes. Either through Mahon or by him, contact was made with Roselli. Houston said the first contact was made by persons purporting to represent business interests so Roselli would not know he was dealing with the CIA, Houston said.

Ultimately, however, the plan to kill Castro — which was to have been coordinated with the Bay of Pigs invasion — was called off. Houston said he was not aware until recently that the plot had been reinstated after his conversation with Robert Kennedy.

Houston's account was

immediately picked up by Houston J. Miller Jr., assistant attorney general in charge of the Criminal Division in 1962 and a friend of Robert Kennedy.

Miller said he talked to Houston but never about a plot involving the CIA and the Mafia. Nor did he accept Houston's statement that Kennedy had been told that Bob Kennedy had known about some plot to assassinate Castro involving the CIA and the Mafia. He would have told me about it and I know damn well he never told me about it," Miller said. "It just couldn't happen that this would come up and he wouldn't tell me. It just couldn't happen."

In answer to questions from Chairman Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) and other committee members, Houston testified that he learned only recently of several illegal CIA activities — including opening mail and conducting domestic surveillance against American citizens.

Under a 1954 agreement, the CIA was allowed to de-

termine whether to turn the large Department of Justice record on lawlessness over to the FBI, said the agreement which a year and a half later was put in effect until last December, was "improper, probably illegal and certainly a dereliction of duty" by the department.

Abzug, released a letter from the current CIA general counsel, John S. Warner, giving brief descriptions of 20 cases that were referred to the Justice Department by the CIA for consideration between 1954 and 1975.

One case, according to the letter, involved a murder which took place outside the United States. Allegations were made that two CIA employees helped dispose of the body. The agency chief for intelligence disclosed the case with the Attorney General in October 1960. The Attorney General's office did not take any action due to the legal jurisdictional restrictions involved. No further details of the incident were immediately available.

The Senate committee also had testimony from District Attorney General Kevin T. Maroney, who spent 15 years in the Justice Department's Internal Security Division and now is involved with others in the department's inquiries into the CIA and the FBI.

Asked if he did not have a "substantive" investigation of cases with which he had worked, Maroney denied knowing that any information he received had been illegally obtained. "When the Attorney General asks," Maroney said, "he'll know my background. If that's a problem, I assume he'll take it into account."

During the Senate hearings, the senators attacked records on environmental issues. They said the allowed unregulated mining in Wyoming and water industry environmental concerns.

At one point, members of the Senate Committee forced way to concede that even he had issued the environmental report not always balanced rate.

As a popular Republican governor of Wyoming, said, Hathaway was praised for that kind questioning.

"I don't think there's anything in his back-

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Senate Confirms Mathews for HEW

Dr. F. David Mathews, president of the University of Alabama, was confirmed yesterday by the Senate to be Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

Mathews, 39, who succeeds the retiring Caspar W. Weinberger, will be the youngest member of President Ford's Cabinet. He was the youngest college president when he took over at Alabama in 1963.

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield said Mathews "would make an outstanding member of the President's Cabinet." Minority Leader Hugh Scott called him a man with insight into current problems.



Bavarian Maneuvers

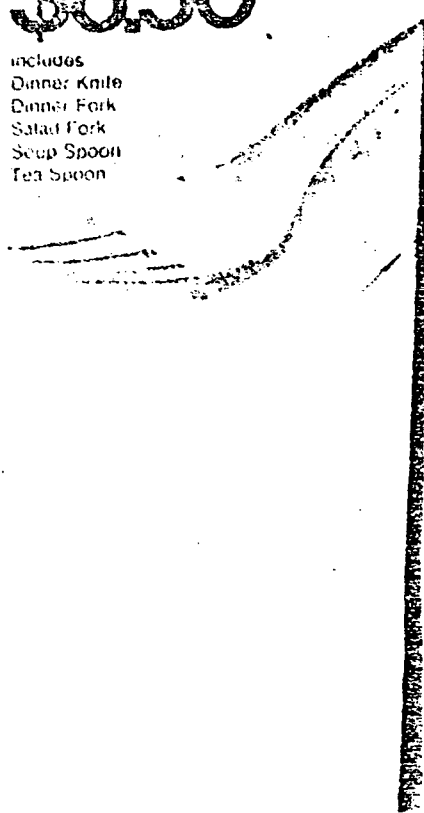
ARMY NEWS July 22 The West German army announced today that 53,000 soldiers of the Bundeswehr and 34,000 U.S., French and Canadian troops will join in maneuvers in Bavaria Sept. 15 to 19.

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- includes
- Dinner Knife
- Dinner Fork
- Salad Fork
- Soup Spoon
- Tea Spoon



Reopening JFK Death Probe

By Carol K. ...

President Ford expressed today the reopening of the investigation into the assassination of President Kennedy on the grounds that no evidence has been produced to discredit the Warren Commission findings.

Press secretary Ron Nessen made it clear that Mr. Ford is not prepared to support a suggestion by Sen. Richard S. Schweiker (R-Pa.), a member of the Senate intelligence committee, that the investigation be reopened.

In response to a question on reports that the Central Intelligence Agency was involved in plotting against the life of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro at the time of the Kennedy assassination, Nessen said Mr. Ford believed there was "no evidence" the Warren Commission findings were incorrect.

At a news conference in April, Mr. Ford said that as a member of the Warren Commission he helped draft the report. "We said that Lee Harvey Oswald was the assassin," the President recalled. "We said that the commission had found no evidence of a conspiracy, foreign or domestic."

The Rockefeller commission report on the CIA said in June that it found no credible evidence of CIA involvement in the Kennedy assassination.

In other developments, Nessen said that the President's invitation to Russian writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn to meet him at the White House was open despite the writer's criticism of the President.

Solzhenitsyn was quoted by The New York Times yesterday as charging that Mr. Ford would be participating in "the betrayal of Eastern Europe" by attending the 35-nation meeting on European security in Helsinki next week.

The Nobel prize winner said he saw no point in meeting the President in view of Mr. Ford's support of the security agreement. The Times said.

Questioned about the security agreement to be signed at the Helsinki conference after two years of negotiations, Nessen said the agreement "in no way legally settles the borders in Eastern Europe." It obligates the signers not to change borders by force but to make any changes by peaceful means, Nessen said.

Critics of the agreement, which the Soviet Union has long sought, have charged that it in effect ratifies Soviet domination of Eastern Europe.

Administration officials, denying this, are expected to em-

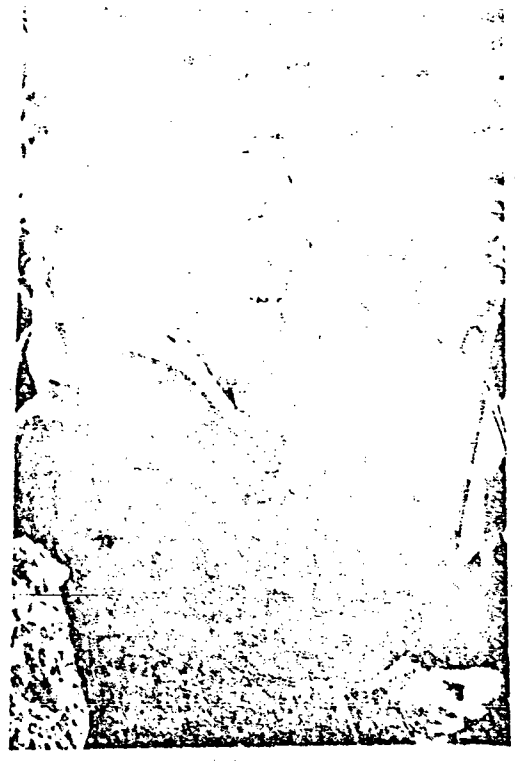
phasize in the next few days what they regard as positive benefits to the West.

However, Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), yesterday attacked the President's support of the agreement and said Mr. Ford ought to stay home.

By cooperating with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev at the Helsinki summit in fostering the illusion that substantive progress toward greater security in Europe has been made, President Ford is taking us backward, not forward, in the search for a genuine peace, Jackson said.

Jackson called the language on borders "ambiguous."

The President and Mrs. Ford are scheduled to fly to Bonn Saturday and to visit Warsaw, Bucharest and Belgrade as well as Helsinki. They will be away from Washington 10 days.



SQUARE DEAL.—President Ford accepts flag display from Future Farmers of America group during Rose Garden ceremony. National president Alpha Trivette, 20,

Martin Hoffmann to Be Named

President Ford yesterday announced that he would nominate Martin R. Hoffmann, general counsel of the Defense Department, to be Secretary of the Army.

It confirmed by the Senate Hoffmann would succeed Howard H. (Bob) Callaway, who resigned earlier this month to be chairman of the President's reelection campaign.

Hoffmann, 43, is a former special assistant to the Secretary of Defense and a former legal counsel to Sen. Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.). He also served as general counsel of the Atomic Energy Commission.

A native of Stockbridge, Mass., Hoffmann is a graduate of Princeton University and the University of Virginia Law School.

After service in the Army he was an assistant U.S. attorney and later was associated with the University Computing Co. of Dallas.

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Baker, 45, is a lawyer who has been a partner in a Houston firm since 1967. Yeo, 41, a native of Youngstown, Ohio, will serve as under secretary of the treasury for monetary affairs and is now vice chairman of the Pittsburgh Corp.

President Ford also announced plans to nominate Robert H. Anderson to be under secretary of the treasury for financial affairs.

Isbister, 38, has been serving for three years as its administrative director. Before that he spent a year in London as an academic visitor at the School of Economics and the United Kingdom Medical Research Council.

He held posts with the National Institute of Mental Health from 1967 to 1973 serving as

Witness Says CIA-Mafia

HOUSTON, From Al

how it got started was "a bit vague" and he said he did not know who ordered it.

When the discussion came up, Houston said, the head of the CIA's Office of Security, Col. Sheffield Edwards, said, "I've got a fellow with some interesting contacts." That person, Houston said, was Robert Malen, a former FBI agent and then an associate of billionaire Howard Hughes. Either through Malen or by direct contact was made with Russell Houston said. The first contact was made by persons purporting to represent business interests so Russell would not know he was dealing with the CIA, Houston said.

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heatedly denied by Herbert J. Miller Jr., assistant attorney general in charge of the Criminal Division in 1962 and a friend of Robert Kennedy.

Miller said he talked to Houston but never about a plot involving the CIA and the Mafia. Nor did he accept Houston's statement that Kennedy had been told "if Bob Kennedy had known about some plot to assassinate Castro involving the CIA and the Mafia, he would have told me about it and I know damn well he never told me about it." Miller said "it just couldn't happen that this would come up and he would tell me. It just couldn't happen."

In answer to a question from Chairman of Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, J. Edgar Hoover, Miller said he had no recollection of any CIA activities involving a "CIA-Mafia" plot to assassinate Castro.

30 Die in Crash

AP Wire Service

CULIACAN, Mexico, Jan. 22

At least 20 people were killed and 30 injured when a plane crashed into a mountain here today. The plane was carrying 30 people, including a U.S. military officer and a U.S. Air Force pilot. The plane was flying from Culiacan to Mazatlan.

Another 'Conspiracy' Book About JFK's Assassination

By CARL A. KESLER

The pathos which for *The Tears of Autumn* states that, in addition to being somewhat of a world traveler, its author, Charles McCarry, was chief speech writer for Henry Cabot Lodge in the 1960 campaign. Since Henry Cabot Lodge is remembered more for having slept through the campaign than for having made rousing speeches, this credit would better have remained unmentioned.

Interestingly, Henry Cabot Lodge is also remembered as being in charge of JFK's Saigon bungle which resulted in the murders of the brothers Diem and Nhu. All of which brings us back to *The Tears of Autumn*.

A rumor in Saigon at the time of the coup held that the Ngo Dinh were liquidated because they were playing footsie with Hanoi. McCarry devotes three lines to this, which is about two lines more than it deserves. The rumor, however, convinced some doubters on the scene that the assassinations were justified.

The real reason the Ngos were removed is that the Knights of Camelot were persuaded to believe that Diem was no more than a self-seeking petty dictator and Nhu was a mere chief of a brutal secret police force. Not much imagination is needed to guess the source of this characterization. The usual charges of corruption, Swiss bank accounts and police brutality were made, and the Knights succeeded in convincing President Kennedy that this appraisal was accurate. Diem and Nhu had to go.

A plot in August had failed, but the one in November would not. In the meantime, an embarrassing visitor showed up in the United States.

The Tiger Lady, the glamorous wife of Nhu and President Diem's state hostess, arrived from Europe where she had been warmly received. (Even in Communist Yugoslavia at the Parliamentary Congress she was given a standing ovation.) Official Washington, from the President on down, constrained by guilt and shame over the as-yet unexecuted conspiracy, did not greet her. The State Department acknowledged her presence, however, by calling a conference of editors urging that she be buried on page 22. CBS responded by canceling her appearance on "Face the Nation," and the press generally showered her with derision.

On November 1, the Ngo Dinh were thrown. The following day Diem and Nhu, hands cuffed behind their backs, were shot. The Tiger Lady said, "If you have the Kennedy Administration for an ally, you don't need an enemy."

Twenty days after the murders in Saigon there was a murder in Dallas. The Tiger Lady, bitter over the earlier assassination of her husband and her brother-in-law, commented that justice had been served, or words to that effect.

McCarry has expanded this theme, using an ex-CIA man as his vehicle for running down yet another "true" story of Kennedy's death, how the Ngo family avenged the murders of Diem and Nhu, how Oswald was recruited, and how and why Jack Ruby was recruited to eliminate Oswald. The tale is gripping and implausible enough to make a good movie script.

In order to explain why the avengers were busy recruiting Oswald in late September one month before they had anything to avenge, McCarry has to introduce horoscopes, geomancies and other astrological nonsense. This business enables the avengers to outdo even Jeanne Dixon. They are able to predict not only that they will have something to avenge, but who they will have to kill (JFK), where (Dallas), and when (November 22).

McCarry also suggests that the Russians recruited Ruby (courtesy of the Mafia, but without the Godfather's O.K.) to kill Oswald and thereby "take the heat off" themselves. If this is what the Russians were interested in, it is the least thing they would have done.

Anatoli A. Gromyko (yes, Andrei's son) in his *Through Russian Eyes, President Kennedy's 1,036 Days* asks the question, "How could it happen that the apparent perpetrator of the crime was liquidated literally before the eyes of everyone, and, naturally, can no longer furnish evidence?"

The jacket of McCarry's book hints that it should be taken seriously. Come now. If that's the case, then McCarry joins Harold Weisberg, Thomas Buchanan, Fred Cook, Sylvia Fox, Edward Epstein, and a host of others who have advanced their own, sometimes wild, theories of what really happened in Dallas.

If McCarry's book is taken simply as a *Parade of the Faint of Heart*, it's pretty good reading, though not a masterpiece. Metaphors are blurred and unimpaired. The reader grows weary, occasionally wary, of pompous name dropping, not so much of people as of wine, food and places.

Programmed sex, à la Masters and Johnson, intrudes as an extraneous distraction in imitation of today's crummy literature. The hero's character is not entirely even. He is both a good guy and a CIA man, a currently extinct species. He wouldn't think of using a gun, but he is not beyond asking his agents to use a little close-range bird shot in the face, said not to be fatal but capable of much gore, temporary blindness and "a lot of pain and shock." You'd better believe it.

He wouldn't support a regime that tortures political prisoners, yet he isn't above kidnapping and torturing his own victims. He is an "entirely sentimental" man, interested solely in the facts, ma'am. Yet he manages to develop a maudlin middle-class affection for his erstwhile bedmate of convenience as well as a sentimental passion for his dead President and his country. Even ex-CIA men can't be all bad.

McCarry solves all the mysteries surrounding the deaths of Diem, Nhu and Kennedy excepting one. Who in the world did E. Howard Hunt expect to convince, who wasn't already convinced, when he fooled around with these agents to Saigon? But a more real criticism: After all, John Dean couldn't answer that one.

Prof. Kesler was born in Washington, D.C., but escaped to England, where he has lived since 1945. His moral decline started when he became an assistant dean of a college. Undaunted, he managed to work himself down to Commonwealth Professor Emeritus and retired in 1963 from the University of Massachusetts when shouting and shouting again seemed imminent.

Another switch-off for the truth?

A renewed campaign has been mounted against Radio Free Europe, the station (based in Federal Germany) which broadcasts to the Soviet Empire and to which millions of that empire's colonial subjects listen at the risk of their liberties or even lives. The station, which has long been a poisoned thorn in the flesh of the Soviet imperialists, not least because it does not waste its time on exhortation, rant or propaganda, offering instead the dissemination of news to nations deprived of it, lives a precarious existence; its funds are provided by the United States, but voted annually by Congress, and the spirit of appeasement now rife in that body has resulted in a prolonged campaign to have the funds cut off and the station consequently shut down.

I wrote here almost exactly three years ago about the attempt being made at that time to destroy RFE, an attempt led by Senator Fulbright. It failed then, and failed again a year later, when Fulbright returned to the attack; he has, of course, disappeared from Congress since then, but I learn that another assault is to be made shortly. Such pressure has been fuelled in the past by massive campaigns of "disinformation" on the part of the authorities in those countries to which RFE beams its piercing ray of truth, and it can be safely assumed that the same thing is happening now. Since I think that a further word in RFE's support is in order, it will do no harm to present some details of previous campaigns of that kind, particularly since I have reason to believe that the Polish Embassy in this country is even now trying to get some of the same kind of material "planted" in the British press.

At the end of 1972 the office of the editor of the principal Polish-language daily in the United States was broken into; a letter to its editor from Jan Nowak, director of the Polish section of RFE, was stolen. Early in 1973, the letter was

published in Warsaw along with other letters purporting to be from Nowak, but which were in fact forgeries. It bore the documentary proof of this, including affidavits from those directly concerned. The juxtaposition of the genuine with the false was designed to discredit Nowak and the RFE (the forgery, for instance, suggested that Fulbright was a Communist or Communist sympathiser), and the operation was timed to coincide with an "official" visit by Nowak to the United States and with hearings in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on RFE and its future. Fulbright, understandably, made great play with the letters, using them to attack RFE; he then, of course, believed them all to be genuine, but it is much to be regretted that; even when he was later supplied with proof of the forgery, he made no retraction.

The forgeries were typed on the headed writing paper of RFE; the same technique had been used in an earlier, similar campaign, when other forged letters were circulated, purporting to be from the head of the European staff—one to the president of the company through which RFE operates in the United States, and the other to the Turkish Foreign Ministry. (These referred to plans for moving RFE's headquarters to Turkey; no such plans existed, but the campaign served both to alarm RFE's staff, who feared that the station was about to be expelled from Germany, and to disturb United States-Turkish relations.)

A parallel campaign was launched recently in Czechoslovakia, using Ervin Marak, a spy whom the Czech intelligence services had managed to infiltrate into Federal Germany (he had presented himself as a victim of political persecution) in 1968; he got into contact with a number of genuine Czech exiles, including some who worked for RFE. Unknown to them, he taped telephone conversations with

them, and then, using the names of the real people, typed out a series of letters purporting to be from Marak to RFE.

These letters, in various guises, attempted to discredit employees of RFE, often by the use of names of real individuals that were in the Soviet Empire; one such attempt that succeeded resulted in a Polish refugee who had been employed in RFE's research department resigning to Warsaw and being used as the signatory to a pamphlet which attempted to discredit RFE and even in used allegations that Nowak had been a Nazi collaborator during the war. (He was a particularly courageous member of the Polish underground and was decorated for his services by both Poland and Britain.)

And now, as I say, it is due to begin again. In a sense, these campaigns against RFE are the highest tribute the organisation could be paid; it really were the crude propaganda machine that it has been called once only by its enemies in the East but also, alas, by too many in the West, the Soviet imperialists and their central governments would not vex so fiercely to destroy it, nor need to. But RFE serves two vital purposes; its broadcasts get the truth across the frontiers of the subjugated nations of Eastern Europe, and they help to keep hope and faith alive among the people who take the risk of listening to them. In other words, they do exactly what the RFE broadcasts to occupied Europe during the Second World War did, and they rest on the same foundation which is the avoidance of mere propaganda (the peoples of Soviet Europe do not need to be told how grim their lot is, nor how tyrannous are their oppressors, and the use instead of programmes displaying detailed and accurate knowledge of those things in their own countries which are concealed from them. It was this that made the RFE broadcasts so effective; when they were in the air,

they were not only heard but also understood. It was this that made them so dangerous to the Soviet Empire, and it was this that made them so valuable to the peoples of Eastern Europe.

It would be a serious loss to the world if the new spirit of restoration that appears to be growing in the United States were to lead to America's abandonment of Radio Free Europe, and I hope Senator Jackson, and others in Congress who are disturbed by the new trend will stand firm against attempts to cut off RFE's funds. Above all, I hope that when, at some crucial moment, letters or other documents, coincidentally appear which seem to discredit RFE or members of its staff, similar campaigns of the past will be remembered. For I say that the closure or restriction of RFE would be a serious loss to the world, and so it would. It would also, however, and much more seriously, be a catastrophic blow to the morale of the people who depend on it to keep alive within themselves the tiny sparks of hope, courage and patience which enable them to go on living in their communist darkness without succumbing to total despair. A few weeks ago, I received, by a circuitous route, a letter from Czechoslovakia in which the writer was good enough to say that my words on the subject of his battered country served for him and his friends just such a purpose. If that is so, if that can be done by my words, in English and in a newspaper which has to be smuggled into Czechoslovakia in single copies, of how much greater effect, and of what genuine and lasting worth, must be the words that such people can hear in their own language, from Radio Free Europe. I cannot believe that the United States, on whose generosity and belief in freedom, RFE depends, would wish the spark to be extinguished.

Colonel Claims Plot Against Castro

Did CIA Fly Killers to Cuba?

The CIA launched a two-man assassination team into Cuba in an unsuccessful attempt to kill Premier Fidel Castro, a retired Air Force colonel says.

L. Fletcher Prouty said yesterday that in "late 1959 or early 1960," while serving in the Defense Department's Office of Special Operations, he handled a CIA request for a small, specially equipped Air Force plane that was used to land two Cuban exiles on a road near Havana.

The two exiles were "equipped with a high-powered rifle and telescopic sights" and "knew how to get to a building in Havana which overlooked a building where Castro passed daily," Prouty, now an official with Amtrak, said in a telephone interview.

THE PLANE, an L23 "helocourier," returned safely to Eglin Air Force Base in Florida, Prouty said, but the "Cuban exiles as far as I know were picked up between where they were left off and town."

He said that one of the would-be assassins was named Oscar Spino and that the plane had been flown by "mercenaries" on the CIA payroll.

Prouty added that he knew of "one or two" other assassination attempts to against Castro following the Bay of Pigs but said he did not know the details of those missions because he had not worked on them directly.

Prouty retired from the Air Force in 1963 and has since written a book called "The Secret Team," detailing his experiences as Air Force liaison with the CIA.

Asked why he had waited until now to come forward with his story, Prouty said he had become incensed at the verbal abuse directed at CBS' newsmen Daniel Schorr on Monday by former CIA Director Richard M. Helms.

HAVING JUST emerged from 3 1/2 hours of questioning by the Rockefeller Commission, Helms denounced Schorr with profanities and referred to him as "Killer Schorr" for reporting that the "CIA goes around killing people."

Schorr has reported on a number of occasions that President Ford is concerned that an unlimited investigation of CIA activities could uncover agency involvement in foreign assassinations.

"It got me a little upset," Prouty said of Helms' attack on Schorr, adding that he was "positive" Helms knew about the mission.

At the time, Helms was an assistant to CIA Deputy Director of Plans Richard Bissell. But Prouty said Bissell was preoccupied with directing U2 flights over the Soviet Union, leaving Helms in almost total control of clandestine operations against Cuba.

Helms, who succeeded Bissell as head of the agency's so-called "dirty tricks" department and headed the CIA from 1966 to 1973, told reporters Monday that "as far as I know the CIA was never responsible for the assassination of any foreign leader," a statement which technically does not rule out the possibility of an unsuccessful attempt on Castro's life.

HELMS ALSO was asked if there had been any discussions of assassinations. He replied that "in govern-

ment there are always conversations of everything under the sun."

When a reporter responded that Helms hadn't answered the specific question, Helms snappd back: "I'm not trying to answer your question."

Indeed, he left the agency in 1973 and the Bay of Pigs invasion, said in a recent interview that there had been high level discussions about killing Castro but that plans had been vetoed by then-CIA Director Allen Dulles.

WASHINGTON POST
30 APRIL 1975

Held as Spy

WEST BERLIN — A 29-year-old West German who worked as a chauffeur for the United States military authorities here has been arrested on suspicion of spying for an East European country, a Justice Ministry spokesman said.

The man, Werner Schallitz, was carrying plans of U.S. installations, information about military personnel and a forged Swiss passport when police arrested him last Thursday, the spokesman said. Schallitz has reportedly denied the accusation.

CIA aide's role in Viet evacuation raises mystery

By Morton Kondracke

San Francisco Times

WASHINGTON — Amid the mystery surrounding the U.S. evacuation program in Vietnam, there is some mystery. For one thing, the No. 2 man in charge of the program here is a high-ranking Central Intelligence Agency official, Clayton E. McManaway Jr.

McManaway, whose regular position is special assistant to CIA Director William E. Colby, formerly served in Vietnam with the title of associate director of the American aid mission, and congressional sources said that was cover for his work in intelligence.

The reason for placement of a CIA official as deputy director of the government's evacuation task force could not be learned from the White House, State Department or CIA.

One possible explanation is that many of the Vietnamese on U.S. evacuation lists are intelligence-connected.

Ambassador Dean Brown, task force director, said at a State Department briefing Thursday that 50,000 Vietnamese who may be admitted to the United States as so-called "high-risk" cases include persons who have served in the Saigon government's national police, intelligence services and the Phoenix program, the CIA's effort to eliminate Viet Cong cadres by assassination and other means. Brown said the number would also include Vietnamese employees of the U.S. government, former Saigon political leaders and Vietnamese intellectuals and their families.

But Brown could not clarify the basis for setting the high-risk figure at 50,000, a decision Brown said was made by President Ford. White House spokesmen simply explained, "This was the figure that was arrived at for now."

Better answers to these and other questions will be sought Friday by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) at a hearing of his Senate subcommittee on refugees. Kennedy is reported to

be furious at what aides called the evacuation "mess" and at lack of communication from Brown's task force.

Kennedy is also said to be angry that the administration apparently has not instituted negotiations with North Vietnam and the Viet Cong to assure intervention by the United Nations and other international agencies to protect Vietnamese who are not evacuated.

"There ought to be a diplomacy of reconciliation going on," a Kennedy aide said, "so that tens of thousands of Vietnamese can stay in Vietnam and not think they have to flee."

Congressional sources and others who are in touch with the Provisional Revolutionary Government (Viet Cong) in Paris assert that the United States has made no direct approaches to the Communists, yet secret talks might be under way.

The fact that Communist forces have not yet tried to cut off Tan Son Nhut airport and other evacuation routes has fueled reports of a secret understanding. Administration officials said the subject of negotiations was "too delicate" to talk about.

Abruptly late Monday night, the sources said, the administration announced to Congress that it wanted to exercise special parole authority to admit as many as 120,000 Vietnamese to the United States.

After a secret briefing Tuesday by CIA, State Department, Pentagon and Justice Department officials, the Senate Judiciary Committee agreed to endorse the administration request, which sources said was "presented to us, not in consultation, but as a fait accompli."

At the briefing, federal Immigration Commr. Leonard Chapman reportedly declared, "We have to do something before these people are beheaded."

So far, according to Brown, 12,000 Vietnamese have been evacuated to Guam and the Philippines, of whom the "great majority" are relatives of Americans and resident aliens.

Brown said that there is sufficient airlift capacity to bring out 8,000 or more persons a day, but that the U.S. Embassy in Saigon is processing only 5,000 a day. Brown said embassy personnel were having a "Godawful problem" processing that many daily.

It is possible that a still unreported number of Vietnamese, perhaps in the thousands, is leaving Saigon by sea. There were six or seven U.S. Navy contract freighters in Saigon harbor Monday morning. By Tuesday the number was five, by Wednesday morning four and by nightfall Wednesday reportedly down to three. Pentagon officials will not discuss whether refugees are aboard the departing ships. It takes five to seven hours to sail down the river from Saigon to the sea, and much of that passage is vulnerable to North Vietnamese action.

Brown said State Department officials have enlisted private charity organizations to help establish temporary settlement centers throughout the United States so "no one part of the country will be inundated with refugees." The U.S. officials also were contacting international refugee groups and individual countries, urging them to join the effort to find new homes for the refugees, Brown said.

Castro Death Plot Linked to '62 Crisis

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

A once high-ranking Defense Department official said yesterday that he drafted contingency plans for dealing with the 1962 Cuban missile crisis that "may" have included Fidel Castro's assassination.

The former official, Maj. Gen. Edward G. Lansdale (USAF-retired), hinted strongly, but refused to confirm, that the orders to draw up the plans came from the late Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy.

An expert in counterinsurgency tactics with long experience in South Vietnam and the Philippines, Lansdale said he was told to do "some planning for the President's consideration" about how to deal with Castro in light of reports that Soviet-made nuclear missiles were about to be installed in Cuba.

He said it was quite possible that the assassination of Castro was among the options he listed in a subsequent memo, but he said he no longer had a copy of the memo and thus could not definitely recall whether he included that in his suggestions.

Lansdale insisted, however, that neither President



EDWARD G. LANSDALE
... hints RFK role

Kennedy or any other Kennedy ever gave me any orders to plan the assassination of Castro."

"All I was doing was to try to respond and come up

See CASTRO, A1, Col. 7

Death Plot Tied To Crisis

CASTRO, From A1

with what was practical and what wasn't," he said in a telephone interview. "Who knows? I might have listed all sorts of possibilities and that [Castro's assassination] might have been one of them."

Castro has said that repeated attempts were made on his life and the lives of other high-ranking Cuban officials—some of them engineered by the Central Intelligence Agency—after he became premier in 1959.

Investigations of the CIA now under way have also compiled mounting evidence that both President John F. Kennedy and his brother, Robert, who were later cut down by assassins, were well aware of proposals to kill the Cuban leader.

High-ranking officials of the Eisenhower administration are also believed to have been involved in earlier assassination schemes.

A source close to the Rockefeller commission, which is investigating CIA violations of domestic law, said yesterday that there were not only repeated high-level discussions of Castro's assassination during the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations, "but there's also evidence of overt acts—overt, covert acts, I guess you'd call them—to kill the Cuban premier."

One of the schemes, ac-

cording to other informed sources, involved the CIA's recruiting of Mafia figures Sam Giancana who had pro-Castro interests in Cuba, and Johnny Roselli, Giancana's West Coast lieutenant, during the waning days of the Eisenhower administration.

Although he was apparently not aware of any plot against Castro, the late J. Edgar Hoover, then director of the FBI, alerted Robert Kennedy in May, 1961, that the CIA was involved in backstage dealings with the Mafia.

A warning memo from Hoover, sources said, was apparently prompted by the FBI's discovery in the fall of 1960 of the CIA-sponsored surveillance of comedian Dan Rowan, a rival with Giancana at the time for the affections of singer Phyllis McGuire.

Robert Kennedy reportedly responded to the secret Hoover memo by ordering that it be "followed up vigorously." The Attorney General was eventually briefed by top CIA officials, apparently in 1962, on what Giancana and Roselli had done for the agency.

The Attorney General's only response, one source said, was to tell the CIA representatives, "next time you deal with the Mafia come to me first."

Lansdale was said to have drafted his plans later, after

an Aug. 10, 1962, meeting of a special group at which Castro's assassination was discussed but dismissed.

According to the Associated Press, the meeting was attended by then-Secretary of Defense Robert F. McNamara; Dean Rusk, then Secretary of State; John A. McCone, then CIA director; and McGeorge Bundy, President Kennedy's adviser on national security affairs. Robert Kennedy, the fifth member of the special group, was reportedly absent.

Listed as a top assistant to McNamara at the time, Lansdale was told after the meeting to come up with proposals, as he put it, about "what to do with a leader who had threatened the lives of millions of Americans by placing missiles aimed at this country."

Responding to questions, Lansdale said the orders came not from McNamara but from "someone much more intimate" with the President.

Asked whether it was Robert Kennedy, he said, "All the signs point to that, don't they?" He declined, however, to be more precise.

"I don't want to get into a sort of smearing thing right now for any individuals or any political parties," Lansdale said.

He said he might have listed Castro's assassination as a possibility, especially "if I saw a lot of American lives at stake and casualties that could run into the millions." But he said he was positive that "I never had any part in planning any details."

Similarly, Lansdale said he did not recall to whom he sent his memo, nor did

he know whether President Kennedy ever saw it. Lansdale agreed, however, that he doubtless dispatched a copy to the official who told him to draw up the plans.

The Cuban missile crisis ended on Oct. 23, 1962, when Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev announced that he had ordered a stop to work on the Cuban bases and was having the missiles crated and returned to the Soviet Union.

Lansdale said that none of his suggestions "came to any fruition." At the same time, other accounts suggest that the idea of Castro's assassination was not at all new to the White House.

Watergate burglar E. Howard Hunt Jr., a former CIA officer, has said he proposed it in the spring of 1960, during the early planning for the Bay of Pigs invasion.

A former Defense Department intelligence officer, L. Fletcher Prouty, has said the CIA dispatched a two-man assassination team to Cuba even earlier than that, also while Eisenhower was President.

According to journalist Tad Szulc, then with The New York Times, President Kennedy raised the thought with him during a private conversation in November, 1961. Szulc said he told him it was a bad idea and quoted Kennedy as responding: "I'm glad you feel that way because suggestions to that effect keep coming to me, and I believe very strongly that the United States should not be a party to political assassination."

The Rockefeller Commission is expected to deal with the controversy in its forthcoming report to President Ford.

C.I.A. PLOT TO KILL CASTRO DESCRIBED

Agency Flew 2 Assassins to
Cuba, Ex-Colonel Says

WASHINGTON, April 27 (AP)—The Central Intelligence Agency flew a two-man assassination team into Cuba in an unsuccessful attempt to kill Premier Fidel Castro, a retired Air Force colonel said Tuesday.

The colonel, L. Fletcher Prouty, said that in "late 1959 or early 1960," while he was serving in the Defense Department's Office of Special Operations, he handled a C.I.A. request for a small, specially equipped Air Force plane that was used to land two Cuban exiles on a road near Havana.

The two exiles were "equipped with a high-powered rifle and telescopic sights" and "knew how to get to a building in Havana which overlooked a building where Castro passed daily," Colonel Prouty, now an official with Amtrak, said in a telephone interview.

The plane, an L-23 "helio-courier," returned safely to Eglin Air Force Base in Florida, he said, but the "Cuban exiles as far as I know were picked up between where they were left off and Havana."

He said that one of the would-be assassins was named Oscar Spijo and that the plane had been flown by "mercenaries" on the C.I.A. payroll.

Colonel Prouty added that he knew of "one or two" other assassination attempts against the Cuban Premier after the Bay of Pigs operation in 1961, but said he did not know the details of those missions because he had not worked on them directly.

Colonel Prouty retired from Central Intelligence.

Prouty now to come forward with his story, Colonel Prouty said he had become incensed at the verbal abuse directed at the verbal abuse directed at Daniel Schorr, a C.I.A. spokesman, by Richard M. Helms, former Director of Central Intelligence.

Mr. Helms, who had just emerged from three and a half hours of questioning by the Puckefeller commission, denounced the newsman and referred to him as "Killer Schorr" for reporting that the C.I.A. goes around killing people.

Mr. Schorr has reported on a number of occasions that President Ford is concerned that an unlimited investigation of C.I.A. activities could uncover agency involvement in foreign assassinations.

"It got me a little upset," Colonel Prouty said of Mr. Helms's criticism of Mr. Schorr, adding that he was "positive" Mr. Helms know about the mission.

At the time, Mr. Helms—now the United States Ambassador to Iran—was an assistant to Richard Bissell, then the agency's deputy director of plans. But Colonel Prouty said Mr. Bissell was preoccupied with directing U-2 flights over the Soviet Union, leaving Mr. Helms in almost total control of clandestine operations against Cuba.

Mr. Bissell, who left the agency after the Bay of Pigs operation, said in a recent interview that there had been high-level discussions about killing the Cuban Premier but that the plans had been vetoed by Allen Dulles, then Director

Bomb Blasts Home Of a C.I.A. Official In a Denver Suburb

DENVER, April 23 (UPI)—A pipe bomb explosion outside the suburban home of a Central Intelligence Agency official may have been caused by radicals inspired by the bombing of a bank hours earlier, or may have been the work of a "crackpot", the police said today.

The bomb exploded in front of the home of James Sommerville, a C.I.A. regional director, 30 minutes before midnight Monday, shattering windows and shredding portions of the roof on the one-story brick house in South Denver. Windows in a house next door were also broken.

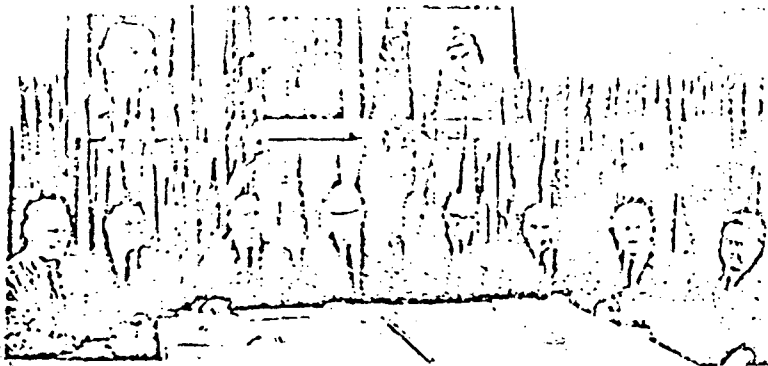
Bricks were blown from the front wall and a sprinkler system inside the house was damaged, but neither Mr. Sommerville's wife, Allene, nor their 14-year-old son, asleep at the time of the blast, were hurt.

Mrs. Sommerville, who said that her husband was in Texas, added: "I know people are connecting this with his job but there's no real proof. I really can't say what happened. I was asleep at the time. The explosion woke me up."

A bomb squad detective, Fred Stevenson, said that the blast did not appear related to the explosion of a satchel of dynamite at the American National Bank in Denver 12 hours earlier. Six employees received minor injuries in that explosion. But he said that the pipe bomb, pushed against the foundation of the Sommerville home, might have been planted by radicals who got the idea from the bank explosion.

"You get one bombing and there immediately follows a rash of other," he said. "What with all the publicity in the papers about the C.I.A., it could have been a radical group. Who can say?"

The police said that they were checking with other cities in which terrorists have set off explosions to see if there was a pattern to the bombings.



Warren Commission, 1964. Rep. Gerald Ford (R-Mich.) on left.

KENNEDY SHOOTING STILL HAUNTS RULING CIRCLES

By JOSE TORRES

In the wake of the Watergate and CIA exposures, another "skeleton" in the ruling class' "closet" is being exposed to the light of day.

These exposures, together with the current crisis of Imperialism, have undermined the government's credibility to

such an extent that the American people no longer take anything for granted. The most recent victim of the credibility gap is the Warren Commission's "official" version of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in Dallas almost 12 years ago.

According to a recent Gallup Poll, a majority of Americans no longer believe the Warren Commission's report which concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald was the sole assassin.

The disbelief, combined with charges that the CIA was responsible for the assassination, has even led the Rockefeller Commission on the CIA to take up the question of the agency's role in the assassination.

Political activist Dick Gregory, who says he has evidence linking the CIA to Kennedy's death, has testified before the commission headed by Vice President Rockefeller.

Gregory claims that E. Howard Hunt was caught by Dallas police at the site of the assassination minutes after it happened. Hunt, convicted two years ago in connection with the Watergate bugging, was a CIA agent at the time Kennedy was killed.

Gregory's case rests on a photograph published last year in underground newspapers which allegedly shows Hunt and Frank A. Sturgis, also convicted in connection with Watergate and believed to have been a CIA employee, being led away by Dallas policemen from a grassy knoll across the street from the Texas school book depository. Oswald allegedly shot the president from the depository, as the presidential motorcade had passed by. Many

who challenge the Warren Commission account contend that the fatal shots were actually fired from the grassy knoll area, somewhat to the side and in front of the approaching presidential motorcade.

Film footage taken by an amateur photographer of the assassination, and shown recently over national television, shows the president's head jerking back violently, suggesting that at least one shot came from in front of the motorcade, not behind.

Many different pieces of "evidence" have been put together by individuals over the years. The latest "proof" is based on analysis of tape recordings of Oswald's voice by a new device, used to a certain extent by some law enforcement agencies, that can determine the truth or falsehood of a person's statements much like a polygraph (lie detector). Oswald's statements to television and radio reporters after he was in custody of police that he was not responsible for the Kennedy assassination were analyzed and the results showed that he was telling the truth.

The assassinations of not only John Kennedy but also Robert Kennedy and leaders of the people's movements—Malcolm X, Fred Hampton, and Martin Luther King—was the subject of a conference on the "Politics of Conspiracy" held in Boston early this year. The conference brought together over 1500 people from every section of the country and was sponsored by the Cambridge, Mass.-based Assassinations Investigations Bureau (AIB). Though generally united on purpose, the conference reflected a difference in views between those who put forward a conspiracy theory of history and those with an anti-imperialist perspective.

Schweiker, Hart Ask JFK Probe Review

By Norman Kempster

Sen. J. Edgar Hoover, in a letter to the Warren Commission, said that the Warren Commission should not be "convinced that the Warren Commission is not a competent body to handle the assassination of President John F. Kennedy."

The Warren Commission

was "not a competent body to handle the assassination of President John F. Kennedy."

Sen. Richard S. Schweiker, R-Pa., said the commission seems to have given less credence than now seems warranted to the possibility that there may

have been some right-wing group or groups, or some right-wing individuals, who were involved in the assassination.

SCHWEIKER AND Sen. Guy Hart, D-Colo., are serving as a subcommittee of the Senate Intelligence Committee to probe the adequacy of the FBI and

CIA investigation of the slaying.

Schweiker said in a recent interview that he is interested in evidence that J. A. Martin, an official of the militant right-wing National States Rights party, told an FBI informer two weeks before the assassi-

nation that Kennedy would be killed with a high-powered rifle from the upper floor of a building.

An FBI report says the same source told Martin following the assassination and asked if he was guessing. The report quotes Martin: "I don't do any guessing."

The FBI reports were given to the Warren Commission, but apparently the panel assigned little significance to them.

The commission's appendix includes a report by the Secret Service of the investigation of an apparently related incident. The report indicates the Secret Service interviewed a member of the Ku Klux Klan who said less than two weeks before the assassination that "his sources have told him that a militant group of the National States Rights party plans to assassinate the President and other high-level officials."

THE KLANSMAN, who was not named in the report, was in jail at the time awaiting trial on a charge of auto theft. The Secret Service said the FBI believed the Klansman was just trying to strike a deal that would reduce the criminal charges he was facing. No action was taken and the Klansman was still in jail when Kennedy was killed Nov. 22, 1963.

The report of the Secret Service interview is included in the commission appendix along with 35 other reports of threats against the president or vice president.

Roy Frankhouser, an acknowledged informant for the Treasury Department's Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division, was a national organizer for the States Rights party in the 1960s. He said in a telephone interview last week that plots to kill Kennedy were being hatched at a rate of "three or four a week" within the party.

The party frequently used extremely violent language in its newspaper, the Thunderbolt. There is some evidence that party members may have been involved in some anti-civil rights bombings in the South during the 1960s.

FRANKHOUSER, who said he was subpoenaed to testify before the Warren Commission but did not appear because the subpoena was canceled, said he had no first-hand knowledge of Martin's threat.

But he noted that Oswald's notebook contained the name and telephone number of another anti-Semite militant, Daniel

Burrows. Burrows' contact list, aside in Frankhouser's home in Reading, Pa., in 1964 after the New York Times reported he was half Jewish. Frankhouser declined to talk about any possible links between Oswald and Burrows.

An FBI report compiled two weeks after the assassination quotes Robert K. Brown, then an Army Reserve captain in training at Fort Benning, Ga., as saying that in the spring of 1963 Dr. Stanley L. Drennan, a North Hollywood, Calif., man active in the National States Rights party, spoke of a plan to "get rid of" Kennedy and a number of others. Brown said he dismissed the remark as a "crackpot" comment.

Brown told the FBI that after the assassination he reassessed the conversation and concluded that Drennan may have been trying to recruit him as a possible assassin. If so, Drennan may have been attracted by Brown's anti-Castro sentiments.

The Warren Commission's own staff suggested prior to publication of the final report that speculation about a possible plot by Cuban emigres opposed to Premier Fidel Castro "warrants additional investigation."

A 111-PAGE memo to the commission drafted by staff members William T. Coleman Jr., now secretary of transportation — and W. David Slawson outlined a possible scenario of an anti-Castro connection.

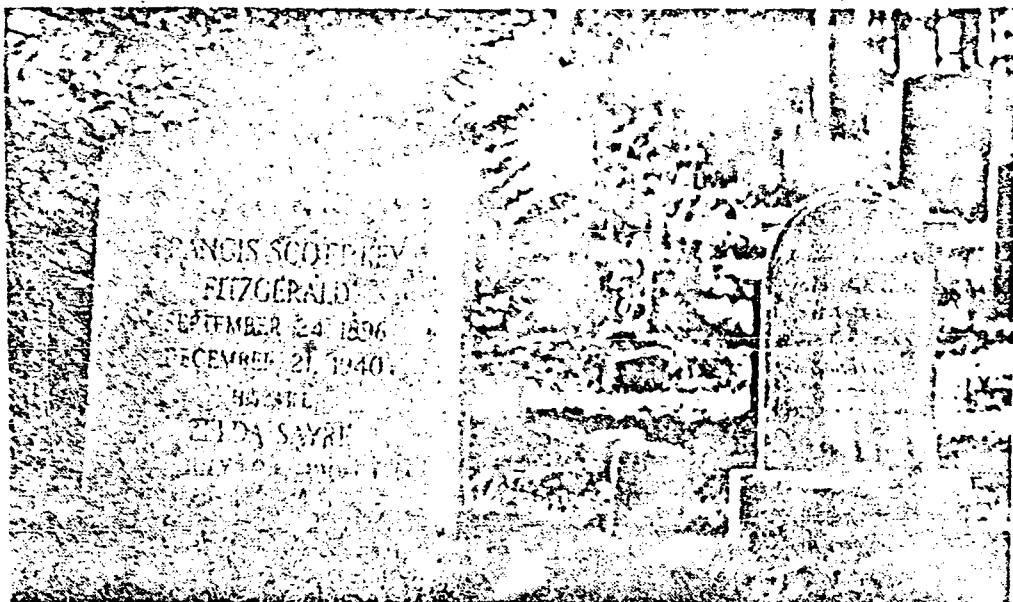
The memo was stamped "Top Secret" by the commission. Most of it was declassified earlier this year, although the version that was made public has been censored.

"The evidence here could lead to an anti-Castro Cuban involvement in the assassination on some sort of basis as this, Oswald could have become known to the Cubans as being strongly pro Castro. He made no secret of his sympathies, and so the anti-Castro Cubans must have realized that the law enforcement authorities were also aware of Oswald's feelings and that therefore, if he got into trouble, the public would also learn of them," the memo said.

"Second, someone in the anti-Castro organization must have been keen enough to sense that Oswald had a penchant for violence that might easily be aroused."

"ON THESE facts, it is possible that some sort of deception was used to encourage Oswald to kill the

See JFK, A-29



F. Scott Fitzgerald's grave site in Rockville, Md.

F. Scott Fitzgerald to Get His Wish

Associated Press

remains of F. Scott Fitzgerald and his wife, Zelda, will be moved next to a Roman Catholic cemetery in Rockville that years ago rejected the author as unsuitable for burial there.

Fitzgerald, author of "Great Gatsby," "This Side of Paradise," and "The Love of the Last Year," said he wanted to be buried in St. Mary's Cemetery where his father was buried in

But when the author died in 1940 at the age of 44, his request was denied by the Catholic Church on grounds that he was not a practicing Catholic and that his books were not the kind of reading material that found favor with church officials.

The author's body was buried instead in an inconspicuous grave in the Rockville Cemetery, also known as the old Union Cemetery, across the road from St. Mary's.

ZELDA FITZGERALD.

who died in a North Carolina sanitarium, was buried next to her husband in 1948.

For 35 years the grave has been a shrine for students of literature, Fitzgerald admirers, old romantics and young lovers.

People still place flowers and deliver cards and occasional wedding announcements to the grave site, now shrouded by pines and oaks. Lettering on the square headstone has been worn down by the weather.

Speaking of the present gravesite, Frances Fitzgerald, Lanahan Smith, Fitzgerald's daughter, said in a letter to Rockville officials:

"For 35 years the grave has remained uncared for and hopelessly inaccessible to the interested public."

"WE HAVE ARRANGED to move the remains from the old Union Cemetery to the family plot in St. Mary's."

According to a priest at St. Mary's Church, Mrs. Smith received permission for the move from the Catholic Archdiocese of Washington.

Msgr. John Donahue, chancellor of the archdiocese, granted the request because, according to a spokesman, "other members of the family were already interred at the (St. Mary's) site."

Mrs. Smith, a Washington resident, could not be reached for comment. She will be hostess at a luncheon Nov. 7 following a graveside service to mark the moving of the Fitzgeralds' remains.

Rockefeller Asks U.S. Move After N.Y.C. Reduces Debt

Steven R. Weisman

of The New York Times

YORK — Vice Mayor Neilsen A. Rockefeller last night called for congressional action to New York City Mayor Abraham Ribicoff and the new State Financial Control

on the question of assistance to New York City, the White House spokesman said. "I'll let you be the judge of that."

ROCKEFELLER also did not say how much of the \$800 million deficit would be paid by the

make "politically unpopular decisions" to restore the city to fiscal soundness.

ROCKEFELLER'S

speech marked the first time that any high federal official has taken note of the state's and the city's efforts to deal with the problem of restoring

...the possibility of a... in the... analyses... relations with the...

IT CONCLUDES that al... details of the... detection in... are suspi... the evidence supports... that the... involved.

Oswald would not be very... material. Coleman and Slawson said, however, his open pro-Castro sympathies would guarantee that he would be closely watched. Because, they said, the Kennedy family would have little motivation to harm a man because he had so sophisticated... of Kennedy by... "would

...to provide a convincing motive for Oswald to kill the President. He has said his investigation will attempt to fill that void.

Both pro-Castro and anti-Castro Cubans would seem to have a motive.

ANTI-CASTRO Cubans were angered at Kennedy for what they considered insufficient support for the Bay of Pigs invasion. And the Coleman-Slawson memo adds another possible motive — hope to drum up support for a new invasion.

As for pro-Castro Cubans, Coleman and Slawson said, "Simple retaliation for example, is a motive which must be thoroughly considered in dealing with Castro."

Schweiker has said the failure of the CIA to provide the commission with information about the plots to murder Castro was an important omission.

Evidence of a possible pro-Castro conspiracy seems to have been more thoroughly investigated by the Warren Commission than evidence of a possible right-wing connection.

SCHWEIKER insisted that all possible theories will be explored. But he said he was interested in a possible involvement by domestic right wing groups because he said it appears that the FBI gave such a theory short shrift.

In 1967 the Miami News carried a long account of a tape-recorded conversation

...he was seen that the man was Miltner. The conversation related in the newspaper seems to be the same one summarized in the FBI report on Miltner.

According to the account, Miltner and Kennedy would be shot with a rifle smuggled in pieces to the top of a high building. Miltner also was quoted as predicting, "They will pick up somebody within hours afterwards... just to throw the public off."

Oswald was arrested shortly after the killing. He insisted he had killed no one but was being used as a "patsy." The Warren Commission discounted Oswald's contention as the usual self-serving remark of a man charged with a serious crime.

...have a thousand guards. Don't that."

"The more he has, the easier he has," Miltner said.

The Warren Commission received evidence from several police officers shown Secret Service credentials in the time when no Servicemen were

Schweiker said if there was a conspiracy, the conspirators have used Secret Service credentials in a situation, like bodyguards, to cause the fake Servicemen would be conspicuous.

Schweiker, Hart Ask JFK Probe Review

By Norman Kempster

Senate investigators, in examining circumstantial evidence that anti-Castro Cubans or domestic right wingers may have played a role in the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

The Warren Commission

considered possible conspiracies from both the left and right but determined that Lee Harvey Oswald was the lone assassin.

Sen. Richard S. Schweiker, R-Pa., said the commission seems to have given less credence than now seems warranted to the possibility that there may

have been some right wing link to the crime despite Oswald's often-stated Communist sympathies.

SCHWEIKER AND Sen. Gary Hart, D-Colo., are serving as a subcommittee of the Senate Intelligence Committee to probe the adequacy of the FBI and

CIA investigation of the killing.

Schweiker said in a recent interview that he is interested in evidence that J. A. Milteer, an official of the militant right wing National States Rights party, told an FBI informer two weeks before the assas-

sination that Kennedy would be killed with a high-powered rifle from the upper floors of a tall building.

An FBI report says the same source met Milteer following the assassination and asked if he was guessing. The report quotes Milteer, "I don't do any guessing."

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Continued From A-3

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active on this course be the i that after the was killed Os- be caught or at entity ascertain- enforcement au- and the public n blame the n on the Castro and the call eful overthrow irresistible. A e of Pigs Inva- begin, this time end successful-

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certainly sufficient to war- rant additional investiga- tion," the memo concluded.

The anti-Castro section takes up just five pages in the Coleman-Slawson memo. Most of the rest of what amounts to a legal brief on the possibility of a foreign involvement in the assassination analyzes Os- wald's relations with the Soviet Union.

IT CONCLUDES that al- though some details of Os- wald's two-way defection to the Soviet Union are suspi- cious, the evidence supports the conclusion that the Soviets were not involved.

Oswald would not be very good agent material, Cole- man and Slawson said, be- cause his open pro- Communist sympathies would guarantee that he would be closely watched. Besides, they said, the Rus- sians would have little mo- tive to kill Kennedy because they were sophisticated enough to know that the re- placement of Kennedy by Lyndon B. Johnson "would

not result in any significant change in American foreign policy towards the Soviet Union."

Schweiker has said re- peatedly that the weakest part of the Warren Com- mission's final report is its failure to provide a con- vincing motive for Oswald to kill the President. He has said his investigation will attempt to fill that void.

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As for pro-Castro Cubans, Coleman and Slaw- son said, "Simple retalia- tion, for example, is a mo- tive which must be thoroughly considered in dealing with Castro."

Presumably, Coleman and Slawson meant retalia- tion for the Bay of Pigs be- cause the CIA did not tell the Warren Commission or its staff about what are now known to be agency-backed attempts to kill Castro. Schweiker has said the fail- ure of the CIA to provide the commission with infor- mation about the plots to murder Castro was an important omission.

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In 1967 the Miami News carried a long account of a tape-recorded conversation

between a police informant and an organizer for the States Rights party who had predicted Kennedy's assassination.

The Miami News account did not name the party member, but Schweiker said he has proof that the man was Milteer. The con- versation related in the newspaper seems to be the same one summarized in the FBI reports on Milteer.

According to the account, Milteer said Kennedy would be shot with a rifle smug- gled in pieces to the top of a high building. Milteer also was quoted as predicting, "They will pick up some- body within hours after- wards . . . just to throw the public off."

Oswald was arrested shortly after the killing. He insisted he had killed no one but was being used as a "patsy." The Warren Com- mission discounted Os- wald's contention as the usual self-serving remark of a man charged with a serious crime.

SCHWEIKER pointed another of the informant's recorded comments which the senator said may be more significant than it ap- peared at the time.

The police informant said, "He (Kennedy) w- have a thousand bod- guards. Don't worry ab- that."

"The more bodyguard- he has, the easier it is to g- him," Milteer replied.

The Warren Commission received evidence that several policemen were shown Secret Service credentials in the vicinity of the assassination scene at a time when no real Secret Service men were there.

Schweiker theorized that if there was a conspiracy the conspirators might have used forged Secret Service credentials. In such a situation, the more real bodyguards, the better, be- cause the fake Secret Ser- vice men would be less con- spicuous.

Gnawing cynicism

Reopen the JFK assassination probe

By SMITH HEMPSTONE

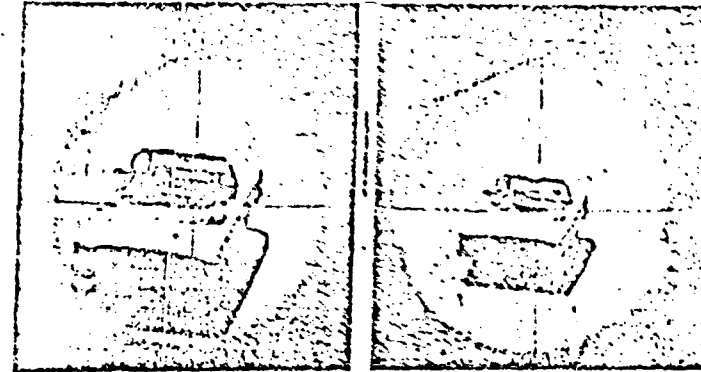
WASHINGTON — One of the consequences of the Watergate disaster, like the fall of Vietnam, clearly is going to be a reopening of the investigation of the assassination of President Kennedy.

This is less a matter of the availability of new evidence than the simple fact that, after Watergate, even reasonably normal people are no longer prepared to believe what their government or its creatures — in this case, the Warren Commission — tell them.

Each of us can remember where we were on that fateful morning of Nov. 22, 1963.

And while there have been king-killers ever since there have been kings, the enormity of the crime of regicide — the killing of the man who personifies the state — still fills us with awe and horror.

Something deep inside us makes it difficult for us to accept the Warren Commission's finding that the assassin



was Lee Harvey Oswald and that he acted alone. Why?

It is true that there are flaws, gaps and unanswered (and perhaps unanswerable) questions that arise out of the supposition that Oswald was the killer, that he acted alone and that he was in no one's pay. Very little, for instance, has been done to establish a motive.

But it is equally true that there are similar and in most cases greater flaws, gaps and unanswered questions in all the other mutually contradictory hypotheses: one of several killers in the pay of the CIA, the FBI, Big Oil, the family of Ngo Dinh Diem, the Mafia or the KGB.

There have been nearly 30 books written on the subject of the Kennedy assassination. Many of them seem plausible if you are prepared to substitute theory for fact, supposition for evidence.

The Warren Commission, upon which President Ford served, almost certainly was well-intentioned, clearly was unwieldy and probably, in an effort to lay a national tragedy to rest, acted too hastily. Despite the enormous difficulties in establishing the truth, particularly after Oswald's own murder at the hand of Jack Ruby, the commission completed its bulky, disorganized 25-volume report within 10 months.

And, especially in the light of the Watergate cover-up (which it, of course, could not anticipate), the Warren Commission, out of a humane consideration for the sensibilities of the Kennedy family, committed a terrible error in allowing evidence derived from the autopsy to be sequestered.

This, combined with some of the admittedly bizarre aspects of Oswald's history — his sojourn in the Soviet Union, his alleged visits to Cuba, the fact of an FBI agent's name appearing in the notebook he was carrying when arrested in Dallas — only served to trigger the various conspiracy theories.

There is no real reason to believe that a new investigation will bring us any closer to the truth about what happened and why on that sad and brilliant day in Dallas a dozen years ago. But the gnawing cynicism about government bred of Watergate makes it important that the case be reopened.

Rep. Henry Gonzalez of Texas, who is asking for just that, ought to have his way, even if in the end we know very little more than we do at present.

CARL ROWAN

More Trouble Is Coming

It was with indelible and honorable intentions that President Ford declared the wars in Indochina over for the United States. Responsible statesmanship motivated him to ask his countrymen to be done with the scapegoating, the recriminations over a lost war, and get about the business of restoring this nation's pride to that lofty level which existed before we got sucked into the Indochina tragedy.

Perhaps the President can convince his Republican colleagues to forget he has blamed the Democrat-controlled Congress for pulling the purse strings so tight that the ultimate U.S. abandonment of Indochina was wrapped in humiliation.

Perhaps, with his plea that we "bind the nation's wounds," Ford can stop Democrats and other war critics from arguing that the 1970 Nixon-Kissinger policies of invading Cambodia and supporting the corrupt Lon Nol regime which overthrew Prince Sihanouk made a debacle in Cambodia inevitable.

Perhaps — and this is most doubtful — the President can persuade Americans to stop asking, "Why didn't we invade North Vietnam?" "Why didn't we bomb the dikes and wipe out Haiphong harbor?" "Why did we persist in fighting a no-win war?" But there is no perhaps when it comes to the business of "restoring U.S. pride."

The truth is that while the war in Southeast Asia ended months ago for the "grunts" — the U.S. ground troops who sloshed through the paddies and jungles — and is now ending for U.S. airmen, military and civilian advisers and perhaps even for the CIA, the war is far from over when it comes to U.S. pride.

Thailand, which stuck with the United States to the point of ultimate peril, now

hangs in a peril, twisting slowly in the revolutionary winds. Only God knows how many thousands of tons of bombs were dropped on North Vietnam by U.S. planes flown from Thailand. That fact alone is central to current speculation as to whether Hanoi will be satisfied with the conquest of all of Indochina, or whether anger, revenge, ideological zeal require the fomenting of a successful revolution in Thailand.

When President Ford says that the war is over in Indochina in so far as the U.S. is concerned, is he saying that we also wash our hands of involvement in any future violent upheavals inside Thailand — or South Korea or the Philippines?

Even Americans who never endorsed "the domino theory" must understand that we could hardly restore U.S. pride by ignoring completely assaults against countries that stuck with us through the toughest days of a losing venture.

Yet, no matter what troubles erupt tomorrow or five years from tomorrow in these countries, there would be millions of Americans screaming that Thailand is utterly corrupt, that South Korea has degenerated into a brutal dictatorship and that the Marcos regime in the Philippines qualifies for both descriptions.

This society would find itself in a searing, divisive dilemma probably more emotional than the agonizing over Indochina. Is such a dilemma in the cards? Detente notwithstanding, I think it is. I just can't believe that the Communists won't move elsewhere to challenge the United States, to attempt to add insult to humiliation.

Believe me, long before we can talk seriously about restoring U.S. pride, we shall have to decide whether and how to respond to any new challenges.

Glomar to Be Taxed

LOS ANGELES — The Los Angeles county assessor says he'll slap a tax assessment of more than \$1 million on the secret salvage ship Glomar Explorer which, as purported property of the federal government, has been tax exempt.

Assessor Philip Watson said yesterday he believes the 615 foot ship — used to raise part of a sunken Soviet submarine off Hawaii last year — is the legal property of Howard Hughes' Sunnia Corp. and at an assessed value of \$10 million should be taxable in the amount of \$1.21 million.

Watson said there is about \$250 million worth of sophisticated electronics equipment on the ship but suspects most of it is owned by the Central Intelligence Agency and is therefore tax exempt.

Mordanschlag auf einen CIA-Agenten in Bamberg

Reuter, Bamberg

Auf einen 27-jährigen Agenten der amerikanischen Militärkriminalpolizei (CIA) wurde am Freitag in Bamberg ein Mordanschlag verübt. Nach Angaben der Polizei fuhr der Agent mit seinem Dienstwagen um frühen Morgen durch Bamberg, als plötzlich aus einem überholenden Mercedes oder BMW vier Schüsse auf sein Auto abgegeben wurden. Der Agent ließ sich sofort auf den Boden seines Wagens fallen und wurde nicht verletzt. Der Wagen der Täter entkam in unbekannter Richtung. Die Polizei vermutet, daß die Täter aus Rauschgiftmündelkreisen stammen.

Hamburg, DIE WELT,

12/13 Apr 75, p 3

GARRY WILLS

A Word for Warren Commission

It is time to say a word for the Warren Commission. Even those who believe that Oswald was the sole assassin of President Kennedy are beginning to grant that the Warren Commission did a bad job. They say we should "reopen the case," if for no other reason, just to resolve doubts caused by sloppy detective work. But most doubts are caused by two classes of men — those who have not really read what the Warren Commission said and those whose doubts would not be resolved by the Second Coming (which they would treat as a CIA plot).

The attacks on the Warren Commission come from three main directions:

1. Some think the commission was part of the plot itself. These people are at least consistent. If one could mobilize all the resources most conspiratorial theories demand, then controlling the commission should have been no problem at all. But this, like most such theories, proves too much. If one can "control" a chief justice, a future president, a bunch of prominent lawyers on the make, an attorney general who happens to be the assassinated man's brother, then one controls everything, and there is no longer any need to hide — i.e., to be a conspiracy.

2. Others think the CIA and/or the FBI bamboozled the commission — which is a rather touching exercise in credulity. Even if those agencies were efficient, they would have to tread carefully where so many other factions and rival interests were at play — and where the results were going to be published in 26 volumes. But, of course, the record of both the FBI and the CIA is enough to make any criticism of the commission look like praise. If the conspiracy depended on the FBI and the

CIA, then Howard Hunt's whole career tells us what would have happened to it.

3. Others, by far the most numerous, think the commission just fumbled the job out of haste, incompetence or unconscious prejudices. Most of the evidence for this is the citing of "leads" that the commission did not track down. In fact, many of these were tracked down, or were patently false leads from the start.

A fair example is Mark Lane's use of testimony by Nancy Perrin Rich. He devoted a whole chapter of this book to this woman's bizarre tale. He neglected to tell the readers that the same woman appeared two other times, in two different places, to volunteer evidence to the commission. The investigators listened politely, though she told three totally different stories. At one of these appearances, deliberately omitted from Lane's chapter, she took (and flunked) a polygraph test.

Ovid Demaris and I, back in the '60s, took Lane's advice and followed up this woman's testimony. We found that she was an unstable woman, had been in and out of psychiatric care and police stations, that she loved to "testify" about all her famous friends in mob trials and other celebrated crimes. We also found that Lane knew all this, that he told the woman's husband he would not be able to make anything of her testimony. But he made an entire tendentious chapter out of one third of that testimony.

Here is a simple rule of thumb for dealing with conspiratorialists: If they question the integrity of the Warren Commission yet quote Mark Lane with approval, they are intellectually very ill-equipped or intellectually dishonest.

The J.F.K. Assassination: Why Congress Should Reopen the Investigation

By ROBERT BLAIR KAMLER

I, A WARREN COMMISSION MEMBER,
CALLED TO REOPEN THE CASE

At long last, one of the members of the Warren Commission is willing to stand up and say he thinks the time has come to reopen an official inquiry into the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

The man is Burt W. Griffin, now a judge on the state trial bench in Cleveland, Ohio. "The case ought to be reopened," he says. "It's still an important public issue. It's not at all clear to me how to approach it. But the public is concerned and it's all tied in with everything that's been happening in our government for the past ten years."

What's been happening is a trend toward "Big Brother government and the implicit threat this represents to the freedom of the people," says Senator Frank Church, who heads a congressional committee about to plunge into an investigation of the entire U.S. intelligence community.

Judge Griffin's forthright stand—the first time any member of the Warren Commission has dared suggest the commission didn't get all the answers—should come as no surprise to the majority of Americans who, as early as 1966, according to a Gallup poll, did not accept the conclusions—the Warren Report—that Lee Harvey Oswald, acting alone, assassinated President Kennedy and that nightclub owner Jack Ruby, acting alone, killed Oswald two days later in the Dallas police station.

And Judge Griffin's reasons for reopening the case should come as no surprise to longtime critics of the Warren Report. Says Judge Griffin: "I don't think some agencies were candid with us. I never thought the Dallas police were telling us the entire truth. Neither was the FBI. I wrote a memo in late August of 1964 to the director of the commission [J. Lee Rankin], in which I laid out a whole series of evidentiary questions. We only got answers on two or three of them."

Judge Griffin didn't keep copies of his own memos and the original of that memo isn't where it ought to be in the National Archives in Washington. But

one of the evidentiary questions Griffin recalls had to do with fingerprints other than Oswald's on the packing cases in a sixth-floor room of the Texas School Depository. After some delay, the FBI finally confessed to the commission that the other prints belonged to an FBI agent. "We accepted the answers we got," says Judge Griffin, "even though they were inadequate and didn't carry the battle any further. To do so, we'd have had to challenge the integrity of the FBI and the CIA. Back in 1964, that was something we didn't do."

Another staff lawyer on the Warren Commission confirmed Judge Griffin's view, if somewhat less courageously. Asked whether he got everything he wanted from the FBI, he paused for about 15 seconds and said, "Off the record?" Why would he want the obviously negative reply off the record? "Because of possible reprisals from the FBI," he said. "Though I'm worried about that less now than I was when Hoover was the director."

The informal testimony of Judge Griffin and his colleague confirms the findings of the independent critics of the Warren Commission.

These critics have dramatic new documentation which proves that the Warren Commission investigation was never the free and independent inquiry we'd been told; that the FBI concluded, too soon, there was no conspiracy and then in an effort to justify its early conclusions did a grudging reinvestigation whose only purpose was to prove its own premature conclusions.

The critics' most important piece of documentation: a longtime top secret transcript of an executive session of the Warren Commission on January 27th, 1964, which was declassified only last year (after a long and expensive Freedom of Information suit filed by Harold Weisberg). That transcript suggests the FBI and other intelligence agencies may possess significant information they withheld from the commission. The information may still be available in some agency's files or in the "OC" (official and confidential) files moved to J. Edgar Hoover's home at the time of his death in 1972.

...of the FBI was calling for a re-examination of the J.F.K. assassination case in 1972. Some of the critics have come from newspapers, others from radio and TV. Most of them, however, labeled fact and some of the questions had no reasonable hope of a solution.

But Judge Griffin's comments and the documentation of the critics help narrow the scope of any inquiry and make it possible for a congressional committee to ask questions that have answers. They can subpoena Dallas policemen as well as key figures like Marina Oswald, they can subpoena the files of U.S. intelligence agencies which were aware of Oswald long before November 22nd, 1963.

Peter Dale Scott, a Warren Commission critic who teaches English at the University of California at Berkeley, insists that abundant clues point to a conspiracy "demonstrable from the very procedures which it used to cover its traces" à la Watergate.

The time is right for reopening the case in another sense. The assassination seems to dominate the national subconscious. A majority, as polls show, have always had their doubts. Watergate, White House horrors and high-level coverups have only deepened doubts about America's ugliest murder mystery. Recent news stories only serve to intensify them.

A 1969 memo from J. Edgar Hoover to the State Department surfaced in 1975. It is a warning from the director that someone posing as Lee Harvey Oswald in Russia might try to get Oswald's U.S. passport. In itself, the memo may not be significant: Oswald's mother had complained to the FBI that she'd sent a birth certificate to Oswald in Switzerland and he'd never received it. But, linked to other reports that "a second Oswald" left traces in New Orleans, Miami, Dallas and Mexico City in 1963 and that some (even members of the Warren Commission) speculated that Oswald may have worked with the FBI as an undercover agent, the memo is a startling clue that Hoover and the FBI knew something about Oswald they

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who killed the president. That is the point. It is not who shot Jack Kennedy. Under the theory of reference, however, it is not that."

But the commission does beyond that. Hardly. The commission didn't even give its staff a mandate to go beyond the FBI on this question. For a moment, it seemed as if it might. Senator Russell threw up the commission's dilemma. "It seems to me we have two alternatives," says Russell. "One is we can just accept the FBI's report and go on and write the report based on their findings and supported by the raw materials they have given us, or else we can go and try to run down some of these collateral rumors that have just not been dealt with directly in this raw material that we have."

The members seem inclined to want to go beyond the FBI. But then McCloy points out that some "sheet" he has in front of him (judging from a prior reference, it is probably a copy of Harold Feldman's probing article in the *Nation*, "Oswald and the FBI," January 27th, 1964) "is designed to be an attack on the FBI." Says McCloy, "We don't want to be in the position of attacking the FBI."

With this, the commission does a quick about-face. Forgetting their only client, truth, the commissioners agree that none of them wants to attack the FBI. They decide on a "marriage" of Senator Russell's two alternatives: They end up resolving to ask Hoover about the relationship between Oswald and the FBI and to perform their own independent investigation.

But the commission did very little independent investigation. Equating that with an attack on the FBI, the commission let the FBI investigate itself.

Rankin thought this was pretty controversial material. He confiscated the stenographers' notes of the January 22nd meeting—and they remain sealed to this day. Rankin specifically requested no stenotypist at all for the January 24th meeting with the Texas officials and filed an affidavit with Judge Gerhard Gesell's court in Washington in 1972 (when Harold Weisberg was suing to see the transcript) saying he had instruction from the Warren Commission to keep the January 27th meeting under a top-secret classification. Weisberg says there's nothing in any commission record to support Rankin.

III. THE SERIOUS CRITICS AND THEIR NEW EVIDENCE

Though Rankin tried to hide the material, some critics managed to dig it out. They learned to find their way around the National Archives, they studied the commission's working papers, compared drafts of the report's chapters and examined internal memos among the commission staffers and letters that had been sent the commission and the FBI.

Some of the serious critics are the authors of *Who Killed Oswald?*, a book that has been widely read and discussed. In the book, *Who Killed Oswald?*, the Warren Commission is called "a farce." The book shows how the commission, only when necessary, tried to defend the informant relationship evidence, declined to answer substantive questions about the basis of the FBI's relationship to both Lee Harvey Oswald and Jack Ruby and presented fairly contradictory explanations to the Warren Commission without finishing. Hoch's highly documented and readable story shows how the commission knew Hoover was hiding something—and how the commission let him get away with it. "At considerable cost," concludes Hoch, "to the integrity of the investigation."

The best of the Warren Commission critics are as serious as Hoch and their names may well go down some day on an honor roll of those who cared enough to get involved: Vincent Salandria, Harold Weisberg, Sylvia Meagher, Josiah Thompson, Edward Jay Epstein, David Lifton, Lillian Castellano, Fred Newcomb, Penny Adams, Ray Marcus, Marjorie Field, Shirley Martin, Mary Ferrell, Richard Popkin, Bill Turner, Richard Sprague and the early Mark Lane.

Among the most important critics still hard at work and making new contributions are:

- Bernard Fensterwald, a successful Washington D.C. lawyer, who out of his own well-hubbed pocket, finances the activities of something he calls the Committee to Investigate Assassinations, a loose confederation of citizens whose worry about the assassination of two Kennedys and a King was once signaled by the flag they printed on their metered mailings: *WHO IS KILLING OUR LEADERS?* Fensterwald helped set up a special assassination archive at Georgetown University and was the chief honcho for a conference at Georgetown on that anniversary of JFK's assassination. With attorney James Loefer, he is handling legal appeals for James Earl Ray, having been brought into the Ray case by Harold Weisberg. Though Fensterwald has avoided entangling his assassination conspiracy theories with the Ray case, Weisberg says that was the strategy behind the move to get a new trial for Ray. "If we walk Ray, then the government will have to find Dr. King's real killers." This seems to be the committee's basic thrust: to push the government to find the real killers—or JFK, MLK, RFK.

- Dr. Cyril H. Wecht, coroner of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) and director of the Institute of Forensic Sciences at Temple University, is the first to suggest that the bullet

that killed the president came from the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository. He has entered the Warren Commission's Exhibit 399, the photos of the bullet, and even with all the raw materials, Dr. Wecht concluded that the physical evidence, which he has examined doesn't support the Warren Commission's findings. "Place it in one person," he says, "was involved in the shooting of President Kennedy."

Wecht says he bases his conclusion on an analysis of the famous single bullet (Commission Exhibit 399) which the Warren Commission said was supposed to have entered the right side of the president's back, coursed through the uppermost portions of the thorax and mediastinum and emerged just over the knot of the president's tie—then entered the right side of Governor Connally's back (breaking his right fifth rib), emerged from his chest, shattered a bone in his wrist and entered his left thigh. After all this the bullet had only lost two grains from its original weight and, said Wecht, the upper two centimeters of the bullet "show no grossly visible deformities, areas of mutilation, loss of substance or any kind of significant scathing." There is one small piece that was removed from the bullet's jacket by an FBI agent "for spectrographic analysis" (which analysis might show that JFK and Connally were not hit by the same bullet).

Furthermore, says Wecht, there was something strange about the trajectory of that bullet from the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository. It was supposed to have been traveling downward and passing through JFK from right to left. It should, therefore, have missed Governor Connally completely. Under the Warren Commission's hypothesis the bullet may have made an acute angular turn in midair. Wecht believes a second assassin may have been firing at JFK from the rear, possibly even from the front, but he says he cannot know for sure until he examines the materials that are missing.

- Robert Groden, a young expert in optics from New York City, has magnified the central part of each frame of the Zapruder film and produced what he calls a reframed copy. The result is like a new film of the assassination, made through a zoom lens, with much of the juggle removed. Now, even more starkly than before, to the lay observer at least, it appears that the shot which took off the top of the president's head and splattered two trailing police motorcycles came from the front. The president's head clearly snaps back and to the left. Mrs.

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...that movie, we'd be looking at a film that was pulled by the Warren Commission but not actually wound up by the Archival in 1977, only for the last time. I was trying to hold it back on, but from the front there was nothing. I suppose there must have been, but from the back you could see, you know, you were trying to hold it back on and his skull on."

Groden, who reconstituted the Zapruder film from a pirated copy belonging to Time Inc., has had his film shown recently on scattered TV stations all over the U.S. and Canada. According to Groden, his blowup shows not only that President Kennedy was killed by a shot from the front (and therefore, from a shot on or near the grassy knoll); it also shows the rifleman standing there on the grassy knoll holding the rifle up in the air as the presidential car disappears through the railroad underpass.

Interestingly enough, when Groden showed this film at Bernard Fensterwald's home in November 1973, neither he nor anyone else made any mention of a rifleman on the knoll. Groden says it wasn't until January 1974 that he started scanning the last 18 frames of his Zapruder film and then began to see that what he thought was the wheel well of the presidential Lincoln wasn't the wheel well at all, but the rifleman—"because the car was moving forward and the 'wheel well' was moving backward."

• David Lifton is an engineering-physics graduate of Cornell and a dropout from graduate school at UCLA who ought to have three doctorates by now in the disciplines he has picked up during ten years of work on the assassination: history, political science and historiography (a study of the way history is written). In 1967 Lifton did a 30,000-word analysis (with David Welsh) in *Ramparts* which argued that there were three assassins firing in Dealey Plaza on November 22nd, 1963.

In 1968, shortly after most of the transcripts of the Warren Commission executive sessions were declassified, Lifton published them privately as *Document Addendum to the Warren Report*. Lifton has served as a consultant to Dr. Cyril Wecht and it was he who provided the producers of *Executive Action* with the documentary record which he started scanning the last 18 frames of his Zapruder film and then began to see that what he thought was the wheel well of the presidential Lincoln wasn't the wheel well at all, but the rifleman—"because the car was moving forward and the 'wheel well' was moving backward."

• The FBI, which has been physically located in several cities, has been a graduate of the CIA. It is often to be seen in the streets of cities in the United States, especially in the last ten years. It is the FBI's reputation history, particularly in the last ten years, is written in the *Ramparts* which argued that there were three assassins firing in Dealey Plaza on November 22nd, 1963.

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Lifton has a work in progress which challenges the authenticity of the evidence on which the Warren Commission based its major findings.

• George O'Toole, a former computer analyst for the CIA, has turned to a new technological tool as an important adjunct in his assassination research. The tool is something called a Psychological Stress Evaluator (PSE), a machine which a skilled operator can apply to anyone's recorded words and tell, by evaluating the stress patterns in the speech (seen on the machine's scanners as a series of mountains and valleys), whether that person is telling the truth or lying.

The PSE presents advantages over the old polygraph exam (which is why old-time polygraph examiners don't like it). A skilled PSE examiner can play the PSE game with remote subjects who don't even know they're participants. All O'Toole needed in order to find out whether some of the actors in the JFK assassination scenario were telling the truth was access to old taped interviews they'd given out years ago. O'Toole found some of these—radio and television interviews with officials like Dr. J.J. Hughes, who performed an autopsy on President Kennedy, and members of the Warren Commission and, most notably, Lee Harvey Oswald's hallway interviews in the Dallas police station. Where previously taped interviews didn't exist (especially in the case of certain witnesses in Dallas and members of the Dallas police), O'Toole played the role of a journalist doing a thirtieth anniversary story on the assassination, went down to Texas with a tape recorder and got his own interviews.

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And, just standing of all, that Lee Harvey Oswald was telling the truth when he said, to a nameless reporter in the Dallas police station who asked him whether he had shot the president, "I didn't shoot anybody, no sir."

IV. LOBBYING FOR THE SUPREMACY OF CONGRESS

If Oswald didn't do it, who did? There are a lot of conspiracy theories. A congressional task force is needed to evaluate them all. If the agencies themselves, the Secret Service, the FBI, the CIA, Army and Navy Intelligence, are themselves an object of the investigation, then, quite obviously, we can't expect them (or anyone in the ranks of traditional law enforcement) to investigate themselves, or investigate anyone with old-boy ties to any part of the intelligence community.

And don't expect much from the Justice Department either. A group of Warren Commission critics, including Mary Ferrell of Dallas and Bernard Fensterwald, recently presented the U.S. Attorney's office in Dallas with evidence they'd gathered which they hoped would help reopen the case before federal courts in Dallas. Their project failed. Assistant U.S. Attorney Kenneth Mighell said he saw nothing new in the evidence they gave him.

The only likely forum is a congressional committee, which is being pushed by Representative Gonzalez—and you can expect no endorsing action, by enough members of Congress unless and until public opinion keeps building.

Who will build it? There are various citizen lobbies at work. There's one active group in Washington D.C. under the leadership of Mark Lane and Margery Rankin (who is director of the Institute for Policy Studies), an intelligent, liberal but unexciting group which has decided to talk quietly with individual congresspersons.

Then there's something else in Cambridge, Massachusetts, called the Assassination Information Bureau. The "bureau" consisted of five young men when I visited them last November. Their headquarters were in the home of Carl Oglesby on Arnold Circle in Cambridge. Oglesby, gaunt, articulate, a sometime instructor at MIT, is a former president of Students for a Democratic Society. He's 38 now, but his four associates in the AIB, Bob Katz, Mi-

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But perhaps that is exactly the kind of journalism a community in which it is needed. American newsmen are full of men and women who have devoted their lives to the police beat. Watergate was a police story which took years to unfold; the assassination of John F. Kennedy is the biggest police story of them all. If it takes decades to tell it, then decades must be devoted to its telling.

Classifying executive sessions of the Warren Commission meant little to one of the commission members, Representative Gerald Ford, who took the transcript of the January 27th meeting, blue-penciled all the parts of it that could have embarrassed anyone and used it as a basis for the first chapter of his book about Oswald, *Portrait of the Assassin*. Then he lied about it in his confirmation hearings for vice-president before the Senate Judiciary Committee on November 5th, 1973:

Warren Commission, you voluntarily accepted the constraints which all the members of the commission accepted, providing that you would not publish or release any proceedings of the commission.

Mr. Ford. To my best recollection, Mr. Chairman, there was no such agreement, but even if there was, the

The National Archives declassified the top-secret January 27th meeting seven months later, on June 12th, 1974, — eight years after Ford used the transcript in his own book.

-R.U.A¹²

continued

The Mystery Tramps in Disguise

ALL Dick Gregory, the comedian turned peace activist, did in a list of assassination buffs who've been slithering around with a set of photos taken by three press photographers at Dallas, November 22nd, 1963.

The photos show three men, short, medium and tall, being led through Dealey Plaza by two Dallas policemen to the Dallas County Sheriff's Office. The cops released the men without, apparently, getting their names. "They were just tramps," the policemen were supposed to have said, "and we let 'em go."

For years, buffs looking for "the real killers of JFK" have been trying to identify the tramps. Richard Sprague, a computer scientist from New York and former board member of the Committee to Investigate Assassinations, has maintained that one of the tramps is a Minuteman from Washington D.C. named Fred Lee Crisman. Sprague dubbed the tramp of medium height "Frenchy" and it was Sprague who fed *Ramparts* and the *New York Times* the intelligence that "Frenchy" bore a startling resemblance to a widely circulated police sketch of a man wanted for the assassination of Martin Luther King in 1968.

In 1972, after years of trying to link up the tramp photos with, mainly, anti-Castro Cubans and some of their American compatriots, the buffs started scanning photos of the actors in the Watergate scenario. Could any of the Watergate crowd have been in Dallas? And if so . . . Eureka!, they said, the short guy was E. Howard Hunt and the tall one was Frank Sturgis.

The short man does bear a resemblance to current photos of Hunt, to be sure, but the tramp photos were

taken in 1963 when Hunt was 35, and the short tramps in the 1963 photos looked to be in their 40s or 50s. As for the shape of the nose and chin most particularly, that's different. Frank Sturgis is obviously Latin. Furthermore, there is a great disparity in height between the tall and the short tramps. The tall tramp seems to be at least eight inches taller than the short one. Sturgis seems to be no more than two or three inches taller than Hunt.

To the buffs wanting to believe, however, the photos were too good to drop. They "proved" a CIA complicity in the plot to kill Kennedy. Underground newspapers all over the country began to reprint the tramp photos, alongside those of Hunt and Sturgis, with the blatant assertions that the tramps were Hunt and Sturgis.

Two months ago, ROLLING STONE had the tramp photos examined by the

Journal of the American Society of Forensic Toxicology. The report said that Charles A. Morton, a well-known forensic chemist, had examined a photo of Hunt and Sturgis and that a "very close" photo of the tramps was "completely not Sturgis. The short tramp was probably not Hunt—the details in the tramps' photos of the short tramp were insufficient to provide Morton with an absolute basis for an opinion. However," reported Morton, "at least one definable characteristic appears to argue strongly against identity. This is the shape of the ear." According to Morton, the helix of the ear in the Hunt photo is concave and the helix of the ear of the short tramp is convex.

All this seemed somewhat superfluous in light of Hunt's angry denials to me that he was even in Dallas on November 22nd, 1963. I found Hunt at the Hotel Sheraton Russell in New York in November. He told me where he was on November 22nd, 1963—in Washington, at a meeting of some CIA officials who could corroborate his presence there. Hunt said he'd given their names to the FBI, which grilled him rather recently about his whereabouts during most major political crimes of the last 50 years. Hunt added: "I'd like you to tell the world I've had these FBI interviews, so that your colleagues in the media would put some pressure on the FBI to reveal the results of their investigations. Those investigations would help clear my name." Hunt promised he'd sue anyone worth suing who charged that he was in Dallas in November 1963 or part of a plot to kill JFK.

Hunt made similar disavowals on network TV and local TV shows during November 1974. Nevertheless, the tramp photos (with one of the tramps now labeled "Hunt") seem to have a life all their own, have become part of the collection of artifacts surrounding the JFK assassination mythology. Dick Gregory found the tramp photos circulating at the Assassination Information Bureau convention in early February, latched on to them (along with Robert Groden's Zapruder film blow-up) and took tramp photos, Groden's blow-up and Groden on the road.

Because Gregory is who he is, however, something of a folk hero who commands attention from the media, the Rockefeller Commission called Gregory to testify before it in Washington for a firsthand account of his charges. There Gregory stopped short of identifying the short tramp as Hunt but played the role of "aggrieved citizen." If this isn't Hunt, said Gregory, then the government has an obligation to tell us who it is.

—R.S.K.



Robert Blair Kaiser wrote "R.F.K. Must Die," after seven months of interviews with *Solomon Sultan* in the L.A. County Jail. Kaiser, formerly a foreign correspondent for *Time* magazine, is now a free-lance living in California.



MARIANNE DEANS

Castro Had JFK Killed?

Former President Lyndon Johnson told me not long before he died that he believed Cuban Premier Fidel Castro was behind Lee Harvey Oswald's murder of President John Kennedy.

Johnson, then a retired private citizen, swore me to secrecy. But I break the confidence now because Johnson's opinion appears to debunk the current speculation that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) might somehow have been involved in the Kennedy assassination.

The former president said that he firmly believed Oswald was acting alone in pulling the trigger. But Johnson also believed that Oswald did such an outrageous deed because he was under either the influence or the orders of Castro.

Although I asked for more information, Johnson did not explain the basis for his conviction. He only said that he understood Castro wished to have Kennedy killed because he believed that Kennedy had ordered the CIA to kill him. And Johnson declined, with a shake of his head, to tell me if that suspicion of Castro's had been an accurate one, or even if Johnson himself knew whether it was.

Johnson was convinced that the Warren Commission report was accurate, insofar as it went. But he obviously doubted that the full truth had come out.

The former president confided these thoughts to me in a long, rambling conversation during a private visit to his ranch about a year before he died. He was in a reflective mood, and enjoyed reliving vicariously the days of his presidency. (I had been assigned to cover the White House during most of that period and had been in the White House motorcade in Dallas when Kennedy was killed.)

Johnson said he was disturbed by the periodic efforts of amateur sleuths to keep controversy over the assassination alive. "Some people even think I directed it," Johnson signed. "It is a lucky thing I was there in the motorcade and could have gotten it too."

For the past month, the White House Commission investigating the CIA has been

looking into allegations that the agency was a party to the Kennedy assassination. The group, chaired by Vice President Nelson Rockefeller, officially announced last week that it has been unable to find any evidence to support those allegations.

"Thus far we have not found any credible evidence that the CIA was involved as a party in the assassination," Commission Executive Director David Belin said.

The allegations were raised primarily by comedian Dick Gregory, who contended that E. Howard Hunt, a former CIA agent, convicted two years ago of conspiring to carry out the Watergate bugging plot, was present at the scene of the assassination. Hunt denied this in testimony before the commission and produced witnesses to the fact he was in Washington on the day Kennedy died.

The CIA, however, did have some knowledge of Oswald prior to the assassination, because he was an ex-Marine who had lived for some time in the Soviet Union and was therefore a security suspect. CIA operatives in Mexico were also supposedly aware of Oswald's movements there.

Two months before the assassination, Oswald appealed to the Cuban embassy in Mexico City for permission to visit that country. Thus there is established evidence that Oswald was at least interested in Cuba, if not under its influence.

During the period while he was trying to go to Cuba, Oswald might have been told by a Cuban activist that Kennedy intended to have Castro assassinated and in his own demented mind taken on the chore of killing Kennedy first. Or it is possible he was assigned the task by a Cuban official in return for some future reward.

Or it is possible that Oswald decided to kill Kennedy for no other reason than that he was nuts.

I do not know whether Johnson based his opinion about Castro on special intelligence he could not reveal, or simply on an experienced political hunch. In any case, the commission ought to find his views interesting.

ON APRIL 1975

THE KREMLIN:

Too Clever by Half

For a few years, he was the Kremlin's sinister equivalent of J. Edgar Hoover, a secret police chief whose nimble political footwork—and collection of dossiers on some of his high-ranking colleagues—kept him at the top of the Soviet structure. But Aleksandr Shelepin, 56, had lost his touch. Early this month, he made an ill-advised visit to London, where anti-Communist demonstrators hounded him and forced him to leave early. Back in Moscow, his opponents turned that embarrassment to their own advantage, and last week Shelepin was dumped from the Soviet Union's ruling body, the Communist Party Politburo.

Officially, Shelepin's removal from the sixteen-member body came "in connection with his own request." In fact, he was muscled out after a long feud with Communist Party General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev. Shelepin had been the youngest serious contender for Brezhnev's job, but he was a maverick who owed the Secretary little personal allegiance. At a day-long party plenum, Brezhnev used the London debacle to paint Shelepin as an impediment to détente with the West. And although Shelepin retained, for the time being, his present post as head of Soviet trade unions, it seemed clear that his once-promising career was over.

In the end, Shelepin may have been too clever for his own good. After rocketing to prominence as head of Stalin's Komsomol, the Communist youth organization, Shelepin executed a well-timed switch of loyalties to Nikita Khrushchev, who made him head of the KGB, the secret police. Khrushchev eventually moved him out of the KGB, but Shelepin switched sides again and shouldered his way onto the Brezhnev-era Politburo. Although he invariably echoed the party line in public, Moscow insiders described him as the first to criticize policy failures that could be laid at someone else's door.

During Brezhnev's extended illness early this year, Shelepin once again maneuvered for the limelight and was suspected by some of initiating reports

that the Soviet doctor was a fatal case of cancer. Such ill-disposed audacity has come to mark Shelepin's career, and in February Western diplomats witnessed graphic evidence of Shelepin's unpopularity. At a Kremlin reception for visiting British Prime Minister Harold Wilson, Shelepin tried to engage his colleagues in smiling chatter. They gave him the cold shoulder.

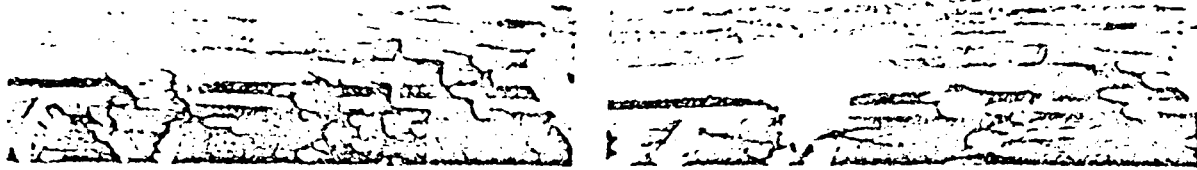
Jest: Shelepin's removal appeared to improve Brezhnev's chances of picking his own successor—although there was still no definite sign who that would be. The party plenum endorsed Brezhnev's accommodation with the West and set a firm date—Feb. 24, 1976—for the 25th congress of the Communist Party. "By that time," remarked one State Department expert, only partly in jest, "Shelepin will most likely be a school principal someplace."

Nonetheless, the months ahead may still prove turbulent for the 68-year-old Brezhnev. Kremlin watchers noted that the party named no replacement for Shelepin or for a key party secretary transferred to new duties four months ago. A growing number of vacancies in other top party jobs appeared to suggest that the Soviet hierarchy was biding its time on the succession issue. Rumors that Brezhnev was suffering from jaw cancer also continued to circulate. A British doctor who accompanied Wilson to Moscow had detected signs that Brezhnev's jaw was undergoing radiation treatment. Last week, when he arrived late for a meeting with U.S. Treasury Secretary William Simon, the Soviet leader rubbed his chin and explained: "I'm sorry, but I've just come from the dentist." If Brezhnev's health is indeed declining, the political maneuvering in the Kremlin will surely intensify. "Getting rid of Shelepin was the last shot in an old battle," a European diplomat in Moscow said last week. That was true, but it also could have been the first barrage of a new war.

—FAY WILLEY with ALFRED FRIENOLY JR. in Moscow and
BRUCE VAN VOORST in Washington

FRAME 312

FRAME 313



The mystery of the mortal wound: Kennedy, still clutching at his throat wound, is hit with explosive force from behind . . .

Dallas: New Questions and Answers

They are a breed apart—an odd-lot assortment of skeptics and ideologues, rationalists and fantasists who have never believed that Lee Harvey Oswald alone killed John F. Kennedy and have invested up to a dozen years of their lives in trying to disprove it. They flowered first in the middle '60s, then fell into discouraged retreat with the collapse of former New Orleans D.A. Jim Garrison's jerry-built attempt to prove their case in court. But the true disbelievers are back now, more numerous and insistent than ever, with their three-Oswald and four-assassin scenarios and their dizzying exegeses of every scrap of paper and every frame of film on the JFK shelves in the National Archives. And this time, in a nation still traumatized by the crimes and lies of Watergate, they have found their widest audience yet for their demand that the inquest be reopened.

Their doubts, reasonable or not, have inspired at least two dozen nonfiction books, four novels, three feature films, several national conferences and a recent freshest of articles in journals ranging from Penthouse to Rolling Stone. A bootleg copy of the famed Zapruder home movie of the assassination—blood, brain fragments and all—has played twice this spring on network TV and numberless times to smaller audiences around the nation. A group of Old New Leftists in Cambridge, Mass., embraced

the cause and booked 250 campus lectures (at \$780 each) in a single year. A Warren commission staff alumnus, who still believes that Oswald acted alone, has urged a review of the case—and now Texas U.S. Rep. Henry Gonzalez has formally proposed that Congress undertake the re-hearing.

The Warren verdict is indeed threaded through with unanswered questions and unresolved anomalies. What its detractors offer in its place is one or another alternative hypothesis far tidier than the commission's one-man, one-gun analysis. But their sort of tidiness has its own vices. Supposition is elevated into fact; accident becomes criminal design; evidence is accepted on faith if it fits a conspiracy theory and rejected as manufactured if it does not. The doubters, moreover, have never harmonized their own doubts about whether or not Oswald was involved at all, or how many assassins fired how many shots, or who might have put them up to it—the CIA, or the Mafia, or the Communists, or Texas oil, or some other party or parties, unknown.

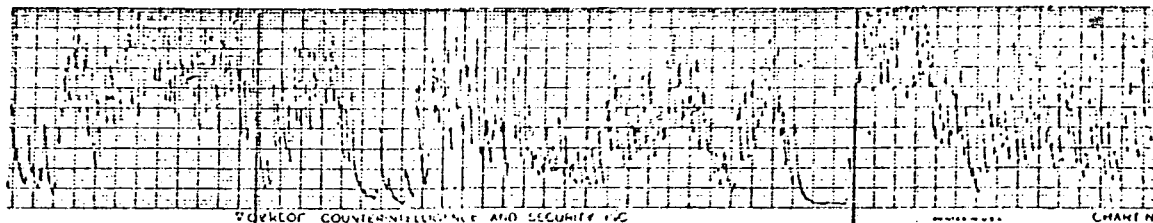
Still, amid the mélange of fact and guess, reason and imagination, there are provocative questions:

DID OSWALD DO IT?

The Voice Test: "I didn't shoot anybody, no sir," Oswald told an interviewer at Dallas police headquarters, and many

doubters have always chosen to believe him. Now they have been joined by a sometime CIA computer analyst, George O'Toole, who played a tape of Oswald's denial to a Psychological Stress Evaluator—a device that supposedly measures and charts tension in a person's voice—and found none of the bunched-up, hedge-shaped clusters of squiggles that commonly accompany lying. In Penthouse and in a newly published book, "The Assassination Tapes," O'Toole rendered his unambiguous judgment: "Quite clearly, Lee Harvey Oswald was telling the truth."

The Flaws: The PSE, while gradually gaining acceptance, remains controversial among experts in lie-detection; neither the FBI nor the CIA uses it, and Dr. Joseph Kubis, a Fordham psychologist who tested it extensively for the Army, came away doubting its validity. There remains, moreover, the powerful circumstantial case that Oswald was involved, alone or not. The only known murder weapon, a 1940 Mannlicher-Carcano rifle, was traced to him and bore his palmprint; the only recovered cartridges and bullet fragments were traced to the rifle; the revolver that killed Dallas police patrolman J.D. Tippit was in Oswald's possession when he was arrested in a movie theater 80 minutes after the assassination. Even some conspiracy theorists concede the case, and David



Oswald's voice chart: Did the absence of stress signs amid the squiggles prove his innocence of murdering JFK?

Continued



... but did a second hit from up front drive him violently backward?

Belin, a Warren staff alumnus now directing the Rockefeller commission inquiry into the CIA, says flatly: "I have no doubt that Oswald killed Kennedy."

WAS THERE A CONSPIRACY?

The Superbullet: The Warren commission's one-man theory rested heavily on the hypothesis that Oswald's first shot struck JFK in the upper back, exited from his throat, tore through then Texas Gov. John Connally's torso and right wrist, and burrowed into his left thigh. To have conceded that the two men were hit by separate shots would have been to acknowledge a second gun; Oswald almost certainly could not have fired his clumsy bolt-action rifle that quickly. Yet the single bullet said: "I have caused all this damage came away miraculously unscathed. And existing studies of the Zapruder film—most recently by Robert Groden, 29, a New York optics expert currently touring with a pirated print—seem to the doubters to show Kennedy and Connally reacting to their wounds a half-second to one and a half seconds apart. The conclusion: they must have been hit by separate guns."

The Flaws: The nearly pristine condition of what critics call Superbullet is indeed hard to explain; the commission's defenders are mostly reduced to arguing that it could have survived intact because it did. But the doubters are stuck with the perplexing question of what *did* become of the bullet that hit Kennedy if it didn't strike Connally as well. And the film is at best ambiguous on the timing of their wounds. To some viewers, Connally seems to go stiff almost simultaneously with Kennedy's first visible reaction, and his right hand flies upward clutching his Stetson—reflexes that might support a single-bullet theory. Connally's major reaction to his wounds does come a half-second or so later, when he begins sagging rightward, spins and then slumps heavily to his left. The commission called this a delayed reaction, and subsequent studies by UCLA physicist B.K. Jones tend

to buttress its case. Jones found that Connally's reaction was too exaggerated to be explained by the impact of the bullet; he suggests that Connally was reacting physiologically to his wounds.

The Fast Wound: With gut-wrenching clarity, Groden's blowups of the Zapruder film show JFK's head snapping forward under the impact of a bullet that blew away one side of his skull; then, a split-second later, his hand and body lurch even more violently up, back and leftward into Jackie's arms. The doubters' theory: that Kennedy was hit by separate shots, one from the rear and one from the front, a single movie frame (or one-eighth of a second) apart.

The Flaws: The film itself shows an explosion of blood, brain and bone fragments spraying upward and forward, suggesting a hit from the rear. A second bullet striking Kennedy from up front might have been expected to produce a comparable burst backward, but none is visible. Physicist Jones's studies, moreover, concluded that a double hit would have required a "giant" second bullet with ten times the momentum of the first to drive JFK back and leftward so forcefully. His hypothesis: the movement was a neuromuscular reaction to the damage to Kennedy's brain.

The Mystery Men: The conspiratorialists have long been fascinated by a frame in a second amateur film shot by Orville Nix;

... a frame that shows a man in a dark suit, possibly a CIA operative, standing near the Kennedy car. The man is seen in a frame that is often cited by conspiracy theorists. The man is seen in a frame that is often cited by conspiracy theorists. The man is seen in a frame that is often cited by conspiracy theorists.

The Flaws: The Nix "assassin" if he exists, could as easily be sighting a camera as a gun; if it is a rifle, he appears to have the wrong arm propped on the car roof. Groden's "gunmen" are too gauzy even to be identified positively as human beings, let alone assassins, and are accordingly regarded as dubious even among some diehard conspiratorialists.

WAS OSWALD A GOVERNMENT AGENT?

The FBI-CIA Connection: The conspiracy literature is shot through with speculation that Oswald was an operative or at least an informer for one or both agencies, which were then heavily involved in trying to penetrate domestic radical groups. The CIA links are largely suppositions, based on some striking oddities in Oswald's record (the ease with which he got a Marine Corps discharge, then defected to Russia, then came home on a government loan) and some tenuous connections with various people and places thought to be in the CIA's ambit. The FBI story had rather more body: Oswald in fact was carrying the name and phone number of Dallas agent James Hosty in his pocket notebook, and there were rumors—now often quoted as fact—that he was on the bureau payroll as informant number S-179 at \$200 a month.

The Flaws: The CIA connection remains speculative, pending further inquiry by the Rockefeller commission and the two Congressional committees inquiring into the agency's operations. The FBI's Hosty insisted he had contacted Oswald only as a matter of routine surveillance of a returned defector. And the embellishments about his informant status and his payroll number apparently

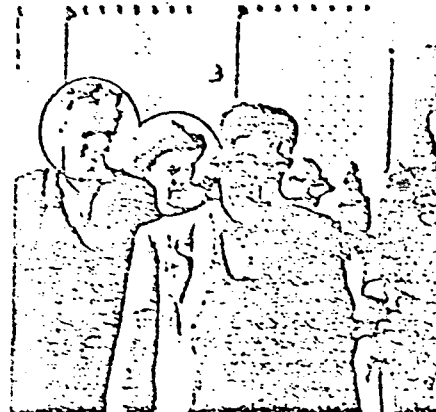
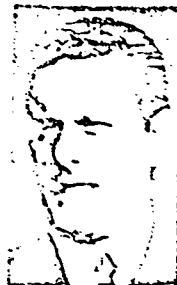
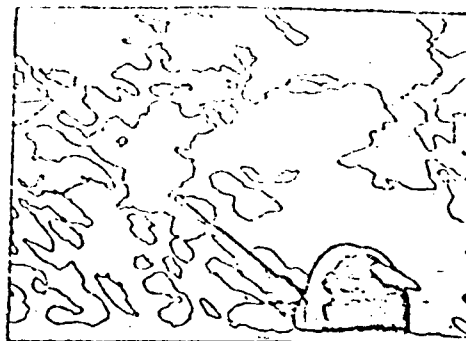
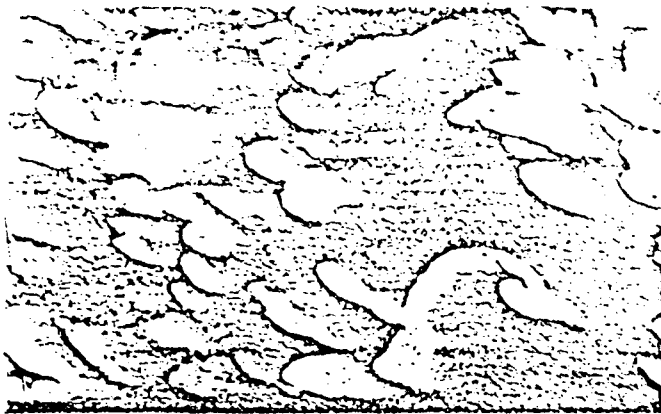


Photo play: Some conspiracy theorists profess to recognize Watergate conspirators Sturgis and Hunt (above) among the three traps in police custody near the scene of the Kennedy assassination

Continued



Blow-up: Was the shadowy form under the tree leaves the head of an assassin holding a rifle?

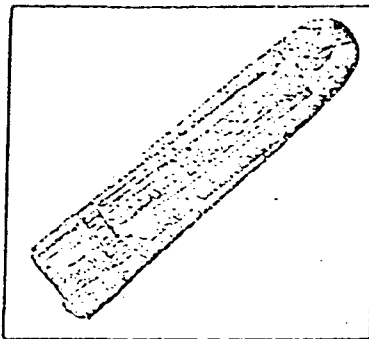
originated in a hoax, hatched in December 1963 by two Texas newsmen and a Dallas assistant D.A. who suspected the bureau of tapping their phones. As one of the reporters, Alonzo Hudkins, recounted it, the three set out to prove their suspicion by staging a conference call, referring to Oswald as an informant and debating what his number was—S-179 or 172. Sure enough, said Hudkins, an agent materialized within a half hour, dropped a few off-the-point questions, then asked casually: "Say, have you heard anything about a secret payroll number Oswald may have had?" Hudkins played dumb, and heard nothing more of the tale until a New York newspaper printed Hoover's denial—before the charge had ever reached print.

The 'Dirty Rumor': The commission's critics maintain that, whatever the merits, it did not pursue the agency connections hard enough, and instead took the FBI and CIA denials at face value. Their exhibit A is a lately surfaced transcript of a closed-door commission meeting in January 1964, at which staff director J. Lee Rankin began unhappily: "We do have a dirty rumor [about Oswald as informant S-179] . . . and it must be wiped out insofar as it is possible to do so by this commission." What follows is a long, unflattering debate in which the commission wobbles indecisively between offending Hoover by mounting its own investigation, or merely accepting his word—even on the advice of former CIA director Allen Dulles that Hoover would probably lie if it were so. They settled on a "marriage" of the two approaches, but critics charge they did precious little independent inquiry.

The Flaws: The "rumor" was an insubstantial one to start with, as the commission staff may have sensed from the first; one of the Texas lawmen who reported it to them, in any event, was the assistant D.A. who had helped make it up. Most accounts of the meeting, moreover, unkindly omit a second sentence from Rankin's opening remarks, in which he admonishes the commission that the country will expect it "to try to find out the facts . . . [so it] can fairly say, 'In our

opinion, he was or was not an employee of any intelligence agency of the United States.'" If the ensuing inquiry did not go much beyond Hoover's flat denial, it did substantially undercut the tale that Oswald drew down \$200 a month. The commission published an exhaustive 100-page anatomy of Oswald's finances over his last seventeen months, during which he earned \$3,655 and pinched every penny of it; it uncovered no evidence that any hidden benefactor was doubling his income under the table.

The No-Oswald Theory: For years, various conspiracy theorists have posited the possibility that there may have been two or even three Oswalds, one the real article, the other (or others) assigned by unknown conspirators to prepare weeks and months ahead for his frame-up by planting incriminating clues about him. In the new wave, Peter Dale Scott, a Berkeley medievalist and assassination buff, has added an ingenious new wrinkle: that there may have been no real Oswald at all. One principal source of this speculation is that Oswald's height—5 feet 9 at his death—fluctuates in various physical-examination records over four years between 5 feet 8 and 5 feet 11. Says Scott: "I'm really intrigued that the only reality of Lee Harvey Oswald is some documents, a passport which was used by different people. Who was Lee Harvey Oswald? Whoever



Superbullet: Both JFK and Connally?

happened to be carrying the passport."

The Flaws: Such records are often carelessly made; the one that says Oswald was 5 feet 8, for instance, is accompanied by a photograph of Oswald standing against a wall grid on which his height is 5 feet 9. In any case, if there was no Lee Harvey Oswald, who is the woman who for 35 years has been claiming to be Lee Harvey Oswald's mother?

The Plumber Connection: A number of conspiratorialists, notably comedian Dick Gregory, have promoted the theory that Watergate conspirators E. Howard Hunt and Frank Sturgis may have been present—and in fact briefly detained—at the assassination scene. Their "evidence" is a press photo of the Dallas police with three unidentified "tramps" in tow; the shortest of the three looks to some doubters like Hunt, the tallest like Sturgis. The implication: the plumbers-to-be were somehow associated with the events that bloody noonday in Dallas.

The Flaws: The look-alikes, on close inspection, don't. The "Hunt" figure seems older in 1963, when he would have been 45, than he does now at 56, and the "Sturgis" Doppelgänger is craggier and fairer than his real-life incarnation.

What the doubters have confirmed, after a dozen years' labor, is that the Warren inquiry was a flawed and at critical moments a timid one. What they have yet to provide is a satisfying alternative to the official theory—a hypothesis that does not require whole squads of assassins vanishing into thin air and whole platoons of lawmen conspiring successfully over a decade and more to protect them. The conspiracy theorists may, as they claim, have raised enough reasonable doubt to warrant reopening the case, in a committee of Congress or some other open and independent forum. But it would be perilously wishful thinking to expect such an inquiry to lay all doubts to rest—to make order of the chaos of Dallas, Nov. 22, 1963, or to promulgate some final, symmetrical "truth" about the death of John F. Kennedy.

—PETER GEORGE, NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE

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NEW ROUND OF SPECULATION ON KENNEDY ASSASSINATION

*By
Daniel Schorr*

HUGHES RUDD: There's a new round of speculation here about the Central Intelligence Agency and the John Kennedy assassination. Not that the agency knew about that, but speculation that the CIA knew something about plots to assassinate Fidel Castro and that there may have been some Castro link to the Kennedy murder.

Vice President Rockefeller's CIA panel is investigating as Daniel Schorr reports.

DANIEL SCHORR: It begins to appear that in the Kennedy assassination as in the Watergate breakin, the CIA played its cause a little too close to its chest, hiding its knowledge of related matters for fear of being linked to the central events.

On Watergate, the agency discourages personnel from telling the FBI about the earlier help to Howard Hunt that the White House had requested; those wigs and the spy gear.

In the Kennedy assassination, the Rockefeller Commission is now hot after the CIA for information it withheld from the Warren Commission: Not about renewed theories of CIA involvement in the Dallas murder, which are not taken seriously, but about the CIA's role in plans to assassinate Fidel Castro. During the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, and also as late as 1963, just months before the Kennedy assassination.

There is new information that ransomed Bay of Pigs veterans were recruited anew by the CIA for missions to Cuba. And Mafia types were reportedly encouraged to send assassination teams to Havana.

Richard Bissell, the retired CIA deputy who managed Bay of Pigs, has been before the Rockefeller Panel this week. CIA sources say the agency didn't tell the Warren Commission about anti-Castro activities because they didn't seem relevant. But Rockefeller Commission sources say that these activities could shed a new light on the never-explained visit of Lee Oswald to the Cuban Embassy in

Mexico before the Kennedy murder.

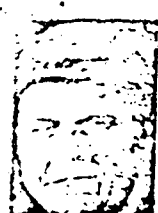
President Johnson, who learned about CIA plots against Castro from the FBI, of all places, he was convinced the Dallas assassination resulted from Castro's belief that President Kennedy was out to get him. That according to Joseph Califano, Mr. Johnson's Chief-of-Staff.

The Castro reprisal idea may or may not hold water. But what the CIA's being criticized for is withholding information to protect itself that could have helped the investigation.

Daniel Schorr, CBS News, Washington.

Jerald terHorst

Ford, Ted haunted by Dallas



WASHINGTON—President Ford and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D., Mass.) share a dilemma.

Present circumstances inhibit both from advocating a new inquiry into the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Yet both are keenly aware of and perturbed by the steadily increasing volume of data challenging the Warren Commission's conclusion that Lee Harvey Oswald was the lone gunman on that black day in Dallas in 1963.

Ted Kennedy's dilemma is the most agonizing.

As the brother of the slain President—and of the slain Robert Kennedy—Ted Kennedy inwardly recoils at the prospect of a reopened inquiry into one or both cases, the mass of publicity that would result, the need to relive those horrible episodes and the trauma that would be revisited upon the members of his family.

MOREOVER, a call for a new investigation would bring down on him hurries of those who honestly believe they have new information, plus even greater numbers of "kooks" and conspiratorial-minded fanatics who already besiege his mail and his Capitol Hill office.

Still others would term such a Kennedy call for an inquiry a political move, designed to whip up public sympathy for a Ted Kennedy campaign for the Presidency in 1976—an office he insists he is not seeking.

For obvious reasons, Kennedy could not launch a new probe into the death of one brother without favoring similar investigations of the other, particularly since both are now clouded with suspicions of other participants in the crimes.

My brothers are dead, he tells those who pressure him. No amount of fur-

ther investigating will bring them back to life. Please understand my position.

Ford's position is different but no less difficult. As a member of the Warren Commission, he is a signatory to the official report that Oswald acted alone. Of that seven-member bipartisan panel, only a few still live. For Ford to challenge their work is something he finds unseemly.

More important, Ford finds himself constrained by his office. Right or wrong, he feels intensely that a Presidential call for a new inquiry into the Dallas assassination would have implications and reverberations that go far beyond the merits of such action. Indeed, he suspects some persons would accuse him as well as Ted Kennedy of trying to capitalize politically on the mounting public interest in a second look at John Kennedy's death.

Yet, like Ted Kennedy, who lunched privately the other day with John McCone, the former director of the Central Intelligence Agency, the President is deeply concerned about recent developments and detailed studies of the Zapruder film of the Dallas shooting which suggests that President Kennedy might have been the victim of a plot.

About a month ago, Ford checked out the wording of the Warren Commission's report and thus was prepared to answer the surprise question he received at his April 3 news conference in San Diego. The Warren panel, Ford said, found no evidence of a conspiracy, foreign or domestic.

Yet, as every law student knows, the absence of evidence does not mean a conspiracy didn't exist but only that it hadn't been proved to exist.

The President said he would have the Rockefeller Commission look into allegations of CIA linkage to the Kennedy slaying in Dallas. Unfortunately that is not likely to lay the matter to rest

because the executive director of the Rockefeller Commission on CIA misconduct happens to be David W. Belin, who was an assistant counsel on the Warren Commission and is a stout believer in the single-assassin theory.

Fresh suspicion in the public's mind—disconcerting to both Ford and Ted Kennedy—was whetted this week by the statement of Richard Bissell, head of the CIA's "dirty tricks" division during John Kennedy's administration, that high-ranking intelligence officials discussed plans to assassinate Cuban Premier Fidel Castro. Bissell said the idea was vetoed by then CIA Director Allen Dulles, who McCone succeeded in November, 1961.

THE IMPORTANCE of Bissell's testimony is that it adds credence to a theory of some Warren Commission critics who believe that anti-Castro Cubans were out to get even with John Kennedy because his Bay of Pigs adventure failed to liberate Cuba.

Since it's clear that demands for a new inquiry into John Kennedy's death are mounting, not diminishing, it may be time for Congress to reopen the case. Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D., Tex.) has such a resolution pending before the House Rules Committee. But it's not likely to get far.

There are many other ways to devise a responsible group to check into the Kennedy assassination. Indeed, to be credible, the membership of such an investigatory body should be as far removed from politics as possible.

Doing that would not be easy, but it would be the only kind of panel likely to overcome the dilemma of Ted Kennedy and President Ford while, most important, answering the question of a coverup or a conspiracy regarding the tragedy of Nov. 22, 1963.

Universal Press Syndicate

A wise warning

PRESIDENT FORD'S cautionary words to the joint session of Congress concerning just and expeditious handling of investigations into the activities of U.S. intelligence operations, were indeed wise.

In the final moments of his somber State of the World address, the President suddenly departed from his text to extemporaneously urge "maximum discretion and dispatch" in the Congressional investigations of CIA and other intelligence agencies.

It caught his listeners by surprise. But only for seconds. Almost to a man the combined houses of Congress vigorously applauded for a full 25 seconds. It was the sharpest show of approval during the entire speech.

That is good, for he was making a point that troubles many Americans. In the wash of Watergate, committees of both the House and Senate started investigations of the CIA and other U.S. intelligence agencies following charges published in the New York Times that the CIA had engaged in massive illegal domestic spying.

President Ford, in worrisome and urgent tone, said it was "en-

tirely proper" that the intelligence system be subject to Congressional review. But, he added:

"A sensationalized public debate over legitimate intelligence activities is a disservice to this nation and a threat to our intelligence system. It ties our hands while our potential enemies operate with secrecy, skill and vast resources."

The applause erupted. The point had been well made.

Since first publication of the charges, intelligence agents at home and abroad have worried that the secrecy of their relationships with the agency would be destroyed.

It has harmed CIA's effectiveness, Director William E. Colby has warned. To harm it irreparably, as the President further warned, would be catastrophic.

The CIA and all other intelligence agencies should perform within the bounds of their authority — and Congress should assure just that.

But, the Congress, and the press, should also operate discreetly within their own boundaries to preserve the imperative functions of intelligence.

Now information on President Kennedy's assassination

Recent information thus sheds new light on the assassination of President John F. Kennedy by Lee Harvey Oswald. Oswald's contact with a Soviet KGB Department V (ultra-secret) KGB Section V, it should be noted, Kennedy's death has been revealed by several Western intelligence agencies. This information has been deliberately withheld from the public so as not to interfere with the KGB's policy of détente and other efforts to improve relations with Russia.

The source of the new information is KGB Department V defector, Oleg Adolfovich Lyalin, who disclosed this knowledge during lengthy interrogation by British Intelligence, which resulted in the immediate expulsion of 105 Soviet agents from England. The significance of Lyalin's disclosures connecting Lee Harvey Oswald with KGB Department V was not realised until much later when his secret data was analysed and then integrated with existing intelligence on the Kennedy assassination.

KGB Department V

KGB Department V is the ultra-secret section of Soviet Intelligence which has the prime responsibility for assassinations and sabotage. It is in existence now, and was in existence during the period of the Kennedy assassination. Despite consistent Russian denials, select assassination has been a covert policy of the Soviet Union since its conception. Upon the defection of Lyalin, KGB Chairman, Yuri Andropov, recalled all KGB Department V officers from overseas posts in justified fear that their identities and operations would be compromised.

One of the first KGB Department V officers to be personally recalled from his post was Valeriy Vladimirovich Kostikov, who was serving under cover as the second secretary of the Soviet embassy in Mexico City. Colonel Jorge Obregon Lima, chief of the secret police in Mexico City, knew of some clandestine activities by Kostikov and linked the Soviet embassy with the urban guerrilla movement in Mexico, which was attempting to upset social reform programmes being carried out under President Luis Echeverria. The CIA knew that Kostikov was a KGB official but did not know he was linked with Department V until after his recall to Moscow. Kostikov also maintained KGB liaison with covert Cuban GDI (General Directorate of Intelligence) operations in Mexico and the United States. Castro agents have specialised in various terrorist activities in those countries. It is also reported that Kostikov supervised the direction of two KGB external echelon-type espionage networks operating from within Mexico near the American border, which sent agents into the US and received intelligence data collected in America.

Kostikov and Oswald

On 27 September 1963, approximately eight weeks before the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, Lee Harvey Oswald contacted KGB official, Valeriy Vladimirovich Kostikov, at the Soviet embassy in Mexico City under the pretext of obtaining a visa. During the same trip, he contacted Cuban GDI officials at the Cuban embassy. He returned to Dallas on 1 October 1963. Oswald, an admitted Communist active with the Castro "Fair Play for Cuba Committee", assassinated President Kennedy on 22 November 1963, and seriously wounded Texas Governor John B. Connally, Jr. Earlier, on 10 April 1963, Lee Harvey Oswald attempted to assassinate retired US Army Major General Edwin A. Walker who was noted for his anti-Communist convictions.

Immediately after the assassination, and prior to the capture of Oswald, a prominent attorney in the US State Department, John J. Moore, of America's law station placed the Oswald case in "waiting" in Dallas, allegedly until the case was cleared by the Warren Commission. Although this plea collapsed with Oswald's apprehension, the Communist element in the United States and abroad has continually attempted to exonerate Oswald and shift the assassination blame to the American right wing, particularly the CIA (which, of course, cannot be considered "right wing" except by the Marxist element).

Soviet deception

The Soviet Ambassador to the United States, Anatoly F. Dobrynin, turned over to US Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, on 30 November 1963, a draft of documents from the USSR's consular files on Oswald. The papers pertained to Oswald's prolonged stay in Russia and his "attempts to get visas to go there again". Dobrynin's documents mentioned Kostikov but failed to link him with the KGB. They also failed to link Oswald's full contacts with the KGB and MVD while a resident of Minsk, Russia. Following the assassination, Kostikov remained at his KGB post in Mexico City, since his removal might hint at possible guilt of KGB or GDI conspiracy. Kostikov is a heavy drinker and was arrested by Mexican police in December 1963, after he threatened to shoot two Mexican PEMEX (Petroleum Mexicanos) engineers while drunk. The CIA had earlier warned the FBI of Oswald's contact with Kostikov in Mexico City, but it did not then know of Kostikov's assignment in Department V. Had that fact been known at the time, John F. Kennedy might be alive today.

Following the assassination, US Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, "exonerated" Moscow from having anything to do with Kennedy's assassination. This was partially based on Ambassador Dobrynin's "cooperation" which was described as "unprecedented". To further its deception regarding Oswald's connection with the KGB, and to help the cover-up operations of its friends in America, Moscow arranged for the "defection" of KGB Major Yuri Ivanovich Nosenko to the United States through Switzerland in 1964. KGB "defector", Nosenko, carried a false story clearing the KGB of any conspiratorial contacts with Oswald. In his lengthy "revelations", all of which were already known to Western intelligence, Nosenko failed to report that Kostikov was a KGB Department V officer—a fact which he did not know. Nosenko claimed to be a defector of KGB Department VII (American section), which handled Oswald's examination in 1959. The "information" supplied by Nosenko confirmed that supplied to Dean Rusk by Dobrynin. Nosenko went into great detail on how the KGB was "horrified" at Kennedy's assassination. Nosenko also spread "information" on other genuine defectors from Soviet-controlled intelligence and security agencies. Moscow timed Nosenko's "defection" to fit in with the investigations of the Warren Commission, whose report was issued to President Johnson on 24 September 1964.

Oswald in Minsk

Oswald's full contacts with the KGB have yet to be disclosed. It is known that Moscow and the KGB are desperately attempting to disavow all connections between Oswald and KGB Department V, especially in light of the revelations of Oleg Lyalin, who provided data on the direct link between Oswald and the KGB assassination arm. It is believed that the

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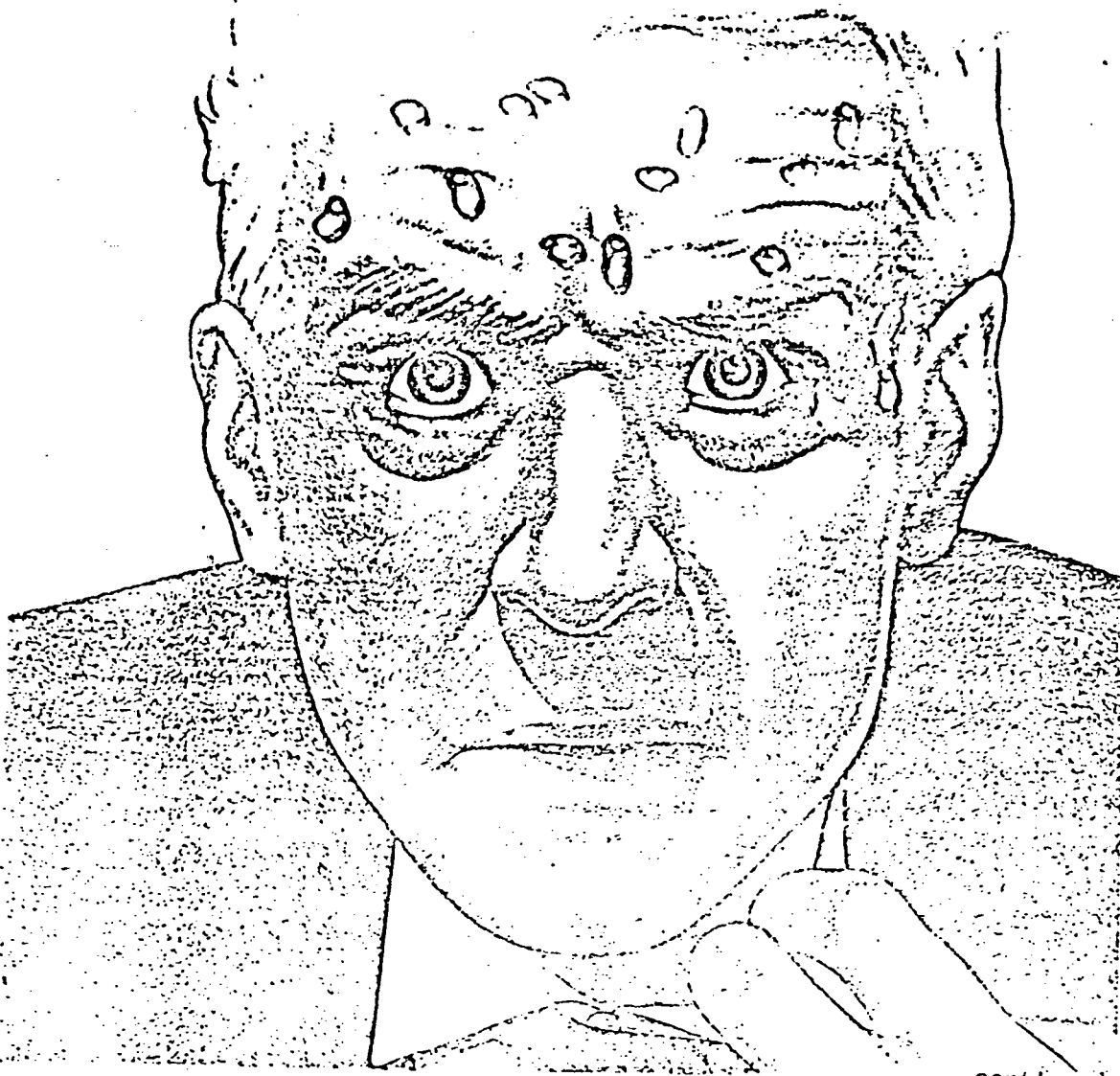
It is claimed by KGB agents, Novenko, and others that Gaidar received 14 KGB interrogations while in Russia and that he failed to undergo psychiatric examinations by Soviet medical personnel. What is deliberately played down

It is also possible that Oswald was a member of a KGB special operations group, the type of branch in Moscow which the agency was told had been formed in 1961. Marina Praskov, served as a KGB informant who passed surveillance reports on Oswald. At that time, Marina was living with her husband, MVD Colonel Ivan Praskov. Oswald was considered loyal to the interests of Communist cause and his return to America was expected by an American employee in the US embassy in Moscow who had KGB contacts. Further information is expected to emerge on this matter in the near future. Kozlov holds the key concerning Moscow's full involvement in President Kennedy's assassination.

In the old days, it was paranoid -- or "unreasonably fearful" -- to believe that the CIA was illegally tapping your phone; that you'd be murdered the minute you stepped outside. Today, unfortunately, fears have become not only reasonable but plausible, even real. In the spirit of making the crazy sane, and the sane crazy, we offer on the following pages our definition of

THE NEW IMPROVED PARANOIA

D.V.I.
MAY 1975



HOW PARANOIA CAN WRECK YOUR LIFE

JUST BECAUSE YOU'RE PARANOID DOESN'T MEAN SOMEONE ISN'T FOLLOWING YOU

ARTICLE BY REX WEINER

There's some little jerk in the FBI

Keepin' papers on me, six feet high

It gets me down. It gets me down.

—THE ROLLING STONES, Fingerprint File

Widespread hysteria and mass confusion make it imperative that we intelligent, thinking people sit down calmly and discuss this curious phenomenon known as paranoia. Without a doubt, it is a serious matter, one that must be analyzed in a cool, rational light, far removed from the heady manias that tend to obscure intellectual insight. So if you'll just bolt

your door, pull down the shades, unplug the phone and check one more time under the bed, we'll get right down to the matter at hand.

First off, notice the extraordinary vagary of popular speech in which so many people today are saying "I'm paranoid" instead of "I'm fearful." Now, the prevalence of amateur psychology notwithstanding, the word paranoia is not being used as a clinical diagnosis. Nor is it being used in its strictest definition, which, according to Webster's Seventh New Collegiate, is: "a rare chronic psychosis characterized

by systematized delusions of persecution or of grandeur . . . a tendency on the part of individuals or of groups toward excessive or irrational suspiciousness and distrustfulness of others."

No, paranoia is commonly used today in a very loose manner to define an emotion much too complicated to be called simply fear. In the same way that Watergate has come to mean more than just an apartment building, paranoia has come to describe an entirely new reality. There are, in fact, solid historical reasons why people have discarded the plain, naked word fear in favor of the rich, glittery textures of paranoia.

Once upon a time, people feared things, and that was a simple, straightforward emotion. When America was young, for example, people were afraid of Indians, witches, redcoats and foreigners. They dealt with their fears by massacring the Indians, burning the witches, kicking out the redcoats and oppressing the foreigners.

Fear stayed a simple, straightforward emotion during the World Wars because the enemy was so clearly defined. Everybody knew just when to fear and why, and most everybody was in agreement on how to act. "We have nothing to fear but fear itself," said F.D.R., who, along with Churchill, listed freedom from fear as one of the Four Freedoms in the Atlantic Charter. We were scared of the Huns and the Japs, who were

afraid of the Yanks, the United States, and the Tommies, like any Red commie, could be deceitful. The question was, it the Government was fooling all of the people some of the time with this U-2 business, could it be that the Government was fooling all of the people all of the time about other things?

With bewildering speed, the official definitions of reality became blurred. Beatniks with bongos were running around asking nasty questions, sick comics were poking holes through received truths, everything was breaking down and falling apart. The landmarks of a ten-year nervous breakdown were Selma, the Bay of Pigs, Dallas, Martin Luther King, R.F.K., LSD, hippies, Vietnam, campus unrest, crime in the streets and, finally, Watergate.

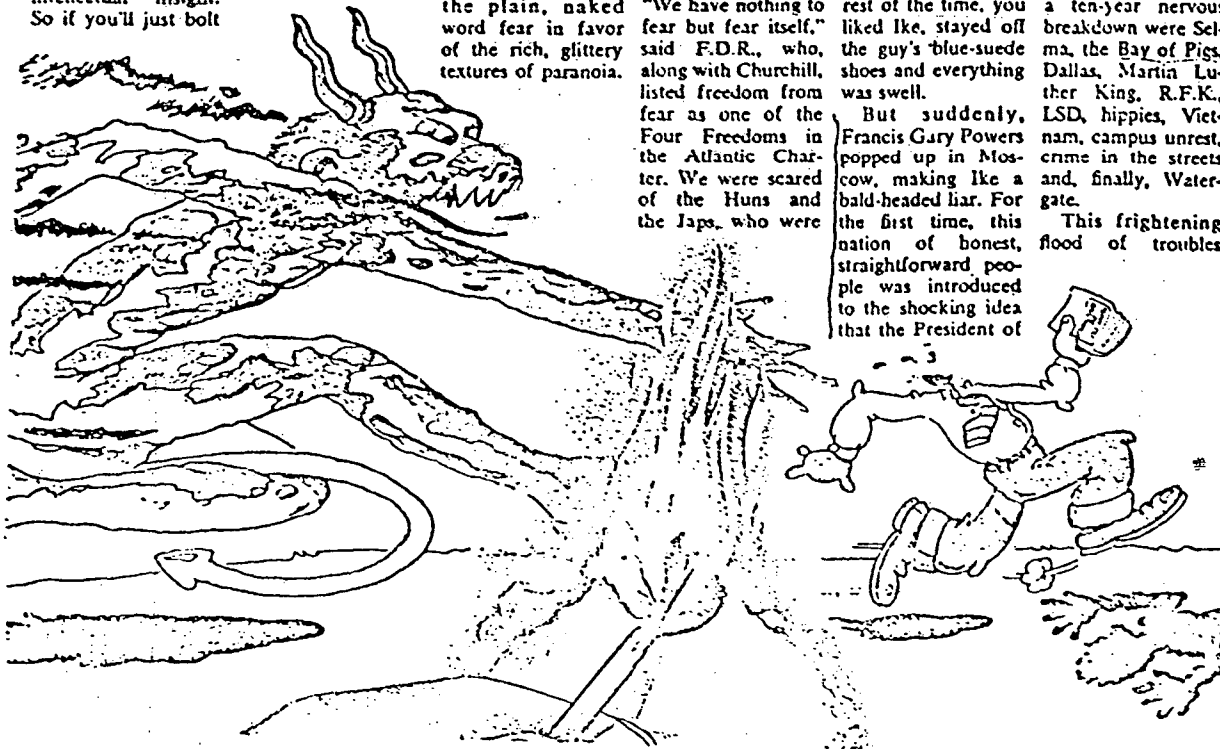
This frightening flood of troubles

But suddenly, Francis Gary Powers popped up in Moscow, making like a bald-headed liar. For the first time, this nation of honest, straightforward people was introduced to the shocking idea that the President of

the United States, like any Red commie, could be deceitful. The question was, it the Government was fooling all of the people some of the time with this U-2 business, could it be that the Government was fooling all of the people all of the time about other things?

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across the nation and affected the man in the street as never before. People could not escape strife and controversy, not even in the smallest backwater burgh, because television brought Lee Harvey Oswald, Charles Manson and the Viet Cong into the living room each evening at six o'clock.

A breakdown in the Official Reality Department had spawned all sorts of itchy problems. You couldn't believe the Government, you couldn't believe the media, you couldn't believe your best friend—who, it often turned out, was working for the Government. Even the Pope suffered a credibility gap. The hell of it was, you had damned good reasons by the end of the Sixties not to believe *anyone* anymore.

An intolerable situation! It sent people scrambling for cults, gurus, ethnic revivalisms, McGovern, CREEP, *The Washington Post*, bisexuality—anything at all resembling a belief system by which one could tell the good guys from the bad guys. Left wing, right wing, liberal, radical, conservative—it didn't matter; you could jump from one to another, like Rennie Davis, like Tim Leary. The only important thing was to have a system to explain why the world was screwed up and who was to blame for it—the result being that everybody had a different explanation and a different enemies list.

Thus the kaleidoscopic array of fears facing us today. They are not simple fears, like those of our forefathers; they are vague and complex. Often, you can't exactly put your finger on it, but you *know* that evil forces are manipulating you, perhaps via marketing research, when you buy a useless product merely because its bright-red package stimulates your medulla oblongata. It's a feeling best summed up by Woody Allen when he said, "Paranooids have *real* enemies, too."

Which is why the word fear is out the window these days. The unthinkable has become real; irrational fears have become rational. You say, for instance, "I'm paranoid about Larry; I think he's a narc." Now, Larry may *not* be a narc, and in that case, since you have smoked grass with him for three years, your fear of him is irrational, maybe even disgraceful (since he's always laid so much free stuff on you). By using the word *paranoid*, you acknowledge that possibility. But at the same time, saying that you're paranoid is an acknowledgment that while you might be off your rocker, so is the whole world, and, *damn it*, you would not be a bit surprised if one day old Larry whipped out a badge and busted you!

Webster's, take note: If things stay bad, a new definition may have to be added to the dictionaries. But for the time being, we shall distinguish between the word's present dictionary meaning and its popular connotations by referring to the latter as the New Improved Paranoia. It's basically the old fear but with some new ingredients added, bright new packaging and an unprecedented number of sponsors.

A few illustrations:

Recently, *CBS News* commentator Eric Sevareid was commenting on a speech by President Ford. Ford had just announced that he was opposed to wage and price controls and was absolutely not going to impose them. Sevareid squinted into the camera and speculated that the true meaning of Ford's speech was that wage and price controls were due any day and that Ford was really signaling the business community to hurry and jack up their prices before he put the freeze on them.

In other words, suggests Sevareid, the President uses a sort of secret language with veiled messages to special listeners. There are people confined to rooms with padded walls who maintain nothing more than that. But what Sevareid says is more akin to the political maxim developed by journalists during the Watergate years: Whenever a politician announces that he's not going to resign, it means that the guy's already got his desk cleaned and his bags packed. This bit of newspeak is actually a symptom of the New Improved Paranoia. Sevareid,

other journalists and, indeed, all of us respond in this suspicious and distrustful manner because of our many experiences with political double talk. We may be paranoid in the new sense of the word, but we're not crazy.

Speaking of Eric Sevareid, by the way, isn't it peculiar that you never see his legs? The camera is always focused on the top of him, so you begin to wonder: What about Eric Sevareid's legs? What is CBS trying to hide?

Actually, the New Improved Paranoia is a calm, well-reasoned state of mind, closer, perhaps, to apprehensiveness than to either old-fashioned, jitterbugging paranoia or outright, pissing-in-the-pants fear. It is, in fact, the entire purpose of the New Improved Paranoia to eliminate the terror of doubt, to replace chaos with order and to provide a sort of psychic seat belt in the face of continual world crack-ups. The meat shortage, stagflation, Agnew's resignation, Kohoutek, the Russian wheat deal, the energy crisis—all these bewildering catastrophes were made bearable by the New Improved Paranoia.

Consider the energy crisis of the winter of 1974. A parade of oil-company spokesmen appeared before TV cameras, swearing that the shortages were genuine, yet it was universally assumed that the whole thing was a wicked ruse. Not one housewife or commuter waiting in those endless gas lines swallowed the official explanations. Instead, with the aid of the New Improved Paranoia,

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people's fashioned theories according to their ideological inclinations:

- Nelson Rockefeller and Henry Kissinger conspired to stage the October 1973 Middle East war to piss off the Arabs, who then withheld oil, thereby boosting Rocky's oil profits (right wing).

- The oil companies staged the crisis in order to boost profits that started sagging at the end of the Vietnam war (left wing).

- Oil companies were using thousands of vacant gas stations around the country to store vast reserves of gasoline (dumped there late at night) until a price hike was forced (middle of the road).

- Hundreds of oil tankers laden with crude oil were anchored off the coasts, waiting for the prices to go up so that they could make a killing (lower middle of the road).

- Fleets of UFOs had drained all the earth's petroleum supplies, but the Government was covering it up because it was afraid of mass rioting (hovering just above the road).

Rockefeller, in fact, has probably done more for the New Improved Paranoia than anyone else except the CIA (which he is rumored to own—and now that he's been appointed to investigate it, we can be sure the rumor is true). Rockefeller is everybody's favorite villain, playing a major role in left-wing conspiracies, right-wing conspiracies, even conspiracies against Arthur Goldberg. Like God and the Devil, if Rockefeller didn't exist, he would have to be invented.

One group with a very big Rockefeller fixation is the National Caucus of Labor Committees, sometimes called the Labor Party. Developed out of a weird splinter faction of the old SDS, the Labor Party does not fall into the usual left/right categories: Its Operation Mop Up people beat up members of leftist groups; simultaneously, they denounce fascism. A paradigm of the New Improved Paranoia is the Labor Party, whose main occupation is constantly purging its members. On the side, it issues seeds of leaflets. One, titled "Rockefeller's Nazi Doctors," declares:

We have proof of vast, inhuman, illegal CIA operations of brainwashing and torture—under the cover of "behavior modification"—being carried out in prisons, college campuses, hospitals and elsewhere throughout the U.S. and world-wide. The CIA is procuring for employers a docile, zombie-like labor force, a population willing

to accept a false wage price regime without a fight.

Another leaflet accuses Rocky's part in this monstrous plot:

Labor Committee intelligence has uncovered plans by the Rockefeller cabal and the CIA to instigate mass urban riots in the early spring of this year. This CIA-inspired violence is planned to dovetail with the hysteria caused by the Rockefeller-created gas, food and raw-materials shortages and provide the atmosphere conducive to a Rockefeller take-over either through direct military means or by other, less-direct means.

This was supposed to occur last spring. Of course, the reason it didn't, as any Labor Party member will tell you, is that Rocky was afraid to try anything while these Labor Party leaflets were exposing him all over town. But it is said that he did try to get Ford out of the way by arranging for his Nazi doctors to inject Betty Ford with cancer cells, just as they got Jack Ruby in his jail cell in Dallas. The ultimate loser was Richard Nixon, who got so many injections from so many directions that the doctors had to invent a disease for him called phlebitis.

The very best of the New Improved Paranoia focuses on the CIA. Outside the U.S., the CIA is blamed for more evil than even the retired Nazis in the Odessa File, and why not? Considering the CIA's dirty tricks in Iran, Guatemala, Vietnam, Cuba, Chile and even here in the U.S., there is every reason to be paranoid about Ugly Americans. Proof enough may be found in *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, by ex-CIA agent Victor Marchetti.

But did the CIA assassinate J.F.K. . . . ? R.F.K. . . . ? M.L.K. . . . ? Mama Cass . . . ? Paul Krassner, editor of the *Realist* and a sort of John the Baptist of the New Improved Paranoia, suspects it got Mama Cass at least. In his underground-press column "Rumoleforeskin," he said recently: "Cass Elliot was a friend. I believe she may have been killed. She knew an awful lot about the incredible criminal links between Hollywood and Washington and Las Vegas. . . . She was also a friend of Sharon Tate's. On the night Bobby Kennedy was killed, she had dinner with Sharon and Roman Polanski at the home of film director John Frankenheimer in Malibu Beach." This is significant, because Krassner believes that Charles Manson, whose tribe murdered Tate, was a CIA stooge in a fiendish plot to discredit hippies. Now, if R.F.K.

had dinner with Sharon Tate the night before he was killed . . .

Such inane conspiracies are the heart and soul of the New Improved Paranoia. The old hand is the J.F.K. assassination conspiracy, which, for over a decade, has provided hundreds of amateur assassins with a reason to get up in the morning. They pore over diagrams of bullet trajectories, retrace the route of the motorcade through Dallas, review the famous Zapruder film and study huge blowups of the notorious three tramps who were led away from the grass knoll after the shooting. (Two of them bear an uncanny resemblance to Waterbuggers E. Howard Hunt and Frank Sturgis.) There are conspiracy newsletters published by housewives from Southern California and conspiracy conventions at which they converge to trade the latest info on, say, the X rays of J.F.K.'s brain (recently discovered to be missing from its bottle of formaldehyde in the Smithsonian, according to *The New York Times*). The usual capstone of the J.F.K. conspiracy theories is that by bumping him off, the CIA engineered a take-over of the U.S. Government. Since 1963, the CIA has been keeping the opposition down with such dirty tricks as putting George Wallace in a wheelchair and switching the road sign at Chappaquiddick.

The profusion of conspiracy theories would be quite bothersome and confusing if not for the sensibleness of the New Improved Paranoia. It allows you to assume that all the theories are true and that if they're not, they might as well be. This frees you to go about your ordinary business untroubled—and unsurprised when your favorite politician is shot by another "lone nut" or when another leftist government falls.

But there's a hitch. The New Improved Paranoia lets you be suspicious and distrustful as long as there is the slightest hint of a reason to be. But there do exist situations where, after a point, the hint of a reason ends. It can be very tricky determining what that point is.

The problem is best exemplified by Dylanologist extraordinaire A. J. Weberman, who is famous for his perusals of Bob Dylan's music and his garbage. It all began years ago, when Weberman immersed himself so completely in the study of Dylan's songs that he became convinced that there were secret meanings in the lyrics, placed there purposely by Dylan for anyone hip enough to decipher them. To make sure, Weberman fed the entire contents of Dylan's songs into a computer and obtained a six-inch-thick, 15-pound concordance

Continued

that listed all the instances in which Dylan used certain key words. Weberman figured out that when Dylan used the word rain, he actually meant violence, as in *A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall*, and so on. Naturally enough, Weberman's next step was to discover that such symbolic messages were embedded in the songs of other musicians, too. Pretty soon, he had formulated what he called the "Secret Language of Rock," which, like Severeid's "Secret Language of Presidents," was used to send messages to the initiated.

Now, I would judge Weberman's theories reasonable, if not believable, up to this point. It is true that songwriters

do use symbolism, the best example being Don McLean's parable of the Sixties, *American Pie*. Once in a while, performers do send veiled messages to each other, as in Carly Simon's *You're So Vain*, addressed to Warren Beatty. Using a concordance to analyze a writer's work is a valid scholarly technique that has been applied to Shakespeare, Chaucer and Milton.

But when Weberman began to claim that certain songs contained secret messages directed at him, that's when the situation became problematic. One could argue with Weberman over whether or not a song said this or that. But to tell him, "No, man, *Watching*

the Trains Go By is not Dylan's way of warning you to leave his garage alone," was kind of tough. I would have liked to see his whole concordance. The telling Dylan the earth was not the center of the universe.

But then again, who's to say? It is a fact, sworn to by witnesses, that one day, on Bleeker Street, after yet another garbage raid, Weberman was walking home when suddenly an enraged Bob Dylan rode up on a ten-speed bicycle and delivered a hail of blows to his head. "The pump don't work 'cause the vandals stole the handles," as Dylan once said, which means that the New Improved Paranoia makes sense, even when it shouldn't.

Not only is the New Improved Paranoia sensible; it's *chic*, too. Remember how socially important it was to be on Nixon's enemies list? It's also considered very statusy to have had a tax audit. And is there anyone gauche enough to say that his telephone *isn't* tapped? You'll be the envy of all your friends if men in a black Plymouth actually do stake out your house every day. It is very *au courant* to live just west of the San Andreas Fault—and to complain about it. The ultimate is to be an ex-CIA agent, for as anybody conversant with the New Improved Paranoia knows, there is no such thing as an ex-CIA agent.

Perhaps, after all, you are thinking that this stuff about the New Improved Paranoia is a lot of bunk. Perhaps you imagine that you are immune to it, that you are a sane, rational human being not given to delusions either of grandeur or of persecution. Well, then, ask yourself one question: Do you jiggle the coin-return slot in pay phones after every call you make? You *do*, don't you? And do you know why you do it? You do it because you think that the entire telephone company's mammoth technology is going to disrupt itself just for you and return your ten cents. Or else you imagine that out of the 10,000 people who use that particular phone, one of them left a dime there for *your* benefit, and you fancy that you are the only person in the entire world who jiggles coin-return slots. Now, if that's not paranoid behavior with delusions of grandeur, I don't know what is. And it is not very far from believing that the telephone company is *for* you to believing that the telephone company is *against* you, is it?

But that's no reason to stop checking those coin-return slots. Because you know and I know that sometimes—not often, but sometimes—the dime is there.

And that's what the New Improved Paranoia is all about.

OUT



OPERATION RED ROSE

A SHORT STORY
BY PIERRE SALINGER

YOU'RE NOT GOING TO HAVE ROSCOE TANNER TO KICK AROUND ANYMORE.

The black limousine turned off the Key Bridge onto the George Washington Memorial Parkway. It was a late summer day in Washington, D.C.—sunny, hot, humid—but in the back seat of the car, Charles Lewis, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, felt a little chill. "Rock" Lewis, as all his friends called him, glanced up from the papers he was reading and looked over at the Potomac River. Then he flicked the switch that turned off the air conditioning and went back to his reading.

As the car turned off the Parkway onto Route 123 and started in the direction of Loudon, Virginia, Lewis put the department down to his preference, pushed a button and spoke in the driver through a double-paned window that separated "front" from "back" there, disappeared and got back your hands. I won't be leaving the office until late, Virginia. The

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They were just passing the road sign that said "CIA" always, "conspirators." When he saw that sign, "I thought you'd have a helluva time finding a key in Moscow that pointed to the K.G.B.," he thought.

At the security check point, the guard looked into the back of the car and then waved them through. Moments later, they pulled up in front of the enormous modern building that houses the CIA's 10,000 people.

Lewis was only 42 years old, but he had already headed the CIA for ten years. Tall, athletic (he played four sets of tennis before going to work in the morning), Lewis was known by his intimates as a tough and highly intelligent man. He also had a reputation for ruthlessness. Colleagues who were themselves no bleeding hearts marveled at the cold-bloodedness with which he made decisions affecting the lives of large numbers of people and sometimes of foreign heads of state.

Although he had not arrived at the top of the CIA through the ranks (he had been a special assistant to the President before being named to his present post), he had shown an immense talent for running the agency, and the professionals had quickly gotten over their early pique at not being directed by one of their own.

Up on the eighth floor, Lewis put the briefcase on the side of his spacious walnut desk and pushed an intercom button. "Send Wolfe in here right away." Moments later, the director's door opened and a bespectacled youth strode toward his desk. He was Peter Wolfe, Lewis' special assistant, only five years out of college but with a career already securely attached to his boss's good fortunes.

Lewis did not waste time on amenities. "I want you to go to the top-secret contingency-plan room and take out the plans for Operation Red Rose," he said curtly.

"I've never heard of that one," Wolfe ventured.

"Neither has anyone else in this shop. But it's there, all right. It was drawn up in 1974, when there was all that talk about the impeachment of Nixon and some of the people down at the White House thought he had gone crazy."

"That's over twenty years ago," Wolfe said as he headed for the door. "But the papers have been going over the episode so much lately, I was beginning to think I knew it as well as our own politics."

Fifteen minutes later, he was back and in his hands were a piece of paper and a black briefcase with a combination lock. "This must really be a sensitive plan," he said as he handed the case

to the only person in the room who had the combination to the lock. They went out into the hallway.

"Lewis said, 'This is the sheet of paper. OK. But you'll do for now,' he said curtly. 'But stick around. I may need you in a couple of hours.'"

When Wolfe was out of the office, Lewis went to a safe behind his desk. Quickly, from years of habit, he checked off the numbers of the combination and opened it. There were several steel drawers inside and he stared at them for a moment before opening one marked 8. In it, he found a slip of paper with a set of numbers, worked the combination on the briefcase with them and pulled out a large folder. He then sank down into the chair behind his desk and started reading:

The attached is a plan for the assassination of the President of the United States. While it is doubtful that such a plan will ever have to be put into effect, it has been felt necessary to draw up a detailed operation that could quickly be put into effect should the need arise. It consists of two sections—the Plan and the Alternate Plan—plus a sealed envelope containing the names of persons who have been trained to carry it out.

Lewis turned the page.

Several miles away, President Roscoe Tanner snapped off the television set in the Oval Office of the White House. The House Judiciary Committee had just voted 20 to 18 to recommend his impeachment to the full House of Representatives.

Twenty years earlier, Tanner had been one of the members of the Judiciary Committee that voted to recommend Richard Nixon's impeachment. He remembered how quickly that situation had deteriorated, how Nixon had finally quit to avoid being thrown out and how only a Presidential pardon had saved him from going to jail.

Tanner knew that he was in deeper trouble than Nixon had been—but for different reasons. Since becoming President in a landslide victory, he had worked systematically to cut down the power of the big corporations whose influence over American political and economic life had increased spectacularly in the past few years.

This had done nothing to hurt his popularity with the American people, but it had earned him the hatred of many business leaders and they had struck back. Only three months ago, a story in the *New York Daily News*, one

of the nation's largest circulation newspapers, had carried a story about a secret base for K.G.B. agents with a Soviet-born defector. The story, the paper said, had come from the Chinese government, funneled through a bank in an African country where Chinese were influential.

The story was untrue, but the forged documents in the paper had done their work. Tanner had gone on television to denounce the fraud, and public reaction had been overwhelmingly favorable. But working through allies in Congress, his enemies had instituted impeachment proceedings, whose inexorable progress, along with continual attacks in the conservative press, began to erode his public support and, worse, to take a toll on his mental health.

Tanner slept very little now and had to resort to massive doses of pills to get any rest at all. He sat alone for hours in the Oval Office, brooding about his impending fate, closed off from his staff and his family. The Government was at a standstill because no member of his Cabinet could get through to him for any kind of policy decision.

But he had made an important decision just last night: He was not going to quit and he was not going to let himself be impeached.

He sat slumped in his chair, his head in his hands. And then he began to weep uncontrollably.

Only 50 feet from where the President wept, General Wiley Buchanan sat in the office of the White House Chief of Staff. Ever since General Alexander Haig's appointment to that position by Nixon, White House administration had frequently been entrusted to a military man, and no one seemed to think it incongruous that a Government that prided itself on civilian control over the Armed Forces followed such a course.

Buchanan had the bearing of a man who had spent his entire adult life in the Army. But today, he was experiencing a very unarmilitary anguish. Over the past few months, he had watched the deterioration of the President, and only last night, he had come to the conclusion that the nation's Chief Executive was losing his mental balance, perhaps even becoming desperate enough to take an action that could be harmful to the United States.

Buchanan's feel for the national interest played havoc with his loyalty to Tanner and with his deep compassion for a man who had put so much trust in him. Around midnight, hoping for guidance, he had taken a collect phone call from an old friend, a former top CIA officer

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in Chile. And then he was elected. This morning, when spoken to by anyone else at the White House staff, he had summoned Rock Lewis to his office. And that is why, at this very moment, Lewis was poring over the plans of Operation Red Rose in his office at the CIA.

The more Lewis read, the more he realized the seriousness of what Buchanan had proposed to him. It could not be said that Lewis was a man of much scruple. Killing people had not deterred him in the past. Still, the thought of personally ordering the assassination of the President of the United States was staggering.

He had read enough of the dossier to reject the Plan proper. In his opinion, whoever had drawn it up had failed to come up with an organizational structure that could not be traced back to the CIA. That was too much of a risk. But the Alternate Plan intrigued him and, gradually, he became convinced that it was workable. Finally, he made up his mind.

He picked up his scrambler telephone and dialed the number of a similar instrument on the desk of General Buchanan. "I just want to check back with you," Lewis said. "I want to make sure that you have thought this thing out completely and that in your mind, it is the only plausible solution."

"There's no other way, Rock," Buchanan replied. "No other way at all. And the quicker we hit him the better. That man with his finger on the nuclear button is a living danger to all of us. And it doesn't matter now whether he's guilty or not. The situation has reached the point where we've got to do something—and fast."

"OK, Wiley," Lewis said. "But just remember that when I put down this phone, there's no turning back. Red Rose will be operational in a half hour. From there to Action Day should be less than seventy-two hours."

"I understand," the general said. "Start the operation."

Lewis heard the phone click at the other end of the line, then he summoned Wolfe. "Call Mikhaylov at the Soviet Embassy and tell him I've got to see him right away."

Wolfe shot his boss a look of disbelief.

"Right now!" Lewis snapped, and Wolfe hurried out.

Night was beginning to fall when Ivan Mikhaylov, the K.G.B. chief of station in Washington, drove up to the guard gate of the CIA building in Langley. He showed a card identifying himself as first secretary of the Soviet

Embassy, and his white Mustang convertible was quickly passed through.

At Mikhaylov, the events of the past hour had been slightly bewildering. To get a call from the CIA—the agency he had spent his life combating—was extraordinary enough, but to be invited to a meeting with Charles Lewis, its director, was even stranger. Mikhaylov had been involved in many delicate operations in his long career with the Soviet espionage forces. But this request was so peculiar that he had no way of knowing what to expect. Several thoughts rushed through his mind. Maybe, for example, one of his agents had been picked up. But he quickly dismissed that idea. Arrests for spying were usually taken up directly with the ambassador.

Wolfe was waiting for Mikhaylov in the lobby and quickly took him past the guards to the director's private elevator. A minute later, he and Lewis were alone.

Lewis tried to put his guest at ease. "There is no problem, Mr. Mikhaylov," he said with a smile. "It's just that we want you to arrange a service for us."

"I've never heard of the K.G.B.'s working for the CIA before," Mikhaylov said.

"Oh, that's not true. Every once in a while, we do each other little favors," Lewis was not smiling now. "There are some things you can do so much better than we can. And, of course," he added, "there are things that we can do better than you can."

"All right, Mr. Lewis, what is it you want?"

"Mr. Mikhaylov, I would like you to make contact with your superiors and have them put into effect the Alternate Plan of Operation Red Rose that they have had in their files since 1974."

"And just what is that plan all about, Mr. Lewis?" the Soviet agent asked.

"We would like you to assassinate our President."

It was the next day and the President was alone, as usual, in his office when Buchanan buzzed to see him. The President had seen no one else for the past several weeks, but he made it a point to talk to Buchanan at least once a day. He buzzed back, and in a few moments, Buchanan was standing before him.

"Mr. President, how are you feeling today?"

"Not very well, Wiley. Didn't get much sleep last night. But you didn't come in here to ask me about my health. What's up?"

Tanner spoke rapidly and his voice sounded shaky.

Buchanan had seen him like that for several months now and it only

reminded him of his privately held views about the stability of the man. Well, there was no use in those things. Mr. President, he said without emotion. "First, your lawyers would like to see you. They need about two hours of your time to prepare your defense before the House of Representatives."

The President cut him off. "The hell with them!" he shouted. "They can prepare my defense without me. Besides which, what the hell difference does it make? You know as well as they do that these bastards have framed me in such a way that I can't escape."

"If you really feel that way, maybe you ought to resign, like Nixon did," the general said.

"A lot of good that did him. I've told you a hundred times, Wiley, I'm not going to resign. And, unlike Nixon, I mean it and I won't change my mind."

"Well, I have to be honest with you, Mr. President: If you don't resign, you're going to be impeached, and we can't promise you twenty votes in the Senate."

"I know all that," Tanner said with irritation. "Let's get off the subject. What else do you want?"

"Well, the Secretary of Defense wants to see you. You know, we're still involved in those SALT talks with the Soviet Union and he needs some guidance from you on how to proceed."

"And what more?"

"Well, just about an hour ago, the Soviet Embassy called and said that it was urgent for their ambassador to see you. He has a message from Chairman Ivanov that he says must be handed to you before the day is over." On his note pad, Buchanan checked off the items of business.

"I'll see the ambassador at four o'clock," Tanner said.

Buchanan looked up in surprise. Why, he wondered, was the President willing to come out of isolation for the Soviet ambassador? He kept his thoughts to himself. "OK, I'll set that up," he said tonelessly. "And what about the Secretary of Defense?"

"He can wait. Maybe I'll see him tomorrow. That's all, Wiley."

Buchanan knew there was no use in arguing with the President. He quickly strode out of the office.

Mikhail Stepanov, the Soviet ambassador, had been in Washington even longer than his predecessor, Anatoliy Dobrynin. For 17 years, he had tended to the U.S.S.R.'s business there and he had thought he was past surprises. Yet the events of this day had amazed him.

Early in the morning, he had been awakened

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by the duty officer in the code room of the embassy. "We have a private message coming in from Chairman Ivanov for President Tanner. We are in the process of decoding it, but the instructions are quite specific. It is to be double sealed in envelopes and handed directly to the President and to no one else," he had been told.

In his entire diplomatic career, Stepanov had never communicated a message to a head of state without knowing its contents. But instructions were instructions and he was too faithful a servant of his government and the Communist Party to defy an order.

He had had his secretary call the White House and ask for an appointment with President Tanner and he had been relieved to learn that the President would receive him at four p.m. He had not seen the President for more than two years, but, like everybody else in Washington, he had heard a number of rumors, which he faithfully reported to his government, about the declining state of his health.

At precisely 3:50 p.m., he eased himself into the back seat of his limousine and was driven the four blocks that separate the Soviet enclave from the White House. His instructions had been to go through the southwest gate so that the reporters who congregated in front of the main entrance wouldn't see him. He was cleared through immediately by the guard and met by General Buchanan at the west basement entrance.

A few moments later, he was ushered into the Oval Office.

His first impression was that Tanner had aged: His face was drawn and there were large bags under his eyes, which looked bloodshot. But he was affable: "Sit down, Mr. Ambassador. Please sit down," he said.

Stepanov sank into a chair.

"And how is Chairman Ivanov? You know, I like him a great deal."

"The chairman's health is excellent," Stepanov replied. "He has just returned from a month's vacation on the Black Sea. I saw him there while I was on vacation; he asked about your health."

"Oh, you can tell the chairman I'm just fine. I'm having some problems at home politically, but I'll find a way out."

"That was the same thing Nixon had told Brezhnev," Stepanov thought.

"What is this message all about?" Tanner asked.

"Well, Mr. President, to tell you the truth, I have no idea. I have been given strict instructions that it is for your eyes only. I have scrupulously followed those instructions."

"You're probably a little curious, though, aren't you, Stepanov?"

A little, Mr. President, that delivery of a message is part of my work. He handed over the envelope.

"Thank you, Mr. Ambassador." The President smiled wanly. "If I have an answer, I'll arrange to communicate it to the chairman."

Stepanov saw that his interview was at an end, shook hands and left.

Tanner played with the envelope for at least a quarter of an hour before he took out his letter opener and slit the edges. Then he started to read:

Dear Mr. President: This letter is for your eyes only because of the gravity of the information it contains. I have discovered the existence of a joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. operation called Red Rose. I am sure it means nothing to you, as it meant nothing to me until this morning. Apparently, at the time of the U.S.-Soviet Summit of 1974, the K.G.B. and the CIA, unbeknown to Mr. Brezhnev and certainly to Mr. Nixon, signed an agreement that in the event that either country wanted to get rid of its leader, it could call on the secret services of the other to carry out the assignment.

A look of stupefaction crossed Tanner's face as he continued to read:

Those of my staff who were involved in the negotiations told me that there was some thought, at the time, of invoking the clauses of the agreement against Mr. Nixon. Obviously, they did not feel it necessary to do so, particularly when he resigned. But now the CIA has called on us to carry out Operation Red Rose. It has asked us to assassinate you, Mr. President. Of course, I have forbidden my people to carry out this assignment, but at the same time, because of my high regard for you, I have felt it incumbent on me to inform you of this plan so that you can take whatever actions you wish within your own Government. My very best wishes to you, Mr. President.

It was signed simply "Ivanov." Tanner reread the letter several times. Then he pushed the button for General Buchanan.

Buchanan strode into the Oval Office. "What was that all about?" he asked—curious but without suspicion. He noticed that Tanner's hands were shaking.

"Just something personal," Tanner answered. "Wiley, is there still a terminal of the hotline telex in the White House?"

Yes, Mr. President.

Wiley?

"It's in the situation room—in the basement. There's an operator on duty twenty-four hours a day."

"Good," the President said. "I'll go down there. And Wiley, call the operator and tell him I want to be left alone."

General Buchanan fought not to show his alarm, though in fact he could think of nothing more dangerous than an almost surely deranged President sending a private message to the Soviet chairman. It was the possibility of just this sort of thing that had made him resort to Operation Red Rose in the first place.

Tanner seemed to be able to read his aide's mind. "I don't want any argument!" he snapped. "Just carry out my orders!" He then headed out of the office, made his way down the stairs that led to the basement and walked to the far end of the situation room, where the telex machines were kept. One of them bore a sign reading: DIRECT TO KREMLIN. Tanner was alone. If Buchanan had proved himself capable of treachery, he was nevertheless weakened about disobeying a direct order.

Tanner sat down and punched out his message.

Then he dropped in at General Buchanan's office—"What's come over the man?" the astonished general asked himself—and announced that he was accepting an invitation to speak at a farmers' convention in Moline, Illinois, the following day. It was at that convention, a few minutes before noon, that Tanner was shot to death, and in the confusion that followed, the assassin got away without a trace.

Tanner's funeral rivaled Lincoln's and Roosevelt's. Millions of people, many of them in tears, lined the streets as the cortege made its way to the cemetery at Arlington and the martyred President was laid to rest at the side of John F. Kennedy. Even the press, with whom he had gotten on badly, eulogized him as a better-than-average President and a patriot.

And the new President, hand-picked by Tanner for the Vice-Presidency, carried out Administration policies even more vigorously than his predecessor.

Buchanan, of course, kept his mouth shut. He had long since run through his paper shredder the piece of crumpled telex carbon he had found in a basement wastebasket.

Ivanov. Do not ask questions. Carry out Operation Red Rose. You will get along well with my successor. Thank you, Tanner.

"When you have eliminated the impossible, whatever remains, however improbable, must be the truth."
—Sherlock Holmes

The greatest cover-up of all

By Robert Sam Anson

It was one of those coincidences.

No one could have known that the bus would be stopping in front of Jacqueline Kennedy's apartment at precisely the moment she would be walking through the front door on her way to yet another funeral, but there, bizarrely, macabrely, it was: the bus with the big ad spread across its side, announcing in two-foot-high letters that "Lee Harvey Oswald Was Innocent." For a moment, there was an embarrassed silence. All that indicated recognition was a slight widening of the eyes and an almost imperceptible tightening of the muscles of her face. And then she was gone, disappearing in her limousine.

Even now, 11 and a half years since that sunny day in Dallas, it is the murder no one will ever forget. Two presidents have come and gone, a war, rebellions, changes without number. And still the image persists. A young president, pledged "to do better," riding in an open limousine, waving to cheering crowds. A turn, then another turn, and the car is heading past a tall building, slowly gliding toward the tunnel that lies just beyond a grassy knoll. The wife of the governor turns toward him and smiles. "You can't say the people of Dallas don't love you, Mr. President." There is no answer, only a sharp, popping

noise, a sound like firecrackers. In that moment everything changes.

The furies that were released with the assassination of John Fitzgerald Kennedy have never gone away. Nor have the doubts that have surrounded the circumstances of his killing. The Warren Com-

The "dirty rumors" the Warren Commission tried to squash have not gone away. Now Watergate and new evidence have forced another look. The conclusion: a conspiracy for sure

mission's verdict that a "deranged" young man named Lee Harvey Oswald, acting alone, murdered President Kennedy and seriously wounded Governor John Connally, only to be killed himself two days later by another deranged, lone assassin named Jack Ruby, raised as many questions as it answered. Two years after the

publication of the commission's findings—a report and 26 volumes of documents and testimony, based on 25,000 interviews—the Gallup and Harris polls found that nearly two-thirds of the American people disbelieved its conclusions.

They were not the only doubters. Lyndon Johnson, who had appointed the commission, went to his grave believing that his predecessor had been the victim of a "communist" conspiracy. John Connally loudly proclaimed his objections to the commission's finding that he had been wounded by the same bullet that had allegedly passed through the President's throat. The commission's version of Connally's wounding was crucial, since, as one commission lawyer put it, "more shots means more assassins." Several members of the commission itself were less than convinced of the accuracy of the report they signed. Rep. Hale Boggs of Louisiana, a commission member, was particularly upset by many of the findings and wanted to issue a minority report, until the commission agreed to insert "probables" in front of many items that had been marked certainties. Even so, Boggs was less than satisfied. Until his mysterious disappearance in a light plane flying over Alaska in 1972, he continued to tell friends that the Warren Commission was in error. Similarly, the late Senator Richard Russell, who had been placed on the commission in deference to his power as chairman of the Armed Ser-

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Vices Committee, made light secret of his disenchantment with the commission's report and encouraged private investigators to challenge its findings. "I never believed that he [Oswald] did it without any consultation or encouragement whatsoever," Russell said in 1970. "Too many things caused me to doubt that he planned it all by himself." And then there were the witnesses to the assassination itself. Fifty-two of them insisted that at least some of the shots that killed President Kennedy came from in front of him, from the direction of the infamous grassy knoll. The commission discounted all of them.

Small wonder, then, that the commission's report proved a breeding ground for skeptics. In the years immediately following the assassination, 26 books and dozens of articles, some of them serious, some simply scurrilous, challenged the finding that Oswald acted alone or, in the opinion of many of the doubters—including Mark Lane and Sylvia Meagher, author of the seminal *Accessories After the Fact*—at all. By 1967, the holes in the Warren Commission report had become so numerous and obvious, and the public furor about them so great, that several congressmen were demanding a new investigation. Then, another one of those coincidences. In New Orleans a district attorney named Jim Garrison, a figure of large ambition and unsavory reputation, indicted Clay Shaw, director of the New Orleans Trade Mart, for conspiracy to murder John Kennedy. Garrison claimed that Shaw was the ringleader of a CIA cabal. He proved only that Clay was a devotee of kinky homosexuality. After a ludicrous trial, in which Garrison made almost no attempt to produce evidence, Shaw was acquitted. Subsequently, Shaw died and Garrison was driven from office. The Warren Commission's critics were scattered in disarray.

Now the critics have returned, stronger than before. Armed with sophis-

ticated new technology and a cult of Freedom of Information lawsuits, they have uncovered additional evidence pointing to the existence of a conspiracy—a conspiracy in which Lee Harvey Oswald was not involved, if indeed there ever was a Lee Harvey Oswald. Within the last few months, Congressman Henry Gonzalez, a Democrat from San Antonio, has introduced a resolution calling for a congressional investigation of the assassination. A petition backing it has collected more than 250,000 signatures on the West Coast alone. A bootlegged copy of the long-suppressed Zapruder film, showing President Kennedy being driven violently backward by a shot that rips off the top of his head, has been shown on national television twice. Perhaps most significant of all, the Justice Department, according to reliable sources, has very quietly begun a high-level, internal review of Oswald's background. In the past, rumors have circulated that Oswald was an agent of one or more intelligence agencies, perhaps including the FBI. Now, the rumors are taking on some substance.

Much of the evidence that is being gone over today is precisely the same ground that the critics went over a decade ago. What has changed is belief. The strongest selling point of the Warren Commission is not what it said but the people who said it: some of the most respected men in the land, among them the chief justice of the United States, two directors of the CIA and a man who a decade later would assume the presidency, Gerald R. Ford. If a senior public figure stated something in 1964, there was a tendency to take him at his word. In the aftermath of Watergate and Vietnam, few people are prepared to believe anything that comes out of Washington. In a sense, that is part of the problem. As Mark Lane, who has returned to investigating the assassination after sojourns into Vietnam protests and Indian rights struggles, puts it: "It's not a question any longer of persuading people to disbelieve the War-

ren Commission report. They are ready to believe almost any explanation, however crazy, as long as it doesn't come from the government."

The proposition that Oswald wasn't acting alone has always seemed a little crazy. Because, if he wasn't, then there must have been a conspiracy, a word that does not go down easily among many Americans. And, if there was a conspiracy, then there must have been an effort to cover it up, an effort so monumental that it would have had to include the Dallas police, the CIA, the Secret Service, the FBI and, yes, possibly the President of the United States. Ten years ago, that was a little hard to swallow. Even now, it is a story one would rather not believe. But there are the questions that won't go away. And there is Watergate: a conspiracy involving the CIA, the FBI, the Department of Justice and, yes, the President of the United States. Suddenly, it becomes possible.

The commission and the critics

Impossible, said the commission. From the moment it began its work, conspiracy was the one thing the commission did not want to hear, much less discover. Earl Warren, who had accepted the chairmanship of the commission only after considerable arm-twisting from President Johnson, made it clear at the first, secret staff meeting of the commission that his mission and theirs was more political than investigatory. He had taken the job, Warren told the commission, because the President had convinced him that if rumors about a conspiracy were not squelched, it could conceivably lead the country into war. As Melvin Eisenberg, a commission lawyer, later recalled the chief justice's charge in a memo, "He placed emphasis on quenching rumors, and precluding further speculation such as that which has surrounded the death of Lincoln."

Thus, under extreme political pressures, the commission set about its task.

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With no investigative staff of its own, it relied on the FBI and CIA to do its field work for it. At times, the reliance proved embarrassing, as when the FBI report came in stating that President Kennedy and Governor Connally had been wounded by separate shots. The FBI version of the President's wounds also differed sharply from the commission's version, which later was condemned by the American Academy of Forensic Pathologists as being so incomplete and sloppy as to be no autopsy at all. The FBI's placement of the President's wounds—one in the head, another some six inches below the neck—made the commission's scenario of events untenable. Secret Service men who witnessed both the shooting and the autopsy also placed the back wound well below the neck, as did the autopsy doctors' own diagram. The President's jacket and shirt also showed a bullet hole just beneath the shoulder. Faced with such evidence, the commission chose the only practicable course: it ignored it.

Instead, the commission's junior lawyers came up with their own theory of the assassination, one contradicted by ballistics findings, autopsy results and the testimony of every witness to the actual event. In time, it came to be called "the magic bullet theory."

Simply stated, the commission found that three bullets were fired that day in Dealey Plaza, all from the rear. The final, fatal shot hit the President in the back of the head. The second shot missed completely and struck the pavement, wounding a bystander. The first, the "magic" bullet, struck President Kennedy in the back just below the neck, passed through his neck into the back of Governor Connally, smashed through Connally's rib and out his chest below his right nipple, and continued on to strike his wrist, finally winding up in Connally's thigh. In short, one shot, seven holes.

If there were only one assassin, firing from the sixth floor of the School Book Depository, the commission's the-

ory made sense. Indeed, it was the only theory that could account for a lone assassin, since the alleged murder weapon, a 1940 vintage Italian-made Mannlicher-Carcano, was a clumsy, single-shot, difficult to operate weapon. Tests conducted by the commission determined that it was physically impossible to shoot and load the Carcano more than three times in the 5.6 seconds between the first time the President was hit and the final, fatal shot.

The trouble began when the commission attempted to duplicate Oswald's alleged marksmanship. First, they found that the rifle was fitted with a left-handed scope; Oswald was right-handed. Then, too, shims had to be inserted to make the scope accurate. Ignoring the fact that Oswald's Marine records showed him to be a

A petition backing a reinvestigation has collected more than 250,000 signatures on the West Coast alone

poor shot, the commission had three master marksmen from the National Rifle Association recreate the events in Dallas by hitting a level, stationary target. None of them could. Of course, Oswald could have been lucky. As for the one and a half seconds that elapse between the time the Zapruder film shows the President to be hit and Governor Connally bunching up and slumping over, the commission suggested that Connally was merely experiencing a "delayed reaction" to having his chest torn open by a high-powered rifle bullet.

Totally inexplicable is how the bullet that purportedly did all this damage (and was later conveniently discovered on the governor's stretcher in a corridor of Parkland Hospital) emerged so

miraculously intact, virtually undeteriorated, with only 2.2 grains missing from its normal weight. The commission itself had a similar bullet fired into the wrist bone of a cadaver and found that the bullet was mangled.

The most damning evidence, though, comes from the most unlikely source: J. Edgar Hoover. In a letter to the commission not included in the original 26 volumes of evidence and testimony, Hoover reveals that the magic bullet and bullet fragments were subsequently subjected to spectrographic analysis. That test, Hoover reports, was inconclusive. However, there was an additional test, a Neutron Activation Analysis, a highly sophisticated technique that measures the differences in material that has been bombarded with radiation down to parts per billion and sometimes even less. In his letter to the commission, Hoover blandly reports that while "minor variations" were found between the fragments taken from President Kennedy's body and those taken from Governor Connally's body, those differences were not judged to be "sufficient." To the layman, that explanation sounds fine, and certainly the commission did not question it. But the beauty of NAA is that the size of differences between particles are meaningless. Virtually any difference, however minute, is not only "sufficient" but irrefutable. Unless atoms changed their structure that day in Dallas, John Kennedy and John Connally were wounded by separate bullets.

Perhaps the subtleties of neutrons and atoms may have escaped the members of the commission. Incredibly, no mention of the NAA test or Hoover's letter is to be found either in the report or the 26 volumes of evidence (so far the FBI has refused to release copies of the actual NAA findings). Far more graphic evidence, however, was right in front of them: a color film of the assassination itself.

Abraham Zapruder, a Dallas dress

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manifester, was standing with his secretary on a concrete pedestal immediately adjacent to the grassy knoll on November 22, 1963. A supporter of the President, Zapruder had brought his 8mm movie camera to record the motorcade. What he saw through the viewfinder instead was the most horrifying moment in modern American history.

Though a few frames are unaccountably missing, and though the film has been spliced twice, the 22-second Zapruder film is startling enough. We see the lead motorcycles turning onto Elm Street, and behind them the President's blue Lincoln. Kennedy is smiling, waving to the crowds. Then, for a few seconds, the car disappears behind a freeway sign. When it emerges, Kennedy has been hit. His hands are clenched, and he is bringing his arms up to his throat. Connally, apparently unhurt, turns back to his right trying to see what has happened. He turns around and is beginning to turn to his left when his cheeks suddenly puff, his hair goes askew, and he is driven downward in the car. In the rear seat Mrs. Kennedy has now begun to lean over her stricken husband, who has begun to fall forward, and to the left. The car continues on, almost coasting down the hill. Seconds pass. One one thousand, two one thousand, three one thousand, four one thousand, five one thousand, six. . . . And then, for a fraction of an instant, the President's head is thrown forward a few inches, a blur, lost in the sudden violent impact that tears away the right side of his head in a shower of blood and brains and throws him backward in the car at a speed of 104 miles per hour.

Until recently, these pictures have been seen by a comparative handful of people. *Life* magazine, which bought Zapruder's film for \$25,000, suppressed the fatal frames for reasons of "taste." To most researchers who have seen the Zapruder film, the conclusion is obvious: the final shot comes from the right and to the front, and can only have been fired from the grassy knoll. Josiah Thompson, a Haverford College Professor who was hired by *Life* to work on its investigation of the assassination (and then left when the editors would not accept his evidence of a conspiracy), has studied the Zapruder film more closely and longer than anyone. His conclusion, based on the film, is that there were at least four shots. The first, fired from the School Book Depository, which struck the President in the back. The second, fired from the roof of the nearby County Records Building, which hit Connally. And a final, double impact, a third shot, which hits the President in the back of the head, and a fourth,

which hits him in the head and chest at the same time.

Thompson's theory is based on nothing more than a common-sense notion of Newton's third law of motion: every action has an equal and opposite reaction. When bodies are hit from the rear, they move forward. When hit from the front, they move backward. That is precisely what occurs in the Zapruder film. The commission ignored it. To accept it would have been to say there had been a conspiracy.

Zapruder himself thought there had been one. He later testified that he had heard shots whistle past his right ear. His film, according to some investigators, not only records the assassination but one of the killers. The "figure" is seen in frame 413, toward the end of the film, as the presidential limousine disappears behind some bushes before entering the tunnel. In those bushes is a dark shadow that, to some, appears to be the head and arms of a man, who appears to be pointing a rifle. There are many doubts, even among conspiracy theorists, over whether

Taken together, these happenings form a mosaic of a man in, around, aided and abetted by intelligence agencies through the last six years of his life

the shadow is actually a man. Final proof or disproof awaits image enhancement tests, which are currently being conducted at Cornell University.

A clearer image of a man, pointing what seems to be a gun, appears in a film taken by Orville Nix, who was standing across Elm Street from Zapruder at the time of the assassination. Extreme blow-ups of the 8mm frame, though very hazy, seem to show a man pointing what could be a long-barreled, sighted pistol from behind a cream-colored Rambler station wagon parked behind the grassy knoll. Later, the picture was shown to Lee Bowers, a railroad worker, who witnessed the assassination from a nearby switching tower and told the Warren Commission he had seen unusual "commotion" near the stockade fence just as the shots rang out. "That's exactly what I saw," Bowers said of the picture. A few months later,

Bowers was killed when he was struck a blow by a bullet. He had been driving in daylight on a road to a small modern air speed, when his car suddenly swerved off the side of the road. Bowers was one of 17 witnesses connected to the Kennedy assassination of J.D. Edgar murders to die under strange circumstances within three years of the assassination. Five died of what were officially listed as "natural" causes; the other 12 were victims of murder, accidents or suicide. The actuarial odds of such a string of deaths have been reckoned at 100 trillion to 1.

The Grassy Knoll and Other Curiosities

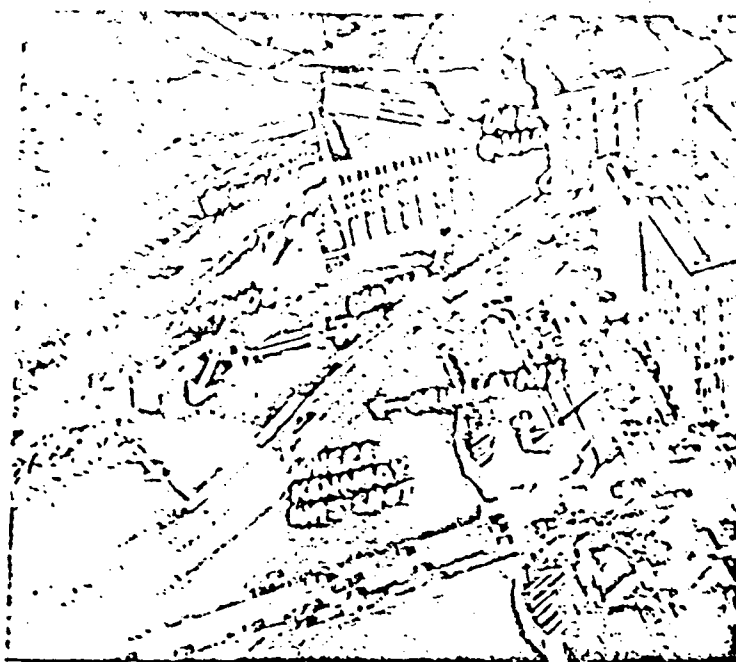
If the commission was willing to credit Oswald with extraordinary gifts of marksmanship and mobility, it was not quite prepared to admit he had the power of bi-location as well. Thus, the possibility of an assassin or assassins firing on the motorcade from the direction of the grassy knoll to the right of Elm Street was ruled out.

To rule it out, the commission had to discount the testimony of more than 50 witnesses, nearly a score more than those who reported shots coming from the School Book Depository. By and large, the grassy knoll witnesses were, like Lee Bowers, quite positive about what they saw or heard. More importantly, many of their stories coincided in crucial details, and the details were quite specific. S. M. Holland, who observed the scene from the overpass, reported seeing a puff of smoke near the stockade fence immediately after the shots; Bowers noted the presence of several strange cars in the parking lot in back of the knoll. In one of the cars, Bowers said, a man seemed to be speaking into something that resembled a microphone.

Films back up some of the stories. The Nix film, for instance, shows people running in the direction of the knoll immediately after the shots, while two people on the knoll itself throw themselves to the ground, to avoid being hit by more shots. The film also shows the two motorcycle officers who had been riding behind the presidential limousine dismounting and one of them running up the knoll, gun drawn.

Another policeman who ran to the knoll was Joe Smith, who had been directing traffic at the corner of Houston and Elm when he was summoned by a woman who cried, "They are shooting the President from the bushes." What Smith discovered on the knoll is the most chilling story of all. As he related his story to the FBI: "I pulled my gun from my holster and I thought, 'This is silly. I don't know who I am looking for,' and I put it back.

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Just as I did, he [the man at whom Smith had been pointing his weapon] showed me he was a Secret Service agent." There is only one problem. The Secret Service's own records show there were no Secret Service men on the grassy knoll.

Indeed, a lot of people were where they shouldn't have been that day. Winston Lawson, the Secret Service agent responsible for the choice of the Kennedy motorcade route, later reported that motorcycle outriders were posted on "the left and right flanks of the President's car" (a position that would have made a cross-fire more difficult). But, as the films of the motorcade clearly indicate, the motorcycles were posted well to the rear of the President's car and, according to the Dallas police, were positioned there at Lawson's own instructions. After the shooting, when the doors of the School Book Depository were sealed, a man was "trapped inside" who didn't belong there. He was James W. Powell, an Army intelligence agent.

Across the street from the Book Depository is the Dal-Tex Building, and assassination theorists have long speculated that some of the shots on the motorcade could have come from there as well as from the Book Depository. The cops evidently had the same idea, too, because, after the shooting, they picked up a young man who had been in the building "without a good excuse," as the police report puts it. Just who the young man was is impossible to say. While the records show he was taken to the sheriff's of-

fice, his name does not appear, nor does any alibi. Evidently, he just disappeared.

The debate over what did or did not go on at both the grassy knoll and the Dal-Tex Building might well be resolved by a thorough examination of the wounds in President Kennedy's brain. Just for this reason, the brain was removed after the autopsy and "set" in formalin. Eventually, it was transported, along with other medical evidence, to the National Archives. When Dr. Cyril Wecht, the coroner of Allegheny County, Pa., and one of the few independent experts to examine the autopsy photographs and X-rays, sought to locate the brain at the archives, he made a grisly discovery. It, too, had disappeared.

The Oswald Connection

In fixing blame for the assassination, the commission ignored the testimony of eyewitnesses and settled instead on a 24-year-old former Marine named Lee Harvey Oswald. For a country still shaken by the Cold War, Oswald fit the bill perfectly. He was a self-proclaimed Marxist who had, several years before the assassination, "defected" to the Soviet Union. When he returned, he brought a Russian wife with him. As it happened, her uncle was an official in the Soviet Secret Police. Oswald had been born in New Orleans but had grown up in the Dallas area, and it was to Dallas that he returned. One month before the assassination, he had gone to work as a stockboy in the School Book Depository.

Oswald was arrested 75 minutes after the President's murder, as he was sitting in a movie theater. Eventually, he was charged with the murders of President Kennedy and J.D. Tippit, a Dallas police officer who was shot to death not many blocks from the theater within an hour of the assassination. The evidence that Oswald committed either crime is tenuous at best.

Physical evidence linking Oswald to the assassination was strangely inconclusive. A paraffin test turned up traces of nitrates on his hands but not on his cheek, and was ultimately dismissed by both the FBI and the commission as unreliable. A partial palm print was found on the weapon, but police were unable to prove it was Oswald's. The gun itself had been purchased through the mail by an A. Hidell. Dallas police claimed that they found Oswald carrying phony identification for an A. Hidell, yet the accompanying photograph does not look like Lee Harvey Oswald.

The day of the assassination, while rummaging through a garage where Oswald kept some of his things, the police also uncovered two snapshots of Oswald standing in a back yard, a revolver strapped around his hip. In one hand he holds some socialist propaganda literature. In the other he hefts a long, scope-mounted rifle. The FBI, however, was unable to determine whether the rifle was the Carcano. Other researchers, notably Sylvia Meagher, assert that the gun Oswald holds is 2.4 inches longer than the Carcano.

In any case, there is serious question whether the man holding the rifle is Lee Harvey Oswald at all. Several professional photo analysts have flatly branded the picture as a fake. They point out that the V-shaped shadow under the nose is identical in both photos, even though Oswald's head is tilted in one and erect in another. In the first photo Oswald is standing at an angle so oddly out of kilter that, in trying to duplicate it, one invariably falls over. Other photo analysis techniques, such as the red-blue transparency test, find a disparity in the skin tones of Oswald's head and those of his arm and hands. A comparison of the head in the photograph and Oswald's head in booking photos from the Dallas Police Department reveals that the Oswald arrested in Dallas had a rather narrow, pointed chin. The chin of the man standing in the back yard seems decidedly broad and squarish, leading critics of the Warren Commission to speculate that the back yard photo is of another man, with a cropped head shot of Lee Oswald laid atop it just above the chin. Finally,

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...the two pictures are identical. Either the pictures are fakes, or Oswald managed to grow nearly half a foot in the few minutes between the taking of the first and the second pictures.

Against this evidence is the testimony of Marina Oswald, who told the commission she took the pictures. In this and other matters, Mrs. Oswald proved most cooperative; indeed, nearly three-quarters of the evidence against her husband comes from her testimony. Except when it conflicted with its own sequence of events, the commission accepted Mrs. Oswald's testimony at face value, despite numerous warnings from commission lawyers such as Norman Redlich that "Marina has repeatedly lied to the Secret Service, the FBI and this commission on matters which are of vital concern."

The commission's tolerance toward Marina is understandable. There were few other witnesses who could put Oswald at the scene of either murder, and those who could, for one reason or another, were less than wholly credible. Only two witnesses, for instance, claimed to have seen Oswald on the sixth floor shortly before the shots were fired. One was Howard Brennan, a 45-year-old steam fitter who was standing directly across the street from the Book Depository. Minutes before the shooting, Brennan claimed he glanced up and saw Oswald standing in a window on the sixth floor, gun in hand. Later, however, Brennan was unable to pick Oswald out of a police lineup, and the commission itself downplayed the significance of his testimony. The other witness was Charles Givens, one of Oswald's co-workers. Shortly after the assassination, Givens told the FBI that he had seen Oswald on the first floor 40 minutes before the assassination. For the next six months, Givens stuck to that story through several interrogations. Not until commission lawyer David Belin interviewed him on April 8, 1964, did Givens suddenly recall that he had forgotten his cigarettes on the sixth floor and, when he went to retrieve them shortly before noon, spotted Oswald and exchanged a few words with him. Belin, the lawyer who elicited Givens' sudden switch in testimony, recently went to work as chief counsel on the Rockefeller Commission investigating the CIA.

Oswald himself claimed that he

...the two pictures are identical. Either the pictures are fakes, or Oswald managed to grow nearly half a foot in the few minutes between the taking of the first and the second pictures.

In 1969 Jesse Curry, who had been chief of the Dallas Police Department at the time of the assassination, said: "We don't have any proof that Oswald fired the rifle. No one has been able to put him in that building with the gun in his hand." No one, Curry should have said, except the Warren Commission.

Secret Agent Man

Almost from the moment of Oswald's arrest, rumors waited through Dallas and Washington that the accused assassin was an agent for one or more intelligence agencies. The rumors were fed by the fact that the notebook Oswald was carrying with him at the time of his arrest carried the name, license and telephone number of James Hosty, a Dallas-based FBI man who had visited Oswald's household several times. There was no question about the visits. Hosty himself confirmed them, explaining that they were a routine part of keeping track of known subversives. What was more troubling to the commission was the suggestion that Oswald was not only under the surveillance of the FBI but in its employ.

The rumors became formal allegations when Waggoner Carr, the Texas attorney general, passed them on to the Warren Commission. Carr, who said he had gotten his information from reliable informants (they turned out to be on the staff of the Dallas D.A.), said that Oswald collected \$200 every month from the FBI as an informer and that his Bureau identification number was 179.

Carr's information sent shock waves through the commission. Just how seriously the members of the commission viewed the story is shown in a "TOP SECRET" transcript of a closed commission meeting. The recently declassified transcript quotes an alarmed J. Lee Rankin, chief counsel for the commission, saying: "We do have a city rumor that is very bad for the Commission . . . and it is very damaging for the agencies that are involved . . . and it must be wiped out insofar as it is possible to do so by this Commission." The problem, as commission member and former

...the two pictures are identical. Either the pictures are fakes, or Oswald managed to grow nearly half a foot in the few minutes between the taking of the first and the second pictures.

For whatever it is worth, then, Hoover and the CIA both dutifully denied that Oswald had ever been their agent. All that remains to contradict them is a series of unlikely events, which, depending on how they are construed, make a powerful case for coincidence or conspiracy.

First, there is the matter of Oswald's Marine record. One of his duty stations overseas was Atsugi, Japan, where he worked as a radar operator and learned Russian, or so it is said, in his spare time. According to those familiar with the workings of the agency, Atsugi is one of the largest CIA bases in the world. In the past, it has been the launching pad for covert operators dropped into Communist China, as well as a base for the agency's U-2s. If Oswald worked at Atsugi, the argument goes, he was almost surely an agency man.

Then, there is the manner of Oswald's leave-taking from the Marine Corps. In September 1959 Oswald applied for a hardship discharge on the ground that his mother had been injured. (A box dropped on her foot at work; she was back at work a few days later.) The discharge was granted three days later—a record time, according to Marine Corps officers. According to the critics, it was the CIA who set the record.

Once home, Oswald spent three days with his mother before leaving for New Orleans, the first stop on a begira to the Soviet Union. According to the Warren Commission, Oswald paid \$1,500 plus for his passage from money saved from the Marine Corps. But Oswald's bank account showed a balance of exactly \$203. The question is where the rest came from.

Oswald supposedly took a ship to England and made the next leg of his journey—London to Helsinki—by plane. Sylvia Meagher, who matched up the entry date stamped on Oswald's passport in London with the time his commercial flight was said to have departed for Helsinki, found that the plane left a day before Oswald arrived in England. The

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only plan. The explanation is that Oswald reached England by noncommercial means. In the minds of the critics, the CIA made the means available.

Two weeks after his arrival in Russia, Oswald showed up at the American Embassy to make two startling declarations: he was renouncing his American citizenship, and he was going to turn over his knowledge of radar secrets to the Russians. The revelations did not seem to cause a ripple of concern. In any case, when Oswald applied for a new passport two years later, it was routinely granted, along with a loan of several hundred dollars to get home. At the time of Oswald's return to the United States—

1962—the CIA was questioning many tourists about what they had seen in Russia. Oswald, the defector and self-proclaimed betrayer of military secrets, was merely met at the plane by Sam I. Raskin, whom the Warren Commission identified as an official of the Trade Office. And what the commission did not mention is that Mr. Raskin was the former secretary general of the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, a group with extensive ties to intelligence agencies in the Far East and Europe.

Back in Texas, Oswald and Manna were taken under the wing of Dallas's large and heavily CIA-infiltrated White Russian community. Few people extended more kindnesses to the Oswalds than George deMohrenschildt, a wealthy oil geologist who boasted that he had worked for French intelligence during the war. DeMohrenschildt took the Oswalds to parties and introduced the young unskilled worker and his bride to his circle of socially prominent friends. Quite possibly, deMohrenschildt also reminisced about the eight-month hiking trip he and his wife had recently taken in 1960 through Central America. Such tale-telling would not be unusual. According to the Warren Commission, deMohrenschildt had already filed a lengthy written and filmed report of his travels with "The U.S. Government." By "happennance," the commission writes, the deMohrenschildts' travel itinerary put them in Guatemala City (the jumping-off point for the invaders) at the time of the Bay of Pigs invasion.

Despite the aid of people like the deMohrenschildts, Oswald was apparently unable to get and keep steady work. At least, that was the stated reason why he moved to New Orleans in April of 1963. Oswald did not fare much better on the job market, but he did come in contact with some interesting people. One of them, according to nine witnesses including several law officers, was Clay Shaw. Although Shaw's participation in an assassination conspiracy has never been proven to anyone's satisfaction, Garrison did make a convincing case that Shaw was connected to the CIA, which would hardly be unusual since both New Orleans and the Trade Mart of which Shaw was director are centers of CIA activity in the Caribbean. Moreover, Victor Marchetti, the former executive assistant to CIA Director Richard Helms and author of *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, now quotes Helms as telling his senior staff people at the time of the Garrison trial that Shaw had been a "contract" employee of the agency.

He was involved with the Soviet Embassy for the Latin American Committee Office as he distributed FPNC leaflets. Oswald became involved in an altercation with anti-Castro activists. After a brief brawl, Oswald was arrested for disturbing the peace and hauled to a police station. He made one request: "I want to see the FBI." An agent quickly complied, and Oswald was released the next day after paying a \$10 fine.

If it is unusual for a self-proclaimed "Marxist" to demand to see the FBI, it is no more out of character than Oswald's other labors on behalf of Castro's Cuba. Some of Oswald's leaflets, for instance, were stamped with the address "541 Camp Street." The commission could find no evidence that Oswald ever kept an office at that address, but in its search it found that an anti-Castro group had. That group was the Cuban Revolutionary Committee, a CIA creation put together by none other than E. Howard Hunt.

In late September 1963, Oswald left by bus from New Orleans to Mexico City, where he hoped to obtain a travel visa to Cuba. On October 10 the CIA sent a cable to the State Department and the Office of Naval Intelligence, informing them that a "reliable and sensitive source" had reported that Leon "Henry" Oswald had been seen entering the Soviet Embassy. The CIA said it had reason to believe that this was the same L.H. Oswald who lived in Texas and had once defected to the Soviet Union, and requested that State and ONI furnish pictures of Oswald so that the identity could be confirmed. In its cable the CIA describes Oswald as "approximately 35 years old, six feet tall, athletically built, with a receding hairline." Later, the CIA released pictures of the Mexico City "Oswald." The only resemblance between this "Oswald" and the Oswald arrested in Dallas a month later was the receding hairline. So far, the best explanation the CIA has offered for the affair is that it was a "mixup."

If it were truly a mixup, it bears some explanation. Oswald did, in fact, travel to Mexico City, and his name appears on a visa application filed with the Soviet Embassy. Confirmation comes both from embassy records and from one William G. Gaudet, whose name immediately follows Oswald's on the roster of Mexican travel permits. The Oswald-Gaudet sequence is another one of those coincidences that seemed to have dogged Lee Harvey Oswald throughout his life. For Mr. Gaudet, who lists his occupation as editor of the *Latin American Trade War*, is also an admitted former employee of the CIA.

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After the "trial" of the Warren Commission, Oswald was a news conference held by D.A. Henry Wade while Oswald was in custody. One of the conferees, Wade announced that Oswald was a member of the "Free Cuba Committee," a kind of slip of the tongue, since that committee is a violently anti-Castro group. At last, though, a friendly voice in the back of the room corrected Wade and informed him that Oswald was, in fact, a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. The friendly voice belonged to a newspaper proprietor named Jack Ruby.

Taken singly, any one of these happenings can be written off to simple chance. Taken together, they form a mosaic of a man in, around, aided and abetted by intelligence agencies of one sort or another throughout the last six years of his life.

Deduction, however, is not proof. And in the absence of official explanation, the common-sense linking of a series of incredible occurrences is all that is left to critics of the Warren Commission. The recent disclosures that the FBI was involved in the wholesale planting and buying of double agents in radical groups during the 1960s, coupled with the revelations that the CIA was involved not once but several times in assassination plots against Castro and, according to *Time* magazine, carried out such plots against Francois Duvalier and Rafael Trujillo, provides added impetus to critics who are ready, in any case, to blame most of the world's troubles on the machinations of U.S. intelligence. Lyndon Johnson himself termed the CIA's operations in the Caribbean "a damn murder incorporated."

All the same, there is, at this moment, not a shred of credible evidence that links either the CIA or the FBI to the planning and carrying out of John Kennedy's murder. What Oswald's connections to U.S. intelligence do provide is a rationale for the coverup that followed the assassination. For, whether or not Oswald was part of an assassination conspiracy, there was, after his murder, no convenient way for an intelligence agency to explain that, while Oswald had been in their employ, he was not acting at their behest on the 22nd of November, 1963. The "dirty rumors" that so terrified the Warren Commission would always exist. There remained only one solution. The rumors, as Rankin told the commission, "must be wiped out." Clumsily, stupidly, the Warren Commission set out to do just that.

The Ubiquitous Mr. Hunt
Lee Harvey Oswald was not the only

to suspect the source arrested that day in Dallas. Nine times more was picked up after the invasion of Cuba, after, perhaps, quickly forgetting to see there was a photo of the cops looking down at three of the men from the scene. Just who they were is officially unknown; they were released before anyone bothered to take their names. In the Warren Commission report, they are referred to as "tramps." In the photo one of those tramps bears a passing resemblance to Frank Sturgis, one of the Watergate Cubans. The older man looks remarkably like America's favorite spy: author, burglar, black-mailer, assassination devotee E. Howard Hunt.

The resemblance is so striking that some assassination buffs, notably comedian Dick Gregory, have charged that the photograph not only looks like E. Howard Hunt but is E. Howard Hunt. The staff of the Rockefeller CIA Commission, headed by David Belin, has obligingly promised to check the matter out. Belin's eagerness to investigate is understandable. For although the photo of one of the tramps looks a bit like Hunt today, it resembles him not at all 11 and a half years ago. More to the point, Hunt has an iron-clad alibi. At the moment John Kennedy was killed, he was having lunch in Washington.

Other details about Hunt and his circle of Cuban friends, however, are not so easily explained. Hunt's path and Oswald's have a curious way of overlapping. The New Orleans address shared by the Hunt Cuban group and Fair Play for Cuba is merely one example. Another is Hunt's presence in Mexico City, as the CIA's acting station chief, when Oswald showed up looking for a visa, the same visit that touched off the mysterious CIA cables about a look-alike Oswald who, in fact, did not look like Oswald at all.

For Hunt to be involved, however peripherally, with Oswald and the events surrounding the assassination is perfectly in keeping with Hunt's image of himself as the master spy and conspirator. In *Give Us This Day*, his account of the Bay of Pigs invasion (in which he served as the CIA's political officer), Hunt writes bitterly of the invasion's "betrayal" at the hands of Kennedy, who, according to Hunt, sought "to whitewash the New Frontier by heaping guilt on the CIA." The betrayal, as far as Hunt and his Cuban comrades were concerned, involved Kennedy's stopping of air support and an assassination attempt on Castro that was to coincide with the landing. The Bay of Pigs was not the first time Hunt recommended assassination, or the last. In 1960 Hunt tried to sell a Castro as-

...the ... power of ... but was ... In 1963, according to ... Hunt was back with another Castro assassination scheme. This time the plot, in which a bearded Cuban physician named Raulito Cubela was to be the trigger man, went forward, only to be foiled at the last minute by Lyndon Johnson's decision to invade the Dominican Republic. Hunt apparently had these plots in mind when he wrote to the White House in 1972 about his participation in "many illegal conspiracies"—conspiracies that might come to light if funds for his defense and the support of his family were not quickly forthcoming.

Hunt, of course, was not the only anti-Castroite with a fondness for assassination. Frank Sturgis—alias Fiorini—a former gunrunner and casino operator in Cuba, was also an aficionado. Unlike Hunt, Sturgis did come to the attention of the Warren Commission. In tracing Oswald's background, the commission came across stories that Oswald had, both in New Orleans and Miami, tried to infiltrate anti-Castro refugee groups. One story had it that Oswald had tried to become part of an anti-Castro raiding party; another, that he had been exposed as an infiltrator and been in a fight with a Cuban in Miami; yet a third, that he had been in contact with Cuban intelligence. The truth or falsity of any of these tales is less interesting than their source. The Warren Commission placed them at the doorstep of Hunt's old pal, Frank Sturgis.

This time, the coincidence could be legitimate. The history of pro-Castro and anti-Castro plotting and counter-plotting is so tangled that it is virtually impossible to sort out who was doing what to whom and why at any one time. The cast of characters is enormous. There is even evidence that Jack Ruby ran guns for the anti-Castro Cubans. And the list stretches on. Does it mean anything? Could Hunt and Sturgis have been involved in Kennedy's assassination? One can only guess. The Warren Commission failed even to ask the questions.

Too Many Oswalds

For a man who supposedly committed the crime of the century, Lee Harvey Oswald behaved rather oddly. Before the assassination, he seemed to go out of his way to call attention to himself—getting in fights, stirring up a fuss at a shooting range, boasting to a car salesman that he would soon be coming into a "lot of money." These incidents have two things in common. Oswald always identified himself quite loudly, and later the people he had been involved with had trouble identifying him. The incident with the car

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man is especially interesting. First Oswald did not drive. Second, on November 9, 1963, the day he was supposed to in a car dealership in Dallas, the commission puts him at home in Irving, Texas, writing a letter to the Soviet Embassy. "There are other inconsistencies," for September 25, 1963, for instance, Oswald according to the commission, was riding a bus to Mexico City. Yet, on the same day, a man calling himself Lee Harvey Oswald walked into the Selective Service Office in Austin, Texas, saying he wanted to discuss his dishonorable discharge.

In 1966 Richard Popkin, a college professor in St. Louis, concluded on the basis of these and other strange occurrences that there were two Oswalds, and that the phony Oswald had been employed to frame the real Lee Harvey Oswald. Popkin's thesis has a certain tidy logic to it. For one thing, it explains how Oswald could have been in two places at once. For another, it shows how a poor marksman could have hit a moving target at a range of 280 feet. For a third, it explains how Lee Harvey Oswald, a man who did not know how to drive, took a car for a test spin at speeds of up to 70 miles per hour.

The "two Oswald" theory also makes some sense out of the CIA's "mix-up" in Mexico City. Interestingly, a man identified as "Leon" Oswald, but fitting the description the CIA issued from Mexico City, showed up in the company of two other men at the home of Sylvia Odio, an anti-Castro Cuban living in Dallas, two months before the assassination. The men who passed themselves off as anti-Castroites said that it would be a good idea to have Kennedy assassinated. Two months later, when Sylvia Odio heard that a man named Lee Harvey Oswald had been arrested for President Kennedy's assassination, she fainted.

Now, Peter Dale Scott, a professor at Berkeley, and one of the most respected and meticulous of the assassination theorists, has come up with a new

wrinkle on the Popkin thesis: not two Oswalds, but several.

Scott bases his conclusion on a study of Oswald photographs collected by the commission. The photographs on the passport Oswald used to enter the Soviet Union is especially striking. It surely shows somebody, but it does not appear to be Lee Harvey Oswald. The chin, facial, nose and bone structure all are wrong.

Scott has also collected the records of Oswald's physical examinations from the time he enlisted in the Marine Corps to the autopsy following his murder. They reveal some seemingly inexplicable dissimilarities. A Marine Corps medical examination conducted on October 23, 1956, for instance, found that Lee Harvey Oswald was 5' 8" tall, 135 pounds, with hazel eyes. Three years later, on September 11, 1959, another Marine exam puts him at 5' 11" tall, 150 pounds, with grey eyes. Of course, Oswald could have grown three inches, gained 15 pounds, and changed the color of his eyes in three years, but it seems unlikely. Altogether impossible is the change recorded on July 13, 1962, during a job physical Oswald took at Leslie Welding Co. That examination shows him to be 5' 9" tall—a loss of two inches in three years. In the arrest bulletin that went out for Oswald on November 22, he was described as 5' 10" tall and weighing 165 pounds—the description that is carried in the FBI files as well. At his autopsy, Oswald was found to be 5' 9" tall, 150 pounds, with grey-blue eyes.

One possible explanation for these differences is that there never was a real Lee Harvey Oswald, or, if there were, he died well before the first Lee Harvey Oswald entered the Marine Corps. From there on, the name and persona of Lee Harvey Oswald became an identity of convenience to be used by an intelligence agency or agencies unknown, a common enough practice among intelligence groups around the world.

Bizarre as the hydra-headed Oswald notion sounds, it was taken quite seriously by J. Edgar Hoover—two and a half years before the assassination. On June 3, 1960, Hoover sent a confidential memorandum to the Department of State, raising the possibility that an imposter might be using the credentials of Oswald, who was then living in the Soviet Union. The Hoover memo sparked other memos within the State Department. None of the correspondence on the possibility of an Oswald imposter was ever forwarded to the Warren Commission. Instead, it was buried in the National Archives and only uncovered recently. W.

David Slavson, a lawyer who checked out rumors about Oswald for the Warren Commission, offering an explanation as to how the life on the counterfeited Oswald managed to disappear. "It conceivably could have been something related to the CIA," says Slavson. "I can only speculate now—but a general CIA effort to take out anything that reflected on them may have covered this up."

It is a chilling thesis, and, like so much about Dallas, it makes just enough sense not to be ruled out.

Who Done It?

There are no answers, of course, only theories, and they range from the unlikely to the obscene. There is a conspiracy to fit every taste and prejudice. The trouble is that, since Dallas, Vietnam and Watergate, few of them can be easily dismissed out of hand. For a time, the CIA itself considered the possibility that Os-

The agency and the mob have enjoyed a cozy relationship since World War II, when the Cosa Nostra protected U.S. ports from Axis sabotage

wald was some sort of "Manchurian Candidate," a sleeper assassin planned to go off on command. The theory, like all the others, made for interesting conversation around the watercoolers at Langley, but, if the CIA ever followed up on the notion, there is no evidence. Within the last few months, a novel, entitled *The Tears of Autumn*, has been published, putting forward the supposition that Kennedy was the victim of a revenge killing for the CIA-approved assassination of South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem, who was slain in Saigon less than a month before Kennedy went to Dallas. One obvious problem with *The Tears of Autumn* plot is the timing. A few weeks' time seems hardly sufficient to concoct and execute as sophisticated a conspiracy as that which occurred November 22, 1963, in Dallas. Variations of "foreign agents did it" has long held considerable appeal for a number of Americans, including the unlikely duo of Lyndon Johnson and Jack Anderson, both of whom pointed the finger in the direction of Castro. Basically, the argument goes that Castro finally tired of the various U.S. attempts to rub

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launched a plot to link in his own. The argument is, then, that in the face of Castro's obvious and common open fondness for Kennedy. More to the point, it is difficult to imagine as wild a leader as Castro risking a man not only of his regime but of his entire island had he been linked to such a plot.

There is no more disposition, if no more evidence, to blame the CIA, either the top leadership of the agency or an ultra-right faction, which used the agency as a cover. The latter theory centers on the belief that there are really two CIAs: the "good" CIA, composed of the tweedy, analyst types, who tend to be liberal, have gone to good schools, and were born somewhere in the Northeast; and the "bad" CIA, the operations boys who are always off smuggling opium, or training secret armies, and who didn't go to such good schools. This thesis is one of the enduring notions about the agency and has been the subject of two minor best sellers, *Last Man at Arlington* in which the Kennedy assassination provided a backdrop for a number of mysterious murders, and *Six Days of the Condor* (soon to be *Three Days of the Condor*, starring Robert Redford). More seriously, novelist Gore Vidal, writing in *The New York Review of Books*, finds, after an examination of E. Howard Hunt's novels, that Hunt's prose sounds remarkably like that of Arthur Bremer, the would-be assassin of George Wallace. Hunt, of course, was an operations man at the CIA and thus one of the bad guys. Moreover, Hunt has some experience at forging documents connected with assassinations. At the suggestion of Chuck Colson, Hunt fabricated cables linking Kennedy to the assassination of Diem, which Colson then tried to peddle to the press. The attempt backfired, but Vidal finds it more than passing strange that recent assassins—Sirhan, Oswald and Bremer—all showed a penchant for leaving written evidence linking them to their alleged crimes. The question Vidal poses is "whether they might have had benefit of a ghostwriter."

For one reason or another, none of these theories—these outrageous slanders—really washes. Besides the lack of evidence, the "CIA did it" theory is simply "too pat," too easily tailored to existing prejudices. The most serious investigators of the assassination are reluctant to point a finger anywhere. They are also the most pessimistic that the real murderers of John Kennedy will ever be found. There is a growing suspicion that Oswald—or whoever he was—was merely the first of many "patsies," a word Oswald chose to describe himself. The CIA,

which is the most powerful agency in the world, may be the best.

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As it happens, organized crime fits all these requirements exactly. Certainly, there was motive. The loss of casinos and heroin connections in Cuba because of the regime Kennedy refused to dislodge has been reckoned in the hundreds of millions of dollars a year. Robert Kennedy's pursuit of organized crime had already seriously damaged the mob, especially in New Orleans, the terminus for the Cuban drug connection. And there were indications that the Kennedy brothers were going to hit Nevada next.

As for means, the mob has both the guns and the money to hire them. The opportunity was there for the taking.

The agency and the mob have enjoyed a cozy relationship since World War II, when the Cosa Nostra protected U.S. ports from Axis sabotage, as well as aided in the Allied invasions of Sicily and Italy. The agency returned the favor in various ways. In the late '50s Robert Kennedy, then an investigator for the McClellan committee, encountered a mobster in Las Vegas who boasted, "You can't touch me. I've got immunity" from the CIA. Incredulous, Kennedy checked; the mobster was telling the truth. Later, during the Vietnam war, CIA aircraft ferried opium out of Southeast Asia; eventually the mob sold it as heroin on American streets. In 1971, during a little-noticed trial of 11 members of a Cosa Nostra family in federal court in New York, the defense called a surprise character witness: the chief of the CIA's local office. The mobsters were not convicted. One indication of the closeness of the relationship between the agency and the mob is that the CIA maintains its large

office in New Orleans. The mobster, of course, is not the only one who has been linked to the assassination. The Warren Commission, for example, found that the CIA had a close relationship with the mob. The explanation for the CIA's involvement is that the mob can perform certain "assignments" which the agency either cannot or is unwilling to undertake. In 1961, for example, Kennedy discovered that the agency had put out an assassination contract on Fidel Castro, and that the hit men were from the mob. Kennedy quickly stopped it.

Given that background, some critics of the Warren Commission contend that the mob, after murdering Kennedy, employed its long-standing "immunity" to cut off CIA and other federal investigation of the assassination.

Unlikely as this scenario sounds, it dovetails nicely with the unanswered questions about Jack Ruby. According to the Warren Commission, Ruby was a rather innocent, if highly deranged, saloon keeper whose "not noticeable

Cuba, crime and the CIA. The three things that everyone connected to the assassination has in common

vice seems to have been a bit of social gambling. The commission flatly rejected the oft-repeated accusation that Ruby had ties to organized crime. The commission ignored testimony before it by a Dallas police detective that he "regarded Jack Ruby as a source of information in connection with his investigatory activities." In short, Ruby was, as Scott notes, a police informant, specifically in the area of narcotics. Scott also points out that the commission ignored a report to the FBI seven years before the assassination that Ruby was providing the okays from the mob for independent operators to move drugs in and out of Dallas. At that, the commission hardly needed to read reports. Ruby's connections with the mob and with the police were common knowledge in Dallas. Even a former Dallas county sheriff detailed Ruby's background; once again, the commission ignored him. Instead, the commission blandly asserted that Ruby's friendships with criminals "throughout his life . . . were limited largely to professional gamblers." Ironically, there was one place where Ruby truly was inter-

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1963, in Havana, Cuba.

Cuba, Castro and the CIA. The one thing that everyone connected to the assassination has in common. The three things the Warren Commission did not want to hear about. They had their doubts before the investigation started. If he lacked a motive, they would provide it. Oswald, according to the commission, killed Kennedy because of general feelings of inadequacy. At Gerald Ford's insistence, the commission added Oswald's being a communist as a reason for murder. Marina testified that it was all a terrible mistake, that Lee really wanted to kill Connally, missed, and shot Kennedy instead. The commission should have added that to the list as well. It makes just as much sense.

It is a confusing, disheartening, ultimately maddening business, this search for the killers of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. The people who look are strange, obsessive types, as people should be who have worked in a grave so long. One man who did some of the earliest and best research into the assassination, and kept repeating that research endlessly, with no one listening, finally went mad with paranoia.

Fortunately, the disbelief is spreading. It is the little old ladies, not just the crazies, who are asking questions now. Where once the commission could count on the name and probity of its chairman to certify a preposterous scenario of events, today the mention of Earl Warren's commission brings laughter on college campuses. Ironically, the media have been the last to question the official version of events. The *New York Times*, which published its own edition of the Warren Commission report and a follow-up volume entitled *The Witnesses* (from which nearly all the dissenting testimony had been carefully excised), continues to stoutly defend the commission's report. Time Inc., which owns the original and hence clearest copy of the Zapruder film, keeps it locked away in a vault. On television the most comprehensive defense of the commission has come from four one-hour specials produced by CBS. The correspondent was that Watergate tiger, Dan Rather. It may be changing. With Watergate behind them, the investigative reporters are having a second look. As one assassination researcher puts it: "We are one Seymour Hersh story away from a new investigation."

America is different now than it was in 1963. Castro is a curiosity. The doubts don't need to be laid to rest. The "dirty rumors" have become all too true. What hasn't changed is the loss. We need to know why. O

CIA Rumors Grow, Spur Doubts About JFK Death

WASHINGTON — (UPI) — A growing number of Senate and House members have been the victims of a campaign by the Central Intelligence Agency to keep them from Ford's cabinet and named new executive committee advocates of the assassination theory.

"I was a betting man," said Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, "I bet the full story would be known within a year."

"A year? I'm surprised at Fensterwald," said Dr. Richard Popkin, a philosophy professor at Washington University in St. Louis. "I'd have it six months."

Both men have noticed in recent months a growing web of unrelated disclosures, events and allegations which they believe will provoke the first serious re-examination of the Warren Commission's conclusion that Lee Harvey Oswald acted alone as Kennedy's assassin in Dallas.

Ford, who was a commission member, also apparent, noticed the resurgence of interest in the circumstances of Kennedy's death, particularly when the CIA was mentioned.

Some time in March, the White House said, Ford used up the precise language of the Warren Commission's findings which he had copied verbatim. So, when he got a surprise question about the matter April 3 at his San Diego, Calif., news conference, Ford was prepared.

He defended the commission's "very carefully drafted" statement that "we had found no evidence of a conspiracy, foreign or domestic." But he did not dismiss the possibility. "So far, I have seen no evidence that would dispute the conclusions to which we came," he said.

But "if the facts seem to justify it," Ford said, the Rockefeller Commission and the special House and Senate committees investigating CIA domestic activities might investigate.

Fensterwald, a dapper little Tennesseean whose clients have included Watergate burglar James W. McCord Jr. and James Earl Ray said he believes something big is about to break in the Kennedy case.

"I have the same feeling I did about Watergate, the feeling the game was up," when McCord broke his silence with a letter to U.S. District Judge John J. Sirica charging high-level political pressures to cover up the scandal.

"There's just too much evidence around that the Warren Report is not correct, that the CIA and the FBI know a huge amount, they didn't tell the Warren Commission," Fensterwald said.

But neither the Rockefeller Commission nor Congress seems to share his sense of urgency.

The executive director of the Rockefeller Commission, David Bellin, is a former Warren Commission counsel and staunch defender of the single-assassin argument. A spokesman said: "No evidence has been submitted to indicate any CIA involvement."

The Senate committee staff has acknowledged it will study the question, but only as a peripheral CIA issue.

Fensterwald believes the trigger for what Popkin called the "amazingly rapid buildup" of interest in the Kennedy case — the equivalent of a McCord letter — was disclosure of CIA involvement in assassination plots against several foreign heads of state, including Cuba's Fidel Castro.

Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez, D-Tex., who has called for a new inquiry, says his suspicions were aroused by Watergate revelations of CIA activities and the Bay of Pigs.

Among other recent developments:

- Publication of the transcript of a previously secret Warren Commission meeting Jan. 27, 1964, obtained by freelance investigator Harold Weisberg, in which former CIA Director Allen Dulles said it probably could never be determined independently whether Oswald was a CIA or FBI employee, which both agencies would deny.

- Two former aides of the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, D-N.Y., said he told them in 1967 he had helped stop a CIA plot with the Mafia to kill Castro before the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961. (The Cuban exile community has long speculated that Castro sought President Kennedy's assassination in retaliation for a planned attempt on his life.)

- Publication of two previously classified CIA photographs, taken in Mexico City six weeks before the assassination, of a "mystery man" who might have been trying to impersonate Oswald, who was trying to obtain visas from the Soviet and Cuban embassies about that time. (Fensterwald said two friends in intelligence separately identified the mystery man as a "mechanic," the CIA name for a hired killer.)

- Former CIA official George O'Toole said in a new book that a "psychological stress evaluator," an improved lie detector measuring the human voice, showed Oswald was telling the truth when he told reporters on tape after the assassination that "I didn't kill anybody."

- Unsuccessful but highly publicized court proceedings to obtain a new trial for Ray, whose lawyers claimed he was framed by unnamed conspirators in Martin Luther King's slaying, and to reopen the Robert Kennedy case on the ground the death bullet did not come from Sirhan B. Sirhan's gun.

Interviewed in his modernistic office in the Third Church of Christ Scientist Building overlooking LaFayette Park, Fensterwald said that after Watergate, "People will believe any-

thing — they're ready to believe E. Howard Hunt and Frank Sturgis were in Dallas Plaza when Kennedy was shot."

Such irresponsible claims can serve to suppress the true story, said Fensterwald, whose private committee to investigate assassinations operates out of a small office a block away as a clearing-house for serious research.

"I don't think there was anybody out at Langley, Va., (CIA headquarters) who set up Kennedy," he said. "But like Watergate I think you've got two problems. Shooting the president is a lot more serious than breaking into Democratic headquarters, but covering up who is responsible for it is more serious."

Contrary to the Warren Report, Fensterwald says Oswald had ties with both the FBI and the CIA but raised grave U.S. doubts about his loyalty in his work with Cuba. "That's my best guess as to what was covered up," he said.

Fensterwald said the key figures will remain silent until some official body, perhaps in Congress, grants them immunity from prosecution and forces them to testify again under oath.

"Can you imagine what you could do with Marina (Oswald's Russian-born widow) in one morning if you put her under oath, and told her the first time you lie you're going to be on the first plane back to Moscow?" he asked.

Popkin, author of a book entitled "The Second Oswald," said in a telephone interview from St. Louis he suspects some of the CIA stories might have been inspired by the CIA itself, where Director William E. Colby is "cleaning house and reorganizing, and this is one way to get rid of some people."

One hypothesis, Popkin said, is that "they might need to solve the Kennedy case to get back into business." He foresees a time when the CIA "commits suicide in public, there will be confessions of wrongdoing, Congress will ban all sorts of activities, and the CIA will be reconstructed in another form."

KGB is said to think CIA has sub, codes, missiles and leaked story

WASHINGTON (KNH)—Swiss intelligence agents privately are saying the CIA's effort to recover a sunken Soviet submarine from the Pacific last summer was a complete success.

There have been conflicting reports from sources here over just how much of the diesel-powered "Golf"-class submarine was pulled from 17,000 feet of water about 700 miles north of Hawaii.

Most reports say the Howard Hughes-developed salvage vessel, Glomar Explorer, hoisted only a third of the sub but missed the important code room, and the nuclear-tipped

missiles. Mr. Hunner is the bill's sponsor.

The Russians, who have not made any public comment about the CIA effort, privately have been very concerned about the new deep-sea capability the United States has developed, it was said.

A high official of the KGB, the Soviet intelligence agency, told a regular contact recently that reports that the bodies of 70 Soviet seamen—most of the crew—had been brought up on only a third of the sub are not believable. He said he is convinced the entire sub was raised.

The Russians also were said to believe the CIA deliberately

leaked news of the salvage mission to take the minds of the American people off the agency's failure to raise the sub at home.

The CIA is being probed by two congressional committees and a special presidential commission. They are checking allegations the CIA, barred by its charter from domestic snooping, broke into the homes of Americans in the U.S. as well as wiretapped phones and opened mail.

CIA officials insist they did not leak word of the salvage mission. On the contrary, they say, William E. Colby, the director of central intelligence, tried to stop newspapers that already had the story from printing it.

Broker sues CIA for \$10 million

MANHATTAN (AP)—A former Miami mortgage broker, who claims the Central Intelligence Agency was behind his selling of counterfeit mortgages, sued the agency yesterday for \$10 million.

The suit, filed in federal court here, also names the federal government and Cuban exiles Guillermo Iglesias and Antonio Yanes as defendants. The whereabouts of the two men, reported to have CIA connections, is unknown.

In the suit, broker Andres Castro blamed the CIA for the failure of his mortgage business, for causing threats and personal danger to him, and for alleged humiliation and ridicule.

Mr. Castro claimed the two men persuaded him in 1973 to let them use his company as a front to raise money for covert CIA activities. The CIA declined comment on the suit.

Probe official backs Warren Commission

WASHINGTON (NYT)—The Rockefeller Commission investigating the Central Intelligence Agency has received "no credible evidence" that the CIA had any involvement in the assassination of President Kennedy or that Lee Harvey Oswald was not, as the Warren Commission found, the lone assassin, the panel's executive director said yesterday.

The assertion by David W. Belin was a departure from the commission's policy of not commenting on its investigations.

Mr. Belin said he had chosen

to speak out because of a comment by President Ford in San Diego Thursday and several press reports that might lead to speculation that there was substantive new evidence of CIA involvement or a conspiracy plot in the murder of Kennedy Nov. 22, 1963.

Mr. Belin said the commission, under its charter from President Ford, had an obligation to investigate every allegation of illegal domestic activity by the CIA and that an allegation that the agency was involved in Kennedy's death was clearly in that area. It was in this regard that the commission took evidence from a group

headed by Dick Gregory, the comedian, regarding an assertion that E. Howard Hunt, Jr., a figure in the Watergate case, had been seized near the Kennedy assassination site within minutes of the shooting in Dallas.

Mr. Gregory submitted to the commission photos purporting to show that Hunt and Frank Sturgis, another figure in the Watergate case, were picked up by Dallas police and jailed. Hunt denied the allegation in testimony before the commission.

Mr. Belin declined to catalog all the evidence regarding Mr. Gregory's allegations but said that the commission would continue to accept any evidence that might be brought forth. He said, however, that nothing so far had weakened the Warren Commission conclusions.

At his press conference Thursday, Mr. Ford, who was a member of the Warren Commission as a congressman, said that he had seen no evidence that would contradict the War-

ren report, although he went on to note that the Rockefeller Commission was investigating it.

Mr. Belin, who served as counsel to the Warren Commission, later wrote a book, entitled "You Are The Jury," which detailed how the commission had reached its conclusion. He said that after he completes his present assignment on the Rockefeller Commission, he hopes to be able to discuss the Kennedy assassination allegations more fully.

Panel Aide Comments

No CIA Link To Killing Found

New York Times News Service

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Rockefeller Panel Is Checking JFK Angle

Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller has confirmed that the White House commission investigating illegal domestic activities of the CIA is trying to find out if the agency had any connection with the assassination of the late President John F. Kennedy.

But Rockefeller told reporters after the 13th session of the blue ribbon commission, which he heads, that there is no thought of re-examining the assassination.

Rockefeller explained that the commission mandate required it to investigate any illegal operations

of the CIA, and he said that would include both overseas assassinations and the Kennedy case if evidence is discovered that there was any CIA knowledge or participation.

Rockefeller indicated the commission has no evidence contrary to the findings of the Warren Commission, which concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald was acting alone when he fatally wounded the president in Dallas on Nov. 22, 1963.

HOWEVER, there are reports that the commission is questioning former CIA personnel about knowledge the

agency had of Oswald, an ex-Marine who lived for some time in the Soviet Union and therefore would have been recorded by intelligence agencies as a defector.

It is also known that CIA operatives in Mexico were aware of Oswald's movements there prior to the assassination when he went to both the Cuban and Soviet Embassies in an attempt to obtain permission to enter those countries.

Rockefeller was pressed closely on the assassination aspect of its investigation and insisted the mandate of the commission was un-

changed. He explained that any domestic activity of the CIA, presumably including domestic plots or files would come within scope of the inquiry, whether the assassinations took place overseas or domestically or even if they were never successfully carried out.

YESTERDAY'S leading witness at the closed-door hearing of the commission was McGeorge Bundy, national security adviser from 1961 to 1969 to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson and now president of the Ford Foundation.

While Bundy was in charge of national security and intelligence matters at the White House, a number of reported plots, possibly involving the CIA, were discussed, involving Gen. Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, President Francois Duvalier of Haiti and Prime Minister Fidel Castro of Cuba. Trujillo was assassinated in 1961 and Duvalier died of natural causes several years ago.

Bundy refused to discuss his testimony with reporters after the hearing. But he did declare he was not aware of any serious assassination talk while he was national security adviser to the White House.

Oswald-Agent Contact Covered Up

By Jack Anderson
and Les Whitten

The FBI's John Edgar Hoover has admitted that he used to keep the Warren Commission from learning about the ties between FBI agent James Hosty and assassin Lee Harvey Oswald.

The formidable Hoover, whose bulldog visage had become a national symbol of law and order, intervened personally when the Warren Commission began to zero in on Hosty.

Now, 12 years later, Hosty has admitted destroying a threatening note, which Oswald delivered to the FBI office in Dallas a few days before shooting President John F. Kennedy in November, 1963. The note threatened to blow up the FBI office and Dallas police headquarters if Hosty didn't stop bothering his wife.

The FBI should have notified the Secret Service that Oswald, a misfit who had threatened violence, was in the Dallas area. The Secret Service routinely would have checked his whereabouts during the presidential visit. This might have saved President Kennedy's life.

When the FBI learned that a suspect named Lee Harvey Oswald had been picked up, Hosty reminded his boss, Gordon Shanklin, that he had

seen him bring the Oswald case. Shanklin telephoned the Dallas police and asked whether Hosty could participate in the interrogation.

Hosty later questioned Oswald at police headquarters. Oswald, who had been outwardly calm, suddenly became agitated. "I know you!" he shouted. "I know you! You're the one who accused my wife twice!"

The incident passed, however, without any mention of the threatening letter. Hosty also confided to a friend on the Dallas police force, Lt. Jack Revell, that the FBI had a file on Oswald. Revell repeated the conversation to a superior who ordered him to put it in writing.

"Special Agent Hosty related to this officer...," Revell wrote, "that the Federal Bureau of Investigation was aware of the subject (Oswald) and that they had information that this subject was capable of committing the assassination of President Kennedy."

Hoover was furious when he learned of Hosty's loose talk. According to confidential notes taken at the time, the grizzled FBI chief complained that Hosty had "diarrhea of words." But the old man, nevertheless, sought to cover up the FBI's embarrassment.

On Dec. 23, 1963, the FBI gave the Warren Commission a

summary of Oswald's notebook. The summary conveniently omitted the fact that Hosty's name, telephone and home tag had been in the notebook.

The commission found out about the omission and demanded an explanation. On Jan. 27, 1964, Hoover acknowledged that Hosty's name had been in the notebook.

The G man also gave what purported to be a full account of the FBI's contacts with Oswald. The last contact, he reported, had been on Aug. 10, 1963. "We did not interview Oswald in Dallas, Texas, or in Irving, Texas, prior to the assassination of President Kennedy," Hoover added.

Interestingly, he used the word "our" to describe the last contact with the FBI. But on Feb. 6, in a sworn affidavit, Hoover changed the wording in a curious way. He swore that Oswald had no contact with FBI "agents" after Aug. 10, 1963.

It is now known, of course, that Oswald appeared at the FBI office in Dallas a few days before the assassination. At that time, just as Hoover said, he did not speak with any FBI "agents." But he spoke with an FBI receptionist, who passed on his threatening note to the agents.

It is impossible to know whether the late FBI chief subtly switched the word "our" to "agents" in order to hide his knowledge of Oswald's violent threat.

But in a later letter to the Warren Commission, dated April 6, 1964, Hoover stated categorically, "I wish to emphasize that the facts available to the FBI concerning Lee Harvey Oswald prior to the assassination did not indicate in any way that he was or would be a threat to President Kennedy."

The truth is, of course, that the FBI had received dramatic evidence less than a week before the assassination that Oswald was violence-prone.

On April 24, the Dallas Morning News reported Hosty had told the Dallas police lieutenant, Jack Revell, that the FBI knew Oswald was "capable" of assassinating the President.

Hoover immediately sent word to the Warren Commission that the story was "false" and followed up three days later with a personal letter delivered by courier.

"Special Agent Hosty unequivocally denies ever having made the statement as quoted in this article..." declared the FBI director.

"Special Agent Hosty points out that prior to the assassination of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, he never had any information indicating potential violence on the part of Lee Harvey Oswald."

There's more to Hoover's great cover-up, which we'll report in a future column.

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JFK Case: ... The Demons Are All in Our Minds

Cohen

'Living with these slight ambiguities should not prove an impossible burden for a citizen to carry through life as compared with the manifest impossibilities demanded by the critics' version of the shooting.'

able, and mystery, the Bermuda Triangle, the flying saucer faithful, the flying saucer faithful, and a new species of flying saucer movie (The Conspirators, Throat, Night Moves, The Parallax View) ends with the message alive and still menacing. The message in these movies seems to be that we are surrounded by impenetrably complex and sinister forces, withdrawal and resignation are offered as appropriate responses. The customary explanation is that the relations concerning Watergate, Vietnam, the CIA and FBI, etc., have caused and perhaps justify the present mood of distrust and that truthfulness and rectitude on high will one day dispel it. However, close examination of the cultural scene reveals that this is only part of the explanation and perhaps not the most important part. I believe we are deal-

ing with habits of mind in the very center of our life and times which positively revel in mystification, which do not wish to know the truth and perhaps could not recognize it if they saw it.

Let me illustrate by reciting some of the facts in dispute with regard to the assassination of President Kennedy. I offer them not to dispel of the mystery which attaches (to me there is no mystery, the truth being quite clear) but as an example of how powerful feelings of distrust arise and breed upon themselves, powerfully resisting any efforts to dispel them.

In his Commentary article, Cohen analyzes and dismisses arguments for a second assassin of President Kennedy. He reviews the findings of five doctors empaneled by Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark to study the autopsy

materials and the reports of nine doctors who have seen the X-rays and photograph of President Kennedy. Cohen argues that the Warren Commission findings have been competently reviewed and confirmed.]

It is impossible to soothe every doubt generated by this veritable religion of suspicion, but let me try to deal with two lines of argument which for some indicate there must be fire behind all the smoke. One concerns the timing of the shot which struck Gov. Connally, and the other concerns the famous bullet, exhibit 277.

By now all agree that the single-assassin theory requires that one bullet strike Kennedy high in the back, exit from his throat, and then hit Gov. Connally, causing all of his five wounds and broken bones: (1) an entry wound in the back near the right armpit; (2) a shattered fifth rib and an exit wound below the right nipple and 2 degrees below the back wound; (3) an entry wound on the knuckle side of the right wrist about two inches up from the wrist joint and a broken wrist bone; (4) an exit wound on the palm side three-fourths of an inch above the wrist crease;

and (5) a shallow puncture of the left thigh about 5 inches above the knee.

Connally was seated on the jump-seat directly in front and slightly to the left of Kennedy; it is difficult to see how a bullet exiting from the president's throat could miss him (which is one reason the first-generation critics strove so mightily to keep that bullet from coming through). If the bullet did miss Connally, it could not have missed the interior of the open car, and the absence of any damage to the car caused by a high-speed bullet, barely slowed by its passage through the president's neck, argues strongly that the bullet in fact struck Connally. The car was thoroughly examined by the FBI

within 48 hours of the assassination; one doubts that the FBI covered up evidence of bullet damage, not because that agency is incapable of fibbing but because the FBI could not have known what lies to tell that early. It seems logical to conclude that the bullet struck Connally in the back and precisely in the place he was actually hit.

The ambiguity fastened on by the critics arises because the famous Zapruder film of the motorcade seems to show Connally being hit well after Kennedy but too soon after to allow for the possibility that he was struck by a second shot from the

See DISTRUST, H-4

The Washington Star Comment

• Editorials • Hobbies

SECTION H SUNDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1975

Why Do They Hide in the Evidence?

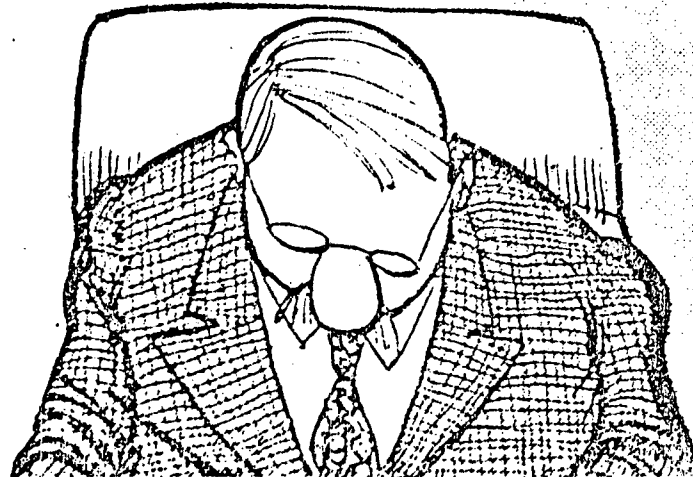
Editorial
The Nation

First wound is accurate). Secondly, bullet paths are unpredictable, and it is much more likely that the bullet would have flown free of the car than that it would have hit Connally where he was hit, then proceed to do so much other damage.

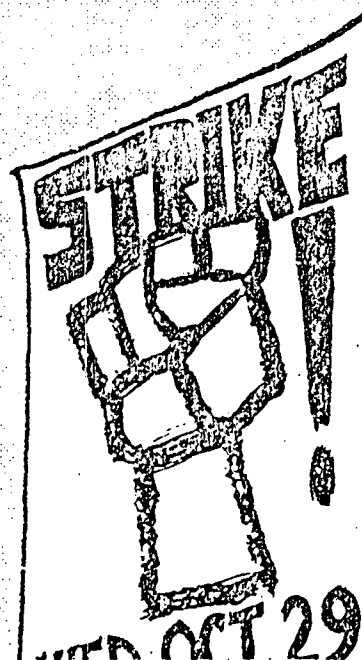
Mr. Cohen slights all the dispassionate evidence supporting the single-bullet theory and instead dwells on irrelevances and ambiguities which prove nothing. When he says Gov. Connally's wrist was only in position to receive its wounds at an earlier point than Connally or many critics

'... he lies about the most basic facts and deliberately suppresses information destructive of his position.'

YOU'RE
FIRED!



OLIPHANT



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Mr. Cohen makes a fuss about how much metal is missing from Bullet 399, an academic point at best. The significant observation is that 399 is too unimpaired to have been the infamous single bullet; even Mr. Cohen is constrained to admit the high probability of the official case on this point. This admission, however, is not that type of practice which college professors are taught to practice as scholarship, for Mr. Cohen knowingly deceives his readers about what 399 is actually required to have done if the government's case is to stand.

To begin with, Mr. Cohen is silent about the metal fragments in President Kennedy's neck. This is no wonder, since the autopsy doctors themselves swore there was no metal in the neck. Mr. Cohen himself, in his 1966 Nation article, strongly implied that the theory of a frontal hit to the neck would be bolstered if the X-rays ultimately revealed any traces of metal there.

Experts, who have examined the autopsy photos and X-rays, have said that the X-rays do reveal metal fragments in the neck. These fragments have been measured as 4 millimeters and two millimeters, respectively. It happens that Bullet 399 never presented its lead base to a hard surface in the neck, and thus, if it left fragments there at all, it had to have scraped them from its copper jacket. Bullet 399's jacket is completely intact; no fragments are missing. Thus, when Mr. Cohen hides the neck fragments he denies his readers evidence that the single bullet theory he advocates cannot be true. This, it must be noted, is the same theory which Mr. Cohen admits is "indispensable to the conclusion that there was a single assassin."

Then, Mr. Cohen makes no reference to the abundant testimony by Connolly's doctors that his wrist

See FLAWS, H5

By David Bruaten

This was supposed to be the week when men all over the United States began quaking in their boots, biting their fingernails and otherwise exhibiting all the symptoms of machismo brought to its knees.

This was to be the week when women's liberationists bared their claws and showed the male chauvinist establishment just how reckless they are when they giggle at The Movement.

On Wednesday, according to the scenario fantasized by the National Organization for Women, every true-blue sister in the nation is supposed to down tools in a 24-hour demonstration of the chaos that will result without the feminine touch in our national life.

Housewives are to put down their brooms and floor mops (after first picking off the cobwebs, presumably); working women are to stay away from the office and factory on

David Bruaten is a staff writer for The Washington Star.

grounds of principle (instead of phoning in sick); women of all persuasions are to refrain from buying anything (even with the old man's credit card) and wives and mistresses are to withhold their excellence, Lysistrata-style, in the name of equality (as opposed to the standard headache).

The result, as NOW sees it, will be a total mess, demonstrating the awesome power of the Little Woman. Industry will grind to a halt, government will cease to function, starvation and sloth will overcome the nation's households, and then—the filthy animals—will be driven mad by unfulfilled desire.

Women, in short, will at last be

the better for it. Fortunately for us all, a couple of flaky things happened on the way out of the harem.

The first was a response to NOW's game plan by Ella Grasso of Connecticut, the first woman to be elected governor of a state in her own right. Coolly unfazed by NOW's shrill feminist threats, the doughty poweress not only announced that she herself would be at her desk as usual on Wednesday, but added that she expects women members of her gubernatorial staff will find the NOW boycott "a luxury they can't afford." Not since the Godfather made an offer that couldn't be refused has there been such a thinly-veiled hint from someone in authority.

Mrs. Grasso's unfeminist reaction triggered a not unexpected ad feminam blast from NOW: "Unfortunately this attitude is typical of her lack of understanding of feminism and its objectives," an official NOW statement hissed. Meow!

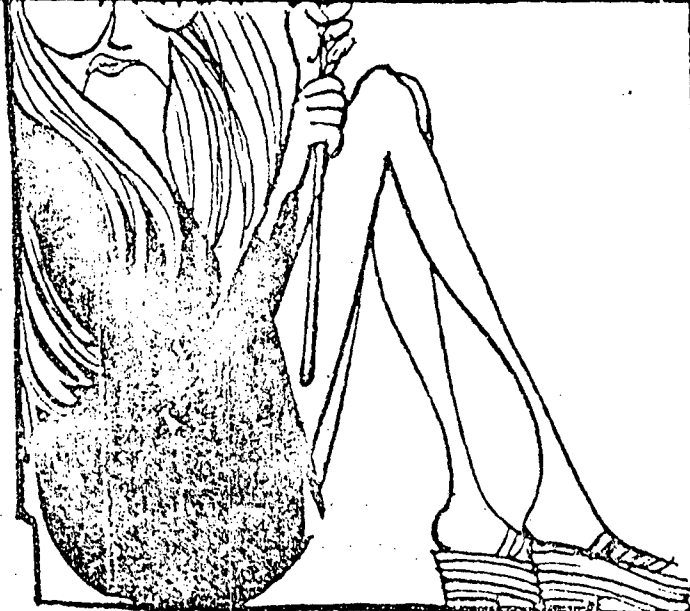
Even more damaging to the libbers' cause was the result of a similar women's strike that actually took place in Iceland last Friday. The thing that made it so damaging, as men the world over will be quick to note, is that the strike was a success. "Almost 100 per cent effective," crowed one deluded Icelandic liberationist.

Consider the results, dutifully chronicled by reporters in Reykjavik:

- Telephone service all but shut down for lack of operators.
- Newspapers failed to publish because all the Icelandic typesetters are women.
- Theaters closed, absent chorus girls, ingenues and leading ladies.
- Schools and day nurseries folded.

On the other hand:

- Restaurants were able to cater to drastically reduced patronage when



owners and maitre d's filled in for striking waitresses.

- Banks managed to stay open for business.
- An estimated 25,000 of Iceland's 60,000 women gathered for a rally in Reykjavik's central square.
- Two of the parliament's three women members boycotted debates and committee meetings.

Implicit in the reports from Iceland, albeit not specifically stated, were the following results of the successful strike:

- An idyllic peace settled over at least 25,000 of the male population of Iceland.
- No jangling telephones disturbed late sleepers.
- No waiting in line at the teller's

window behind a woman who wants to know why her last month's transactions failed to balance.

- No "Why don't you ever take me anywhere?" guilt feelings.
- No "Don't you think you've had enough?" accompaniment to a quiet, dignified, efficiently served dinner out (or a nutritious can of beans in front of the old television set).
- No worries about spilling beer or cigar ashes on the living room rug.

And, perhaps best of all, every dirty dish, every soiled diaper, every runny nose, every unmade bed was still there when the strike was over.

So go, girls, go! Let's make Wednesday a day to remember.

EDWIN M. YODER JR.: Reality Scoffs at the Dismal Science

... the Lock

whether one approves or not of the Times Square peep shows or of the city's prodigious erection of skyscraper office buildings. The mythical economic man so essential to textbook theory would only ask, presumably, whether a New York default would seriously disrupt the national economy and, if so, what practical steps that might warrant. Instead we have an exercise in spavined metaphor — to "bail out" the city or let it slip "down the drain"?

The spectacle calls to mind the story that Bernard Baruch, asked to name the best book on the stock market, cited Charles Mackay's 19th Century classic, *Memories of Extraordi-*

nal prestidigitations in France, are generically grouped with the Renaissance witch-craze and the Dutch tulip-mania.

The stock market, Mr. Baruch was saying, partakes of "popular delusions and the madness of crowds," and so does the debate over New York. And the more one ponders this curious situation, the more one is inclined to view it as a rebuke to the pretensions of scientific economics.

And this rebuke stems, as many rebukes do, from a lengthy record of immodesty. Within the last century or so, professional students of the dis-

mal science of the marketplace discarded the modest label "political economy" for the crisp but misleading label "economics."

The distinction is interesting. Political economists never bothered to deny or conceal bias; economists — many of them — pretend to have none. They suggest that neutral "laws" of the marketplace can be discovered, and that every rational person must then acknowledge their force. This imposture has a long history. Karl Marx, after many years in the British Museum, proclaimed an "iron law of wages" that must inevitably pauperize laborers in a

capitalist system. It was a striking law. But reality inconveniently scoffed at it. Then, there was Say's law, beloved of classical economists, which held that no shortage of purchasing power could occur in an economy left to its own self-correcting devices. The worldwide depression of the 1930s decisively repudiated Mr. Say's law. And in 1936 John Maynard Keynes demonstrated in his *General Theory of Employment Money and Interest* why it had not worked. It was Keynes, incidentally, who said — the words should be read as a kind of cautionary incantation over every assemblage of economists — that "practical men, who believe

Small wonder that ordinary people react with skepticism to the proclamations of economists and cling to homely analogies. They merely notice that even the most confidently asserted designs and prescriptions of economists bear tell-tale marks of human preference — and human fallibility.

By these lights, the curious debate over New York City loses some of its strangeness. "Economic" decisions are no more value-free than the everyday choices that most of us make privately about our lives. In that sense the belief that "financial integrity (is) a thing very like virginity" has a certain rude validity of

1963-1964
12 APRIL 1975

Facts Belie 'Plot' Charges in JFK Assassination

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Current charges revive the idea that Lee Harvey Oswald did not alone assassinate President John F. Kennedy, having traveled to New Orleans, Dallas, Washington and elsewhere to investigate his horror, all I can say is hokus, hokey, hokum.

Communists worldwide conform to the Soviet party line that President Kennedy's assassination was a Fascist plot. Oswald, in turn, as in a New Orleans radio debate after returning from Russia before the assassination, omitted ever having been in the USSR.

But Oswald himself was proud of his Communist record, a pride that continued to the horror-moment end in Dallas. This is documented not by opinion, not by debatable testimony, not by deductions, but by Oswald himself.

Moreover, the revived questioning builds up the contrived idea that Oswald was not only not alone, but that Oswald himself was some kind of "crackpot."

Again, hokus, hokey, hokum.

U. S. Postal Inspector Harry D. Holmes' words to me in Dallas summarize all statements to me through my investigation: "In Oswald's talks with me, I found that he had a disciplined mind and disciplined reflexes. He unhesitatingly answered questions he wanted to answer, skillfully parried the others, and lied instantly whenever cornered."

Oh, no, Oswald was never just some "crackpot" wandering around the Soviet Union for some two and a half years. That is, on the record, impossible.

Prior to assassinating President Kennedy, Oswald had gone to Mexico City. By his own written declarations (September 27) at Castro's Mexico City embassy, his memorandum to "Comrad Kostin" at the Soviet Embassy there, known to our CIA (real name Valeriy Vladimirovich Kostikov) as a KGB spy, Oswald's letters to the Soviet Washington embassy as late as Nov. 9, 1963, the forgeries found and innumerable incriminating documents in Oswald's own handwriting, he was a drilled, dedicated, obedient, cool and canny Communist.

Oswald was protected by Moscow's identity document (No. 311479) which gave him the run of the Soviet Union.

He was immediately given a certificate to marry (April 30, 1963) Russian wife Marina Nikolayevna Prusakova, about whom I wrote in a previous article.

She made her home with her uncle, KGB Col. Nicolay Akserov, a high-ranking secret police official. He was given the extraordinary money-and-privilege advantages I have described.

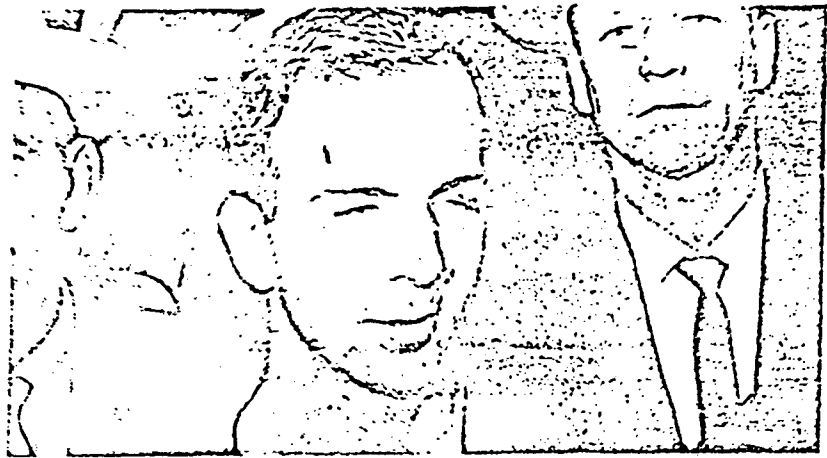
Oswald's preferential treatment is undeniable and so is his devotion to the Communist cause and its personnel up to the very moment he died.

President Kennedy was assassinated

Oswald's letter, which Shanklin showed me, included: "... Certain of my documents are in the small blue valise.... The embassy [i.e., Castro's Mexico City embassy] will come quickly to your assistance on learning everything.... We also have friends here."

Oswald wrote this in Russian. He enclosed the key to a post office mailbox under his H. O. Lee alias at Dallas' Ervay Street Substation.

The true key to Oswald's thinking in



Lee Harvey Oswald (shown above in custody) hoped to flee to Cuba following the slaying of the President where the dedicated Marxist could live out his years as a resident hero.

Nov. 22, 1963. Postmarked Dallas, November 1, Oswald wrote a letter to the New York headquarters of the Communist Party, U.S.A. In it he reported his return to Dallas. Headquarters executive Arnold S. Johnson claims that this "information" was not received until after the November 22 assassination.

Johnson blandly passes over the date difference as if it means nothing.

Oswald also wrote in longhand an undated letter to his wife before the assassination. Dallas Regional FBI Chief J. Gordon Shanklin found it secreted in Oswald's personal effects at Oswald's temporary hole-in at 1025 North Beckley Avenue, Dallas, a rooming house where Oswald lived under the alias O. H. Lee.

assassinating President Kennedy is Fidel Castro.

Wife Marina, trapped by her own inconsistencies, finally told Shanklin that Oswald had laid plans to reach Cuba and had prepared the way by going (September 25) to Castro's Mexico City embassy.

On September 8 Castro had castigated President Kennedy over Radio Havana as "my enemy" and concluded "if the United States can deal in assassination, so can we."

Oswald believed that if he killed our President he would be an inside hero in Castro's Havana—and a hero for the first time in his life.

United Feature Syndicate

CIA's Murder, Inc.

The ruling British Labour Party has recently protested the presence of 10 agents of the Central Intelligence Agency, masquerading as attachés, in the American embassy in London. Agents by the hundreds have poured into Portugal and the Near East as a result of the increasing tensions between the governments in those areas and the shapers of U.S. foreign policy.

The cooperation between the CIA and the State Department was dramatically underscored by Richard Helms' appointment to an ambassadorship in (of all places) Iran. Helms was director of the spy agency during its "dirty" period—1966-73. Meanwhile, the U.S. ambassador to Italy was formerly envoy to Greece where he developed a "special relationship" with the colonels who were ousted last year. And Portugal got the former U.S. ambassador to Chile who helped engineer the overthrow of Allende.

Since Watergate popped the lid off the CIA, creatures have slithered forth from its depths such as normally surface only in the pages of a John Le Carré novel. Lonely, wandering travel writers, employed by the very real Fodor's Travel Guides Inc., turn out to be secret agents

sneaking easily translating their "reviews" into code. Assassination plots hatched in the highest Washington circles bear fruit in distant Vietnam (Diem) and the Dominican Republic (Hugalla). Former movie mogul Howard Hughes stars in a CIA-sponsored, multi-million dollar production to liberate the corpses of seamen in a sunken Russian submarine from their ocean grave along with secret code books and nuclear missiles.

Government operatives were discovered to have negotiated "contracts" with Mafia hit men to eliminate "totalitarian" leaders (Castro). In return the CIA performs favors such as spying on singer Phyllis McGuire for her then-boyfriend and Chicago racket chief, Sam Giancana. Leading journalists (the syndicated columnist Tom Braden, *New Republic* publisher Robert J. Myers, *Philadelphia Bulletin* editor George Packer, etc.) are linked to the CIA and Mexican presidents (Diaz Ordaz, López Mateos and Echeverría) are revealed as big-pocket collaborators of the U.S. spy agency.

The still-unresolved assassination of John Kennedy is also among the contents of this Pandora's box. The 8 March *New York Times* reports disputed photographic evidence that some contend places Watergate burglars E. Howard Hunt and Frank Sturgis on the grassy knoll near Kennedy's limousine at the time of the 1963 assassination. Hunt was then a clandestine CIA operative and head of the Mexican CIA station at the time Lee Harvey Oswald visited there. Sturgis is known to have worked for the agency during the Bay of Pigs invasion. The men in the photo had been placed under arrest by Dallas police.

Clearly, whether or not the latter

selection is from any reference to the truth, any and every exposure of the CIA's activities is of the order of a "top secret" world. It is the only way to get to the bottom of the CIA's activities.

Good old "dumb but honest" Gerald Ford has come up with the answer. He quickly appointed a "blue-ribbon" commission to investigate the CIA intrusion into domestic affairs. Of the eight men on the panel, three have had direct associations with the CIA—Nelson Rockefeller, C. Douglas Dillon and General Lyman Lemnitzer. In addition to Dillon and Rockefeller himself, two other panel members also have direct connections with Rockefeller interests—John T. Connor, chairman of Allied Chemical Corporation (and one-time fund raiser to buy back Cuban counterrevolutionaries taken prisoner in the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion), and Lane Kirkland, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO and member of the board of the Rockefeller foundation.

Both the Rockefeller group and the Meanyite AFL-CIO bureaucracy have long-standing and intimate connections with the CIA in the fight against Communism, especially in Latin America (e.g., Chile). The CIA responded to Meany's kindness by illegally opening his mail, suspecting him of mismanaging CIA funds.

Other members of this commission are Ronald Reagan, ex-U.S. Solicitor General and suspected Watergate perjurer, Erwin Griswold, and finally the as yet innocuous ex-University of Virginia president, Edgar F. Shannon.

In reality the President has little taste for an exposé of the CIA. He and Rockefeller have both indicated a Watergate-like reluctance to cooperate with the newly-formed Senate Select Committee on Intelligence which will "independently" investigate the CIA and FBI.

Rocky, who is reportedly worried lest the authority (!) of the presidency be destroyed by the Senate hearings, previously announced that he anticipated his commission would deliver the ho-hum finding that "the Central Intelligence Agency had violated its charter by undertaking activities within the United States" (*New York Times*, 27 January). Later he told reporters that the commission would only deal with "apparent violation(s) of the statutes relating to domestic activities." However, the Butcher of Africa was mum when asked if executing foreign leaders qualified as a "domestic violation."

Continued

The CIA and the Man Who Was Not Oswald

Bernard Fensterwald and
George O'Toole

Six weeks before the assassination of President Kennedy on November 22, 1963, the Central Intelligence Agency sent the following teletype message to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Departments of State and the Navy:

Subject: Lee Henry OSWALD

1. On 1 October 1963 a reliable and sensitive source in Mexico reported that an American male, who identified himself as Lee OSWALD, contacted the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City inquiring whether the Embassy had received any news concerning a telegram which had been sent to Washington. The American was described as approximately 35 years old, with an athletic build, about six feet tall, with a receding hairline.

2. It is believed that OSWALD may be identical to Lee Henry OSWALD, born on 18 October 1939 in New Orleans, Louisiana. A former U.S. Marine who defected to the Soviet Union in October 1959 and later made arrangement through the United States Embassy in Moscow to return to the United States with his Russian-born wife, Marina Nikolaevna Puskova, and their child.

3. The information in paragraph one is being disseminated to your representatives in Mexico City. Any further information received on this subject will be furnished you. This information is being made available to the Immigration and Naturalization Service.¹

Was the Lee Henry Oswald of the CIA message Lee Harvey Oswald? Yes, according to Richard Helms, then chief of the Agency's Clandestine Services. In a March 1964 memorandum to J. Lee Rankin, general counsel to the Warren Commission, Helms explained that "OSWALD'S middle name was erroneously given as 'Henry' in the subject line and in paragraph two of the dissemination.... The maiden surname of Mrs. OSWALD was mistakenly listed as 'PUSAKOVA'."²

But Lee Harvey Oswald was not "approximately 35 years old, with an athletic build," he was twenty-three years old and slender.³ Apparently the CIA was concerned about the dis-

crepancy. For on October 22, 1963, Mrs. Oswald's mother was under the following message to the Department of the Navy:

Subject: Lee Henry OSWALD

Reference is made to CIA Out Teletype No. 74673 [the earlier message], dated 10 October 1963, regarding possible presence of subject in Mexico City. It is requested that you forward to this office as soon as possible two copies of the most recent photograph you have of subject. We will forward them to our representative in Mexico, who will attempt to determine if the Lee OSWALD in Mexico City and subject are the same individual.⁴

Since Oswald had served in the Marine Corps, which comes under the administration of the Navy, his personnel records would have included his photograph.

What the Agency did not say in this cable is that it had in its possession a photograph of the man who had apparently "identified himself" as Oswald. The man in the CIA photo was not Lee Harvey Oswald; he was, just as the Agency's "reliable and sensitive source" had described him, approximately thirty-five years old, with an athletic build and a receding hairline.

According to a memorandum by Helms, the CIA never received the Navy's pictures of Oswald and only concluded after the assassination that two different people were involved.⁵ Meanwhile, the photograph was delivered to the FBI on November 22, 1963.⁶

One can only guess at the confusion caused by the picture. The FBI needed no Navy photograph to establish that the mystery man was not Oswald—Lee Harvey Oswald was sitting handcuffed in a third-floor office of the Dallas police headquarters. The next day Special Agent Bardwell D. Odum was dispatched with the photograph to the motel where Oswald's wife and mother were hidden. He showed the picture to Mrs. Marguerite Oswald, mother of the accused assassin. Mrs. Oswald looked at the photo and told Odum she didn't recognize the man.⁷ The following day, however, shortly after her son was murdered in the basement of Dallas City Hall, Mrs. Oswald erroneously identified the mystery man. She told the press the FBI had shown her a picture of Jack Ruby the day before

the assassination. The mystery man bore a striking resemblance to Jack Ruby, and as her recollection of a brief glance at the photograph two faces became one. But the "identification" made it necessary for the Warren Commission to refer, however obliquely, to the affair of the mystery man. In the twenty-six volumes of published testimony and evidence supplementary to the Warren Report, the Commission printed the picture that was shown to Mrs. Oswald.⁸ The Warren Report contains a very brief account of the incident.

According to the Report, the CIA had provided the FBI with a photograph of "a man who, it was thought at the time, might have been associated with Oswald."⁹ The Report quoted an affidavit by Richard Helms that "the original photograph had been taken by the CIA outside of the United States sometime between July 1, 1963 and November 22, 1963."¹⁰

The Commission's explanation is both inaccurate and misleading. The implication that the CIA thought the mystery man was "associated with Oswald" only masks the true situation. On the basis of its own evidence, the Agency must have concluded either that the mystery man was impersonating Oswald or that an unlikely chain of errors had accidentally linked both the man in the photograph and the man who "contacted" the Soviet Embassy to Lee Harvey Oswald.

The truth was further obscured by the Report's reference to the Helms affidavit, which described the circumstances in which the mystery man was photographed only in the most vague and general terms. The affidavit was dated August 7, 1964.¹¹ However, the Commission never mentioned in its Report or in its twenty-six supplementary volumes that it had obtained an earlier affidavit from Helms on July 22, 1964 in which he was much more specific.¹² "The original photograph," Helms testified, "was taken in Mexico City on October 4, 1963."¹³ (This earlier Helms affidavit was released in 1967 through the efforts of Paul Huch, a private researcher.)

There is no available record that Richard Helms ever told the Warren Commission exactly where in Mexico City the mystery man was photographed. But the circumstances in which the photograph was taken to the Commission offer a very plausible

...the CIA required the FBI to report the background of the photo before handing it over to the Commission.¹⁴ The obvious concern is that the photograph was taken by a Cuban surveillance camera, and the CIA wished to avoid disclosing its location. According to knowledgeable former employees of the CIA, the Soviet and Cuban embassies, among others, in Mexico City, were under constant photographic surveillance at the time. It seems likely then that the man who, according to the CIA, "identified himself as Lee Oswald" was photographed leaving the Mexico City embassy of the Soviet Union or of some other communist country.

The first public hint that the mystery man may have been impersonating Oswald came in 1966, with the publication of Edward Jay Epstein's *Inquest*, a scholarly study of the Warren Commission.¹⁵ Epstein interviewed one of the Commission's legal staff who recalled the incident. (He said he had asked Raymond G. Rocca, the Agency's liaison with the Commission,¹⁶ about the photograph. The lawyer later received word from the Agency that the mystery man was thought to be Oswald at the time the photograph was given to the FBI. Why, he asked, did the Agency mistake someone so dissimilar in appearance for Lee Harvey Oswald? The CIA said they would check further and call him back. The lawyer told Epstein that they never called him back and the Warren Report contains no explanation of the Agency's mistake.¹⁷

Another piece of the puzzle fell into place early in 1971, when the National Archives released a previously classified memorandum about the mystery man from Richard Helms to the Commission's general counsel, J. Lee Rankin.¹⁸ Dated March 24, 1964, the memo informed Rankin:

On 22 and 23 November, immediately following the assassination of President Kennedy, three cabled reports were received from [deleted] in Mexico City relative to photographs of an unidentified man who visited the Cuban and Soviet Embassies in that city during October and November 1963.¹⁹

On the basis of these cables, Helms went on to say, the CIA had sent several reports to the Secret Service. Attached to the Helms memorandum were paraphrases of these reports.²⁰ Two dealt with the mystery man

...to the Protective Research Staff. The Secret Service delivered by hand on 23 November 1963, at 1030 hours.

Through sources available to the CIA [deleted], had come into possession of a photograph of an unidentified person thought to have visited the Cuban Embassy in mid-October. This individual, it was believed at the time, might be identical with Lee Harvey OSWALD.²¹

and.

Message to the Protective Research Staff, The Secret Service, delivered by hand on 23 November 1963, at 1030 hours.

CIA Headquarters was informed [deleted] on 23 November that several photographs of a person known to frequent the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City, and who might be identical with Lee Harvey OSWALD, had been forwarded to Washington by the hand of a United States official returning to this country.²²

Helms's covering memorandum affirmed that "the subject of the photographs mentioned in these reports is not Lee Harvey OSWALD."²³

Several photographs, then, of a mysterious stranger who kept being confused with Lee Harvey Oswald, and who had visited both the Soviet and Cuban embassies. Was it the same mystery man whose picture had been shown to Mrs. Oswald? Or was it yet another Oswald Doppelgänger?

Firm evidence of the existence of additional photographs of the unidentified man mentioned in the Warren Report was turned up by Robert Smith, a private researcher. In 1972 Smith, then research director for the Commission to Investigate Assassinations, was poring over some recently declassified Warren Commission documents when he found reference to the mystery photo and two other views of the same person.²⁴ Smith called his discovery to the attention of one of the authors, Bernard Fensterwald, who instituted a suit under the Freedom of Information Act for release of the two pictures. The government yielded and turned over the photographs to Fensterwald and Smith. They are published here for the first time.

The two new views of the mystery man were taken at a different time from the first picture. In the first

photo, the subject of the photo in the Warren Commission's *Exhibits*, he is wearing a long-sleeved dark shirt and white trousers. In the two new photos, he is wearing a short-sleeved white shirt and is carrying a briefcase or a bag or pouch. In new photo, also shown, Smith holding a small, passport-sized booklet and what appears to be a wallet. As in the first photograph, the backgrounds of the two new photos have been cropped out. Whoever, he was, he managed to be photographed, apparently by the CIA's hidden surveillance cameras, on at least two separate occasions. And neither of the new photographs reveals any resemblance between the mystery man and Lee Harvey Oswald.

The Warren Commission concluded that Oswald had been in Mexico in late September and early October 1963. Records of Mexican Customs and Immigration, bus lines, and a Mexico City hotel indicate that Oswald entered Mexico at Nuevo Laredo on the US border on September 26, traveled by bus to Mexico City, arriving there the next morning, and returned to the United States on October 3.²⁵ Passengers on the bus to Mexico City remembered Oswald, but there is almost no eyewitness testimony to support the Commission's reconstruction of Oswald's movements after he arrived in that city.²⁶ The Commission's finding that Oswald made repeated visits to both the Soviet and Cuban embassies rests heavily upon the affidavit of one witness, a Mexican woman who worked at the Cuban Embassy.²⁷

Silvia Tirado de Duran was secretary to the Cuban Consul in Mexico City. In a sworn statement²⁸ she gave to the deputy director of Mexican Federal Security on November 23, 1963, she said that Oswald had visited the Cuban Embassy in late September to apply for a visa to visit Cuba during a planned trip to the Soviet Union. Mrs. Duran recalled a heated exchange between Oswald and the Consul when the Cuban official told him his request could not be granted immediately. She remembered making a "semiofficial" phone call to the Soviet Embassy to try to speed up action on Oswald's application. She identified the Lee Harvey Oswald who visited the Cuban Embassy as the accused assassin whose photograph appeared in the Mexican newspapers on November 23.²⁹

Apparently the Warren Commission staff did not interview Silvia Duran, but instead relied solely on her affidavit.

Continued

...and she had any other, to talk to her was made is not recorded in any available document. However, according to the Commission files a Mexican newspaper reporter tried to interview her in April 1964. Her husband would not permit the man to speak with her, saying she had suffered a nervous breakdown following her interrogation by the Mexican authorities and had been prohibited by her physician... from discussing the Oswald matter further.³² If this report is correct, the interrogation of Silvia Duran may have been a more emotional interview than one would conclude from the report forwarded by the Mexican police. The report gives the impression that the police were routinely collecting information about Oswald's Mexican trip for the American authorities. One question that arises is whether Duran's statement was given voluntarily, and, if not, whether her identification of Oswald as the visitor to the embassy is valid.

The Warren Commission may have omitted a full exploration of this question because it had collateral evidence of Oswald's visit to the Cuban Embassy. There were, for example, Oswald's application for a Cuban visa, bearing his photograph and signature,³³ and a letter reportedly written by Oswald to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, referring to his visit to the Cuban Embassy.³⁴ The address book found among Oswald's possessions, moreover, contained Duran's name and telephone number. But the only credible eyewitness testimony that Oswald in fact visited the embassy is the statement of Silvia Duran.

When viewed in the light of the recently disclosed evidence suggesting that someone might have visited the embassy impersonating Oswald, the Commission's failure to settle completely the question of the three misidentified photos seems extraordinary. It is probable that the CIA did in fact supply an explanation of the photographs that was enough to satisfy the Commission at the time. If so, that explanation remains a part of the classified Warren Commission documents not available to the public.

Raymond Roca (who, until his recent resignation, was the Agency's liaison officer for all post-Warren Report inquiries about the matter) told one of the authors that the CIA could not identify the mystery man. If this is so, we may wonder how the Agency could have offered a satisfactory explanation of the incident to the Com-

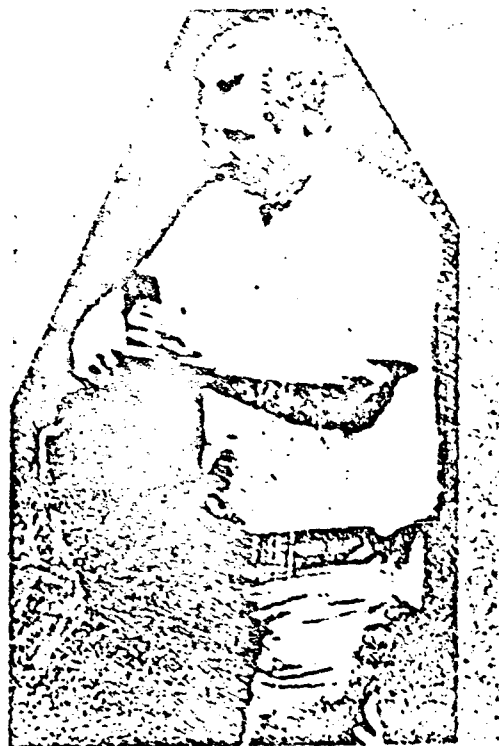
mission. Clearly, the CIA's position on this matter has developed to the conclusion that Oswald really visited the Cuban Embassy must remain in some doubt, but even if he did, the question whether someone was nevertheless trying to impersonate him remains a crucial one.

If someone posing as Oswald visited the Soviet and Cuban embassies in the early autumn of 1963, what implications might be drawn from this discovery? One obvious interpretation is that someone sought to counterfeit a fresh connection between the man who was soon to become the accused presidential assassin and the governments of those two communist countries. But it is not necessary to speculate further. If someone were trying to impersonate Oswald eight weeks before the assassination, the Warren Commission's theory of a lone assassin, unconnected with any conspiracy, is seriously undermined and the case should be reopened.

There could be, of course, an innocent explanation of how the CIA came to misidentify the mystery man as Lee Harvey Oswald. Oswald may actually have visited the Cuban and Soviet embassies. If this were the case, then somewhere in the CIA's files there should be photographs of the real Lee Harvey Oswald departing from the Soviet and Cuban embassies in Mexico City. If those photographs exist, their publication would help to settle the question. If they don't, the CIA should now explain why not. In either case, it should also disclose what it knows about the man it wrongly identified as Oswald on two separate occasions. It should explain why it believes that this man was not impersonating Oswald. All these matters should be clarified both by the CIA itself and by the congressional committees that are about to investigate its activities.

Continued

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11-11-64



¹Warren Commission Document 631, The National Archives, Washington, DC.

²*Ibid.* Her correct maiden name was Prusakova.

³*Report of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy* (US Government Printing Office, 1964), p. 144. (Hereafter, *Report*.)

⁴Commission Document 631, *op cit.*

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶*Hearings Before the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy* (US Government Printing Office, 1964), Vol. 11, p. 469 (hereafter, *Hearings*).

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 468.

⁸*Ibid.*, Odum Exhibit 1.

⁹*Report*, p. 384.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 384-385.

¹¹*Hearings*, Vol. 11, p. 469.

¹²Commission Document 1287, The National Archives, Washington, DC.

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴*Hearings*, Vol. 11, p. 469.

¹⁵Edward Jay Epstein, *Inquest: The*

Warren Commission and the Establishment of Truth (Viking, 1966).

¹⁶Mr. Kozca, deputy chief of the CIA's Counterintelligence Staff, was one of the four senior Agency officials who resigned last December in the wake of the New York Times's revelations of illegal domestic operations by the CIA's Clandestine Services.

¹⁷Epstein, *Inquest*, p. 94.

¹⁸Commission Document 674, The National Archives, Washington, DC.

¹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹*Ibid.*

²²*Ibid.*

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴Commission Document 506, The National Archives, Washington, DC, pp. 384.

²⁵*Report*, p. 289.

²⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 233-236.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 234. Two other witnesses told the FBI they saw Oswald at the Cuban Embassy. A Mexican private detective who had visited the embassy on October 1, 1963, identified Oswald from newspaper photographs as someone he had seen leaving the embassy on that date in the company of a

Cuban. The detective was shown other photos of Oswald and failed to identify him, and the FBI seems to have concluded that he was mistaken (Commission Document 506). The Warren Report does not offer the detective's testimony as evidence of Oswald's visit. Another witness who claimed to have seen Oswald at the Cuban Embassy retracted his testimony after failing to pass a polygraph examination (*Report*, p. 308).

²⁸Commission Document 776a, The National Archives, Washington, DC.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 5.

³⁰Commission Document 963, The National Archives, Washington, DC, p. 16.

³¹*Hearings*, Commission Exhibit 2564.

³²*Ibid.*, Commission Exhibit 15.

Helms Denies Assassination Plots by CIA

By William Greider
Washington Post Staff Writer

Former Central Intelligence Agency Director Richard Helms angrily denied yesterday that the agency was responsible for any foreign assassinations and vented his personal bitterness toward a CBS television correspondent.

Helms, now U. S. ambassador to Iran, displayed his strong resentment when he emerged from 3½ hours of private questioning by the Rockefeller Commission, which is investigating alleged domestic transgressions by the CIA.

CBS correspondent Daniel Schorr, who has broadcast several stories on CIA involvement with assassination plots, was waiting outside the hearing room with other reporters.

When Schorr extended his hand, Helms brushed him aside and uttered several insults, "son-of-a-bitch", "killer Schorr" and a sexual epithet.

Standing before TV cameras a few moments later, Helms made it clear that he found the subject of assassinations

repulsive. "I don't think it was fair and I don't think it was right. As far as I know, the CIA was never responsible for assassinating any foreign leader."

Schorr did not report that the CIA had carried out assassinations of foreign leaders, but that the White House was concerned about possible agency involvement in assassination plots.

Another reporter asked if there had been any discussions within the CIA of launching an assassination attempt. Helms' oblique reply suggested that there had.

"I don't know whether I stopped beating my wife or you stopped beating your wife," Helms snapped. "In government, there are always discussions of everything under the sun."

"Of assassinations," the reporter asked again.

"Of everything under the sun," Helms repeated emphatically.

"You didn't answer my question," the reporter said.

"I'm not trying to answer your question," Helms replied.

Yesterday was Helms' third and longest appearance before the eight-member commission chaired by Vice President Rockefeller. He was also questioned in private for two days last week by the commission's investigative staff.

Helms' denial to reporters did not necessarily rule out the possibility that the CIA had actively considered launching assassination attempts or that the agency had launched an attempt that was not successful, such as the alleged attempts to kill Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

When reporters pressed him further, Helms replied: "I do not know of any foreign leader that was ever assassinated by the CIA. That's a very simple, direct statement. It's my honest belief and conviction."

Were there "discussions of assassination?" "But this government discusses every conceivable matter over the years of every kind of context," Helms protested. "I can't for the life of me understand why it is a matter of great interest to the American public that two men may have sat in the State Department or the Defense Department or somewhere and discussed things that may be unacceptable to the American public."

Assassinations

By CIA? Helms

Doubts Reports

By JOSEPH VOLZ

Washington, April 28 (News Bureau)—Former CIA Director Richard M. Helms was examined for hours today by the Rockefeller Commission about charges that the spy agency had carried out assassinations of foreign leaders. Afterward, the bitterly denounced a TV newsman who had reported the story.

"As far as I know," he said, "the CIA was never responsible for the assassination of any foreign leader. That is my honest belief," Helms, now U.S. ambassador to Iran, spent 3½ hours before the commission, the longest time of any of the 44 witnesses who have testified during the panel's 16-week probe of the agency.

Helms was followed to the witness chair by the present CIA director, William E. Colby.

Sees False Reporting

CBS reporter Daniel Schorr of false reports concerning CIA involvement in foreign assassinations. It was Schorr who first reported that President Ford was concerned that the CIA investigation would disclose that the spy agency had a role in the assassination of three foreign leaders.

"Killer Schorr! Killer Schorr!" Helms said loudly as he walked down the hallway with reporters, following his appearance before the Rockefeller commission.

Later, during a press conference when Schorr asked a question on a subject unrelated to the assassinations, Helms would only reply: "I don't like some of the lies you've been putting on the air."

Bristles at Question

Helms bristled when reporters asked him if there had ever been discussions in the CIA plotting the assassinations of foreign leaders.

"That's like asking me if I've stopped beating my wife," Helms said. "There were always discussions of everything. Two men may have sat in the State Department or the Defense Department and discussed things that may not be acceptable to the American people. That happens all the time."

Helms was asked to comment on reports that former President Johnson told several colleagues he believed the assassination of John F. Kennedy was in retaliation for a CIA plot aimed at Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

"I don't know why President Johnson said these things," Helms said.

Helms said he had been quizzed on a wide range of subjects by the commission. He did not elaborate. However, the commission staff has had a chance to analyze Helms' previous testimony and there may have been some discrepancies that they wished to question him about.

Helms Blasts Reporter After CIA Panel Session

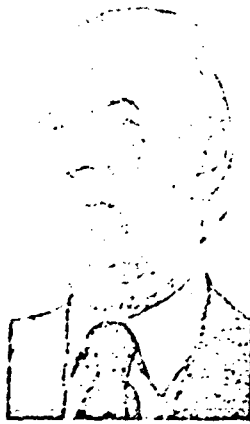
Former CIA Director Richard Helms, who has been called repeatedly before investigators to answer questions on Watergate, alleged domestic spying by the CIA and possible plots to assassinate foreign leaders, exploded yesterday with a bitter denunciation of a newsmen for reporting on the latter possibility.

Helms lashed out angrily in a meeting with reporters after an appearance of nearly three hours before the Rockefeller Commission — the longest appearance by any of the 44 witnesses who have testified during its 16-week investigation of the foreign intelligence agency's role at home.

The target of Helms' venom was CBS reporter Daniel Schorr, who first reported that President Ford was concerned that the CIA investigation would reveal that the spy agency had a role in the assassination of at least three foreign leaders.

HELMES DENIED FLATLY. "as far as I know," that the CIA "was responsible for the assassination of any foreign leader." It marked the first time a government official had ruled out CIA involvement in an assassination successfully carried out.

"Killer Schorr! Killer Schorr!" Helms said loudly as he walked down the hallway with reporters following his appearance before the commission.



RICHARD HELMS
Anger unmasked

Later during a news conference, when Schorr asked a question on a subject unrelated to the assassinations, Helms would only answer: "I don't like some of the lies you've been putting on the air."

"I just want to say one thing. I don't know of any foreign leader that was ever assassinated by the CIA. That's my honest belief."

Helms bristled when newsmen asked him if there had ever been discussions in the CIA plotting the assassinations of foreign leaders.

"THAT'S LIKE asking me if I've stopped beating my wife," Helms said. "There were always discus-

sions of everything. Two men may have sat in the State Department or the Defense Department and discussed things that may not be acceptable to the American people. That happens all the time."

Helms refused to comment on reports that former President Lyndon B. Johnson told several colleagues that he believed the assassination of President John F. Kennedy was in retaliation for a CIA plot aimed at Cuban premier Fidel Castro.

"I don't know why President Johnson said these things," Helms said.

Helms was director of the CIA from 1966 to early 1973. Reports have charged that during the anti-war movement in the late 1960s, the CIA was engaged in a massive domestic spying program, which is illegal under its charter.

Helms said his testimony "covered all kinds of subjects — Cuba, Vietnam — anything you can imagine."

He said he had spent two days preparing with the staff of the Rockefeller Commission and then appeared before the full panel "for a reaffirmation of what I covered with the staff."

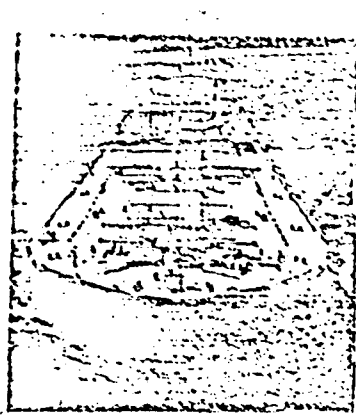
He refused comment about the specific charges of domestic spying, saying: "Let's wait until the commission has given its report. They've conducted an exhaustive investigation."

END MISSINGLET D. LASHA (1952)

Even during the past year, Henry Kissinger squelched Pentagon plans to release information involving American and Russian submarines for fear the states would charge U.S.-Soviet collusion, according to Defense Department sources. The Pentagon insists Kissinger blocked release of facts about the CIA effort to raise the sunken Russian sub in the Pacific and news about a 1974 collision between the U.S. submarine James Madison and a Soviet sub in the North Sea. Defense officials were ready to take a bow for the recovery of the Russian sub; most accidents at sea are routinely made public.

ARAB TANKERS?

Washington is trying to head off a new threat that could make another oil embargo even more painful than the last. The CIA has determined that oil-producing countries are now going all-out to buy tankers idled by the world's glut of oil. Fleet owners, who in the U.S. are hard-pressed even to find berthing space for unused ships, are eager to sell. To avoid the possibility of both oil and tankers



In hostile hands, the Ford Administration is considering new subsidies to the U.S. tanker industry to ensure that vessels would be available in another embargo.

HOWARD HUGHES, PROP.

Howard Hughes, the phantom billionaire, has been given a new code name at the Summa Corp., the Los Angeles firm that is his corporate alter ego. Summa executives refer to their sole owner, not by name, but simply as "the stockholder."

13 APR 1963

Helms Terms Newsmen 'Killer' For Hint of Murders by C.I.A.

WASHINGTON, April 23 (UPI)—Always discussers of every-
—Richard M. Helms, former chief Two men may have said
Director of Central Intelligence, in the State Department or
denounced a newsmen today the Defense Department and
for reporting charges that he discussed things that may not
Central Intelligence Agency be acceptable to the American
carried out the assassination people. That happens all the
of foreign leaders.

Mr. Helms made the com- Mr. Helms refused to com-
ments to reporters after an ment on reports that the late
appearance of nearly three hours before the Rockefeller, President Johnson told several
commission—the longest ap- colleagues that he believed the
pearance by any of the 41 assassination of President Ken-
witnesses who have testified deny in 1963 was in retaliation
during its 16-week investiga- for a C.I.A. plot aimed at Pre-
tion of the C.I.A. inner Fidel Castro of Cuba.

The target of Mr. Helms's "I don't know who President
attack was Daniel Schorr, the Johnson said these things," Mr.
CBS newsmen, who first for Helms said.
ported that President Ford was Besides being accused of
concerned that the C.I.A., in- plotting to kill the Cuban Pro-
vestigation would reveal that- gram, the C.I.A. has allegedly
the agency had a role in the been involved in a plot to as-
assassination of at least three- sinate President Francois
foreign leaders. Duvalier of Haiti and in the

"Killer Schorr! Killer Schorr!" assassinations of Rafael L. Tru-
Mr. Helms said loudly as he- ron, head of the Dominican
walked down the hallway with Republic, and of Premier Pa-
reporters after his appearance- tri Lumumba of the Congo.
before the Presidential commis- Mr. Helms, now the United
sion that is headed by Vice- States Ambassador to Iran, was
President Rockefeller. Director of Central Intelligence
from 1966 to 1973.

Objects To 'Lies'

In a news conference later, In addition to the alleged
when Mr. Schorr asked a ques- assassinations, the Rockefeller
tion on a subject unrelated commission is investigating re-
to the alleged assassinations, ports that during the antiwar
Mr. Helms would only answer protests in the late nineteen-
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know of any foreign leader the agency's charter.
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"That's like asking me if full panel "for a reaffirmation"
I've stopped beating my wife," of what I covered with the
Mr. Helms said. "There were staff."

Book Business

By JOYCE ILLIG

Company Man

PHILIP AGEE, the ex-CIA agent living in England, has finally found a publisher and filmmaker to get his book *Inside the Company: CIA Diary* out to the American public. Stonehill Publishing Company will publish the book and Emile de Antonio has purchased the film rights.

Stonehill, a small, relatively unknown New York trade house distributed by George Braziller & Co., signed a contract with Scott Meredith, Agee's literary agent, giving Agee essentially the same deal he'd turned down with Straight Arrow Books: a \$12,000 advance and a 60-40 split on the paperback sale.

Stonehill is a four-year-old company run by Jeffrey Steinberg. Steinberg is young (late 30s), enthusiastic and persistent. He was a founder of Chelsea House publishers and was hired in 1970 by Jann Wenner to start Straight Arrow Books with Alan Rinzler. He said that he didn't last long because of personality differences with Wenner. Steinberg started Stonehill and is backed by "a consortium of European bankers."

Stonehill's current schedule for Agee's book is to ship a first printing of 30,000 copies in June for July publication. The probable price: \$12.95. Steinberg is also planning to add an index for the American edition.

"We're going to hold off on the mass market paperback sale until we've completed our legal review and can deliver a reasonably meaningful warranty," said Steinberg.

The American Civil Liberties Union has given Steinberg a letter "agreeing to provide as much legal assistance, at no cost, as we warrant." This is in case all the rumors become fact concerning government suppression of the book here and threats of libel suits.

"There will definitely be a libel and invasion of privacy review by our law firm," said Steinberg, "and there will probably

be a review of the book by the mass media. I don't think we'll have trouble with the government."

Steinberg said that Agee is prepared to warrant very little because he has no control over the book deal as well as the movie deal, the only warranty that Agee is providing is the warranty that he has the right to sell these books and that the government doesn't own them," said Meredith.

Stonehill's biggest seller is a recently published book called *The Cocaine Papers*. It's a 512-page volume documenting Freud's use of cocaine.

Emile de Antonio, the underground Marxist filmmaker, plans to make a fiction film of Agee's book, using different names for everyone except the author.

De Antonio, creator of the controversial and highly praised documentaries "Point of Order" (the Army-McCarthy hearings), "In the Year of the Pig" (an overview of the Vietnam war) and "Millhouse" (a satirical look at Nixon), has agreed to pay \$25,000 dollars against five per cent of the profits—the producer's gross, not the net—of the picture. Agee will receive \$7,500 when he signs the contract and \$17,500 in the first day of principal photography, which has to be within a year.

Haskel Wexler has agreed to be the director of cinematography and De Antonio said that Jane Fonda has volunteered to be in it.

JOYCE ILLIG writes regularly on the publishing scene for Book World.